Towards Socially Inclusive Sustainable Mobility: The Role of Social Capital in Participatory Transport Planning Processes

Joanna Katherine Elvy

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds

Institute for Transport Studies

November 2019

1

Acknowledgements

This thesis is dedicated to all those who embark on journeys of discovery, no matter how big or small.

Abstract

This thesis builds on complementary but fragmented literatures of socially inclusive sustainable mobility (SISM), participatory transport planning and social capital (*cf.* Sheller, 2011; Lucas, 2012; Naughton, 2014; Schwanen *et al.*, 2015; and Vigar, 2017) by providing a nuanced understanding of the role of social capital in participatory transport planning processes (PTPP) for SISM. A multiple case study design (Yin, 2013) was used to select three English local authorities (Leeds, Leicester and Milton Keynes) following a preliminary online survey and feasibility interviews. Within those areas, nine case study processes were chosen including bus user groups, cycling groups, a disability group and an area forum. A constructivist grounded theoretical approach (Charmaz, 2014) was used to generate and triangulate data from 35 participant observations and 16 follow up interviews over an 18-month period.

Original contributions to knowledge are provided by an analysis of the characteristics and role of social capital practices (Patulny, 2004); their impact on opportunities, uncertainties and constraints for SISM; and the lessons learned for effective PTPP. Social capital practices collectively generate productive and unproductive (Granovetter, 1973; Bourdieu, 1986; and Wilson, 1997) social capital cycles which are context specific and contain multi-dimensional linkages between the six categories of social capital practices identified (leadership, relationships and group dynamics, influence, skills and competences, social learning, and representation and representativeness). Social capital cycles can be thought of as investments in people (self and others) and two potential approaches emerged in this study: the provision of independent leadership and mediation, and the role of training and upskilling. Important lessons can be learned from this research about the ways in which transport planners and participants engage with each other, particularly in terms of the utilisation of knowledge and past experiences through social learning, and the skills and competences necessary for individuals to participate.

Table of Contents

9

List of Tables

List of Figures

Abbreviations

CCAG	**City Connect Advisory Group**
CCSM	**City Connect Stakeholders Meeting**
DfT	**Department for Transport**
LDCSC	**Leeds District Consultation Sub-Committee**
LTPs	**Local Transport Plans**
MK	**Milton Keynes**
MK BUG	**Milton Keynes Bus Users Group**
MK DAG	**Milton Keynes Disability Advisory Group**
PTPP	**Participatory Transport Planning Processes**
SISM	**Socially Inclusive Sustainable Mobility**
TRSE	**Transport-related Social Exclusion**
WYCA	**West Yorkshire Combined Authority**

Chapter 1 Introduction and Overview

1.1 Rationale

Transport-related social exclusion (TRSE) is a problem that has been widely documented (Lucas, 2012). Attention of policy makers on this issue has faded in the UK transport arena in the aftermath of economic austerity measures and cuts to local public transport and community/voluntary transport funding. However, that makes the need for further research into contemporary TRSE even more timely as the underlying causes, effects and inequalities remain.

The dominance of automobility is harmful for both sustainability and social inclusion. Previous research has tended to focus on sustainability and social inclusion as two separate issues. However, Sheller (2011) has called for a 'twin transition' which encompasses both sustainable mobility and mobility justice. Sheller's call provides an opportunity for new research which will examine mechanisms for achieving more socially inclusive sustainable mobility (SISM), where TRSE is a problem to be tackled and sustainable mobility is a potential solution to that problem. In this context sustainable mobility goes beyond simply reducing automobility dependence.

In the UK, local transport authorities are responsible for promoting and providing opportunities for sustainable mobility as an alternative to automobility. To achieve a 'twin transition' which also meets the mobility needs of the socially excluded, it is important to ensure that the voices of those at risk of TRSE are included in that process. Processes of social exclusion can be complex and context specific, so those individuals affected are well placed to outline their specific mobility needs and challenges, given the opportunity to articulate them to decision makers. Participatory transport planning processes (PTPP) provide an opportunity (as a mechanism within contemporary local government) to give those groups and individuals a voice and should ideally lead to the co-production of knowledge and solutions to suit specific problems and contexts.

The effectiveness of public participation in these contexts has been the subject of much debate often between those who advocate its potential benefits in principle and those who critique its effectiveness in practice. This research goes beyond this perspective by additionally considering what participants bring to and get out of the process aside from varying degrees of empowerment. However, those power relationships cannot be ignored. The instrumental structures, skills, competences and power relationships involved in participatory governance may partially explain both the limitations inherent in current participatory practice and the historical reluctance for some individuals to get involved.

One important and seemingly under-researched aspect of the relationship between individuals and PTPP is an understanding of the role of social capital. Bourdieu and Coleman expressed social capital as the availability of resources to individuals from their participation in a group or network (Portes, 1998). In the context of understanding the effectiveness of PTPP and what participants may or may not get out of it, practices of social capital (and their roles) which would be of interest could include productive (such as access to information, trust, skills development, introduction to new contacts and networks, solidarity, and access to sustainable mobility options) and unproductive forms (such as fear, mistrust, peer pressure, and the exclusion of others).

This study is important because we live in a period of great uncertainty over the future of mobility and the continued impact of carbon emissions, austerity and inequality on contemporary society. Furthermore, it is the decisions taken locally that can have the most significant impact on people's day-to-day lives. Providing SISM will be a critical component in addressing the contemporary challenges outlined above in the decades ahead. This study is also timely because we live in an era dominated by austerity and attempts to give the public a greater voice in complex governance challenges from Localism to Brexit. Any attempt to provide a blueprint for achieving SISM needs to be sensitive to the impact that those challenges are having on local government decision making. Participatory governance needs to utilise mechanisms and governance structures which utilise the knowledge, skills and competences of all participants. Therefore, the call

made by Hodgson and Turner (2003) for new rules, practices and tools within PTPP is still just as relevant today.

This study is novel because it provides three core original contributions to knowledge: the inter-connection of complementary literatures on TRSE, SISM and PTPP which addresses the lack of a detailed empirical focus on social capital; the novel application of a constructivist grounded theoretical framework which includes multiple dimensions of social capital, multiple methods, multiple case studies, and repeated observations (over an 18-month period); and finally the generation of a framework (social capital cycle) which places communities and individuals rather than transport infrastructure at the heart of future decision making processes. PTPP need to generate productive social capital in order to avoid doing more harm than good in such politically uncertain times. Previous research has tended to focus on empowerment at the expense of other possible outcomes as a result of exchanges of social capital such as social learning, representation or the development of skills and relationships.

1.2 Literature Review

Chapter 2 reviews the existing literature around issues of SISM, participatory transport planning, and social capital which informed this study. SISM is as a term which builds on Mimi Sheller's (2011) call for a twin transition of mobility justice and sustainable mobility. Furthermore, there is also a recognition that participatory planning has a crucial role to play in achieving mobility justice.

TRSE occurs when people are unable to participate in everyday social activities because of reduced accessibility caused by insufficient mobility and society's reliance on automobility (Kenyon *et al.*, 2002). In order to tackle TRSE, Piersen (2010) identifies the important roles that [social] networks, capacity building and increased public participation can play. In the sixteen years since the seminal

SEU (2003) report on TRSE, some progress has been made, however economic austerity has made it virtually impossible to maintain that momentum.

There is an important role for participatory processes that promote opportunities for SISM as part of a wider effort to promote social sustainability. Dempsey *et al.* (2011) identified important factors in achieving this including: active community organisations, community cohesion, education and training, participation and local democracy, social capital, and social justice. Jabareen (2006) also recognised the importance of promoting the capabilities of individual and diverse members of the community within participatory governance. When considering this in the context of sustainable mobility, individual experiences of place, mobility and accessibility from members of the community (and visitors) are important capabilities to be promoted within participatory transport planning.

Broad theoretical debates in academic literature surrounding public participation are divided into those who advocate more participation in theory and those who critique it in practice. These debates often draw on Habermasian deliberative democracy and a collaborative planning approach on one side and Foucauldian critiques of power on the other. Whether participatory governance leads to better planning outcomes has been widely debated in the literature along with many other social impacts, so this study has sought to move on from this debate by considering in more detail what participants bring to and get out of PTPP by using social capital as the focus of enquiry.

Developing an understanding of social capital in this study has been shaped by the strong and weak ties of Granovetter (1973), the individualism and potential oppression of Bourdieu's (1986) social capital, and Wilson's (1997) conceptualisation of productive and unproductive social capital. Social capital can be thought of as an exchange which can act simultaneously and dynamically in positive, negative, and neutral ways. Putnam's ideas of social capital tended to focus on the macro-scale of regions and states, whereas the work of Coleman and Bourdieu focussed instead on the micro-level of individuals, households and

local communities (Schwanen *et al.*, 2015). Whereas Putnam used social capital as a way of explaining the positive and productive aspects of community, Bourdieu saw social capital as a way of explaining social inequalities such as 'old boy's networks' (Gauntlett, 2011). In that sense the more critical approaches to the study of social capital are insightful in attempting to unpack the transactional nature of contemporary social networks, norms and resources, by considering both the positive and negative aspects of the concept.

The breadth of phenomena labelled as social capital within academic literature has created a level of conceptual ambiguity that has caused some critics to question its usefulness (Glanville and Bienenstock, 2009). However, network structures, norms and values, and resources have emerged as common components. Essentially, the resource aspect of social capital relates to the intrinsic payoff that individuals get from investing in networks and relationships (Glanville and Bienenstock, 2009). Patulny (2004) further identified participatory actions or practices in themselves as being forms of social capital, an approach also adopted in this study.

There appears to be a gap in the literature in terms of a detailed empirical focus on social capital within PTPP, however there has been some coverage of the subject across participatory governance more broadly. Previous studies either focussed on broader theoretical or literature-based perspectives (cf. Gray *et al.*, 2006; Schwanen *et al.*, 2015; Osborne *et al.*, 2016 and Litman, 2017) or gathered empirical data using the narrow parameters of trust (Menzel *et al.*, 2013) or a single participatory planning process (Franceschini and Marletto, 2017). In order to meet the aim of this thesis, four research questions were selected based on the gaps in the literature identified:

- **What practices of social capital are present in PTPP?**
- **What role do these practices of social capital have on PTPP?**
- **How do these practices of social capital create opportunities and constraints for the promotion and provision of SISM?**
- **What are the characteristics of an effective PTPP for SISM?**

1.3 Theoretical Framework

Chapter 3 summarises the theoretical framework which justifies the theories and approaches adopted in this study based on existing literature and the ontological and epistemological position of the author. In order to meet the aim of this thesis, four research questions were selected based on the gaps in the literature identified in Chapter 2.

Whilst Chapter 2 provided an outline of the different perspectives of social capital as viewed by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam, Chapter 3 takes this one step further by explaining and justifying why the understanding of social capital in this study has been shaped by Granovetter (1973), Bourdieu (1986) and Wilson (1997). However, rather than seeing social capital as a form of financial commodity (Adkins, 2005), it is the way in which people utilise their resources and access to networks that represents the commodity being studied. The social capital available to an individual, can like any other form of capital perpetuate or alleviate inequality (Gauntlett, 2011). The more critical approach of Schwanen *et al.* (2015) and others to the study of social capital was required in order to consider both the positive and negative aspects of the concept. The focus on social capital rather than power imbalances is justified because of the potential that bridging social capital has in tackling unequal power relations between government and individuals in current participatory planning practice (Bickerstaff and Walker, 2005). The selection of the unit of analysis (micro as opposed to macro) was justified based on the need to focus on the resources embedded within the social networks of ongoing PTPP.

The role of social practices is also important in this study and this chapter goes on to justify why the ontological approach taken in this study differs significantly from the seminal work of Elizabeth Shove *et al.* (2012) on social practice theory and instead utilises the position of Wilson and Chatterton (2011) who considered

social practice as "a pragmatic integration which regards both 'behaviour' and 'performance-as-practice' as equivalent to 'observable action'" (Cairns et al, 2014, p109). Cairns et al (2014) highlighted that a focus on social practices leads to a consideration of the role policy makers might play in influencing "the distribution and circulation of materials, competences and meanings" (Shove *et al.*, 2012, p163). Social capital practices in this study are therefore defined as the ways in which social capital can be exchanged through a wide range of actions, behaviours, beliefs, emotions, processes and outcomes.

Given the focus on PTPP the understanding of group dynamics adopted by this study was explained. This was based on a need to understand "relationship interactions" present (Forsyth, 2014, p.8) from the perspective of shared interactions, goals, interdependence, structure and cohesion. As a result, social capital within groups/networks has the potential to transform active citizenship if more critical thought is given to its role within participatory processes (Schwanen *et al.*, 2015; Buijs *et al.*, 2017). Tuckman and Jensen's (1977) understanding of the stages of small group development more closely relates to teamworking within employment, however they have also been influential in this study to understand the interrelationships between the role of social capital and the temporal dimension of group dynamics (as part of the life cycle of the participatory processes observed).

Chapter 3 also justifies the situation of this study in relation to the grand debates about participatory governance within the planning literature centre. The approach adopted by this study was to consider instead what participants bring to and get out of their involvement in participatory transport planning. This approach rejects Arnstein's (1969) notion of citizen control as being the goal for effective participation by additionally considering issues of social learning, representation and transport planning outcomes (i.e. the ends rather than the means). This discussion then goes on to explore in more detail the situation of this study in relation to:

- Public participation approaches and critiques

- Leadership, power and competences within participatory governance
- Social learning as an alternative to citizen power

The theoretical framework then considers theories of mobility justice and social sustainability and their application to this study. Sheller's (2011) identification of a need for a 'twin transition' is a core theoretical position in this study because of the relationships between the current dominance of automobility and the impact that has on SISM (the term used in this study to represent Sheller's twin transition). Eizenberg and Jabareen (2017, p.1) conceptualised this term more broadly as 'social sustainability' and identified an important role for participatory processes that "promote substantive public involvement in the production of space" (Eizenberg and Jabareen, 2017, p.1). This study adopts the theoretical position of Sheller (2011) and others in identifying the importance of mobility justice to participatory transport planning by considering opportunities for SISM and the promotion of the capabilities of participants as being important outcomes for PTPP.

Chapter 3 goes on to consider why the specific context of social capital in PTPP for SISM was chosen. The role of local government around decisions over the operation and investment in local public transport, walking, cycling and accessible transport meant that it was important to focus on participatory structures at the local level as they were at the forefront of relevant decision making. As well as focussing on processes (Chapters 6 and 7), this study also focuses on outcomes and evidence of change (Chapters 8 and 9). These outcomes/changes were considered specifically in the context of SISM, which meant considering evidence of a direct link between the social capital practices utilised by individual participants and the improvements to public transport, active travel and community transport within their local area. Social capital was chosen as the focus for the study of these processes because of the potential that 'productive' social capital (Wilson, 1997) could have on improving the effectiveness of existing PTPP. However, the boundaries between 'productive' and 'unproductive' capital are not always clear and many uncertainties were

observed in the data generated. For instance, it is important to consider whether 'productive' social capital only benefits certain individuals or groups at the expense of others.

Finally, the theoretical framework provides a clear linkage to the research methods (Chapter 4) by outlining the rationale for adopting a qualitative approach in order to observe the role of social capital in the context of PTPP. Osborne et al (2016) provide a useful review of contributions of social capital to best practice urban planning outcomes from 56 academic journal articles from across the urban studies literature, of which 16 used qualitative methods and three used mixed methods. The study of social capital in situ using qualitative methods is certainly not a new or novel approach. When used as part of a constructivist-interpretivist understanding of how social capital is constructed, qualitative methods can provide a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of social capital in practice (Carpenter *et al.*, 2004; Osborne *et al.*, 2016; Soulard *et al.*, 2018). Furthermore Osborne *et al.* (2016, p.218) argued that using a single method alone "could inhibit the progress of empirical and theoretical understandings of how the construct operates in practice." This is a position that is also taken in this study where participant observations and pre-study interviews have been used as part of the triangulation of data generation and analysis in order to gain insights into social capital from multiple perspectives. Participant observation has been used in previous research to analyse social capital in a general community context (Svendsen, 2006 (who also used interviews); Meijer and Syssner, 2017), as well as in the context of environmental (Floress et al., 2011, Hewlett and Edwards, 2013) and urban planning (Crawford *et al.*, 2008). This approach was selected in order to understand social capital practices and their role on the case study processes in situ. Interviews have also been used in previous research to analyse social capital in multiple contexts including: social networks and entrepreneurship (McKeever *et al.*, 2014), tourism strategic planning (Soulard *et al.*, 2018) informal community planning (Meijer and Syssner, 2017), and mobility and social exclusion (Stanley *et al.*, 2018).

Within the broader constructivist-interpretivist qualitative tradition, a constructivist grounded theoretical approach as outlined by Kathy Charmaz (2014) was adopted by this study because of its acknowledgement of multiple constructions of reality combined with a flexible yet rigorous approach to qualitative research and analysis. Other grounded theoretical traditions were rejected on the basis that they did not match with my own ontological and epistemological position, and that they were less flexible and accepting of the role of the researcher and their pre-existing knowledge and perceptions.

1.4 Research Methods

Chapter 4 explains the research methods used in this study to answer the four research questions posed at the end of Section 1.2. As explained in Chapter 3, these questions were designed to generate an understanding of the link between social capital **practices**, the role they have on the case study participatory transport planning **processes** observed, the **outcomes** these have on opportunities and constraints for SISM, and the **lessons** for effective PTPP that can be learned from these new understandings. This approach provides an original contribution to knowledge within the participatory transport planning arena. Developing an understanding of the detailed link between practices, processes, outcomes, and lessons is necessary because previous research (Chapter 2) has shown that the role of social capital in this context is poorly understood (Schwanen *et al.*, 2015) and that there is a need for effective PTPP to address the problems posed by an urgent need for a 'twin transition' of mobility justice and sustainable mobility (Sheller, 2011) which in this study is conceptualised as SISM.

Chapter 4 then goes on to provide an explanation of a second contribution to knowledge, which involved the novel application of a multi-method, multi-case study constructivist grounded theoretical analysis of social capital in PTPP. This study used a constructivist ontology and interpretivist epistemology. Within this

broader constructivist-interpretivist qualitative tradition, a constructivist grounded theoretical approach as outlined by Kathy Charmaz (2014) was adopted. This approach differs from Classical and Straussian grounded theory in the use of literature throughout the study (to inform rather than direct inquiry), its underlying epistemology (constructivism) and its open-ended coding framework (Kenny and Fourie, 2015).

In order to generate data on the role of social capital in the nine PTPP included in this study, two approaches were identified: participant observation of ongoing processes which related to the provision of SISM, and the triangulation of the data generated through follow up interviews of individuals involved in each process. Participant observation focussed the data generation firmly on the involvement of individuals and the evolution of the processes over multiple gatherings. The data generation for the participant observations took place between June 2015 and October 2016 and involved attending 35 meetings and events across the nine case study processes.

Given the focus of this study, it would have been insufficient to rely entirely on participant observations as these are focussed on the researchers own reconstructions of social capital between other participants. As the constructivist paradigm values the multiple realities constructed by individuals (Golafshani, 2003), gaining the additional perspectives and reconstructions from other individuals involved in the case study processes ensured that the research findings could be triangulated from the perspective of other participants as well as from those of the researcher. This therefore led to a more valid, nuanced construction of realities within the processes studied (Golafshani, 2003; Silverman, 2011). This involved follow up interviews with individual members of the case study processes studied. Interviews fit well with grounded theory because they are "open ended yet directed, shaped yet emergent, and paced yet unrestricted" (Charmaz, 2014, p.85). The follow up interviews involved the re-construction of the processes, events and incidents observed from the perspective of other participants involved and not just from the perspective of the researcher. These accounts reinforced some aspects of the researchers own

construction of events but also challenged other aspects to provide a richer interpretation and understanding of social capital practices.

16 follow up interviews were carried out between June and November 2016. In each interview a set of sensitising concepts were used as topics for discussion based on both the findings and coding from previous participant observations and from the necessary focus on the research questions. Alongside these sensitising concepts, the research diaries were also taken to the interviews and pre-selected extracts from them acted as prompts for further discussion about the contexts of specific events or incidents from past observations.

The data organisation for this study was broken down into a three-stage process: data recording (using research diaries and audio recordings), data transcription, and data indexing and retrieval using computer aided qualitative analysis software (NVivo). In order to analyse the data generated, the field notes from the participant observations, memos and informal discussions, and the audio recordings from the follow up interviews were transcribed and imported into NVivo for analysis. A reflexive approach to data analysis was broken down into multiple (non-linear) stages: initial coding, triangulation, focussed coding, memo writing, categorisation, and theoretical saturation (Charmaz, 2014).

Finally, it was important to understand what ethical issues were present and to reflect upon how these have been dealt with. These considerations could be broadly separated into four categories:

- Emergent themes from the data generated
- Reporting on group dynamics
- Reporting on specific content
- Reflecting upon the researcher's positionality and relationships participants

1.5 Case Study Selection and Sampling Strategy

Chapter 5 provides a justification for the selection of the case studies used in this thesis as well as a definition of what is meant by 'cases' and 'study area' in this context and an outline of the sampling strategy used.

A case study approach was determined to be suitable for this study because of the importance of context and process in understanding social capital exchanged between individuals present in participatory groups. As an approach, it enables in depth study of complex phenomena within a small number of cases, focuses on relationships and processes, provides a naturalistic rather than experimental setting in which to study participatory governance, and enable multiple methods, data sources and data types to be used which can in turn improve the validity of the research findings.

The credibility and rigour of this study was improved by using a multiple case study design over a more common single case approach (Yin, 2013). This approach promoted "the richness, depth and complexity that is drawn from multiple events that help one understand the phenomenon of interest that is shared among the diverse cases" (Lauckner *et al.*, 2012, p.6). Negotiating access to potential case studies was a particularly challenging aspect of this study and shifted the projected timescales for the completion of the data generation. This was mitigated by setting a very broad definition of the 'population' (English local transport authority areas outside of London) and sending out online surveys (252 invitations) and organising case study selection interviews (eight participants from eight local authority areas) of far more participants than would be required when carrying out the research itself (three study areas and nine cases). A reflexive approach to data generation and analysis was used to critically challenge the role and impact of the researcher on the data generated within each case study, both in terms of my positionality and the behaviour of other participants during the observations.

Two types of sampling were used at different stages during the research process: initial sampling to select cases before data generation commenced and theoretical sampling to further develop and refine the categories which emerged from coding and memo writing (Charmaz, 2014).

An initial purposive sampling approach (also adopted by Lauckner *et al.*, 2012) based on an online survey and pre-study interviews was used to sample potential local authorities and subsequently the participatory processes within them. The 'sensitising concepts' (which Kathy Charmaz (2014) outlines as the tentative starting point of an inquiry) from which case studies would be purposively selected were identified based on findings from the literature review, content analysis of 3rd generation Local Transport Plans (LTPs), online survey and discussion in the pre-study interviews.

When using those sensitising concepts Milton Keynes (MK), Leicester, and Leeds were ultimately identified as the case studies which best fit those criteria. Leeds City Council is a metropolitan district (controlled by a majority Labour party administration) is effectively a unitary authority responsible for all aspects of local government (including highways) in Leeds except passenger transport (LGA, 2011). Since April 2014, Leeds City Council has been a member of the West Yorkshire Combined Authority (WYCA) which has responsibility for transport, regeneration and economic development across Leeds and the four other metropolitan boroughs in West Yorkshire (Bradford, Calderdale, Kirklees and Wakefield). Leicester City Council is a unitary authority and as such is responsible for all aspects of local government including passenger transport and highways. Since 2011, Leicester has also had a directly elected city mayor (Sir Peter Soulsby) and the City Council is governed by a majority Labour party administration. Like Leicester, Milton Keynes is also a unitary authority. The Council is politically under 'no overall control' and is politically much more 'marginal' than the more traditionally Labour strongholds of Leeds and Leicester. However, it is currently served by a minority Labour party administration.

Within those 3 local authority areas, 9 case study processes were identified. Those 9 processes were:

- Leeds
    - City Connect Advisory Group (CCAG) (WYCA)
    - City Connect Stakeholders Meeting (CCSM) (WYCA)
    - Cross Gates Area Forum (Leeds City Council)
    - Leeds District Consultation Sub-Committee (LDCSC) (WYCA)
- Leicester
    - Bus User Panel (Leicester City Council)
    - Cycle City Forum (Leicester City Council)
- Milton Keynes
    - Disability Advisory Group (MK DAG) (Milton Keynes Council)
    - Transport Sub Group of DAG (Milton Keynes Council)
    - Bus Users Group (MK BUG) (Independent)

Once the data generation process had been established within those 9 case study processes, theoretical sampling was used as it is a fundamental principle of the constructivist grounded theoretical framework. This involved a constant comparative cycle between data generation and analysis by identifying theoretical directions for further empirical inquiry (Charmaz, 2014).

1.6 Analysis of social capital in PTPP

Chapter 6 provides an original contribution to knowledge through the contextual study of social capital in PTPP, particularly in terms of an analysis of how those practices were typologically categorised. This builds on the broader theoretical or limited empirical perspectives previously identified (Gray et al., 2006; Schwanen et al., 2015; Osborne et al., 2016; Litman, 2017; Menzel et al., 2013; and Franceschini and Marletto, 2017) and the call of Schwanen et al. (2015) for a more nuanced understanding of the role of social capital on the dynamic and complex relationships between TRSE, SISM and PTPP. The six categories of social capital practices identified inform the subsequent analysis chapters. Chapter 7 provides an original contribution to knowledge by analysing the role of those categories and the linkages between them in the PTPP studied (represented by social capital cycles). Chapter 8 provides an original contribution to knowledge by analysing the impact that the identified social capital cycles have on outcomes for SISM in each case study process. Finally, chapter 9 provides an original contribution to knowledge by analysing the characteristics of effective PTPP based on the lessons learned from this study.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses three key questions which are relevant when seeking to understand the role of social capital in PTPP that promote and provide opportunities for SISM. These questions seek to address our current understanding of the following:

- The relationships between social exclusion, transport planning and sustainable mobility? (Section 2.2)
- The role of participatory transport planning in the context of contemporary political agendas of democratic renewal, localism and austerity? (Section 2.3)
- The competing definitions, critiques and forms of social capital and their relevance to participatory governance? (Section 2.4)

This chapter brings together these relevant but previously fragmented literatures of socially inclusive sustainable mobility (SISM), participatory transport planning, and social capital. This is important because social capital can contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the interrelationships between these literatures (Figure *2.1*). At the end of the chapter, six core gaps from this review are identified. The material reviewed in this chapter is accurate as of August 2018.
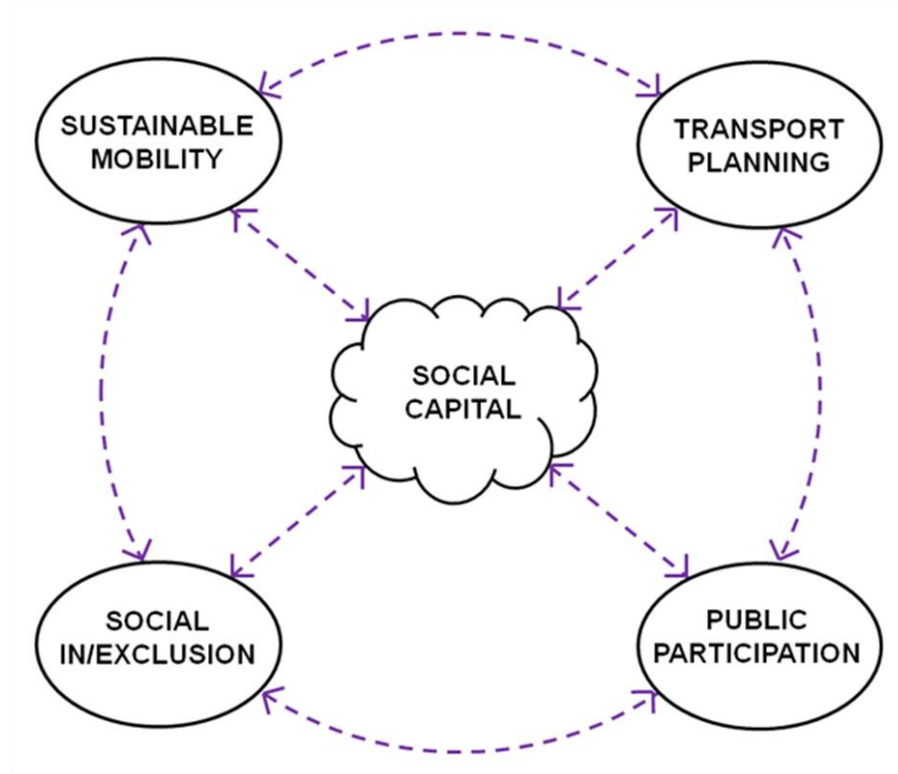
Figure 2.1: What is the role of social capital within sustainable mobility, transport planning, public participation and social exclusion?

2.2 Towards SISM: an overview of social exclusion, mobility justice and sustainable mobility

SISM is adopted in this study as a self-constructed term which builds on the work of Mimi Sheller (2011) which represents the intersection of transport-related social exclusion, mobility justice and sustainable mobility. Such an intersection is situated within Banister's (2008) sustainable mobility paradigm, especially as he acknowledged the importance of education, information, involvement and communication in achieving sustainable mobility. Banister also recognised the importance of challenging the orthodoxy of technical-rational approaches to transport planning which have been dominated by economics and engineering (Banister, 2008). Challenging this orthodoxy requires place-based solutions that acknowledge the importance of embodied knowledge (Vigar, 2017; Hambleton, 2017).

SISM is also a term that intersects mobility justice perspectives, particularly given the recognition of a role for participatory planning as being crucial in enabling a more just transport system (Hodgson and Turner, 2003; Pereira *et al.*, 2017). Keblowski et al. (2016) take the rejection of rational approaches to transport planning a stage further than Banister (2008) by arguing for a more radical approach (based on Lefebvre's (1968) right to the city) which recognises the need to re-politicise the uneven distribution of transport-related costs and benefits. Therefore, SISM cannot be achieved without a radical and critical analysis of the meaningfulness and productivity of contemporary PTPP.

The implications of SISM for transport planning decisions are that the goal for improvements to sustainable transport should be to not only meet environmental requirements around reducing emissions and cutting carbon but also provide fair access to transport for everyone. In the context of this study (which is focussed on local government outcomes), this meant focussing on outcomes relating to public transport, community transport, taxis (although their inclusion in this list is potentially contentious), cycling schemes, and walking schemes. This section considers the key concepts which feed into the SISM agenda promoted by this study. The concepts which will be reviewed in more detail in this section include: transport related social exclusion (as defined by Kenyon, 2002; SEU, 2003 and SDC, 2011), mobility justice, sustainable mobility, Sheller's (2011) twin transition, how SISM can be achieved, transport planning for SISM, and finally the role of public participation in moving towards SISM.

2.2.1 Transport Related Social Exclusion (TRSE)

The term 'social exclusion' is very complex, contestable and arguably controversial. For instance some have argued that the 'social exclusion' discourse that originated in 1970s and 1980s France and expanded into 1990s European social policy, attempted to depoliticise poverty (Veit-Wilson, 1998, Pierson, 2010). Levitas (2005, p.7) sees the social exclusion discourse as a

'minimalist' transition between 'insiders' and 'outsiders', where issues of power and privilege amongst the rich, and the structural inequalities and differences amongst the socially included are ignored. Levitas (2005) further identifies three discourses in which social exclusion is embedded: RED (a redistributionist discourse where poverty is the prime concern and the redistribution of wealth and power is required), MUD (a moral underclass discourse, a gendered discourse which focuses on morality and delinquency, and self-exclusion through anti-social behaviour (Levitas, 2005, Pierson, 2010)), and SID (a social integrationist discourse which focuses on the inclusionary power of access to the labour market).

One of the key tensions between the discourses appears to be whether the emphasis is on the excluded themselves or on the role of society in the creation of inequality. Veit-Wilson (1998) distinguishes competing discourses into 'weak' and 'strong' versions of social exclusion. In the weak version of social exclusion, the solution lies in altering and integrating the characteristics of excluded people themselves; whilst in the strong version of social exclusion, the role of the power of exclusion and those who are doing the excluding are emphasised (Byrne, 2005). In the strong version, social exclusion is seen as being about both social structures and agency (i.e. exclusion is done by some to others) (Byrne, 2005). All of these competing and contradictory discourses are important when considering what 'social exclusion' is and how to deal with it. Authors such as Bryne (2005), Levitas (2005) and Piersen (2010) all appear to argue that the inequalities which lead to social exclusion cannot be tackled without shining a lens on society as a whole.

Whilst there is no one unified definition of social exclusion, it can broadly be viewed as "a process whereby choice is reduced for individuals, families and communities due to a lack of access, resources, means, knowledge and support required to undertake social, economic and political activity" (Pierson, 2010). Madanipour *et al.* (1998) suggest that this process is multi-dimensional and that various forms of exclusion can be combined, creating even more acute forms exclusion, which in turn can manifest in specific spaces or neighbourhoods.

Again, this reinforces the need to look at exclusion in the broader context of society as a whole.

In terms of the processes that drive social exclusion, Piersen (2010) identifies five interlinking factors: poverty and low income, lack of access to the labour market, a lack of social supports and networks (social capital), the effect of place (neighbourhood), and exclusion from services. In order to tackle social exclusion, Piersen (2010) identifies the important roles that [social] networks, capacity building and increased public participation can play. Transport and access to transport can therefore clearly play a significant role in both the factors that contribute to social exclusion and in providing potential solutions.

There is a need to better understand the uneven distribution of transport 'outcomes' on disadvantaged groups as this is poorly understood within transport planning (Lucas and Jones, 2012; Jones and Lucas, 2012; Lucas and Currie, 2011). TRSE occurs when people are unable to participate in everyday social activities because of reduced accessibility caused by insufficient mobility and society's reliance on automobility (Kenyon *et al.*, 2002). The SEU (2003) and SDC (2011) reports identified the old, young, ethnic minorities, lone parents, people with disabilities, people on low incomes, and future generations as being amongst those most at risk of TRSE but that does not mean that every person in each category will suffer from social exclusion. In just focussing on one at risk group, 19% of the UK population have a disability (DWP, 2011). Whilst 18% of non-car owners found seeing family and friends difficult due to transport problems, whilst 16% found access to supermarkets difficult (SEU, 2003). Meanwhile the 2011 census revealed that 25.8% of English households didn't have access to a car (ONS, 2012). Current UK government austerity measures have also had uneven impacts on different population groups, for instance on youth unemployment or on the availability of subsidised public transport in areas where bus services are not commercially viable. The temporality of social exclusion is an additional factor to consider, so future vulnerabilities (such as an ageing population) need to be considered in addition to the current vulnerabilities identified above.

Research examining poor transport and disadvantaged groups is not just a recent phenomenon. Studies dating back to the 1970s qualitatively identified social inequities arising from transport amongst different disadvantaged groups; although no attempt was made to identify the extent and severity of the problem or understand the link between poor transport, access to key services and quality of life (Lucas, 2004). Policies designed to tackle social exclusion in the UK and the rest of Europe emerged during the 1990s, with first the European Union and then the UK (New Labour) government launching programmes designed to tackle social exclusion amongst individuals and across wider areas suffering from deprivation (Lucas, 2004). In 1997 the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) was set up by the UK government to assist the development and delivery of the social exclusion policy agenda (Lucas, 2004). This coincided with the Government's transport white paper in 1998 which recommended that the transport network should be 'fairer and more inclusive' (DETR, 1998). Around this time a number of academic studies also started to examine the interactions between transport and social exclusion (*cf.* Church *et al.*, 2000, DETR/TRaC, 2000). The Social Exclusion Unit (2003) identified key barriers for disadvantaged groups and a framework for accessibility planning which has since been adopted within local transport planning (Lucas, 2012). However, austerity has impacted the ability of local government to politically and economically support initiatives which tackle TRSE (Elvy, 2014). Furthermore, the localism agenda arguably advantaged those with greater access to political capital unless more can be done to get disadvantaged groups more engaged in decision making and avoid further exclusion and inequality (Hodgson and Turner, 2003; Parvin, 2009; Lucas, 2012; Clarke and Cochrane, 2013; Ercan and Hendriks, 2013).

A number of academic studies have supported the view that the highly context and person specific nature of transport related social exclusion, demonstrates a need to take a disaggregated approach to transport planning and policy making (Jones and Lucas, 2012, Lucas, 2012). For instance, transport services targeted at meeting the needs of the socially excluded often require different operating criteria to mainstream public transport in terms of routing, scheduling and operating periods (Lucas and Currie, 2011). A fundamental shift towards a

disaggregated policy approach would require greater engagement between planners, policy makers and the public (including those affected by TRSE).

2.2.2 Mobility Justice

Many studies of transport related social exclusion have not only considered the impact of uneven mobility and transport related social exclusion on the individuals and groups affected but have also taken this argument forward into a distributive justice perspective by considering accessibility and morality (Jones and Lucas, 2012; Pereira et al, 2017). Furthermore, there is also a recognition that participatory planning has a crucial role to play in mobility justice (Booth and Richardson, 2001; Hodgson and Turner, 2003; Milan, 2016; Eizenberg and Jabareen, 2017; and Pereira *et al.*, 2017). Pereira *et al.* (2017) also caution against further descriptive studies of transport inequalities in favour of a more theoretically grounded understanding of distributive justice.

Mobility justice is "an overarching concept for thinking about how power and inequality inform the governance and control of movement, shaping the patterns of unequal mobility and immobility in the circulation of people, resources and information (Sheller, 2018, p.14). Sheller (2018, p.2) also provides a wider framing of mobility justice to consider its intersectionality beyond transport as it is "also about the smaller micro-mobilities at the bodily scale that are inflected by racial and classed processes, gendered practices, and the social shaping of disabilities and sexualities." Therefore, mobility justice considers disadvantage beyond access to transport including the role that race, gender and social structures have on individual mobilities. The need for mobility justice has arisen out of what Sheller (2018, p.3) terms the "triple mobility crisis" of climate change, rapid urbanisation (and the resulting congestion, air pollution and safety concerns), and the mass migration of refugees from war torn countries. Mullen and Marsden (2016, p.110) outline some basic notions of mobility justice. These include: the assumption that everyone matters, the societal obligation to accept limitations (of one's own mobility) for the benefit of others, and accounting for individual needs and contexts.

2.2.3 Sustainable mobility

The origins of the term "sustainable mobility" can be traced back to the Brundtland report in 1987 and an early 1990s European Union policy focus on tackling environmental quality and standards in transport; however the concept has evolved towards more of an integrated approach linking behaviour change, policy and technological innovation (Holden, 2007). David Banister's (2008) concept of a sustainable mobility paradigm challenges the two conventional principles of transport planning of travel as a derived demand and of travel cost minimisation and provides an alternative view which looks to understand the complexity of mobility and strengthen the links between integrated land use and transport.

In the context of both this study and the wider mobilities paradigm (Urry, 2007), sustainable mobility is about more than just physical movement. Social interactions and networks are formed, destroyed and reformed by multiple interdependent mobilities (Urry, 2007, p.47) of which physical travel is just one type (along with the physical movement of objects, communicative travel, virtual travel and imaginary travel). Communicative and virtual mobility (such as the use of the internet and social media) also has a significant role to play of its own in enabling social inclusion or perpetuating social exclusion. Uneven mobility and mobility justice are challenges that exist in the communicative and virtual spheres as much as they do in the physical sphere (Shaw and Hesse, 2010).

The mobilities paradigm represents the intersection between transport and the social sciences (Sheller and Urry, 2006; Grieco and Urry, 2011) and this study is firmly situated within that paradigm. The mobilities of participatory processes themselves must also be considered, particularly when the structure and organisation of those processes further reinforce transport related social exclusion. Those processes that seek to achieve mobility justice and sustainable mobility will need to exist within multiple physical, communicative and virtual spheres if they are to achieve their goals.

2.2.4 The 'twin transition'

Within any discussion of sustainable mobility, issues of uneven mobility, mobility rights and mobility justice are also critically important (Sheller, 2011). Sheller (2011) identifies a 'twin transition' towards sustainability and mobility justice as being a key challenge for society in the face of future threats (such as global warming, peak oil, and economic and political turbulence). This twin transition is necessary because the current dominance of automobility is harmful for both sustainability and social inclusion (Sheller, 2011). Uneven access to mobility is gendered, racialised, class-based, and ageist (Sheller, 2011) and can lead to transport related social exclusion. A socially inclusive form of sustainable mobility cannot be achieved therefore without tackling transport related social exclusion (and its causes), which in turn requires less reliance on automobility which privileges those who can afford and/or desire to access the private car. However, Sheller (2011, p.293) takes this even further by "recognising that not [only] the built environment, but also the cultural landscape is deeply enlaced with practices of driving and dispositions toward automobility."

2.2.5 Achieving SISM

Achieving SISM will require policies and measures which seek not only to provide physical alternatives to automobility but also to provide inclusive communicative and virtual alternatives (such as investment in broadband networks and the availability of low-cost smart technologies). "Human mobilities are inseparable from climate change, resource extraction and urban resilience" (Sheller, 2018, p.2) Whilst there is a role for planning processes in achieving SISM, it cannot do so without proper consideration of technological developments and the destabilising effect of climate change, the need for greater security and political turbulence (Sheller, 2011). Eizenberg and Jabareen (2017, p.1) conceptualised this as 'social sustainability' and established a conceptual framework "comprised of four interrelated concepts of socially oriented practices:" equity (including parity of participation), safety, eco-prosumption, and urban forms. Within this

conceptualisation of SISM, there is an important role for participatory processes that "promotes substantive public involvement in the production of space" (Eizenberg and Jabareen, 2017, p.1).

Dempsey *et al.* (2011, p.291) identified important non-physical factors in achieving social sustainability which amongst others included: active community organisations, community cohesion, education and training, participation and local democracy, social capital, and social justice. The equity and justice of these factors will ultimately reflect the inclusivity of both the participatory processes that exist within communities and the sustainability outcomes that result from them. Within the concepts of equity and justice as part of social sustainability, Jabareen (2006) recognised the importance of promoting the capabilities of individual and diverse members of the community within participatory governance. When considering this in the context of sustainable mobility, individual experiences of place, mobility and accessibility from members of the community (and visitors) are important capabilities to be promoted within participatory transport planning.

2.2.6 Transport Planning for SISM

It is important that transport planning takes an approach towards the promotion of SISM which takes account of every citizen's mobility needs. In the 2011 census, 25.8% of households in England did not have access to a car. When looking at urban areas in particular this figure is much higher (46.1% in Liverpool, 44.5% in Manchester, 41.7% in Newcastle, 41.6% in Greater London, 35.8% in Birmingham, and 32.1% in Leeds) (ONS, 2012). 42% of the whole UK population (including children) cannot drive and are therefore dependent on walking, cycling, public transport or lifts from others in order to travel (SDC, 2011). One of the biggest causes of transport related social exclusion is the over dependency on automobility, and the knock-on impact this has on non-car households. Car dependency has made many of the alternatives less viable (SDC, 2011) and this dependency is reinforced by the habitual nature of travel practices (Schwanen *et al.*, 2012). In the UK alone the estimated cost to society of car dependency in English urban areas is £38-49 billion (SDC, 2011). Therefore, it can be argued

that existing conventional approaches to transport planning and policy making are insufficient to tackle car dependency and the potential exclusion of the significant proportion of non-car owners.

Sheller (2011) argues that transport planning will also need to grapple with the wider socio-technological transformations (such as mobile communications and the 'internet of things') which will continue to challenge traditional 19th and 20th Century mobility infrastructures, if it wishes to promote SISM (Sheller, 2011). Achieving SISM is also vital to other areas of economic and social policy from housing and employment to health and education (Lucas and Jones, 2012).

2.2.7 The role of public participation in moving 'towards' SISM

SISM cannot become a reality without active participation and engagement between transport planning authorities, the public and other stakeholders (Banister, 2008). Amongst any processes of engagement it is important that those transport planning processes are socially inclusive, particularly in terms of the practices and competences involved (Hodgson and Turner, 2003). Similarly, studies exploring the interactions between public participants and the formal participatory approaches they engage in are nothing new (Bickerstaff et al, 2002; Bickerstaff and Walker, 2005; McAndrews and Marcus, 2015).

Keblowski *et al.* (2016) consider the spatial and participatory dimensions of mobility justice by arguing that transport policies, plans and practices should be linked to Lefebvre's (1968) concept of a 'right to the city' including the "opening of transport policy-making to bottom-up groups" (Keblowski *et al.,* 2016). This demonstrates the importance of equitable and just access to participatory governance and decision-making process in the achievement of mobility justice. However good intentions on the part of local government and planning professionals hasn't necessarily translated into successful participatory practice and this is as true of UK participatory governance as it is of other Western democracies (Keblowski *et al.,* 2016).

2.3 An Overview of Participatory Transport Planning

2.3.1 Local Transport Planning in the UK

In the late 1990s the New Labour Government implemented significant reforms to the local transport planning system, first through its 1998 Transport White Paper, and then through the Transport Act 2000. This led to the creation in England (outside of London) of Local Transport Plans (LTPs) (see Elvy, 2014 for a more detailed review of LTPs). One limitation of the first two generation of LTPs was the very prescriptive requirements specified by central government in terms of objectives, indicators and targets (May, 2013). The Local Transport Act 2008 addressed this by introducing more flexibility into subsequent generations of LTPs (DfT, 2009, May, 2013). At the same time the Department for Transport (DfT) removed the need for transport authorities to formally submit their plans to central government and instead gave them responsibility for monitoring the quality of their own plans (DfT, 2009; DfT, 2011). However, the DfT (2009) continued to support local authorities through the provision of LTP guidance. May (2013) argues that LTP3 was a high point in the development of the UK transport planning process over the past 30 years. The 2011 sustainable local transport white paper shifted the policy focus towards economic growth and carbon reduction, simplified available funding streams, and promoted the generation of local solutions to local problems (DfT, 2011). The reform of wider planning guidance into one National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) (DCLG, 2012) abandoned long standing planning guidance for the integration of land use and transport (May, 2013) in favour of a more streamlined approach. This included an undertaking that "development should only be prevented or refused on transport grounds where the residual cumulative impacts of development are severe" (DCLG, 2012, p.10). However, despite these reforms the Coalition and Conservative government policies (and austerity) created a vacuum where no guidance or support was provided (May, 2013). The absence of guidance led some local authorities to try and maintain good practice from previous guidance

through their own supplementary planning documents as part of the local development framework (e.g. Leeds City Council's SPD on travel plans).

2.3.2 The political agendas of public participation in the UK

The recent policy emphasis for greater public participation in the UK can be traced from the Skeffington (1969) report on people in planning and then through community development initiatives of the 1970s (Cockburn, 1977) and the consumer orientation of the 1980s (Keat, Whiteley and Abercrombie, 1994) (Barnes et al, 2003; Baker et al, 2007). A massive expansion of public participation was driven by the reform agenda of the New Labour government after coming to power in 1997, which promised devolution, freedom of information and open government (Davidson and Elstub, 2013).

New Labour's reform agenda was influenced ideologically by Anthony Giddens' (1998) new social democracy or 'third way', rejecting traditional socialist rejections of capitalism in favour of a reconciliation of right-wing economic and left-wing social policies. Giddens (1998) argued for democratic renewal through a revival of civil society "that would involve wider and deeper public participation, building capacity and social capital within communities, empowering people to have a say in the way decisions and taken and services delivered" (as quoted by Gallent and Robinson, 2013, p.69). Giddens' 'third way' social democracy was built around the concept of 'collaborative governance' with its origins in Habermasian 'communicative action', which was in turn embraced by New Labour (Baker et al, 2007; Gallent and Robinson, 2013). Collaborative governance involves both a plural state with multiple interdependent actors contributing to service delivery, and a pluralistic state with multiple processes informing policy making (Osbourne, 2006). In collaborative governance power is shared across public and private realms, increasing the capacity of each to jointly implement solutions (Gallent and Robinson, 2013). However, in practice power relationships are unequal and uneven, remain open to abuse, and are often viewed as pivotal to conflict and 'adversarialism' that blights local government (Gallent and Robinson, 2003). These relationships are often dealt with

inadequately and are treated as antagonism rather than agonism which looks to embrace such differences in participative governance (Ploger, 2004).

New Labour's participatory reform agenda was driven using initiatives such as Local Strategic Partnerships, Sure Start and the New Deal for Communities (Barnes et al, 2007). Supporting legal provisions for public participation and open government were set out in the Local Government Act 2000, the Freedom of Information Act 2000, and the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004. Efforts to promote public participation continued into the later years of the New Labour government through the promotion of 'double devolution' beyond town halls and into communities, the Sustainable Communities Act 2007, and the 'Communities in Control' white paper in 2008 (Taylor, 2007; Pollock and Sharp, 2012). This coincided with the 2008 'duty to involve' which was downgraded and replaced by the Coalition government with the 'duty to consult' in 2011 (DCLG, 2008; DCLG, 2011; Involve, 2012).

The Conservative and Liberal Democrat Coalition Government (2010-2015) was equally interested in promoting its own significant reform agenda which focussed on reducing the country's fiscal deficit and promoting direct democracy. The ideological promotion of participatory governance continued with the 'Big Society' agenda, Local Enterprise Partnerships, and the Localism Act 2011 (Clarke and Cochrane, 2013). The Localism Act 2011 was perhaps one of the most radical changes implemented to town planning over the past 60 years and gave local communities the right to develop neighbourhood plans, the right to build, and the right to purchase listed community assets if offered for sale (Stokes, 2012; Parker and Street, 2018). The Coalition government also launched civil service reforms and promoted open government initiatives such as the Open Government National Action Plan (Cabinet Office, 2013) to better engage citizens in the process of government. However, all of this has taken place amongst a backdrop of significant funding cuts to all aspects of government. Successive initiatives to better engage and involve the public in government from both the Labour and Coalition administrations have arguably been strong on rhetoric but limited on substance (Davidson and Elstub, 2013). Clarke and Cochrane (2013) take this criticism further by stating that both administration's attempts at 'localism' were

anti-political, with New Labour's technocratic government replaced by the Coalition government's naive, populalist liberalism. Austerity creates further challenges for participatory governance in that these new arenas are being presented without the "resource, commitment or political will" (Clayton et al., 2016, p.724) to realise their potential. This creates a disconnect between decision makers and participants (Parker and Street, 2018).

2.3.3 The role of public participation in tackling TRSE

The last 20 years has seen an increase in participatory planning mechanisms (Baker *et al.*, 2007). As stated in an earlier review of participatory transport planning (Elvy, 2014, p.42): "whether or not public participation in local government decision making actually leads to better planning outcomes has been the subject of a much wider debate in both the planning literature in general (*cf.* Hoggett, 1995; Pratchett, 1999; Wilson, 1999; Leach and Wingfield, 1999; Barnes, 1999), and the transport planning literature in particular (*cf.* Ward, 2001, Hodgson and Turner, 2003, Bickerstaff and Walker, 2005, Dibben, 2006, Michels and de Graaf, 2010)." The problems of participatory governance previously identified in these debates remain, however, they have been recast by the opportunities and costs of renewal and greater involvement brought about by austerity and localism. Significant lessons for transport planners seeking to address TRSE can be learned from neighbourhood planning (Penny, 2017; Lord *et al.*, 2017; Parker and Street, 2018). The potential opportunities involved having more of a say in local decision making and the increasingly important role for advocacy, whilst the reported costs included disadvantaging communities without the necessary capacity to engage with such a technocratic process (Clarke and Cochrane, 2013; Parker, 2017), the additional burdens placed on participants (Parker, 2017), administrative coercion (Penny, 2017) and the de-professionalisation of planning (Lord *et al.*, 2017).

Previous academic research has suggested that groups and individuals at risk of TRSE are still marginalised within local transport planning, particularly as a result of alienation and disempowerment (Hodgson and Turner, 2003, Dibben, 2006,

Baker *et al.*, 2007, Taylor, 2007). This is despite a number of previous studies which looked at the significant benefits of the involvement of socially excluded groups (including young people, elderly people, people with disabilities, people living in rural areas, and people living in excluded council estates) in the transport decision making process (Dibben, 2006). Therefore, if socially excluded groups and individuals were given a voice through the act of participation, they could become more empowered. Empowerment through the establishment of new rules, practices and tools is critical if current weaknesses in PTPP are to be resolved (Hodgson and Turner, 2003; Rajé, 2004; Dibben, 2006; Lucas and Currie, 2011). Whilst innovative methods of public participation already exist (Lowndes *et al.*, 2001b, Lowndes and Sullivan, 2004, Batheram *et al.*, 2005) (Figure 2.2), a content analysis of LTP3s suggested that many local transport authorities still rely on more traditional methods of engagement (Elvy, 2014).

DIRECT ACTION

INNOVATIVE DELIBERATION

INNOVATIVE CONSULTATION

CUSTOMER ORIENTED/ CONSUMERIST

User management

Visioning exercise

Informal Coffee Morning

Self-help groups

Charette

Issue forum

Workshop

Service Satisfaction Survey

Complaints/ Suggestions

Shared interest forum

Petitions

Citizens Panel

Exhibition/Display
Co-option to Committee
Newsletter   Q&A Session
Alternative format document

Focus Groups

City Walk/ Field Trip

Opinion Polls

Service user forum

Market Research

TRADITIONAL/ INFORMATION PROVISION
Public Meeting/Briefing   Leaflets

Consultation Document/ Plans   Interview

Media   Internet (as a repository)

Seminar

Hotline/ Helpline

Focus Groups

Interactive web site

Citizens Jury

Household/ On-street/Self-completion Survey

Protest

Referendum

Conference

Media

Community plans/ needs analysis

User management

Area/ neighbourhood forum

Self governance

Figure 2.2: A summary of platforms and instruments used in public participation classified in order of citizen power. Instruments in italics appear more than once (adapted from Leach and Wingfield, 1999, Lowndes et al., 2001a, Bickerstaff et al., 2002, Batheram et al., 2005, Creighton, 2005)).

2.3.4 Defining 'Participation' and 'Public'

Defining the concept of 'public participation' is challenging as its meaning is highly contested and contextual (Cornwall, 2008). Often, different actors within a given participatory process will have different perceptions and expectations of what 'participation' means to them (Cornwall, 2008). Stokes (2012) argues that a lack of specificity on what participation actually means and how it can be identified is demonstrated by the interchangeability of terms such as engagement,

involvement, input which are all used as synonyms for participation. Woolrych and Sixsmith (2013) argue that this ambiguity is further clouded by a myriad of frameworks, typologies and benchmarks. Roberts (2004) summarises the broad range of perspectives towards its meaning when she describes 'participation' as being seen as potentially: developmental, educative, therapeutic, integrative, legitimating, protective of freedom, instrumental, realistic (necessary), a false notion, inefficient, politically naïve, unrealistic (in terms of time and resources required), disruptive, and even dangerous. What is clear from these definitions is that participation is very context specific and any definitions and frameworks must be sensitive to that context.

Ideologically, participation can be seen as being a dynamic and desirable aspect of modern governance situated between the two extremes of democratic theory: representative democracy and direct democracy (Roberts, 2004, Stokes, 2012). This is elaborated by Pateman (1970) who regards participation as a means of educating individuals in democratic skills and processes. However this ideology is also contested as some have argued that depending upon 'who' it is that is being educated, such an educative process can potentially be undemocratic, manipulative and exclusionary (Cooke and Kothari, 2001, Roberts, 2004, Bickerstaff and Walker, 2005). Such debates support Cornwall's (2008, p.269) assertion that it is "vital to pay closer attention to who is participating, in what and for whose benefit."

The question of who participates (as well as who is excluded and who exclude themselves) is crucial to understanding the contribution of 'public participation', especially in the context of tackling social exclusion (Barnes *et al.*, 2003). Defining the 'public' in public participation, is like defining 'participation' in that it is equally contested and contextual. The term 'public' is often used interchangeably with 'citizen', 'community' and 'civic' (Stokes, 2012). Such notions are arguably seen as social constructions formed out of a range of discourses and ideologies (Barnes *et al.*, 2003). While the 'public' might reasonably mean 'everyone'; within the context of participation, there are often different kinds of 'publics' including: individuals acting for themselves, individuals representing a wider group or organisation, individuals with specialist knowledge and skills, elected

representatives, or government officials (Stokes, 2012). Fraser (1997, p.81) highlights the existence of a 'counter public' who she defines as members of subordinated social groups who "invent and circulate counter-discourses", and "formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests and needs". The ability of these counter publics to challenge dominant norms and assumptions should be reflected upon and engaged with as part of the participatory process as a necessary pursuit of social justice (Barnes *et al.*, 2003, p.398).

2.3.5 The social impacts of participatory governance on participants

Social impacts can occur as a result of participating in transport planning processes. Some of these impacts will be central to the core of why participation is carried out or promoted in the first place. Other impacts may be more 'collateral' or even potentially unintended or undesirable consequences of carrying out participation. These impacts can be hard to quantify as they are complex, context specific and person specific, and are constantly changing in response to the processes and outcomes of public participation. Whilst there are many possible impacts which some will see as being positive, others would argue that those impacts are normative and that other negative impacts can be identified. Significant care needs to be taken for this reason whenever participatory interventions are considered for reaching out to a community, group, individuals, or on an issue. In other words, participation can become an exercise in good intentions rather than actual fulfilled promise.

Potential social impacts of public participation include democratic renewal (Barnes *et al.*, 2003), citizenship (Barnes *et al.*, 2003, Raco, 2007), social learning (Collins and Ison, 2009, Bos *et al.*, 2013), social capital (Wilson, 1997, Taylor, 2007, Gallent and Robinson, 2013), social justice (Barnes *et al.*, 2003, Cornwall, 2008), trust or a lack of trust (Hodgson and Turner, 2003, Gallent and Robinson, 2013), apathy and fatigue (Roberts, 2004, Cornwall, 2008), gatekeeping and elitism (Cooke and Kothari, 2001, Bickerstaff and Walker, 2005, Tritter and McCallum, 2006, Taylor, 2007, Cornwall, 2008, Pollock and Sharp, 2012), and

the social exclusion of non-participants (Barnes *et al.*, 2003, Tritter and McCallum, 2006). The social impacts listed provide a focus for the contextual understanding of the evolving relationship between citizens and UK participatory democracy in a contemporary political landscape dominated by an erosion of civic support (Davidson and Elstub, 2013), localism (Parker and Street, 2018), austerity (Penny, 2017) and more recently Brexit. Social impacts which can inform the productivity (or not) of social capital have been taken forward in this study such as citizenship, social learning, trust and gatekeeping (see Section 4.6.3 for an explanation of how these fed into the *a-priori* initial codes developed).

2.4 An Overview of Social Capital

Social capital is a heavily researched and contested concept with the grand theories of social capital being put forward by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam. This section provides a review of the definitions and critiques of social capital present in the literature, the forms of social capital (with a focus on typologies and scales), a consideration of how social capital can be a form of social practice, and finally how social capital has been studied in participatory governance to date.

2.4.1 Definitions and Critiques of Social Capital

Social capital can be thought of as an exchange which can act simultaneously and dynamically in positive, negative, and neutral ways. Social capital can act upon and be influenced by the other aspects outlined in this literature review: sustainable mobility, transport planning, social exclusion, and public participation (Figure *2.1*). However, an understanding of this is not yet fully realised. One potential reason why public participation is not necessarily having the desired effect in terms of engagement with socially excluded groups and individuals is the need for a better understanding of issues surrounding social capital, social networks, bridging capital and bonding capital.

The modern founding theorists of social capital were Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1995). Putnam's ideas of social capital tended to focus on the macro-scale of regions and states, whereas the work of Coleman and Bourdieu focussed instead on the micro-level of individuals, households and local communities (Schwanen *et al.*, 2015). Putnam (1995) defined social capital as the development of reciprocity, social networks and trust between people. Following the seminal work of Granovetter (1973) who acknowledged the distinction between strong ties (bonding capital) and weak ties (bridging capital) in social networks, Putnam (2000, p.23) suggested that bonding provides the dense networks by which communities 'get by', but the "sociological WD-40" provided by bridging extends the reach of networks and allows communities to 'get ahead'. However, such a binary argument has been criticised by others (*cf.* Woolcock, 1998). Portes (1998) felt that there was a logical circularity to Putnam's focus on communities and nations because he saw social capital simultaneously as a cause and effect (Section 2.4.2). Bourdieu and Coleman on the other hand saw social capital as the intangible availability of resources to individuals from their participation in a group or network (Portes, 1998). Whereas Putnam used social capital as a way of explaining the positive and productive aspects of community, Bourdieu saw social capital as a way of explaining social inequalities such as 'old boy's networks' (Gauntlett, 2011). Despite the critiques of Putnam's work, his definitions of social capital have shaped those put forward by governments and organisations such as the Office for National Statistics and the World Bank. Some criticisms of social capital go beyond the structural and into the existential, for example Adkins (2005) provides a feminist critique that social capital reinforces industrialised notions of people (particularly women) as a commodity. In that sense the more critical approach of Bourdieu (1986), Portes (1998), and Schwanen *et al.* (2015) is insightful in attempting to unpack the transactional nature of contemporary social networks, norms and resources, by considering both the positive and negative aspects of the concept.

Wilson (1997) conceptualises the positive and negative sides of social capital as 'productive' and 'unproductive' social capital. Productive social capital generates understanding, compassion, trust and an inclusive concept of community; whilst unproductive social capital is built on fear and mistrust and protecting a group's

self-interest against perceived outside threats (Wilson, 1997). Productive social capital can also be used as a beneficial source of information and solidarity (Sandefur and Laumann, 1998). Portes (1998) argued that negative forms of social capital could have an impact on those within a group (such as excess claims on group members or restrictions on personal freedoms) as well as by excluding outsiders. Other negative forms of social capital include excess cooperation (peer pressure) or resistance to social change (Paldam, 2000), or even the presence of 'unpleasant intentions' towards outsiders (Gauntlett, 2011).

There is a role for bridging capital as a potential solution to the problems of current participation in terms of power relations (which are unequal between government and individuals) and the poor specification of the roles and influences of participants (Wilson, 1997, Gallent and Robinson, 2013). Barnes *et al.* (2003, p. 379) felt that "enhanced public participation is capable of improving the quality and legitimacy of decisions… having the potential to address the 'democratic deficit' and building community capacity and social capital". Whilst Wilson (1997) argues that social capital cannot be built through social engineering by technical experts, they do acknowledge the role and opportunity for professionals to work with people to become catalysts of productive social capital. Participation which builds productive social capital is arguably of greater benefit to those who participate than by simply expanding instances and opportunities to participate (Rydin and Pennington, 2000).

The relationship between social capital and transport related social exclusion has been discussed in past research. Stanley *et al.* (2012) also found that improving a person's social capital and sense of community was likely to reduce their risk of social exclusion. However, Schwanen *et al.* (2015, p.2) argue that "the concept's full potential has not yet been realised in the context of transport and social exclusion, in part because previous research has gravitated too strongly towards understandings of social capital that are informed by the writings of Robert Putnam (2000)." Bourdieu's (1986) conceptualisation is particularly useful in the context of better understanding transport related social exclusion as he argued that social capital wasn't benign and that it could also perpetuate inequality and disadvantage (Schwanen *et al.*, 2015). There is also a call within

the wider literature for more context specific understandings of social capital to be developed, particularly in terms of a "geographical conceptualisation of social capital told as a story (or many stories) of power relations in multiple socio-spatial constructions" (Naughton, 2014, p.18).

2.4.2 Social Capital Forms and Practices

The breadth of phenomena labelled as social capital within academic literature has created a level of conceptual ambiguity that has caused some critics (*cf.* Portes, 1998) to question its usefulness (Glanville and Bienenstock, 2009). However, there are common components of social capital that have emerged: network structures, norms and values (such as trust and reciprocity), and resources (Glanville and Bienenstock, 2009; Kwon and Adler, 2014; McKeever *et al.*, 2014). There is some debate as to what constitutes a social capital resource. Bourdieu (1986) perceived these resources as other forms of capital (human, cultural and financial). Lin (2001) separated resources into material goods and symbolic goods. Kwon and Adler (2014) described the resource aspect of social capital as the ability for individuals to be able to mobilise goodwill. Essentially, the resource aspect of social capital relates to the intrinsic payoff that individuals get from investing in networks and relationships (Glanville and Bienenstock, 2009). Patulny (2004) further identified participatory actions or practices in themselves as being forms of social capital. Portes (1998) argues that an approach to social capital utilised by academics such as Putnam who considered networks and values as being indistinguishable from participatory practices (such as membership and volunteering within community groups) creates a tautology. Therefore, both Portes (1998) and Patulny (2004) argue that it is important to consider all forms of social capital as being distinct as well as studying the causality of the relationships between them (do networks and values cause social capital practices to emerge or vice versa?).

Whilst social capital is exchanged between individuals, it is arguably owned by the individuals themselves as the givers and recipients of resources and practices (Bourdieu, 1986; Patulny, 2004). Many disagreements around the key

54

components of social capital centre around the unit of analysis (micro vs macro), so those with an interest in micro scales such as individuals and small groups (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman 1988; Lin, 1999), tend to focus more on the importance of resources embedded within social networks as opposed to the presence of trust and reciprocity, whereas at the macro scale of communities and nations the opposite is the case (Glanville and Bienenstock, 2009).

However, the role of trust and reciprocity shouldn't be ignored even when studying social capital at the micro scale. Generating trust or indeed the existing presence of a lack of trust is extremely important for inclusive participatory governance. If people cannot trust decision makers or vice versa, then public participation cannot be successful. A critical way in which governments can gain the trust of people is through greater transparency and good communication (Gallent and Robinson, 2013). Conversely, a perception that individual concerns are being ignored can lead to frustration or a lack of trust (Gallent and Robinson, 2013). The issue of trust is especially important when attempting to engage with socially excluded groups and individuals as those communities can often have long-term feelings of mistrust towards government and feel that they are not listened to (Hodgson and Turner, 2003). It is therefore very important to ensure that communication is open and honest and that the commitment from government/authority towards public involvement is genuine and effective, for instance through the promotion of community-led design and involvement in the generation of solutions. Poorly implemented or tokenistic participation can arguably lead to problems in the future with trust or even apathy and fatigue if a community has been exposed to multiple attempts to engage them without clear results or outputs.

2.4.3 Social capital in participatory governance

There appears to be a gap in the literature in terms of a detailed empirical focus on social capital within PTPP, however there has been some coverage of the subject across participatory governance more broadly. Previous studies have

tended to consider the role of social capital in participatory planning processes from theoretical, literature-based or broader community-based perspectives. Gray *et al.* (2006) studied the relationship between community transport, social capital and social exclusion in rural areas and found that the strong local social capital found in tight knit communities played a significant role in enabling mobility (and social participation) for those without access to a car. Schwanen *et al.* (2015) argued that more consideration of the Janus-faced nature of social capital was required (i.e. that it can fix, entrench and create forms of inequality) when studying links between social exclusion and transport disadvantage. Osborne *et al.* (2016) considered the contributions of bonding, bridging and linking social capital to best practice urban planning outcomes through a metasearch of existing literature. One of their key findings was that there was a dominance of single method studies that brought "into question issues of methodological strength" (Osborne *et al.*, 2016, p.221). Finally, Litman (2017) studied the broader metric of community cohesion (of which social capital is a part) as a transport planning objective from the perspective of policy making in Victoria (Australia).

Other studies have gathered empirical data on the role of social capital in participatory planning processes although they tended to focus in detail on specific dimensions of social capital at the expense of others. Menzel *et al.* (2013) focused on trust in institutions as a specific dimension of social capital in the advisory groups for five on-going river-related planning processes in Switzerland using pre-post design questionnaires sent to members (around one year apart). Franceschini and Marletto (2017) used questionnaire-based interviews (four per participant spread throughout the participatory process) to explore the dynamics of social capital in the context of a single participatory planning process involving a university campus in Italy and its relationships with the local community. The local government wanted to relocate the University to the inner city in order to promote regeneration and better engagement with the local community. Franceschini and Marletto's (2017, p.6) mostly quantitative analysis of social capital identified the two dimensions of 'competence' and 'shared view' within the broader dimension of the social trust dimension of social capital. However, an acknowledged weakness of this study was that it wasn't possible to collect

detailed findings about the dimensions of reciprocity and networks within social capital using this method. Arguably the most relevant finding of Franceschini and Marletto (2017) to this thesis was that they found that carrying out the research in general and the interviews in particular generated individual learning (relating to their own social capital) and that this learning process should be built into further participatory process. This is a finding that I support in the context of my own research (Chapter 9), however the resource implications will need to be carefully considered.

2.5 Identified gaps in the literature

The literature review summarised above led to the identification of six core gaps:

- A challenge for the future is to better understand and articulate the impacts of transport policy and decision making processes on socially excluded and at risk groups and individuals (Lucas and Currie, 2011, Lucas, 2012, Lucas and Jones, 2012). This requires an approach to research which considers the role of those transport planning processes which involve and/or are likely to be beneficial to those groups and individuals.

- Sheller (2011) calls for society to move towards a 'twin transition' of sustainable mobility and mobility justice as the current dominance of auto-mobility is harmful for both sustainability and social inclusion. Therefore, any research which explores transport measures to reduce or eliminate transport related social exclusion also needs to simultaneously consider the potential role of sustainable mobility. I have conceptualised this as SISM, which includes those measures which focus on active travel, public transport and accessible travel (e.g. community transport).

- Public participation has historically tended to over-rely on a relationship between local government and the collective opinion of 'representative' groups of stakeholders (Lowndes *et al.*, 2001a; Bickerstaff *et al.*, 2002). There is a need to look at PTPP from the perspective of the individual (disaggregation) as opportunities for SISM will be context specific and will

vary both within and across those groups who are identified as being 'at risk' of transport related social exclusion (SEU, 2003, SDC, 2011).

- What appears to be absent from much literature on the debate between those who support participatory planning in principle (cf. Healey, 1997, Taylor, 2007) and those who critique it in practice (*cf.* Flyvbjerg, 1998, Bickerstaff and Walker, 2005), is an acknowledgement of a way to reconcile these issues in order to make participatory practice more productive and inclusive in terms of its outcomes and its impact on both participants and non-participants.

- There appears to be a gap in the literature in terms of a detailed empirical focus on social capital within PTPP, however there has been some coverage of the subject across participatory governance more broadly. Previous studies either focussed on broader theoretical or literature-based perspectives (cf. Gray *et al.*, 2006; Schwanen *et al.*, 2015; Osborne *et al.*, 2016 and Litman, 2017) or gathered empirical data using the narrow parameters of trust (Menzel *et al.*, 2013) or a single participatory planning process (Franceschini and Marletto, 2017).

- A more nuanced understanding of the role of social capital (Schwanen *et al.*, 2015) on the dynamic and complex relationships between TRSE, sustainable mobility, transport planning, and public participation is required. Research into social capital and public participation has tended to focus on Putnam's perspective of social capital as being a positive force at the scale of the community or nation. Instead research should focus on Bourdieu's and Coleman's perspective of social capital as being exchanged and learnt between individuals, and that isn't uniformly positive (Schwanen *et al.*, 2015). Given the conceptual ambiguity of social capital within the academic literature (Portes, 1998), there is a need to consider not only the networks and norms around which social capital 'resides' but also the distinct resources, actions and practices used by individuals to exchange social capital within those networks (Patulny, 2004).

It was not possible within the timescale of this research to focus in detail on all the gaps identified. The research gap which considered the need for SISM was taken forward as a wider framing for this study because a focus on those transport

measures (active travel, public transport and accessible transport) most likely to reduce the risk of TRSE is arguably as important as focussing on reducing automobility, particularly to those individuals who currently rely on modes other than the private car for their mobility. However, the broader call by Lucas (2012) for research into the impacts of transport policy and decision-making processes on socially excluded and at-risk groups and individuals was not taken forward in detail because it would have required a very different kind of methodological approach which considered community capital, outreach and non-participants.

The primary research gap taken forward was the need for a detailed empirical focus on social capital within ongoing PTPP, particularly as previous studies have seemingly focussed on a limited range of dimensions of social capital (primarily focussed on trust). Taking this approach provided an opportunity to see beyond the binary debates about the efficacy of participatory governance to consider the disaggregated outcomes and impacts for those individuals who currently participate in local transport decision making. This in turn also benefits policy makers who are often responsible for the creation and maintenance of PTPP. Therefore, this research provides an original contribution to knowledge by focussing more specifically on understanding the role of social capital practices (at Bourdieu's and Coleman's scale of individual relationships) in PTPP which seek to promote and provide opportunities for SISM. This enables a more explicit link to be made between the inputs (participants), processes (social capital practices) and outputs (productive cycles of social capital which create opportunities for SISM) within participatory transport planning. The six categories of social capital practices identified (Chapter 6) and the social capital cycle which considers the linkages between them (Chapter 7) represent the results of my analysis as they explain the link between those inputs, processes and outputs.

2.6 Conclusions

Six key insights have been provided in this chapter. Firstly, there is a complementary relationship or interdependency between the literatures covering

TRSE, sustainable mobility, participatory transport planning and social capital. Secondly, in order to provide a focus on sustainable mobility which is sensitive to reducing TRSE, I have conceptualised the term SISM in response to existing research on mobility justice (Sheller, 2011; 2018) and social sustainability (Dempsey *et al.*, 2011; Eizenberg and Jabareen, 2017). Thirdly, participatory transport planning in the UK now exists in a policy vacuum (May, 2013) relative to the prescriptive guidance provided by the New Labour (1997-2010) government. Initiatives to better engage the public continue to be strong on rhetoric but limited on substance (Clarke and Cochrane, 2013; Davidson and Elstub, 2013). Furthermore, these processes continue to disempower those without the competences to engage with traditional methods of participation (Hodgson and Turner, 2003). Fourthly, a contextual focus on current PTPP is required given the contemporary relationship between citizens and UK participatory democracy in a landscape dominated by an erosion of civic support (Davidson and Elstub, 2013), austerity and more recently Brexit. Fifthly, there is a role for social capital as a means of understanding and improving the effectiveness of participatory transport planning both in terms of its productive elements (Wilson, 1997) but also its role in perpetuating inequality and disadvantage (Schwanen *et al.*, 2015). Finally, current literature has considered specific elements of social capital within PTPP but has typically lacked the methodological strength that could be gained from using multiple methods, multiple case studies or multiple dimensions of social capital (Gray et al., 2006; Schwanen et al., 2015; Osborne et al., 2016; Litman, 2017).

Lessons have also been learned in the completion of this literature review that have then fed into the choices made throughout the remainder of this thesis. Firstly, there is a preoccupation in much of the planning literature with binary arguments about the efficacy of participatory governance (e.g. Habermas vs Foucault). Therefore, Chapter 3 provides a more detailed explanation of how I have considered alternative measures of effectiveness beyond empowerment, particularly social learning and the development of skills and competences. Secondly, Sheller's (2011) identification of the need for a twin transition of sustainability and mobility justice (i.e. that one isn't truly achievable without the other) means that this study focusses on active travel, public transport and

accessible transport as they are arguably more important for SISM than a preoccupation with greening automobility as they are more likely to reduce the risk of TRSE. Finally, previous research has helpfully sifted through the philosophical debates on the meaning of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; and Putnam, 1995) and provided useful insights into the common components of social capital. These are network structures, norms, values and resources (Glanville and Bienenstock, 2009; Kwon and Adler, 2014; McKeever *et al.*, 2014). Furthermore, Portes (1998) and Patulny (2004) have further identified actions and practices in themselves as being distinct forms of social capital and this study takes an approach that is inclusive of actions and practices in order to avoid creating a tautology where networks and values are indistinguishable from actions and practices (Portes, 1998). As a response to this, within the six research gaps identified in section 2.5, I have identified an important need for research which considers the role of social capital in PTPP through the combination of multiple methods of data generation, multiple case studies and multiple dimensions (forms) of social capital.

Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the theoretical framework which justifies the theories and approaches adopted in this study based on existing literature and the ontological and epistemological position of the author. In order to meet the aim of this thesis, four research questions were selected based on the gaps in the literature identified in Chapter 2:

- **What practices of social capital are present in PTPP?**
- **What role do these practices of social capital have on PTPP?**
- **How do these practices of social capital create opportunities and constraints for the promotion and provision of SISM?**
- **What are the characteristics of an effective PTPP for SISM?**

Whilst Chapter 2 provided an outline of the different perspectives of social capital as viewed by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam, Chapter 3 takes this one step further by explaining and justifying why the understanding of social capital in this study has been shaped by the strong and weak ties of Granovetter (1973), the individualism and potential oppression of Bourdieu's (1986) social capital, and Wilson's (1997) conceptualisation of productive and unproductive social capital. The more critical approach of Bourdieu (1986), Portes (1998), and Schwanen *et al.* (2015) to social capital was required to study both the positive and negative aspects of the concept.

The role of social practices is also important in this study and this chapter goes on to justify why the ontological approach taken in this study differs significantly from that of the seminal work of Elizabeth Shove *et al.* (2012) on social practice theory and instead utilises the position of Wilson and Chatterton (2011). Social capital practices in this study are therefore defined as the ways in which social capital can be exchanged through a wide range of actions, behaviours, beliefs, emotions, processes and outcomes (Bourdieu, 1986; Glanville and Bienenstock,

2009; Kwon and Adler, 2014; McKeever *et al.*, 2014; Portes, 1998; Patulny, 2004). Developing an understanding of social capital in this way (as promoted by Portes (1998) and Patulny (2004)) allows us to better understand not only the variable availability of social capital (as a resource) to individuals over time but also how they are able to make use of it or not at any given moment in time (as a practice).

Given the focus on PTPP the understanding of group dynamics adopted by this study was explained. Groups represent an important aspect of social capital because the ways in which it is generated and utilised exists in the interactions between individuals. As a result, social capital within groups/networks has the potential to transform active citizenship if more critical thought is given to its role within participatory processes (Schwanen *et al.*, 2015; Buijs *et al.*, 2017). Tuckman and Jensen's (1977) understanding of the stages of small group development is used to understand the interrelationships between the role of social capital and the temporal dimension of group dynamics (as part of the life cycle of the participatory processes observed).

This chapter also justifies the situation of this study in relation to the grand debates about participatory governance (*cf.* Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013) within the planning literature centre. This study attempted to find a middle way through these debates that was sensitive to unequal power relationships but also recognised its potential benefits for building capacity and utilising the knowledge and experience that participants can bring to transport decision making.

Finally, this chapter also considers theories of mobility justice and social sustainability and their application to this study. Sheller's (2011) identification of a need for a 'twin transition' is a core theoretical position in this study because of the relationships between the current dominance of automobility and the impact that has on SISM (the term used in this study to represent the realisation of Sheller's twin transition). Eizenberg and Jabareen (2017, p.1) conceptualised this term more broadly as 'social sustainability'.

3.2 Link to research questions and methodology

The theoretical (this chapter) and analytical (Chapter 4) frameworks developed were used to provide an increasingly narrow focus (Figure *3.1*) within the cross-cutting theories (outlined in Chapter 2) of social capital, social practice, group dynamics, mobility justice and sustainable mobility. This began with the rationale and literature review (Chapters 1 and 2) and through the iterative process of constructivist grounded theoretical analysis (Chapters 3-9) ended with a set of lessons learned (Chapter 9).
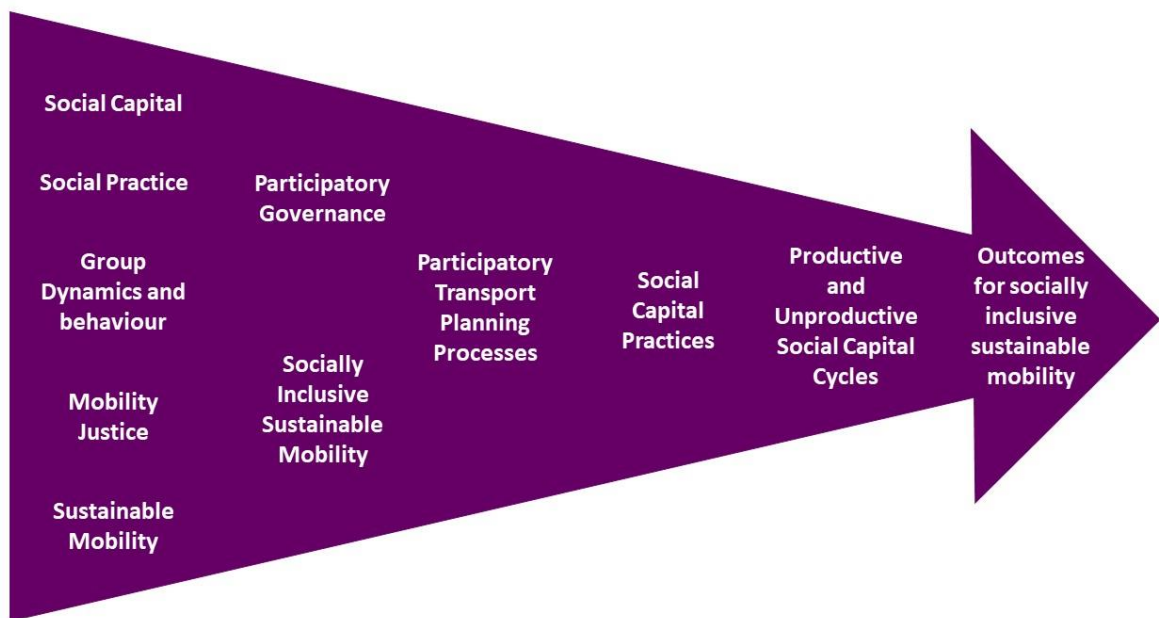
Figure 3.1: Narrowing the focus of study from overarching theories to the context specific practices, processes and outcomes

The rest of this chapter will consider the justification for the positions taken in this study in relation to the relevant theories and methodological approaches considered.

3.3 Application of social capital theories in this study

The literature review in Chapter 2 provided an outline of the different perspectives of social capital as viewed by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam. Lin (1999) provided a particularly useful comparison of the differences and similarities between them. An understanding of social capital in this study has been shaped by the strong and weak ties of Granovetter (1973), the individualism and potential oppression of Bourdieu's (1986) social capital, and Wilson's (1997) conceptualisation of productive and unproductive social capital. Bourdieu's (1986) forms of capital has been particularly influential here because of his belief that social capital is the intangible availability of resources to individuals from their participation in a group or network (Portes, 1998) through "more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.119).

Bourdieu's (1986) theory of social capital is rooted in his interest in understanding class and social disadvantage. The concept is inseparable from his broader conceptualisation of multiple forms of capital (cultural, social and economic), field and habitus (Bourdieu, 1984; Schwanen *et al.*, 2015). Bourdieu's (1984) concept of field relates to multi-dimensional space and the position of actors within it. In other words, field relates to social structures and networks. Habitus on the other hand conceptualises the patterns and norms experienced by individuals as a result of socialisation and past experiences through perception, thought, and action (Bourdieu, 1984; 1989). Bourdieu's (1989) constructivist understanding of what he termed social structure and social class is extremely important in this study; it is impossible to gain a nuanced understanding of the social capital available to and utilised by individuals without also understanding the field (participatory planning) and habitus (lived experiences) in which that social capital is exchanged.

Whilst this study accepts the criticisms of social capital as a concept because of its ability to treat people themselves as a financial commodity (Adkins, 2005), it

is the way in which people utilise their resources and access to networks that represents the commodity being studied. However as indicated in Bourdieu's (1986) work it is also important to note that the social capital available to an individual, can like any other form of capital perpetuate or alleviate inequality (Gauntlett, 2011). The more critical approach of Bourdieu (1986), Portes (1998), and Schwanen *et al.* (2015) to social capital is used in this study because it is insightful in attempting to unpack the transactional nature of contemporary social networks, norms and resources, by considering both the positive and negative aspects of the concept. Schwanen *et al.* (2015) further situates their perspective on social capital within the context of transport related social exclusion, which SISM attempts to address. The most important distinction between social capital as defined by Bourdieu (1986) and Putnam (1995) whose definition is used more frequently, is that Bourdieu saw social capital as being the property of individuals within groups and networks whereas Putnam saw social capital as being the property of the groups themselves. As Claridge (2015) points out, this distinction has meant that Bourdieu has been influential to research that considers "the links between micro-level networks and positive individual outcomes".

This study of PTPP focusses on exchanges of social capital rather than power imbalances because there is a role for bridging social capital as a potential solution to the unequal power relations that exist between government and individuals in current participatory planning practice (Bickerstaff and Walker, 2005). A better understanding and utilisation of bridging social capital is also used in this study to analyse the poor specification of the roles and influences of participants in current PTPP (Wilson, 1997, Gallent and Robinson, 2013).

Chapter 2 also highlighted the way in which social capital is exchanged between individuals but is also owned by individuals as the givers and recipients of social capital resources and practices (Bourdieu, 1986; Patulny, 2004). Many disagreements around the key components of social capital in the literature centre around the unit of analysis (micro vs macro). As with other academics who expressed an interest in micro scales such as individuals and small groups (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Lin, 1999), this study focuses more on the

importance of resources embedded within social networks (PTPP) and less on the more macro considerations of trust and reciprocity within society as a whole. However, that remains a factor which influences the individuals who get involved in PTPP, particularly when the politics and activism of individual participants are considered.

3.4 Application of social practice theories in this study

Progression towards the realisation of Sheller's twin transition of mobility justice and sustainable mobility (conceptualised here as SISM) cannot be achieved without an acknowledgement of the role of social practices. Whilst the ontological approach taken in this study differs significantly from Shove *et al. (2012)* (in terms of an understanding of what social practices are and how they are possessed by individual actors), both of us are in agreement that "policy makers need to intervene in the dynamics of practice if they are to have any chance of promoting healthier, more sustainable ways of life," (Shove *et al.*, 2012, p19) including SISM. My early theoretical position around the concept of individuals and their actions more closely mirrored Bourdieu's (1986) habitus, field and forms of capital. However, structuration theory (Giddens, 1984) (i.e. the relationship between structures of rules and meanings and human agency) and social practice theory (Shove *et al., 2012)* are still relevant to this study. There appears to be a contradiction between their work as compared to my own research in that I value human agency as a form of capital that individual agents can gain and use as they see fit.

In attempting to understand the role of social capital in PTPP, one must consider the social practices which reveal the exchanges of social capital within those processes. I decided to take a more individual-scale approach to meanings of practices than those outlined in the social practice theory of Shove *et al.* (2012). In order to reconcile this, the position of Wilson and Chatterton (2011) is adopted in this study as they considered social practice as "a pragmatic integration which

regards both 'behaviour' and 'performance-as-practice' as equivalent to 'observable action'" (Cairns *et al.*, 2014, p109). This is particularly well articulated by Cairns *et al.* (2014, pp109-110) who highlight that a focus on practices leads to a consideration of the role policy makers might play in influencing "the distribution and circulation of materials, competences and meanings" (Shove *et al.*, 2012, p163). Social capital practices in this study are therefore defined as the ways in which social capital can be exchanged through a wide range of actions, behaviours, beliefs, emotions, processes and outcomes. Developing an understanding of social capital in this way allows us to better understand not only the variable availability of social capital (as a resource) to individuals over time but also how they are able to make use of it or not at any given moment in time (as a practice).

3.5 Application of group dynamics theories in this study

Group dynamics are "the influential actions, processes, and changes that occur within and between groups" (Forsyth, 2014, p.2). For the purposes of this study the term 'group' represents the case study participatory processes. However, within those processes there are also smaller sub-groups (CHAPTER 6). The groups observed in this study have not only been observed from the perspective of outcomes and effectiveness, but also from the perspective of the "relationship interactions" present (Forsyth, 2014, p.8). Relationships are therefore used in this study as a means of describing the social connections between individuals both within and outside of the case study processes. Forsyth (2014, p.11) provides a typology of the characteristics of groups that is helpful in the context of this study. These include (Forsyth, 2014, p.11):

- **Interactions** – Groups create, organise and sustain relationships and interactions among its members
- **Goals** – Groups facilitate the achievement of the aims and outcomes of its members

- **Interdependence** – Group members depend on each other in that each member influences and is influenced by other members
- **Structure** – Groups are organised with everyone connected to others in a pattern of relationships, roles and norms.
- **Cohesion** – Groups unite members in a bonded network of interpersonal relations recognised by members of the group and outsiders

The scientific study of group dynamics has a long history and emerged as an area of interest within the social sciences from the late 1800s onwards (Forsyth, 2014). Groups represent an important aspect of social capital because the ways in which it is generated and utilised exists in the interactions between individuals. As a result, social capital within groups/networks has the potential to transform active citizenship if more critical thought is given to its role within participatory processes (Schwanen *et al.*, 2015; Buijs *et al.*, 2017). Tuckman and Jensen's (1977) understanding of the stages of small group development more closely relates to teamworking within employment, however they have also been influential in this study to understand the interrelationships between the role of social capital and the temporal dimension of group dynamics (as part of the life cycle of the participatory processes observed). Tuckman and Jensen's (1977) five stages that small groups pass through during their development are known as: forming, storming, norming, performing, and adjourning. Forsyth (2014) additionally labels these stages as representing the processes of group orientation, group conflict, group structure (e.g. cohesion and agreement), group performance (e.g. cooperation and productivity), and group dissolution (Forsyth, 2014). These stages can be represented as points on a curve and some of the case study processes in this study were clearly moving between those stages (e.g. increasing from norming to performing or declining from performing to adjourning). However, when these stages are considered in relation to the social capital cycles identified in Chapter 7, they are not necessarily a one-directional set of stages but rather current 'states' of group development in which social capital presents an opportunity to reverse the decline seen in some of the processes observed.

3.6 Application of participatory governance theories in this study

The grand debates about participatory governance within the planning literature centre on Habermasian communicative rationality versus Focauldian critiques of power. However, my own ontological position is that a middle way through these debates is required (Goodspeed, 2016). Finding a third way by making participatory governance work for government, participants and non-participants is extremely challenging because of the existence of unequal power relationships and the prevalence of academic studies which consider its successes and failures only in those terms. I would argue that any participatory process that seeks to be 'measured' in this way is doomed to failure before it even begins without a fundamental or even anarchistic shift in approach to governmental and democratic norms. Therefore, the approach adopted by this study was to consider instead what participants bring to and get out of their involvement in participatory transport planning. Certainly Arnstein's (1969) notion of citizen control was not the goal for the participants I observed. Of course, empowerment and influence over decision making were important, but so too were issues of social learning, representation and transport planning outcomes (i.e. the ends rather than the means). Participants ultimately wanted 'better' transport whether that was down to their involvement or not). This section will now explore these issues in more detail.

3.6.1 Public participation approaches and critiques

As summarised above, broad theoretical debates in academic literature surrounding public participation are divided into those who advocate more participation and those who critique the theoretical and practical effectiveness, implications and outcomes of participation (Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013). Many of these arguments are framed around existing typologies and frameworks, the most well-known and arguably most well used of which is Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation. Some have criticised Arnstein's approach and have

promoted alternative frameworks which don't just focus on empowerment but also on the quality, impact and 'social learning' of engagement (*cf.* Tritter and McCallum, 2006, Collins and Ison, 2009). Cornwall (2008) takes more of a critical realism approach and argues that in practice, normative 'scales' like those outlined above aren't often so clear cut. Participatory exercises which Arnstein (1969) would have described as 'non participation' can in some cases be empowering in terms of giving communities and people a 'voice'. Conversely, more intentionally empowering forms of participation can in some cases be totally ineffective and not actually lead to any meaningful outcomes (Cornwall, 2008). In practice, many participatory methods tend to be situated on the lower rungs of Arnstein's (1969) ladder, however there is some evidence that more involved forms of participation are rarely as effective (González *et al.*, 2008).

Empowerment is often seen a fundamental part of what participation is, and the relationship between power and participation has been the subject of significant debate. This often draws on Habermasian deliberative democracy and a collaborative planning approach on one side and Foucauldian critiques of power on the other (Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013). Those who advocate more participation often do so on the grounds that a shift towards inclusive governance has created new opportunities for people to shape and influence the spaces of power that policy and decision making now take place within (Healey, 2003; Taylor, 2007). Some of the greatest critics of public participation are those who argue that it is a 'new tyranny' which acts to create an illusion of empowerment and reinforces existing (and unjust) power structures and legitimises official discourses (Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Bickerstaff and Walker, 2005; Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013). Others are critical of participatory practice as being inefficient at fulfilling the promise of participation in theory, either by failing to adequately deal with issues of difference and conflict (Pløger, 2004) or by ignoring the 'issues' that people wish to raise and discuss within the participatory process (Leino and Laine, 2011).

3.6.2 Leadership, power and competences within participatory governance

In order to ensure that the role of unequal power relationships is not overlooked in this study, the positive and negative impacts of leadership and gatekeeping have been included as an important element of social capital practices. Hambleton's (2017) concept of new civic leadership is particularly useful in this context as it highlights the importance of strong, place-based leadership in the co-creation of progressive public policy. Whilst Hambleton identifies five realms of place-based leadership, three are particularly noticeable within participatory transport planning: political leadership, professional leadership and community leadership. Overlaps between these realms "are often experienced as conflict zones" (Hambleton, 2017, p.6) due to the unequal distribution of power, however good place-based leadership can create innovation rather than conflict. This study considers the ways in which place-based leadership acts productively or unproductively on participants (Chapter 7) and their opportunities and constraints to get involved in decision making for SISM (Chapter 8).

Leadership can also negatively impact participatory processes, particularly when those processes can become dominated by 'elite' participants or community gatekeepers (Jones, 2003; Taylor, 2007; Cornwall, 2008; Pollock and Sharp, 2012). A gatekeeper is someone who acts on behalf of a community or group of individuals but is not necessarily representative of that community or group, sometimes even behaving in a 'tyrannical' way for their own advantage (Jones, 2003). There is also a risk that the participatory process can lead to the acquisition of professionalised knowledge amongst participants rather than an incorporation of local knowledge into decision making processes (Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Bickerstaff and Walker, 2005; Tritter and McCallum, 2006; Taylor, 2007). This in turn can lead to unequal skills, practices and knowledge between those that regularly participate and those that don't (Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Mosse, 2001; Rydin, 2003). Another form of 'elite' participant are those unelected stakeholders who can set procedures and agendas and position themselves as experts and others as amateurs (Ward, 2001; Clarke and Cochrane, 2013). All of

these can act as negative impacts when trying to include socially excluded and at-risk groups in participatory initiatives, as they may not be equipped with the knowledge, skills and tools to be able to deal with other participants who may, in turn be better equipped or have more experience of participatory processes (Hodgson and Turner, 2003).

As a result of these inequalities around skills and competences, this study considers the importance of opportunities that exist within PTPP to invest in the collective capacity of participants' social capital (McAndrews and Marcus, 2015). Leyden *et al.* (2017, p.275) agree that "far more resources and training should be made part of the solution. A truly inclusive [participatory] process is time consuming and requires highly skilled facilitation." This includes attempting to remove traditional barriers to participation which include the inequality of skills and competences required to engage effectively in formal settings with politicians and professionals (Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Hodgson and Turner, 2003; Bickerstaff and Walker, 2005).

This study supports the more pragmatic approach taken to these inequalities as outlined by Taylor (2007) and Cornwall (2008) because it enables practitioners to move beyond the existential arguments about whether participatory governance is inherently good or bad (cf. Cooke and Kothari's (2001) notion of participation as a tyranny). Taylor (2007) argues that whilst the weight of evidence highlights the problematic nature of participation, not all governance spaces are elitist and subordinating and some communities have been able to operate effectively within these spaces. As a result, those communities can work both within and outside of the formalised processes to influence the design and implementation of transport schemes (McAndrews and Marcus, 2015), but only if their skills and competences enable them to do so.

3.6.3 Social learning as an alternative to citizen power

The concept of social learning is used extensively in this study because in the context of participation, Collins and Ison (2009) used the concept to reject Arnstein's (1969) traditional ladder-based approach to participation which focussed on citizen empowerment, arguing that it was insensitive to context and offered few insights into progressing in contested situations. They suggested that all aspects of information, consultation and participation can be framed within the wider context of social learning. Furthermore, this means that there is value to participants involved in processes that stop short of citizen empowerment. Collins and Ison (2009) identified social learning as a series of processes whereby people gain awareness; co-create knowledge; and change behaviours and actions. Muro and Jeffrey (2008, p.330) further identified the importance of collective and communicative learning "which may lead to a number of social outcomes, new skills and knowledge." Given the place-based focus of these participatory processes, the knowledge generated can be a form of socio-spatial learning (Natarajan, 2017). This illustrates the importance of social learning as part of effective participatory transport planning, and the role that it can have on skills and competences and influence in turn.

Whilst social learning can offer an alternative governance mechanism to citizen empowerment, particularly in situations where the collective understanding of possible solutions is poor; the consideration of stakeholders as agents willing to act in the collective interest is perhaps naive and subject to abuse by individual interests (*cf.* Ward, 2001; Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Bickerstaff and Walker, 2005). Fainstein (2014) described this phenomenon as being part of the dark side of planning. Bos *et al.* (2013) attempt to reconcile these opposing points and acknowledge that social learning (as a process) is more complex in reality than in theory and that on balance it is potentially good or bad depending upon the context and the outcomes.

Integrating the creation of different forms of knowledge present within PTPP is important because done well such knowledge creation can help to build trust, social capital and learning (Vigar, 2017). Although there is still some debate as to whether social learning leads to shared understandings and positive outcomes in practice, and therefore whether it is appropriate in all participatory contexts (Muro and Jeffrey, 2008; Bos *et al.*, 2013).

3.7 Application of mobility justice and social sustainability theories in this study – realising SISM

Chapter 2 outlined the theoretical debates around transport related social exclusion and distributive justice (cf. Jones and Lucas, 2012; Pereira et al, 2017). Participatory planning has a crucial role to play in mobility justice (Booth and Richardson, 2001; Hodgson and Turner, 2003; Milan, 2016; Eizenberg and Jabareen, 2017; and Pereira *et al.*, 2017). Within any discussion of sustainable mobility and participatory governance, issues of uneven mobility, mobility rights and mobility justice are also critically important (Sheller, 2011). Sheller (2011) identified this as a 'twin transition' because the current dominance of automobility is harmful for both sustainability and social inclusion. Eizenberg and Jabareen (2017, p.1) conceptualised this term more broadly as 'social sustainability' and identified an important role for participatory processes that "promote substantive public involvement in the production of space" (Eizenberg and Jabareen, 2017, p.1). This study adopts the term SISM as being a synonym for Sheller's twin transition and a subset of social sustainability.

Chapter 2 also identified the importance of non-physical factors in achieving social sustainability (Dempsey *et al.*, 2011) and the importance of promoting the capabilities of individual and diverse members of the community within participatory governance Jarabeen (2015). Keblowski *et al.* (2016) link this to Lefebvre's (1968) concept of a 'right to the city' through the "opening of transport policy-making to bottom-up groups". This study adopts the theoretical position of Sheller (2011) and others in identifying the importance of mobility justice to

participatory transport planning by considering opportunities for SISM and the promotion of the capabilities of participants as important outcomes for PTPP.

3.8 Conclusions

The theoretical framework outlined in this chapter provides a narrowing focus from the breadth of the literature review and the identified gaps in the literature. The positionality of this study enables consideration of the practices, processes and outcomes that tie the complementary literatures reviewed in Chapter 2. This chapter considered four key insights which illustrated how this study was taken forward, particularly in relation to existing theories of social capital, social practice, group dynamics, participatory governance, mobility justice and social sustainability.

Firstly, studies of social capital should not be undertaken without consideration of the criticisms of the concept in general (Adkins, 2005) and the over-reliance on the work of Putnam (1995). One way to reconcile these criticisms is to ensure that a more critical approach is taken which considers positive and negative aspects. As well as situating the meaning of "practices" in the context of wider social capital research through the definitions provided by Patulny (2004), it was also necessary to situate the meaning of "practices" in the context of wider social practice theory because even though this wasn't the analytical focus of this study, it is a significant body of literature that should not be overlooked.

Secondly, given that a case study approach has been adopted which looks at nine ongoing PTPP, there was also a need to situate my research in relation to the existing body of work on group dynamics. Tuckman and Jensen (1977) have been influential because of their understanding of small group development and what this can tell us in turn about the evolution of group dynamics in the case study processes observed during multiple observations and interviews.

Thirdly, whilst this research considered the grand debates about participatory governance (communicative rationality versus critiques of power), these debates do not make it any easier for those already involved in participatory governance who are dedicating time and resources into making it work for everyone involved. As a response to this challenge I argue that any participatory process that seeks to be measured solely by empowerment is ultimately doomed to failure given the restrictions placed on it by current regulations and democratic norms. The research of McCallum (2006), Cornwall (2008), Collins and Ison (2009) and Vigar (2017) provide productive alternatives with their focus on the importance of 'social learning' and different forms of embedded knowledge. However, power should not be ignored and Hambleton's (2017) research on place-based leadership is inciteful in its suggestion that good leadership can create innovation rather than conflict where power is distributed unequally. The emphasis here on 'good' leadership highlights that not all leadership is good (Jones, 2003; Taylor, 2007; Cornwall, 2008; Pollock and Sharp, 2012). This need for a critical approach to the analysis of social capital also extends to the unequal skills, practices and knowledge of participants and non-participants in local government decision making (Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Mosse, 2001; Rydin, 2003).

The final insight provided by this chapter is the way in which this study provides a link between SISM (as inspired by Sheller's (2011) twin transition and Eizenberg and Jabareen's (2017) social sustainability) and participatory governance (specifically PTPP). Keblowski *et al.* (2016) suggest that this link is found in Lefebvre's (1968) concept of a 'right to the city' through the "opening of transport policy-making to bottom-up groups".

As a result of key insights described above, the theoretical framework also highlighted the three important lessons learned from these and the choices made as a result that fed into the rest of the thesis.

Firstly, this chapter illustrated that social capital can provide a potential solution to the unequal power relations found in PTPP because it can build capacity. The importance of capacity fed into the initial coding and ultimately the categorisation

of social capital in the analysis, particularly in terms of the multi-dimensional linkages between leadership, social learning and skills and competences (Chapter 7). Granovetter's (1973) concept of strong and weak ties and Wilson's (1997) concept of productive and unproductive social capital are combined in this study to provide a multi-dimensional understanding of the relative strength and polarity of social capital exchanged by individuals within a group. This approach was a core aspect of this thesis and fed into the analysis of social capital practices (Chapter 6), the linkages between categories of social capital (Chapter 7), the opportunities, uncertainties and constraints for SISM (Chapter 8) and the lessons for effective PTPP (Chapter 9). The importance of Bourdieu (1986) in cementing my own understanding of social capital was illustrated by my own understanding of how social capital is exchanged and owned by individuals at micro scales within social networks (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Lin, 1999). This study places the analysis of those individual exchanges at the heart of an emerging understanding of the overall role of social capital in specific PTPP.

Secondly, understandings of social practice as defined by Wilson and Chatterton (2011) and Cairns et al. (2014) have been taken forward in this study because they consider behaviour and observable action as being equivalent. This is important in the analysis of social capital because in the context of understanding PTPP, we are not only interested in the social capital available to individuals but also how they make use of that resource.

Finally, Tuckman and Jensen's (1977) model of small group development was influential in the analysis of the data generated because of the way that it informed the evolutionary, cyclical and 'staged' nature of group development. From this I was able to develop a model of social capital in PTPP using the social capital cycle (Chapter 7). This is an important analytical tool because it can be used to articulate social capital as a snapshot at a single point in time, as well as a fluid cycle that fluctuates and evolves over time.

The discussions in this chapter are further developed in the following two chapters which explore the research methods (Chapter 4) and the case study selection process (Chapter 5). Chapter 4 explores the multiple stages of data generation and analysis in more detail, including a consideration of the importance of triangulation and giving due consideration to ethical issues arising from the research. Chapter 5 outlines the justification of the case study approach taken in order to understand the detailed context and the relationships and processes involved in the exchange of social capital between individuals in PTPP.

Chapter 4 Research Methods

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an explanation and rationale of the research methods adopted by this study. A review of previous studies in section 2.4.3 reveals that whilst the study of social capital in a broader planning context using qualitative methods is not novel, the combination of using multiple methods of data generation and taking a longitudinal view of multiple cases in this context is novel. Section 4.3 explains the rationale for adopting Kathy Charmaz's (2014) constructivist grounded theoretical approach to data generation and analysis. This approach combines flexibility and rigour in order to generate data and construct meaning through a reflexive and iterative process of coding, memo writing, constant comparison and theoretical sampling. Section 4.4 provides an explanation and rationale for the approach to data generation using participant observation triangulated with follow up interviews. This included a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses and how these were controlled for in this study. Section 4.5 explains the practical considerations of how the generated data was organised using research diaries, audio recordings, transcriptions and Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (specifically NVivo). Section 4.6 provides a detailed explanation of the analytical framework adopted including: the role of reflexivity, triangulation of coding, the development of a-priori and organic codes, focused coding, analytical memo writing, and categorisation (which leads to theoretical saturation). Finally, section 4.7 provides a summary of the important ethical considerations in this study and how these were dealt with during data generation and analysis.

4.2 Rationale for the approach towards the study of social capital

This section outlines the rationale for the methodological approach taken in order to observe the role of social capital in the context of PTPP. Osborne et al (2016) provide a useful review of contributions of social capital to best practice urban planning outcomes from 56 academic journal articles from across the urban studies literature, of which 16 used qualitative methods and 3 used mixed methods. Therefore, the study of social capital in situ using qualitative methods is certainly not a new or novel approach.

When used as part of a constructivist-interpretivist understanding of how social capital is constructed, qualitative methods can provide a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of social capital in practice (Carpenter *et al.*, 2004; Osborne *et al.*, 2016; Soulard *et al.*, 2018). Furthermore Osborne *et al.* (2016, p.218) argued that using a single method alone "could inhibit the progress of empirical and theoretical understandings of how the construct operates in practice." This is a position that is also taken in this study where participant observations and follow up interviews have been used to gain insights into social capital from multiple perspectives. The advantages of this approach (particularly in terms of the validity of the research findings) are outlined in more detail later in the chapter; however, the most significant constraint for developing a broader understanding of social capital within participatory transport planning is the lack of generalisability and the need to focus on a small number of case study processes. However, a broader review of the PTPP used by local authorities was carried out prior to this study which fed into the case study selection in Chapter 5 and provides some wider context (Elvy, 2014).

Participant observation has been used in previous research to analyse social capital in a general community context (Svendsen, 2006 (who also used interviews); Meijer and Syssner, 2017), as well as in the context of environmental

(Floress *et al.*, 2011, Hewlett and Edwards, 2013) and urban planning (Crawford *et al.*, 2008). This approach was selected in order to understand social capital practices and their role on the case study processes *in situ*. Interviews have also been used in previous research to analyse social capital in multiple contexts including: social networks and entrepreneurship (Mckeever et al, 2014), tourism strategic planning (Soulard *et al.*, 2018) informal community planning (Meijer and Syssner, 2017), and mobility and social exclusion (Stanley *et al.*, 2018). Each of them contrasted slightly with the methodological approach taken in this study:

- Svendsen (2006) predominantly used an open interview technique to assess the role of social networks and trust in a small Danish community but didn't consider multiple cases
- Mckeever et al (2014) similarly focussed on one case study although they were able to compare individual participants
- Meijer and Syssner (2017) undertook field visits to a wide variety of informal planning processes in the Netherlands and Sweden although they don't appear to have taken a longitudinal view of these processes and how they evolved over time
- Soulard *et al.* (2018) used telephone interviews that didn't benefit from the benefits of co-presence during more open and conversational interviews. However, they adopted a rigorous approach to triangulation
- Stanley *et al.* (2018) referred to the results of an earlier research project investigating transport disadvantage, social exclusion and wellbeing. This meant that social capital was only a small part of a much larger research project

Therefore, there was an opportunity to take the strongest elements of the study of social capital in participatory planning and combine them. This included using multiple data generation methods, using triangulation, and using multiple case studies. This approach was selected in this study in order to understand social capital practices and their role on the case study processes from the perspective of the individual participants themselves.

4.3 Using a constructivist grounded theoretical approach in the generation and analysis of data: a rationale

Methods have no intrinsic value without specifying ways of seeing (ontology), ways of knowing (epistemology) and the specific research questions you wish to answer (Silverman, 2011; Mason, 2002). This study uses a constructivist ontology and interpretivist epistemology. Within this broader constructivist-interpretivist qualitative tradition, a constructivist grounded theoretical approach as outlined by Kathy Charmaz (2014) has been adopted. This approach was chosen for its acknowledgement of multiple constructions of reality combined with a flexible yet rigorous approach to qualitative research and analysis. All grounded theory is united by the principles of memo writing, constant comparison, theoretical sampling and theory building; however, where this approach differs from Classical and Straussian grounded theory is in the use of literature throughout the study (to inform rather than direct inquiry), in its underlying philosophy (constructivism) and in its open-ended coding framework (Kenny and Fourie, 2015). Therefore, other grounded theoretical traditions were rejected on the basis that they did not match with my own ontological and epistemological position, and that they were less flexible and accepting of the role of the researcher and their pre-existing knowledge and perceptions.

In constructivist grounded theory, data is generated rather than collected because it is not possible to passively gain information about people and their interactions without constructing knowledge and meaning from our own positionality as human beings (Mason, 2002). The simultaneous and cyclical (non-linear) nature of data generation and analysis within grounded theory, also known as the constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2014), allows for a reflexive and iterative approach to be taken, whereby initial analysis of data generated can be fed into subsequent cycles of data generation, triangulation and analysis (Figure *4.1*). Such iterations and reflections continue until such time as the data generated no longer yields new categorisation and theoretical development (known as theoretical saturation).
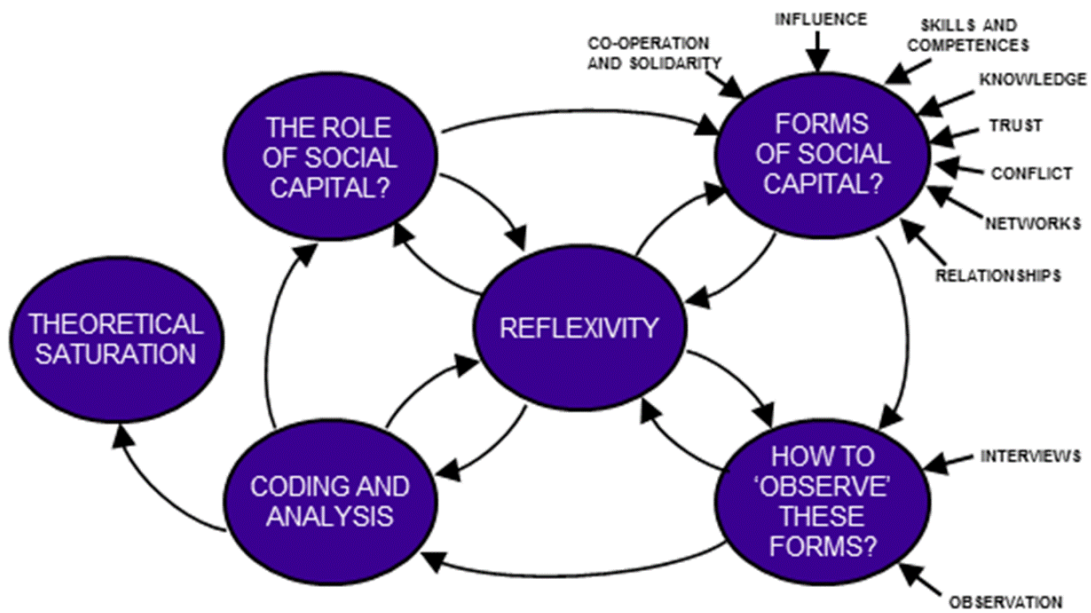
Figure 4.1: Outline of the constructivist grounded theoretical framework used in the data generation and analysis of this study

4.4 The data generation process

In order to generate data on the role of social capital in the PTPP being explored in Leeds, Leicester and Milton Keynes (see chapter 5 for an outline of how they were selected), two approaches were identified: participant observation of ongoing processes which related to the provision of SISM, and the triangulation of the data generated through follow up interviews of individuals involved in each process. A more detailed explanation of how and why these approaches have been used is outlined below.

4.4.1 Reflexivity

Reflexivity of my own positionality was important both at the outset (in terms of my prior knowledge and perceptions and in terms of how I presented myself to other participants) and on an ongoing basis during the data generation process.

My prior knowledge and perceptions of the issues around social capital, mobility justice, TRSE and PTPP were largely limited to my awareness of the mobilities paradigm and wider social issues from my MSc in Transport Planning and subsequent adoption of that material in my teaching to Geography Undergraduates before embarking on a PhD in 2013. However, my experience and awareness of issues around sustainable mobility and transport equity more generally extended back 20 years throughout my academic and professional careers to date.

My prior knowledge and perception of the study areas selected was variable. I have been visiting the centre of Milton Keynes and Leeds for retail/holidays since my childhood, and those visits had become more frequent in recent years as I had friends living in Milton Keynes from 2011-2018 and had been visiting Leeds for my MSc from 2009-2012. I also have an academic interest in Milton Keynes because I am very passionate about the history of town and country planning in the UK (particularly garden cities and post-war new towns). Leicester on the other hand was a city that I had never visited before embarking upon this study.

When introducing myself to individual participants and case study processes I presented myself as a PhD student that was interested in what individual participants brought to and got out of getting involved in PTPP. I used this more general terminology rather than 'social capital' as I felt that not everyone would be aware of its meaning. I was also open when questioned about my own interest in better active travel and public transport as a 'timid cyclist' and non-car owner/driver as well as my own political positionality as a non-affiliated social democrat, although this latter point only tended to come up in conversation in the follow up interviews.

Further consideration of reflexivity within this study is given later in the chapter in relation to analysis (Section 4.6.1) and ethics (Section 4.7).

4.4.2 Participant Observation

Qualitative methods including participant observation have been used in the context of previous research into participatory planning processes (cf. Barnes *et al.*, 2004; Brownill and Carpenter, 2007; Pollock and Sharp, 2012; Legacy, 2016; Moore and Elliott, 2016; and Shin and Lee, 2017). It is important to acknowledge that participant observation is a complex and challenging method of data generation with strengths and weaknesses and an extensive discussion of these can be found in academic literature.

As a constructivist-interpretivist grounded theoretical approach was taken to the generation and analysis of the data in this study, it was important to consider the ways in which the individuals involved in the processes being studied constructed their own realities and experiences. In taking this approach it could be suggested that ways of knowing and learning are embedded in real life situations (Charmaz, 2014). Therefore, as the focus of this research was on participatory transport planning and what individuals brought to and received from those processes, a participant observation method was chosen to focus the data generation firmly on the involvement of individuals and the evolution of the processes over multiple gatherings. This involved attending relevant meetings and forums in person on an ongoing basis until there was a natural conclusion to the processes being studied and/or theoretical saturation was reached in the generation and analysis of the data for each case study process.

One of the principle strengths of participant observation is that it enables social phenomena to be studied in a contextualised environment where the observer is immersed into a group or process over a period of time (Bryman, 2008; Silverman, 2011). This can allow for a greater depth and complexity in terms of the data generated, because retrospective accounts cannot fully report or reconstruct the dynamics of a setting or process from multiple perspectives in the way that participant observation can (Mason, 2002). Participant observation

therefore lends itself to studies where there is a specific focus on explaining the events and narratives that shape the contexts or processes themselves. Another strength is that it enables the researcher to focus on not just what participants say but more importantly what they do, including the mundane and implicit details of everyday social situations that may otherwise be missed or taken for granted using other methods of data generation (Bryman, 2008; Silverman, 2011).

Participant observation as a method also has some underlying weaknesses that must be controlled for. Reflexivity plays an important role in controlling for those weaknesses and it is certainly compatible with participant observation in that the researcher and their role in the phenomena being studied can be discussed and analysed (Mason, 2002). It is useful to consider the flexibility of the researcher's position on the participant-observer continuum in the participatory process being studied (Bryman, 2008). For instance, it is not always desirable or practical to act entirely as a passive observer in certain situations, nor is it practical or appropriate to act as a full participant in other situations.

Reflexivity allows the researcher to consider the positionality, impact and role of their participation. However, whilst the researcher might gain useful insights from a shared experience, those insights won't necessarily match the perspectives of others involved. A reflexive researcher must be aware of this by considering how different 'voices' are represented in the data (Mason, 2002) and take care not to privilege some voices (including their own) over others. Secondly, there is a risk that participant observers can 'go native'. This can occur when researchers become so emotionally invested in the phenomena, they are observing that they can lose their sense of being a researcher (Bryman, 2008). Finally, the observation itself may have an impact on individual participants' behaviour, although typically repeated observations tend to shift this dynamic so that people tend to be more comfortable being themselves over time as a direct relationship develops between the observer and other participants (Bryman, 2008). This was certainly the case in this study where individuals tended to be more responsive and open once I had attended each process multiple times. When writing

analytical memos immediately after each of the participant observations, I made a point to reflect upon my own role and positionality in each situation.

The data generated from these participant observations was used to inform all of the research questions in this study and to gain an understanding of the overarching narrative of each case study process and the city they were based in. The participant observations informed an emerging understanding of the social capital practices present (research question 1) and their role in the processes being observed (research question 2). Theoretical sampling was then used to develop the emerging categories in the data generated which in turn began to reveal the contextual links between social capital in these processes and an understanding of the opportunities and constraints for SISM that occurred as a result (research question 3). Finally, an experientially based set of potential lessons for effective participatory transport planning emerged from the data generated (research question 4).

In order for the observations to not overly intrude the process itself, field notes were taken without the use of electronic recordings (Figure *4.2*). This involved writing notes into a research diary at the time about the processes that were being observed. These notes were then coded for evidence of social capital practices based on a-priori and organic initial codes (Section 4.6.3). Additionally, some key general elements included in the field notes were (Silverman, 2011, Charmaz, 2014): who was present and what their roles were in the process (actors and actions in context); the format and seating arrangements (every observation started with a sketch diagram); what people were doing (individually and collectively); significant processes in that setting; what assumptions people were making; what participants defined as interesting or problematic; and what language was being used. Initial reflections were written up as memos immediately following the observation and included anecdotes, observations, lessons, reflections, justifications; and a progressive focus on key analytic ideas, codes and categories which were emerging from data already generated. These memos included discussions of key events and incidents and the relationship with emerging initial codes (Figure *4.3*).

Figure 4.2: An extract from one of the research diaries showing field notes taken during a participant observation

Figure 4.3: An extract from a research diary showing some initial reflections (memos) taken immediately after a participant observation

The data generation for the participant observations took place between June 2015 and October 2016 and involved attending 35 meetings and events across the nine case study processes (Table *4.1*).

Table 4.1: Participant observation schedule June 2015-October 2016

Case Study	Participatory mechanism	Jun 15	Jul 15	Aug 15	Sep 15	Oct 15	Nov 15	Dec 15	Jan-16
Leeds	CCSM	4th		13th		13th		15th	
	CCAG		7th	4th		6th	3rd	15th	5th
	Cross Gates Forum	24th				14th			
	LDCSC					5th			18th
Leicester	Cycle City Forum	3rd			23rd				20th
	Bus User Panel	23rd			15th			8th	
Milton Keynes	DAG	18th			17th		26th		
	DAG Transport sub group		30th		24th				28th
	BUG						26th		29th

Case Study	Participatory mechanism	Feb-Mar 16	Apr-16	May-16	Jun-16	Jul-16	Aug Sep-16	Oct-16
Leeds	CCSM	**Overseas institutional visit** **No data generation undertaken**						
	CCAG		27th					
	Cross Gates Forum		20th					
	LDCSC							10th
Leicester	Cycle City Forum							
	Bus User Panel							
Milton Keynes	DAG			26th				
	DAG Transport sub group			5th				
	BUG				2nd	29th		

4.4.3 Triangulation of data generation

Establishing credibility is an important component in the overall demonstration of originality and rigour in qualitative research. In the context of data generation, the

researcher must reflexively demonstrate that the methodological approach taken was appropriate, sufficient and valid for the research questions posed (Silverman, 2011 and Mason, 2002). Given that the focus of this study on social capital, it would have been insufficient to rely entirely on participant observations as these are focussed on the researchers own reconstructions of social capital between other participants. As the constructivist paradigm values the multiple realities constructed by individuals (Golafshani, 2003), gaining the additional perspectives and reconstructions from other individuals involved in the case study processes ensured that the research findings could be triangulated from the perspective of other participants as well as from those of the researcher. Using multiple methods of data generation as a form of triangulation (of method) therefore led to a more valid, nuanced construction of realities within the processes studied (Golafshani, 2003; Silverman, 2011). However different forms of data generation led to different kinds of data, so it was not a case of trying to replicate the same result as in quantitative study, but rather to act as an approach to the research questions from multiple perspectives by comparing different realities constructed from the "same event and set of interactions" (Mason, 2002, p.66).

4.4.4 Follow up interviews

Interviews have been used extensively in the context of previous research into participatory planning processes (*cf.* Ward, 2001; Barnes *et al.*, 2004; Bickerstaff and Walker, 2005; Brownill and Carpenter, 2007, Brodie *et al.*, 2011; Leino and Peltomaa, 2012; Faehnle and Tyrväinen, 2013; McAndrews and Marcus, 2015; Legacy, 2016; Boisjoly and Yengoh, 2017; and Shin and Lee, 2017). Some of the studies outlined in the literature also combined interviews with participant observations (Barnes *et al.*, 2004; Brownill and Carpenter, 2007; Legacy, 2016; and Shin and Lee, 2017). Interviews (like participant observations) are complex and challenging and an extensive discussion can be found in academic literature of the relative strengths and weaknesses of qualitative open-ended interviews as a method of data generation (cf. Silverman, 2011).

Interviews fit well with grounded theory because they are "open ended yet directed, shaped yet emergent, and paced yet unrestricted" (Charmaz, 2014, p.85). It is the flexibility and responsiveness of interviewing that allows emerging themes in the data to be explored but also gives space for new and unexpected ideas to emerge. An important strength of using qualitative open interviews is the freedom they give to potential interviewees. Interviews can produce an informal and relaxed form of conversation with a purpose which gives interviewees the freedom and control to reflect openly about their own perspectives and reconstructions of reality (Mason, 2002; Bryman, 2008). This is especially true of situations where they may want to say things in confidence that would be difficult or ethically challenging to say in front of other people (Bryman, 2008). Within these freedoms, it is important to remember the privileged role of the interviewer and that as a result the data generated is a co-production between the interviewer and interviewee (Mason, 2002; Silverman, 2011).

Another strength of interviews is that they can generate data that is not readily available in other forms of data generation such as observations. Interviews emphasise depth, nuance and complexity by focusing on individual insights, but they can also reveal a breadth and context to wider narratives that cannot be gained from observation alone (Mason, 2002; Bryman, 2008). In the context of this study there were occasions where individuals would behave antagonistically towards each other in participant observations. Interviews could then be used to gain a more in depth understanding of the relationships and personal histories in that context from the perspective of individuals involved.

Interviews also have weaknesses that need to be controlled for through careful management. Successful interviewing can depend upon the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee. Both in terms of the interviewees capacity to remember, interact and verbalise effectively; as well as the interviewer's ability to actively listen for cues, ask appropriate questions, manage the open-endedness of conversations, and adopt a reflexive approach (Mason, 2002). Some interviews and interviewees will inevitably yield more data than others and this was certainly true in this study. In reflecting upon this, it is important to consider

why interviewees are recruited and what the interviewer was attempting to gain in that context (Silverman, 2011).

A significant weakness of open-ended interviewing in particular is the significant volume of data generated and the effort required to transcribe and analyse it (Section 4.5), especially as the raw data should be provided as an unabridged transcript including distortions, pauses and overlaps (Silverman, 2011). Given the constructivist grounded theoretical approach taken, ensuring that the transcription retained as much detail as possible was vital. However, using audio recorders as the data source for this (Section 4.5.2) generated its own set of weaknesses. Within the practical constraints of this study, a lengthy process of transcription was not only unavoidable but, in some ways, desirable. Listening to the audio files, transcribing them and then coding from those transcripts enabled me to further embed myself in those experiences and the analytical questions and thoughts raised.

The follow up interviews involved the re-construction of the processes, events and incidents observed from the perspective of other participants involved and not just from the perspective of the researcher. Taking this approach achieved two related aims: firstly, it supported and enhanced the validity of the research findings (through the triangulation of data generation using different methods) and secondly it provided a richness and context that wasn't possible using participant observation alone. These accounts reinforced some aspects of the researchers own construction of events but also challenged other aspects to provide a richer interpretation and understanding of the social capital practices involved in that exchange and the role that those practices had on the processes observed.

As with the participant observations, the follow up interviews informed all four research questions in this study. When exploring the social capital practices present (research question 1) and their role in the process overall (research question 2), the interviewees provided an additional perspective, interpretation

93

and voice. This meant that similarities and differences from my own interpretations formed an important part of the triangulation process. The follow up interviews played an even greater role in informing the role social capital had on opportunities and constraints for SISM (research question 3) and lessons for PTPP (research question 4). This is because the development of context and outcomes were often quite hard to observe directly, especially as the data generation in this study occurred over a relatively short timeframe (particularly when groups only met quarterly).

Within each process, participants being observed were invited by the researcher to come and discuss this study and their reflections on the participatory process being observed in person outside of the process itself (either at the end of a meeting/event or at a later date). The participants interviewed represented a broad range of perspectives within each case study process and included formal leaders, informal leaders, activists (who were members of interest groups) and non-affiliated individual participants. Individual participants engaged in informal discussions with the researcher at the time or were subsequently invited to participate in a more formalised follow up interview. Whether individuals approached the researcher or vice versa varied from person to person. Data generated in informal discussions were included in the field notes taken during the participatory observations (Figure *4.4*).

Figure 4.4: An extract from one of the research diaries showing an example of data generated by informal discussions

Data generated through follow up interviews were recorded using an audio recorder and were transcribed independently of the earlier participant observations. 16 follow up interviews were carried out between June and November 2016 (*Table 4.2*) and were held in a variety of venues such as the meeting location, local coffee shops, at the University of Leeds or in one occasion at an individual's house. The number of interviews held were determined by a need to reach theoretical saturation (Section 4.6.7) and by practical considerations such as researcher and participant availability during June-November 2016. As a rule, I spoke to at least two participants who were present in each case study process (with the exception of the Cross Gates Forum which generated fewer insights into PTPP) although some participants interviewed attended multiple case study processes (interviewees 1, 2 and 4-6). However, the primary consideration when inviting participants for a follow up interview related to the perspectives and narratives that they were able to share.

It is not possible in this thesis to provide further clarification of the identities of individual interviewees due to a requirement to maintain anonymity. Therefore, rather than represent them by name, each interviewee was allocated a number (representing the order in which I carried out the interviews). All interviewees were asked to sign consent forms which indicated that excerpts of their transcripts would appear in the thesis but that these passages wouldn't be directly attributed to them as named individuals. Further care has been taken in reproducing those excerpts to not accidentally identify the interviewee, for instance by omitting identifiable terms and pronouns.

Table 4.2: Follow up interview schedule June 2016-November 2016

No.	Study Area	Case Study Process(es)	Interview Date (ALL 2016)
1	Milton Keynes	DAG & Transport Sub Group	21st June
2	Leicester	Bus User Panel & Cycle City Forum	30th June
3	Leeds	Cross Gates Forum	1st July
4	Leeds	CCAG & Stakeholder Group	6th July
5	Leeds	CCAG & Stakeholder Group	19th July
6	Milton Keynes	DAG & Transport Sub Group	16th August
7	Milton Keynes	BUG	16th August
8	Leeds	LDCSC	24th August
9	Leeds	LDCSC	30th August
10	Milton Keynes	BUG	1st September
11	Leicester	Bus User Panel	21st September
12	Leicester	Cycle City Forum	21st September
13	Leicester	Cycle City Forum	21st September
14	Leeds	CCAG	29th September
15	Leicester	Cycle City Forum	12th October
16	Leicester	Bus User Panel	9th November

In each interview a set of sensitising concepts were used as topics for discussion based on both the findings and coding from previous participant observations and also from the necessary focus on the research questions (Table 4.3). Alongside these sensitising concepts, the research diaries were also taken to the interviews and pre-selected extracts from them acted as prompts for further discussion about the contexts of specific events or incidents from past observations.

Table 4.3: Sensitising concepts used in the follow up interviews mapped against the research questions

Relevant Sensitising Concepts	Detailed thoughts for discussion (for the benefit of the interviewer)	Research Question			
		1	2	3	4
Governance processes/ narrative	Historical perspectives of process (of individuals and of governance relationships) - what's the narrative?	✓	✓	✓	✓
Political perspectives	Underlying political perspectives (of processes, and of transport policy in the city)	✓	✓	✓	✓
Representation of groups at risk of TRSE	Who is included/excluded in the process?	✓	✓		
	Do individuals being interviewed feel excluded by their own access to transport in general?		✓	✓	
Individual involvement	How and why they got involved in process	✓	✓		
	What do you bring to/take away from getting involved	✓	✓		
(Un)Productive social capital	Thoughts on process in terms of productive/unproductive aspects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Leadership	Leadership of self and others	✓	✓	✓	✓
Relationships	Relationships/group dynamics with insiders/outsiders (including discussion of connections and networks)	✓	✓	✓	✓
Representation within processes	Representation (including membership of process, external groups belonged to, whether they outreach into wider community) and other engagement	✓	✓	✓	✓
Social learning	Social learning from each other/past experiences	✓	✓	✓	✓
Skills and Competences	Levels of technical and procedural knowledge	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Skills and competences required to engage	✓	✓	✓	✓
Information	Discussion around information exchange	✓	✓	✓	✓
Influence	Influence on decision making (examples/challenges) and on coproduced outcomes	✓	✓	✓	✓
Triangulation	Discussion of specific 'incidents' observed	✓	✓	✓	✓

4.5 Data Organisation Process

Given the extent and complexity of the data being generated and analysed, the appropriate organisation of this data was critical. Firstly, it was necessary to meet the appropriate ethical and data protection standards as set out by the Economic and Social Research Council, White Rose Doctoral Training College and University of Leeds. Secondly, it was necessary to store and maintain the data in such a way that the data and analysis from all of the participant observations and follow up interviews could be easily retrieved and managed.

The data organisation for this study can be thought of as a three-stage process (data recording (using research diaries and audio recordings), data transcription, and data indexing and retrieval using computer aided qualitative analysis software (NVivo)) and each of these stages are outlined in more detail below. Mason (2002) outlines three different ways in which qualitative data can be sorted and analysed. Firstly, cross-sectional and categorical indexing is a consistent system for analysing data generated against a set of principles (emerging social capital practices). Secondly, non-cross-sectional data organisation involves "seeing and sorting" (Mason, 2002, p.165) the data by context or case study. Finally, diagrams and charts have been used extensively in this study as an organisational tool during the data generation and analysis in order to clarify analytical thinking (Chapters 6-8).

4.5.1 Stage 1a: Research Diaries

A hand-written research diary was used as a tool in the participant observations to capture directly both verbal and non-verbal aspects of the interactions being observed from the perspective of the researcher. It also enabled reflexive memos to be recorded as part of the data generated, which is a central part of the methodological approach taken (Mason, 2002). Using this approach enabled real-time data generation whilst attempting to minimise the disruption caused to

the process. This approach avoids putting participants on the record (if audio or video recording had been used). However, the presence of the researcher still had an influence, and this was explicitly contained within the data given my own active participation. The use of a research diary also enabled the raw data, memos and initial codes to be stored in a single, portable format where they could be cross referenced whilst in the field.

For each observation the following basic elements were recorded at the outset (Figure *4.5*): the group being observed, date, time, location, and an annotated sketch of the room layout which indicated who was present. Three different ink colours were used to separate different aspects of the field notes, black ink (or sometimes blue) was used for the raw data generated from the observations themselves, purple ink was used to denote the researchers own reflections and memos, whilst capitalisation and red ink was used to indicate the initial coding stage of the data analysis which took place as soon as possible following the observation as data generation and analysis overlap when using a constructivist grounded theoretical framework (Section 4.3).
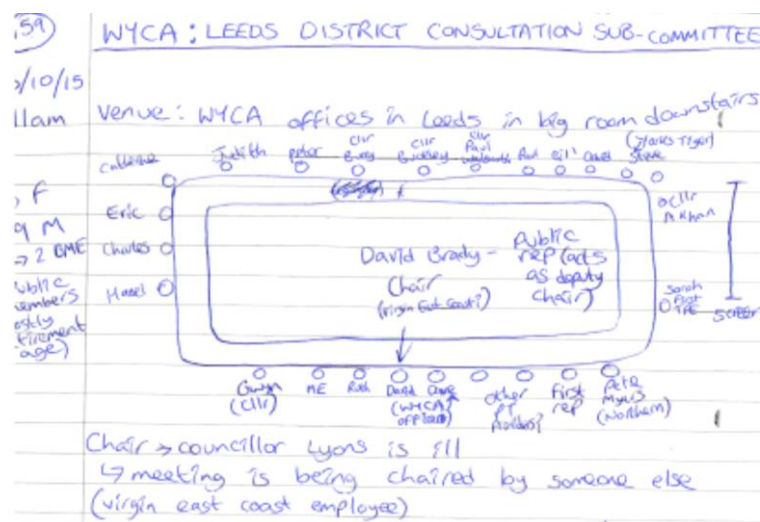
Figure 4.5: Basic elements from the start of a participant observation

4.5.2 Stage 1b: Audio recordings

A digital voice recorder with an attached microphone was used in the generation of data from the follow up interviews which generated a more complete record than field notes and memories would alone. Also, the more structured and intimate arena of one to one interviews make audio recording more appropriate than in the case of the participant observations outlined above.

Generating follow up interview data using audio recordings brought with it some significant advantages. Firstly, audio recordings reduced the risk that data was not simply invented or that it was a misrepresentation of an interviewee's perspective (Mason, 2002), particularly as the audio could be played back repeatedly. Secondly, the audio files were retained and backed up on the University's secure server which in turn opens data for further analysis and scrutiny. Thirdly, audio recording allowed me to focus on actively listening to the interviewee, which in turn allowed for further probing and exploration, rather than having to focus on extensive notetaking in situ. Finally, the replayability of the audio files also acted as an aid to researcher reflexivity in that it was possible play back my approach as the interviewer and consider my role and impact on those interactions.

There were also limitations in using audio recordings which needed to be controlled. Firstly, as a data generation method it cannot 'effectively' capture non-verbal communication and body language. As the transcriber of the audio I made a conscious effort to reflect some of the subtler aspects of the recording by not 'tidying up' the messier features of the conversation (such as deliberate pauses between talk or fragmented trains of thought) (Silverman, 2011). Secondly, interviewees could refuse to be recorded or alternatively consent but still be put off (Bryman, 2008). As it happened all interviewees consented, and the presence of the recorder didn't appear to have an adverse effect on what was said. Thirdly, equipment failure was always a risk. Good organisation was important to ensure that data wasn't lost due to a lack of space on the device or a lack of battery.

Provisions had to be in place to accommodate interviews where the duration varied significantly (typically between 1 hour and 2.5 hours). A back-up recording device (an iPhone) was carried to all interviews to accommodate total equipment failure but was never used. Finally, there were interviews where leaving the tape running longer or starting it sooner would have been beneficial in hindsight. For instance, one interviewee started talking about their experiences with the group they were involved with before I even had the chance to ask them whether they consented to the use of an audio recorder. There were also occasions when for reasons of confidentiality a post interview discussion would sometimes take place informally to clear up some points of interest.

4.5.3 Stage 2: Transcription

The second stage of the data organisation process involved transcribing the raw data recorded using the research diaries and audio recordings into Microsoft Word, ready to be imported into NVivo for coding and analysis (Section 4.5.4). Transcription is not a passive process. It is an important part of the data generation process in that it is a reflexive interpretation of the events and discussions within each participant observation or interview. This means that transcription is both a reflection of how I see the interviewees interpretations and how I see my own role and perspective in relation to the interviewee and what they were saying (Mason, 2002). An example of this can be seen in the transcribed responses to what the interviewees were saying, sometimes this response would manifest itself in the form of humour or sympathy whilst at other times I found it easier to maintain a more neutral reaction. I would also tend to write memos into the transcript which reflected upon my role or positionality with reference to specific events in either the participant observations or the interviews.

Transcription presented limitations which needed to be considered and controlled for. Firstly, transcription was extremely time consuming. For instance, the 16 follow up interviews were transcribed at a ratio of 1:6 (one minute of audio for six

minutes transcription). When multiplied over 25 hours of audio this took around 150 hours to complete before also considering the time it had previously taken to transcribe 36 participant observations. If enough funds had been available, a professional transcriber could have been used to counteract the amount of time required. However, a 'do-it-yourself' approach had significant advantages in this context in terms of allowing myself to enhance my familiarity with the data and develop a greater awareness of the analytical themes emerging. Secondly, transcription generates significant amounts of data (16 follow up interviews generated over 25 hours of audio, nearly 1 Gigabyte of data and around 500 A4 pages of transcripts). Thirdly, there was a risk of data entry error caused by misreading the research diaries, mishearing the audio files, fatigue and carelessness (Bryman, 2008). This was minimalised by ensuring that regular breaks were taken and that the recording was played back multiple times whenever there was ever any uncertainly over what was being said. However, data loss was sometimes unavoidable (in small sections) or it took longer to transcribe the data. This was caused by:

- High levels of background noise in public places
- Interruptions
- Misunderstanding audio out of context (if this was spotted during the interview clarification could be sought)

4.5.4 Stage 3: NVivo

The final stage of the data organisation process involved the cross sectional and categorical indexing of the data generated using a CAQDAS (Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software) package. There has been some debate in the literature about what constitutes a CAQDAS and indeed whether CAQDAS is a useful approach for organising and analysing qualitative data (*cf.* Bryman, 2008; Lewins and Silver, 2009; and Silver and Lewins, 2014). However, for the purposes of this study, the categorisation by Lewis and Silver (2009) is helpful. They believed that a CAQDAS package should be able to handle one or more types of qualitative data (such as text) and that it should also contain one or more

tools to manage and analyse that data (for instance tools that can search, link, code, query, annotate, and map the data). CAQDAS packages (such as NVivo) tend to exhibit key features which lend themselves to the organisation of data in code-based approaches such as the constructivist grounded theoretical approach taken in this study (Figure *4.6*).

Rapid and efficient indexing and retrieval of data (sometimes termed code and retrieve) as compared to a manual approach

Acting as a single repository for the organisation and storage of generated qualitative data and analysis

The ability to handle significant amounts of data

A greater level of transparency of the analytical process

Important features of CAQDAS
(after Bryman, 2008; Mason, 2002; and Silver and Lewins, 2014)

A mechanism for establishing relationships (links) between memos, data sources and codes

Visualisation tools (such as colour coding) to help the researcher understand patterns and connections

A place to write, store and organise analytical memos

Mapping tools to view and interrogate data at a conceptual level

Horizontal retrieval (for instance searching by code) and vertical retrieval, also known as the interactive margin approach (for instance by using the 'coding stripes' and 'coding density' functionalities in NVivo)

Figure 4.6: Important features of CAQDAS

There were significant advantages in this study of using a CAQDAS. In addition to the key features (Figure *4.6*), carrying out the final stage of data organisation and analysis in this way brought me closer to the data and the analysis in the same way that generating and transcribing all of the data previously did. Immersing myself in this way helped me to further develop a nuanced understanding of the relationships between the emerging codes and contexts.

There are also limitations of using CAQDAS to carry out qualitative analysis (Bryman, 2008; Mason, 2002; and Silver and Lewins, 2014). It cannot and should not make decisions on what to code and how to carry out the analysis. The researcher still needs to fully understand and competently implement the

analytical approach chosen. Some academics have also expressed concerns about the loss of context, proximity and sequencing when coding in a CAQDAS as this could fragment and de-contextualise the data (Bryman, 2008). This in turn would risk diluting the narrative flow of the data and needed to be guarded against carefully. Having used NVivo in this study it is also clear that there are tools and functions within CAQDAS software which can tempt the researcher to quantify qualitative data (for instance the number of times a code is found in data sources and the volume of that code in each source). Adopting such quantitative norms goes against the research design and theoretical framework in this study. Finally, investing in any new piece of software can be challenging, time consuming and costly to purchase and maintain, although in the case of NVivo it was already supported by the University.

When the time came to choose a CAQDAS package for use in this study, QSR NVivo version 10/11 was chosen for four reasons. Firstly, it was one of the existing CAQDAS packages that was both licensed and available at the University of Leeds. Secondly, recommendations from supervisors, former work colleagues and other research postgraduates suggested that using NVivo would be beneficial in this instance. Thirdly, software specific training was widely available both on campus and online and there was an opportunity to trial the software very early on in the first year of this study. Finally, it is regarded as one of the most well-known and well used CAQDAS packages and as a result it felt as if the time taken to learn it was worth the investment because of the extent of the data generated and the potential benefit of being familiar with NVivo for use in future research projects.

4.6 Analytical Framework

In order to analyse the data generated, the field notes from the participant observations, memos and informal discussions, and the audio recordings from the follow up interviews were transcribed and imported into NVivo for analysis. In

both contexts (i.e. participant observation vs. follow up interviews/discussions) it was important to consider the ways in which these techniques shaped the data being analysed. Given the varied individual and networked dimensions of social capital, the observations and interviews could reveal multiple contexts and meanings behind the analysis. A reflexive approach to data analysis was broken down into multiple (non-linear) stages: initial coding, triangulation, focussed coding, memo writing, categorisation, theoretical saturation.

4.6.1 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is an approach to qualitative analysis which makes explicit the role and influence of researchers on their research and its participants (Gentles et al, 2014). This is true of both the data generation outlined above and the data analysis discussed here. The strength of taking a reflexive approach in this context is that it enabled me to explicitly consider my role as a participant in the generation and analysis of data in this study. This is seen as an important aspect of constructivist grounded theory (*cf.* Bryant and Charmaz, 2007 and Charmaz, 2014) and required me to scrutinise both what I bring to and take away from the research process. The adoption of reflexivity within qualitative research has been widely discussed in wider academic literature and Gentles et al (2014) provide a helpful critical review of approaches to reflexivity within grounded theoretical studies.

In this study it was important to consider reflexively the preconceptions and experiences that influence my own constructions of reality as well as how that positionality influenced my approach to the research, how I dealt with and related to research participants and how I represented their 'voices' in my analysis and write up (Charmaz, 2014). This final point is particularly important as one identified weakness of reflexivity (Gentles et al, 2014) is that if it is carried out excessively, the researcher risks over-emphasizing their own voice and blocking out the voice of others. In that sense the follow up interviews were a useful tool in allowing me to consider more explicitly the voices, opinions and interpretations

of other participants. Whereas the participant observations should be considered as my words and interpretations of the processes, the follow up interviews were a shared reinterpretation between myself and the interviewee.

Analytical memos were used as a means of considering and expressing reflexivity, particularly in terms of my role and influence on how I was interpreting and analysing the data (in terms of my own use of language and application of meanings). A good example of this occurred when I considered the role of leadership within my case study processes. Typically, social capital practices that I considered to be forms of leadership were not always readily embraced as forms of leadership by those individuals when I discussed the topic at follow up interviews. An important and reflexive approach to my analysis involved considering and discussing why I saw the social capital 'practices' of individuals as forms of leadership when they themselves didn't see it that way.

4.6.2 Triangulation of coding

Triangulation is adopted as a two-stage process in this study where multiple data sources (generation) and interpretations of those sources (analysis) are used to ensure that data generation and analysis were carried out rigorously. I did not find the explicit reporting of triangulation in the data analysis of constructivist grounded theoretical studies to be widespread, however it's use has been documented by a relatively recent study in the field of psychology by Macnaughton *et al.* (2015), who chose a similar approach to the one taken here. In both Macnaughton *et al.*'s study (2015) and in my own, the triangulation of the data analysis was carried out with academic colleagues who had experience of dealing with qualitative data. It involved sharing excerpts from the transcribed field notes and interviews, along with a coding definitions sheet and then discussing as a group their interpretations of the data, both in terms of how they would code the data and to reflect on how the data had initially been coded. These discussions would either affirm previous interpretations or reveal new insights into the data and codes used. Occasionally this even led to the introduction of

new organic initial codes and where codes emerged from triangulation in this way, this was reflected upon in a memo about that code. Given the constructivist grounded theoretical approach taken, it was then possible to feed this back into subsequent stages of data generation. The two triangulation stages in this study complemented each other as the triangulation of data generation involved people directly involved in the processes concerned (through follow up interviews), whilst the triangulation of coding allowed for new meanings and interpretations to be considered from the perspective of external actors. As the generated data was a coproduction between participants and myself, it was important to acknowledge the limits of external actors understanding when the analysis was context specific. This was controlled for in the triangulation process in the sense that my academic colleagues provided suggestions relating to my approach to coding and sought to 'question' rather than 'overwrite' my own context-rich analysis.

4.6.3 Development of a-priori and organic initial codes

Initial coding is the first step in grounded theoretical analysis and involves closely reading the (transcribed) data and describing what was happening using words or phrases (codes). It involves taking a deductive approach to reading and interpreting the data which allows codes and new insights to emerge from the data itself rather than solely from the perceptions of the researcher or the participants. This flexible approach can allow us to think about the data in new ways that may not have been previously apparent. In the context of constructivist grounded theory, initial coding can help "move you toward fulfilling two criteria for completing a grounded theory analysis: fit and relevance" (Charmaz, 2014, p.133). Fit occurs when codes and categories help to clarify and explain participants experiences, whilst relevance occurs when the analytical approach provides visibility to the implicit relationships and structures present (Charmaz, 2014).

In qualitative research more generally and in constructivist grounded theoretical approaches, initial coding tends to vary by the size of the unit being coded.

Typical coding units can include (from smallest to largest) word-by-word coding, line-by-line coding and incident-by incident coding. In this study an incident-by-incident approach to initial coding was used as it is based on the tradition of constant comparative methods in grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014). Incident-by-incident initial coding was deemed to be a practical approach in this context because my field notes (from the observations) already contain a logic and a coherence in which it would not make sense to fragment them (Charmaz, 2014). The key to my initial coding approach in this study was not to get bogged down in the micro-transactions as described in each word or line of observation, but rather to consider more broadly how those 'incidents' compared with each other and fitted together into a broader understanding of both the overall 'process' being observed and the 'practices' of the individuals involved.

Initial coding that really focusses on the data itself helps you to avoid reflecting your own personal motives, fears, unresolved personal issues onto the data (Charmaz, 2014). In order to control for this risk in my own coding, the reflexive approach outlined above was important here (Section 4.6.1). I was also able to use triangulation of coding which I also discuss above (Section 4.6.2) to check my coding of participant observations against the perspectives of others involved in relevant incidents during the follow up incidents.

Charmaz's (2014) constructivist grounded theoretical approach also allows researchers to pursue the ideas emerging from these initial codes in further data generation and analysis. Constructivist grounded theoretical coding differs from traditional qualitative coding approaches (which apply preconceived codes based on existing literature and concepts) in that a more flexible open-ended approach was taken where the meanings and ideas in the data itself were of primary importance. However, constructivist grounded theory still allows for enough flexibility to be receptive to pre-existing concepts gained from the researchers own ideas and skills, including the social capital literature reviewed above. Charmaz (2014) referred to these as 'sensitising concepts'.

In this study an outline framework of 'sensitizing concepts' related to social capital (such as trust, learning, knowledge, information, and relationships) was generated from the literature and case study selection interviews and fed into the data generation process as a-priori initial codes which were then used in the analysis of the first observations (Table *4.4*). These a-priori codes were then rapidly refined and expanded upon to include organic initial codes which were reflexive of the observations and could be used to identify 'gaps and holes' for exploration in subsequent stages of data generation (Charmaz, 2014). Initial coding provides a critical link between the act of data generation and developing emergent theory to explain these data by beginning to define what is happening and considering what that means (Charmaz, 2014).

Table 4.4 Initial a-priori codes (sensitising concepts) used in this study

Initial codes (social capital practices)	Relevant literature sources (identified as of June 2015)
Agonism / Antagonism	Ploger (2004) identified the need to embrace agonism and Gauntlett (2011) acknowledged the role of likes and dislikes in social capital.
Altruism	Gallent and Robinson (2013) talked about tangible benefits for individuals in pursuing a common interest.
Co-operation	An important practice for voluntary group work (Sobel, 2002).
Favours	Social capital allows access to information and favours (Svendsen, 2006).
Influence	A benefit of social capital (Sandefur and Laumann, 1998). Warren (2001) also talked about organisational social capital as a form of political influence.
Information	Important in helping to build social capital (Rydin and Pennington, 2000).
Leadership	Krishna (2002) looks at active social capital, including the role of 'leaders' in creating bridging capital.
Learning	Social learning from action, reflection and dialogue (Wilson, 1997).
Networking	Covered extensively in the social capital literature (cf. Bourdieu, 1986; Putnam, 1995; Paldam, 2000)
Productivity	Wilson (1997) characterised social capital as productive/unproductive

Reciprocation	Covered extensively in the social capital literature (cf. Bourdieu, 1986; Putnam, 1995; Paldam, 2000)
Relationships	Importance for generating bridging capital (Gallent and Robinson, 2013)
Skills	Important in enabling people at risk of TRSE to gain access to public participation (Hodgson and Turner, 2003)
Solidarity	Ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership of social structures (Portes, 1998).
Trust	Identified as a productive/unproductive form of social capital (Wilson, 1997), and is covered extensively in the literature (see above)

4.6.4 Focussed Coding

Focussed coding is the second step in grounded theoretical analysis and involves taking the most frequently occurring and/or significant initial codes and using them to sift, sort and synthesise large amounts of data (Charmaz, 2014). Focussed coding is important as it allows researchers to begin to make analytical sense of the extensive amounts of data generated. This typically involves highlighting what is most important in the emerging analysis by looking at the data as a whole rather than focussing on individual incidents in the transcripts or individual 'micro' transactions in the observations. In the context of this study this meant comparing data within and between different transcripts which reflect particularly frequent/significant initial codes or by considering how the initial codes could be analytically grouped together (for instance by looking at the role of humour and trust in the development of relationships). However, as stated above this process (between initial and focussed coding) is non-linear and can also lead to further initial coding and data generation. As with all stages of constructivist grounded theoretical data analysis, an important weakness to control for at the focussed coding stage is that I wasn't simply selecting the codes of most interest to me (Charmaz, 2014) but rather that I took a critical approach which considered what my initial codes were implying and revealing about the data itself. This involved considering how different 'incidents' in the data compared with each other when they were coded using the same initial codes. This stage added an extra nuance to the interpretation and comparison of the

analysis. Whereas the initial coding stage predominantly involved reviewing the 'meaning' of individual 'incidents' in the transcripts, focussed coding involved looking at how 'incidents' related to each other across all of the transcripts in this study and considering what they collectively reveal about the processes and practices being observed. This in turn fed into the categorisation of the data which is discussed in more detail below (Section 4.6.6).

I found the visual representation tools in NVivo to be indispensable for this stage in my analysis. NVivo quickly and easily reorganised and grouped my data in ways that enabled me to review both how often initial codes were appearing in my data but also how much of my data was being coded in that way. As the coding of my observations and interviews progressed this meant that I was able to concentrate my efforts on identifying the ways in which initial codes were either individually or collectively coalescing into embryonic categories (which I illustrated by colour coding significant codes into groups) which could help to explain the role of social capital in the participatory processes being observed (Figure *4.7*).

Name	Nickname		Sources	Refer
Communication	CM	●	53	858
Learning	LE	●	55	833
Influence	IF	●	54	766
Leadership	LD	●	54	699
Representation	RP	●	52	578
Relationships	RE	●	51	518
Productivity	PR	●	52	514
Information	IN	●	52	497
Anecdotes	AN	●	50	481
Past Experience	PA	●	52	457
Solidarity	SO	●	53	446
Frustration	FR	●	44	367
Networking	NE	●	45	330
Co-operation	CO	●	49	283
Skills	SK	●	47	277
Cynicism	CY	●	38	175
Respect	RS	●	44	162
Gatekeeping	GK	●	37	151
Activism and Political Engag	AC	●	15	146
Agonism	AG	●	44	143
Humour	HU	●	37	136
Negotiation	NG	●	42	125
Trust	TR	●	33	116

Figure 4.7 Frequently occurring initial codes in NVivo. The coloured circles represented emerging categories.

111

4.6.5 Memo Writing

Memo writing is a fundamental principle of grounded theory and takes place throughout the constant comparison of data generation and analysis (Charmaz, 2014). It is both a methodological tool and an analytical tool. It serves as an important linkage between each of the stages of the data generation and analysis as it in effect a window into the researcher's mindset and how it changed over time by telling the story of the research journey. As a result, memos allow for questions, ideas and self-reflexivity to emerge in an explicit and retrievable way. Memo writing was also a crucial step in the eventual development of categorisation and theory from the data (Sections 4.6.6 and 4.6.7). Charmaz (2014, p.183) provides a useful outline of the aspects of research that memo writing can help with which supported me own study and these included (but were not limited to):

- Stopping and thinking about your data
- Treating codes as categories to analyse
- Interacting with the data and emerging analysis
- Sparking ideas to check out in the field
- Demonstrating connections between categories using data and observations
- Discovering gaps in the data generated to date
- Increasing my confidence and competence

In practice memo-writing can be defined as an informal process which allows the researcher to have a conversation with themselves by 'thinking out loud'. This involves documenting what can be learnt from the data generation and analysis which includes recording and directing future actions for the researcher. I found this aspect of memo writing particularly useful in the early stages of the data generation when the initial coding framework was in its infancy. Initially these memos also included reflections on the data generation process or on some of the key events observed. A weakness of memo writing was that memos are so

personal and open-ended that I found it hard to treat them systematically until my own research skills improved during the study. If I were to carry out a constructivist grounded theoretical methodology in future, rather than embedding my memos in my field notes I would have adopted one of Charmaz's (2014) recommended approaches which was to keep a methodological journal, which could then have been transcribed independently into NVivo for easier reference and comparison between memos.

Later in the study process, memo-writing also "encourages [the researcher] to stop, focus, take the codes and data apart, compare them, and define links between them (Charmaz, 2014, p.164). This represents a shift to a more analytical form of memo and ranges from reflections of specific codes and data to the construction of theoretical categories. The memos written into the field notes as part of the data generation (where I used a different colour to set them apart) were transcribed, imported into NVivo and then typically coded and analysed in the same way as the transcripts of the observations themselves. The memos written as part of the data analysis were typically written directly into NVivo and coded.

4.6.6 Categorisation

Categorisation is the third step in grounded theoretical analysis and refers to the stage in analysis where tentative theoretical categories can begin to emerge from the iterative processes of initial coding, focussed coding and memo writing. In practice this process typically involves taking focussed codes and elevating them to tentative categories which are then developed and scrutinised (Charmaz, 2014). This involves assessing which codes best represent what is happening in the data generated in terms of the "ideas, events, or processes" present (Charmaz, 2014, p.189). Developing categories using focussed coding in this way helps to explain patterns in the analysis and "will increase the level of conceptual analysis apparent in the developing grounded theory" (Birks and Mills, 2015, p.12).

Categorisation is a complex and potentially problematic stage in grounded theoretical analysis (Dey, 1999). A weakness for less experienced researchers is that "a grounded description often results rather than a theory" but understanding how codes fit together in categories can help the researcher to treat their analysis more theoretically (Charmaz, 2014, p.190). Charmaz (2014) also provides useful guidance on the role of memo writing which has been used in this study along with diagramming (Chapters 6-8). This involves identifying the following aspects of the categories within the memo writing process (Charmaz, 2014, p190):

- Defining the category
- Explaining the properties (the defining characteristics and attributes) of the category
- Specifying the conditions under which the category arises
- Describing its consequences
- Showing how it relates to other categories

These memos have then been written into chapters 6, 7 and 8 to provide evidence that this process has taken place.

Turning tentative categories into confirmed ones "occurs when the researcher can trace connections between a frequently occurring [code] and all of the other categories, sub-categories and their properties and dimensions" (Birks and Mills, 2015, p.98). Theoretical sampling can then be carried out to further refine and develop these categories in further rounds of data generation and analysis in order to move towards theoretical saturation.

4.6.7 Theoretical Saturation

Theoretical saturation is the fourth step in grounded theoretical analysis represents the destination point within the analytical framework (Figure *4.1*). This is the critical stage in grounded theory research when gathering further data no longer sparks new theoretical insights into the categories which have emerged

from the data generation and analysis (Charmaz, 2014). In practice Charmaz (2014, p.213) suggests that this occurs once "you have defined, checked, and explained relationships between categories and the range of variation within and between your categories."

Theoretical saturation is not a term that should be used uncritically. In fact, its main weakness as a concept is that researchers can fall into the trap of proclaiming that saturation has occurred rather than proving it (Morse, 1995). This in turn can damage the credibility of the research findings. Wiener (2007) and Dey (1999) provide some useful guidance on defining theoretical saturation which control for this weakness (Charmaz, 2014). Weiner (2007) suggests that 'saturation' is a judgement that should also consider other factors in research such as running out of time or money, whilst Dey (1999) regards saturation as imprecise and instead describes 'theoretical sufficiency' as being more reflective of how researchers carry out grounded theory research in practice. Also, within the context of a constructivist approach, the quest for saturation should not restrict or constrain the analysis such that other points are overlooked (Charmaz, 2014). In the context of this study an acknowledgement of external factors that occur outside of the concept of a social capital cycle reflect this.

I have used Charmaz's (2014, p.213) definition (outlined above) as a test for theoretical saturation in my own research findings, whilst also being reflexive of the need to complete the research within prescribed time limits of a PhD. This involved using a combination of data generation, coding, memo writing and diagramming until I was able to use my academic judgement to determine that the categories and the linkages between them were fully developed. Accordingly, this approach has guided the layout of the analysis in this study with chapter 6 reflecting upon the variation within the categories, chapter 7 exploring the relationships between them and chapter 8 exploring the consequences of those categories and relationships.

4.7 Ethical Considerations

In a reflexive methodology, a self-conscious and active ethical approach is required. This involves being responsive to the specific contexts and impacts of the research on all participants within a group at any given point (Mason, 2002). In this study verbal informed consent was sought when carrying out the participant observations and written informed consent forms were used in the follow up interviews. Additionally, when seeking explicit informed consent, the nature and focus of the study as well as likely methods of publication were explained to all participants who were present in the meetings/events themselves. There were three formal ethical reviews undertaken as part of this study:

- LTTRAN-045 approved on 03/03/2014: A review of existing approaches to the engagement of socially excluded groups and individuals in the English local transport planning process – This related to the case study selection survey and pre-study interviews (see Chapter 5 for the findings).
- LTTRAN-058 approved on 05/03/2015: The role of social capital in PTPP – this related to the participant observations and follow up interviews which make up most of the data generated in this study (see Chapters 6-9 for the findings)
- AREA-15-070 approved on 26/01/2016: The role of social capital in PTPP (connected to LTTRAN-058, follow up for specific group – MK DAG) – this related to the ethical review above but identified additional safeguards around informed consent and follow up interviews for participants in MK DAG who represented adults with learning difficulties or autism

It was important to understand what ethical issues were present (Figure *4.8*) and to reflect upon how these have been dealt with. These considerations could be broadly separated into four categories:

- Emergent themes from the data generated
- Reporting on group dynamics

- Reporting on specific content
- Reflecting upon the researcher's positionality and relationships participants
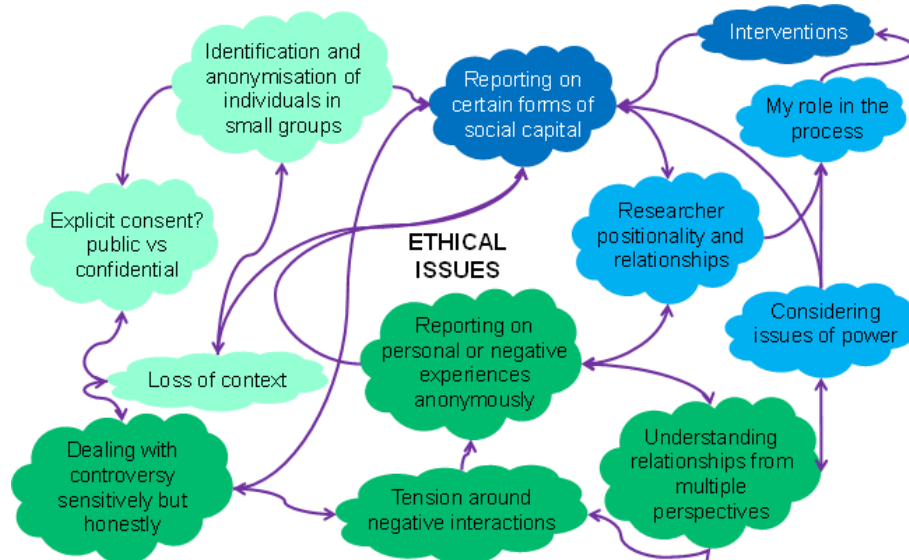
Figure 4.8: Ethical issues present and connections between them

For the most part, the content of the observations were practical and non-controversial in nature. However, this could be a different matter when considering certain social capital practices in specific contexts. This involved considering the risks and potential impacts of individuals being identifiable within the groups themselves.

Reporting on group dynamics generated its own set of ethical challenges. Again, tensions could arise where negative aspects needed to be reported. Understanding the history of the case study groups and the individuals within them from multiple perspectives was important, and the follow up interviews and one-to-one discussions were a very useful tool in achieving this.

One area where keeping the details of the process anonymous wasn't practical involved reporting on the specific content of each process. Where this related to factual accounts of transport policies, instruments and projects this did not create

any significant ethical issues. However, where the specific content relates to reports of very personal or negative experiences either within or outside of the processes, then there was a need to consider how those were reported very carefully (or indeed whether they would need to be reported on at all). For this reason, direct quotes are always anonymised in this thesis.

Self-reflexivity around issues of power and the impact my presence in the processes had on individuals within the case study processes was a key aspect of memo writing during data generation. Often my participation involved using my 'professional' knowledge to seek clarification or make suggestions, but occasionally it also extended to actively engaging in workshops and discussions on transport issues where I could provide useful context (e.g. ticketing and timetable apps in West Yorkshire were discussed in the LDCSC). The methodological approach taken allows for the researcher to be an active participant, so long as this is also reflected upon in any subsequent analysis and discussion of that process.

4.8 Conclusions

Four research questions have been posed which seek to understand the social capital practices present, their collective role on PTPP, how those practices then create opportunities and constraints for SISM, and finally what lessons can be learned for PTPP. An original contribution to knowledge is provided by the research methods adopted because this is the only study of social capital in PTPP to combine multiple dimensions of social capital, multiple methods, multiple case studies, repeated observation (over an 18-month period) and a constructivist grounded theoretical framework. Within this chapter, the reporting of the triangulation of data analysis within a constructivist grounded theoretical analysis is also not widespread with Macnaughton et al. (2015) providing the most similar approach to my own study. In order to support the categorisation stage of the analysis, the social capital cycle has been created as a diagrammatic tool in order

to explain the relationships between the categories identified in this study, including the properties of those relationships (expressed as linkages).

In developing the research methods outlined in this chapter, five key lessons have been identified. These relate to the adoption of constructivist grounded theory, the relevance of understanding social capital using qualitative methods, the importance of the constant comparative method, the flexibility of sensitising concepts, and the complexity and importance of categorisation.

The adoption of a constructivist grounded theoretical approach (Charmaz, 2014) was suitable for this study because this acknowledges the important of multiple constructions of reality combined with a flexible yet rigorous approach. Conversely other grounded theoretical traditions were rejected as they didn't match my own ontology and epistemology. Data in this study is generated rather than collected because it is not possible to passively gain information without constructing our own meaning and positionality (Mason, 2002). This makes the role of reflexivity critical in studies of this kind.

Qualitative methods can provide a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of social capital in practice (Carpenter *et al.*, 2004; Osborne *et al.*, 2016; Soulard *et al.*, 2018). Participant observation enables immersion in a process over time, lends itself to a focus on events and narratives that shape processes and avoids the problem of relying solely on retrospective reconstructions. Interviews also fit well with grounded theory and allows interviewees to reflect openly about their own perspectives of the case study process. The weaknesses of participant observation and interviews as methods can be controlled for by reflexivity (by analysing my own positionality and interpretations) and triangulation (by comparing my interpretations with those of other participants).

The constant comparative method involves iterative cycles of data generation, triangulation and analysis until theoretical saturation is reached. The non-linear stages of analysis included initial coding, focussed coding, memo writing and categorisation. The initial coding adopted in this study analyses fit and relevance on an incident-by-incident approach because it wouldn't make sense to fragment that the logic and coherence of the field notes (Charmaz, 2014). The application of a more flexible approach to coding meant that the meanings and ideas in the data itself took precedent over existing literature and concepts.

Sensitising concepts are fundamental to constructivist grounded theory as they enable flexibility (Charmaz, 2014). In practice this means that the data generation and analysis in this study could be receptive to pre-existing concepts gained from literature (such as the a-priori initial codes used at the outset of the participant observations).

Categorisation is arguably the most complex stage in grounded theoretical analysis (Dey, 1999) and involves understanding how codes fit together in categories with the aid of analytical memo writing and diagramming (Charmaz, 2014). Each category requires definition and explanation of its properties (including conditions, consequences and relationships with other categories).

Chapter 5 Case Study Selection

5.1 Introduction

A case study approach was determined to be suitable for this study because of the importance of context and process in understanding social capital exchanged between individuals present in PTPP. This combines well with the constructivist grounded theoretical method adopted (Chapter 4) because both approaches work in situations where the exploration of multiple contexts allows new insights to emerge. The rest of this chapter will explore: the case study approach (including its advantages and limitations), how the cases and study areas were defined, the two stage purposive and theoretical sampling strategy used, how online surveys and case study selection interviews were used to select case studies.

5.2 Case Study Approach

Case studies "focus on one (or just a few) instances of a particular phenomenon with a view to providing an in-depth account of events, relationships, experiences or processes occurring in that particular instance" (Denscombe, 2010, p.52). As an approach, it exhibits key strengths that this research has been able to take advantage of (Denscombe, 2010). Firstly, it enables in depth study of complex phenomena within a small number of cases. Secondly it focuses on relationships and processes, so in the context of this study it was important to understand the bigger picture within each process. Analytically this presented an opportunity to strengthen the explanation of how and why practices and linkages existed within each process, rather than simply presenting interpretive descriptions of what those practices and linkages were. Understanding the complexity of relationships and processes in context requires a resource intensive approach that would not

be practical using more experimental approaches (Yin, 2013). Thirdly, it provides a naturalistic rather than experimental setting in which to study participatory governance. This is crucial for gaining a detailed understanding of context, especially when determining the relationship between the phenomenon (social capital) and cases (PTPP) being studied (Yin, 2013). Finally, case study approaches enable multiple methods, data sources and data types to be used which can in turn improve the validity of the research findings.

The most significant criticisms of qualitative case study approaches lie in establishing the credibility and validity of the research (Denscombe, 2010; Golafshani, 2013; Yin, 2013). Problematic aspects of case study research include a lack of rigour, negotiating access to case studies, and the impact that being observed has on participants who feel like they are being monitored in some way (the observer effect). Lauckner et al, (2012) also combined a case study approach with a constructivist grounded theory methodology and as such provided useful suggestions for controlling for these weaknesses which were also implemented in this study.

Credibility and rigour were improved by using a multiple case study design over a more common single case approach (Yin, 2013). This approach promoted "the richness, depth and complexity that is drawn from multiple events that help one understand the phenomenon of interest that is shared among the diverse cases" (Lauckner *et al.*, 2012, p.6). Negotiating access to potential case studies was particularly challenging and shifted the timescales required to complete data generation. This was mitigated by setting a very broad definition of the 'population' (English local transport authority areas outside of London) and sending out online surveys (252 invitations) and organising more case study selection interviews (eight pre-study interviewees from eight local authority areas) than would be required when carrying out the research itself (three study areas and nine cases). A reflexive approach to data generation and analysis was used to critically challenge the role and impact of the researcher on the data generated within each case study, both in terms of my positionality and the behaviour of other participants during the observations. Whilst Denscombe (2010) suggested

that involvement over a longer period could cause the observer effect, I personally found that I was seen as an expert participant over time rather than an observer.

5.3 Defining Cases and Study Area

A case is a unit of analysis which is self-contained with distinct boundaries (Denscombe, 2010). In this study they are the PTPP represented by specific groups with clearly defined events, geographical coverage and objectives. In total nine processes were included as cases in this study. However, some of them were inter-related but distinct with their own events, memberships and objectives (CCAG and CCSM, and the MK DAG and its Transport Sub Group).

In the context of this research, a study area represents an area of geographical commonality in which multiple cases are situated within distinct boundaries relating to electoral geography. The selection of these study areas was restricted to English Local Transport Authority areas outside of London (including combined authorities). London and other parts of the UK were omitted as transport is a devolved matter in those areas. Within this study three study areas have been included (Leeds, Leicester and Milton Keynes).

5.4 Sampling Strategy

Constructivist grounded theoretical approaches like the one adopted in this study tend to use two types of sampling (Charmaz, 2014): initial sampling to select cases before data generation has begun and theoretical sampling to further develop and refine the categories which emerge from coding and memo writing. As stated by Charmaz (2014, p.197) "initial sampling in grounded theory gets you started; theoretical sampling guides where you go."

An initial purposive sampling approach (also adopted by Lauckner *et al.,* 2012) was used to sample potential local authorities and subsequently the participatory processes within them (Section 5.5). Purposive sampling is suitable for exploratory research which provides illustrative examples and targets specific processes based on specific criteria; however, the results from such a sample are not representative of a wider 'population' (Daniel, 2012). However, the contextualised analysis can provide insights which may inform approaches to participatory planning more widely. One weakness of this approach is that it can introduce sampling bias (Daniel, 2012), however this study has controlled for this by carrying out case study selection interviews (section 5.5.2) which enabled precise selection criteria to be assessed and ranked in each case.

Once the nine case study processes had been established, theoretical sampling was used. Theoretical sampling differs significantly from traditional sampling approaches in that it only relates to the conceptual and theoretical development of the analysis and not the representativeness or generalisability of the sample (Charmaz, 2014). Theoretical sampling is the mechanism which enables the researcher to cycle between data generation and analysis by identifying directions for further empirical inquiry (Charmaz, 2014). Charmaz (2014, p.199) also cautions that theoretical sampling can be confused with "gathering data until the same patterns reoccur" and that instead it should be seen as a "strategic, specific and systematic" form of analysis.

In practice, theoretical sampling is driven by the memo writing process (Charmaz, 2014) as this is where discussions about the relationships between initial coding, focussed coding and emerging categories and theory takes place. Memos are also a useful way of articulating the way forward in terms of what the gaps in the categories are and how they might be explored and filled by further data generation. Once the tentative concept of a social capital cycle had been established, further data generated during participant observations and

interviews were used to analyse how the categories within the cycle linked to each other.

5.5 Identifying Potential Case Studies

Having undertaken an initial review of relevant literature, a content analysis of 32 LTP3s was undertaken to build up a better picture of current approaches to participatory transport planning (see Elvy, 2014 for a detailed analysis). An online survey and pre-study interviews were then used to gain further knowledge of ongoing PTPP and to identify potential case studies for ongoing research.

5.5.1 Gaining expressions of interest through an online survey

Some aspects of current practice could not be identified by existing research into PTPP (cf. Bickerstaff *et al.*, 2002, Hodgson and Turner, 2003, Dibben, 2006) or the content analysis of LTP3s (Elvy, 2014). An online survey was therefore designed to provide a preliminary insight into current participatory practice from the perspective of those organisations who may be involved in local transport planning. In order to explore those organisational perspectives, the following questions were posed in the survey:

- What participation is taking place in local transport planning?
- Where is this happening?
- How is participation being used to reach socially excluded or 'at risk' groups and individuals (SEU, 2003; SDC; 2011)?
- Who is being invited to participate?
- For what reason are they being invited?
- What are the outcomes of current PTPP?
- How are these outcomes fed back to participants?
- What impact are current funding and guidance structures having on participatory practice?

The approach adopted here was designed to triangulate the broad findings of the content analysis of LTP3s (Elvy, 2014) and to collect some more context specific data exploring engagement with groups and individuals at risk of TRSE within PTPP. An online survey was selected as the method of delivery as it was deemed to be an effective way of purposively sampling many geographically disparate organisations quickly and efficiently. A questionnaire (9.12Appendix A) was designed in Bristol Online Surveys (BOS) and a hyperlink was sent by email to named individuals within the organisations identified, inviting them to participate. The named individuals were identified as being those most likely to have a strategic influence over transport planning or engagement in participatory initiatives in their respective organisations. The survey was active from 15th April-31st May 2014. 252 invitations to participate in the online survey were purposively sent based on:

- A 100% sample of 178 contacts from 89 English Transport Authorities including:
  - 89 Cabinet members for transport (political perspective)
  - 89 Chief transport planners (practitioner perspective)
- 38 potential contacts from 38 Local Enterprise Partnerships – one per LEP – the email was sent to the key contacts listed on the LEP Network website as of April 2014 – http://www.lepnetwork.org.uk/leps.html)
- One contact per organisation (36 in total) for each of the following:
  - The five major UK transport operators (Arriva, First, Go Ahead, National Express and Stagecoach)
  - Organisations representing 'at risk' groups including: National Children's Bureau, UK Youth Parliament, Envision, The Princes Trust, Coram, Age UK, Older People's Advocacy Alliance, Disability Rights UK, Disabled Living Foundation, The Disabilities Trust, Gingerbread, Ethnic Minority Foundation, Action for Advocacy, Stonewall, and Press for Change
  - Community Transport organisations including: Community Transport Association UK, ECT Charity, Community Transport, and the Association of Community Rail Partnerships

- Lobby groups and think tanks including: Campaign for Better Transport, Sustrans, Independent Transport Commission, Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, Institute for Public Policy Research, The Centre for Social Justice, Involve, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Living Streets, CTC – The National Cycling Charity, Passenger Focus, and the Council for the Protection of Rural England

The transport authorities, LEPs and operators were all included in the survey as they are ultimately responsible for local transport decision making, planning and policy. It was also important to deliberately include third sector and lobby organisations in the survey as they can influence those decision makers. The literature review also highlighted that the concept of 'bridging capital' as a form of social capital (Gallent and Robinson, 2013) hints at an important role for third sector representatives.

The response rate to the survey was relatively low (42 completed responses from 252 invitations) with half of those responses coming from one organisation (CTC) who had distributed the survey link to local branches. The length of the survey may have contributed to the low response rate as a further 31 participants filled in just the consent form and the first question about the types of participation they had been involved in. There were also two limitations of the survey website used (Bristol Online Surveys) which are worth highlighting. Firstly, the lack of a 'skip question' algorithm may have dissuaded some participants from skipping through a page worth of irrelevant questions. However, clear instructions were given at the top of the relevant page to try and mitigate this. Secondly, the survey had to be 'submitted' at the end to ensure that all answers were recorded. On reflection, an unsolicited overarching survey over such a wide area with so many categories was not necessarily the most effective way of gaining expressions of interest for inclusion in this study.

However, as a vehicle for building contacts and selecting potential case studies for further research, the survey was relatively successful with 20 of the 42 participants expressing an interest in a pre-study interview. Of these, 16 were also interested in participating in the case study selection process going forwards and eight pre-study interviews were carried out to establish the feasibility of those locations for use in this study.

5.5.2 Establishing feasibility through pre-study interviews

These interviews were designed to explore the issues and themes from the content analysis and online survey in more detail in specific contexts. The questions posed in the online survey were also used to inform the interview topic sheet developed for the pre-study interviews (9.12Appendix B). The interviews were held, transcribed and analysed between July 2014 and January 2015. They represented the final piece of preliminary research designed to enable the selection of feasible case studies for use in this study.

Qualitative interviews were carried out face to face by visiting selected individuals who participated in the online survey. The interviews were recorded using an audio recorder (or using written notes when individuals did not wish to be recorded). Participants were selected purposively for pre-study interviews based on having an interesting perspective to share (based on their answers to the online survey) and also for being representative of a different area of England, an 'at risk' group (SEU, 2003, SDC, 2011) or mode of sustainable mobility (e.g. cycling). These interviews were not intended to be representative of the categories from which participants were selected; however, they offered useful insights into the feasibility of specific case studies for use in this study.

5.5.3 Mapping pre-study interviews against sensitising concepts

Sensitising concepts represent the initial but tentative ideas that researchers pursue as a starting point which guides but doesn't command inquiry (Charmaz, 2014, p.30). The 'sensitising concepts' from which case studies would be purposively selected in this study were identified based on findings from the literature review (Chapter 2), a content analysis of LTP3s (Elvy, 2014), and the online survey and pre-study interviews outlined above. The sensitising concepts used to select the case study were:

- **Spatial variations between potential case study locations** (in terms of demographics, transport infrastructure, and governance arrangements). This first point was selected to see whether there were any geographical differences in the opportunities and outcomes for SISM. This was also supported by the content analysis of LTP3s which found a geographical difference in the prevalence of participatory mechanisms with at risk groups (Elvy, 2014).

- **Explicit evidence of engagement with groups at risk of TRSE.** The literature review (Section 2.2) highlighted the importance of addressing TRSE as being an essential part of achieving SISM. The online survey and pre-study interviews were used to gather evidence of this.

- **Explicit evidence of engagement on SISM** (such as public transport, active travel and shared taxis). This was an essential component of this study and was a significant part of the discussion during the pre-study interviews.

- **Evidence of TRSE in the case study area** (based on geodemographic factors such as high levels of non-car ownership in the 2011 census and discussion in the pre-study interviews). Again, the online survey and pre-study interviews were the principle forms of evidence used.

- **Evidence of ongoing PTPP in the case study area that would take place during 2015.** This was a practical requirement that was essential for the timely completion of this study.

- **An opportunity to explore power relationships within different ownership and membership structures in those ongoing processes.** This was to ensure that the significant coverage of power in the planning literature (Section 2.3) was not ignored in the analysis of this study. It also enabled flexibility in terms of selecting suitable case study processes as different local authorities took different approaches (e.g. Leicester's mayor and cabinet took a significant lead in over-seeing their PTPP whereas Milton Keynes adopted a more arms-length approach).

- **Identification of multiple mechanisms available for participant observation in each potential location.** This was another practical consideration in order to rigourously analyse the research questions posed.

Each of the sensitising concepts outlined above were used to score the suitability of each potential case study (Table 5.1) where explicit evidence of engagement with the following during the pre-study interview was worth **one point** and unclear (or some) evidence was worth **half a point**: each group at risk of TRSE (SEU, 2003; SDC, 2011); forms of SISM (grouped for simplicity as public/community transport, walking and cycling, and shared taxi schemes); evidence of TRSE in the local authority area; evidence of PTPP to observe (with points given for: direct links to the group leader, consent given by interviewee to attend, processes ongoing in 2015, processes with a specific transport focus, and whether the process could be attended without the need to find additional contacts).

When the sensitising concepts were scored in this way Milton Keynes (12), Leicester (14.5), Leeds (13.5), Stoke (10.5) and Halton (10.5) were identified as the case studies which best fit those criteria. Halton was subsequently eliminated due to a lack of events taking place within the core data generation period. Stoke was also eliminated from the study when only one ongoing process emerged (and that process was discontinued shortly afterwards). This left three case study locations: Milton Keynes, Leicester and Leeds.

Table 5.1: Case Study Selection Matrix

CASE STUDY SELECTION MATRIX		Case study selection interviews (2014-2015)							
		Halton	Huddersfield	Milton Keynes	Stoke	Liverpool	Stevenage	Leicester	Leeds
Explicit evidence of engagement with the following socially excluded or at-risk groups…	Old	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
	Young	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES
	Disabled	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES
	Ethnic Minorities	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO
	Low Income	UNCLEAR	NO	INDIRECTLY	NO	NO	NO	YES	UNCLEAR
	Lone Parents	NO	NO	INDIRECTLY	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
	Specific areas in the community	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	UNCLEAR	YES	YES
Explicit evidence of engagement on SISM	Public/Community Transport	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES
	Walking and Cycling	UNCLEAR	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES
	Shared Taxi Scheme	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Evidence of transport related social exclusion in local authority area		YES	UNCLEAR	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Participant observation of ongoing PTP mechanisms…	Known direct link to group leader/organiser	YES	N/A	YES	YES	N/A	UNCLEAR	YES	YES
	Consent given by interviewee	YES	N/A	YES	YES	N/A	YES	YES	YES
	Will take place in 2015	YES	N/A	YES	YES	N/A	UNCLEAR	YES	YES
	Has a transport planning specific focus	SOME	N/A	SOME	NO	N/A	SOME	SOME	YES
	Ready to go without need for additional contacts	**YES**	**NO**	**SOME**	**YES**	**NO**	**NO**	**YES**	**YES**
Local Transport Planning governance arrangements		UNITARY	ITA/ COMBINED	UNITARY	UNITARY	ITA/ COMBINED	TWO-TIER	UNITARY	ITA/COMBINED
Different power relationships of participatory mechanisms in terms of…	Ownership/Control	LA	CTC	SOME LA/SOME IND	AGE UK/ ENGAGE	CTC	UNCLEAR	SOME LA/SOME IND	LA
	Membership	UNCLEAR	OPEN	SOME OPEN/SOME STRUCTURED	OPEN 50+	OPEN	UNCLEAR	OPEN/ STRUCTURED	SOME OPEN/ SOME STRUCTURED
Type of mechanisms available for potential participant observation		Bus users' group, area forums, residents' associations?	No specific groups identified	Disability action group, bus user group, youth cabinet, older people's forum, business focussed steering group	Older people's forum	No specific groups identified	Bus users' group, cycle forum	Council of faiths, ongoing shared space consultation? bus user service panel, ward committee meetings (area forums), youth council, cycle city forum	City Connect (cycling) advisory group and stakeholder group, bus user panel (district public transport sub-committee), area forums
Points (1 per green box, 0.5 per yellow box)		10.5	2.5	12	10.5	4	7.5	14.5	13.5
Is case study worth pursuing at this stage based on above criteria?		**YES**	**NO**	**YES**	**MAYBE**	**NO**	**NO**	**YES**	**YES**

Notes: Halton - LA led engagement with an old people/area focus, Milton Keynes - Mixed leadership (some LA some independent) - more of a disability focus, Leicester - LA and faith community led with more of an ethnic minority/area focus - ready to go but may need a little bit of follow up with transport planning officers, Stoke - different way into study area - contact runs an older peoples forum where transport is always an issue if not the main focus

5.5.4 Selecting individual case study PTPP

The specific case study processes in each study area (Milton Keynes, Leicester and Leeds) were purposively sampled depending upon what had been identified as an ongoing PTPP mechanism in the pre-study interviews. As the type of process itself was not a unit of analysis there was freedom to choose a range of PTPP in each area so long as they met **four key tests**:

- Could enough participant observations be carried out within the time allotted in order to achieve theoretical saturation?
- Were potential gatekeepers willing to allow me to attend their PTPP? In some cases, it took four or five months to reach agreement to attend various processes in the case study locations and led to the loss of one case study location (Halton) altogether.
- What impact would researcher competencies have on data generation and analysis? In other words, could there be a barrier to effective communication?
- Did the PTPP involve some aspect of SISM and have the potential for involvement of at-risk groups?

The nine case study processes all met the four key tests outlined above and were chosen because they enabled data to be generated in a range of processes, some of which were complementary (e.g. each study area involved observing a group with a significant interest in buses as that is a key aspect of local public transport) whilst others were unique within this study (e.g. a neighbourhood forum and a disability group). Table 5.2 provides a more detailed rationale for the selection of each case study process and Appendix C provides a detailed summary of the case study locations and processes selected.

Table 5.2: Rationale for selecting each case study PTPP

Case study process	Relevance to SISM	Relevance to at risk groups	Additional rationale for selection
CCAG **CCSM**	Cycling focused	Scheme aim to widen participation and use active travel to tackle health deprivation	Ongoing project which seeks to improve opportunities for active travel in Leeds
Cross Gates Forum	Interest in a safe environment for active travel	Public meeting with interest group representation from at risk groups	Focus on local issues and representation, provides interest as a scale is ward level rather than the whole authority area
LDCSC	Considered all public transport issues	Public representatives including the elderly and people with mobility impairments	Public able to directly hold WYCA (responsible for sustainable transport) to account
Leicester Bus User Panel	Bus focused	Public meeting with interest group representation from at risk groups	Both Leicester forums were of interest because of their clear focus on SISM combined with the involvement of the directly elected mayor
Leicester Cycle City Forum	Cycling focused	Evidence of outreach and widening participation	
MK BUG	Bus focused	Public meeting	Interesting history as a campaign group with independence from the local authority
MK DAG	Accessible transport was typically the main issue discussed	Interest group specifically represents the needs of people with disabilities in MK	Group specifically created to represent the interests of people with disabilities in local government decision making. Also had set up a working group to focus in more detail on transport issues
MK DAG Transport Sub-Group	Specific focus on transport issues (e.g. taxis and community transport)		

Chapter 6 Social Capital Practices

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the practices of social capital present in PTPP. Social capital practices are the ways in which social capital can be exchanged through a wide range of actions, behaviours, beliefs, emotions, processes and outcomes (Bourdieu, 1986; Portes, 1998; Glanville and Bienenstock, 2009; Kwon and Adler, 2014; McKeever *et al.*, 2014; Patulny, 2004). In keeping with the constructivist grounded theoretical methodology, this includes an explanation of: the properties (the 'what' and 'why') of each of the six categories of social capital practices identified, followed by an analysis of the conditions (the 'how', 'when' and 'who') under which each category of social capital practices occurred and how those conditions were maintained or altered in context (Charmaz, 2014, p.190). The categories themselves were generated inductively using the analytical processes of coding and memo writing and through further observations and follow up interviews which were selected based on a theoretical sampling approach.

The rest of this chapter is structured around the six categories of social capital practices identified. Section 6.2 identifies the relationships between the identified gaps in the literature and the research findings presented in this chapter. Section 6.3 situates the findings in relation to the research questions. Section 6.4 outlines the definition and categorisation of social capital practices in this study. Sections 6.5-6.10 explore the properties and conditions of the each of the six identified practices of social capital present in the case study processes: leadership (Section 6.5), relationships and group dynamics (Section 6.6), influence (Section 6.7), skills and competences (Section 6.8), social learning (Section 6.9), and representation and representativeness (Section 6.10). Section 6.11 explores the cross-cutting and external factors relating to individual social capital that occurred across and outside of the six categories identified. Section 6.12 outlines the link between the findings presented in this chapter with the further analysis carried

out in chapters 7-9. Finally, 6.13 provides a summary of the overall conclusions in this chapter, how these findings answer the relevant research question(s) and how these findings represent an original contribution to knowledge.

6.2 Recap of gaps in literature

This chapter specifically seeks to address two of the identified gaps in the literature review (Chapter 2). Firstly, this chapter takes a detailed empirical approach to the study of social capital processes within PTPP by building on the broader theoretical or limited empirical perspectives previously identified (Gray *et al.*, 2006; Schwanen *et al.*, 2015; Osborne *et al.*, 2016; Litman, 2017; Menzel *et al.*, 2013; and Franceschini and Marletto, 2017). Secondly, Schwanen *et al.* (2015) called for a more nuanced understanding of the role of social capital on the dynamic and complex relationships between TRSE, sustainable mobility, transport planning, and public participation. This chapter begins to explore this role by identifying the social capital practices present in the case study PTPP. This includes the common components of social capital identified including: network structures, norms, values and resources (Glanville and Bienenstock, 2009; Kwon and Adler, 2014; McKeever *et al.*, 2014). Social capital practices in this study are explored within Patulny's broader (2004) inclusion of participatory actions or practices in themselves as being forms of social capital.

6.3 Link to research questions and methodology

The primary research question of interest in this chapter (Table *6.1*) is "What practices of social capital are present in PTPP?" The original contribution to knowledge provided by this chapter is provided by the contextual study of social capital in PTPP, particularly in terms of how those practices were typologically categorised. Understanding the social capital practices present in PTPP also informs subsequent chapters that: consider the role of social capital in each case

study process (Chapter 7), the impact that these social capital cycles have on the outcomes for SISM in each case study process (Chapter 8), and the characteristics of effective PTPP based on the social capital practices identified in this chapter (Chapter 9).

Table 6.1: Relationship between the research questions and analysis chapters (yellow highlighting indicates the focus of this chapter)

Research Questions	Chapter 6	Chapter 7	Chapter 8	Chapter 9
What practices of social capital are present in PTPP?	**MAIN FOCUS**			
What role do these practices of social capital have on PTPP?	**INFORMS THIS RQ**	MAIN FOCUS		
How do these practices of social capital create opportunities and constraints for the promotion and provision of SISM?	**INFORMS THIS RQ**	INFORMS THIS RQ	MAIN FOCUS	
What are the characteristics of an effective PTPP for SISM?	**INFORMS THIS RQ**	INFORMS THIS RQ	INFORMS THIS RQ	MAIN FOCUS

When used as part of a constructivist-interpretivist understanding of how social capital is constructed, qualitative methods can provide a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of social capital in practice (Carpenter *et al.*, 2004; Osborne *et al.*, 2016; Soulard *et al.*, 2018). Furthermore Osborne *et al.* (2016, p.218) argued that using a single method alone "could inhibit the progress of empirical and theoretical understandings of how the construct operates in practice." Participant observations and follow up interviews have been used in this study to gain insights into social capital from multiple perspectives. The participant observations were used to inform an emerging understanding of the social capital practices present (research question 1). Follow up interviews were then used to gain a more nuanced understanding of social capital and the PTPP from the perspective of individual participants being observed. This 'triangulation' of data generation was critical in order to ensure that the data generated by the participant observations was more than just the researchers own interpretations.

6.4 Social capital practices in PTPP

This section outlines the ways in which social capital has been conceptualised within this study. Firstly, an explanation will be provided of the ways in which different social capital practices were coded and defined. Secondly, an outline will be provided of the emergent categories that were used in this study to summarise: who utilised social capital, how and why they utilised it, and what impact they had on the processes and their outcomes.

6.4.1 Defining social capital practices

Social capital practices are the ways in which social capital can be exchanged through a wide range of actions, behaviours, beliefs, emotions, processes and outcomes (Bourdieu, 1986; Portes, 1998; Glanville and Bienenstock, 2009; Kwon and Adler, 2014; McKeever *et al.*, 2014; Patulny, 2004). As outlined in Section 3.3, the unit of analysis for social capital practices in this study related to the exchanges between the individuals involved in each process (Bourdieu, 1986; Schwanen *et al.*, 2015). As outlined in Chapter 4, codes were generated to describe the social capital practices observed. These codes were based on a developing understanding of the practices that emerged during the process of data generation (organic codes), however they were also informed by the sensitising concepts generated by an understanding of existing literature around different forms of social capital (a-priori codes) (Charmaz, 2014). An important step in developing these codes involved considering the answers to the following three questions:

- What types of practice exist in the processes being observed or interviews being conducted?
- What does the wording of the code mean?
- What do I typically look for evidence of in the data when using that code?

Appendix D (Table D.1) answers these questions by outlining the initial codes used in this study, the practices they represent, their basic definition, and what I

typically looked for in each code. Some generated codes were quite specific, whereas others were quite general. In those instances where similarly coded data exhibited a wide range or distribution of variable qualities, Saldana (2015) used the term 'dimensions' as a way of illustrating those differences. This can also be a form of sub-coding.

6.4.2 Categorising social capital practices

During the ongoing process of data generation and analysis (whilst working through the overlapping analytical processes of initial coding, focussed coding and memo writing), insightful categories emerged which linked together codes which reflected similar aspects of the case study processes. These emergent categories were able to explain the connections between who 'practised' different forms of social capital, how and why those practices were taking place, and what impact those practices had. From these six explanatory categories of 'social capital practices' emerged (Figure *6.1*) alongside a seventh category of external factors relating to those practices. Whilst the initial codes provided a detailed understanding of the micro transactions observed, the broader categories were able to provide the contextual understanding necessary (Charmaz, 2014) to conceptualise how those micro transactions fitted into the bigger picture of the narrative and evolution of the process over the whole study (Chapter 7).
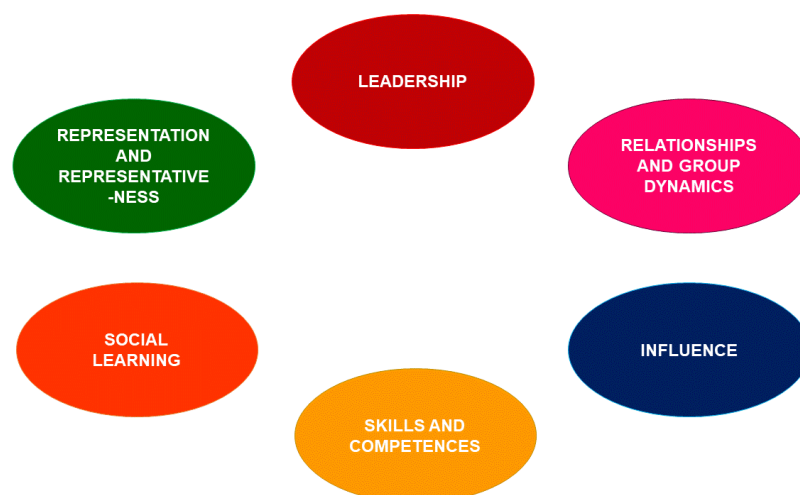
Figure 6.1: Categories of Social Capital Practices Observed (the colours are used to distinguish categories throughout the analysis)

The following six sections (6.5-6.10) will provide an analysis of the six categories of social capital practices that emerged, including an explanation of the properties (i.e. what the social capital practices were in this category and why were they significant) and conditions (i.e. how and when those practices occurred and who utilised them) of those categories within PTPP.

6.5 Practices of leadership

This section explores the social capital practices that reflected aspects of leadership amongst the PTPP observed (Figure *6.2*). Leadership was important because it set the tone for the process and its outcomes, especially as leaders had a lot of control over the structure and the flow of their processes. Leadership practices were not limited to the de-facto leader and there were opportunities for other participants to demonstrate formal or informal leadership. This section will explore the practices from these different types of leader, before going on to explore the pros and cons of gatekeeping as a leadership practice.
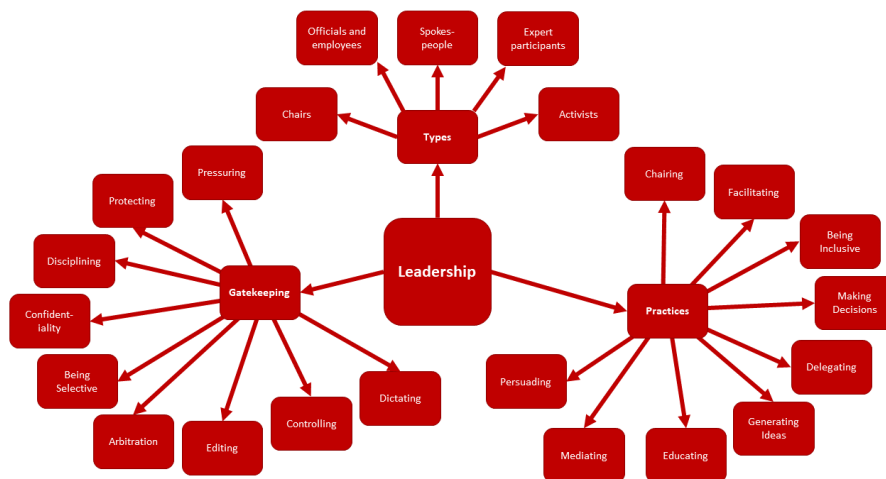
Figure 6.2: Social Capital Practices of Leadership

6.5.1 Properties of leadership and gatekeeping in PTPP

Leadership was practiced by a wide range of participants including formal leaders (local government members, officers, independent mediators and employed secretariats (e.g. MK CIL)) and informal leaders (spokespeople, expert participants and activists). The formal chairs in each process were important for determining the atmosphere and productivity at each meeting or event. The formal chairs that were also elected members or mayors demonstrated strong political place-based leadership, particularly in Leicester where the mayor was directly elected (Hambleton, 2017). Independent mediators and local government officers didn't typically drive or chair the processes observed and had less overall responsibility as a result. However, they still played a central role in facilitating the PTPP observed, often sitting alongside and working closely in partnership with the chair. In practice these individuals were seen by other participants as informal deputies to the chair (often with the dynamics of a double-act) and typically had greater professional knowledge and experience than the chair themselves given that many were local government officers. Other individuals also utilised leadership practices through their contributions and activism. Informal leaders would adopt one or more leadership roles as informal spokespeople, expert participants and activists as they were often interlinked. Informal spokespeople made frequent and vocal contributions relating to a passion or issue of interest to them (e.g. democratic accountability or the quality of cycling infrastructure). Expert participants had a lot of experience of relevance to the PTPP they were involved in, often because they had been involved in participatory processes for a long period of time. This meant that they had become institutionalised (Cooke and Kothari, 2001) to an extent because they had an acute awareness of how things worked or how to get things done. Participants with specialist transport or local government experience would also have a more nuanced understanding of a topic, problem or solution. Whilst there are clear risks in institutionalising participants, research has shown that transformative change (such as that necessary to precipitate a significant shift to sustainable modes such as cycling) often requires a collaboration of activists and willing political leaders (Koglin, 2015). Activists also tended to exhibit leadership

characteristics of their own in that they were willing to organise and get involved in events outside of the PTPP themselves.

Chairing, facilitating and gatekeeping were the most significant leadership social capital practices observed in this study because they ultimately set out the dynamics and expectations of each process. Chairing refers to formally steering the PTPP observed (practices included: moving through an agenda, making decisions, educating and generating ideas) whilst facilitating refers to the practices that leaders used to enable other participants to utilise their own social capital by being inclusive (practices included: delegating, mediating, and persuading). An individual leader's approach to chairing and facilitating practices used tended to depend upon the formality of the individual's role, their standing within the group and their past experiences.

Gatekeeping refers to the process of controlling access to information or access to people and was most commonly utilised by formal leaders representing local government. This was a significant social capital practice because it enabled participants to get involved but could also restrict the extent of that involvement. There can be good or bad reasons for gatekeeping, therefore it is sometimes necessary but also sometimes problematic. As one interviewee put it gatekeeping advantages those with the social capital and social networks available to exert it or work around it:

"the problem with gatekeeping is some people know how to get around it."
(Interview 15)

Gatekeeping involved maintaining confidentiality and restricting access and this was observed in PTPP where participants had privileged access to information not in the public domain. This typically related to sharing and discussing draft documents and technical drawings. There were other instances where the opposite occurred, and leaders used their discretion to take certain peripheral or

private matters outside of the process itself. Other gatekeeping practices observed included controlling, editing, disciplining and protecting. Controlling was used as a form of gatekeeping when the leader sought to control the message put out to/by the group, the format of the process, timings, and access to the process or external contacts (such as local government officers and elected members). Editing was used by participants who were involved in putting together coproduced outputs from the processes observed. Disciplining was typically used by leaders in a position of authority (such as elected members) when required to deal with people who were not behaving appropriately. Protecting was used as a form of gatekeeping when participants stood up for what they perceived to be wider public interests.

6.5.2 Conditions for leadership and gatekeeping within PTPP

Chairing approaches observed across the case studies ranged from the mayoral formality of the Leicester user panels to the 'one-of-us' joviality and informality of the deputy chair of the LDCSC (who was a public member). The relative strengths and weaknesses of the chairs observed depended upon their ability to: keep the meetings/processes on track; facilitate discussions, networking and delegation; be friendly and inclusive, make decisions or summarise an agreed group position; educate others about how the process works, or use persuasion, mediation and gatekeeping to tackle a problem or diffuse a difficult situation.

The dynamics between the chair and other formal leaders (deputies) within the processes observed tended to reflect the strength of the relationship between them. The relationship within MK BUG between the chair and the other formal leaders was a strong illustration of why they saw themselves as functionally equal and respected each other's relative strengths and abilities:

"[we] appreciate that we come [from] different viewpoints sometimes…we've got different skills or interests…but you know we're generally trying to achieve the same thing so yeah [we] work together reasonably well" (Interview 7).

In council led processes these 'deputies' were senior transport officers and their role appeared to add to the productivity of the process. They were often able to carry out actions relating to the process. The formality of their position also enabled them to occupy a position of power. Some processes made use of independent mediators. The reasons for their involvement tended to be through a mixture of appointment, obligation and interest. This dynamic is well illustrated by the role of MK CIL within MK DAG, particularly the director who didn't tend to see themselves as a leader but were seen as one by others because they were the professional in the room (interview 6).

The informal spokespeople observed were often the most vocal members of a PTPP. Those spokespeople who were interviewed reported feeling a sense of civic duty in speaking out about transport problems or policy issues. They identified that issues were about more than just themselves and their own opinions and sometimes made a case on behalf of others. They combined confident communication skills with a determination to have an influence over the outcomes of the processes observed. However, a position of leadership privilege from participants who are often seen as 'usual suspects' is not without controversy as they could potentially silence other voices (Bickerstaff and Walker, 2005).

Many participants who could be regarded as 'experts' were retired professionals (including a transport planning lecturer, a civil engineer and a former local government deputy director). This experience tended to give them both a sense of how to tackle the challenges of PTPP and a sense (e.g. interview 5) that they wanted to continue the tradition of public service by contributing to local democratic processes. Sometimes the experience the participants had gained in the past was less tangible but no less relevant in helping them to navigate PTPP. For instance, I was able to interview one individual who felt that their experience of working in emergency services helped them to understand what was going on

and how to 'read between the lines' in terms of what local government officers/members were telling them.

The leadership role of activists involved reporting on things that they were doing externally (such as attending council meetings or running voluntary programmes in the community) and offering to carry out activities on the group's behalf (e.g. volunteering to give directions to away fans travelling to football matches). Activists also tended to be active members of relevant interest groups or political parties. Their involvement in PTPP were typically driven by a sense of civic duty and a passion for transport issues.

My own leadership role as a participant observer was acknowledged within the analysis of social capital in the PTPP observed (Charmaz, 2014). This role was variable depending upon the structure of the group and the frequency with which I was able to attend each process. When it came to smaller more close-knit groups (such as the CCAG, CCSM, MK DAG (and its Transport Sub Group), and to a lesser extent MK BUG), I was usually seen by other participants as more closely 'integrated' in those groups. This meant that I was invited to make contributions and make use of my own expertise to provide information and ideas. However, with the much larger scale processes I attended (such as the Cross Gates Forum and to a lesser extent the Leicester and WYCA forums) I was seen as more of an observer than a participant and tended to moderate my contributions accordingly.

Gatekeeping occurred in the PTPP observed for a variety of reasons. Shutting down discussions was one example where leaders dictated the processes and the reasons for this included: time/behaviour management, legal reasons (for instance in the Cross Gates Forum when a member of the public started discussing an ongoing criminal investigation), having a different way of working, and differences of opinion. Self-governing groups such as MK DAG demonstrated controlling leadership in their reluctance to alter their terms of reference so that a wider range of participants from the local disability community

could be admitted to the group (Interview 6). From the gatekeeper's perspective controlling things is important for efficiency, whilst from the participant's perspective it requires additional effort to contribute and navigate.

There were instances where the expected behaviour of participants needed to be outlined (due to issues of poor behaviour such as antagonism), either for the benefit of new participants or to deal with poor behaviour, for example when participants were talking over each other (Cross Gates Forum) or were rude in the way they addressed others (Leicester Bus User Panel). There were also instances where leaders protected the rest of the group from disruption or antagonism by diffusing the situation or holding back from what they may have really wanted to say in order to not undermine someone in public.

The CCAG was one process where gatekeeping (particularly confidentiality) was important as this process effectively sat within the project. Often members of the group would check with the chair what they could and could not share with others outside the process. The CCAG chair would also edit and assemble position statements on certain aspects of the City Connect project. These were used to summarise the advisory group's common position on an issue:

"[please] send comments to me by the end of August and we can distil them into a position statement, but we do include all views" (CCAG Participant Observation)

6.6 Practices of relationships and group dynamics

This section explores the social capital practices of relationships and group dynamics in PTPP (Figure *6.3*). Relationships and group dynamics were identified as an important theme in this study because they revealed much about the way in which the processes worked and they set the tone for how the individuals worked together, particularly when contrasting collaborative and

145

collegiate environments with more antagonistic and adversarial ones. This section will explore the strength of relationships within the processes, trust, solidarity, disagreement, reciprocation and favours, respect, humour, cynicism and transparency.
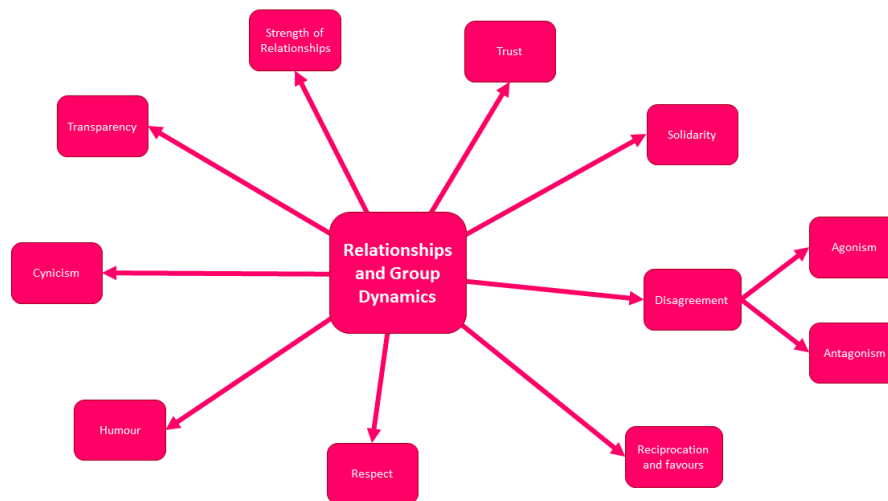
Figure 6.3: Social Capital Practices of Relationships and Group Dynamics

6.6.1 Properties of relationships and group dynamics in PTPP

Relationships and group dynamics are indicative of significant social capital practices which have been covered in literature such as trust and reciprocity (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988 and Putnam, 1995). However, within this study a much broader range of relevant social capital practices have been identified. The ongoing nature of the case study PTPP observed enabled strong relationships to build and develop over a long period of time. In some cases, people had known each other for many years, especially if they had all been involved in participatory governance for a long time. Some participants described having known each other through various mechanisms for up to 10 or 20 years. Strong relationships enabled productive communication and collaboration when seeking to achieve common goals. The significant social capital practices used to demonstrate these relationships included: trust, solidarity, respect, reciprocity and humour. Poor relationships were also observed in the PTPP and these were

146

usually indicative of a 'history' between participants that sometimes transcended the process itself. Significant social capital practices that evidenced the existence of poor relationships between individuals included: mistrust, disagreement, disrespect, cynicism and a lack of solidarity.

Trust was a critical determinant of whether relationships and group dynamics generated productive or unproductive social capital practices which in turn could generate more collaborative or adversarial outcomes for the PTPP observed. Trust refers to the belief that someone has in someone else or something else. In the context of the PTPP observed indicators of trust included: honesty; transparency; reliability (in terms of a belief in others and in sustainable transport); good communication; having confidence in other participants or the transport policy direction of the local authority, using humour as a way to be honest without undermining someone; and sharing knowledge. However, this trust had to be gained over time through the behaviour and actions of participants. Conversely, observed indicators of a lack of trust included: poor communication; feeling ignored; poor relationships; a deeply rooted cynicism of another participant or a third party; perceptions that individuals were dishonest; a lack of trust in the representativeness, integrity or accountability of the process; apportioning blame; apathy; a lack of trust in authority figures based on past experiences; and past experiences of discrimination, bullying or harassment.

Solidarity describes the unity felt between participants in the processes observed and the ways in which people demonstrate or withhold their support for each other. Offering support and agreement demonstrated solidarity between individual participants and allowed the group to reach a consensus. Typically, such agreement involved verbal communication as part of a larger discussion. On the other hand, withholding support (e.g. by remaining silent or expressing an alternative view) particularly when participants were being critical or antagonistic enabled participants to keep out of disagreements. Excess solidarity occurred when the unity between participants became oppressive or exclusionary. There is a delicate balance between ensuring individual voices currently engaging in

participatory processes can be heard, without limiting opportunities for new voices to be included.

Reciprocity represents a grouping of social capital practices that are indicative of how willing individuals are to do things for each other. The smaller and/or more close-knit processes observed demonstrated more reciprocation. Reciprocation was sometimes a motivation for getting involved in PTPP because participants saw value in giving up their free time so long as it led to productive outcomes. These outcomes included: gaining experience, accessing networks, influencing decisions, or to get a sense of satisfaction from helping others, especially amongst retired participants. Fundamentally reciprocation was about being 'valued' in the sense that individuals were a part of something bigger than themselves. Favours were one example of reciprocity in action and included: requiring a time critical response or support for proposals; speaking out as an independent voice on behalf of local government officers; and beta testing new initiatives.

Respect describes the feelings people have for each other and can manifest itself overtly as a form of behaviour in terms of the way that people treat each other. Respect (or disrespect) tended to be practiced in the language and tone used. It can also be regarded as a social capital practice because it is a social resource can be gained or received over time (for instance through displays of trust and transparency). Respect depends upon the strength of relationships between individuals and was a useful indicator of group dynamics. Individual contexts and narratives are an important part of understanding why participants lacked respect for others. Sometimes there was an understandable link between people's frustrations and anger at decision makers in the present and the way they have been treated in the past (as seen more widely in contemporary social democracies and the erosion of attitudes towards democracy and authority (Davidson and Elstub, 2013)).

Humour was used as a way of showing solidarity within the processes observed based on shared experiences or a shared cynicism of the topic they were discussing. As such there were two frequent uses of humour, 'inside-jokes' within relatively close-knit groups to indicate a shared sense of trust and like-mindedness (i.e. that through their lived experiences they had something in common), and personable leaders who used humour to diffuse tensions or generate solidarity with other participants. Other forms of humour observed included amusing anecdotes or story-telling, references to popular culture or current affairs and self-deprecation. Cynicism is an attitude which can describe a lack of faith in others or in authorities and systems. It overlaps with humour (cynicism can be funny) and solidarity (cynicism can reflect mutual understanding of a situation) and it can be reflective of both individual personalities and group dynamics. Cynicism was stronger when people knew each other well and was used to show solidarity with others or to challenge thinking within the group. However, it was also used negatively as a way of dismissing the likelihood of influence within the process or dismissing the ideas and progress of others. In certain situations, it overlapped with frustration practices to manifest itself as antagonism (Chapter 7).

6.6.2 Conditions for relationships and group dynamics within PTPP

The strength of relationships within the PTPP observed was the most significant indictor of group dynamics. The smaller groups (such as MK DAG, the MK DAG transport sub-group, MK BUG, and the CCAG) all contained participants with stronger ties to each other as there were fewer people involved (typically between 4 and 20). It wasn't the size of smaller groups that strengthened relationships between participants but rather their independence and clearer roles and responsibilities (above and beyond simply turning up). Participants in larger groups which typically involved more than 20 people (such as the CCSM, Cross Gates Forum, the Leicester Forums, and the LDCSC) tended to have more passive roles in the structure of the processes themselves as they were managed more formally by a representative of the local authority. Participants in these groups reported having weaker ties to each other and typically only worked

closely with a small number of fellow 'colleagues' (e.g. if they happened to belong to the same interest group). However, in some cases there were 'sub-groups' of friends and acquaintances present within those processes, particularly in groups like the Leicester Cycle City Forum where participants tended to see each other elsewhere (e.g. community cycling events).

Solidarity was another significant indicator of the group dynamics and relationships within the PTPP observed. The context and location specific nature of the case study processes meant that many participants shared a common identity (solidarity) in terms of their experience and knowledge of the local area and dealing with their respective local government. Participants also shared a common interest for sustainable mobility (be it cycling, buses or accessible transport). This meant that individual participants were motivated to be involved, desired to make transport better and utilised their 'real world experience' which could present context-specific 'evidence'. From the perspective of group dynamics, it also meant that participants were often easily able to share solidarity in the form of a common sense of humour, cynicism and frustration. As an outsider I frequently observed inside jokes and collective groans when talking about locations, policies or schemes. In the observations I found that participants expressed their solidarity with others who appeared to be on the receiving end of antagonistic behaviour. However, discussions in the follow up interview revealed a more nuanced narrative where people expressed sympathy and agreement with the antagonists cause but disagreement over their approach.

Excess solidarity created complex relationships and group dynamics as observed with MK DAG and MK Council. It sometimes felt as if participants feared 'biting the hand that fed them' in the sense that many of their complaints went to the council, but the council also funded the group. There was a sense in both the observations and follow up interviews that this conflict of interest could sometimes force the group to act in a particular way (typically by not speaking out), losing their independent voice as a result (Interview 6). There were also instances where some of the processes were reluctant to welcome outsiders that didn't fit within

the groups terms of reference and this was observed in the LDCSC and MK DAG (Svendsen, 2006).

Other social capital practices that were particularly indicative of the strength of relationships and group dynamics were trust, cynicism, and transparency. Trust was highly variable and context specific indicator of relationships and group dynamics, both between the case study groups observed but also within the groups between individuals (i.e. they trusted some participants but not others). Sometimes the underlying relationships were complex and extended beyond the reach of the process itself (for instance where people knew each other from elsewhere).

As a social capital practice, cynicism was a memorable aspect of the follow up interviews. Three interviewees demonstrated extensive cynicism and articulated how their lack of faith in the processes they were involved in had the potential in the (not too distant) future to drive them all out of their respective processes (Interviews 1, 5 and 11). None of them felt positively about the long-term productivity and influence available to them. All three were extremely passionate about single issues and used their cynicism to "shake things up" within the processes. These individuals tended to have a strong impact on the overall group dynamics and were known by other participants for their forthright views and vocal approach.

It was also apparent from the observations that the level of transparency tended to depend upon the perceived 'reputation' of the groups/processes. So, if a group was perceived to be difficult to deal with, it appeared to be much harder for the individuals in that group to gain the benefits of transparency and openness (in terms of access to connections or inside information). However, the more imaginative individuals in those processes would then use bypassing strategies, where they could use their personal ties to gain access to contacts or information through 'back channels' Hillier (2000) that were otherwise unavailable to them within the processes themselves.

151

6.7 Practices of influence

This section will explore the social capital practices that reflected different aspects of influence amongst the PTPP observed (Figure *6.4*). Influence was an important theme because it provided opportunities for meaningful outcomes. These opportunities included: control and responsibility for the process and involvement and input into decisions. However, there were also occasions when a lack of influence is observed.
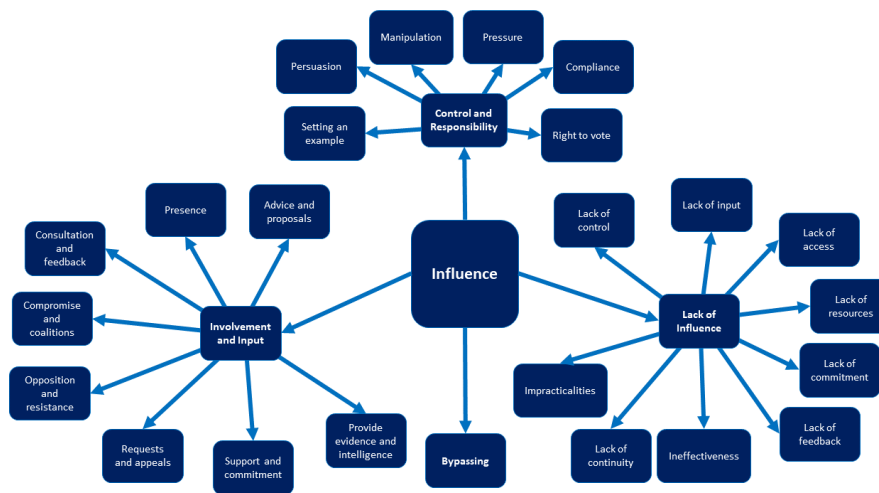
Figure 6.4: Social Capital Practices of Influence

6.7.1 Properties of influence in PTPP

The first significant grouping of social capital practices relating to influence represented situations where participants had some aspect of control or responsibility over the PTPP observed and their outcomes. In instances where participants were able to practice control and responsibility significant practices included: pressure (persuasion and manipulation), setting an example and compliance. The second grouping of social capital practices relating to influence

represented individuals' involvement or input in the processes observed and their outcomes. In these instances, participants saw themselves as one small part of a much larger cause (towards improving SISM). Some even articulated that having too much power and control would be undemocratic given that they do not have to stand up to electoral scrutiny (Interview 8). When participants exerted their influence in this way, approaches included: giving advice and making proposals, being present, involvement in consultation (and gaining feedback), making compromises and forming coalitions, opposition and resistance, requests and appeals, support and commitment, and providing evidence and intelligence.

Participants were able to exert pressure on each other through persuasion and manipulation. Persuasion was used to gain influence by putting forward a convincing argument or suggestion that was then adopted by the relevant decision maker. Some participants described this form of influence as "*quick wins*" (Pollock and Sharp, 2012). Manipulation is like persuasion but suggests an element of controlling others to the advantage of one's own agenda. Manipulation was not a practice I frequently observed but rather it was described as a practice in the follow up interviews as a way of gaining influence over a decision-making process, participants or external individuals (Interview 6). Others described it in terms of using their intelligence and abilities to massage egos and tell people what they want to hear in order to befriend them and over time gain direct influence over their decisions or policy approaches (Informal discussion).

Setting an example to others was used as a form of influence by formal and informal leaders. This involved acting professionally or approaching problems and calls for assistance with a 'can do' attitude. This approach also encouraged compliance as a form of reciprocation. In return this level of responsibility appeared to enhance their reputation with the decision makers involved, giving them influence (in the form of access).

Some participants regarded simply being present as an opportunity for influence (Tritter and McCallum, 2006). This enabled participants to keep on top of what

the local authority were doing. Compromises and coalitions were used in those instances to gain influence because the collective voice generated was likely to carry more weight from the perspective of decision makers than individual positions or complaints. Additionally, the embodied knowledge and intelligence provided by participants was used to gain influence because that evidence gave leaders the justification to achieve change. Having the support and commitment of leaders and decision makers in that way was a desirable form of influence for participants.

A lack of influence occurred when participants were unable to gain control of or input into transport planning decisions. Common reasons for this included: issues beyond the scope of local government (due to national policies, laws and regulations), a lack of resources, or a lack of feedback in terms of how decisions were taken. This meant that the level of influence was unknown or unclear. A lack of influence was also caused by a lack of engagement with local government elected members and officers, or engagement with junior officers who struggled to influence more senior officials themselves. A lack of continuity in terms of participants who attended the PTPP observed also led to a lack of influence because it altered the momentum and 'group' memory of the process (Tuckman and Jensen, 1977).

A commonly adopted approach to overcome barriers to influence within the PTPP observed involved bypassing the process altogether. When a process wasn't achieving what participants wanted it to, they talked about using other forms of contact with relevant decision makers in order to gain the level of influence they were hoping for. This was described in terms of having the 'ear' of the appropriate person. It is democratically appropriate that all individuals should be able to use any legally available means of gaining access and influence on decision makers. However, this has implications for the social capital of individual participants. Firstly, this implies that the PTPP themselves are ineffective (at least from the perspective of those that feel the need to bypass it). Secondly, it suggests that some people can use their skills, standing and connections to achieve

proportionally more contact with decision makers (if not perhaps influence) than other participants (or non-participants) with less social capital.

6.7.2 Conditions for influence within PTPP

Control or responsibility for transport decision making occurred more frequently in processes where local government had a clear mandate, either in terms of direct political support (e.g. the Leicester Forums) or in terms of support from senior local government officials (e.g. the CCAG and CCSM). Participants in the independent groups (e.g. MK BUG) were able exert influence in the form of control over the structure and actions of their own processes. In the Leicester Bus User Panel, the assistant mayor was able to use their authority to exert some pressure on officers to act on participants' concerns, typically by using light-hearted humour so as to not undermine the officers in a public forum.

The likelihood that involvement and input in discussions led to influence taking place tended to reflect the relationship between the participant and the relevant decision maker (Bourdieu, 1986). This approach to influence tended to be used more frequently by informal leaders and expert participants. Participants in MK BUG were able to use persuasion as a form of influence when working with MK Council because of the respective strengths and abilities of expert participants. Local government officers and members also used PTPP to highlight ongoing consultation (e.g. the Belgrave Road scheme in Leicester). However, influence was quite hard to demonstrate in these instances (see Chapter 8) because the feedback on how any consultation influenced the outcomes was very unclear. The challenge of getting feedback to participants is a common problem in PTPP because it is difficult to establish a causal link between individual contributions and transport outcomes. The CCAG met more frequently (monthly) this enabled them to cover proposals in more detail (sometimes even holding extra meetings or site visits to focus on specific schemes). This process facilitated much clearer feedback loops as a result (Parker and Street, 2018).

155

Case study processes that used compromise and coalitions to achieve influence were most effective when participants shared common interests or were members of the same interest group (like the local cycling campaigns in Leeds and Leicester). Adversarial approaches provided fewer opportunities and tended to occur when participants felt like there input was being ignored, frustrated or that they were suffering from a perceived injustice (e.g. the ongoing opposition within MK DAG had to MK Council's management of community transport). The success of an adversarial approach is more dependent upon participants ability to politicise their activities by generating opposition (e.g. via local and social media) or increasing awareness beyond the group itself (as discussed Interviewee 6). Legacy's (2017) paper on the role of the Public Transport Users Association and other advocacy and community groups in Melbourne is an excellent illustration of the success of this approach.

Within the PTPP observed in this study there were opportunities for softer forms of influence by gaining the support or commitment of leaders and decision makers (McAndrews and Marcus, 2015). For example, the chair of the Leicester Bus User Panel agreed with other participants about the need to update out of date information on all bus stops. However, the realities of budgetary pressures, the slow pace of change in local government, staffing cuts over previous years and the need to prioritise meant that it wasn't always a guarantee that the officers involved would be able to deal with every request. In general, the more political/professional responsibility an individual had for a given outcome, the more meaningful the support or commitment from the perspective of achieving influence. Another example of this related to the credibility of MK BUG participants' contributions to the local authority's review of bus subsidies. Their contribution was enhanced by their use of data (including first-hand surveys and calculations of subsidies per passenger to highlight areas where it was important for the local authority to continue to support bus services). In the Leicester Cycle City Forum, CCAG and CCSM photographic evidence provided by participants was used to highlight problems with existing infrastructure or to highlight enforcement issues (e.g. parking on the cycle superhighway).

Support and commitment on the part of local government was not a given in the case study processes observed. Whilst some groups had very clear political support (the Leicester forums and the Cross Gates Forum), other groups struggled to gain similar commitments. An example of this was the ongoing problems MK DAG had in getting the Council's elected portfolio holder for equality and disability services to attend their meetings. The reasons given by the elected member were usually based on work commitments or a desire to remain politically neutral from the process (even though it was set up and funded by the council). In the Cross Gates Forum, a transport officer from Leeds City Council was often unable to attend the meetings. This meant that information and feedback relating to ongoing works on Austhorpe Road had to go through the chair of the forum instead (as a third-party). The MK DAG transport sub-group had a very good working relationship with the taxi licensing officer, but given his own junior position, he wasn't always able to commit to making policy changes even if he supported participants' suggestions in principle.

The PTPP observed also suffered from a lack of influence when the pace of change was too slow (such as when trying to feed into the implementation of real time bus information in Leicester) or the group appeared to be ignored (such as when public members of the LDCSC tried to lobby First Bus to make their new LCD screens on the front of buses more readable). Some participants felt that processes were tokenistic as a result particularly when they had constantly seen a lack of positive change over time (Interview 11). Multiple participants reported the same problems repeatedly in all three of the 'bus user groups' observed in Leeds, Leicester and Milton Keynes.

A lack of continuity altered the momentum and 'group' memory of some of the processes observed. Changes which had an impact on continuity included: changing leadership (the Leicester forums), rotating leadership (LDCSC), a high turnover of attendees (the City Connect groups), and the loss of the co-chair and a high absence rate of regular attendees (MK DAG Transport Sub-Group). These fluctuations in continuity had a negative impact on the ability of these processes

157

to influence transport decisions because the networks and communication channels involved were disrupted (Chapter 7).

As outlined in section 6.7.1, bypassing was used by some participants to create alternative channels of communication (i.e. extra contact) between participants and leaders outside of the PTPP themselves. In other cases, this meant using alternative channels and connections to meet relevant decision makers who weren't otherwise accessible to them via the PTPP observed (i.e. new contact). Meeting participants outside of the meeting in this way was sometimes for managing problems with the PTPP themselves:

"[there are] things that I can do as a suppose a kind of pollinating insect, rather than having the conversations in the room, [as] it can become slightly adversarial sometimes" (Interview 2)

As demonstrated by the quote from interviewee 2, opportunities to bypass the process (Hillier, 2000) were sometimes desired by both participants and decision makers that they were looking to influence.

6.8 Practices of skills and competences

This section explores the social capital practices that reflected different aspects of skills and competences amongst the PTPP observed (Figure *6.5*). Skills and competences were important in PTPP because they were required in order for individuals to be able to engage effectively with each other (Hodgson and Turner, 2003; Muro and Jeffrey, 2008). This section will explore the practices involved in using different skillsets including technical and specialist skills, interpersonal skills, and literacy and cognitive skills. Communication was a particularly critical social capital practice in the PTPP observed.
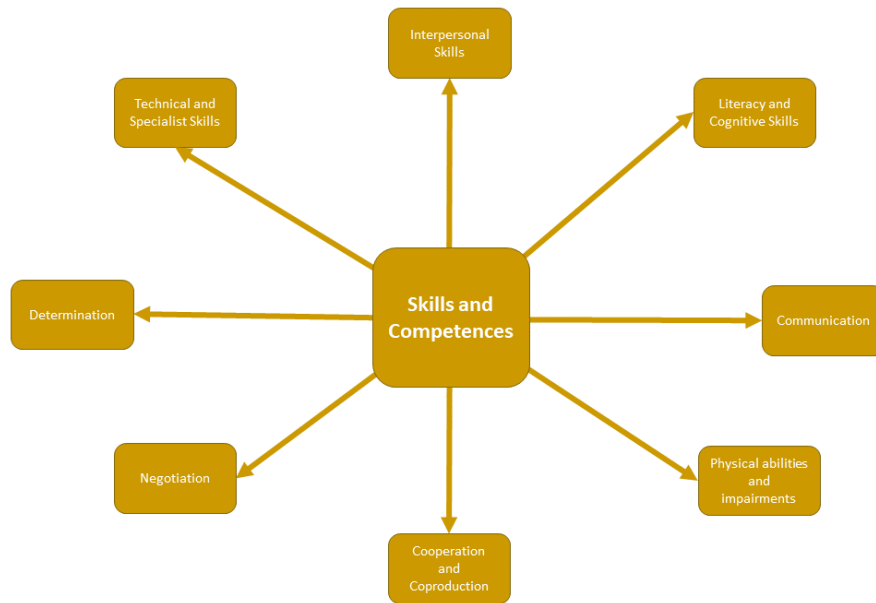
Figure 6.5: Social Capital Practices relating to Skills and Competences

6.8.1 Properties of skills and competences in PTPP

The three different skillsets observed in this study were grouped into technical and specialist skills, interpersonal skills and literacy and cognitive skills. Technical and specialist skills tended to relate to an understanding of policy, legislation, design and engineering. Some participants' skills directly related to their work experience (e.g. retired assistant director of a local council, retired transport planning lecturer, retired civil engineer at a local council, former national transport spokesperson for a political party). Interpersonal (or social) skills were the skills that participants used in interactions with other people. In these processes, communication and teamwork were the most frequently used interpersonal skills observed. However more subtle aspects were observed, particularly in terms of an individuals' emotional intelligence. This included the extent to which individuals were able to exercise diplomacy, discretion and manners when dealing with people, particularly when they were the victims of abuse, aggression or antagonism.

Communication was a fundamental social capital practice that underpinned the PTPP observed (Ercan and Hendricks, 2013). The quality of the communication was closely related to the other categories of social capital practices (Chapter 7) and depended upon the language used, the relevance of the discussion, and whether the conversations were solely deficit led (i.e. only about complaints or problems). Many participants saw PTPP as an opportunity to share problems or concerns about existing sustainable transport provisions. However, the people they were engaging with such as council officers and councillors saw the same processes as an opportunity to share information about what the council was doing in that area and what potential changes were going to take place in the future.

Other important interpersonal skills and competences used in the processes observed were cooperation, coproduction and negotiation. Cooperation describes the ways in which people work together whereas coproduction additionally describes the act of producing something tangible (for example a document) through cooperation. These participants recognised the importance of collaboration and demonstrated the interconnectivity of social capital practices (including relationships, learning, and communication) which is explored in Chapter 7. Negotiation skills were used to reach collective decisions or to de-escalate a negative situation. Negotiation practices involved debating issues, considering options, arranging future plans, and managing people who are perceived to be difficult or dominant in a group.

Good literacy and cognitive skills were required to process what was happening in the processes observed, however it never felt as if there was an explicit level of literacy, numeracy and IT required to participate. There was an expectation (or assumption) in the PTPP observed that individuals were able to read and understand agenda, minutes and had access to the internet. There were situations where participants weren't necessarily expected to have a specialist technical understanding (e.g. of real-time bus information), so it was important for the relevant professional to use language and information that was suitable for the target audience. However, there were times when participants were able to

use their cognitive skills to see through arguments or responses that they didn't agree with (Interview 3). Participants with good cognitive skills were also able to demonstrate an ability and/or willingness to deal with transport problems by seeing them in their wider context rather than in isolation.

6.8.2 Conditions for skills and competences within PTPP

The balance between different skillsets used in each case study process differed significantly. For example, the CCAG and MK BUG were the process where the individuals observed offered the most in terms of their technical and specialist skills through their memberships of professional bodies or experience of providing transport services. On the other hand, the public facing groups such as the Cross Gates Forum required far less in the way of technical skills or knowledge in order to participate effectively. The differences in the processes tended to lie in their level of engagement with detailed policy and design principles. The CCAG needed to consider detailed engineering plans and MK BUG dealt with calculations of bus passenger subsidies, whilst the Cross Gates Forum mainly consisted of verbal briefings relating to everyday events and changes in their local area.

The importance of good interpersonal skills in participation were acutely illustrated by some behaviour that I observed in the Leicester Bus User Panel. On one occasion when a member of the public was outwardly rude to a council officer, the chair politely reprimanded the individual by suggesting that he had perhaps let his anger cloud his judgement, and the individual then calmed down. This demonstrated that the leader of the group had good emotional intelligence in handling a difficult situation. Conversely, the individual who was rude on that occasion (and other participants who I observed in other processes shouting, talking bluntly or being rude) tended to demonstrate poorer interpersonal skills. Participants with poor interpersonal skills had a significant impact on the perceptions that outsiders had of the whole group or process, which in turn dissuaded people from participating (Interviews 2 and 6). However, the

individuals themselves were either unaware of their impact or unwilling to conduct themselves differently, preferring to stay true to themselves.

Another illustration of the difficulty that participants sometimes had negotiating the norms of the formalised PTPP observed also case from the Leicester Bus User panel. In one meeting a participant became frustrated at not having had a chance to make a representation to the group and the leader had to explain that such representations came under the relevant part of the agenda (which at that time was at the end of the meeting, although follow up interviewees have since reported a shift to the agenda to accommodate issues earlier on in the meeting and using an issues log to avoid repetition). The individual concerned was new and therefore unaware of the formal structure of the process. Other participants touched upon this in their follow up interviews in that they had to find their feet through first-hand experience (Interviews 8 and 15).

Poor communication was not always the fault of an individual but rather the venue. I observed situations where people were hard to hear because of the acoustics, particularly with the Cross Gates Forum and its pub function room venue, or because of technical difficulties in MK DAG with microphones or hearing loops. MK DAG was a particularly useful illustration of the need for inclusive facilities given its inclusion of people with a variety of disabilities or sensory impairments.

Cooperation, coproduction and negotiation were important interpersonal skills observed in this study. Examples of good practice included: the CCAG position statements on aspects of cycling policy and design within the City Connect project; the MK DAG Transport Sub Group's contribution to MK Council's draft taxi policy; and the Bus Passenger Charters which were coproduced by MK BUG and the Leicester Bus Users Panel in their respective locations. Cooperation enabled the processes observed to achieve productive outcomes. However, some participants regarded cooperation as challenging:

"*people are learning how their attitude will change things, errm the adversarial role I think is changing dramatically. I don't think it will work for very much longer actually. I think it's got to be collaborative now.*" (Interview 4)

Another participant also talked in their follow up interview about the balance between saying what you want to say but knowing when to work cooperatively:

"*Maintaining the relationship with the [council]… is really important, …we've really lost ground [when] they've felt embarrassed in public, or …felt that they've needed to protect their officers.*" (Interview 15)

The CCAG and MK BUG demonstrated some of the strongest levels of interpersonal skills and competences in part because of the strong ties that existed between participants (see also Sections 6.6 and 7.5.14). The Leicester Cycle City Forum also demonstrated strong ties through their shared passion for cycling which meant that they were also very collegiate and open to negotiation. Other processes observed were formed of looser groupings or independent individuals that exhibited weaker ties. In those cases, negotiation appeared to be less prevalent as a result.

6.9 Practices of social learning

This section explores the social capital practices that reflected different aspects of social learning amongst the PTPP observed (Figure *6.6*). Collins and Ison (2009) identified social learning as an alternative mechanism for judging the merit and effectiveness of participatory processes as opposed to Arnstein's (1969) traditional ladder of participation which focussed on the role of power. Collins and Ison (2009) conceptualised four types of social learning: converging of goals, criteria and knowledge; Co-creating knowledge; changing behaviours and actions

resulting from understanding; and transforming a situation through concerted action.

Social learning was identified as important because the experiences and understandings that people brought to the PTPP enabled individual and collective involvement (and potential action) in those processes. Individual experiences of cycling and public transport shaped the discussions about those modes and listening to the experiences of others enabled participants to see things from different perspectives. This section explores different practices of social learning including information exchange, learning (from each other), sharing past experiences, and anecdotes.
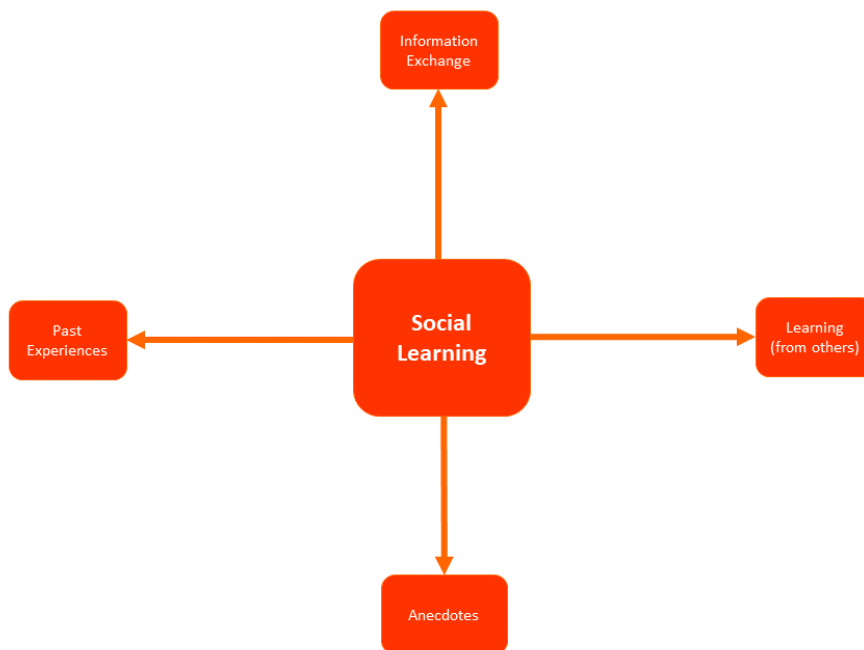
Figure 6.6: Social Capital Practices relating to Social Learning

6.9.1 Properties of social learning in PTPP

Exchanging information was a valuable social capital practice, both from the perspective of council officers and members involved and those individuals who wanted to 'be in the know'. One participant argued that the productivity of social capital is dependent upon learning and access to quality information:

"social capital is only valuable if it's based on something that is accurate…, the art of the possible [demonstrates the way that people's imaginations are] confined to what they understand" (Interview 4)

Actively learning (from each other) rather than passively exchanging information was arguably the most important social capital practise because it had an impact on how participants gained knowledge within the process itself, and how they acted upon the knowledge gained (Muro and Jeffrey, 2008). Active learning included learning about the processes themselves (including how they worked and the impact of participants behaviours and attitudes) as well as the outcomes for transport planning and SISM resulting from the process (Chapter 8).

Actively learning from other participants' normative behaviours and attitudes had an impact on the ways in which participants interacted with each other, which in turn had a knock on impact on group dynamics (Sections 6.6 and 7.5.12). This enabled participants (particularly those that were new to the process) to understand the expected behaviour and conduct required to participate. Participants were able to use active learning to challenge and understand the behaviour and assumptions of others, particularly when their ideas or attitudes to other participants and organisations involved came into conflict. Active learning also involved asking questions, gathering and collating evidence, gaining access to resources, and taking the opportunity to get involved in external activities.

Sharing (first-hand) past experiences of transport (especially transport problems and issues) was an important contribution that many participants made, particularly as a form of socio-spatial learning (Natarajan, 2017). In the context of social learning, past experiences also enabled participants to learn from each other and put themselves in 'someone else's shoes'. There were instances where people had opposing views and it created an opportunity for everyone to consider transport issues in new ways which they may not have related to initially. Often the leaders of the processes highlighted past experience as being the key 'skill'

that participants needed in order to be able to participate effectively. This relates back to an idea that has been discussed extensively in the participatory planning literature (*cf.* Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013 and Vigar, 2017) whereby local government sees public engagement as a means to learn from context before problems arise or key decisions are made (Section 6.7). In this sense, participants are valued as important 'eyes' and 'ears' within local communities.

Anecdotes are a different form of sharing past experiences that focus on storytelling, although in the context of this study I have coded anecdotes as stories specifically relating to a third party not present. Therefore, participants are communicating something that extends past their own past experiences (Pollock and Sharp, 2012; Natarajan, 2017). There was an important role for anecdotes in generating social learning and group dynamics, as people appeared to be keener to share anecdotes if the participants knew each other well. Participants sometimes used anecdotes to give a voice to others who were not present in the room. At other times anecdotes were used to share rumours and gossip, and in these instances the sources appeared to be more remote from the participants present (such as from the media or from a 'friend of a friend').

6.9.2 Conditions for social learning within PTPP

Local government led processes (such as the Cross Gates Forum, LDCSC, and the Leicester Forums) all made sharing information a key component of their processes. Many presentations were given to participants as verbal reports or as PowerPoint presentations with handouts. In coding these exchanges, information exchange highlighted those practices where it was a passive one-way dialogue rather than a co-productive form of sharing knowledge. Some more activist participants (e.g. those interviewed from the Leicester Cycle City Forum) acknowledged the value of these information exchanges but also felt that shouldn't be the key purpose of the process. For those participants, access to people in authority and the potential to exert some influence was more important.

Experiential learning was effective but rarely used in the processes observed. The previously mentioned CCAG site visits enabled participants to actively experience the infrastructure by walking or riding along it. MK BUG would carry out audits of bus infrastructure, bus services (and transport conditions), and the MK DAG Transport Sub-Group organised training relating to accessibility in partnership with MK CIL. In the absence of this approach, sharing (first-hand) past experiences with each other was very important.

First-hand experiences were used as evidence for a need to tackle a problem or to look at options for future schemes in the Leicester Bus Users Panel, Leicester Cycle City Forum, and MK DAG (who were able to utilise MK CIL as a secretariat for the group). MK CIL played an important role in evidence gathering for MK DAG as they collated evidence and presented it to MK Council on the group's behalf. This made use of the CIL's own social capital, particularly in terms of bridging ties between the director and named officials in the council. Contributions based on anecdotes and gossip appeared to carry less value for the leaders of PTPP and other decision makers to act upon. In fact, the leader of the MK DAG Transport Sub-Group used to find anecdotes very irritating and would sometimes get frustrated or try to change the conversation. Unfortunately, anecdotes were most commonly used in that process.

Participants were often valued by local government as important 'eyes' and 'ears' within communities that can share their embodied knowledge of their local area (Natarajan, 2017; Vigar, 2017). An example of this is where the LDCSC specifically recruits public representatives based on their interest and experience with local public transport (in effect acting as a focus group when WYCA shares updates and ideas with them but also reporting on the kind of micro-issues that would otherwise be overlooked). Sometimes, as in the case of the Leicester Bus Users Panel this created opportunities for 'quick wins' (Pollock and Sharp, 2012), little changes that the City Council could make to improve bus infrastructure in the city.

6.10 Practices of representation and representativeness

This explores the social capital practices that reflected different aspects of representation and representativeness amongst the PTPP observed (Figure *6.7*). 'Representation and representativeness' was identified as important because it tended to influence who got involved in the case study participatory processes first place (and their motivations for doing so). Representativeness also reflected the wider democratic legitimacy (if one subscribes to the notion that non-elected bodies could be seen to have such legitimacy) of the processes observed in the sense that it could have an impact upon external perceptions and the relative influence of those groups. This section will explore these practices of representation from the perspective of interest groups that participants were members of, the areas and communities that individuals represented, and the role of activism and political engagement.
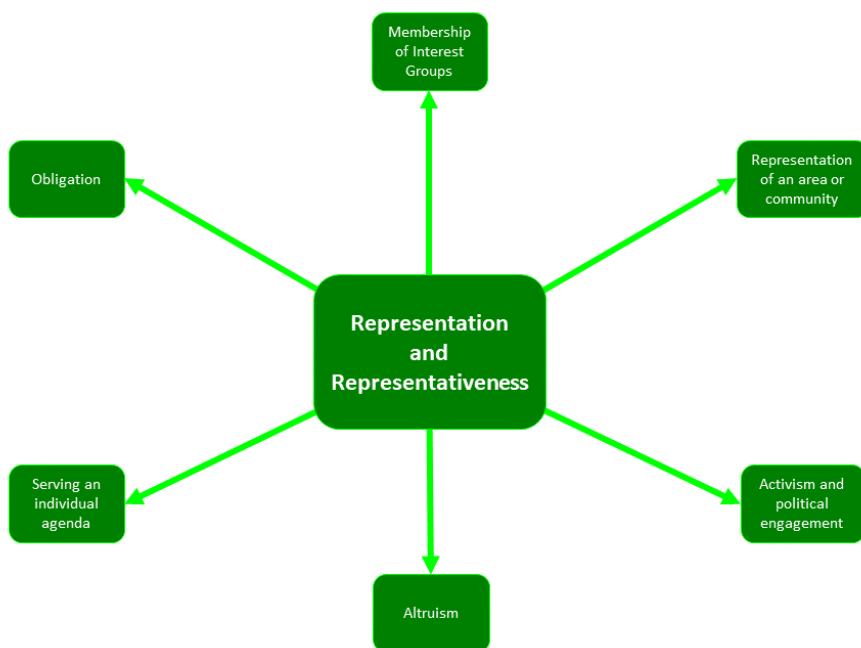
Figure 6.7: Social Capital Practices of Representation and Representativeness

6.10.1   Properties of representation in PTPP

In the case study processes observed, there were three significant indicators that reflected participants' motivations for getting involved in participatory transport planning: whether they were a member of an interest group, their affiliation to a specific geographical location, and their level of activism and political engagement. A criticism of this form of representation raised in the follow up interviews was that participants approached problems and potential solutions from the perspective of their own lived experiences. Interviewees would often express this as an inability to think strategically or to see things from the perspective of others (see also research by Blackstock *et al.*, 2014).

The prevalence of interest groups in PTPP is as significant now as it was in the early 2000s (Lowndes *et al.*, 2001a; Bickerstaff *et al.*, 2002). Many participants in this study attended PTPP on behalf of an interest group or attended in a non-affiliated capacity but were members of an interest group. This form of representation acted as a significant motivator for getting involved in PTPP so that the views and interests of the wider membership of those groups could also be represented.

Geographical location was another important determinant in the representativeness of participants due to the importance of individuals' sense of place and lived experiences (Natarajan, 2017). In some processes, participants involvement was directly tied to their geographical location rather than interest group membership (such as the LDCSC or Cross Gates Forum). These processes were either open to the 'general public' (Cross Gates Forum) or appointed representatives based on geography (LDCSC). In both cases the leaders appeared to prefer dealing with specific interest groups outside of these processes using other channels. Sometimes the representation of a distinct geographical area was explicit and at other times it was unclear. For example, the chair of the Cross Gates Forum made it clear in every meeting who was and was not expected to attend.

Altruism refers to practices where individuals made contributions to the processes observed on behalf of others for seemingly non-selfish reasons. Activism in the context of the participants I observed tended to involve the promotion of cycling, public transport, accessibility and environmentally friendly attitudes to transport policies in general. Given the rationale and subject matter of the groups observed this was understandable but not necessarily representative of the wider community in each case study location. Participants who were activists tended to join together with like-minded individuals through their membership of interest groups such as the Cycling Touring Club (whose remit extends beyond hobby cycling), Campaign for Better Transport, Bus Users UK and local disability action groups.

Political engagement tended to relate to participants' broader politics. This was not always apparent in the participant observations (although when I carried out similar participant observations unrelated to this study in Melbourne, Australia it was much more apparent). However, political engagement was discussed in the follow up interviews and it was clear that there was a broad political alignment amongst those participants with left leaning or social democratic politics. The reasoning for the link between left leaning political engagement and involvement in PTPP was less clear, although the locations selected in this study (Chapter 5) were also broadly left leaning in terms of their political makeup (especially in Leicester and Leeds) so this may have had an impact. Although the LDCSC contained representation from all of the major political parties in the area.

6.10.2   Conditions for representation within PTPP

The role and importance of membership organisations and interest groups in the representativeness case study processes varied. In the CCAG and MK DAG, individual participants 'seat at the table' were predominantly tied to the interest groups rather than the person themselves. In these cases, the PTPP themselves were not designed for wider public participation. The City Connect project used

the CCAG, CCSM and wider public participation as different arenas (organised by the Communication and Engagement Team) to enable representation from a variety of different stakeholders. The CCAG included members of cycling interest groups whereas the CCSM included local authority officers, members of specialist organisations such as Living Streets, stakeholders from the healthcare sector, members of the CCAG, and cycling activists. However, one of the criticisms of the CCSM approach was the balance of project staff to public stakeholders (Interview 4).

The Leicester Cycle City Forum was another process that was mostly made up of people who were representing interest groups, community schemes or local cycling businesses and this tended to fit with the information exchange and networking that was the primary focus of this process. However, unlike the City Connect processes it was effectively open to anyone.

Obligation appeared to be a significant determiner of attendance in the Leicester Bus User Panel where council officers were obliged to attend to report to (and indeed answer to) other participants (e.g. members of the public). There were also instances of participants being obliged to get involved in participatory processes because of the group they were there to represent or because they were appointed to a formal position/role within the process being observed (Interview 16).

Those processes dominated by interest groups raise questions about marginalisation in terms of how information about the existence of these processes is shared and how participants share their experiences and understanding with non-participants (McAndrews and Marcus, 2015). Within MK DAG (and the transport sub-group), MK CIL tried to address this problem by encouraging the group to open more widely to the disabled community of Milton Keynes, however their efforts were met with resistance which one participant regarded as a form of self-preservation (Interview 6). When participants attended processes on behalf of an interest group, it was often unclear during the

observations who they were speaking on behalf of (aside from themselves) and how they went about ensuring that their own views were not privileged over others. How much individual participants engaged with wider communities was a topic discussed during the follow up interviews. Sometimes individual agendas came into conflict with each other, an insight from my own observations that was supported by interviewee 15 who articulated the way in which marginalised communities can turn on each other when faced with oppression.

MK BUG was unique in this study as it effectively *was* an interest group itself. The participants I observed were members (and sat on its committee). However, their open meeting included a broader audience of members and residents. The committee was a loose confederation of local bus activists who were also politically active in other ways (for instance as members of local political parties and other campaign groups such as the Marston Vale Community Rail Partnership). Motivations for becoming members of this interest group tended to revolve around concerns over the threats of subsidy cuts to non-commercially operated bus services in Milton Keynes. Quite a lot of the members observed also tended to see themselves as carrying out a civic duty by standing up for the interests of all bus users.

The remaining three case study processes were more public facing. The Cross Gates Forum and Leicester Bus Users Panel were public meetings although members of interest and community groups also attended. For example, the Cross Gates Forum left space in the agenda for local community groups to report (e.g. Brownies, local church, historical society). The public members of the LDCSC were appointed to the group through an application process led by WYCA. Those public members primarily served a geographical area and had a passion for transport issues and were not typically affiliated to interest groups as they preferred a more direct form of engagement (Interview 8).

6.11 Cross cutting and external factors relating to individual social capital

This section explores the cross cutting or 'external' factors that had an impact on the ways in which individual participants were able to utilise their social capital (Figure *6.8*). These processes did not take place inside a vacuum from the rest of society or from all of the other aspects of participants' lives. Therefore, these external factors (and their role in the processes observed) cannot be ignored. The concept of 'external factors' in this study also includes the other forms of capital as it was understood and conceptualised by Bourdieu (1984; 1986; 1989) such as human and financial capital. This section will explore the ways in which cross cutting and external factors had an impact on individual reserves of social capital by exploring networking, frustration, time and health.
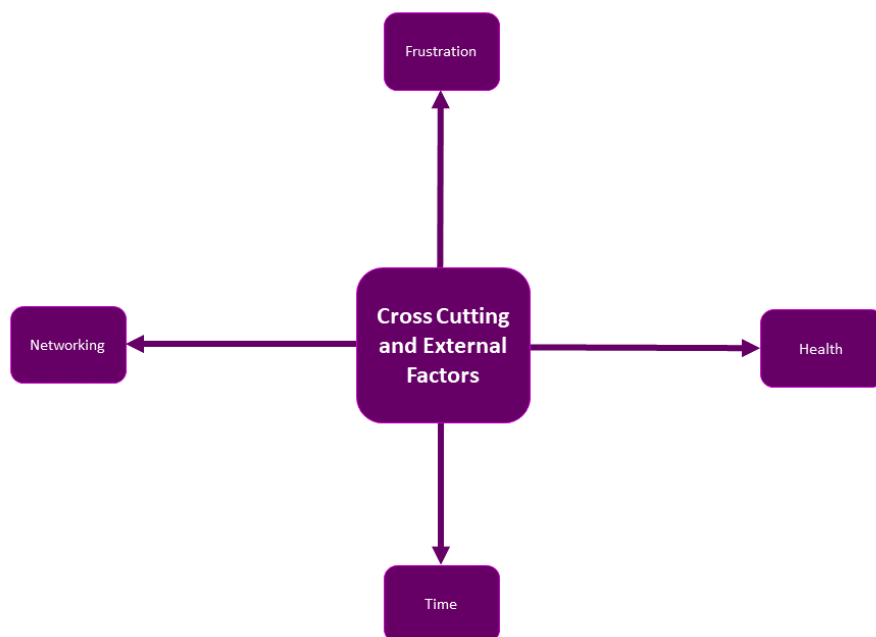
Figure 6.8: External Factors relating to Individual Reserves of Social Capital

6.11.1   Networks

Networks enabled participants in the case study processes to expand their relationships and contacts for potential future gain (Svendsen, 2006). Typically, in the context of the processes observed, networking between participants involved sharing information and knowledge with new connections and bringing new connections into the process itself. Opportunities for networking is something that can be enhanced or constrained by the other categories of social capital practices. For instance, when it comes to leadership, the approach that leaders took could facilitate or supress networking (for example the chair of the Leicester forums was observed putting a lot of effort into facilitating new connections between individuals who attended). It was unclear whether access to networks led to greater influence in transport outcomes, however it did maximise opportunities to utilise social capital. Some processes used networking as a way of bringing in new people to enhance the skills and competences of individuals who participate in these processes. An example of this was the way in which MK DAG promoted a 'way forward' planning meeting in 2016 and a workshop on how to be a better critical friend in 2017. Networking has useful implications for social learning as people were able to learn new things through their new connections (e.g. activities taking place they weren't previously aware of). Finally, when considering representativeness, some processes were set up to encourage networking like the Leicester Cycle City Forum, the Cross Gates Forum and the CCSM. Other processes were comprised of more closed networks so in those cases networking related to expanding external contacts.

The structure of the case study processes observed had an impact on the quantity and quality of the networking possible. One of the drawbacks of using a meeting format (which all of the PTPP observed used extensively) was that participants didn't have a lot of time to network with each other in the process itself without obstructing the agenda. There was an example in the Cross Gates Forum where a couple of individuals were invited to network (on a common

174

interest) but had to leave the room to do so because they were disrupting the core business of the meeting. Extending access to social networks through outreach was an important aspect of building bridging capital and extending the reach of the processes observed (Patulny, 2004; Meijer and Syssner, 2017). However, this was not seen extensively in this study. There were individuals with outreach experience in some of the processes observed but their roles within these processes were limited (i.e. their outreach work was mainly focussed on their respective jobs or external voluntary activities).

6.11.2   Frustration

Frustration was an emotional response to a sense that individuals either lacked the ability or authority to cause a change in something that they disagreed with. This is something that cuts across all the categories of social capital practices observed. In other words, the frustration could have been caused by one or more categories of social capital practices. There were also individuals for whom their frustration was caused by something more historical (for instance through their past dealings with local government). The most common frustration that I observed related to the decisions and pace of change of local government in general (and sometimes specific officers and members in particular) (McAndrews and Marcus, 2015). In that sense it seemed as if their frustration was less about whether their own voices were being heard but rather a perception that the decisions made by local government did not make sense or lacked transparency. Although sometimes this was based more on cynicism than on a full appreciation of context.

In many cases there was an underlying narrative to an individual participant's frustration that was not always apparent in the observations themselves and required informal discussions and follow up interviews to contextualise. For instance, a couple of participants seemed to be very frustrated (in the observations) by the inertia of local government in relation to their policies and actions on various aspects of sustainable mobility (e.g. asset management of bus

stops or the reluctance of the local authority to create a public right of way order). When I investigated those instances in more detail it turned out that the individuals concerned had previously both worked in local government and this then tended to cause frustration based on their past experiences. However, it was also worth noting that their own experiences were based on a different (pre-austerity) policy and funding environment. Other participants tended to express frustration as an understandable reaction to poor accessibility, either caused by public transport service provision (e.g. the petition brought to the Leicester Bus User Panel) or alleged discrimination (e.g. the treatment of members of MK DAG by local taxi drivers or community transport providers).

The impact of frustration was that it then tended to have a knock-on effect on an individual's social capital in the processes observed. For instance frustration led to poor communication and sometimes antagonism (Section **Error! Reference ource not found.**), which in turn meant that the very important message being put across by participants could be lost by the approach to the delivery of that message (Tuckman and Jensen, 1977). Individuals who expressed significant frustration about the relevant PTPP also tended to have a negative view on the overall productivity of local government. Participants that expressed significant frustration were uncertain about whether they would continue to participate in their respective process in the long term.

6.11.3   Time and Health

Time and health both had a knock-on effect on the availability of social capital amongst individual participants and the processes they were involved in. Time can be expressed in social capital terms, not only in terms of the availability of free time to get involved in PTPP but also in terms of the willingness to dedicate that time. This meant that a lot of people involved in those processes were retired or could take advantage of flexible working practices. An inclination to dedicate time to PTPP relied on two factors: firstly how passionate individuals were about the potential they had to impact the processes being observed, and secondly how

176

eager they were to ensure that they had access to key networks or leaders, even in instances where they felt that direct influence was limited (in those cases there was a feeling that it was better to be on the inside of a process that wasn't working as hoped than to be on the outside). However, as above some participants expressed a long-term doubt over their desire to keep pushing on in those conditions.

An insight into the impact of health on social capital came from a resident's association that attended the Cross Gates Forum and they identified the impact that deteriorating health had on their access to networks both in terms of closer ties and in terms of those 'professional' contacts from industry. Health, old age or more accurately mobility also had an impact on participants in the MK DAG because they were only able to access participatory processes when appropriate measures had been taken to accommodate them (including the reliability of transport to/from meetings and events). However, it also applies equally to any process and its ability to promote SISM (very hard if stakeholders are not given a voice). Health can also have a knock-on impact on the viability of a process if that process is reliant on a small, close knit elderly group who are slow to integrate new (younger) members.

6.12 Link to further analysis

This chapter analysed the social capital practices present in PTPP. These were categorised into practices of leadership, relationships and group dynamics, influence, skills and competences, social learning, and representation and representativeness. The following chapter will take this a step further by considering the collective role of those practices in the case study processes using the concept of social capital cycles with their strong/weak and productive/unproductive linkages. The social capital cycle seeks to explain and understand the context specific linkages between all of the practices discussed in this chapter for each of the case study processes observed. The findings in this

chapter will also inform the subsequent analysis chapters. Chapter 8 explores how these social capital cycles create opportunities, uncertainties and constraints for the promotion and provision of SISM within the case study processes. Chapter 9 explores what makes effective PTPP for SISM, particularly from the perspective of the lessons that can be learned from these contexts in subsequent attempts to carry out or engage in PTPP.

6.13 Conclusions

The original contribution to knowledge of this chapter is provided by the detailed evaluation of social capital practices in the PTPP observed. A typology of six categories of social capital practices were identified, followed by an analysis of the properties of each category, the conditions under which each category of social capital practices occurred and how those conditions were maintained or altered in context (Charmaz, 2014).

Social capital within PTPP can be observed and expressed in the practices, actions and behaviours of individuals involved. As the case study processes were comprised of individuals with weak ties, the formation of social networks relied more strongly on bridging capital than bonding capital. The social capital practices identified were collated and categorised according to overarching themes which were identified as important within the processes observed:

- **Leadership:** Practices which steered and set the tone of the PTPP. This was important because it tended to set the tone for the process and its outcomes, especially as leaders had a lot of control over the structure and the flow of their processes.

- **Relationships and group dynamics**: Practices which determined the way in which the groups formed and behaved and how participants treated

one another. This was important because they revealed much about the way in which the processes worked and they set the tone for how the individuals worked together, particularly when contrasting the more collaborative and collegiate practices with the more antagonistic and adversarial practices.

- **Influence**: Practices which enabled participants to have an impact on the outcomes of the PTPP. This was important because without it, it was difficult for the processes themselves to lead to meaningful outcomes. However, the extent of this influence was uncertain and mainly focussed around micro influences which had modest impacts on the overall outcome for SISM.

- **Skills and competences**: Practices which enabled or constrained the contributions that participants were able to make. This was important because they were required in the PTPP observed for individuals to be able to engage effectively with each other. This was also a potential barrier for entry into PTPP, particularly when technical and specialist skills are important in more formalised or technical processes.

- **Social learning**: Practices of knowledge exchange. This was important because the experiences and understandings that people brought to PTPP enabled individual and collective involvement (and potential action) in those processes. Additionally, social learning gave participants the opportunity to see things from others' perspectives.

- **Representation and representativeness**: Practices which shaped the motivations and aspirations of participants and who they were there to represent. This was important because it tended to influence who was present in the processes observed and partially explained why individuals got involved in the case study participatory processes first place.

Cross cutting and external factors were also important in terms of the availability of social capital that individuals brought to the process, particularly in terms of their time, health and access to (external) networks. The social capital of individuals is not isolated to the processes observed because they do not take place inside a vacuum from the rest of society or from all of the other aspects of participants' lives. Therefore, the role of these external factors in PTPP cannot be ignored.

Chapter 7 Social Capital Cycles

7.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines an original contribution to knowledge through the study of the inter-relationships and linkages between the social capital practices identified within the case study PTPP based on the categories of leadership, representation, social learning, skills and competences, influence, and group dynamics (Chapter 6). These linkages and impacts can be conceptualised as a social capital cycle where the categories of social capital practices present all have linkages with each other and impacts on/by each other.

Rather than moving straight from a discussion of individual social capital practices to a collective understanding of the whole social capital cycle, this chapter considers the linkages between individual pairs of categories before identifying the most significant multi-dimensional linkages present in the data generated. Developing a deeper understanding of these linkages reveals new insights into the relationships between the different categories of social capital practices in PTPP by considering how they impact on (or are impacted by) each other. The emerging social capital cycles were then used as an analytical tool to reveal the unique contextual dynamics of social capital practices in each case study process.

Given the complexity of understanding the linkages between categories of social capital practices, there are two ways in which they can be more easily explained. Firstly, we can explore the strength of those linkages, that is how much of a link existed in the process observed between the categories of social capital practices observed. Some linkages may perceptively (from the perspective of the author or other participants) be relatively stronger or weaker (Granovetter, 1973) in different groups or processes (or indeed at different times within the same group/process). Secondly, we can consider the polarity of those linkages, which

in this context is used to explain the ways in which those linkages can be relatively productive or unproductive (Wilson, 1997) in different groups or processes (or again at different times within the same group/process).

7.2 Recap of gaps in literature

The principle gap in the literature addressed by this chapter is based on the call of Schwanen *et al.* (2015) for a more nuanced understanding of the role of social capital on the dynamic and complex relationships between transport related social exclusion, sustainable mobility, transport planning, and public participation. This chapter also recognises the need to reconcile debates about the productivity, outcomes and impact of participatory planning (*cf.* Healey, 1997, Flyvbjerg, 1998, Bickerstaff and Walker, 2005, Taylor, 2007) in a way that values participants without disadvantaging the access to SISM of non-participants (*cf.* Lucas and Currie, 2011, Lucas, 2012, Lucas and Jones, 2012). In order to build on the gaps in the literature addressed in Chapter 6, this chapter adopts a systematic empirical approach to analyse context-specific interrelationships between the six categories of social capital practices and how the linkages between those categories then shape the social capital cycles in the nine case study PTPP.

7.3 Link to research questions and methodology

The primary research question of interest in this chapter (Table *7.1*) is "What role do these practices of social capital (as established in Chapter 6) have on PTPP?" The original contribution to knowledge provided by this chapter tackles this research question by considering the linkages between different categories of social capital practices which have been identified in the PTPP observed. Multiple linkages between those categories collectively generate cycles of productive and unproductive social capital in each of the case study PTPP studied. Understanding the social capital cycle in each case also informs subsequent

182

chapters that: consider the impact that these social capital cycles have on the outcomes for SISM in each case study process (Chapter 8), and the characteristics of effective PTPP based on the strong productive social capital cycles identified in this chapter (Chapter 9).

Table 7.1: Relationship between the research questions and analysis chapters (yellow highlighting indicates the focus of this chapter)

Research Questions	Chapter 6	Chapter 7	Chapter 8	Chapter 9
What practices of social capital are present in PTPP?	MAIN FOCUS			
What role do these practices of social capital have on PTPP?	INFORMS THIS RQ	**MAIN FOCUS**		
How do these practices of social capital create opportunities and constraints for the promotion and provision of SISM?	INFORMS THIS RQ	INFORMS THIS RQ	MAIN FOCUS	
What are the characteristics of an effective PTPP for SISM?	INFORMS THIS RQ	INFORMS THIS RQ	INFORMS THIS RQ	MAIN FOCUS

As in chapter 6, observations and follow up interviews have been used to gain insights into social capital from multiple perspectives (Carpenter *et al.*, 2004; Osborne *et al.*, 2016; Soulard *et al.*, 2018). The participant observations were used to inform an emerging understanding of the social capital practices present (research question 1) and their role in the processes being observed (research question 2). Follow up interviews were then used to gain a more nuanced understanding of social capital and the PTPP from the perspective of individual participants being observed. This 'triangulation' stage in the data generation was critical in order to ensure that the data generated by the participant observations was more than just the researchers own interpretations, particularly when considering the role and importance of the emerging categories of social capital practices and how they interlinked.

7.4 Linkages between social capital practices - introducing the social capital cycle

The previous chapter analysed the social capital practices present in the case study PTPP observed and presented them as six categories. However, this chapter explores the role of those social capital practices identified. This involved considering how those practices linked together and the impact they had on each other and on the processes observed. The analysis of those linkages and impacts led to the conceptualisation of a social capital cycle where the categories of social capital practices present (leadership, group dynamics, influence, skills and competences, social learning, and representation and representativeness) all have linkages with each other and impacts on/by each other (Figure *7.1*). In order to illustrate this, 15 bi-directional arrows are used in this study to represent the linkages and impacts that the six different categories of social capital practices have on each other. This section will now explore in more detail the rationale for linking the categories together (Section 7.4.1) followed by a consideration of the nature of those linkages (Section 7.4.2).
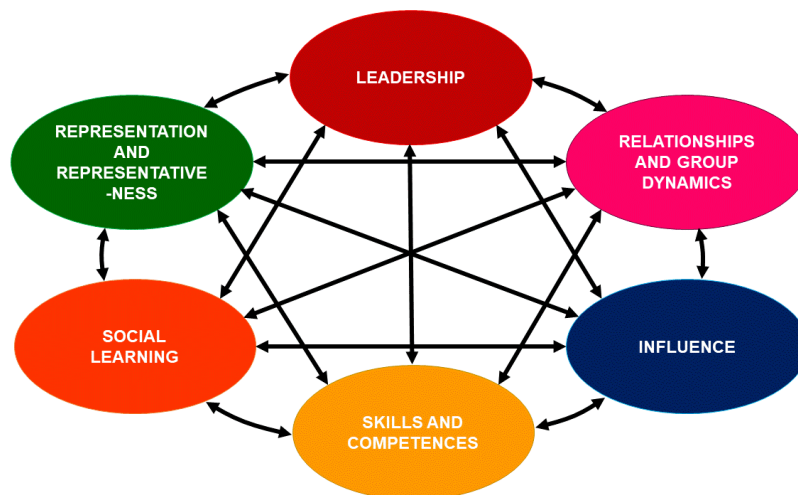
Figure 7.1: The Social Capital Cycle

7.4.1 Linking the Categories of Social Capital Practices

None of the social capital practices observed took place in isolation from each other. The same can also be said once the individual social practices were categorised. Therefore it is only when we consider the collective interactions between the different categories (as outlined in Figure *7.1*) that we can begin to understand the overall role that they had on the processes observed. However, rather than moving straight from a discussion of individual social capital practices (Chapter 6) to a collective understanding of the whole social capital cycle; this chapter will first consider the linkages between individual pairs of categories (Section 7.5) before exploring the collective role of the categories and the linkages between them on the PTPP observed (Section 7.6). Developing an understanding of those linkages can reveal new insights into the relationships between the different categories of social capital practices by considering how they impact on (or are impacted by) each other.

This approach has been taken because it provides a logical structure on which to develop an emerging understanding of the ways in which the 'social capital practices' observed interacted with and had an impact on each other. Without this additional step there would be a risk that some linkages could be privileged over others in the analysis, whereas by exploring them individually they can each be considered on their own merits before applying them to an overall understanding of the role of social capital on the processes observed. Given the importance of context and the constructivist-interpretivist epistemology applied to this study, developing any collective understanding of the linkages between complex human interactions observed is challenging. However, the observations and interpretations which will emerge in the following sections can still provide multiple nuanced insights into the case study processes themselves.

7.4.2 The Strength and Polarity of Linkages

Given the complexity of understanding the linkages between categories of social capital practices, there are two ways in which they can be more easily explained. Firstly, we can explore the strength of those linkages, that is how much of a link existed in the process observed between the categories of social capital practices observed. Some linkages may perceptively (from the perspective of the author or other participants) be relatively stronger or weaker (Granovetter, 1973) in different groups or processes (or indeed at different times within the same group/process). Secondly, we can consider the polarity of those linkages, which in this context is used to explain the ways in which those linkages can be relatively productive or unproductive in different groups or processes or at different times within the same group/process (Wilson, 1997).

As outlined in Section 3.3, the unit of analysis for social capital practices in this study related to the exchanges between the individuals within in each process (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Lin, 1999). Therefore, when considering the role of social capital practices within the wider process (Section 7.6) it is important to note that my analysis of categories and linkages provides an analysis of social capital practices exchanged between the individuals within those processes. Where relevant I also highlight contrasts and differences between individuals within each process as individual participants can be disconnected even when social capital within the group is strong and productive. This is illustrated categorically in the variable access and opportunities of individuals for representation, social learning and skills and competences within the same case study process.

Understanding the relative strength and polarity of social capital practices and the linkages between them is important. The stronger the linkages between different categories of social capital practices, the more of an impact they tended to have on each other. This in turn impacted how the participatory processes worked overall and the nature of the interactions between individual participants within

186

them. However, weaker linkages between different categories of social capital practices were also insightful in the sense that they revealed ways in which the processes (and participants) did not work or interact. In developing a broader understanding of each of the case study participatory processes, considering both strong and weak links were important, especially when the polarity was also considered. To that end, productive linkages were more likely to create opportunities for the processes to generate positive outcomes. On the other hand, unproductive linkages were more likely to create constraints on the ability of the processes to generate positive outcomes. Equally when considering collective and individual social capital, productive linkages tended to modify the collective or individual social capital of participants in a constructive way, whereas unproductive linkages tended to modify the collective or individual social capital of participants in a destructive way. However, as stated above there were exceptions to this and these have been highlighted in the analysis. In section 7.6, the graphical representation of the social capital cycles (Figure *7.2*) reflects the relative strengths, weaknesses, productivity or unproductivity of linkages between categories of social capital practices.

STRONG LINKAGES

WEAK LINKAGES

PRODUCTIVE LINKAGES

UNPRODUCTIVE LINKAGES
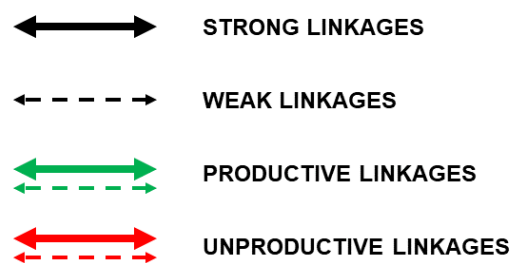
Figure 7.2: Graphical representation of linkages in the Social Capital Cycle

7.5 Understanding Social Capital Practices as Linked Pairs of Categories

This section explores the 15 different pairs of categorised social capital practices in the social capital cycle and the impacts that those paired categories have on each other. Some changes have also been made to the naming conventions used to describe the six categories for convenience. "Representation and representativeness" have been simplified as "representativeness", whereas "relationships and group dynamics" has been simplified as "group dynamics" for practical reasons only. Whilst these linkages represent significant aspects of the social capital practices observed, the social capital cycles are greater than the sum of their parts. Therefore, these linkages do not exist in a contextual vacuum but are rather explanatory aspects of the wider analysis.

7.5.1 Leadership – Representativeness Linkages

The first linked pair of categorised social capital practices considers the linkages between leadership and representativeness in the social capital cycle (Figure *7.3*).
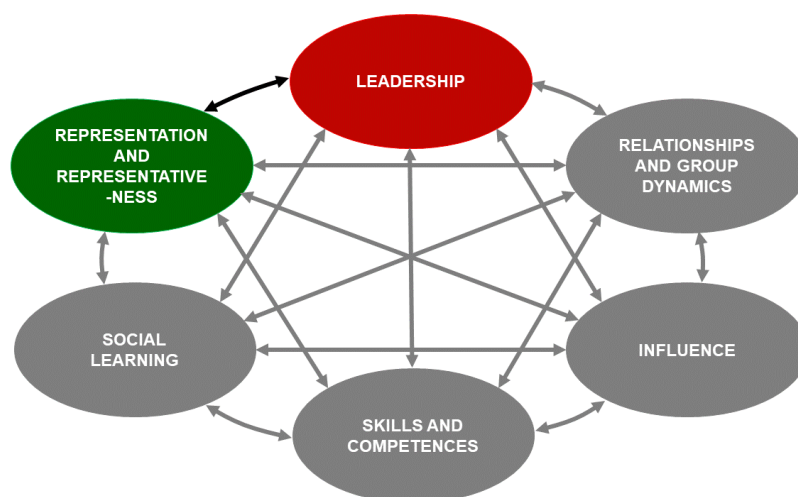
Figure 7.3: Leadership and representativeness linkages in the cycle

The first grouping of social capital linkages between these categories involved the informal leaders that emerged as a result of the sense of civic duty that they felt when engaging in PTPP. Individual participants tended to articulate (both within the participant observations and the follow up interviews) the importance of giving something back to society by standing up for needs of others and not just themselves. This is a form of generalised reciprocity or altruism (Bourdieu, 1986; Glanville and Bienenstock, 2009). As a result, this meant that participants saw themselves as representatives of a broader community of transport users and/or of a geographically distinct area. The social capital of these individuals was strong as they felt legitimately able to speak on behalf of a wider group of people who they represented (often by appointment) in the processes observed. This was a strong productive linkage because the apparent representativeness of individuals enabled them to provide clearer leadership.

The relative level of activism and political engagement amongst individual participants appeared to be indicative of their tendency to emerge as leaders in the processes observed. Many of the informal leaders interviewed described their background of activism and political engagement before they were drawn into the processes observed. This included an individual who had represented a national political party as a spokesperson and another individual who had been a local union representative in their former career. Those participants used their experience to provide leadership from chairing meetings to providing an insight into the politics of a situation. This was context specific example of a strong productive linkage between representativeness and leadership.

Poor representation within a process was a strong unproductive linkage as it had the potential to undermine the legitimacy and purpose of a case study process. Formal leaders were able to account for this by cultivating additional relationships and mechanisms for engagement with individuals, interest groups, and non-participants. An example of which was discussed in Chapter 6 as an example of bypassing (Section **Error! Reference source not found.**). However, leaders

ere also the gatekeepers of representation because they were responsible for who was and was not invited. This strong linkage between leadership and representativeness is productive or unproductive in different contexts. For example, gatekeeping enabled a leader to (productively) protect minority interest groups who were at risk of being marginalised by wider societal (or local government) pressures. However, gatekeeping also enabled leaders to (unproductively) exclude participants who they didn't get on with or who may not be representative of their own agenda within the process.

7.5.2 Leadership – Social Learning Linkages

The second linked pair of categorised social capital practices considers the linkages between leadership and social learning in the social capital cycle (Figure *7.4*).
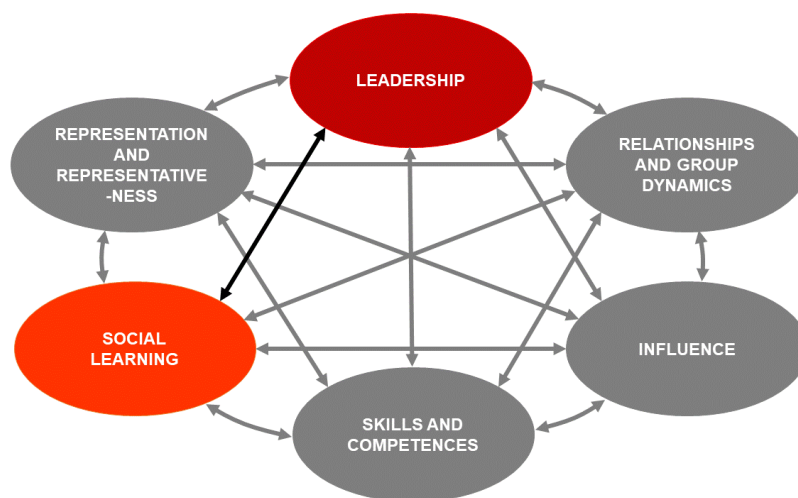
Figure 7.4: Linkages between leadership and social learning in the cycle

The first grouping of social capital linkages between these categories relates to the ways in which leaders were able to facilitate social learning. This included establishing normative behaviour in the processes observed by outlining how participants were expected to behave and using their own position within the

group to act as a role model. Leaders also acted as enablers of learning by sharing their own insights or enabling information and experiences to be shared between other participants. In some processes this was often one of the primary leadership responsibilities observed, particularly in interactions that involved local government officers. Leaders reported in the follow up interviews that information exchange was an important aspect of their processes, including one who felt that productive social capital cycles were only possible if they are built on the solid foundation of access to quality information. The facilitation role that leaders had also enabled them to mentally take a step back from the process and acknowledge when participants' learning was productive or unproductive. In MK BUG and CCAG the respective chairs were keen to ensure that outsiders (myself included) were explicitly given an insight into the otherwise implicit contexts being shared by other participants. This is significant because participants who were new to the group (or case study area) could otherwise feel excluded

Some participants emerged as formal or informal leaders as a result of their own past experiences. For example, the chair of the CCAG was able to use their previous leadership experience in local sport. The strength and polarity of this linkage was context specific. When social learning within a process was generally productive, this enabled participants to utilise their past experiences in order to provide leadership on an issue or process. There were some instances where past experiences of leadership were used as an unproductive linkage. Some participants were former local government officers who had a low opinion of governance mechanisms that underpinned the processes. This typically related to the relative efficiency or responsiveness of local government compared with their own experiences from 10 or more years ago during their own careers. This underlying cynicism or mistrust of the ways in which the participatory processes observed worked and what was being gained from attending (Natarajan, 2017) tended to increase disagreements between those individuals and the leaders, which in some circumstances became more antagonistic.

7.5.3 Leadership – Skills and Competences Linkages

The third linked pair of categorised social capital practices considers the linkages between leadership and skills and competences in the social capital cycle (Figure *7.5*).
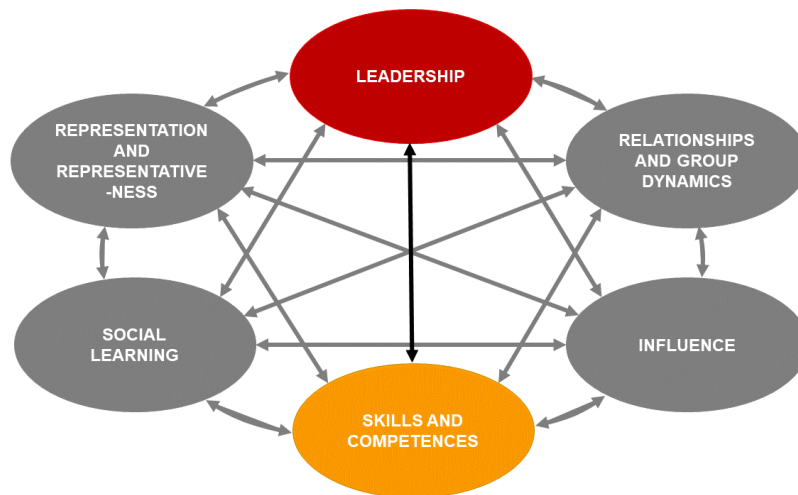
Figure 7.5: Linkages between leadership and skills and competences in the cycle

The first grouping of social capital linkages relates to leadership skills (such as negotiation, communication and facilitation). A good example of this was demonstrated when leaders were able to synthesise and summarise information into a collective and arguably meaningful reflection of the collective thoughts of the participants within the process. CCAG wrote these discussions up as position statements which reflected the collective thoughts of the group. However, there is an implicit element of gatekeeping required here in order to balance competing demands, which in turn risks privileging some opinions over others or diluting disagreements on transport policy and planning decisions (Jones, 2003; Taylor, 2007; Cornwall, 2008; Pollock and Sharp, 2012). In these situations, leaders would either take a collegiate approach or a 'parental approach'. As with any skills and competences, the approaches chosen in each context were dependent upon the personalities of the respective leaders, as well as their seniority, status and

past experiences. Whether that leader was able to use their skills effectively in each case dictated whether this linkage was productive or unproductive.

Leaders had a role in developing the skills and competences of other participants. This can be considered as being a strong productive linkage when used effectively. Examples included facilitating the communication skills of others (for example by encouraging comments from quieter participants) or enabling other participants to develop their technical and specialist skills relating to aspects of transport planning. One aspect of this related to the role of training. In MK DAG the leadership of the group identified a need to provide training on how to be a 'critical friend' as a result of the difficulties they were having at maintaining a productive working relationship with MK Council. Developing appropriate behaviours was a useful part of training which looks at the development of participants' skills and competences. Leaders were also able to identify the specialist skills and competences needed in a given situation and therefore could sometimes identify the right 'person' for the job, especially when they needed to bring an external person into the process. An example of this occurred when the chair of the CCAG co-opted an expert consultant to provide their own insights. If a leader can correctly identify the skills and competences of others, then this can be considered as being productive for the collective social capital of the process observed as well as for the social capital of the individual involved.

7.5.4 Leadership – Influence Linkages

The fourth linked pair of categorised social capital practices considers the linkages between leadership and influence in the social capital cycle (Figure *7.6*).
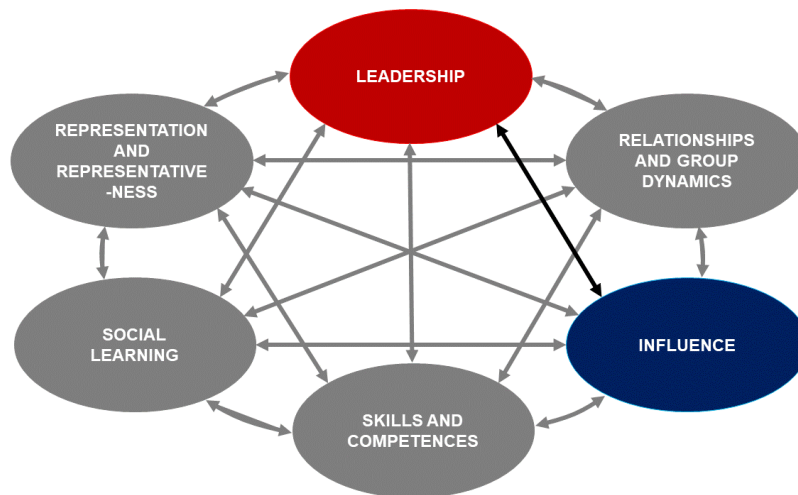
Figure 7.6: Linkages between leadership and influence in the cycle

Leaders can either enable influence or act as a barrier to influence within the processes observed. There are two aspects to this, firstly that leadership can have a role to play in who can be influenced and secondly that leadership can have an impact on how influence is enabled. In the case of the former, the standing of leaders and their access to networks can play an important role, particularly within local government where council members are well placed to ensure that council officers are influenced by feedback or suggestions from the public. In the Leicester Bus Users Panel the mayor and assistant mayor were able to use their status as democratically accountable leaders to influence decisions or actions within the City Council (Hambleton, 2017). Examples of this included persuading officers to remove of out of date bus timetable information and overseeing the implementation of accessibility improvements to the new Haymarket bus station in the city centre. This was a significant aspect of their role as strong productive leaders because they were able to lend their authority to the 'voices' of other participants.

Interactions between leadership and influence became a weak unproductive social capital linkage when access to key individuals within transport planning processes was not possible. When groups struggled to gain influence in this way, this would usually reflect negatively upon the effectiveness of leadership. Both

194

MK DAG and MK BUG struggled to maintain their relationships over the period of this study with key transport officers in the council because the individuals concerned frequently left their jobs and were replaced by a new officer. Sometimes these struggles would be reflective of the reputation of the group or its leadership from the perspective of external participants. This was something that MK DAG struggled with, and the group's leadership openly acknowledged the need to better understand what it means to be 'a critical friend' to the local government and other service providers. The independent groups not directly affiliated with the local authority (such as MK BUG and MK DAG) had a disadvantage in this context because the local government members and officers that they dealt with were more easily able to use gatekeeping to restrict or obstruct opportunities for influence.

An important form of influence occurred when participants got the leaders of their respective processes to agree with or support their own position on an issue (Gray et al., 2006; Svendsen, 2006). Often this was relatively easy given the shared passion that all participants (including leaders) had for sustainable mobility. However, turning support into action was challenging. Therefore, social capital practices that were able to generate pressure or leverage (such as persuasion, negotiation or reciprocation) were important ways of utilising the leader's ability or status to gain influence over local transport planning decisions. As a result, many participants saw influencing the leader(s) as their main goal for achieving broader influence over transport decisions (as a key motivation for attending the process).

7.5.5 Leadership – Group Dynamics Linkages

The fifth linked pair of categorised social capital practices considers the linkages between leadership and group dynamics in the social capital cycle (Figure *7.7*).
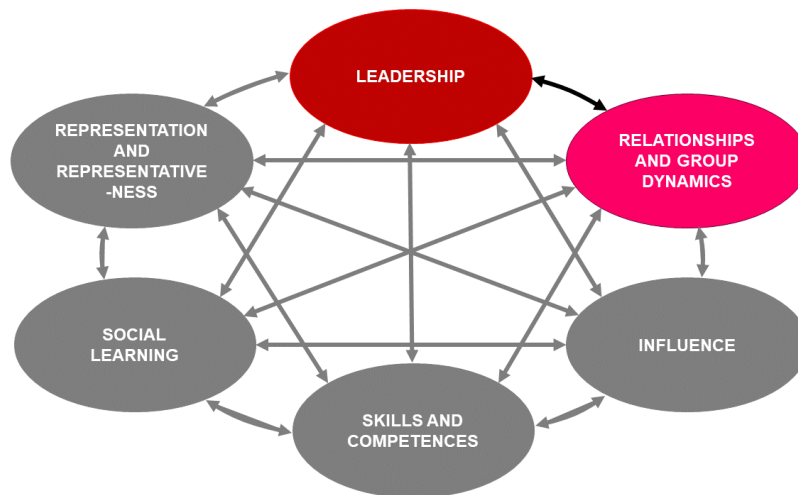
Figure 7.7: Linkages between leadership and group dynamics in the cycle

The personality of leaders had a significant impact on group dynamics. The clearest evidence of this occurred when there was a change of leadership during the observations. Whenever there was a change of leadership, there was also a noticeable change in group dynamics brought about by the different personalities of the respective leaders. Each leader tended to set the tone through their own behaviour for the ways in which social norms were used in each observation. The Assistant Mayor in the Leicester Forums and the Deputy Chair in the LDCSC tended to encourage a more relaxed and humorous atmosphere which could sometimes be used effectively to diffuse tensions and disagreements that were observed.

Approachable and collaborative leaders (such as the chair of MK BUG) were likely to develop personal connections that they could then use to facilitate broader productive relationships between their contacts (in this instance employees of local bus companies or Milton Keynes Council) and other participants involved in the group. A similar relationship was built through the effort of informal leaders (namely MK CIL) in the MK DAG Transport Sub-Group and the taxi enforcement officer at MK Council. Conversely there were instances where the leaders would facilitate an unproductive group dynamic through oppressive solidarity. For example, in both MK DAG and LDCSC there were

instances where leaders promoted a 'them and us' mentality where it became more difficult to expand or enhance external relationships as a result. As a result, individual (but isolated) verbal 'attacks' on outsiders were observed in both cases.

Good relationships between leaders and other participants generated a willingness for reciprocation to take place when participants (including the leaders themselves) requested help or support. Some leaders preferred a formal authoritarian approach (such as the Chair of the Cross Gates Forum and the Chair of the LDCSC) which in turn created a formal, business-like environment in the processes observed. Alternatively, some leaders preferred a relaxed and humorous approach (such as the Chair of the CCAG, the Chair of MK BUG and the Deputy Mayor of Leicester City Council) which in turn created an informal, collegiate environment in the processes observed. Where individuals were able to develop strong productive relationships with other participants, this would sometimes create the environment for new leaders to emerge. The groups where leaders were not local government members or officers were good examples of environments where such leaders could emerge (such as MK DAG and MK BUG). However even in more formal local government operated groups such as the LDCSC, the deputy chair was appointed from within the group of public representatives in attendance.

There were instances where the relationships between leaders and other participants were less productive. Often this was indicative of certain contexts such as historical difficulties between individuals which only revealed themselves through deeper investigation in the follow up interviews. These dynamics would only relate to one or two individuals but had a wider negative impact on the formal leaders' view of the whole process and could even put people off attending the processes observed altogether. There were at least two instances (in the MK DAG and Leicester Bus Users Panel) where unproductive dynamics played a part in driving changes to leadership in both processes. As a result, some of the leaders interviewed reported a need for greater accountability and professionalism amongst public participants including (as a last resort) legal mechanisms for the removal of difficult participants.

197

7.5.6 Representativeness – Social Learning Linkages

The sixth linked pair of categorised social capital practices considers the linkages between representativeness and social learning in the social capital cycle (Figure *7.8*).
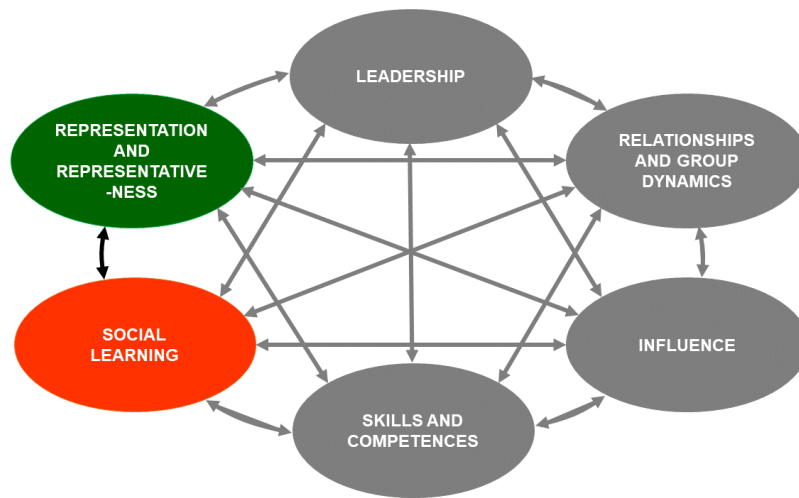
Figure 7.8: Linkages between representativeness and social learning in the cycle

The experiences that participants have of using transport provided the motivations for getting involved in PTPP. There were even instances where such experience 'qualified' participants to be able to join in a process, particularly when access was more strictly controlled (such as the City Connect processes and the LDCSC in Leeds). An individual's experiences were the primary form of knowledge that local government in general and the leaders of the case study groups expected participants to bring to PTPP (Vigar, 2017). This meant that individual participants were able to enhance the collective understanding and awareness of the groups they were involved in. However, participants in the follow up interviews articulated the balance that they needed to strike between providing useful insights and boring other participants with the minutiae of their

own transport experiences and problems. This was sometimes termed 'strategic thinking' and represented an increasing ability of individual participants to filter their own contributions. This reflected an increasing professionalisation of participants (sections 7.5.7 and 7.5.10).

Whilst learning from the representativeness of others is a strong productive linkage overall, such conclusions were challenged in some instances by participants who questioned (in the follow up interviews) whether their fellow participants were actively listening to and learning from each other. This demonstrated that this linkage could become weaker or less productive in certain contexts. In MK DAG the representation of different mobility needs (including visual, audible, physical and learning impairments) was very high. However, it was sometimes challenging for individuals to see things from others' perspectives when their own views and experiences differed significantly. Tensions were observed around people cycling through the centre of Milton Keynes, or the loading times necessary for different bus users. An important balance needs to be stuck where diversity of representation didn't privilege some voices over others or silence minority perspectives. There were instances where participants attempted to give a voice to the experiences of non-participants by sharing anecdotes (this was particularly common in MK BUG, MK DAG and City Connect groups). These altruistic perspectives are arguably critical in trying to create opportunities for SISM. However, speaking for non-participants is problematic.

7.5.7 Representativeness – Skills and Competences Linkages

The seventh linked pair of categorised social capital practices considers the linkages between representativeness and skills and competences in the social capital cycle (Figure *7.9*).
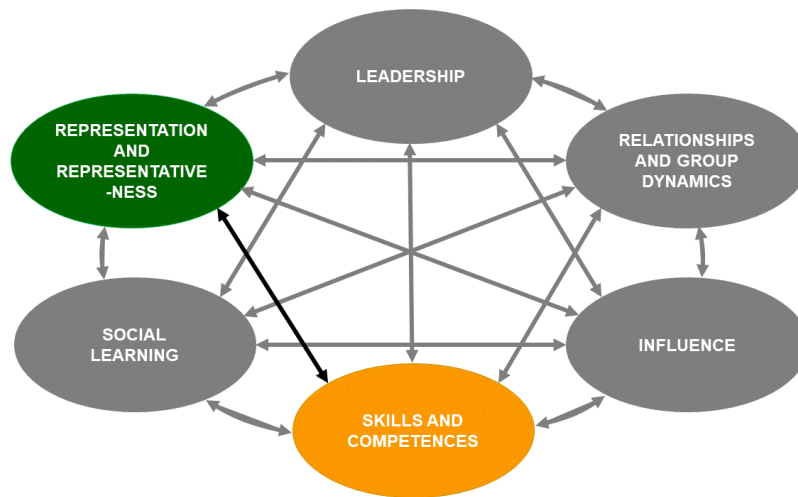
Figure 7.9: Linkages between representativeness and skills and competences in the cycle

Skills and competences were a motivation (or obligation) for choosing to get involved in PTPP, particularly when participants were there on behalf of an external interest group. There is extensive coverage and critique in the academic literature (*cf.* Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Abelson *et al.*, 2003; Bickerstaff and Walker, 2005) of the professionalisation of the public through participatory learning and this was a significant aspect in this study. Some participants entered the process with professional knowledge (e.g. retired transport planners and civil engineers) whilst others developed specialist technical knowledge over time (e.g. cycling activists). This was especially the case in those processes that tended to deal with more technical aspects of transport planning including MK BUG and CCAG. Participants in the follow up interviews also talked about the way they gained experience of 'how' to participate in their respective processes over a period of multiple years. From the perspective of those individuals this was a productive linkage. However, it did also perhaps elevate their status within a process in such a way that non-professionalised participants (including newcomers) were disadvantaged. This is arguably unproductive for the social capital cycle of participants over time because the PTPP they attend can become dominated by the 'usual suspects' and become harder for outsiders to gain access to. This also creates a vulnerability for PTPP in that they become dependent upon key individuals for their survival.

In the participant observations, professionalised participants were often very easily identified and tended to make significant verbal contributions. Sometimes they would be called upon by the formal leaders of the processes to make use of their acquired specialist skills and knowledge. There were examples of this observed in all of the case study processes including: attending and presenting at council committees (Leicester Forums); calculating subsidies per passenger (MK BUG); having a detailed understanding of planning laws and regulations (Cross Gates Forum); promoting participants to the position of chair or deputy chair (LDCSC and MK DAG); and offering to organise public events (Leicester Cycle City Forum).

7.5.8 Representativeness – Influence Linkages

The eighth linked pair of categorised social capital practices considers the representativeness and influence linkages in the social capital cycle (Figure *7.10*).
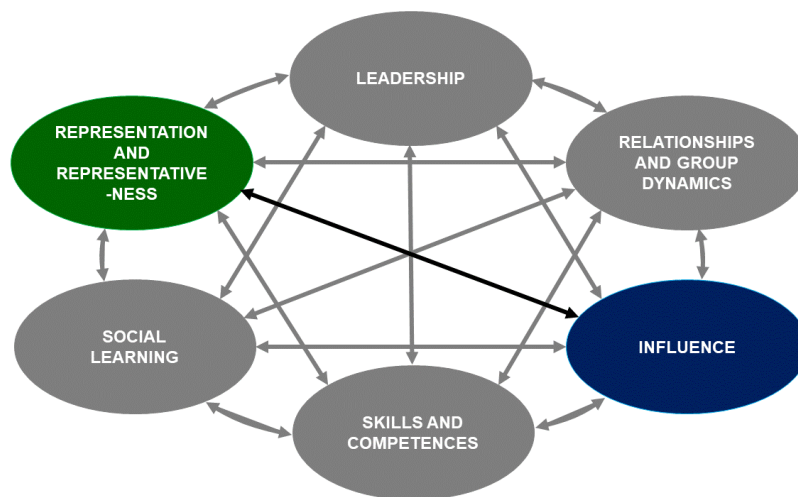
Figure 7.10: Linkages between representativeness and influence in the cycle

Influence can come from a perception of democratic legitimacy. In some cases, the more representative the group was (or at least was perceived to be), the more influence they had over transport decisions. For example, the CCAG was set up to represent a broad range of cycling interest groups in West Yorkshire and their contributions and suggestions to the City Connect project suggested that the group were taken very seriously by the Combined Authority. The contexts where this linkage was strong and productive were largely dependent upon the nature of the influence being sought and access to relevant transport decision makers. However, gaps in representation were also recognised, particularly in terms of the absence of young people in the process (Osborne et al., 2017). For example, a discussion in the Leicester Bus Users Panel about piloting new smartcard technology. The officer in charge of the pilot acknowledged that other groups would need to be contacted using other mechanisms as some likely smartcard users were absent from the process such as young people and students.

7.5.9 Representativeness – Group Dynamics Linkages

The ninth linked pair of categorised social capital practices considers the linkages between representativeness and group dynamics in the social capital cycle (Figure *7.11*).
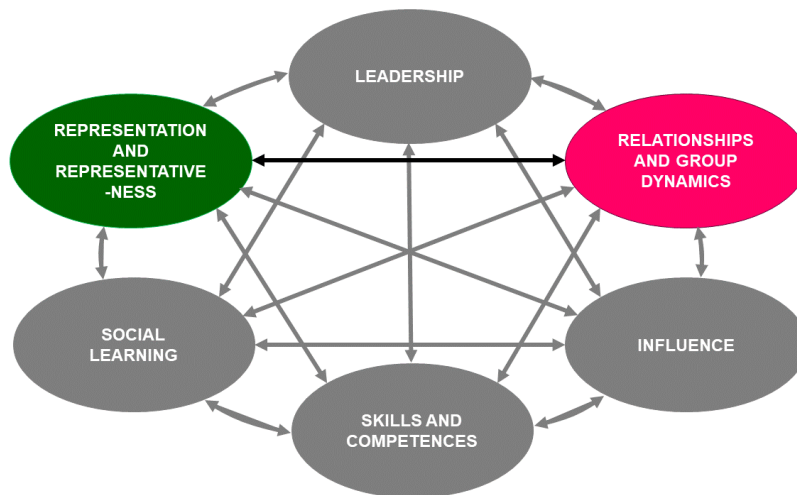
***Figure 7.11: Linkages between representativeness and group dynamics in
the cycle***

The shared identities and experiences of individual participants in the case
studies observed formed part of a triadic linkage between representativeness,
group dynamics and social learning (see also sections 7.5.6 and 7.5.12). These
relationships evolved and accumulated over time with repeated interactions and
demonstrated one area where the periodic mechanisms of the case study PTPP
had an advantage over one off events. In fact, the more frequently the groups
met (e.g. monthly versus quarterly), the more the linkage between representation
and group dynamics would be strengthened. This was observed both from the
perspective of the evolving dynamics of individual relationships between other
participants but also from the researchers own perspective where I was more
strongly identified as being part of a process, the more often I attended
(particularly with reference to the MK DAG Transport Sub Group and the CCAG).

Some groups developed a much stronger sense of shared identity and
experience which in turn effected the strength of their group dynamics. This
created collegiate atmospheres, particularly in the Leicester Cycle City Forum,
the CCAG, MK BUG, MK DAG (and its Transport Sub-Group). Other case study
processes felt more like they were made up of independent actors although even
then smaller sub groups of collegiality would emerge (such as amongst the public

203

members of LDCSC and the Leicester Bus Users Forum). The CCSM was a particularly interesting example of a group where the dynamics struggled as it wasn't always clear to individual participants who else was present, who they represented and even what the purpose of the group was. This was further impacted by quite a large turnover of participants who attended one meeting to the next. After the case study observations were completed this process was rebranded as 'People of City Connect' to try and give the group a clearer identity.

The broader political engagement of participants had an impact on group dynamics. This was practiced through the subtle norms and exchanges between individuals. However, some groups were outwardly apolitical in their approach. MK BUG wanted to work with all political parties in Milton Keynes as the council is frequently under no overall control by any one party. The Leicester Forums and the Cross Gates Forum were all clearly political in that they were formally led by elected members from Labour and this had an impact on their policies and positions. An instance where this had an obvious effect on group dynamics was an unproductive relationship that existed between a participant in the Leicester Bus User Panel (who was reportedly "hard-left") and the political leadership of that group.

Participants from specialist interest groups sometimes described themselves in follow up interviews as having a sort of elevated status over the general public within the processes observed where they positioned themselves as experts and others as amateurs (Ward, 2001; Clarke and Cochrane, 2013). This meant that they had very clear expectations in terms of what they wanted to get out of the process and would regard detailed technical discussions as being productive and a simple repetition of peoples' individual problems relatively unproductive. Examples included groups such as the Campaign for Better Transport, local cycling groups (in Leeds and Leicester), Cycling UK (also known as the Cycling Touring Club), and residents associations. In these cases, individual participants acknowledged the importance of developing a direct personal relationship between the interest groups they were representing and the leadership of the relevant processes, even if that meant bypassing the process itself.

These specialist interest groups also provided representatives with an increased level of technical skills and knowledge (section 7.5.7), which enabled them to better understand the technical aspects of PTPP. A good example of this was the awareness of participants from the Leicester and Leeds Cycle Campaigns of good practice for high quality cycling infrastructure in London and the Netherlands. This would mean that they were well placed to understand the technical details in drawings and plans for cycling proposals in their respective locations and could provide productive inputs to the decision makers. The expertise and lobbying 'power' of these interest groups tended to be recognised and acknowledged by other non-affiliated participants as being productive for advancing the wider aims and outcomes of the process. From my own observations these participants were certainly amongst the most proactive and vocal members of the process observed.

A strong unproductive linkage observed between relationships and representation related to excess solidarity (Svendsen, 2006). Where present, this tended to make it hard for outsiders to join those processes. This came up as a critical issue in the follow up interviews as opportunities to enhance the representativeness of some case study processes was limited. MK DAG were arguably guilty of using their terms of reference as a self-preservation mechanism, which reflected the importance of the process to the social wellbeing of the participants involved. When MK CIL (the groups' secretariat) promoted the idea of opening-up the terms of reference to include non-service users or non-affiliated individuals, there was a reluctance to bring about change.

Whilst excess solidarity was most strongly observed within MK DAG, it was something that tended to manifest itself more generally in the independently run processes (e.g. MK BUG) or even those local government run processes that weren't open to a broader general public such as the LDCSC. The knock-on effect of excess solidarity was that outsiders would feel as if those processes didn't represent them as a result. There were also participants in the case study

processes who felt that way about other processes in the same location, including one participant in MK DAG who felt that MK BUG were inward looking and one participant from MK BUG who felt that MK DAG were inward looking (Interviews 1 and 6). This reflected the challenges faced by participatory processes when looking at the perceptions of insiders versus outsiders. Whilst evidence of excess solidarity existed amongst the processes observed, this felt like a disingenuous observation given the strong sense of civic duty that many participants felt, so that more productive linkage between representation and group dynamics should not be ignored. One potential mechanism which could tackle excess solidarity is terms of office (as seen with governing bodies of public organisations) and this was raised by some participants in their follow up interviews. There was an acknowledgement that whilst this an aim for some of the case study processes in theory (such as the LDCSC), it didn't tend to happen in practice. Certainly, recruitment could be challenging in these contexts.

7.5.10   Social Learning – Skills and Competences Linkages

The tenth linked pair of categorised social capital practices considers the linkages between social learning and skills and competences in the social capital cycle (Figure *7.12*).
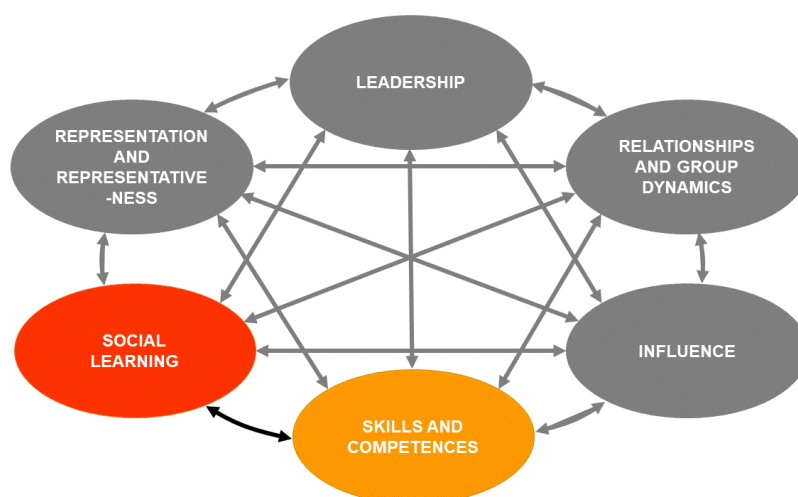
Figure 7.12: Linkages between social learning and skills and competences in the cycle

This linkage is a critical aspect of the social capital cycle because the social learning/skills and competences pairing are key drivers in the formation of multi-dimensional relationships with the remaining categories (*cf.* Collins and Ison, 2009; Hambleton, 2017; and Vigar, 2017 for more on the importance of learning to participation and knowledge building). They played an important role in the emergence of leaders who in turn had a significant impact on the conditions for social learning to take place and for skills and competences to develop. Participants were able to productively use their skills and competences to make the most of learning opportunities within the case study processes. Whilst having access to knowledge is important, knowing how to make use of that knowledge was even more significant for an individual's social capital. Stronger productive examples of this linkage occurred where participants were able to use their cognitive, literacy and even specialist technical skills to make the most out of the information received. Although as one interviewee put it good local government officers should be able to provide technical information in an easy to understand way so that specialist skills are not necessary (Interview 2). However, the presence of specialist skills was a significant advantage for participants who had them over participants who did not. It was not clear how much this linkage was influenced by the educational background of individual participants, but many follow up interviewees were well educated.

A common narrative in the follow up interviews was that participants didn't come into a new process as an expert but rather found their feet and developed their confidence and ability over time. This is evidence of the importance of experience and the inadvertent risks of professionalisation of participants (Bickerstaff and Walker, 2005). This in turn had an impact on their ability to influence local government decision making (Chapter 8). The development of individual skills and competences over time amongst regular participants was a good way of demonstrating that social learning had taken place. Alongside the exchange of information, experiences and anecdotes; skills and competences were an important set of social capital practices that participants could use to learn from each other. This developmental learning was much clearer in the follow up

interviews as participants reflected upon what they had learned over many years (some had been involved in various PTPP for 20 years), rather than the shorter timeframe of the participant observations.

Participants would sometimes behave differently depending upon the context. One participant was quite vocal in the CCSM, but when they joined the CCAG they were initially quite tentative but then quickly established themselves with repeated visits. This demonstrated a desire to develop an understanding of the social norms and expectations of the new group before deciding how to interact with other participants. The idea of improving the ease of entry into PTPP was expressed as a desirable in many of the follow up interviews. Suggestions included the provision of training or induction (Chapter 9) so that newcomers had clearer expectations of what happens in any given participatory process and what the likely outcomes might be. This however is not without its disadvantages as the further formalisation and professionalisation of these processes may further disenfranchise those participants not looking to engage in such a formal manner. Being motivated to attend PTPP but attending training and induction requires an additional level of commitment which may be difficult, undesirable and exclusionary for some participants.

There were instances where a message or contribution to a discussion was lost behind the delivery (including antagonistic exchanges in the Leicester Bus Users Panel, the Leicester Cycle City Forum, the LDCSC and MK DAG). These ultimately were examples of weak unproductive linkages between skills and competences and social learning where participants were unable to make use of their social skills to deal with a situation effectively.

7.5.11   Social Learning – Influence Linkages

The eleventh linked pair of categorised social capital practices considers the linkages between social learning and influence in the social capital cycle (Figure *7.13*).
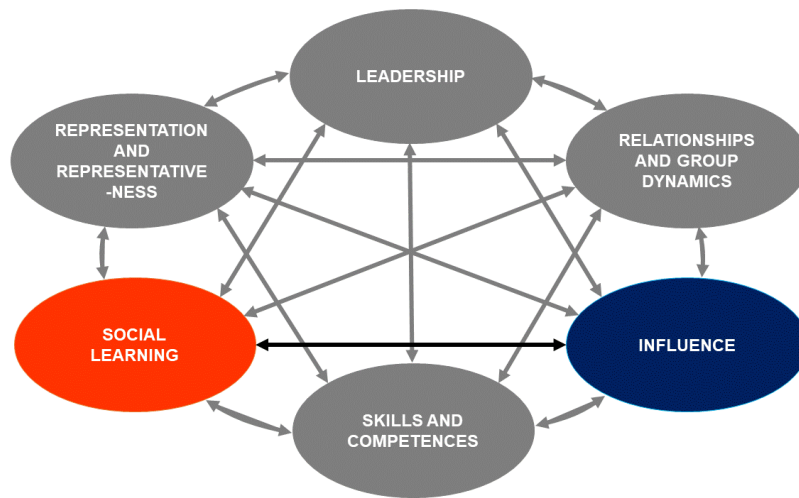

Figure 7.13: Linkages between social learning and influence in the cycle

The knowledge of individual participants can lead to influence, particularly when embodied knowledge can be presented as evidence. The local authorities and other organisations observed (such as MK CIL) stressed the importance of evidence as a means of enabling them to be able to act or change something because it provided proof that such change was necessary. There were also benefits for participants who regarded receiving information as an opportunity for influence in and of itself (knowledge as power). Some participants were also able to utilise their professional or lived experiences (of transport in the area, or of good practice elsewhere) to make convincing arguments which could then influence transport decisions (Natarajan, 2017). When they got involved in the processes observed, they reported being able to use their career experience to make convincing arguments (Interviews 3 and 8). Participants with experience of

approaches to sustainable transport provisions in London (often seen as an exemplar, particularly for buses and cycling) and other European cities, tended to use this experience as a way of demonstrating how transport infrastructure and operations could be improved in their local area.

Individual participants were able to learn how to gain influence over time with repeated participation in the same process. In some cases, this involved learning from previous experiences of what did and didn't work (including how and when to bypass the process altogether). Evidence of this included situations where participants were able to meet with the leaders of the process independently to progress detailed issues that they didn't have time to cover during the meetings themselves. This was particularly effective in the Leicester forums. Learning from previous experiences could also be unproductive because participants learned that a process wasn't achieving influence. Evidence of this included the ongoing difficulties MK DAG were having in attempting to get key transport providers and decision makers, uniformed members of Thames Valley Police, and the cabinet member for MK Council that oversees Health, Wellbeing and Community Services around the table. There was an important role for leaders in these instances because they could be instrumental in bridging the gaps between social learning and influence.

7.5.12   Social Learning – Group Dynamics Linkages

The twelfth linked pair of categorised social capital practices considers the linkages between social learning and group dynamics in the social capital cycle (Figure *7.14*).
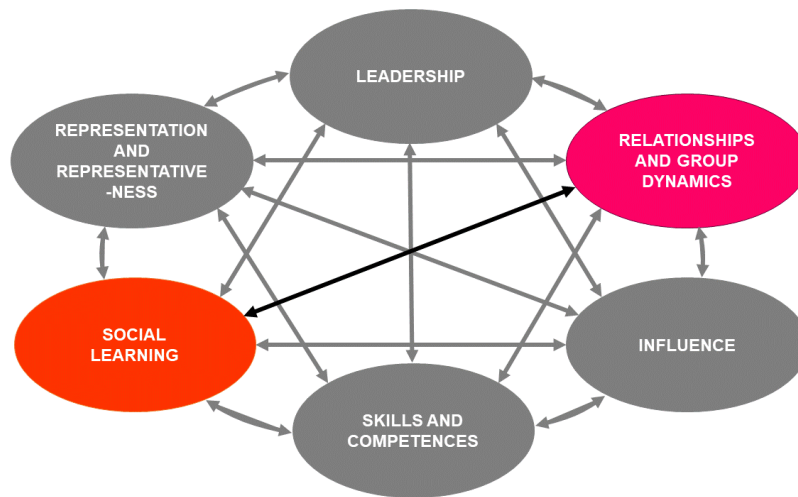
***Figure 7.14: Linkages between social learning and group dynamics in the
cycle***

The willingness of people to invest themselves and their free time in the relationships and networks present in the PTPP observed was both a product of their reciprocal level of influence (section 7.5.15) and increased access to information. Some information could be regarded as privileged or 'insider' information whereas in other cases it was just the most efficient way to gain access to public information (Bourdieu, 1986). Repeated participation over time also meant that the information gained became richer in contextual terms in that participants were able to increasingly understand the 'big-picture' contexts which underpinned the case study processes.

The development of strong relationships and friendly group dynamics within the case study processes observed over time also had an impact on the willingness of (and opportunities for) individual participants to learn from each other. Contrary to the opportunities created by PTPP to learn from each other was the sense that people tended to make assumptions about each other without a full awareness of their past experiences and backgrounds (Interview 1. Certainly, from a researcher perspective it was possible to learn a lot more about individual participants and their past experiences in the follow up interviews than it was in the participant observations.

The shared identities and experiences of participants played an important role in shaping relationships between them. These relationships could be very poor if a shared history contained past negative experiences or decisions they disagreed with. This in turn had an unproductive effect on relationships within groups and between participants and external decision makers. One interviewee in Milton Keynes spoke very passionately about how a negative interaction with one senior member of their local council had continued to cloud their dealings with that individual and even the whole council. This in turn can have an unproductive impact on other parts of the social capital cycle including the ability of that individual to gain influence or recognition (representativeness) in the eyes of decision makers.

7.5.13 Skills and Competences – Influence Linkages

The thirteenth linked pair of categorised social capital practices considers the linkages between skills and competences and influence in the social capital cycle (Figure *7.15*).
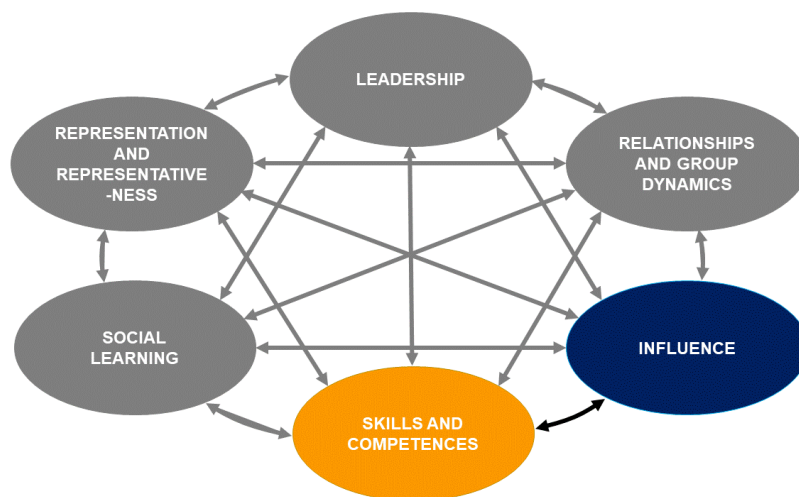

Figure 7.15: Linkages between skills and competences and influence in the cycle

The ability of participants to get their point across has already been discussed earlier in this chapter. However, the important consideration here is the impact that this has on opportunities to gain influence. The skills and competences required to gain influence tended to relate to an individual's interpersonal, literacy, cognitive and communication skills, all of which are important in PTPP. Utilising skills and competences in order to generate cooperation and coproduction amongst the group increased opportunities for influence because individual participants were more focussed on working towards a common goal rather than on potentially diverging personal issues. For example, the Leicester Bus Users Panel were able to collectively contribute a submission to a scrutiny committee review of bus lanes in the city (which led to their continued support and implementation at a time when cities such as Liverpool were removing theirs).

Participants were able to use their own interpersonal skills and technical expertise when influencing transport decisions. A good example of this was in MK BUG where one participant used their literacy and numeracy skills and their experience of national level campaigning (Clarke and Cochrane, 2013) to make a persuasive argument for bus route tendering or subsidy decisions based on subsidy per passenger calculations that they had carried out. On other occasions knowing who else's skills to utilise was important. Bridging capital was particularly effective in the Cross Gates Forum and the Leicester Cycle City Forum as networking was seen by participants as an important outcome. However, expertise doesn't guarantee influence and sometimes this can be limited by external factors such as planning regulations and gatekeeping. Sometimes, knowing when or how to gain influence was a matter of using one's experience to achieve that influence in the most efficient way possible. One participant honestly described this as manipulation, but others saw it as lobbying or bypassing. The follow up interviews revealed that one-to-one meetings with appropriate leaders, elected members and decision makers enhanced an individual participants opportunity for influence.

Conversely, the poor utilisation of skills and competences were a barrier to influence for individual participants, largely due to inappropriate or aggressive behaviour that would tend to result in arguments or antagonism between themselves and decision makers. Whilst this might seem unfair where their contributions are ultimately relevant, all participants regardless of their status or experience were only human and didn't tend to appreciate rudeness or mistreatment on the part of others (Ploger, 2004). However, people will understandably get angry and frustrated when they have suffered from negative experiences (a triadic relationship with social learning) relating to transport and mobility in the past; especially when they blame local government members and officers for those experiences. Examples of this were observed in processes involving more senior representatives of local government including the Cross Gates Forum, the Leicester Bus Users Panel, and MK DAG. Often these unproductive linkages were reflective of historical difficulties between individuals.

7.5.14   Skills and Competences – Group Dynamics Linkages

The fourteenth linked pair of categorised social capital practices considers the linkages between skills and competences and group dynamics in the social capital cycle (Figure *7.16*).
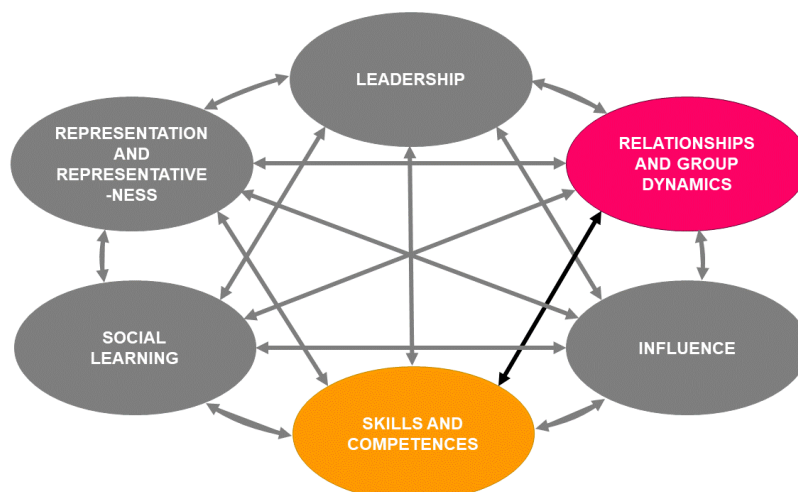

Figure 7.16: Linkages between skills and competences and group dynamics in the cycle

The ways in which participants used their skills and competences (e.g. through communication, negotiation, cooperation and coproduction) demonstrated an overt manifestation of the relationships and group dynamics within those processes. When relationships and group dynamics were productive, this gave participants more confidence to communicate and cooperate effectively. However, the importance in this linkage is not in the presence or absence of skills and competences but rather how they are used. The ways in which people communicated or utilised other interpersonal skills often dominated both my reflections and those of the follow up interviewees because the quality of those skills-based interactions reflected the leadership, influence and group dynamics that participants had to navigate. Some participants in the follow up interviews articulated a desire to become better participants without necessarily knowing what that meant in practice. Others articulated the concept of a critical friend, who could provide constructive criticism and support where necessary. Within MK DAG there was an acknowledgement that striking a balance between being critical and being a friend to MK Council and other service providers didn't always work. Individual participants within the group were perceived as being difficult to deal with from the perspective of leaders and decision makers. This in turn had a knock-on impact on influence (section 7.5.15).

Making judgements on how best to utilise their skills and competences tended to be most difficult for participants who had poorer relationships with leaders and other decision makers, particularly when they were frustrated by a lack of action on the part of local government. This resulted in cynical antagonism (where participants didn't believe what local government were telling them and would often use anger and antagonism to make themselves heard). Whenever a process contained cynical antagonism, leaders and decision makers reported having a more negative view of the effectiveness of that process (Ploger, 2004), or of their willingness to continue to engage with that process (Interview 2). For example, whilst MK BUG succeeded (through their communication skills) in developing one-to-one relationships with key transport officers within MK Council, MK DAG failed. The navigation of social norms was critical, and leaders identified

215

humour, professionalism and formality as being important in establishing trust and solidarity. Examples of forms of communication that were contrary to social norms included: telling too many anecdotes (MK DAG Transport Sub-Group), making irrelevant and confusing statements (MK BUG and Leicester Bus Users Panel), challenging the collegiate way of working within the meetings themselves (CCAG), and not following protocol (Leicester Bus Users Panel, Cross Gates Forum and LDCSC) such as not following the agenda.

7.5.15   Influence – Group Dynamics Linkages

The fifteenth and final linked pair of categorised social capital practices considers the linkages between influence and group dynamics in the social capital cycle (Figure *7.17*). In all of the linkages discussed in this section, there is a clear triadic relationship with leadership (sections 7.5.4 and 7.5.5).
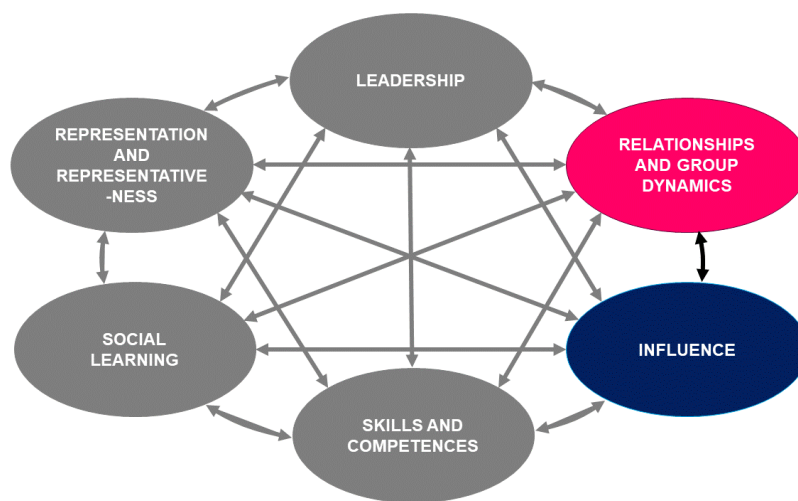
Figure 7.17: Linkages between influence and group dynamics in the cycle

A strong collective group voice or position provided decision makers with clearer evidence of support or a need for change. Participants were willing to invest social capital in relationships with decision makers in return for a reciprocal level of influence. However, how much this was realised was questioned by the follow up interviewees:

"I try to make a difference, [we are] a small group of people banging our head up against a brick wall… [we aren't] going to beat the system unless somebody in that system is going to help us…if [they do], we've got a chance." (Interview 1)

"sheer dogged persistence [keeps me going to meetings] …I'm digging my heels in…until you know either I drop dead or they do something… they've no proper system for dealing with [issues]…[so I] just turn up and make [myself] as big a nuisance… as I can" (Interview 11)

There was a clear link in the processes observed between opportunities for influence and the group's reputation. This was particularly noticeable in situations where the dynamics of the group discouraged external participants from attending as they felt they would be attacked or shouted at. This limits opportunities for influence because if key decision makers won't engage with a process, then the participants within it cannot gain influence over those decision makers (at least directly). This is a serious issue as it has implications for the long-term sustainability of the whole process. If the participants within that process develop a reputation for being difficult to deal with then they risk the process becoming irrelevant or ceasing to exist altogether. This was a problem that participants within MK DAG seemingly had to deal with, particularly when trying to influence community transport decision-making within MK Council.

A lack of continuity also disrupted group dynamics and opportunities for influence over time. This illustrated the importance in those PTPP of developing bridging capital and individual connections in order to maintain influential relationships with decision makers. This was particularly noticeable when participants missed meetings or left the process altogether. In the November 2015 MK DAG meeting neither the director of MK CIL or the equalities officer at MK Council were present and they would typically diffuse some of the anger and frustration present. As a result, this meeting was particularly antagonistic towards the two MK Council officers present.

217

7.6 The role of social capital practices on PTPP

This section will explore the collective role of the social capital practices (and their linkages) that have been considered above and in the previous chapter. The paired linkages outlined above do not exist in isolation. Ultimately it is the triadic and multi-dimensional linkages between multiple categories of social capital practices which shape the social capital cycle for each case study process. Firstly, this section will explain how the social capital cycle works and why triadic and multi-dimensional linkages are important. Secondly, this section will consider the role of external factors which had an impact on the social capital cycle (such as politics, funding, regulation and an individuals' background). Finally, this section will provide a detailed analysis of the social capital cycle observed in each of the 9 case study processes. Given the temporal and contextual nature of social capital, these cycles are a cross-sectional snapshot of social capital in each process rather than a four dimensional 'animation' of the evolution of social capital over time.

7.6.1 What the Social Capital Cycle can reveal about PTPP

The social capital cycle is used as an analytical tool in this study in order to explain the collective role that the different categories of social capital practices (outlined in Chapter 6) and the paired linkages between them (outlined above) have on the -creation of opportunities for relatively strong/weak and productive/unproductive exchanges of social capital between individuals within the case study processes observed. The social capital cycle represents the final stage in the analysis of the role of social capital practices by considering how linkages between different case study processes and contexts in this study vary and why this might be the case.

Furthermore, these social capital cycles are not static, singular descriptions of the role of social capital in participatory transport planning. This means that they can

also be used to identify the variability of social capital over time within the processes observed. The temporal variability of social capital cycles can reflect short term 'contextual' changes as well as long term 'evolutionary' changes.

Short term 'contextual' changes relate to the temporary shifts in the relative strength and polarity of the linkages within the social capital cycles which are reflective of the micro interactions present in different contexts (as often seen when certain participants were present or absent from meeting to meeting). These were most readily observed in the participant observations carried out in this study.

Long term 'evolutionary' changes on the other hand relate to the ways in which macro interactions present over a longer period reinforced the social capital cycles of the processes observed in ways which reflected the current stage in the 'life cycle' of a given process. In other words, were the process themselves in a period of growth and expansion, stability, or stagnation and decline (similar to Tuckman and Jensen's (1977) stages of small group development)? These were harder (but not impossible) to observe in the timeframe given for participant observations in this study and were often reflected upon more readily by participants who took part in the follow up interviews and had the benefit of being able to draw upon their historical experiences of the case study processes (which often stretched back for many years prior to this study).

Aside from the development of nuanced understandings of the role of social capital in PTPP; these social capital cycles can in turn be used to inform the context specific ways in which opportunities and constraints for SISM were created in Leeds, Leicester and Milton Keynes (Chapter 8). The combined understanding of the role of social capital (cycles) and the opportunities/constraints for SISM in those processes are in turn therefore indicative of the characteristics of effective PTPP (Chapter 9).

7.6.2 The Importance of Multi-Dimensional Linkages

Whilst the paired linkages between categories of social capital practices are a significant explanatory variable for understanding the role of social capital in the case study processes, they don't act in isolation to each other. Therefore, the social capital cycle is also used as a mechanism to illustrate the more complex triadic and multi-dimensional relationships that emerged within the case study processes. This section will briefly outline the five most significant triadic or multi-dimensional linkages observed (Figure *7.18*) before leading into case study specific discussions in subsequent sections.
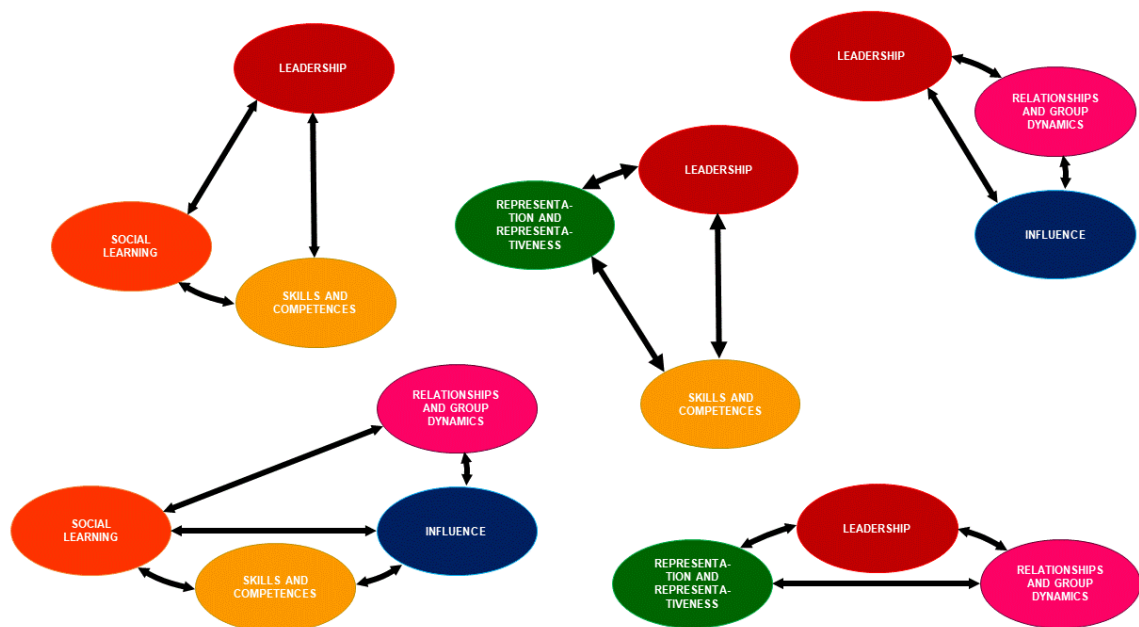
Figure 7.18: The most significant triadic and multi-dimensional linkages observed in the social capital cycles

One of the most significant paired linkages within the social capital cycle occurred between practices of social learning and skills and competences. Productive social learning tended to encourage the better utilisation of skills and competences, and the better utilisation of skills and competences appeared to create better environments for social learning. This in turn would help to create a

more productive social capital cycle (Wilson, 1997). However, this process was often driven by strong and productive leadership because leaders tended to recognise how other participants could learn from each other and what each participant could bring to the process in terms of their experiences and skills. This linkage took on a more activistic slant in those processes which relied more heavily on informal leaders (CCAG, MK BUG and MK DAG). In these instances, leaders were able to allocate responsibilities (such as representing MK BUG at council meetings) to participants with the most appropriate combination of experiences and skills.

Social learning and skills and competences also formed a multi-dimensional linkage with influence and group dynamics. Productive influence and group dynamics were only possible if individual participants were able to effectively utilise the experiences and skills present. This linkage was most productive in the CCAG, Leicester Cycle City Forum and MK BUG processes because they reflected close knit groups (with productive group dynamics) that were receptive to learning from each other, had specialist knowledge and experience of sustainable mobility (either buses or cycling), and had strong enough relationships to work collaboratively together to use their evidence and experience to influence decision makers. These processes illustrated the importance of having the necessary skills and competences but also the barriers to entry within participatory transport planning for those individuals that do not possess those skills and competences. Positive outcomes in these processes were ultimately driven by this multi-dimensional linkage because individual participants relied upon their access to the network and the fact that they tended to think more strategically beyond the confines of their own lived experiences.

Triadic linkages between leadership, influence and group dynamics were important because strong productive leadership, particularly when those participants had power over decision making or some form of democratic mandate. In these contexts, leaders tended to create stronger group dynamics and more effective opportunities for influence (as they understood the realistic limits of what that process could achieve). The Leicester Forums and MK BUG

were excellent examples of this linkage because they were able to focus on the areas where they could make a difference. Also, in the case of the Leicester Forums, it was the formal leadership that participants were looking to influence (rather than some external actor). Given that many of the influences in these processes could best be described as 'micro-influences', not all participants were satisfied with the level of influence they were able to achieve. However, the role of external factors cannot be overlooked here (Section 7.6.3) as their influence was often limited by financial or regulatory constraints rather than an inability to influence and gain the support (or sympathy) of decision makers (e.g. councillors and council officers).

Triadic linkages between leadership, representativeness and group dynamics were particularly important in the formalised (local authority controlled) processes such as the Cross Gates Forum and LDCSC (see sections 0 and 0 for a more detailed discussion) because the leaders were able to control who could participate (note that this doesn't equate to attendance but rather to contributions) and how those participants behaved. However, this was only productive when the leaders of those processes avoided using gatekeeping to shut down participants, so in both cases the productivity of those social capital cycles would heavily depend upon the approach of the chair of those processes at different times. There were times within the case study processes outlined above when gatekeeping was necessary (i.e. to prevent people talking over each other or to avoid discussions about ongoing criminal investigations) but sometimes gatekeeping was used instead as a form of censorship to keep the process on track (Cross Gates Forum) or as a judgement on the validity of an individuals' contribution (LDCSC). This triadic linkage was also an important aspect of the overwhelmingly strong and productive social capital cycle observed in the Leicester Forums, however in the case of these processes the leaders were able to respond respectfully and firmly to negative behaviour rather than shut down discussion altogether. As outlined in chapter 6, even when participants were frustrated or antagonistic, there was still an underlying message that skilled leaders were able to acknowledge.

The triadic linkage between leadership, representativeness and skills and competences was important because participants in processes representing larger interest groups required the skills to balance and articulate competing opinions and attitudes within that group. Leaders (particularly in local authority-controlled processes) had a role in acknowledging the representativeness of the process in terms of who was present, but also in terms of balancing the competing needs of individual participants by ensuring that they were able to effectively utilise their skills and competences to get their point across. This triadic linkage tended to work most effectively in those participatory process with a clear governance role (such as the Cross Gates Forum, the LDCSC and the CCAG) but again only when the leader's actions enabled these productive linkages to occur. It should also have worked in MK DAG as that group had clearly defined terms of reference, however the weakness of their relationship with MK Council (in part driven by leadership tensions) had an unproductive effect.

7.6.3 The Role of External Factors on Social Capital Cycles

None of the case study processes (and their resulting social capital cycles) existed in a vacuum and they were therefore subject to wider societal and governance processes. These factors played a particularly significant role on the opportunities for influence arising from each process, even when the rest of the social capital cycle was strong and productive. External factors included politics, funding, regulation and the background of individuals.

The political agenda (and makeup) both locally (in Leeds, Leicester and MK) and nationally had an impact on the transport priorities in each case study. Certainly, the clear political mandate of the directly elected mayor in Leicester contrasted with the more politically competitive MK Council and WYCA (although Leeds City Council itself was a labour-run authority). The disproportionately significant involvement of Labour in all three local authorities mirrored the findings of a content analysis of PTPP as part of the production of the third generation of English Local Transport Plans (Elvy, 2014). Another political factor in the context

of this study was the competing agendas of Labour led local government as contrasted with the Conservative national government. National issues such as the 2016 EU referendum took place very late on in the context of this study, however it did not appear to be a significant issue in the context of local government decision making at the time (at least before Brexit occurs). Further research would be required post 2019 to see whether post-Brexit politics has an impact on the social capital of participatory transport planning at the local level.

The availability of funding (for SISM) particularly in the context of continued government austerity, appeared to disrupt the influence of participants over a diminished number of local government officers. This was observed/reported as a problem in all three case study locations, especially in Milton Keynes where the turnover of key transport planning officers was a further complication in developing meaningful and influential relationships with the council. Funding pressures also had an impact on softer measures and maintenance (e.g. potholes in MK) whereas there still appeared to be larger capital grants available thanks to National or Local Economic Partnership driven funding (such as with the large cycling investment projects in Leicester and Leeds for instance).

Regulatory frameworks (for public transport provision in particular) was often used as an explanation by the council leadership/members for a lack of influence over public transport provisions. There were certainly pressures relating to this in all three locations, especially in relation to local bus services. Milton Keynes was subject to significant bus subsidy pressures, whilst political leaders in both Leicester and Leeds appeared to be frustrated at the lack of local authority control/influence over the quality of commercially operated bus services in their cities. This also links to the resource challenges posed by austerity. One interviewee described how their local authority used to have an officer dedicated to promoting the area's interest with respect to rail franchising and working with TOCs but now they don't have the staffing or the budget. The Bus Services Act 2017 was going through parliament whilst this study took place and was often mentioned (particularly in the follow up interviews) as a 'hope for the future' in terms of giving authorities greater powers, especially in Leicester (with a directly

elected mayor) and Leeds (part of a combined authority albeit without a mayor at the time of writing).

The historical backgrounds of individual participants which led to the formation of their skills and competences was an important external factor because it tended to have an impact on their inclination to participate in the processes studied, as well as their confidence at getting involved. Individual skills and competences were influenced by their current and former professions (I met many participants with professional backgrounds who wanted to give something back to society in retirement), socio-demographic characteristics (participants were predominantly but not exclusively white, male and middle-aged or elderly) and their level of activism and political engagement. As covered elsewhere, the processes I observed tended to attract participants who identified as broadly left-leaning and pro-environment, although this may be down to the political makeup of the case study areas and the fact that the processes focussed on sustainable transport. The relative formality of the processes observed (as a form of public participation) tended to disadvantage those without the skills to successfully navigate them (as outlined in Chapter 6 and again above). Skilled participants had an awareness of how to 'play the political game' or even how to 'bypass' or manipulate processes to their advantage

The external factors outlined above played a significant role in particular aspects of the social capital cycle. These included approaches to leadership, representation, opportunities for influence, and the linkage between social learning and skills and competences.

Approaches to leadership were shaped by the leaders own backgrounds and level of political engagement. Formal leaders had to navigate competing tensions and would use their role carefully (in terms of judging when influence is possible versus having to manage the expectations of participants). Some of the best leaders observed in the case study processes came from backgrounds in

activism, charity work and union activity and came across as having entered politics for what they saw as being 'the right reasons' (i.e. to help others).

Representation was influenced by participants' backgrounds and inclination to get involved. I observed interesting contrasts between those who were 'appointed' to attend the processes either through employment or obligation (Local Government members and officers, the CCAG chair, individual participants who were members of interest groups) versus those who chose to attend the process through civic duty, personal interest, or activism.

Opportunities for influence (particularly in terms of developing an understanding of how to gain influence) were influenced by external factors such as funding and regulation because even those social capital cycles that were otherwise strong and productive could still lead to a lack of influence for reasons beyond the control of the process (such as the frustrations faced by MK DAG over nationally regulated taxi licensing).

The linkage between social learning (particularly the ability to share past experiences and learn from others) and skills and competences (particularly the ability to communicate effectively with others) has been covered extensively in the literature, especially in relation to power (*cf.* Hodgson and Turner, 2003 and Bickerstaff and Walker, 2005). However, in the context of participants in this study, a professionalised level of knowledge about government and/or the politics of transport planning appeared to present a social capital advantage those with the skills and competences to make use of their knowledge.

7.6.4 Social Capital Cycle of the CCAG

This social capital cycle (Figure *7.19*) was driven by way in which the strong productive independent leadership was able to facilitate a high level of technical discussion and learning amongst participants. Of the case study processes

observed, this one contained the highest proportion of working age professionals which perhaps tended to give a different outlook. This was then translated into a productive form of influence over the City Connect programme board based on the presence of the leader in those meetings, but also the utilisation of that professional knowledge and experience within the position statements which set out the advisory groups position on key aspects of the ongoing projects CC1 and CC2. The strength of this influence was harder to identify and there was a sense that the groups hands were tied by external budgetary (the project money had to be spent within a short time frame) and political pressures (opposition to the scheme from ward councillors and some members of the public), something that the social capital within the CCAG was unable to overcome. The chair's approach to group dynamics was also productive in this process as they created an environment where agonism (Ploger, 2004) and debate could take place whilst still providing collaborative outputs (i.e. the position statements) that everyone in the process was encouraged to participate in. As a result, the group dynamics were friendly and collegiate, something that was reinforced by the frequency with which this process met (monthly). Perhaps the most notable weakness that the CCAG had to deal with was representativeness. Again, the chair expressed a desire to increase the reach of the group beyond the cycling fraternity represented by participants. However, this common identity both served to strengthen the solidarity of the group (i.e. a strong positive linkage between representation and group dynamics) yet paradoxically weaken their influence as perhaps being representative of current cyclists only. This tension was particularly noticeable between Kirklees Council based representatives and officers present, and there was a general feeling within discussions that the city connect project was predominantly aimed at new or timid cyclists that were not represented in this process. However, some participants were still able to acknowledge these issues from the perspective of others. Given the evolution of this process to accommodate City Connect phase 2 which covered the whole of West Yorkshire and not just Leeds and Bradford (City Connect phase 1), the social capital cycle present here was expanding during the period of this study to include more participants.
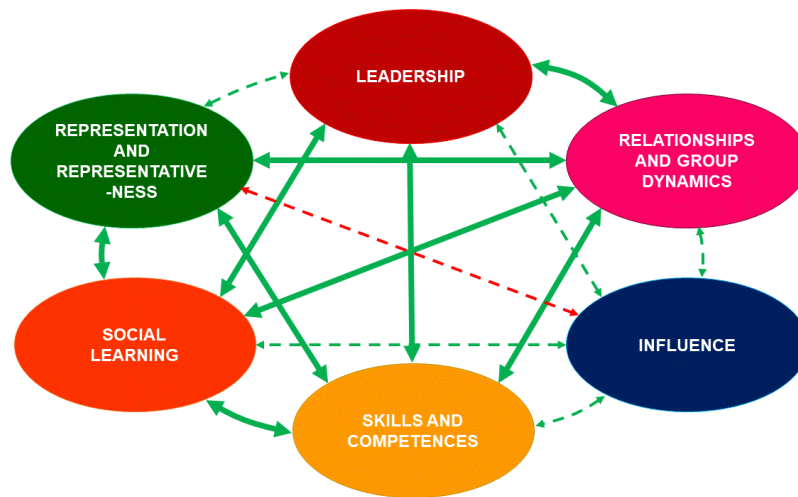
Figure 7.19: The social capital cycle of the CCAG

7.6.5 Social Capital Cycle of the CCSM

This social capital cycle (Figure *7.20*) was driven by the learning and networking that took place, as the stakeholder group largely involved providing information about the city connect project to a wider audience than the one reached by the advisory group. However, the embedded workshops also created opportunities for discussion and input into the thinking of project officers present. Therefore, the strongest productive linkages present occurred between the triadic connection of the representativeness of the process, the social learning that took place and the skills and competences that participants were able to use and develop. This in turn created weak productive linkages between those linkages and the influence that participants were able to have on the city connect process in turn. The stakeholder group's key weakness appeared to lie in the unproductive social capital of its leadership. In particular, there seemed to be a lack of clarity in terms of the intended outcomes of knowledge sharing (Vigar, 2017). In the processes observed there wasn't always clarity in the purpose or intended outcomes of each meeting and as a result the stakeholder group appeared to struggle to find its sense of identity and purpose. This stagnation was perhaps reflected by the high turnover and variability of attendees, with notably more participants present in June 2015 than in August or October. As a result, a

rebranding exercise took place after the participant observations during 2016 (where it became the 'people of city connect').
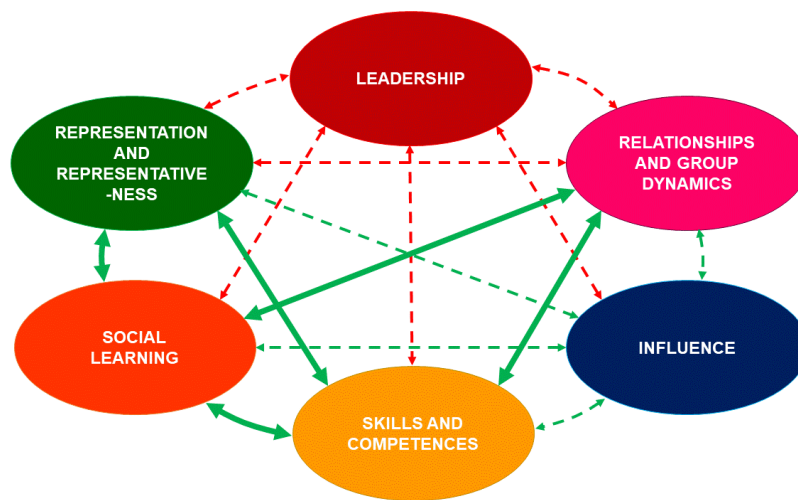
Figure 7.20: The social capital cycle of the CCSM

7.6.6 Social Capital Cycle of the Cross Gates Forum

This social capital cycle (Figure *7.21*) was driven by the formality, gatekeeping and personality of its leadership. The status and authority of the ward councillor who chaired the Cross Gates forum created a strong linkage between leadership, representativeness and group dynamics). However, the polarity of this linkage was context specific. If participants were able to negotiate the social norms (including how and when to communicate) required to effectively participate in this event, then these linkages could see seen as productive (for those individuals). However, on those occasions where gatekeeping occurred, and participants were shut down during discussions then these linkages were unproductive. The two principle reasons for this were participants not choosing to speak at the right time (skills and competences) and participants not being from a specific geographical area (representation). Whilst there were certainly occasions where participants expressed frustration at not being able to contribute effectively, the social capital linkages between the group dynamics and the leadership were often productive overall because participants tended to like and

respect their ward councillors (Bickerstaff and Walker, 2005). The most productive linkage in this cycle involved the information exchange and networking present in the meetings. However, when looking solely at the participatory transport planning elements of this forum, this linkage was quite weak because the relevant transport officer (Leeds City Council) was often unable to attend. Of all the processes studied, this one appeared to be the most stable and well established as it had been taking place in some form for at least a decade. Influence was a difficult aspect of this process to understand as whilst there was a clear commitment on the part of the leadership to make representations on the public's behalf, the forum didn't appear to be well geared to providing extensive feedback on how decisions had been made.
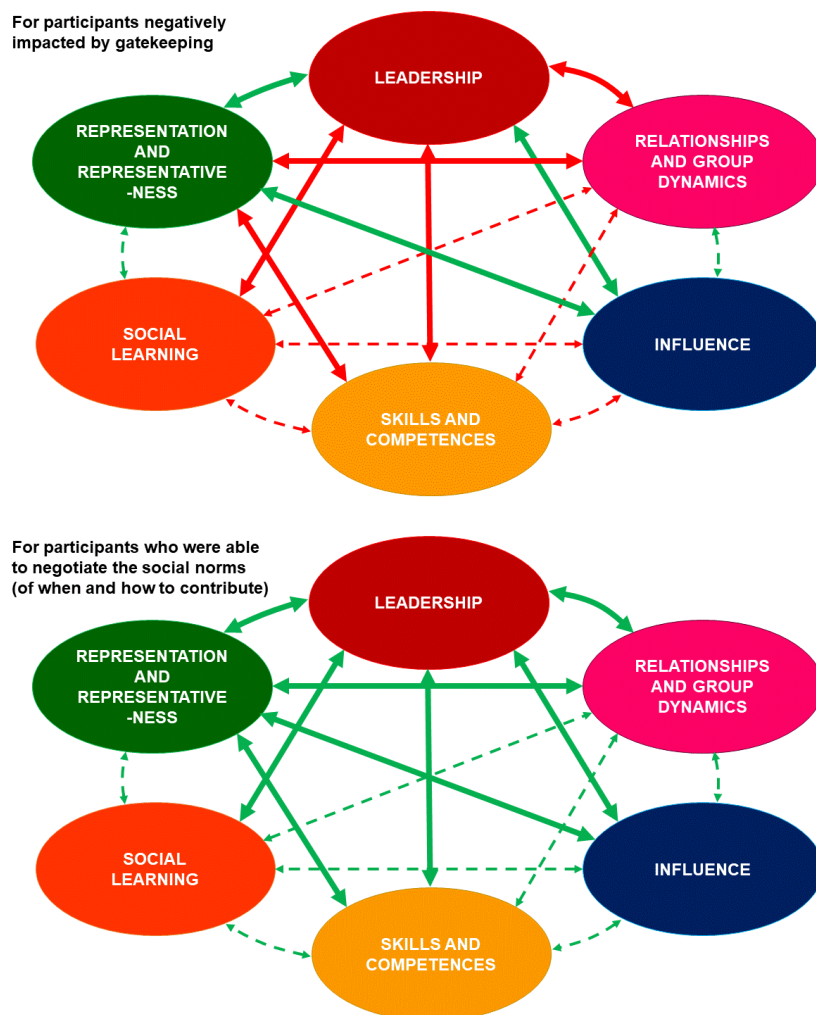
Figure 7.21: The social capital cycle of the Cross Gates Forum depending upon the polarity of leadership linkages

7.6.7 Social Capital Cycle of the LDCSC

As with the Cross Gates Forum, this was a formal process with a local councillor as the chair, although the LDCSC was more of a closed meeting than a public one and public members were appointed by WYCA. This social capital cycle (Figure *7.22*) was driven by two key linkages: leadership and group dynamics, and social learning and skills and competences. Whether the chair or deputy chair led a meeting tended to create different group dynamics because the chair was a local councillor and the deputy chair was a member of the public. Whilst both were able to diligently coordinate the chairing of the individual meetings, it felt as if the chair would sometimes act as a gatekeeper by shutting down discussion, whereas the deputy chair took a more relaxed and deferential approach. Their personalities and leadership styles therefore created contrasting atmospheres in the meetings observed. The knock-on effect for the rest of the social capital cycle was that the shifting group dynamics would in turn have a relatively productive or unproductive impact on representation within the group. Another aspect of representation that had an impact on the process was the presence of local councillors as they often had their own issues and interests that they wanted to discuss.
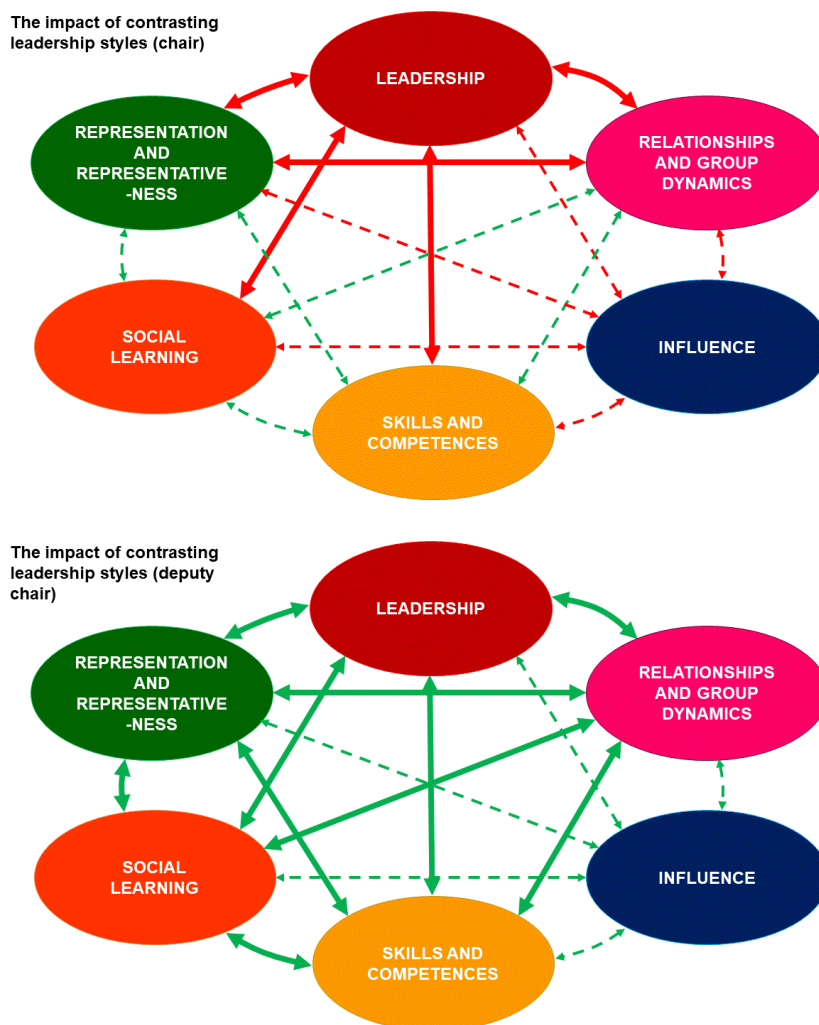
Figure 7.22: The social capital cycle of the LDCSC depending upon leadership styles.

There were however universal strengths and weaknesses irrespective of leadership. The productive opportunities for information exchange and social learning was a key part of the social capital cycle in this process. Participants were able to bring their personal experiences of public transport in Leeds to the meetings (the public members tended to be recruited to the process for this reason as they come from different parts of the Leeds City Council area), but they were also able to take away an enhanced understanding of the ways in which buses and rail in particular were being operated in Leeds (through information provided by WYCA, Northern Rail and the local bus operators (particularly First, Arriva and Yorkshire Tiger). Opportunities for influence were unclear, especially

given the regulatory framework for buses in West Yorkshire at the time. However, participants were able to hold both WYCA and public transport operators to account through their mutual co-presence, so this could be described as a weak but productive form of influence. As with the Cross Gates Forum, this process appeared to be stable and well established even though the social capital cycle was subject to short term variations caused by the alternating leadership.

7.6.8 Social Capital Cycle of the Leicester Bus User Panel

Strong productive leadership drove the social capital cycle (Figure *7.23*) as a whole (especially in terms of the triadic linkage with social learning and skills and competences), but also provided opportunities for influence, particularly over softer measures and peripheral elements of capital spending. The mayor and then deputy mayor drove the development of participants' knowledge around what Leicester City Council were or were not doing and provided clear guidance on how/what influence was possible over decision making (Hambleton, 2017; Vigar, 2017). The leadership role in this process played a crucial part in providing strong influence because they had the power (through democratic accountability) to advocate on participants' behalf when they were supportive of their cause. Critically, this triadic linkage (and resulting opportunities for influence) didn't appear to be disrupted by significant changes to the leadership during 2015. The representativeness of this process was productive but only weakly so because participants didn't seem able to group together in order to strengthen their influence or reinforce the points that they were trying to make. In that sense the Leicester Bus User Panel felt like the most individualised of the case study processes observed as participants weren't as activistic as in other processes such as the MK Bus User Group. Nor was there as much evidence of solidarity as in the Leicester Cycle City Forum or the LDCSC in Leeds. The main weakness in this process was the negative impact that the poor utilisation of skills and competences (and subsequent lack of social learning) by a minority of individuals had on the overall group dynamics. This created a more confrontational atmosphere between the council and other participants, although as outlined in previous vignettes these instances were skilfully managed by the mayor and

deputy mayor. The deputy mayor was able to use their humour and personability to diffuse otherwise challenging situations. The follow up interviews revealed that when leaders across the case study processes must deal with confrontational and antagonistic participants, this can have a negative impact of their view of the whole process, turning it into an obligation rather than something they are passionate about. This phenomenon can also disrupt external relationships as well between the process and outsiders who are invited to attend (as seen with the MK DAG below).
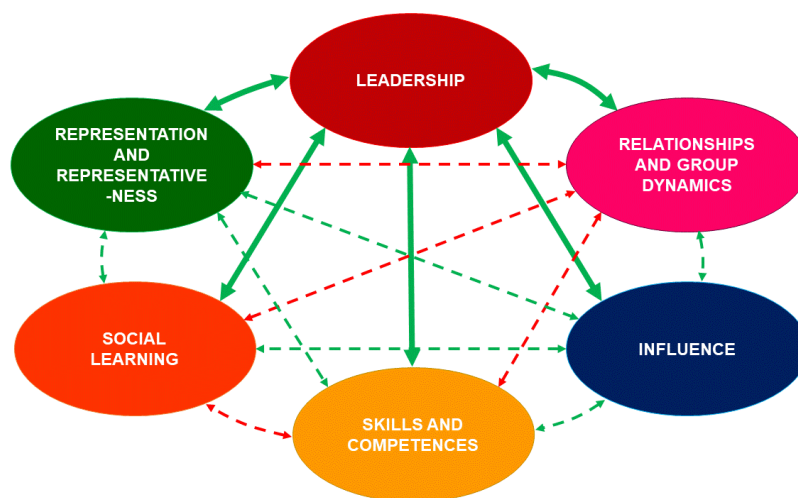
Figure 7.23: The social capital cycle of the Leicester Bus User Panel

Whilst this social capital cycle contained the ingredients for a potential long term decline, such as the potential weakening of social capital around leadership and group dynamics, or due to external barriers to influence caused by the deregulated bus market); In some ways the future of this group will be decided on how much tolerance there is for social learning and leadership to be the key drivers of the cycle whilst influence remains arguably peripheral.

7.6.9 Social Capital Cycle of the Leicester Cycle City Forum

This social capital cycle (Figure *7.24*) contained similar drivers to the social capital cycle identified above as the two processes were operated in the same manner by Leicester City Council. In the cycle forum the triadic linkages between leadership, representation and group dynamics tended to create an even more productive social capital cycle. However, representation was quite two dimensional though in some ways which limited opportunities for learning from others (a weak unproductive linkage). As with CCAG, this group contained cyclists with quite a high level of technical knowledge, so there were clear opportunities to learn from each other and to make use of existing skills and competences. If anything, influence was arguably stronger here than in the bus user panel as there were fewer external barriers (this was the only process observed in this study where the process appeared to have some direct accountability over decision making for small scale projects (see more on this in chapter 8). However, the role of the strong productive leadership in this cycle was more complex as the officers present here provided more direct leadership than those observed in the Bus User Panel. There was some evidence of gatekeeping in the follow up interviews, but within the meetings themselves generally positive dynamics between participants and the leadership were observed. A very strong productive linkage was observed between social learning and group dynamics because participants knew each other and got along well so this meant they were more inclined to help each other out and bounce ideas off each other when appropriate (more evidence of Bourdieu's (1986) mutual reciprocity in action).
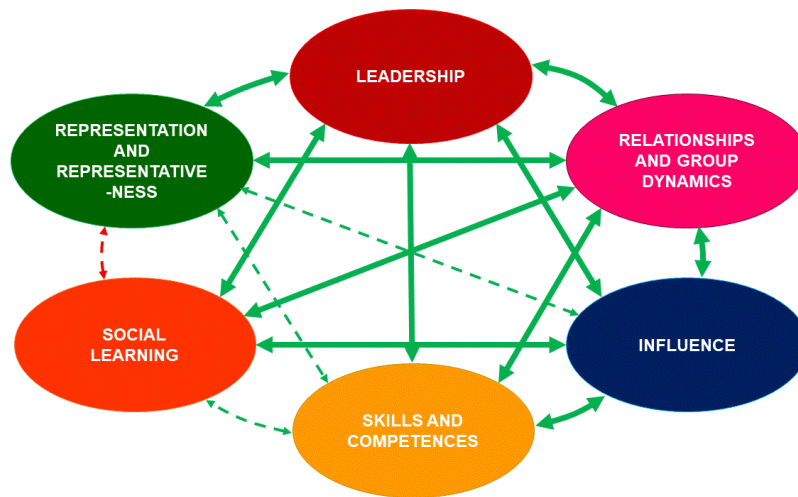
Figure 7.24: The social capital cycle of the Leicester Cycle City Forum

This social capital cycle appeared to reflect a stable process although there was some speculation in both the January 2016 forum and in the follow up interviews that longer term changes to this process might occur (which could see a broadening of its remit and representation). Also given the closeness and complexity of the personal relationships developed between participants in this process, there was a risk that the key leadership-representativeness-group dynamics triadic linkage could become unproductive, which in turn would disrupt the rest of the social capital cycle.

7.6.10 Social Capital Cycle of the MK BUG

There was an important multi-dimensional linkage in this process between leadership, skills and competences, influence and group dynamics (Figure *7.25*). These strong productive linkages meant that MK BUG appeared to work very effectively with both MK Council and local bus operators (particularly Arriva who were the largest operator in MK). The involvement of strong leaders with specialist levels of skills and knowledge relating to local transport issues was particularly significant here (Clarke and Cochrane, 2013). The skills and knowledge of the leadership core of MK BUG typically stretched back decades. Having a serving local councillor and a former national Green Party spokesperson

on transport issues certainly helped the group's ability to influence decision making and there was anecdotal evidence from the observations and follow up interviews that they had played a key role in successfully lobbying MK Council to reduce the size of bus subsidy cuts in the area. Representation was a more complex part of this cycle to understand. The group certainly had a clear mandate in the form of its membership, AGMs and open meetings. However, it's representation of the wider residents of MK was less clear. Within the observations it was clear that participants took an altruistic approach to considering bus issues in MK and talked about the impact of decisions on the young or parents with pushchairs. Any weakness to participants' influence tended to be caused by the external factors outlined above (Section 7.6.3) rather than the availability of social capital or in the relationships with external bodies (which appeared to be productive).
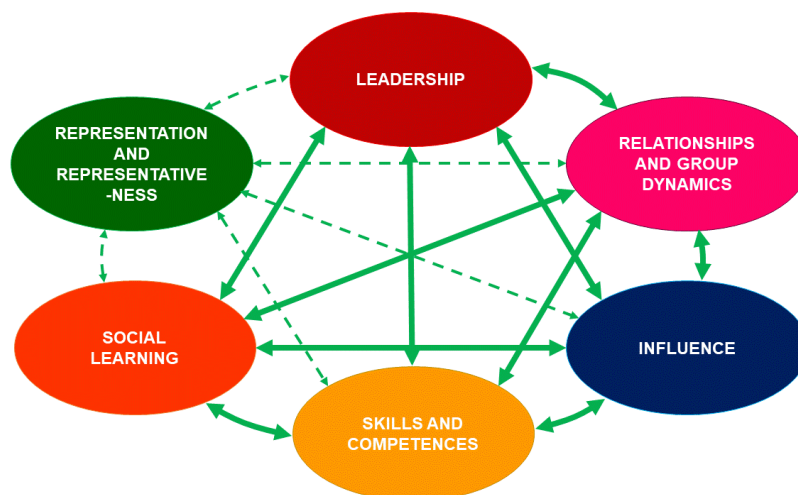
Figure 7.25: The social capital cycle of MK BUG

In the short term the social capital cycle for this process is stable, however there was a high dependency on a limited number of key personalities (i.e. the leadership core). This means that MK BUG could be vulnerable to an eventual decline given that those participants have all reached retirement age and appear to be juggling other participatory commitments.

7.6.11 Social Capital Cycle of the MK DAG

This process arguably represented the most turbulent and unproductive social capital cycle of all of the case study processes and generated many of the organic codes created during the participant observations as a result (Figure *7.26*). This was a disappointing finding given the importance of this process to the social capital (and social mobility) of its participants who I valued as a participant researcher for their honesty and the authenticity of their lived experiences. In many of the other case study processes, participants appeared to express a pragmatic frustration at the effectiveness of local government in achieving opportunities for SISM. Here the mood tended to be one of feeling abandoned or forgotten in that same context.
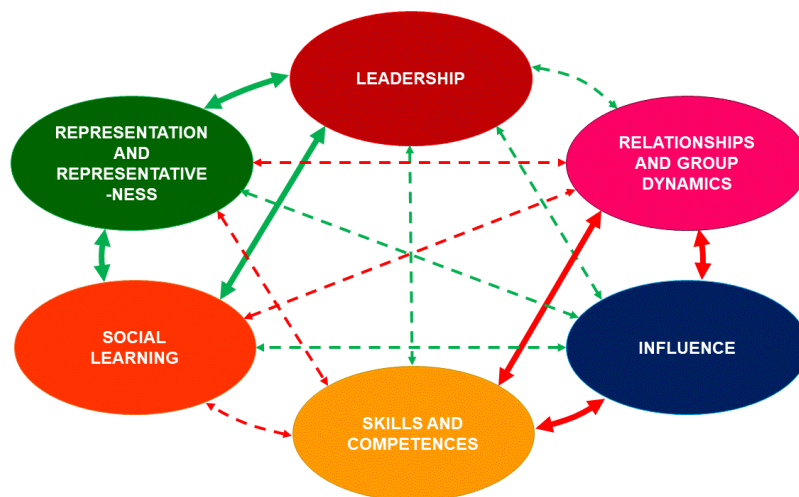
Figure 7.26: The social capital cycle of the MK DAG

The leadership picture in this cycle was complicated by the way in which multiple participants played contrasting leadership roles, which sometimes created clashes between them. The chair and transport sub-group chair tended to have a strong determination to ensure their voice was heard even if that meant saying things that MK Council didn't seemingly want to hear. The leader who represented MK Council tried to act as a mediator gatekeeper in dealing with the issues raised and the leader who represented MK CIL used their role as a

facilitator to gather the evidence provided to it by DAG members and then pass that evidence on to MK Council directly. One of the key tensions here surrounded the strained personal relationships between participants representing MK Council and MK CIL and the knock-on effect this had on other participants.

Strong productive linkages occurred between leadership, social learning and representation as this was a process that had a very clear sense of its purpose, who it was there to represent and what each other's specific lived experiences were (even if participants sometimes struggled to identify with contrasting mobility impairments). There was however also a feeling that this strong sense of solidarity had the potential to inadvertently exclude others from the process:

"some people… feel completely excluded from the DAG group and… don't feel that [they] take on board their errm views at all and that the people that sit on the DAG represent just themselves and their individual needs" (Interview 6)

The strong triadic linkage between leadership, social learning and representation in turn created weak productive influence because it is an essential duty for MK Council to engage with people with disabilities (as a protected characteristic under the Equality Act 2010 and Public Sector Equality Duty 2011). However, it was only a weak level of influence because it was unclear exactly what influence if any MK DAG had over MK Council decisions. There was a weak unproductive linkage between social learning and skills because participants didn't always learn effectively from each other even though opportunities to do so were present. However, there was at least a weak productive linkage between leadership and skills and competences because there was a clear acknowledgement of the need to develop 'critical friend' skills even if the social capital of the leadership wasn't strong enough to drive this change clearly. As mentioned elsewhere a training event was held having been organised by the MK DAG leadership. Even then there was a feeling amongst the leadership that the participants who had the most to gain from such an event didn't attend.

Arguably strong unproductive linkages between skills and competences, group dynamics and influence occurred because MK DAG were unable to work productively with MK Council. Of all the case study processes observed this one appeared to be in the most trouble in the long term because of this poor relationship. There was a sense that the group was already in decline (Tuckman and Jensen, 1977) because the social capital available between participants and the council had clearly deteriorated over the past 10 years that the group had been in existence. Representation was a factor here too though because there was sense that this was a harder group to get into than some of the others, given its more restrictive terms of reference and excess solidarity (Svendsen, 2006). Plus, there was evidence of a community transport group being wound up in similar circumstances prior to the study period (Interview 1).

7.6.12 Social Capital Cycle of the MK DAG Transport Sub Group

Whilst this is a sub-group of MK DAG, the social capital cycle for this process (Figure *7.27*) appeared to be more productive on the whole (even though the key players were the same). The subtle differences included more productive relationships (and therefore at least weak productive influence because direct communication with the council was possible), although this was largely limited to MK Council's taxi officer during the study period. Certainly, the transport sub-group appeared to have no more luck than MK DAG itself in developing clear dialogue and relationships with community transport officers within MK Council.
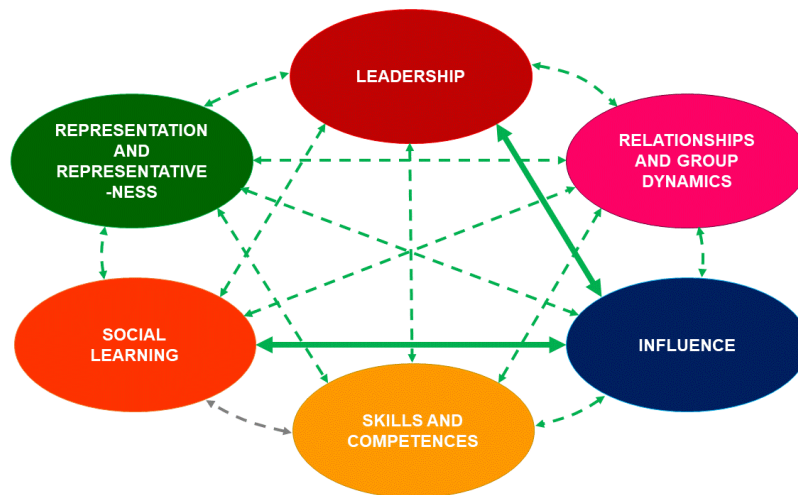
Figure 7.27: The social capital cycle of the MK DAG Transport Sub Group

Part of the reason for the change in productivity between this group and the main DAG group was the way in which transport issues that could otherwise have been covered within the main MK DAG group were often deferred down to the sub group (who had more time to focus on them). There were however some weaker points in this cycle when compared with the main DAG group. Representation was weaker because the group was very small (normally 4-6 people attended) and the chair (formal leader) was less keen to encourage the sharing of anecdotes and past experiences, so more gatekeeping was present over issues of representation and social learning. This weakness also extended to the relationship between the Transport Sub-Group and MK DAG itself as there was a perception in the follow up interviews that the group had been set up to keep the chair busy and 'out of trouble'. There appeared to be fewer leadership tensions here even though some antagonism was present because of the chair's strong personality.

There are two principle threats to this cycle over time, the decline of the social capital cycle of the parent process and the lack of representation in this process. The small numbers often meant that meetings were cancelled or postponed and there was a feeling amongst some participants that these issues should be covered more fully in the parent DAG meetings.

7.7 Link to further analysis

This chapter has built upon an analysis of the social capital practices present in PTPP from the previous chapter by considering their collective role in those processes using the concept of social capital cycles with their strong/weak and productive/unproductive linkages (Granovetter, 1973; Wilson, 1997). The participants involved in each process have contributed to a social capital cycle that is both unique to their own context and subject to variation over time. The following chapter will take this a step further by exploring the relationship between those social capital cycles and the provision and promotion of SISM in each of the case study processes. This analysis will provide a nuanced and context specific understanding of how social capital cycles within PTPP had an impact on the outcomes of those processes (in terms of the opportunities and constraints for SISM that were created and/or influenced by participants). This analysis will be supported by an outline of the transport planning problems and solutions discussed in each process. The findings in this chapter will also inform the analysis of effective PTPP for SISM (Chapter 9), particularly from the perspective of the lessons that can be learned from these contexts in subsequent attempts to carry out or engage in PTPP. These lessons will highlight the ways in which the social capital cycle can be used to inform transport policy making and planning practice through investment in participants' social capital, they will also highlight what individual participants can learn from developing an understanding of the social capital cycles present in their own PTPP. As well as the 'process' there are also lessons to be learned from the 'outcomes' of this research and the processes observed in terms of opportunities for SISM, wider theoretical debates around participatory planning, and reflexivity.

7.8 Conclusions

This chapter considered the use of social capital cycles to explain the linkages between the categories of social capital practices utilised by individual participants. This required a three-stage analysis which involved: analysing the linkages between the 15 pairs of categories, analysing the significance of multi-dimensional linkages between three or more sets of categories, and analysing the social capital cycle for each of the case study processes (including fluctuations in the cycle within each process due to contextual and temporal variations)

An understanding the linkages between categories of social capital practices was influenced by the strong and weak ties of Granovetter (1973) and Wilson's (1997) conceptualisation of productive and unproductive social capital. The relative strength and weakness of those linkages explained how much of a link existed in any given cycle whilst the polarity of those linkages explained the ways in which those linkages can be relatively productive or unproductive. Understanding the relative strength and polarity of social capital practices and the linkages between them is important. The strength of social capital linkages impacted how the participatory processes worked overall and the nature of the interactions between individual participants within them. The polarity of social capital linkages impacted opportunities for the processes to generate positive outcomes. Equally, productive linkages tended to modify the collective or individual social capital of participants in a constructive way, whereas unproductive linkages tended to modify the collective or individual social capital of participants in a destructive way.

Chapter 1 (Section 1.7), provided a summary of the analysis of the social capital cycle for each case study process and this is provided again here for convenience.

The CCAG social capital cycle was characterised by strong independent leadership which facilitated high level technical discussions and learning amongst participants. Productive influence over the City Connect programme board occurred through the utilisation of professional knowledge and experience, however the strength of that influence was hard to identify given external financial and political pressures on the City Connect project. The group came across as friendly and collegiate but also able to handle debate, although representativeness was an acknowledged weakness as the City Connect project was aimed at timid and new cyclists.

The CCSM social capital cycle was characterised by learning and networking with strong productive linkages between representativeness, social learning and skills and competences. There were weaker unproductive linkages with leadership practices because the group struggled to find an identity and purpose.

The Cross Gates Forum social capital cycle was characterised by its leadership and the popularity and authority of the council members created strong linkages between leadership, representative and group dynamics in some contexts. However, this cycle could be disrupted if participants were unable to negotiate the social norms of when to communicate, this created strong unproductive linkages between skills and competences, representativeness and leadership (due to gatekeeping by the leader and poor communication from other participants). The productive linkages between social learning, relationships and influence were weakened in the specific context of transport planning issues by the infrequent attendance of representatives from the highways team.

The LDCSC social capital cycle was characterised by similar linkages to the Cross Gates Forum. However, I observed that the chair and deputy chair appeared to create different group dynamics because the chair was more likely to act as a gatekeeper. The shift between productive and unproductive group dynamics had a knock-on effect on the productivity of the rest of the social capital cycle. Productive opportunities for information exchange and social learning

occurred through personal experiences and an enhanced understanding (skills and competences) of the ways in which public transport is operated in Leeds. Given the regulatory framework underpinning bus and train operations, opportunities for influence were unclear. Participants were at least able to hold operators and West Yorkshire Combined Authority to account in a formal setting, so this has been categorised as a weak productive form of influence.

The Leicester Bus User Panel social capital cycle was characterised by strong productive leadership which provided productive linkages between themselves and all other categories of social capital practices. The mayor and then deputy mayor drove the development of participants' knowledge around what Leicester City Council were or were not doing and provided clear guidance on how/what influence was possible over decision making. This played a crucial part in providing strong influence through democratic accountability (Hambleton, 2017). Representativeness was weakly productive because participants didn't seem able to group together through an apparent lack of solidarity. The main weakness in this process was the negative impact that the poor utilisation of skills and competences (and subsequent lack of social learning) by a minority of individuals had on the overall group dynamics. This created a more confrontational atmosphere between the council and other participants, although these instances were skilfully managed by the mayor and deputy mayor. The deputy mayor was able to use their humour and personability to diffuse otherwise challenging situations.

The Leicester Cycle City Forum social capital cycle was characterised by the same leadership practices outlined above, and the skills and competences (particularly technical knowledge) of participants created strong productive linkages with influence. Influence was arguably stronger here than in the bus user panel as there were fewer external barriers (some direct accountability over decision making was observed for small scale projects). The role of the strong productive leadership in this cycle was more complex as the officers present here provided more direct leadership than those observed in the Bus User Panel. There was some evidence of gatekeeping in the follow up interviews, but within

the meetings themselves generally positive dynamics between participants and the leadership were observed. A very strong productive linkage was observed between social learning and group dynamics because participants knew each other and got along well.

The Milton Keynes Bus User Group (MK BUG) social capital cycle was characterised by strong productive linkages between leadership, skills and competences, influence and group dynamics. Participants within MK BUG worked effectively with both MK Council and local bus operators. The involvement of strong leaders with specialist levels of skills and knowledge relating to local transport issues was particularly significant here. The skills and knowledge of the leadership core of MK BUG typically stretched back decades. MK BUG appeared to play a key role in successfully lobbying MK Council to reduce the size of bus subsidy cuts in the area. Representation was a more complex part of this cycle to understand. The group had a mandate from its membership. However, it's representation of the wider residents of MK was less clear. Any weakness to participants' influence tended to be caused by the same external regulatory factors identified within the LDCSC social capital cycle.

The Milton Keynes Disability Advisory Group (MK DAG) social capital cycle was characterised by the unproductiveness of many of its linkages. One of the key tensions surrounded the strained personal relationships between participants representing MK Council and MK CIL and the knock-on effect this had on other participants. Strong productive linkages occurred between leadership, social learning and representation as this was a process that had a very clear sense of its purpose, who it was there to represent and what each other's specific lived experiences were. There was however also a feeling that this strong sense of solidarity had the potential to inadvertently exclude others from the process (Svendsen, 2006): The strong triadic linkage between leadership, social learning and representation in turn created weak productive influence because MK Council had to consult with the group, but it was unclear exactly what influence if any MK DAG had over MK Council decisions. Arguably strong unproductive linkages between skills and competences, group dynamics and influence

occurred because MK DAG were unable to work productively with MK Council. There was also a weak unproductive linkage between social learning and skills because participants didn't always learn effectively from each other even though opportunities to do so were present. However, there was at least a weak productive linkage between leadership and skills and competences because there was a clear acknowledgement of the need to develop 'critical friend' skills even if the social capital of the leadership wasn't strong enough to drive this change clearly.

The MK DAG Transport Sub-Group social capital cycle was characterised by a more productive social capital cycle than that of MK DAG. The subtle differences included more productive relationships and therefore at least weak productive influence because direct communication with the council was possible but still quite limited. There were however some weaker points in this cycle when compared with the main MK DAG group. Representation was weaker because the group was very small and the chair was less keen to encourage the sharing of anecdotes and past experiences, so more gatekeeping was present over issues of representation and social learning.

Chapter 8 Opportunities for Socially Inclusive Sustainable Mobility

8.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters highlighted the social capital practices that participants were able to use in the case study processes observed, as well as the collective impact that leadership, representativeness, social learning, skills and competences, influence and group dynamics had on the creation of productive or unproductive social capital cycles. As a result of the detailed findings outlined in those chapters, it can be argued that productive social capital cycles were more likely to improve opportunities to enhance the promotion and provision of SISM in their local area. This was because those processes had the social capital to best utilise the (social and human) resources at their disposal (e.g. visionary leadership, experience, technical knowledge, or access to relationships and networks). Conversely, unproductive social capital cycles were more likely to either reduce opportunities to enhance the promotion and provision of SISM in their local area or worse still create additional constraints. This was because those processes were unable to utilise the resources at their disposal effectively, either because those resources weren't present or because they were being used poorly (e.g. poor communication, poor relationships, and a lack of skills and knowledge). However, there were also broader factors outside of the processes observed that had a significant weighting on opportunities and constraints for SISM in the case study areas.

Broad opportunities for improvements to SISM in all three case study areas (Leeds, Leicester and Milton Keynes) appeared to come about as a result of significant funding awards (e.g. the City Connect project in West Yorkshire) or the presence of a broader political will (e.g. an openly pro-cycling mayor and assistant mayor combined with a proactive cycling officer in Leicester). However, there were opportunities for participants in the case study processes observed to

use their social capital through multiple instances of what could be 'micro-influences'. These are small scale outcomes which didn't fundamentally shift their respective local authority's thinking on SISM. However, they did lead to small localised improvements that could make a big difference to the participants present. These included: working with local government on better design principles, providing the localised (or specialist) knowledge and evidence necessary for decision makers (to argue for change/improvements), providing public support for favourable transport schemes, or personally lobbying local government and transport operators for improvements to the infrastructure and operation of sustainable transport in their area.

Broad constraints on the promotion and provision of SISM in all three case study areas related to instances where there was poor utilisation of the social capital available or were unable to use their social capital to overcome external factors such as: a lack of available resources at the local government level (be that capital funding, maintenance funding or a lack of staff), restrictive national level (de)regulations surrounding sustainable mobility (particularly the current operation of local bus services), or the politics of wider public opposition to investment in sustainable transport (particularly around investment in cycling (Aldred *et al.*, 2017) at the expense of other road users).

Whilst there were many instances where social capital created opportunities and constraints for SISM, there were also instances in the case study processes observed where this relationship was less clear. These uncertainties related to instances where there was a lack of evidence of impact, a need for improved communication and collaboration, and a questionable value of the activity.

This chapter will first consider the broad transport planning matters and opportunities, uncertainties and constraints for SISM observed within each case study process (Section 8.4). This will then lead into a more detailed analysis of how the social capital cycles observed created those opportunities, uncertainties and constraints across multiple case studies (Sections 8.5-8.7).

8.2 Recap of gaps in literature

In addition to the gaps in the literature around social capital and PTPP identified as being of relevance to Chapters 6 and 7, this chapter focusses more on the impact of social capital cycles on potential outcomes for SISM. Therefore Sheller's (2011) call for a 'twin transition' of sustainable mobility and mobility justice is relevant here as a means of enhancing both sustainability and social inclusion. Particularly from the perspective of active travel, public transport and accessible travel (e.g. community transport) which all have a part to play in achieving SISM. The analysis in this chapter also considers the needs and roles of individuals within PTPP due to the unique experiences faced by every participant in PTPP, particularly if they belong to a TRSE 'at risk' group (SEU, 2003, SDC, 2011). This chapter also builds on previous debates around the efficacy of participatory planning by acknowledging the ways in which these processes were able to achieve outcomes in each context.

8.3 Link to research questions and methodology

The primary research question of interest in this chapter (Table 8.1) is "How do practices of social capital (as identified in Chapters 6 and 7) create opportunities and constraints for the promotion and provision of SISM?"

Table 8.1: Relationship between the research questions and analysis chapters (yellow highlighting indicates the focus of this chapter)

Research Questions	Chapter 6	Chapter 7	**Chapter 8**	Chapter 9
What practices of social capital are present in PTPP?	MAIN FOCUS			
What role do these practices of social capital have on PTPP?	INFORMS THIS RQ	MAIN FOCUS		
How do these practices of social capital create opportunities and constraints for the promotion and provision of SISM?	INFORMS THIS RQ	INFORMS THIS RQ	**MAIN FOCUS**	
What are the characteristics of an effective PTPP for SISM?	INFORMS THIS RQ	INFORMS THIS RQ	INFORMS THIS RQ	MAIN FOCUS

The original contribution to knowledge provided by this chapter tackles this research question by considering the context specific relationships between the social capital practices and cycles identified in the previous chapters and the outcomes of the PTPP observed (based on the transport planning problems and solutions revealed by the data generation process). These relationships enabled the opportunities, constraints and uncertainties for SISM to be identified for each case study process. Understanding how practices of social capital create opportunities and constraints for the promotion and provision of SISM also informs Chapter 9 that: considers the characteristics of effective PTPP based on the social capital cycles identified in chapter 7.

The triangulation of the participant observations and follow up interviews enabled data to be generated which revealed the impact of social capital from multiple perspectives (Golafshani, 2003; Silverman, 2011; Charmaz, 2014; Soulard *et al.,* 2018). Whilst the participant observations generated an understanding of the transport matters discussed in each process, some of the meanings and relationships between social capital practices and outcomes for SISM only became clearer within the follow up interviews. Taking this approach provided a

richness and context that wasn't possible using participant observation alone. The follow up interviews were particularly important for providing triangulated evidence of how the social capital cycles observed led to outcomes for SISM (research question 3) and identified the characteristics of effective PTPP and the lessons we can learn from these (research question 4).

8.4 SISM-related Transport Matters in each case study process

8.4.1 CCAG

The CCAG were involved in a broad range of issues around cycling and walking investment in and around Leeds (Figure *8.1*), especially relating to the City Connect projects such as the Leeds-Bradford cycle superhighway (phase 1) and smaller local projects (phase 2). Matters discussed included the need to champion the investment carried out by lobbying elected members to indicate that some residents support the new superhighway, as well as the lack of partnership working between the Canal and Rivers Trust (CRT), WYCA and local cycling groups (Interview 14).

Championing investment in cycling in Leeds on behalf of WYCA

CCAG were involved in managing and combating negative coverage of the Cycle Superhighway, particularly on social media

Discussions about the £250,000 funding for Living Streets to carry out street audits and tackle poor health in deprived areas of Leeds

CCAG

Design issues on the super highway in Stanningley, Dawson's Corner and Leeds City Centre

Planning for smaller scale CC2 projects across West Yorkshire – CCAG went on site visits

Partnership working with the Canal and Rivers Trust not always evident. CRT would carry out work without consulting WYCA or cyclists

Figure 8.1: An infographic of transport matters discussed by CCAG

252

Appendix E (Figure E.1) summarises the analysis of the opportunities and constraints for SISM observed within the data generated as part of the CCAG during seven participant observations and three follow up interviews. The clearest opportunities to improve walking and cycling provisions within the CCAG centred around the evidence and experience that participants were able to bring to the process. The collation of this evidence and experience were driven by a couple of mechanisms that were unique to this case study process: position statements sent to the programme board and site visits carried out with project officers and local government representatives. CCAG participants were also able to get involved in directly supporting the creation of local cycling champions, placemaking and in mediation where WYCA and district council officers were trying to win over elected members in local areas.

There was uncertainty within the observations and follow up interviews in terms of how much the CCAG were able to steer design principles given their 'advisory' role, so I noted some tensions between engineers who wanted to keep things quite broad and strategic, and participants who wanted to look at detailed technical aspects. Ultimately this advisory role also constrained the influence of the process as they weren't necessarily able to overcome external political and financial constraints. On balance there was a sense from both the observations and interviews that the City Connect project benefitted from the existence of this group.

8.4.2 City Connect Stakeholder Meetings

The CCSM tended to act as a reporting process for phases 1 and 2 of the City Connect projects but also served as a series of workshops for consultation surrounding the development of the next generation local transport plan known as the West Yorkshire 20 year single transport plan (*Figure 8.2*).

Issues relating to construction delays on the Leeds-Bradford Cycle Superhighway

Sharing information about City Connect phase 2 projects including the canals project, a bike hub for Leeds City Centre and 20 MPH zones

CCSM

Workshops around key themes in the development of a 20 year single transport plan for West Yorkshire (including placemaking, streetscapes, cycle friendly behaviour, setting objectives, designing a strategic cycle network, and designing a cycle network map for West Yorkshire)

Figure 8.2: An infographic of transport matters discussed by CCSM

Appendix E (Figure E.2) summarises the analysis of the opportunities and constraints for SISM observed within the data generated as part of the CCSM during four participant observations and two follow up interviews. Opportunities to enhance the promotion and provision of SISM within the Stakeholder meetings mostly centred around the workshop format and the sharing of views and ideas. The breadth of these discussions was wide reaching and covered the whole spectrum of city connect projects and seemed to be a valuable way of guiding the thought processes of the officers involved. This explains why this process came across as focussing on what stakeholders could do for City connect (05/06/15 meeting) rather than the other way around. However, this approach also constrained opportunities to directly enhance SISM because any influence that came from these workshops was strategic and abstract. It was unclear therefore if anything changed as a result of this process based on the observations and interviews carried out as the influence would have occurred intangibly within the evolving thought processes of decision makers and designers involved in the City Connect project. A particularly problematic aspect of this process was the apparent lack of political buy in and a lack of clarity in terms of what City Connect project officers wanted from these meetings. This uncertainty for participants meant that it sometimes felt more like a form of

therapy where likeminded participants could talk to each other about cycling matters rather than a clear opportunity for influence. The fluctuations in attendance of participants was also a constraint as it never felt as if the process was able to gain momentum over multiple meetings. In fact, hosting the meetings in different areas of West Yorkshire tended to give them a 'standalone' feel where each meeting focussed on projects in that area. Perhaps this group would benefit from the same opportunities for site visits in those areas as the CCAG. Finally, there was an uncertain and intangible opportunity for impact in the future from participation in this process because of the amount of information sharing (about ongoing aspects of the City Connect project) that took place. Therefore, those participants with the social capital to use this information in other networks could gain influence in that way.

8.4.3 Cross Gates Forum

The Cross Gates Forum were involved in local transport and highways issues relating to the immediate area. Transport was only part of this process as it also covered development planning, environment issues, policing and community groups/events (e.g. Brownies or the local history society). The transport issues discussed (Figure *8.3*) focussed predominately on road traffic and safety concerns and the measures brought in by Leeds City Council to alleviate them.

Traffic and safety concerns along Austhorpe Road with HGVs using it as a short cut, frequent accidents and a pedestrian fatality on 26th November 2014 (CrashMaps, 2018).

Proposed traffic management measures in Cross Gates including: one way streets, parking restrictions, relocating crossings and bus stops, and junction and carriageway improvement works

CROSS GATES FORUM

Reporting of enforcement issues relating to parking and cyclists on pavements

East Leeds Orbital Road and Manston Lane Link Road – Councillor opposition to further housing until link road was built by the Thorpe Park estate developer (Interview 3) during late 2018 (Leeds City Council, 2018)

Figure 8.3: An infographic of transport matters discussed by the Cross Gates Forum

Appendix E (Figure E.3) summarises the analysis of the opportunities and constraints for SISM observed within the data generated as part of the Cross Gates Forum during three participant observations and one follow up interview. Opportunities to promote SISM in the Cross Gates Forum were limited to 'micro-influences'. This means instances where participants were able to share their localised knowledge and experience of ongoing transport problems and proposed improvement works to Austhorpe Road and the surrounding area. This involved informing and discussing transport issues with the local councillors and the highways officer from Leeds City Council who reported taking that information on board. However, this was constrained by two key factors: time and availability. As outlined in Figure E.3, the highways officer was not always able to attend every meeting, so the matters discussed either had to go through the councillors themselves or had to be taken outside of the meeting (Chapter 6). Secondly, of all the case study processes included in this study, this one had the broadest remit in terms of the matters that were discussed which meant that issues around transport planning in general and SISM were given much less attention (as a proportion of the whole meeting) than in the other mechanisms studied. Within the confines of this participatory process, any opportunities to enhance SISM in

256

Cross Gates were limited to those instances where the learning and communication within the forum could be used to support or challenge the broader thinking of the councillors and officers themselves.

8.4.4 LDCSC

The LDCSC were involved in discussions around public transport issues within the Leeds City Council area. The issues discussed included (Figure *8.4*): bus service changes and problems in and around Leeds, bus ticketing and timetabling, bus affordability, rail services in and around Leeds, accessibility concerns, walking and cycling issues, and long term strategic transport issues (this was largely driven by WYCA themselves rather than public participants).

Updates of bus service changes and problems including congestion, operational difficulties and customer service issues (Interview 9)

Walking and cycling issues were not prioritised

Bus service affordability, bus fare increases and the loss of the free city bus

Long term transport strategy including the big transport conversation in 2016 and Leeds South Bank regeneration

LDCSC

Bus smart ticketing, timetabling and real time information

Bus accessibility concerns including the visibility of electronic displays and a lack of audio-visual systems

Presentations from Northern Rail about changes to the franchise and new stations opening in Leeds

Figure 8.4: An infographic of transport matters discussed by the LDCSC

Appendix E (Figure E.4) summarises the analysis of the opportunities and constraints for SISM observed within the data generated as part of the LDCSC during three participant observations and two follow up interviews. As in the Cross Gates Forum, opportunities for the promotion and provision of SISM within the

LDCSC were largely limited to micro influences based on sharing personal experiences. Participants viewed the process as a valid way to at least hold operators, members and officers to account and see their own presence within the process as an opportunity to get involved and be aware of what is happening in terms of transport investment in Leeds (Interviewees 8 and 9). Membership of this group also enabled participants to get involved in other visioning exercises and consultation events (like the summer 2016 visioning workshop and the big transport conversation ran by Leeds City Council in 2016/17). Opinions on these events were mixed. Interviewee 8 welcomed the opportunity to think more strategically but interviewee 9 questioned whether those sorts of events lead to any meaningful outcomes. Constraints within this process included a lack of feedback from previous meetings and evidence, a lack of influence caused by external regulatory factors governing buses and trains, and a tendency for this group to overlook walking and cycling issues. This may in part be due to the separation of transport responsibilities in Leeds where WYCA (who run this process) are responsible for passenger transport and strategic planning whilst Leeds City Council deal with highways issues. A popular discussion point in this process related to technological advancements such as smart ticketing and real time information. Opportunities to contribute to improvements to technology were mixed in this process. On the one hand WYCA were keen to get the thoughts of those present. However, on the other hand there was a feeling amongst some participants that some improvements were too slow (adopting smart ticketing) or too fast (removing printed timetables in favour of online). This demonstrates that the big challenge for SISM is for it to be socially inclusive and work for everyone.

8.4.5 Leicester Bus User Panel

The Leicester Bus User Panel were involved in discussions around bus issues within the Leicester City Council area. The issues discussed (Figure *8.5*) focussed on bus services and infrastructure in Leicester and investment in new facilities including the new Haymarket bus station and a real time information system.

Frustration caused by out of date information and poor diversionary notices at bus stops (Interview 11)

A bus passenger charter was launched at the end of June 2015

Scrutiny committee review of bus lanes recommended better enforcement, dealing with bus pinch points, and changing some bus lanes to 24 hour operation

Poor bus service reliability and punctuality including a petition against the X44 (Arriva)

LEICESTER BUS USER PANEL

Modal interaction and enforcement problems at the rail station, particularly with private hire vehicles and rail replacement services

Smart ticketing, concessionary passes and the testing of a new real time information system

Transport investment in Leicester including the new Haymarket bus station, and proposals to improve Welford Road and Belgrave Road

Other bus issues in Leicester including air quality, Park and Ride, inaccurate travel packs for new developments, and delays and inefficiency when boarding buses

Figure 8.5: An infographic of transport matters discussed by the Leicester bus user panel

Appendix E (Figure E.5) summarises the analysis of the opportunities and constraints for SISM observed within the data generated as part of the Leicester Bus User Panel during three participant observations and three follow up interviews. Opportunities for the promotion and provision of SISM within the Leicester Bus User Panel were numerous and included: getting involved in the scrutiny committee review of bus lanes; taking part in trails, pilots and launches such as smart ticketing and a preview visit to the new Haymarket bus station (which opened in 2016); using evidence gathering and an issues log to hold the council and bus operators to account; and receiving advanced copies of proposed designs and other proposals (e.g. the Welford Road project and real time sign locations). These opportunities were constrained by external factors outside of the process including the poor reliability of passenger information systems, the apparent inability of council officers to be able to deal with reported issues in a timely manner, the simultaneous reduction of car parking prices in the city centre, national regulatory frameworks for bus operations, and some teething problems with the new Haymarket bus station. The group were also involved in the creation

259

of a bus passenger charter; however, its usefulness was questioned by both interviewees 2 and 11 (Section 8.6.3).

8.4.6 Leicester Cycle City Forum

Leicester has an openly pro cycling city council with an openly pro cycling city mayor and assistant city mayor. This gives the issue political clout and recognition, especially given the political structures involved (i.e. that the mayor is directly elected with a large mandate and share of the vote in the previous mayoral election). The Leicester Cycle city forum were involved in discussions around cycling issues and investment within the local area (Figure *8.6*).

Presentation of the 2015-2024 Cycle Action Plan outlining 70 actions, specific monitoring and engagement targets during the 20/01/16 meeting.

Concerns about the design of the A50 cycle scheme (03/06/15 meeting)

Funding for cycling investment with £40 million spent in city centre

Belgrave Road scheme involved disagreements between businesses and residents but didn't make sufficient provisions for cycling (Interview 13).

LEICESTER CYCLE CITY FORUM

Places for people street design project involving community forums and one-day trials (of people friendly street layouts)

Networking opportunities promote community cycling campaigns and events, local cycling businesses and a major cycling conference in May 2016

Problems with maintenance and enforcement with *"cycle lanes [falling] into disrepair"* and *"signs [not being] replaced"* (Interview 12). The mayor asked participants to share photos of poor maintenance.

Figure 8.6: An infographic of transport matters discussed by the Leicester cycle city forum

Appendix E (Figure E.6) summarises the analysis of the opportunities and constraints for SISM observed within the data generated as part of the Leicester Cycle City Forum during three participant observations and four follow up interviews. As with the Bus User Panel, the Cycle City Forum provided numerous

opportunities for the promotion and provision of SISM including: voting on small funding bids; providing evidence of poor maintenance; discussing cycling issues with the mayor directly; involvement in scrutiny committees; separate monthly workshops to consider proposed schemes and events in more detail; and involvement in community events, proposals, designs and planning applications. Political pressures from non-cyclists was a constraint because there is also a demand from the wider public to make the city attractive to people who want to drive in and park (Koglin, 2015). Other constraints included needing to go through formal consultation in addition to attending this process (interviewees 12 and 13) and reported problems with maintenance and enforcement.

8.4.7 MK BUG

The MK Bus Users Group were involved in discussions around bus issues and investment within the Milton Keynes Council area (Figure *8.7*). This included the overall impact of subsidies, congestion and redevelopment on the bus network along with more specific matters such as the MK Bus Charter and MK Coachway.

MK Council planned to cut £900,000 in bus subsidies but actually cut £50,000 plus plans to cut £75,000 more in 2016 (Interview 10)

Infrastructure projects including the new Bletchley bus station, Wolverton redevelopment, and the incorrect placement of bus stops outside Stadium MK (Interview 10).

The impact MK's unique layout, congestion and maintenance issues have had on bus reliability and journey time variability with random length queues at roundabouts (Interview 7).

Strategic interest in non bus issues such as the East-West Rail Link

Audio announcement issues at MK Coachway for local bus services

MK BUG

MK BUG worked with operators and MK Council to establish the MK Bus Charter

The Intu shopping centre redevelopment narrowed the protected Midsummer Boulevard transport corridor

Future investment in technologies including: electric buses and driverless vehicles

Disruption to networks and contacts within MK Council (and bus companies) due to staff cuts and turnover over the past 10 years (Interview 7).

Figure 8.7: An infographic of transport matters discussed by the MK BUG

Appendix E (Figure E.7) summarises the analysis of the opportunities and constraints for SISM observed within the data generated as part of MK BUG during four participant observations and two follow up interviews. The principle opportunity for the promotion and provision of SISM within MK BUG involved the work of the technical working group (four key members) and their partnership approach to working with MK Council and bus operators. They appeared to be particularly successful when working on issues surrounding cuts to bus subsidies and proposed improvements to socially necessary (council-funded) services. Participants within MK BUG also got involved in infrastructure surveys and volunteering to direct away fans to sporting events. The group created a bus passenger charter, although as in Leicester the effectiveness of this was unclear (Section 8.6.3). Whilst the determination and technical knowledge of participants is unquestionable, the extent of their influence remains unclear (as outlined by interviewee 7 in Figure E.7). External constraints included internal communication problems within MK Council, wasted efforts when MK BUG evidence gathering was not used by MK Council, and hostility towards buses from council members and the wider public who don't use them. The unique historical and spatial context of Milton Keynes has a role to play here because of the town's reputation for being dominated by the car, even though roughly 20% households did not have access to a car in the 2011 census.

8.4.8 MK DAG

MK DAG were involved in discussions around sustainable and accessible transport issues in and around the Milton Keynes Council area. The issues discussed included (Figure *8.8*): non-emergency patient transport, problems for people with sensory impairments, community transport, and redways and access. It is also important to note that other transport issues were covered either in more depth or exclusively by the transport sub-group (Section 8.4.9).

Problems with Non-emergency patient transport in MK, users having to prove that personal wheelchairs have been crash tested.

Problems in MK for people with sensory impairments including: cyclists on the pavements in Central MK (18/06/15 meeting), tactile paving which leads to blocked off routes, and higher bus fares for disabled bus pass holders

Updates on MK DAG Transport Sub Group business

Problems with community transport since MK Council took it back in house in 2014, including a lack of trust in the reliability of the service (18/06/15 meeting) and the absence of a previously promised consultation process (Interview 1)

MK DAG

Redways and access were discussed at the 26/11/15 meeting with a focus on fear of crime, landscaping, lighting, enforcement, and maintenance. The MK Council officers advised participants to lodge formal complaints in order to raise the profile of these issues.

Discussions about other transport issues in MK including: dropped kerbs outside a Tesco supermarket, Buses blocking redway crossings, enforcement of disabled parking bays, historical involvement in Station square redevelopment, newer estates on the outskirts of MK not being built to the same standard as the earlier ones and the high staff turnover at MK Council (Interview 1)

Figure 8.8: An infographic of transport matters discussed by the MK DAG

Appendix E (Figure E.8) summarises the analysis of the opportunities and constraints for SISM observed within the data generated as part of MK DAG during four participant observations and two follow up interviews. Their evidence gathering capability provided the best opportunities for SISM, both in terms of documenting individual experiences but also having MK CIL on hand to collate and present the evidence to the relevant organisation. One productive instance I observed involved discussions with a non-emergency hospital transport provider during the 17/09/15 meeting. Participants were also proactive at volunteering to get involved in mystery shopper exercises and advocating on behalf of accessibility improvements, particularly within Central Milton Keynes. The key constraints for SISM relating to MK DAG centred around their lack of relationships with MK council members and officers and participants tended to find it difficult or impossible to get external representative to attend their meetings. This included highways officers, community transport officers and the cabinet member responsible for adult care and housing. However, walking and cycling officers did attend the 26/11/15 meeting to provide guidance on how participants could make their voice heard (using MK Councils complaints system) and to listen to the issues faced by participants (a form of micro-influence). Participants also reported in meetings and the follow up interviews that their personal mobility was being

constrained by reforms to Employment and Support Allowance (ESA) and expressed concerns about the future role out of Universal Credit.

8.4.9 MK DAG Transport Sub-Group

The Milton Keynes DAG Transport Sub-Group were involved in more detailed discussions than the main DAG group around sustainable and accessible transport issues in and around the Milton Keynes Council area. During the period of the participant observations, taxi policy appeared to be a major focus. The issues discussed included (Figure *8.9*): taxi guide/policy and training for drivers in MK, community transport, driverless pods, and buses.

Historical problems with community transport, combined with service cuts and a disagreement with MK Council over supply and demand. Poor reliability and availability is leading to transport related social exclusion for those dependent upon community transport (Interview 1).

Work on rewriting taxi licensing policy and driver training as part of an effort to restore the reputation of taxis in MK. Anecdotes from the community suggest that sexual harassment and discrimination occur (Interview 6). Current driver training includes a loading test for wheelchair accessible vehicles and a 30-minute talk on disability awareness.

MK Council trial of driverless pods not looking at disabled access yet but 5 disability groups were represented at a 2015 presentation including the RNIB and MK DAG (30/07/15 meeting)

MK DAG TRANSPORT SUB-GROUP

Accessibility problems with buses including the proximity to kerbs and pavements, and some buses running through estates being too small to be accessible (Interview 1). One participant was also trying to deal with the lack of announcements for local buses at MK Coachway.

Figure 8.9: An infographic of transport matters discussed by the MK DAG Transport Sub-Group

Appendix E (Figure E.9) summarises the analysis of the opportunities and constraints for SISM observed within the data generated as part of the MK DAG Transport Sub-Group during four participant observations and two follow up interviews. The principle opportunity for the promotion and provision of SISM

related to taxi policy and the transport sub-group's productive relationship with the taxi officer. This included providing inputs into MK Council's disability awareness training for licensed taxi drivers, writing a taxi user's guide for people with mobility impairments, providing mystery shopper feedback, and reviewing the taxi licensing policy. The extent of participants' influence was constrained by national taxi licensing regulations and evidence of discrimination which was brought to the meetings observed (see Linton and Bray, 2017 for a discussion of industry wide issues). Opportunities to improve the accessibility of bus services and community transport in Milton Keynes was limited to evidence gathering. It was unclear whether this influenced decision makers and service providers. Whenever accessibility within Milton Keynes is discussed, participants expressed frustration that previous promises (dating back 40 years) hadn't been delivered upon.

8.5 How Social Capital Cycles Create Opportunities for SISM

This section will analyse how social capital cycles in the PTPP studied created opportunities for productive SISM outcomes in each case study area. The most significant opportunities related to the provision of localised knowledge and evidence for use by decision makers (Vigar, 2017) as well as public support for transport schemes being promoted by their local authority. The use of social learning and skills and competences in the PTPP studied also enabled participants to collaborate with local government on better design principles, particularly in relation to cycling in Leeds and Leicester and taxi licensing in Milton Keynes. Finally, participants were able to use their relationships with decision makers to personally lobby them, gaining influence as a result.

8.5.1 Providing localised knowledge and evidence

The strongest opportunity to promote opportunities for SISM across the case studies related to the provision of localised (or specialist) knowledge and evidence necessary for decision makers to argue for change and improvements. Different mechanisms were used to facilitate evidence gathering such as: position statements and site visits (CCAG), sharing professional experience (Cross Gates Forum and MK BUG), written (Leicester Bus User Panel) and verbal (Leicester Cycle City Forum) evidence to a scrutiny committee, an issues log (Leicester Bus User Panel), and conducting surveys (MK BUG and MK DAG).

When considering the role of the social capital cycle in facilitating influence over transport planning (including SISM) a combination of embodied local knowledge (social learning) and the technical and interpersonal skills of participants to utilise their own professional knowledge (skills and competences) was important. The development of bridging capital and relationships with others, often facilitated by productive leadership and group dynamics was also significant:

"There's a lot of people who do things here you know…there's a chap who's a traffic engineer, …a retired [transport] planner, …a quantity surveyor, err we've got senior building executives up the road [laughs], …a natural scientist…and then we get people around the country to advise us" (Interview 3)

However, this did not mean that participants needed to be transport experts. Personal experiences of using sustainable transport in each location and a willingness to share them with decision makers counted for more, particularly when combined with an enhanced understanding (skills and competences) of the ways in which sustainable transport is operated in a given locality:

"Within your three months off so to speak between each meeting…you have a look at things that's going on in Leeds…I don't have a queue of people knocking

266

on my door saying can we have this bus sorted out or anything like that…so yeah you do make a mental note of it and it's mainly time keeping and price of buses really, so you just try and bring some influence on that" (Interview 8).

The previously mentioned scrutiny committee involvement in Leicester provided an excellent opportunity for participants to effectively utilise their embodied knowledge (social learning) and skills and competences in order to influence decision making. Interviewees 2, 12 and 15 all spoke positively of the opportunities created to have their say on issues relating to cycling and buses in the city:

"The scrutiny committee… usually if you put [yourself or your group] forward you can speak on behalf or against something… [we] had been advised that… we might want to come to the scrutiny committee and speak there" [Interview 15]

The assistant mayor also demonstrated productive leadership by enabling the discussion within the bus user panel to be submitted using the minutes:

"In terms of the bus users panel involvement [in the review]… the assistant mayor encouraged [participants] to give their view… but the global feedback in the meeting was taken on board…[and] the minutes of [were used] as a submission" (Interview 2).

"I said at the time that I thought the panel ought to put something to the scrutiny committee…and we were invited to make our own comments and at the end of the meeting we were given an email address and I certainly did make my comments" (Interview 12)

The issues log also illustrated the importance of productive leadership in Leicester. A simple reorganisation of the bus user panel allowed participants to share evidence in a way that didn't become counter-productive and repetitive.

Since the issues log was introduced in early 2016, participants noticed an improvement to the productivity of the process:

"now [there is a] separate part of the agenda [for bus] companies reporting on their latest initiatives and any issues… and an opportunity to question [operators directly] rather than…[hearing] everybody's [unresolved] issues… [Now problems are added] to the issues log, rather than repeat[ed]… every time" (Interview 2).

In Milton Keynes, both MK BUG and MK DAG (with the support of MK CIL) demonstrated an ability to collectively document and collate evidence of transport problems reported by the wider community (further evidence of the importance of embodied knowledge (Vigar, 2017)). In the case of the latter, participants from MK CIL would use their own professional and interpersonal skills to write letters and complaints on behalf of MK DAG to MK Council. These individual participants would often have a more nuanced understanding of the everyday challenges faced by people with reduced or impaired mobility. Within MK BUG, participants' experience of transport in MK and getting involved in activism typically stretched back decades. Productive social capital within MK BUG enabled evidence and survey data to be collated due to linkages between leadership (to identify best approach/people to gather evidence), social learning (to share knowledge and experience), skills and competences (to carry out the surveys), and relationships (people willing to volunteer).

8.5.2 Providing public support for transport schemes

Another set of opportunities to promote opportunities for SISM arose from the provision of public support to local government to ensure that favourable transport schemes were supported or maintained (e.g. through volunteering).

Within the CCAG, participants' common sense of purpose (i.e. improving cycling) created positive relationships and group dynamics. Participants appeared to

share common norms and values in trying to improve cycling infrastructure in Leeds and the rest of West Yorkshire. This meant that participants were willing to use whatever influence they could to help WYCA. This included direct support and involvement in the creation of local cycling champions, placemaking and in mediation where WYCA and district council officers were trying to win over elected members in local areas.

In the Leicester Bus User Panel, Council officers present in the panel meetings offered participants the opportunity to get involved in trials and consultations and shared proposals with the group (social learning and influence) such as the changes to timetable design at the bus stops (Interviewee 16). However, there was an acknowledged need to better identify how the panel's involvement ultimately helped the decision-making process:

"They're like a cloud they just absorb the comments and you never hear back again" (Interview 12)

Although participants also accepted that comments from participants in the bus users' panel did make a difference (in terms of influence) sometimes:

"Somebody came along…and said that their particular bus was consistently late or didn't turn up and it was an Arriva bus and…they managed to get the timetable changed so that the actual timetabling of it was realistic for the journey at the times of day… that was positive" (Interview 16).

In the Leicester Cycle City Forum, the very strong productive linkage between social learning and group dynamics enabled participants (who in the observations appeared to know each other and get along well) to learn about and get involved in community events. The accompanying monthly Cycle City Workshops were also used to create opportunities for productive representation, social learning

269

and influence linkages. Although some participants felt that these workshops could be even more productive:

Volunteering to get involved in activities outside of the processes observed was indicative of productive relationships not only in the Leicester Cycle City Forum, but also in MK BUG and MK DAG. MK BUG were able to utilise productive social capital linkages between leadership, representation and group dynamics by volunteering to help each other and act as ambassadors for Milton Keynes by guiding away fans from Bletchley railway station to Stadium MK. MK DAG used strong productive linkages between leadership, social learning and representation to get involved in mystery shopper exercises and had a strong sense of its purpose in terms of their need to advocate for accessibility improvements within MK because they saw the benefits that could bring to the wider community who may feel less comfortable about getting involved or speaking out.

8.5.3 Collaboration with local government on better design principles

The social capital cycles present in the PTPP observed were also able to promote opportunities to work with local government on better design principles. The CCAG with its position statements and site visits was set up precisely to influence local government thinking, particularly when enabled by productive leadership and strong relationships with project officers and the programme board. Elsewhere within the City Connect project, the CCSM social capital cycle was characterised by learning and networking with strong productive linkages between representativeness, social learning and skills and competences. This generated opportunities for influence through the workshops held on cycling, walking and placemaking:

"[I] liked…the stakeholder meetings, because they've tended to be single issue, …there were breakout groups, discussion, whatever, [and] because they were very informal. I thought they were effective and also the topics they were discussing were biggies, so for example they discussed the West Yorkshire cycle network,…cycling on a towpath, the sort of standards that people want…what sort of surface do you have…the way it's done enabled you to get a proper discussion…and formed valuable [relationships]" [Interview 5].

Proving a direct link between participants inputs and the decisions taken was unclear however and this was a common cause of frustration when trying to influence design principles (Gallent and Robinson, 2013; McAndrews and Marcus, 2015). As acknowledged in the previous section, a clear example of this was when Leicester City Council enabled participants to have their say on changes to timetable design at bus stops:

"They've consulted me on the size of the print, the format and design all that sort of thing…[but sharing ideas] hasn't really produced a lot of fruit [laughs] to be perfectly honest…the size and the positioning of that information was wrong because a) it was too small and b) it was put in an inappropriate [location]…it was rather disappointing" (Interview 16).

Collaboration also extended to policy as well as design. Productive relationships between the MK DAG Transport Sub-Group and the taxi officer at MK Council also enabled weak productive influence on taxi licensing guidelines because of the repeated direct communications (skills and competences) that those relationships generated. The efforts of the taxi officer in cultivating those relationships (in apparent contrast with other MK Council officers) meant that the group were able to share their embodied knowledge and experiences in a way which actively informed taxi licensing policy and practice (social learning).

8.5.4 Personal lobbying

Personal lobbying appeared to be a significant motivation for participants to attend PTPP. This was particularly clear when local politicians were involved in those processes. The Cross Gates Forum provided a sounding board to see how other participants felt (social learning) and a direct link to the local councillors who appeared to support the need to tackle area specific road safety, parking and congestion problems (leadership and influence):

"[The Cross Gates Forum is] a conduit for getting things through to the [council], via the councillors." [Interview 3]

Participants displayed a passion for sustainable mobility and described getting involved in transport planning because they were interested in it, but also because they were keen to see improvements and take a more activist approach *"out of desperation" (Informal chat, 10/10/16 meeting)*. Both interviewees from the LDCSC discussed how their interest in transport extended beyond that process alone:

"I'm on [a local] road safety committee…and once a year we…organise a road safety quiz for the junior schools in the area… it's a wonderful thing and also, it sticks in the…child's mind really." (Interview 9)

"Most of us do enjoy it and most of us have an understanding of transport… you've got to have an interest… before you even volunteer… so that's why I got involved, and also [because I used to] work on the buses as well" (Interview 8).

In Leicester, the mayor and then deputy mayor drove the development of participants' knowledge (social learning) around what Leicester City Council were or were not doing and used their level of accountability (leadership-representation linkages) to provide clear guidance on how/what influence was possible over the decision-making process for buses in the city. Both leaders openly invited comments and evidence in the meetings that they could then use to pressure

officers to resolve persistent minor issues. However, rather than openly criticising the officers in public they were able to use their leadership skills to take a more light-hearted 'tongue-in-cheek' approach:

"Participant #7: mayor committed to declutter Woodgate area but there is a temporary bus stop 5 yards from [the actual] bus stop
Chair: can we remove that Julian [lead officer]?
#7: it's been 22 months
Chair: I feel your frustration, of all the issues [reported] we can definitely get that sorted, [the chair] jokes about picking it up in his Citroen Picasso" (08/12/15 meeting field notes)

The leadership of the mayor and assistant mayor had a strong productive impact on the social capital practices of other participants as they felt able to personally lobby politicians with the power to take decisions (Hambleton, 2017). The strong productive leadership observed in the social capital cycles of both Leicester Forums provided clear opportunities for representation and influence:

"Just getting your face shown is always influential you know, I mean a lot of things happen by having a little discussion or a little chat here or there, or meeting people." (Interview 11)

"It gives it a certain amount of kudos doesn't it… it would be pointless if it was chaired by someone who had no errm decision making power or influence, so to have the guy in charge of transport there is obviously fine as far as that goes but I don't know how much any decision is influenced by [that] forum." (Interview 13)

"The fact that it's political involvement, instead of just officer involvement makes a huge difference. [Both] in that meeting, but it also makes a difference in other forms of activism, …when I pass the mayor on the street, he knows who I am… and that's a [pauses] useful place to be if you're an activist" (Interview 15)

273

A similar, albeit more informal level of influence was also observed in MK BUG. Participants in that process were able to work effectively with both MK Council and local bus operators (productive relationships and social learning). The involvement of strong leaders with specialist levels of skills and knowledge relating to local transport issues (particularly the funding of socially necessary bus services) was particularly significant here. As a result, participants were able to carry out lobbying on behalf of bus users in MK:

"some of it was making speeches at cabinet meetings…, but some of it was…lobbying individuals behind the scenes" (Informal chat)

Two participants within MKBUG were also involved in the Milton Keynes Transport Partnership which involved the council, the business community and bus operators. This demonstrated strong productive leadership and representation and was described as "wearing a lot of hats" (Interview 7).

8.6 How Social Capital Cycles Create Uncertainties for SISM

This section will analyse those aspects of the social capital cycles in the nine case study processes where there was uncertainty over the extent to which the utilisation of social capital created opportunities for the promotion and provision of SISM. These uncertainties included a lack of evidence of impact (often as a result of a lack of feedback loops (Parker and Street, 2018)), a need for improved communication and collaboration between decision makers and participants within PTPP, and the questionable value of activities that participants were involved with.

8.6.1 A lack of evidence of impact

The most significant uncertainty in terms of the role social capital cycles have on SISM outcomes was a lack of evidence of impact. This was indicative of the lack

of feedback loops when decisions were taken by local authorities following the sharing of embodied knowledge in the PTPP observed. This was a phenomenon that was observed in all of the case study processes.

In the CCAG It was unclear how much the CCAG were able to steer design principles given their 'advisory' role. This created tensions between engineers who wanted to keep things quite broad and strategic, and participants who wanted to look at detailed technical aspects. This tension is not new and is supported by research into the relationship between the rational technocratic approach of planners and the embedding of participant's embodied knowledge (Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013; Lyons and Davidson, 2016; Legacy, 2017; Vigar, 2017). This uncertainty was also observed in the Cross Gates Forum. The popularity of the local councillors enabled those participants with good relationships with them to participate effectively in the process. The chair (a local councillor) certainly suggested that they had passed relevant comments back to the highways officer (generating indirect opportunities for influence within the process). However, Interviewee 3 suggested that even the councillors' own influence was sometimes limited:

"I think we've got our view across but things move very slowly, and it's often an issue… what influence the councillors have cos they know, the officers work in their world and then they present things to the councillors, and so the councillors make their views known in relation to what their voters are telling them... but I mean things do happen like… the Austhorpe Road works" (Interview 3)

In the Leicester Bus User Panel, there were clear productive leadership and social learning linkages in terms of gathering comments on the plans for the new Haymarket Bus Station. However, there was uncertainty between the follow up interviewees as to how productive those opportunities for influence had been in practice:

"The new Haymarket bus station is more accessible than it probably would have been without those conversations [between participants and the council]" (Interview 2)

"[I gave] my errm detailed analysis of what I thought was useful and also detrimental and what… needed to be put in for the safety of visually impaired people…so we put through a whole lot of recommendations before the bus station was… approved and subsequently most of it was ignored, but now they're finding a lot of what we said needs to be put into place" (Interview 16)

This uncertainty appears to reflect a frequently observed tension in PTPP (and participatory planning more widely) that there is a difference between influencing the thinking of decision makers and influencing the outcome. The leaders of the Leicester Forums were clearly in a 'listening mode' because in the bus and cycle forum meetings observed both the mayor and deputy mayor made it clear that they wanted participants to provide evidence of cycling and bus issues and problems so that they could use their leadership/influence to enable the City Council (officers) to act.

However, there were also instances in the case study processes observed where there was an apparent influence on outcomes. MK BUG appeared to play a key role in successfully lobbying MK Council to reduce the size of bus subsidy cuts in the area. Participants were able to use their social capital in order to lobby the council. They understood how subsidies work and the factors that enable them (such as the such as the subsidy per passenger for each route/service) and were able to combine this with productive individual relationships with key decision makers in order to lobby the Council. However, the extent to which MK BUG can take credit for the MK Council reversal on subsidies is unclear as it is a decision that will have ultimately been taken politically by council members.

The strong triadic linkage generated between leadership, social learning and representation within MK DAG also created weak productive influence because MK Council had to consult with MK DAG (under the Public Sector Equality Duty 2011) but it was unclear exactly what influence they had over MK Council decisions as a result of this consultation (again due to a lack of feedback loops). One such example related to the redevelopment of Station Square:

"we spent months [working on] those plans… they then went back to the council and a bloke in the council offices said I don't like that…that's what you've got station square like today, complete and utter chaos…you can't get in there during 5,6 o'clock at night, order taxis this that the other, buses the whole lot, nothing, disabled parking is a complete and utter joke…[so] they will consult us, they will ask us for our advice, but they totally ignored it." (Interview 1)

8.6.2 A need for improved communication and collaboration

Another uncertainty between social capital and SISM outcomes in the processes observed related to a need for improved communication and collaboration. Communication is an important part of the feedback loops discussed in the previous section and was a significant form of social capital in terms of the opportunities generated for productive SISM outcomes in this study (Section 8.5). However, there were instances within the PTPP observed where there were uncertainties over the role of communication and collaboration. For example, softer cycling measures such as community events and training were frequently promoted within the Leicester Cycle City Forum meetings observed. This demonstrated productive linkages between relationships, leadership and communication (skills and competences). However, some uncertainties were revealed by the follow up interviewees in terms of participants' input into infrastructure design:

"There seems to be a…blueprint in terms of how the council does their cycle lanes…so I think the chance of actually changing it is slim." (Interview 11)

"It's hard to tell with that forum, why the plans don't come back exactly the way we want them is a bit of a black box… there's a lot less infrastructure design knowledge transfer than we hoped or than was intended." (Interview 15)

Opportunities to gain representation within the MK DAG Transport Sub-Group was weaker than in the main MK DAG process because this group was very small, and the leadership approach taken by the chair meant that they were less keen to encourage the sharing of anecdotes and past experiences. Conversely there was a sense that MK DAG tried to push important transport issues down into its sub-group. This demonstrated that gatekeeping was present towards issues of representation (who is involved in this process), social learning (what experiences can be shared) and skills and competences (how participants are able to get involved) which in turn created uncertainties in terms of how the two groups communicated with each other:

"DAG does talk about transport quite a lot but [doesn't] necessarily take it seriously… and the response to that was to set up the DAG transport sub-group…[which] has done some good work, but I think it was set up to busy the person that talked about transport a lot and I don't think that's right" (Interview 6)

Within the MK DAG Transport Sub-Group, opportunities to enhance bus provisions in Milton Keynes were strangely absent from this process (although evidence gathering of problems at bus stops was discussed). This is arguably a representativeness issue in that some participants in this group cannot access public buses themselves and as a result this subconsciously became a lower priority for the whole group:

"[a non-participant] feels quite strongly that [MK DAG/Transport Sub-Group] don't deal with issues that affect him…[he] is able to use community transport and he uses it quite well, and he's able to catch a bus and what he says is that all [the group] ever talk about are the people that aren't able to do that." (Interview 6)

8.6.3 Questionable value of the activity

There were instances within the PTPP observed where it wasn't always clear whether the activities participants were involved in were generating any value in terms of outcomes for SISM. As discussed in Chapter 7, the CCSM was particularly illustrative of this tension between productivity and outcome. Different interviewees saw the usefulness of the CCSM very differently:

"[WYCA aren't] really using the opportunity to seek from stakeholders what they want… [the CCSM is] not consultation is it? It's communicating at the very most… I think that format needs to be kicked through [and replaced with] virtual stuff… that could probably be more effective." [Interview 4]

"I found [the CCSM] very interesting, valuable and worthwhile because of the way it was structured, there were topics, there were no decisions made, but you got a chance to share views and ideas, and I liked it. And [people came] in with angles that you'd never thought of" (Interview 5).

There was evidence of weak influence within the LDCSC due to the group's involvement in a strategic visioning exercise (which took place in Summer 2016), however there were uncertainties over the productivity of the exercise and participants questioned the value of it:

"It's fairly self-explanatory stuff really… most people want a bus service to turn up on time and pay a reasonable price you know" (Interview 8).

279

"[An] absolute waste of time…all wind and no water… it's such a lazy way of planning a meeting… we want a bus service that is reliable, we want it joined up, everybody says this, stop asking what we want and do something about it… [I] found [sitting around the table again] very frustrating" (Interview 9)

Similarly, the Leicester Bus User Panel and MK BUG were involved in the production of Bus Passenger Charters in their local area. In both cases, putting it together demonstrated leadership, skills, influence and productive relationships with the local authority and (most of) the bus operators, however it was unclear whether either charter has had a meaningful impact and how well it is enforced as a voluntary agreement:

"I wasn't involved in the development of the bus charter, I'm still not sure whether the bus charter was a good thing" (Interview 2)

"I refused to… contribute towards [the charter] because it was such a waste of time" (Interview 12)

Another example of an activity that had an uncertain outcome for SISM within the PTPP observed related to discussions about technological advancements. Technological advancements were a frequent topic of discussion in both the LDCSC and Leicester Bus User Panel meetings because of proposed improvements to smart ticketing and real time bus information. However, there were uncertainties around how much social learning and influence took place within these processes because of concerns around representation and whether technological improvements might exclude some users (e.g. those without bank accounts or contactless payment cards). Whilst these improvements will lead to smarter mobility, questions remain in the mind of participants over whether they will lead to socially inclusive mobility:

"I mean I know the way forward is that they'll say well text the number of bus stop and we'll tell you when the bus is coming, but there's a lot of people of my generation [who] don't text… [although] I know we're gonna have to think about new generations [who] will" (Interview 9)

8.7 How Social Capital Cycles Create Constraints for SISM

This section will analyse the how social capital cycles in the PTPP studied constrained opportunities for SISM outcomes in each case study area. The most significant constraint related to the availability of resources and the poor utilisation of the social capital of participants. However, external factors such as national (de)regulation of buses and taxis and political opposition to investment in cycling and public transport also had an impact on the ability of participants to use their social capital in order to influence productive outcomes for SISM.

8.7.1 Resource limitations and poor utilisation of social capital

A significant constraint on outcomes for SISM was caused by a lack of resources at local government level and the poor utilisation of the social capital available within the PTPP observed. Sometimes these two factors were directly linked. In a sense, there were times when these processes had become missed opportunities, both for participants and the local authorities they were trying to influence.

The SISM outcomes of influence in the CCAG social capital cycle were hard to identify given the external financial and political pressures on the City Connect project. The lack of direct relationships between CCAG members and political leaders in West Yorkshire also limited their representativeness. Observations outside of this process (e.g. from the perception of councillors within the LDCSC) tended to perceive City Connect as an opaque process. Within the CCSM, the

lack of designs (and therefore influence over the design process) was noticeable. Workshops sometimes dealt with abstracted design discussions (e.g. using fictional scenarios) rather than project specific ones. This stood in contrast with the more direct discussions observed as part of the CCAG meetings. There was a lack of clarity from one meeting to the next whether the discussions had led to any kind of influence on the City Connect project:

"There's been too much of the 'this is what we're doing', now we're gonna give you a flip chart and we want to put your ideas down and we'll do a SWOT analysis… people will just do that time and time again and it might get distilled into a document, but I don't think it changed anything" (Interview 4)

As discussed in Chapter 7, the CCSM struggled to find an identity and purpose. This lack of clarity over what WYCA wanted from the process weakened participants' opportunities to improve SISM (through a lack of influence and social learning). This process didn't appear to feed into the City Connect project with anything like as much importance as the CCAG.

In the Cross Gates Forum, transport was only a small part of the process. As a result, there was evidence of bypassing amongst participants (Hillier, 2000) as the forum itself only generated weak productive influence:

"the forum…was a matter of informing us as to what was going on, …the link road issue, we wouldn't pursue it through the forum, we'd be going to the directly to the councillors about it and also the officers." (Interview 3)

Cross Gates Forum participants' productive social capital linkages (between social learning, relationships and influence) were also weakened in the context of transport planning issues by the infrequent attendance of representatives from the highways team. Interviewee 3 also talked about finding it much harder to get in touch with council officers now as they were so busy due to stretched

resources. Significant constraints for SISM in Leeds also related to external factors based on previous difficulties the city had when trying to implement large scale public transport investment or improve bus services:

"Leeds was gonna be one of the first cities in the country to [implement] a light rail system. We're very good at talking in Leeds but not so good at the action side of things [laughs] to be honest" (Interview 8)

Within the Leicester Bus User Panel, a significant constraint on SISM outcomes related to frustrations caused over the repeated updates on the testing and roll out of updated real time bus information and smart ticketing in Leicester. Based on the accounts of this approach from the follow up interviewees, this appeared to demonstrate an unproductive linkage between social learning (of participants' experiences) and the skills and competences (of officers to communicate updates in a way which will minimise frustration). The inability of Council officers to deal with issues in a timely manner illustrated the lack of available resources within the council and the knock-on effect this had on opportunities to promote SISM within the Bus User Panel. Whilst the strong productive leadership skills outlined in Chapter 7 were able to deflect criticism in a humourous way and encourage productive group dynamics, participants were still very frustrated at the perceived inertia of council officers:

"The criticism [of council officers] might be [well] founded… that person should pull their finger out and have got that done sooner, and it's frustrating [that the same problems keep coming back unresolved]." (Interview 2)

"The bus user's panel I find very frustrating… I can't work out whether it's a mixture of sheer lack of money, political will or incapable officers" (Interview 12)

"I'd like to see more feedback on what has gone on in the background, because it does help to have explanations as to why things have not been achieved or why

[schemes] can't be progressed, and when things are put on hold that they're not [left to] drift" (Interview 16).

Sometimes the poor utilisation of social capital was caused by the duplication of efforts within and then outside of these PTPP. Participants from the Leicester Cycle City Forum in the follow up interviews felt that it didn't replace formal consultation. Interviewees 11, 13 and 15 all lamented the lack of feedback loops and the fact that they felt as if they were able to influence the City Council:

"I go along to get information, I don't go along to try and influence things because that's not, I don't feel that's the best place for that" (Interview 11)

"It's just an updating service, the influence isn't there anymore" (Interview 15)

Within Milton Keynes, there appeared to be a prevalence of internal communication issues (in part caused by staff turnover or job losses) in MK Council which had a knock-on effect on the utilisation of participants' social capital in MK BUG and MK DAG. Both groups appeared to have wasted efforts when evidence gathering on the Council's behalf:

"the trouble with Milton Keynes Council is …they had to make £30 million worth of cuts…and within highways and transport they've taken on a lot of interim senior staff…and therefore they don't know the ropes…so it is a question about the left hand knowing about the right hand in a number of areas but in…highways and public transport [it] is a serious issue" (Interview 10)

MK DAG was quite removed from opportunities for SISM in Milton Keynes. Participants were having difficulties maintaining relationships with council officers. Funding cuts reduced the ability of senior officers from MK Council to attend MK DAG (compared to when the group was first created). This created tensions around how MK DAG could be more influential over MK Council decision

making. Interviewee 1 reported a loss of experienced officers, and how this had created poor continuity and made maintaining relationships difficult. MK DAG acknowledged the need to develop their relationships with MK Council in the future as well as their 'critical friend' skills. In order to tackle this ongoing problem, MK CIL and the equalities officer at MK Council ran a 'DAG way forward' workshop in May 2016 and the council provided up to £1000 worth of funding for 'critical friend' training. A training session was set up by MK CIL in July 2017 and was well attended by most of the regular participants.

Opportunities for influence over MK Council seemed to be entirely dependent upon the existence of relationships between individual officers at MK Council and participants in both MK DAG and the Transport Sub-Group. Whilst the strong relationship with the taxi officer meant that they attended multiple Transport Sub-Group meetings, there was no such relationship with other colleagues during this study. The participant observations and follow up interviews highlighted the lack of influence MK DAG was having over community transport in particular:

"[MK Council] didn't do what they said, …they said we will review this in a year, it's now two years later and they haven't reviewed it, they're not listening to the feedback that they're getting and in fact they've just announced that they're going to be reducing the services even further." (Interview 6)

There was also evidence of significant representation and personal relationship difficulties within MK DAG as a result of the previous failure of the community transport users' group (Interview 1 and 11th August 2014 personal communication). Weak unproductive social capital linkages between social learning and skills and competences also had a negative impact on opportunities for MK DAG to improve community transport:

"I think if [we were] more motivated, more forthright about the issues, that [we] could have forced the council to review [community transport] again…you know

you've gotta think well then how much does it mean to [MK DAG as a whole] really but for some people it means a lot" (Interview 6)

Some of the tensions between MK Council and DAG came about because participants felt that they had been betrayed by historical promises made when MK was first built. This is a difficult problem for MK Council and MK DAG to overcome because Council officers today cannot easily change individual perceptions that have been built up over decades (Interview 1).

8.7.2 Restrictive national level (de)regulations

A second significant constraint on SISM outcomes for participants in this study related to national regulations surrounding different forms of sustainable mobility, particularly as a result of the deregulation and commercialisation of local bus services. For example, opportunities for influence within the LDCSC were unclear. Participants were at least able to hold operators and West Yorkshire Combined Authority to account in a formal setting, so this has been categorised as a weak productive form of influence. Interviewee 8 saw the LDCSC being a "check" that holds operators and WYCA to account (of those who attend) but didn't feel that the group has much influence. However, they also thought that the influence was proportionate for unelected, unaccountable volunteers but that the councillors and officers in attendance could still be influenced on an individual level in informal discussions after the meeting:

"At the end of [the meeting] the councillors [and officers] will stay around… so then you can pull them over…and just have a personal discussion if you've got a problem with this particular bus for instance… so you do influence a little bit thinking about it, you will get things done, it's not kind of like what you know it's who you know a little bit unfortunately [laughs]" (Interview 8)

MK BUG participants demonstrated the leadership qualities, relationships and skills necessary (in both the observations and follow up interviews) to gain influence over MK Council and the local bus operators. However, the extent of that influence is constrained by the same external regulatory factors identified within the LDCSC social capital cycle:

"[The] technical sub group [are] the ones who tend to go and negotiate with Arriva or other bus operators… [our influence is] nebulous I'd say…essentially [with] the commercial services Arriva decide the bus route…whereas [with] the tendered services the council decide the bus route and then invite tenders…we sometimes say to Arriva oh why don't you do this, that and the other and you know they might do it a year later, but you can't say directly that was because of us…but it might have been that we put the idea into their head sort of thing." (Interview 7)

Participants in MK DAG also reported in meetings and the follow up interviews that their personal mobility was being constrained by reforms to Employment and Support Allowance (ESA) and expressed concerns about the future role out of Universal Credit. This relates to representation because participants reported having difficulties getting involved in processes such as MK DAG due to constraints in access to personal mobility. This was also constrained by national taxi licensing regulations and the anecdotal evidence of discrimination faced by passengers. Broader pressures on housing, health and welfare were the most significant matters discussed within MK DAG (aside from transport and mobility issues). These issues are likely to continue to be a problem for participants and the wider community in Milton Keynes as Universal Credit is eventually rolled out by the National Government.

8.7.3 Politics of wider public opposition to investment in sustainable transport

The final significant social capital constraint on outcomes for SISM in the PTPP studied related to the representativeness of these processes in the context of wider political viewpoints. Local authorities in this study had to weigh the needs of participants against the needs of the wider public in each location. At present, SISM is not recognised as being universally beneficial within a society dominated by automobility (Sheller, 2011 and 2018). Sometimes individual PTPP would overlook some modes of sustainable transport in favour of other modes. For example, within the LDCSC, unproductive representation and social learning took place in relation to the inclusion of walking and cycling matters in the LDCSC meetings as participants tended to ignore those issues and instead focus on public transport:

"You sort of dismiss walking… [and] cycling really… as long as you're safe on the road, whereas… [frustrations around public transport are] more tangible, you can actually see something's not working" (Interview 8)

It was clear from the participant observations that one of the purposes of the Cycle groups observed in Leeds and Leicester was to combat some of the negative attitudes towards cycling amongst the wider public. This enabled representation amongst cycling groups within Leicester City Council decision making. In discussing their delicate handling of the politics of cycling (see quotes below), participants demonstrated their skills and competences:

"There are political reasons why you might not want to turn every city centre street into a cycle lane [laughs], so there's the kind of management of public perception of these kinds of projects. (Interview 2)

"I think in the public eye… we try and be as constructive as possible without being seen to be in [the Council's] pocket…we don't want to undo [the progress made as] their heart's in the right place." (Interview 13)

"We're really conscious of [not] criticising the council in public…[as] the population as it stands in the city are not very interested in cycling" (Interview 15)

However, public opposition did limit the ambition of local authority decision making in this study as it appeared as if they had to make incremental change rather than adopt a more radical approach (such as that taken by the Dutch government towards cycling over the past 40 years).

Public and political opposition to buses in Milton Keynes also constrained the representativeness of participants in MK BUG (which is why the linkages to this category within the social capital cycle are weak) as well as the potential knock on effect this has on the influence of the group. The group had a mandate from its membership but it's representation of the wider residents of MK was less clear:

"Residents object to a double decker bus coming through their estate… the ward councillors and the parish councillors have a real difficulty [convincing residents] because it is the city of the car… and they don't see why it's needed for other people." (Interview 10)

8.8 Link to further analysis

In this chapter the understandings of social capital practices and the resulting social capital cycles (Chapters 6 and 7) were extended further by exploring the relationship between those social capital cycles and the provision and promotion of SISM in each of the case study processes. This included a nuanced and

context specific understanding of how social capital cycles within PTPP had an impact on the outcomes of those processes. An understanding of the outcomes for SISM was supported by a more general outline of the transport planning problems and solutions discussed in each process. The following chapter (Chapter 9) will consider what these understandings can teach us about the effectiveness of participatory transport planning. This will be considered in the context of the lessons learned during this study. The lessons learned will be summarised into the groupings of people potentially involved in PTPP: local government, participants, academia (i.e. lessons for wider theoretical debates around participatory planning), and my own reflexivity. These lessons will highlight the ways in which the social capital cycle can be used to inform transport policy making and planning practice through investment in participants' social capital, as well as what individual participants can learn from developing an understanding of the social capital cycles present in their own PTPP.

8.9 Conclusions

The original contribution of this chapter is provided by the development of a context specific understanding of how the social capital cycle creates opportunities, uncertainties and constraints for SISM outcomes in each case study process. Productive social capital cycles were more likely to improve opportunities because those processes had the social capital to best utilise the (social and human) resources at their disposal (e.g. visionary leadership, experience, technical knowledge, or access to relationships and networks). Conversely, unproductive social capital cycles were more likely to either reduce opportunities or worse still create additional constraints. This was because those processes were unable to utilise the resources at their disposal effectively, either because those resources weren't present or because they were being used poorly (e.g. poor communication, poor relationships, and a lack of skills and knowledge). However, there were also broader factors outside of the processes observed (e.g. regulation and politics) that had a significant weighting on opportunities and constraints for SISM in the case study areas.

The fragmented approach in Leeds means that transport planning decision making is sometimes unclear between Leeds City Council and WYCA, especially when it comes to securing funding and dealing with regulatory issues which appears to have limited the ambitions of both cycling and public transport investment in the city. This included the additional contractual difficulties that came when dealing with other organisations such as the Canal and Rivers Trust or bus operators such as First and Arriva. However, during the study period some significant infrastructure projects were carried out including the completion of City Connect 1 (the Leeds-Bradford Cycle Superhighway albeit with compromises), the opening of two new rail stations to the West of the city centre, the opening of the new Leeds Station Southern Entrance (LSSE), and finally in the context of Cross Gates specifically, highway design works to improve safety on Austhorpe Road and the continued discussion around the construction of the Marston Lane Link Road. On the policy side, the big changes related to the consultation for the new Local Transport Plan for West Yorkshire and the transport conversations (which continued beyond the study period) surrounding the development of the South Bank in Leeds City Centre and the cancellation of the NGT trolleybus scheme in Leeds.

When considering the impact of the case study processes in Leeds, all four groups appeared to be set up to collect evidence of shared ideas and experiences, and to provide direct channels to influence officers and councillors. However, in all cases it was not always clear how much of an impact these processes were having on the relevant transport schemes outlined above (that looked to achieve SISM in the city), other than to reinforce the thinking of Leeds City Council and WYCA. Therefore, many participants described their involvement as being a form of democratic check on the system that held the decision makers with the actual power to account. One governance aspect raised by participants, elected members and local government officers in Leeds was the potential difference having a directly elected mayor could have on achieving meaningful change in the city (not just for SISM) for a wide range of devolved

responsibilities, particularly in the context of the increased powers given to mayoral combined authorities under the Bus Services Act 2017.

In terms of trying to achieve SISM, Leicester appears to think big and both processes have some significant political clout behind them, however the opportunities appear to relate to very micro-scale aspects of the projects that the city council are involved with. As elsewhere the council itself has much more control over cycling in the city than it does buses, although like Leeds it appears as if the council and the bus companies appear to be keen to maintain voluntary partnerships rather than establish a more formalised or compulsory role. The Bus Services Act 2017 may have a longer-term impact on the nature of this relationship. The main barriers or constraints here seem to relate to a combination of gatekeeping and inactivity on the part of council officers in the city who appear to be struggling with limited resources.

Place based leadership is very strong here is a directly elected mayor has been involved in political leadership for Leicester for almost 40 years. The mayor is both a former MP and the ex-leader of the city council (from 1981-1994 and 1996-1999). Transport and public engagement through the forums have a certain kudos in this city because of the link to the mayor and assistant mayor. This meant that participants tended to feel that political involvement instead of just officer involvement makes a significant difference. It also means that the way in which influence is achieved is comparatively different to Leeds and Milton Keynes because the direct accountability of the mayor and assistant mayor means that decisions and opportunities for influence very overtly go through them, whereas the other case study processes appeared to focus more of their effort on working directly with officers within their respective local authority. However, it is also true that the respective chairs of the LDCSC and the Cross Gates Forum are elected politicians, so in many ways the easiest way to consider this would be in terms of a spectrum of influence with politicians at one end and officers at the other. In that instance Leicester would trend strongly towards the focus of influence being political, Milton Keynes would trend strongly towards the focus of influence being professional and Leeds would be somewhere in the middle. Whilst Leicester's

power is very centralised politically around the elected mayor, the structures and processes they've set up appear to value the grass roots elements of those respective forums and the mayor and his cabinet are keen to engage as widely as possible on issues around SISM.

There is a clear distinction between gaining access to information and being able to give input as opposed to having a clear understanding of the way in which participants were able to influence sustainable mobility policies and schemes. The latter was much harder to evidence from the data generated in the observations and follow up interviews. The two Leicester forums were similar in their structure but had different reasons for existing. The bus user panel was focused on bringing different (sometimes conflicting) parties together whereas the cycle city forum feels as if it is something that participants themselves take more ownership of, particularly those who are very active in terms of outreach and campaigning (Interview 15).

The resource challenges and staff turnover at MK Council appear to have a major impact on decision making relating to SISM in Milton Keynes, particularly in terms of building and maintaining relationships between themselves and MK BUG and MK DAG which can then enable collaboration and influence to take place. Observations and follow up interviews within MK DAG suggest that they are increasingly isolated from the council despite the direct involvement of the council's equalities officer. The impact of the case study processes on decision making are largely limited to the existence of individual relationships between council officers and participants. When it came to the council members, MK BUG had clearer links to local politicians whilst MK DAG struggled for the entire length of the study to get the relevant cabinet member to attend one of their meetings.

An important distinction about Milton Keynes when compared with Leeds and Leicester is the independence of the processes studied. Here the processes studied were community or arms-length 'independent' groups rather than directly operated local government participatory processes. This creates both new

barriers to influence and opportunities in that the groups are more able to speak out. This 'freedom' is complicated as MK Council provide financial (MK DAG) and resource (MK BUG) support to both case study groups, so a key theme in the MK DAG follow up interviews considered the power dynamics created by the dependence they have on MK Council for their existence and their opportunities for influence. Another interesting distinction here was the relative sophistication (but lower usage) of their walking and cycling network, and a smart technology led approach to sustainable mobility including trials of driverless pods and short-term hire bikes. It remains to be seen whether such technologies offer the inclusivity of the existing public transport network for members of MK BUG and MK DAG and the people they seek to represent.

Chapter 9 Lessons for Effective Participatory Transport Planning

9.1 Introduction

This chapter first summarises the significant findings from chapters 6 (social capital practices), 7 (social capital cycle), and 8 (outcomes for SISM) and then provides an analysis of the lessons for effective participatory transport planning that can be learned from this study by building on previous literature. The lessons learned have been summarised into the groupings of people potentially involved in PTPP: local government (Section 9.8), participants (Section 9.9), academia (Section 9.10 which is presented as lessons for wider theoretical debates around participatory planning), and my own reflexivity (Section 9.11).

The lessons for local government are intended to support those planners and decision makers involved in transport planning that could lead to opportunities for SISM. These lessons focus on four key themes: the importance of investing in the social capital of participants and others who have a stake in the provision of SISM; the impact that austerity, devolution and localism have had collectively on contemporary participatory transport planning; the impact of transport policy and regulation on participatory transport planning and how decisions are still dominated by traditional top-down technical-rational approaches to transport planning (Banister, 2008; Lyons and Davidson, 2016); and finally the knock on effect that decisions over the control, ownership and buy-in of PTPP had on the social capital cycles observed in those processes.

The lessons for participants are intended to enable citizens to maximise the effectiveness of their contribution to PTPP by explaining the lessons learned from the analysis of social capital cycles in this study. The social capital cycle demonstrates the possibilities that PTPP have for individual participants in terms

of a collective contribution to local transport decision making being greater than the sum of its parts (Wilson, 1997). These lessons focus on three key themes: engaging in reflective practice to consider the exchange of social capital resources within their process and how they are mobilised; participants acknowledging the limits of their own involvement by using bridging capital to build and maintain relationships within and outside of PTPP; and finally navigating the leadership and structural norms of their process in order to generate productive internal group dynamics and external relationships.

The lessons for academia consider the implications of this study on wider theoretical debates around participatory planning (i.e. communicative rationality and critiques of power). This requires an understanding of how the social capital cycle can provide a more holistic analysis of the productivity of PTPP by regarding leadership, representation, social learning, skills and competences, influence (and empowerment), and relationships as being just as central to the importance of PTPP as the SISM outcomes themselves. These lessons focus on two key themes: a crisis in participatory transport planning caused by a continued reliance on rationalist and technocratic approaches to decision making; and weaknesses in political and place-based leadership which continue to treat PTPP as conflict zones to be managed (Hambleton, 2017) rather than innovations which could if re-politicised begin to overcome the uneven distribution of transport-related costs and benefits which are currently preventing the realisation of truly SISM.

Finally, the lessons relating to researcher reflexivity contain my reflections on what I have gained from my research experiences both within and beyond this thesis. These included discussions about my experiences of adopting a constructivist grounded theoretical framework, utilising multiple qualitative data generation methods and triangulation, my earlier content analysis of 3rd generation local transport plans (Elvy, 2014), the impact that an overseas institutional visit to Australia had on my reflexivity, and the impact that this research has had on my own political positionality.

9.2 Recap of gaps in literature

This chapter builds on the gaps in the literature identified in chapter 2 (*cf.* Gray *et al.*, 2006; Menzel *et al.*, 2013; Schwanen *et al.*, 2015; Osborne *et al.*, 2016 and Litman, 2017; and Franceschini and Marletto, 2017) by considering the context-specific lessons that can be learned from the role of social capital the PTPP studied. This chapter supports previous calls in the literature (Lucas and Currie, 2011, Lucas, 2012, Lucas and Jones, 2012) to make participatory practice more productive and inclusive in terms of its outcomes and its impact on both participants and non-participants, particularly when tackling transport matters likely to have an impact on groups at risk of TRSE (SEU, 2003; SDC, 2011). The outcomes from chapter 8 and the lessons learned here also provide a snapshot of the impacts of contemporary transport policy and decision-making processes on SISM at the English local government level, including the constraints placed on local authorities by national regulations, funding and policy.

The call made by Hodgson and Turner (2003) for new rules, practices and tools within PTPP is still just as relevant today. There remains an important role for academics in supporting a turn towards more productive and inclusive PTPP. In an earlier review of PTPP in English local authorities (Elvy 2014), I suggested that further empirical research was necessary in order to better understand the capacities, perspectives, practices and relationships involved in public participation within transport planning. Whilst this thesis has made an original contribution to that understanding, it is not attempting to cause a shift in the practice of participatory transport planning on its own. Therefore the lessons outlined in the rest of this chapter are situated within an emerging body of literature (cf. Blackstock *et al.*, 2014; Legacy, 2016; Lyons and Davidson, 2016; McAndrews and Marcus., 2015; Schwanen *et al.*, 2015; and Vigar, 2017) which places communities rather than transport infrastructure at the heart of future participatory decision making processes at all spatial scales of government.

9.3 Link to research questions and methodology

The primary research question of interest in this chapter (Table *9.1*) is "What are the characteristics of an effective participatory transport planning process for SISM?" The original contribution to knowledge provided by this chapter tackles this research question by considering the lessons learned during the participant observations, follow up interviews and constructivist grounded theoretical analysis carried out during this study. This analysis has been informed by the vignettes and evidence provided by the data generation process, but also by existing literature on many of the issues raised. Developing an understanding of what makes PTPP for SISM effective (research question 4) has been informed by the analysis in previous chapters on social capital practices in PTPP (Chapter 6), the role of the social capital cycle in PTPP (Chapter 7) and how the social capital cycles created opportunities and constraints for the promotion and provision of SISM (Chapter 8).

Table 9.1: Relationship between the research questions and analysis chapters (yellow highlighting indicates the focus of this chapter)

Research Questions	Chapter 6	Chapter 7	Chapter 8	**Chapter 9**
What practices of social capital are present in PTPP?	MAIN FOCUS			
What role do these practices of social capital have on PTPP?	INFORMS THIS RQ	MAIN FOCUS		
How do these practices of social capital create opportunities and constraints for the promotion and provision of SISM?	INFORMS THIS RQ	INFORMS THIS RQ	MAIN FOCUS	
What are the characteristics of an effective PTPP for SISM?	INFORMS THIS RQ	INFORMS THIS RQ	INFORMS THIS RQ	**MAIN FOCUS**

The following three sections (9.4-9.6) will provide a summary of the significant contribution to knowledge provided by the previous three analysis chapters.

9.4 Social Capital Practices: a summary

Chapter 6 explores the practices of social capital present in PTPP. Social capital practices are defined as the ways in which social capital can be exchanged through a wide range of actions, behaviours, beliefs, emotions, processes and outcomes (Bourdieu, 1986; Portes, 1998; Glanville and Bienenstock, 2009; Kwon and Adler, 2014; McKeever *et al.,* 2014; Patulny, 2004). In keeping with the constructivist grounded theoretical methodology, this included an explanation of: the properties of each of the six categories of social capital practices identified (through vignettes which provide a detailed evidence-based approach to the presence and nature of those practices), the conditions under which each category of social capital practices occurred in the case study processes observed, and finally how those conditions were maintained or altered in context (Charmaz, 2014, p.190). The social capital practices identified were coded based on a developing understanding of the practices that emerged during the process of data generation (organic codes), however they were also informed by the sensitising concepts (Charmaz, 2014) generated by an understanding of existing literature around different forms of social capital from chapter 2 (a-priori codes). During the ongoing process of data generation and analysis, insightful categories began to emerge which linked together those codes. These categories were leadership, representativeness, social learning, skills and competences, influence, and group dynamics. Finally, this chapter explores the 'external' factors that had an impact on the ways in which individual participants were able to utilise their reserves of individual social capital in the participatory processes observed such as networks, time and health. The concept of 'external factors' in this study also includes the other forms of capital as it was understood and conceptualised by Bourdieu such as human capital and financial capital.

Leadership was important because it tended to set the tone for the process and its outcomes, especially as leaders had a lot of control over the structure and the flow of their processes. Leadership practices were not only limited to the de-facto leader of a given process, and there were also opportunities for other participants

to demonstrate formal or informal leadership. Formal leaders either tended to either chair the process or play some other central role, often sitting alongside and working closely in partnership with the chair. Sometimes they also acted as an independent mediator between the chair and others. Gatekeeping was observed in this study as a means of controlling access to information and access to people. Gatekeeping was sometimes necessary but also sometimes problematic, particularly as it advantages those with the social capital and social networks available to exert it or work around it.

Relationships (and the group dynamics that resulted) were important because they revealed much about the way in which the processes worked and they set the tone for how the individuals worked together, particularly when contrasting the more collaborative and collegiate practices with the more antagonistic and adversarial practices. The strength of relationships in the processes observed were context specific and tended to depend upon the personality of the individuals, the group dynamics and the format of the process. The ongoing nature of all the case study processes observed enabled relationships to build and develop over a long period of time (Tuckman and Jensen, 1977).

Influence was important because without it, it was difficult for the processes themselves to lead to meaningful outcomes. Sometimes individuals were able to have some aspect of control or responsibility over the processes observed and their outcomes (relating to sustainable mobility). Typically, this occurred where there was a clear mandate set out by local government, either in terms of direct political support (e.g. the Leicester Forums) or in terms of support from senior local government officials (e.g. the City Connect Advisory and Stakeholder groups). Participants in the more independent groups (e.g. MK BUG) were able exert control over the structure and actions of their own participatory processes. In other instances, individuals were not fully in control of or responsible for those processes/outcomes. However, some participants felt that having too much power and control would be undemocratic given that they do not have to stand up to electoral scrutiny.

A lack of influence was also a significant aspect of the social capital practices observed. On some occasions, participants (and processes) did not have enough control or power to influence transport planning decisions, for instance if they related to commercially operated bus services. Even when participants had been given input into a process, sometimes a lack of feedback meant that their influence was unknown or unclear. There were also instances where participants were unable to gain influence over decisions due to legal restrictions, the limited terms of reference of the process concerned, a lack of engagement of local government elected members and officers, or by a lack of money or resources (on the part of local government) to act upon the requests coming from the processes observed, even if they wanted to.

The idea of achieving influence by bypassing the processes being observed was something that came up in the follow up interviews. Participants who felt that the process wasn't achieving what they wanted it to, talked about using other forms of contact with relevant decision makers. In those instances, those same individuals were happy to meet separately with the decision makers in attempt to achieve their goals and gain the level of influence they were hoping for.

Skills and competences were important because they were required in the PTPP observed for individuals to be able to engage effectively with each other. Having (and using) technical and specialist professional skills are positive for the individual but arguably a barrier for entry to others if they felt as if that was necessary (relates back to the inclusivity argument of Hodgson and Turner, 2003). Implicit behavioural expectations existed and there were occasions where leaders expressed frustration at those individuals who didn't follow the procedural expectations of those relevant meetings. Good cognitive skills were required to process what was happening in the processes observed, both in terms of the practices required (reasonable levels of literacy, numeracy and IT skills) and in terms of the technical content of the transport discussions. Participants were expected to be able to read and understand agenda, minutes and have access to the internet, all of which could present barriers to participation. Cooperation, negotiation and determination were skills that enabled the processes observed

to run effectively, especially in terms of producing outputs and achieving outcomes.

Social learning was important because the experiences and understandings that people brought to the participatory transport planning process enabled individual and collective involvement (and potential action) in those processes. Additionally, learning from each other gave participants the opportunity to see things from others' perspectives (which included learning whether the problems they were reporting were unique to their own circumstances). Exchanging information was a valuable social capital practice in these processes, both from the perspective of officials involved (e.g. council officers and councillors) and from the perspective of individuals who reported participating in these processes mostly so they could 'be in the know'. Local government led processes (such as the Cross Gates Forum, LDCSC, Leicester Cycle Forum and Leicester Bus Users Panel) all made sharing information a key component of their processes.

Actively learning (from each other) rather than more passively exchanging information was an important social capital practise because it had an impact on what people knew, how they gained knowledge within the process itself, and how they acted upon the knowledge gained (Collins and Ison, 2009; Bos *et al.*, 2013; Vigar, 2017). Sharing (first-hand) past experiences of transport (especially transport problems and issues) was an important contribution that many participants made. These experiences could in turn be used as evidence for a need to tackle a problem or to look at options for future schemes. Sharing past experiences also enabled individual participants to learn from each other and put themselves in 'someone else's shoes'.

Representativeness was important because it tended to influence who was present in the processes observed and partially explained why individuals got involved in the case study participatory processes first place. It also reflected the wider democratic legitimacy of the processes observed in the sense that it could have an impact upon external perceptions and the relative influence of those groups (for instance in the eyes of local government or transport operators). Many

participants attended on behalf of an interest group or in a non-affiliated capacity but were also members of relevant interest groups. Also, there was a pattern in the follow up interviews of people who described getting involved in interest groups and then subsequently becoming motivated to engage in the processes observed.

Geographical location also influenced participation as people brought their own perspectives and lived experiences to the processes. Some processes used geographical location as an entry criterion and were either open to the 'general public' (Cross Gates Forum) or appointed representatives based on geography (the LDCSC appointed both public members and invited councillors on these terms).

9.5 Social Capital Cycles: a summary

Chapter 7 outlines an original contribution to knowledge through the study of the inter-relationships and linkages between the categories of social capital practices identified in Chapter 6. These linkages and impacts can be conceptualised as a social capital cycle where the categories of social capital practices present (leadership, group dynamics, influence, skills and competences, social learning, and representation and representativeness) all have linkages with each other and impacts on/by each other (Figure *9.1*).
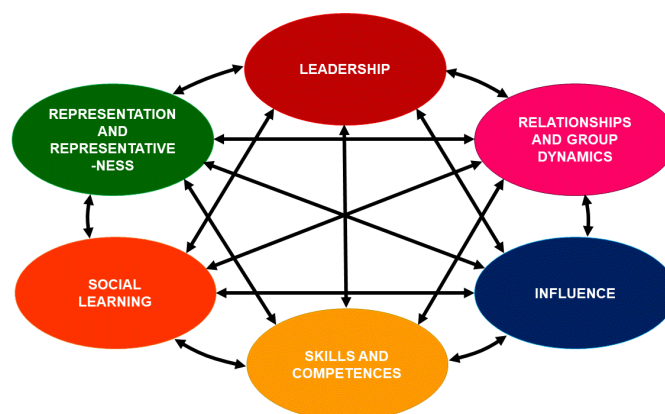
Figure 9.1: The Social Capital Cycle

Rather than moving straight from a discussion of individual social capital practices (Chapter 6) to a collective understanding of the whole social capital cycle, Chapter 7 first considers in detail the linkages between individual pairs of categories before identifying the most significant multi-dimensional linkages present in each cycle (Figure *9.2*). Developing a deeper understanding of these linkages reveals new insights into the relationships between the different categories of social capital practices by considering how they impact on (or are impacted by) each other. The emerging social capital cycles were then used as an analytical tool to reveal the unique contextual dynamics of social capital practices in each case study process.
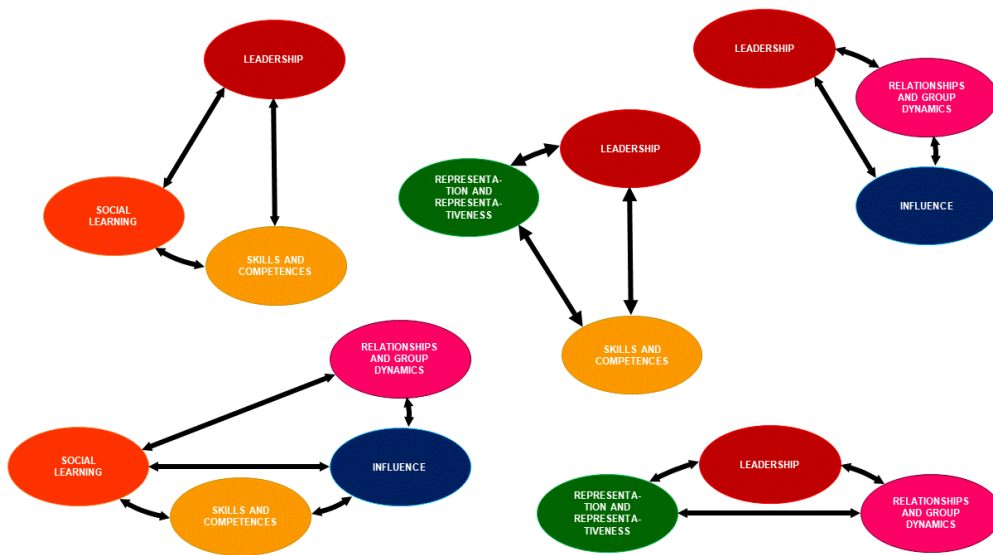
Figure 9.2: Examples of significant multi-dimensional linkages observed in the social capital cycles generated

Given the complexity of understanding the linkages between categories of social capital practices, there are two ways in which they can be more easily explained. Firstly, we can explore the strength of those linkages (Granovetter, 1973), that is how much of a link existed in the process observed between the categories of social capital practices observed. Some linkages may perceptively be relatively stronger or weaker in different groups or processes (or indeed at different times within the same group/process). Secondly, we can consider the polarity of those linkages, which in this context is used to explain the ways in which those linkages

can be relatively productive or unproductive (Wilson, 1997) in different groups or processes (or again at different times within the same group/process).

Understanding the relative strength and polarity of social capital practices and the linkages between them is important. The stronger the linkages between different categories of social capital practices, the more of an impact they tended to have on each other. This in turn impacted how the participatory processes worked overall and the nature of the interactions between individual participants within them. However, weaker linkages between different categories of social capital practices were also insightful in the sense that they revealed ways in which the processes (and participants) did not work or interact. In developing a broader understanding of each of the case study participatory processes, considering both strong and weak links were important, especially when the polarity was also considered. To that end, productive linkages were more likely to create opportunities for the processes to generate positive outcomes. When considering collective and individual social capital, productive linkages tended to modify the collective or individual social capital of participants in a constructive way, whereas unproductive linkages tended to modify the collective or individual social capital of participants in a destructive way.

Finally, Chapter 7 provides a detailed analysis of the productivity and strength of the social capital cycle for each of the nine case study processes.

The CCAG social capital cycle was characterised by strong independent leadership which facilitated high level technical discussions and learning amongst participants. Productive influence over the City Connect programme board occurred through the utilisation of professional knowledge and experience, however the strength of that influence was hard to identify given external financial and political pressures on the City Connect project. The group came across as friendly and collegiate but also able to handle debate, although representativeness was an acknowledged weakness as the City Connect project was aimed at timid and new cyclists.

The CCSM social capital cycle was characterised by learning and networking with strong productive linkages between representativeness, social learning and skills and competences. There were weaker unproductive linkages with leadership practices because the group struggled to find an identity and purpose.

The Cross Gates Forum social capital cycle was characterised by its leadership and the popularity and authority of the council members created strong linkages between leadership, representative and group dynamics in some contexts. However, this cycle could be disrupted if participants were unable to negotiate the social norms of when to communicate (Schwanen *et al.,* 2015), this created strong unproductive linkages between skills and competences, representativeness and leadership (due to gatekeeping by the leader and poor communication from other participants). The productive linkages between social learning, relationships and influence were weakened in the specific context of transport planning issues by the infrequent attendance of representatives from the highways team.

The LDCSC social capital cycle was characterised by similar linkages to the Cross Gates Forum. However, I observed that the chair and deputy chair appeared to create different group dynamics because the chair was more likely to act as a gatekeeper. The shift between productive and unproductive group dynamics had a knock-on effect on the productivity of the rest of the social capital cycle. Productive opportunities for information exchange and social learning occurred through personal experiences and an enhanced understanding (skills and competences) of the ways in which public transport is operated in Leeds. Given the regulatory framework underpinning bus and train operations, opportunities for influence were unclear. Participants were at least able to hold operators and West Yorkshire Combined Authority to account in a formal setting, so this has been categorised as a weak productive form of influence.

The Leicester Bus User Panel social capital cycle was characterised by strong productive leadership which provided productive linkages between themselves and all other categories of social capital practices. The mayor and then deputy mayor drove the development of participants' knowledge around what Leicester City Council were or were not doing and provided clear guidance on how/what influence was possible over decision making. This played a crucial part in providing strong influence through democratic accountability (Hambleton, 2017). Representativeness was weakly productive because participants didn't seem able to group together through an apparent lack of solidarity. The main weakness in this process was the negative impact that the poor utilisation of skills and competences (and subsequent lack of social learning) by a minority of individuals had on the overall group dynamics. This created a more confrontational atmosphere between the council and other participants, although these instances were skilfully managed by the mayor and deputy mayor. The deputy mayor was able to use their humour and personality to diffuse otherwise challenging situations.

The Leicester Cycle City Forum social capital cycle was characterised by the same leadership practices outlined above, and the skills and competences (particularly technical knowledge) of participants created strong productive linkages with influence. Influence was arguably stronger here than in the bus user panel as there were fewer external barriers (some direct accountability over decision making was observed for small scale projects). The role of the strong productive leadership in this cycle was more complex as the officers present here provided more direct leadership than those observed in the Bus User Panel. There was some evidence of gatekeeping in the follow up interviews, but within the meetings themselves generally positive dynamics between participants and the leadership were observed. A very strong productive linkage was observed between social learning and group dynamics because participants knew each other and got along well.

The Milton Keynes Bus User Group (MK BUG) social capital cycle was characterised by strong productive linkages between leadership, skills and

competences, influence and group dynamics. Participants within MK BUG worked effectively with both MK Council and local bus operators. The involvement of strong leaders with specialist levels of skills and knowledge relating to local transport issues was particularly significant here. The skills and knowledge of the leadership core of MK BUG typically stretched back decades. MK BUG appeared to play a key role in successfully lobbying MK Council to reduce the size of bus subsidy cuts in the area. Representation was a more complex part of this cycle to understand. The group had a mandate from its membership. However, it's representation of the wider residents of MK was less clear. Any weakness to participants' influence tended to be caused by the same external regulatory factors identified within the LDCSC social capital cycle (i.e. bus deregulation).

The Milton Keynes Disability Advisory Group (MK DAG) social capital cycle was characterised by the unproductiveness of many of its linkages. One of the key tensions surrounded the strained personal relationships between participants representing MK Council and MK CIL and the knock-on effect this had on other participants. Strong productive linkages occurred between leadership, social learning and representation as this was a process that had a very clear sense of its purpose (as a forum to work with the local authority to reduce the isolation of people with disabilities), who it was there to represent and what each other's specific lived experiences were (Stanley *et al.,* 2012). There was however also a feeling that this strong sense of solidarity had the potential to inadvertently exclude others from the process (Gauntlett, 2011): The strong triadic linkage between leadership, social learning and representation in turn created weak productive influence because MK Council had to consult with the group, but it was unclear exactly what influence if any MK DAG had over MK Council decisions. Arguably strong unproductive linkages between skills and competences, group dynamics and influence occurred because MK DAG were unable to work productively with MK Council. There was also a weak unproductive linkage between social learning and skills because participants didn't always learn effectively from each other even though opportunities to do so were present. However, there was at least a weak productive linkage between leadership and skills and competences because there was a clear

acknowledgement of the need to develop 'critical friend' skills even if the social capital of the leadership wasn't strong enough to drive this change clearly.

The MK DAG Transport Sub-Group social capital cycle was characterised by a more productive social capital cycle than that for the wider MK DAG group. The subtle differences included more productive relationships and therefore at least weak productive influence because direct communication with the council was possible but still quite limited. There were however some weaker points in this cycle when compared with the main MK DAG group. Representation was weaker because the group was very small and the chair was less keen to encourage the sharing of anecdotes and past experiences, so more gatekeeping was present over issues of representation and social learning.

9.6 Opportunities and Constraints for SISM: a summary

Chapter 8 outlines how the social capital cycles identified in chapter 7 create opportunities and constraints for SISM in each of the 9 case study processes. This involves a review of the transport planning matters discussed in each process, an explanation of the opportunities and constraints for SISM generated in each process, and finally an analysis of how the social capital cycle for each process created opportunities and constraints for SISM.

Within PTPP these social capital cycles can, in different contexts and at different times within the same context (Figure *9.3*), productively create and enhance opportunities for SISM. However, the reverse is also true in that these cycles can also unproductively constrain opportunities for SISM if the linkages between social capital practices are weak or lead to negative outcomes.
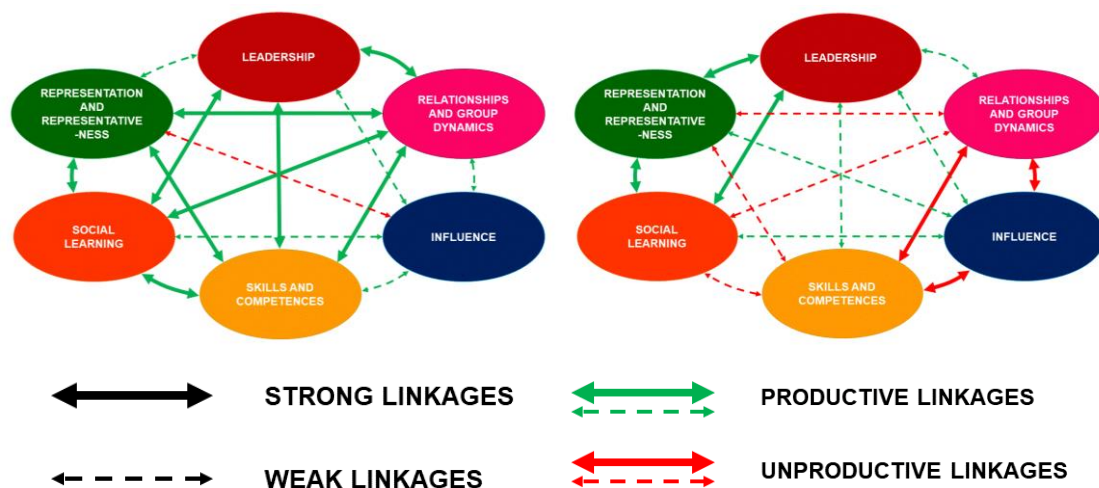
Figure 9.3: Two contrasting social capital cycles for two different case study processes.

The strongest and most productive social capital cycles (such as the leftmost social capital cycle in Figure *9.3*) occurred in those processes where the leadership approaches and styles enhanced social learning and made use of the skills and competences of other participants. The weakest and least productive social capital cycles occurred in those processes where there was a disconnect between different categories of social capital, particularly when leadership was poor or relied too heavily on gatekeeping. There was also a strong connection between poor relationships and a poor utilisation of skills and competences, which led to a lack of influence over transport planning processes as a result (such as the rightmost social capital cycle in Figure *9.3*).

In identifying how social capital cycles created opportunities, constraints and uncertainties for participants looking to enhance SISM, Chapter 8 considered the specific relationships between the social capital practices observed and the impact they had on the outcomes of each case study process in that case study area (Naughton, 2014). Each process created multiple opportunities, uncertainties and constraints that were contextual to that location. The greatest opportunities came from 'micro-influences', small scale outcomes that led to small localised improvements. These included: working with local government on better design principles, providing the localised (or specialist) knowledge and evidence necessary for decision makers to argue for change/improvements (Vigar, 2017),

providing public support for favourable transport schemes, or personally lobbying local government and transport operators for improvements to the infrastructure and operation of sustainable transport in their area. Within different modes, the greater autonomy of local decision making on cycling schemes led to more evidence of 'impacts' for those processes which focussed on that mode, as opposed to those processes which focussed more on local buses, taxis and community transport.

However, when reflecting on the 'micro-influences' present across all nine of the case study processes, there was significant uncertainty as to how much of an impact PTPP were able to have on those transport planners who still appeared to rely on rationalist and technocratic approaches to decision making (Section 9.10). Barriers for change also occurred when the social capital cycles were unable to overcome a broad range of external factors (see also Chapter 7). These included: a lack of available resources at the local government level, restrictive national level (de)regulations surrounding sustainable mobility, or the politics of wider public opposition to investment in public transport and cycling at the expense of other road users.

9.7 Mapping the research questions and lessons learned

Before looking in detail at the lessons learned from this study, this section will explain the link between those lessons and the research questions posed in order to meet the aims of this thesis. The four research questions posed based on the identified gaps in the literature (Chapter 2) were:

1. What practices of social capital are present in PTPP?
2. What role do these practices of social capital have on PTPP?
3. How do these practices of social capital create opportunities and constraints for the promotion and provision of SISM?
4. What are the characteristics of an effective PTPP for SISM?

The 11 lessons for local government, participants, academia, and my reflexivity (Sections 9.8-9.11) that emerged from this study were based on the iterative grounded theoretical analysis which spanned the generation of original contributions to knowledge across the social capital practices, processes and outcomes present in the case study PTPP. The linkage between the theoretical framework, research questions and lessons learned are summarised in *Figure 9.4*. Developing an understanding of what social capital practices were present in PTPP (Chapter 6 and Research Question 1) was used to generate social capital cycles which explained the role of those practices in PTPP (Chapter 7 and Research Question 2). Once developed, the social capital cycles for each PTPP were mapped against an analysis of the opportunities, uncertainties and constraints for SISM created by social capital within each case study process (Chapter 8 and Research Question 3). Finally, the explanation of the lessons learned from this study illustrate the characteristics of effective PTPP based on the concept of strong and productive social capital cycles (Chapter 9 and Research Question 4).

Theoretical Framework

Social Capital

Social Practice — **Participatory Governance**

Group Dynamics and behaviour — **Participatory Transport Planning Processes** — **Social Capital Practices** — **Productive and Unproductive Social Capital Cycles** — **Outcomes for socially inclusive sustainable mobility**

Mobility Justice — **Socially Inclusive Sustainable Mobility**

Sustainable Mobility

INFORMS

Research Question 1: Social Capital Practices

| LEADER-SHIP | SOCIAL LEARNING | SKILLS AND COMPET-ENCES | INFLU-ENCE | REPRESE-NTATION | GROUP DYNAMICS |

INFORMS

Research Question 2: Social Capital Cycles

STRONG LINKAGES ⟷ **PRODUCTIVE LINKAGES**

WEAK LINKAGES ⟷ **UNPRODUCTIVE LINKAGES**

INFORMS

Research Question 3: Outcomes for SISM

| OPPORTUNITIES FOR SISM | UNCERTAINTIES FOR SISM | CONSTRAINTS FOR SISM |

INFORMS

Research Question 4: Characteristics of effective PTPP for SISM

Investing in Social Capital ← **Local Government**

Impact of Austerity, Devolution and Localism ←

Impact of Transport Policy and Regulation

The Control and Ownership of PTPP

Wider Planning Debates

A crisis in participatory planning — Weaknesses in Political and Place-Based Leadership

Reflective Practice — **Participants** — Acknowledge Limits of Involvement

Navigating leadership and structural norms

LESSONS

Reflexivity → This thesis

Other scholarly activities

Figure 9.4: Diagrammatic link between research questions and findings

313

9.8 Lessons for Local Government

This study recommends that gaining a deeper understanding of the role of social capital in these processes can enable those responsible for creating opportunities for participatory planning in the first place to provide meaningful governance (Davidson and Elstub, 2013). This requires investment in participants social capital (and their skills and competences) so that those individuals who do choose to get involved are able to gain as much as possible from doing so. Lessons also need to be learned about the impact of austerity cuts to local government spending, devolution (including localism) and current regulatory frameworks (particularly around buses) on the effectiveness of PTPP. Additional lessons need to be learned about the impact of current transport policy and regulations on participatory governance and outcomes for SISM, particularly when considering the top-down approach to transport policy making in England. Finally, recommendations are made relating to the importance of establishing the control and ownership of PTPP at the outset, including the vital need for local government members and officers to buy-in to those processes regardless of their independence/connection to the local authority.

9.8.1 Investing in participants social capital

In the context of this study, effective participatory transport planning processes required the presence of strong and productive social capital cycles (Granovetter, 1973; Wilson, 1997), especially from the perspective of influence (which for the most active participants was a desirable outcome). However, the conditions for influence were highly variable and context specific. Depending upon the process, any of the five remaining categories of social capital practices could act as key drivers over the whole process. It is therefore important for both the organisers and participants to acknowledge where the strengths and weaknesses of their own social capital cycle lies. Ultimately the inputs of social capital cycles can be thought of as investments in people (self and others) and so what individual participants put in (including leaders and outsiders) will alter what social capital

comes out of it (Portes, 1998). In order to enable people to participate effectively productive conditions for participants to engage should be provided. Two potential approaches for this emerged in this study: the provision of independent leadership and mediation (see also Hambleton, 2017), and the role of training and upskilling (see also McAndrews and Marcus, 2015; and Leyden *et al.*, 2017).

Independent leadership appeared to work most effectively in those processes which required high levels of technical expertise (CCAG and to a lesser extent the LDCSC when the vice chair led the meetings) or which involved a high level of commitment and input from individual participants (MK BUG and MK DAG). An independent leader (especially one who has the time and experience to be able to lead and mediate) can help to tackle the 'them and us' mentality between public participants, local government decision makers and transport providers. However, there was an acknowledgement that gaining and maintaining such a role was potentially challenging:

"trying to find somebody with the standing to do that [act as an independent chair], and the interest and the time spent administering it, is likely to be pretty difficult" *(Interview 12)*

Some participants discussed the merits of training or upskilling both when joining a participatory process, but also in order to understand how to participate effectively. MK DAG were keen to understand how to become a better critical friend and set up a workshop with a facilitator to go through the relevant issues. There was also evidence from an interviewee in Leicester that a session on understanding technical drawings took place many years ago but hasn't since:

"one of the things I asked for was a session to learn to read those technical drawings…and [an] engineer… and the cycling officer at the time put that together [because I didn't feel I could] participate because I couldn't read the plan fast enough to give my reaction to it, [but that was] a long time ago." *(Interview 15)*

Participants from the LDCSC also identified that training or an induction is something that would have helped them when they first joined the process:

"we just basically met and [got] straight into it…nobody really understood what you could [and couldn't] say…now I think everybody understands where we are really but that's just something that's naturally happened… I think [an introductory meeting] would have been a better way of going about things because then you can understand your limits, you can understand what you can and can't do, and you can understand what's expected of you…I mean I know it's voluntary…but people put the time in so they want to feel as if they're getting something out of it at the end of the day you know" (Interview 8)

However, there is a tension here between professionalising a narrow group of participants and therefore excluding outsiders versus offering a skills 'investment' opportunity and improving the social capital of the individuals prepared to make the effort through social learning (Muro and Jeffrey, 2008). Indeed, there was even some resistance from formal leaders that such an approach was both unnecessary and would raise the barrier for entry. I accept this criticism but at the same time those barriers (how to act, how to deal with authority, how to ask questions) already exist and are already excluding potential participants (Bourdieu, 1986; Hodgson and Turner, 2003). Participants described situations in the follow up interviews where other participants tended to give up at this point. This is an important matter for those organisations including local government who want to tackle issues relating to transport related social exclusion, mobility justice and sustainable mobility (Lucas, 2012; Schwanen *et al.*, 2015).

Vigar (2017) identified the importance that transport planners should place on integrating different forms of knowledge including the embodied local knowledge of the wider public and not just participants. Evidence from this study suggests that the collective capacity of the case study processes is being overlooked in favour of a focus on 'issues' which creates a 'deficit-led' form of engagement with

316

a focus on problems rather than solutions. Where leaders and decision makers acknowledge the importance of the capacity of other participants, these processes lead to more productive outcomes (e.g. collaborative working between 'experts' at MK Council and within MK BUG led to the creation of a new, more efficient rural bus route). Investing in people and communities also requires transport planners to potentially advocate for those who either cannot or chose not to participate by promoting their capabilities in other ways (Jabareen, 2015). This requires transport planners to be more skilled at synthesising and communicating those competing perspectives and knowledges (Vigar, 2017). This study found that those PTPP that were better geared towards capturing embedded local knowledge through a robust evidence gathering approach in collaboration with transport decision makers (such as the CCAG and MK BUG) were more likely to lead to effective and productive outcomes for SISM (Eizenberg and Jabareen, 2017). Examples included successfully lobbying against cuts to bus subsidies in MK or providing position statements on specific aspects of cycle infrastructure design in Leeds/West Yorkshire.

A final illustration of the importance of investing in participants social capital relates to the arguments promoted at the beginning of this thesis about the need to tackle the social inclusion or mobility justice aspects of sustainable mobility within the case study processes (Sheller, 2011; Lucas, 2012). Consideration of this was too often tokenistic or implicit rather than explicit (although in both the MK BUG and MK DAG these discussions were more explicit). However, when taking into consideration those at-risk groups (SEU, 2003; SDC, 2011) that have the most to gain from SISM, representation amongst those groups and individuals that represented the needs of people with disabilities and the elderly was far stronger than for the other at-risk categories (children and young people, lone parents, ethnic minorities, people on low incomes). This was acknowledged as being an issue in the follow up interviews but also came across in my own observations of the demographic make-up of the processes observed (e.g. a lack of ethnic diversity in the Leicester Forums). There was a consensus amongst those participants interviewed that these groups were covered by alternative specialist means of participatory governance (e.g. youth parliaments and

community groups). However, this is unsatisfactory because it denies those individuals that have the most to gain from being involved in collaborative and productive PTPP that seek to enhance SISM.

9.8.2 The impact of austerity, devolution and localism

As discussed in the literature review (Chapter 2), austerity creates further challenges for participatory governance in that these new arenas for engagement are being presented without the "resource, commitment or political will" (Clayton et al., 2016, p.724) to realise their potential. This creates a potentially damaging disconnect between decision makers and participants where they struggled to recognise the value of the process (Parker and Street, 2018). Empirical evidence from this study has generated concerning insights into the way in which participatory transport planning is being increasingly treated as a luxury that local government cannot afford due to austerity; however this goes against the need to move away from a traditional decide-announce-defend approach to transport decision making (Vigar, 2017). A challenge for local government therefore is to find ways to maximise their investment in the social capital of individuals and communities by providing opportunities for participation and deliberation within the limits of the resources available to them (Jabareen, 2015).

Local government needs to strike more of a balance between the technical rational world of the transport planner and the embodied experiences of the public through strong place-based leadership (Hambleton, 2017; Vigar, 2017). Devolution, particularly when accompanied by directly elected mayors appears to be a step in the right direction based on the PTPP observed in Leicester due to the stronger connection between people and place. However, in England (outside of London) the full implications of the devolution of transport powers to mayoral combined authorities in the Cities and Local Government Devolution Act 2016 have not yet been realised at the time of writing, particularly whilst the UK Government are preoccupied by Brexit. Localism has also provided opportunities to bridge the validity of technical and embodied knowledge in local policy making,

however as indicated in the literature review it has advanced those with greater access to social capital in the first place (Lucas, 2012; Clarke and Cochrane, 2013; Ercan and Hendriks, 2013). This is indicative of the "asymmetries of knowledge and capacity" found in neighbourhood planning (Parker, 2017, p.75) and participatory governance and is consistent with the levels of skills and competences individuals brought to the PTPP observed.

Beyond local government, I would also argue that there is an important role for voluntary community groups and activists in achieving a balance between the use of technical and embodied knowledge in local government decision making. They are the people most likely to possess the bridging capital necessary to combine the technical and the embodied. The involvement of voluntary groups and activists has been explored to an extent by all nine case study processes (more tenuously in the case of the LDCSC, CCSM and Cross Gates Forum), albeit with mixed results depending on their ability to reach out across a whole process rather than attend for their own purposes. For example, I was surprised in some of the case study processes by how little some activist participants worked together beyond the confines of simply being co-present (see Section 9.9 for a more detailed discussion of the importance of reflective practice and an acknowledgement of the limits of participants' involvement).

In addition to the fiscal and social capital investments of local government in people and their communities, another measure that they can usefully adopt to enhance the future success of participatory transport planning is to better map the links between participants contributions and the decision-making process. The lack of an overt connection between the two presented a frequent source of frustration within the processes observed. Participants expressed a significant amount of cynicism about the value of their contributions to local decision making, and even when they were more optimistic, they were often unable to make a distinct connection between the process and its outcomes. This further illustrates the importance of incorporating different forms of knowledge (Vigar, 2017) and requires an increased level of transparency on the part of local government.

9.8.3 The impact of transport policy and regulation

The centralisation of transport policies in England such as bus deregulation and taxi licensing contradict the principles of greater participation provided by localism and devolution. The current political and funding climate within local government transport planning has tended to restrict opportunities for SISM to big ticket capital projects, meaning that softer measures or ongoing maintenance suffers. This was illustrated by the bus subsidy cuts and the knock-on impacts that potholes were having on buses in MK (Interviews 7 and 10). There is also the related issue of staffing cuts and the impact that has on the ability of local government to push for improvements.

Schemes and approaches to sustainable mobility that were previously achievable are now only desirable due to funding pressures (such as the postponed development of a bus interchange in Central Milton Keynes). However, schemes such as the City Connect project demonstrates that the opportunities were still there through national or regional funding such as Local Enterprise Partnership (LEP) growth funding. But the decision making surrounding the allocation of funding from the DfT and LEPs appeared to be reinforced by a top-down approach which was somewhat removed from the participants and processes considered in this study (Keblowski *et al.*, 2016). The changing political lexicon away from accessibility and towards connectivity over the past ten years has also had an impact on transport policy approaches to SISM in that achieving mobility that works for everyone is caveated by the 'realities' of needing to keep the economy (and the country) moving. This is seeing a movement towards the prioritisation of strategic rather than local infrastructure investment.

The sense that individual participants, leaders and even local government itself were battling higher level issues including an apparent policy vacuum at the top of central government was articulated by multiple participants in their follow up interviews (See also the quote from interviewee 1 in Section 7.5.15):

"I think it's a damning indictment of the national picture where there is no national [cycle] design guidance, so every city is essentially developing their own, so it's quite frustrating that what you see in some cities is completely different to what you see in others" (Interview 14).

Existing local governance mechanisms (as of 2015-2016) provided by legislation such as the Transport Act 2000 and Local Transport Act 2008 had been insufficient in enabling local authorities to hold bus operators to account (in terms of their commercially operated rather than tendered services). The engagement and commitment of bus operators in the processes observed appeared to be down to a mixture of individual personalities and relationships on the one hand, and the strategic approach of local management on the other. This was a balancing act that was articulated by participants in all the processes that dealt with bus matters in their area. There was also a perception that local government officers were too 'chummy' with the operators which meant that they didn't hold those operators to account as much as they could:

"[Council officers need] to be much more stick and less carrot with bus companies, so that they've got a much more robust relationship with them because I think they've been a bit soft with them in the past" (Interview 2)

"The companies Arriva, Metro [WYCA] and First are a little bit too cosy and I think they should be separated a little bit more to be perfectly honest…[a council officer] seems to fight the [bus operator's] corner a little bit too much really rather than being independent...I think there's just too much of a cosy relationship to be honest" (Interview 8)

However, the national government have acknowledged this challenge by creating new powers for local authorities (particularly those with directly elected mayors) within the Bus Services Act 2017. Further research will be necessary to see

whether this has any impact on the provision of buses (and the role of processes such as the LDCSC, Leicester Bus User Panel and MK BUG) in local authority areas in the coming years. The PTPP observed in this study didn't appear to be able to achieve any kind of 'transformational change' to SISM without overcoming the external financial, regulatory and political barriers outlined above.

9.8.4 The control and ownership of PTPP

Making decisions at the outset over who is in control of PTPP can also have a significant impact on what the process is able to achieve, and local authorities should consider this carefully before creating additional mechanisms for engagement. Ownership also relates to the local government buy in into the process as this made a huge difference even when the processes were 'arms-length' or independently controlled.

Local authority-controlled processes tended to have clearer opportunities for influence over sustainable mobility outcomes but were more restrictive in terms of how participants can engage with them. Certainly, they required the greatest levels of 'professionalisation' of participants in terms of understanding how government worked in order to be able to get the most out of them (Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Brownill, 2009).

Independent processes on the other hand enabled participants to be able to speak more freely and critically of local government, however this also brought a greater degree of separation between participants and decision makers. The CCAG and MK DAG processes illustrated the two very different directions that groups that fall between these two approaches by having some independence can take. Both were still financially and politically dependent upon their respective local authority, but they also had some independence in terms of their leadership structures. This meant that both had independent facilitators who were able to collate evidence on behalf of participants which gave the processes a clearer 'voice'. However, their opportunities to have a positive impact on SISM were in

stark contrast. CCAG were able to use their specialist representation (as cyclists) to good effect by providing guidance on design principles whilst MK DAG were unable to use their specialist representation (as residents with mobility impairments) and didn't appear to be consulted about local authority decision making unless they forcibly pushed to have an input (Legacy, 2016).

9.9 Lessons for Participants

The social capital cycle demonstrates the possibilities that PTPP have for individual participants in terms of a collective contribution to local transport decision making being greater than the sum of its parts (Wilson, 1997). In other words, using social capital to engage with productive PTPP should enable individual participants to gain more opportunities for influence and involvement than by acting independently. This section recommends what citizens can do to maximise the effectiveness of their contribution to PTPP by explaining the lessons learned from the analysis of social capital cycles in this study. These recommendations include engaging in reflective practice, acknowledging the limits of their own involvement, and navigating the leadership and structural norms of their process. Combining these three lessons should enable participants to have the most productive input they can into transport planning (and SISM) within the limits of existing participatory structures.

9.9.1 Reflective Practice

All participants who get involved in PTPP should engage in reflective practice in order to consider the exchange of social capital resources within their process and how they are mobilised (including the existence within PTPP of specific links to politicians, media, and wider community discussions). In practice this means:

- Using communication and networking to build and maintain relationships with local government politicians and officers (although those leaders should also bear a significant proportion of the responsibility for this)
- Utilising their skills and competences and embodied knowledge of their local area and transport experiences (social learning) to provide evidence and suggestions for improvements to transport in their area and to appreciate the relevance of their contribution to their audience (be that local government, transport operators, local residents or others)
- Engaging with local media, social media and the wider community, particularly in those instances where direct relationships with the local authority are challenging

Interviewees discussed opportunities for their groups to engage in reflective practice (something they reported not doing) and/or also through training (run by the local authority or another organisation) to identify their individual strengths and weaknesses in relation to the categories of social capital practices identified. Further research would be required to test the effectiveness of this in practice, even though anecdotal evidence from participants and leaders welcomed the idea in theory. A significant barrier to the success of reflective practice relates to the contextual sensitivities of a given PTPP and how these could disrupt otherwise productive social capital cycles:

"I'm not sure that we would be willing to have a discussion about the complexities of the relationships in the room. There's an enormous amount of emotion in the room, and as I said people… know each other in multiple places in multiple ways and errm [pauses] the cross over between public and private or activist and friendship, or colleague and friendship, I think are too great in that room and I don't think we could do it safely." (Interview 15)

Negative interactions were observed in those processes where individual participants were deemed to not share the norms and behaviours associated with that process (e.g. speaking at the wrong time, communicating in an aggressive

or antagonistic manner, not keeping to the topic/agenda item under discussion, being perceived by the leadership of subverting approved channels of representation, or making inappropriate references (for instance to a specific criminal investigation)). This demonstrates the critical importance of the social capital practices of social learning and skills/competences and the linkages between them in driving the social capital cycle of the processes observed.

It was also clear from the follow up interviews that participants in the processes observed were not being given enough time to reflect on the purpose and efficiency of the processes observed which in turn appeared to make them inflexible to change (e.g. the continued rejection of modified (and more inclusive) terms of reference by members of MK DAG). Self-awareness amongst participants of the issues around power and productivity that have shaped theoretical debates around participatory governance for 20 years could enable processes such as those in this study to become more responsive to external factors and voices.

9.9.2 Acknowledging the limits of their involvement

The lesson for participants here is twofold. Firstly, that it is important to manage expectations and secondly, that their participation should not lead to the exclusion of other non-participants.

Participants looking to gain influence over transport decision making processes should ideally have an awareness of the potential limits to their influence (i.e. managing expectations) and the skills and competences to generate the vision necessary to achieve additional opportunities for influence (through social capital practices such as bypassing, communication and networking). The key aspect of influence as a form of social capital relates to access to bridging capital and an awareness of how to make best use of that access (Jabareen, 2006; Dempsey *et al.*, 2011). This also illustrates the importance to individual participants of developing relationships in the sense that participants can then use those

relationships to get ahead, in much the same way that Bourdieu suggested that social capital reinforces existing network structures (Schwanen *et al.*, 2015).

However, participants are also recommended to consider the impact of their involvement in PTPP on others. Individual contributions are of course limited in the sense that no one can be involved forever and for the processes to be effective they must be greater than the sum of their parts. As illustrated in the previous chapters, those participants and processes that failed to acknowledge these limits to their own involvement were at greatest risk of stagnation and decline (Tuckman and Jensen, 1977). This was neatly summarised by one of the participants in the follow up interviews:

"Keeping things going generally is a problem because you know, [there is a] Shakespeare saying that there is a tide in the affairs of men in which you [are] basically saying there's a good time for everything" (Interview 3).

A key criticism of the case study processes observed in this study was that they tended to reinforce existing relationships but did not easily provide the same opportunities for outsiders (i.e. those members of the wider community who do not participate for whatever reason). Whilst altruism can mitigate this to an extent, SISM is not possible without finding ways to broaden opportunities for participation in transport decision making beyond the 'usual suspects' (Brownill, 2009; Vigar, 2017). There is also a democratic accountability argument to be made here because participants (or at the very least the leaders of the processes) could do more to 'outreach' or better represent those groups/areas/issues that they claim to represent in the processes observed. However just because they could doesn't mean that they should as this perhaps overlaps with the roles and responsibilities present amongst elected members in a representative democracy. This need for outreach was somewhat clearer in the more independent processes observed, and amongst individual participants who attended their PTPP as members of interest groups.

9.9.3 Navigating leadership and structural norms

The importance of leadership within the case study processes has already been covered in detail in Chapters 6-8. An important skill for participants in each participatory process was to navigate the ways in which leadership interacted with the rest of the social capital cycle in their process. Each PTPP had its own group dynamics and style of leadership and in each case participants who were best equipped (in terms of skills and competences) to navigate the norms of their process where best able to utilise their social capital. However, these processes are not static.

A change in leader during my observations led to a change in the approach of other participants to the process, particularly in situations such as the LDCSC and the Leicester Forums where substitute chairs tended to be more relaxed and less formal. The Leicester Forums demonstrated the value of strong political place-based leadership (Hambleton, 2017) in enabling participants to make the most of their social capital to influence decision making through access to the directly elected mayor, although this shifted slightly with a move to meetings chaired by the assistant mayor. Conversely MK DAG demonstrated the difficulties created by participatory processes that did not have access to strong political place-based leadership to the extent where the existence of the process itself could be called into question.

MK BUG, MK DAG and CCAG all demonstrated the value of independent leadership that had the time to focus on both evidence gathering to create opportunities for influence, but also the time to invest more heavily in the social capital of other participants (e.g. by matching tasks to appropriate participants and providing the space for social learning to take place). Social capital practices relating to group dynamics (and by extension the norms practiced in those settings) are essential in enabling the PTPP observed to perform productively because they create the conditions for individuals to gain from and contribute to the process (Forsyth, 2014). Solidarity is important for participants to develop as

327

it can foster strong internal group dynamics, respect, trust, and strong external relationships.

9.10 Lessons for wider theoretical debates around participatory planning

At the beginning of this thesis I suggested that my own ontological position to the grand debates about communicative rationality and critiques of power (Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Healey, 2003; Bickerstaff and Walker, 2005; Taylor, 2007; Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013) was to find a middle way through those debates (Goodspeed, 2016). Unfortunately, participatory transport planning has still yet to learn the lessons of the much richer debates around the value of participation within the spatial planning (*cf.* Hoggett, 1995; Healey, 1997; Flyvbjerg, 1998; Pratchett, 1999; Wilson, 1999; Leach and Wingfield, 1999; Barnes, 1999; Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013; Goodspeed, 2016) or neighbourhood planning literature (Clayton et al., 2016; Penny, 2017; Parker, 2017; Lord et al., 2017; and Parker and Street, 2018). The 'middle way' approach adopted in this study was to consider the role of social capital in participatory transport planning as being a more holistic metric of the productivity of PTPP. This meant regarding the themes of leadership, representation, social learning, skills and competences, influence (and empowerment), and relationships as being just as central to the importance of PTPP as the SISM outcomes themselves.

9.10.1   A crisis in participatory planning

Significant concern and uncertainty remains both in the academic literature (*cf.* Lyons and Davidson, 2016; Legacy, 2017; Vigar, 2017) and as a result of the empirical findings in this study as to how much of an impact PTPP are able to have on transport planners and decision makers who still appeared to rely on rationalist and technocratic approaches to decision making. A tension between

participatory and representative democracy that has existed throughout the short history of participatory governance (Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013) and the sustainable mobility paradigm (Banister, 2008) still exists today. Legacy (2017) called this tension a 'crisis of participatory planning'.

The key to resolving this ongoing crisis in PTPP is to ensure that embodied knowledge, skills and past experiences of participants (and non-participants) is fully integrated into the transport planning process (Lucas, 2012; Vigar, 2017). At present participatory processes still form only *part* of the planning and decision-making process through palatable forms of engagement (Legacy, 2017). Therefore, the weaknesses of traditional regime-compliant transport planning (Lyons and Davidson, 2016) remain because decision makers are still reluctant to use the knowledge generated in PTPP to its full potential as a means of testing new ideas and ways of thinking.

The PTPP observed in this study were mostly used to reinforce rather than challenge the existing structures and practices present in local transport planning (Blackstock *et al.*, 2014). This phenomenon explained why the most productive outcomes occurred when participants were able to complement and support the existing thought processes of decision makers (e.g. when discussing community outreach in the Leicester Cycle City Forum). Conversely, unproductive outcomes occurred most frequently in those PTPP where tensions and antagonism between the views of decision makers and participants were at their greatest (e.g. the views of MK DAG members about the way in which MK Council were handling community transport).

Lyons and Davidson (2016) argued that transport planning needs to take a more flexible and open approach to policy making which accommodates uncertainty (in terms of what mobility will look like in the future). This is important because uncertainty enables decision-makers to shape rather than respond to the future of mobility by questioning what that future will look like. Lyons and Davidson (2016, p.104) regard this as adopting a 'regime-testing' rather than a 'regime-

compliant' approach to policy making and further argued for a "triple access system of spatial proximity, physical mobility and digital connectivity as a framework for policy and investment decisions that can harness flexibility and resilience". This demonstrates the potential space in which transport planning can achieve SISM.

This study therefore supports the need to accommodate flexibility and uncertainty within transport planning because it gives decision makers the opportunity to promote transport solutions that can help to achieve SISM. Just as the decisions of land use and transport planners provided the spaces for automobility to thrive in the 20th century, so too can they provide spaces for low carbon and active mobilities to thrive in the 21st century. One criticism of the PTPP explored in this study is that all of them adopt a 'regime-compliant' approach to policy making in that they approach transport problems from a reactive short-term perspective where they can be used by local government to legitimise their decision making (cf. Keblowski et al., 2016; Penny, 2017). Any attempts at visioning or advocacy beyond the limited scope of each process were extremely limited in their effectiveness, certainly when compared against more socially mobilised participatory processes such as the public transport user's association in Melbourne (Legacy, 2016).

9.10.2   Weaknesses in political and place-based leadership

As Hambleton (2017) has previously suggested, there is a weakness of leadership on the part of those decision makers who treat the intersection between political and community leadership as a conflict zone rather than an innovation zone. This has fundamental implications for the long-term sustainability of the PTPP observed as unresolved conflicts will inevitably lead to the eventual collapse of those processes altogether. Significant hope and potential in English local government is now being attached to the role of directly elected place-based leadership combined with devolved local transport governance based on the successes of integrated transport in London

(Hambleton, 2017). However, it remains to be seen whether this can achieve the radical change required to achieve truly SISM.

As Keblowski et al. (2016) suggested, a radical re-politicisation of the uneven distribution of transport-related costs and benefits may ultimately be necessary to overcome these persistent challenges within participatory governance. It is neither possible nor desirable to separate politics from infrastructure implementation which includes ensuring that the public and community groups are involved (Legacy, 2016). When Legacy (2016) studied the role of community groups on the cancellation of the east-west road link project in Melbourne, she argued that it was neither possible nor desirable to separate politics from infrastructure implementation. Similarly, the same lessons were learnt in Leeds after community groups mobilised against the now cancelled Leeds trolleybus scheme.

The scale of analysis I chose in conducting this research cannot be expected to cause a shift in participatory transport planning on its own. However, when considered alongside the wider body of literature included in this thesis (*cf.* Blackstock *et al.*, 2014; McAndrews and Marcus., 2015; Schwanen *et al.*, 2015; Legacy, 2016; Lyons and Davidson, 2016; Legacy, 2017; and Vigar, 2017), I hope that it can form part of a wider shift in the debate around participatory transport planning to one which places communities rather than transport infrastructure at the heart of future participatory decision making processes at all spatial scales of government. Only when the full value of participants' social capital is embraced by decision makers will we see a genuine paradigm shift in terms of the value and utilisation of embodied knowledge and solutions in transport planning.

9.11 Lessons relating to researcher reflexivity

This section explores the lessons that I have learned during my PhD based on my experiences of applying a constructivist grounded theoretical framework. This included reflexivity relating to the adoption of multiple qualitative data generation methods (observations and follow up interviews) and the role of triangulation in this study. Finally, this section will consider the lessons learned from an earlier content analysis of 3rd generation local transport plans (Elvy, 2014), the impact that an overseas institutional visit had on my reflexivity, and the impact that this research has had on my own political positionality.

9.11.1   Lessons learned from this study directly

Applying a constructivist grounded theoretical approach (Charmaz, 2014) to the study of processes has been extremely challenging because the minutiae of micro interactions within them seemingly offered endless opportunities for study, in much the same way that an individual might enjoy watching a soap opera over many years. Conversely the macro consequences of those interactions evolved very slowly such that there were time pressures placed on the efficacy of the data generated in this study. Therefore the 18-month period of data generation in this study must be considered as a snapshot of processes that are constantly evolving or indeed changing significantly. For example, at the time of writing some 18 months later, two of the case study processes have already seen significant changes to leadership which in turn will have transformed the internal dynamics of their respective social capital cycles. As a participant observer the best way that I could work against these limitations was to make an important distinction between the generation of theoretically rich data as opposed to the generation of socially interesting data. Framing the micro interactions and individual social capital practices as part of a greater process system (the social capital cycle) enabled me to focus on the data in a more theoretical way.

In undertaking participant observations, academic researchers can play a role in capacity building processes and participants. This is certainly something that I attempted to do and as a result my presence had a knock-on impact on the processes and their social capital cycles, particularly in those instances where I was able to promote reflections on how the processes worked. Two instances come to mind, however there were other instances where I actively participated in discussions and activities. Firstly, when I provided suggestions to MK DAG on how to better develop their difficult relationship with MK Council based on the lessons that I had learned from other case studies and from the wider literature/my lived experiences). Secondly, when I could see that participants within the Leicester Bus User Panel wanted to make a joint submission to a scrutiny committee review of bus lanes but were not being given a direct opportunity to do so. I therefore instigated a negotiation which led to the chair agreeing to provide a summary of the points raised in the minutes as a submission.

In seeking to frame what participants brought to and got out of getting involved in transport decision making, it was clear from a very early stage that each process contained key actors which had a disproportionate impact. This affected the way that case study processes operated and the way that individuals interacted within those processes. This also affected the development of my understanding of the processes and those individuals and I would often seek to find out as much as I could about them, particularly through informal one-to-one discussions.

I found that the dynamics of each process was driven by the leadership present within it (both formal and informal). This in turn drove my follow up interviews in that many of those interviewed utilised leadership practices to achieve their outcomes. Even though I did not seek to quantify the significance of one category of social capital practices over another, I believe that placing leadership at the top of the social capital cycle was subconsciously deliberate.

Another lesson learned about my own reflexivity in the participant observations was the way in which they represented vignettes and micro transactions as part of a broader narrative that ran temporally and spatially beyond the confines of each case study. This was further supported by discussions in follow up interviews which tended to reveal the hidden depths of the contexts and relationships at play within the processes observed. This meant that there were usually underlying implicit reasons for the micro transactions being observed. As outlined in previous chapters, whenever antagonism was observed, there was often a history behind the poor relationship between participants based on previous negative experiences or interactions. This further demonstrated the vital role that the follow up interviews were able to play in this study because they could reveal what those hidden meanings and relationships were as well as why participants behaved in the way that they did. Another aspect that surprised me (even though it perhaps shouldn't have done) was how participant observations demonstrated the slow nature of both the transport planning decision making process and the evolution of the social capital cycles present. Within the narrow limits of a PhD study, it wasn't possible to spend enough time observing the processes to see the full 'life cycle' of decision making and social capital, so in each case my findings must be considered to be a snapshot of each case study process in the period around 2015-16 rather than a reflection of the process over a longer time frame (e.g. 5 years plus).

The follow up interviews demonstrated the importance of viewing social capital practices and transport decision making from multiple perspectives within the same case study processes, as everyone's own construction of that process was different. As a result, it meant that the role of social capital practices carried different meanings to different individuals (e.g. the perceived role of MK CIL within MK DAG or the purpose and effectiveness of the Leicester Cycle City Forum from the perspective of different participants). The follow up interviews also played an important research role in this study in that whilst the participant observations tended to generate many questions, the interviews tended to generate clarity and meaning around those questions. They were also very important at challenging

my assumptions and I encouraged interviewees to challenge me when they saw things differently.

9.11.2   Lessons learned from my scholarly activity beyond the confines of this study

In an earlier content analysis of 3rd generation local transport plans (Elvy, 2014) I found that all 32 of the plans assessed sought transport solutions that promoted opportunities for SISM by tackling the problems faced by groups at risk of transport related social exclusion (SEU, 2003; SDC, 2011). However, the open commitment of those same local authorities to providing participatory transport planning opportunities for those same at-risk groups was less clear and appeared to be skewed towards party run authorities. This study also tended to focus on local authorities that were Labour party controlled as ongoing mechanisms for participatory transport planning were most readily found there. Whilst this is beyond the scope of this study. I think there is scope to focus in more detail on the role of politics in participatory transport planning within local government. Similarly, I think there is also a need to better understand and articulate the role of administrative and political geography on the availability of PTPP and the effectiveness of social capital cycles within them, particularly as this study has identified a clear difference in political engagement between authorities led by directedly elected mayors (i.e. Leicester) and those that were not at the time of writing (i.e. Leeds and Milton Keynes).

In addition to funding this research, the White Rose Doctoral Training College and Economic and Social Research Council also funded a 7-week overseas institutional visit to Monash University in Melbourne Australia during February and March 2016. This had a significant impact in terms of my reflexivity because it gave me time to pause and reflect on the data generated in my research and what I was able to learn from it. I also used the opportunity to informally explore PTPP in Melbourne through discussions with different tiers of state and local government and their associated agencies, meetings with academics who shared

my own research interests (including Professor Graham Currie, Dr Alexa Delbosc, Dr Janet Stanley, Dr John Stone and Dr Crystal Legacy), meetings with members of community groups involved in participatory transport planning, and attending ongoing meetings that were similar to those in my study (including an area forum, a disability advisory group and a public transport users group). This visit also gave me the first opportunity to expose the embryonic version of my social capital cycles to a technical audience not directly involved in my research. The collective impact of the opportunities outlined above was that I was able to consider social capital practices in an entirely different context. I was also able to see those areas where I was perhaps making assumptions or treating phenomena implicitly in my own research based on my existing understanding and perceptions of UK local government. However, when I placed myself into an entirely unfamiliar local government context, I was able to challenge and question things which I was perhaps taken for granted in the UK, such as the role of politics, relationships and power in Australian participatory transport planning (which is also represented in articles by Lucas and Currie, 2011; Stanley *et al.,* 2012; and Legacy, 2016). I then took this approach back into my own research by ensuring that I considered more deeply the nature and politics of the relationships between participants, local government and political leaders in each case study process.

One final point to note on my own reflexivity is that this research has caused me to question my own politics in general and attitudes towards the intersection of neoliberalism and social democracy (Giddens, 1998). In that sense my findings should be considered in the context of the continuing failure of neoliberalism to deal with rising inequalities (including mobility inequalities) and the deliberate shift from a narrow focus on transport related social exclusion to a broader focus on mobility justice as a way of achieving SISM.

9.12 Conclusions

This chapter provided an original contribution to knowledge by analysing the lessons for effective participatory transport planning that emerged from this study. There is an opportunity for both planners and participants to utilise PTPP in a way that invests in people and places greater value and importance on their social capital, lived experiences (embodied knowledge), and access to SISM. It is therefore important for both the organisers and participants of those processes to acknowledge where the strengths and weaknesses of their own social capital cycle lies. Transport planners and local government as a whole has an important role to play in investing in the organisational capacity of communities to get involved in local decision making, particularly as that capacity is being overlooked in favour of 'deficit-led' forms of engagement with a focus on problems rather than solutions.

Two potential approaches for investing in people emerged in this study: the provision of independent leadership and mediation, and the role of training and upskilling. Independent leadership tackled the 'them and us' mentality between public participants, local government decision makers and transport providers. Multiple participants also expressed a desire for training and upskilling to better understand what was expected of them or to better interpret the technical information being shared. Whilst upskilling creates tensions that participants will be professionalised (Cooke and Kothari, 2001), more still needs to be done to reduce barriers to entry within PTPP (Hodgson and Turner, 2003).

Austerity has created further challenges for participatory governance in that these new arenas for engagement are being presented without the "resource, commitment or political will" (Clayton et al., 2016, p.724) to realise their potential. Participatory transport planning is being increasingly treated as a luxury that local government cannot afford. A challenge for local government therefore is to find ways to maximise their investment in the social capital of individuals and communities by providing opportunities for participation and deliberation within the limits of the resources available to them (Jabareen, 2015). Localism has

provided new opportunities to bridge the validity of technical and embodied knowledge in local policy making, however it advantages those with greater access to social capital in the first place (Lucas, 2012; Clarke and Cochrane, 2013; Ercan and Hendriks, 2013). This is indicative of the "asymmetries of knowledge and capacity" found in both the neighbourhood planning literature (Parker, 2017, p.75) and in my own empirical observations.

The centralisation of transport policies in England such as bus deregulation and taxi licensing contradict the principles of greater participation provided by localism and devolution. The changing political lexicon away from accessibility and towards connectivity over the past ten years has also had an impact on transport policy approaches to SISM in that achieving mobility that works for everyone is caveated by the 'realities' of needing to keep the economy (and the country) moving. Existing local governance mechanisms (as of 2015-2016) provided by legislation such as the Transport Act 2000 and Local Transport Act 2008 had been insufficient at promoting SISM. However, it remains to been what legacy more recent legislation such as the Bus Services Act 2017 will have in the years ahead.

Making decisions at the outset over who is in control of PTPP also had a significant impact on what each process was able to achieve. Local authorities should consider this carefully before creating additional mechanisms for engagement. Processes controlled by local authorities tended to have clearer opportunities for influence but were more restrictive in terms of how participants were able to engage with them. Independent processes on the other hand enabled participants to be able to speak more freely and critically of local government, however this also brought a greater degree of separation between participants and decision makers.

The social capital cycle demonstrates the possibilities that PTPP have for individual participants in terms of a collective contribution to local transport decision making being greater than the sum of its parts (Wilson, 1997). In other

words, using social capital to engage with productive PTPP should enable individual participants to gain more opportunities for influence and involvement than by acting independently. All participants who get involved in PTPP should engage in reflective practice in order to consider the exchange of social capital resources within their process and how they are mobilised. In practice this means: building and maintaining relationships with local government politicians and officers; utilising their skills and competences and embodied knowledge of their local area and transport experiences; and engaging with local media, social media and the wider community.

Participants looking to gain influence over transport decision making processes should ideally have an awareness of the potential limits to their influence and the skills and competences required to generate the vision necessary to achieve additional opportunities for influence. The key aspect of influence as a form of social capital relates to access to bridging capital and an awareness of how to make best use of that access (Jabareen, 2006; Dempsey *et al.*, 2011). An important skill for participants in each participatory process was to navigate the ways in which leadership interacted with the rest of the social capital cycle in their process. Each PTPP had its own group dynamics and style of leadership and in each case participants who were best equipped (in terms of skills and competences) to navigate the norms of their process where best able to utilise their social capital. The formal leadership of PTPP also have a role to play in supporting other participants. The Leicester Forums demonstrated the value of strong political place-based leadership (Hambleton, 2017) in enabling participants to make the most of their social capital to influence decision making through access to the directly elected mayor (and his assistant mayor).

I have previously argued that a focus on power in the broader planning literature (*cf.* Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013) is an over simplification of the purpose and value of participatory planning processes and that giving evidence, gaining knowledge, having the skills to participate and experiential learning are all just as important to the participants who attend. Significant concern and uncertainty remains both in the academic literature (*cf.* Lyons and Davidson, 2016; Legacy,

2017; Vigar, 2017) and as a result of the empirical findings in this study as to how much of an impact PTPP are able to have on transport planners and decision makers who still appeared to rely on rationalist and technocratic approaches to decision making. A 'crisis of planning' (Legacy, 2017) between participatory and representative democracy that has existed throughout the short history of participatory governance (Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones, 2013) and the sustainable mobility paradigm (Banister, 2008) still exists today.

At present participatory processes still form only *part* of the planning and decision-making process through palatable forms of engagement (Legacy, 2017). Therefore, the weaknesses of traditional regime-compliant transport planning (Lyons and Davidson, 2016) remain because decision makers are still reluctant to use the knowledge generated in PTPP to its full potential as a means of testing new ideas and ways of thinking. There is a weakness in political and place-based leadership and significant hope and potential in English local government is now being attached to the role of directly elected place-based leadership combined with devolved local transport governance based on the successes of integrated transport in London (Hambleton, 2017). However, it remains to be seen whether this can achieve the radical change required to achieve truly SISM.

Further research will be necessary to understand the impact of social capital on PTPP over a longer period (e.g. 5 or more years) which was beyond the scope of this study, and whether further investments into the social capital of participants can reverse the slow decline observed in some of the case study processes. Similarly, the role of updated policies and regulations likely to impact PTPP such as the Cities and Local Government Devolution Act 2016 and the Bus Services Act 2017 will also require further study.

Word Count: 92,993

Bibliography

ABELSON J, FOREST P.G, EYLES J, SMITH P, MARTIN E, and GAUVIN F.P, 2003. Deliberations About Deliberative Methods: Issues in the Design and Evaluation of Public Participation Processes. *Social Science & Medicine.* 57(2), 239-51.

ADKINS, L. 2005. Social capital: The Anatomy of a troubled concept, *Feminist Theory*, 6 (2), 195-211.

ALDRED, R., WATSON, T., LOVELACE, R. & WOODCOCK, J. 2017. Barriers to investing in cycling: Stakeholder views from England. *Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice.* In Press, Corrected Proof.

ARNSTEIN, S. R. 1969. A Ladder Of Citizen Participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners,* 35, 216-224.

BAKER, M., COAFFEE, J. & SHERRIFF, G. 2007. Achieving successful participation in the new UK spatial planning system. *Planning Practice and Research,* 22, 79-93.

BANISTER, D. 2008. The sustainable mobility paradigm. *Transport Policy,* 15, 73-80.

BARNES, M., 1999. Researching public participation. *Local Government Studies.* 25 (4), 60–75.

BARNES, M., NEWMAN, J., KNOPS, A. & SULLIVAN, H. 2003. Constituting 'the public' in public participation. *Public Administration,* 81, 379-399.

BARNES, M., NEWMAN, J. & SULLIVAN, H. 2004. Power, Participation, and Political Renewal: Theoretical Perspectives on Public Participation under New Labour in Britain. *Social Politics*, 11 (2), 267-279.

BATHERAM, M., HARDIN, J. & WHITFIELD, S. 2005. Successful participation methods for local transport planning. *Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers: Municipal Engineer,* 158, 9-16.

BICKERSTAFF, K., TOLLEY, R. & WALKER, G. 2002. Transport planning and participation: The rhetoric and realities of public involvement. *Journal of Transport Geography,* 10, 61-73.

BICKERSTAFF, K. & WALKER, G. 2005. Shared visions, unholy alliances: Power, governance and deliberative processes in local transport planning. *Urban Studies,* 42, 2123-2144.

BIRKS, M. & MILLS, J. 2015. *Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide (2nd Ed).* London, Sage.

BLACKSTOCK, K. DINNIE, L. DILLEY, R. MARSHALL, K. DUNGLINSON, J. TRENCH, H. HARPER, K. FINAN, K. MACPHERSON, J. JOHNSTON, E. & GRIFFIN, A., 2015. Participatory research to influence participatory governance. *Area*, 47, 254-260.

BOISJOLY, G. AND YENGOH, G.T., 2017. Opening the door to social equity: local and participatory approaches to transportation planning in Montreal. European transport research review, 9(3), p.43.

BOOTH, C. AND RICHARDSON, T., 2001. Placing the public in integrated transport planning. Transport policy, 8(2), 141-149.

BOS, J. J., BROWN, R. R. & FARRELLY, M. A. 2013. A design framework for creating social learning situations. *Global Environmental Change,* 23, 398-412.

BOURDIEU, P. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge.

BOURDIEU, P. 1986. The forms of capital. *In:* RICHARDSON, J. E. (ed.) *Handbook of Theory of Research of Education.* New York: Greenwood Press.

BOURDIEU, P. 1989. Social Space and Symbolic Power. *Sociological Theory*, 7 (1), 14-25.

BOURDIEU, P. and WACQUANT, L.P.D. 1992. An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Cited In: CLARIDGE, T. 2015. Bourdieu on Social Capital – Theory of Capital [online]. http://www.socialcapitalresearch.com/bourdieu-on-social-capital-theory-of-capital/ [Accessed 4th September 2019]

BRODIE, E., HUGHES T, J.V., MILLER, S., OCKENDEN, N. AND WARBURTON, D., 2011. *Pathways through participation: What creates and sustains active citizenship? Final report.* NCVO.

BROWNILL, S., 2009. The dynamics of participation: modes of governance and increasing participation in planning. *Urban Policy and Research*, 27(4), 357-375.

BROWNILL, S. & CARPENTER, J. 2007. Participation and planning: Dichotomies, rationalities and strategies for power. *Town Planning Review,* 78, 401-428.

BRYMAN, A. 2008. *Social research methods,* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

BRYANT, A. AND CHARMAZ, K. (Eds.), 2007. *The Sage handbook of grounded theory*. London, Sage.

BUIJS, A.E., MATTIJSSEN, T.J., VAN DER JAGT, A.P., AMBROSE-OJI, B., ANDERSSON, E., ELANDS, B.H. AND MØLLER, M.S., 2016. Active citizenship for urban green infrastructure: fostering the diversity and dynamics of citizen contributions through mosaic governance. *Current opinion in environmental sustainability*, 22, 1-6.

BYRNE, D. 2005. *Social Exclusion,* Maidenhead, Open University Press.

CABINET OFFICE, 2013. *Open Government Partnership UK National Action Plan 2013 to 2015*. London, Cabinet Office.

CAIRNS, S., HARMER, C., HOPKIN, J. AND SKIPPON, S., 2014. Sociological perspectives on travel and mobilities: A review. *Transportation research part A: policy and practice*, 63, 107-117.

CARPENTER, J.P., DANIERE, A.G. AND TAKAHASHI, L.M., 2004. Social capital and trust in south-east Asian cities. *Urban studies*, 41(4), 853-874.

CHARMAZ, K. 2014. *Constructing grounded theory,* London, Sage.

CHURCH, A., FROST, M. & SULLIVAN, K. 2000. Transport and social exclusion in London. *Transport Policy,* 7, 195-205.

CLARIDGE, T. 2015. Bourdieu on Social Capital – Theory of Capital [online]. http://www.socialcapitalresearch.com/bourdieu-on-social-capital-theory-of-capital/ [Accessed 4th September 2019]

CLARKE, N. & COCHRANE, A. 2013. Geographies and politics of localism: The localism of the United Kingdom's coalition government. *Political Geography,* 34, 10-23.

CLAYTON, J., DONOVAN, C. AND MERCHANT, J., 2016. Distancing and limited resourcefulness: Third sector service provision under austerity localism in the north east of England. *Urban Studies*, 53(4), pp.723-740.

CLIFFORD, B. & TEWDWR-JONES, M. 2013. *The collaborating planner? practitioners in the neoliberal age*, Bristol, Policy Press.

COCKBURN, C., 1977. The local state: management of cities and people. *Race & Class*, 18(4), 363-376.

COLEMAN, J. S. 1988. Social Capital in the Creation of Human-Capital. *American Journal of Sociology,* 94, S95-S120.

COLLINS, K. & ISON, R. 2009. Jumping off Arnstein's ladder: Social learning as a new policy paradigm for climate change adaptation. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 19, 358-373.

COOKE, B. & KOTHARI, U. 2001. *Participation, the new tyranny?*, London, Zed.

CORNWALL, A. 2008. Unpacking 'Participation': models, meanings and practices. *Community Development Journal*, 43, 269-283.

CRASHMAPS, 2018. Crash map for Austhorpe Road in Leeds based on 1999-2017 data. www.crashmaps.co.uk [Accessed on 29/08/18]

CRAWFORD, P., KOTVAL, Z., RAUHE, W. & KOTVAL, Z. 2008. Social capital development in participatory community planning and design. *Town Planning Review,* 79, 533-553.

CREIGHTON, J. L. 2005. *The public participation handbook : making better decisions through citizen involvement,* San Francisco, Calif., Jossey-Bass.

DANIEL, J., 2011. *Sampling essentials: Practical guidelines for making sampling choices.* London, Sage.

DAVIDSON, S. AND ELSTUB, S., 2013. Deliberative and Participatory Democracy in the UK. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, 16(3), 367-385.

DEMPSEY, N., BRAMLEY, G., POWER, S. AND BROWN, C., 2011. The social dimension of sustainable development: Defining urban social sustainability. *Sustainable development*, 19(5), 289-300.

DENSCOMBE, M., 2010. *The good research guide: For small-scale social research projects (Open UP Study Skills)*. Maidenhead, McGraw-Hill.

DEPARTMENT FOR COMMUNITIES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT (DCLG), 2008. *Creating Strong Safe and Prosperous Communities Statutory Guidance.* Department for Communities and Local Government, London.

DEPARTMENT FOR COMMUNITIES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT (DCLG) 2012. *National Planning Policy Framework,* London, Department for Communities and Local Government.

DEPARTMENT FOR TRANSPORT (DFT) 2009. *Guidance on local transport plans.,* London, Department for Transport.

DEPARTMENT FOR TRANSPORT (DFT) 2011. *Creating Growth, Cutting Carbon: Making Sustainable Local Transport Happen.,* London, Department for Transport.

DEPARTMENT FOR WORK AND PENSIONS (DWP). 2011. *Department for Work and Pensions, 2011. Disability Facts and Figures.* [Online]. http://odi.dwp.gov.uk/disability-statistics-and-research/disability-facts-and-figures.php [Accessed 30th December 2012].

DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENT TRANSPORT AND THE REGIONS (DETR) 1998. *A New deal for Transport: Better for everyone,* London, DETR.

DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENT TRANSPORT AND THE REGIONS (DETR)/TRAC 2000. *Social Exclusion and the Provision of Public Transport. Technical report, Mobility and Inclusion Unit.,* London, DETR.

DEY, I. 1999. *Grounding grounded theory: guidelines for qualitative inquiry,* San Diego, Academic Press.

DIBBEN, P. 2006. The 'socially excluded' and local transport decision making: Voice and responsiveness in a marketized environment. *Public Administration,* 84, 655-672.

EIZENBERG, E. AND JABAREEN, Y., 2017. Social sustainability: A new conceptual framework. *Sustainability*, 9(1), p.68.

ELVY, J. 2014. Public participation in transport planning amongst the socially excluded: an analysis of 3rd generation Local Transport Plans. *Case Studies on Transport Policy*, 2, 41-49.

ERCAN, S. A. & HENDRIKS, C. M. 2013. The democratic challenges and potential of localism: insights from deliberative democracy. *Policy Studies,* 34, 422-440.

FAEHNLE, M. AND TYRVÄINEN, L., 2013. A framework for evaluating and designing collaborative planning. *Land Use Policy*, 34, 332-341.

FAINSTEIN, S.S., 2014. The just city. *International Journal of Urban Sciences*, 18, 1-18.

FLORESS, K., PROKOPY, L. S. & ALLRED, S. B. 2011. It's Who You Know: Social Capital, Social Networks, and Watershed Groups. *Society & Natural Resources,* 24, 871-886.

FLYVBJERG, B. 1998. *Rationality and power: democracy in practice,* London, University of Chicago Press.

Forsyth, D. R., 2014. *Group dynamics (6th ed.)*. Belmont, Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

FRANCESCHINI, S. AND MARLETTO, G., 2017. *The dynamics of social capital during public participation: new knowledge from an on-going monitoring* [Working Paper 2017/06]. Centre for North South Economic Research, University of Cagliari and Sassari, Sardinia.

FRASER, N. 1997. *Justice interruptus: critical reflections on the "postsocialist" condition,* London, Routledge.

GALLENT, N. & ROBINSON, S. 2013. *Neighbourhood planning: communities, networks and governance,* Bristol, Policy Press.

GAUNTLETT, D. 2011. Three approaches to social capital. *Making is Connecting: The social meaning of creativity, from DIY and knitting to YouTube and Web 2.0.* www.makingisconnecting.org.

GENTLES S.J., JACK S.M., NICHOLAS D.B, AND MCKIBBON K.A., 2014. A Critical Approach to Reflexivity in Grounded Theory. *The Qualitative Report*, 19 (44), 1-14.

GIDDENS, A., 1984. *The construction of society.* Cambridge, Polity.

GIDDENS, A., 1998. *The third way: the renewal of social democracy,* Cambridge, Polity.

GLANVILLE, J.L. AND BIENENSTOCK, E.J., 2009. A typology for understanding the connections among different forms of social capital. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 52(11), 1507-1530.

GLASER, B. AND STRAUSS, A., 1967. The discovery of grounded theory. London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson.

GOLAFSHANI, N., 2003. Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *The qualitative report*, 8(4), 597-606.

GOODSPEED, R., 2016. The death and life of collaborative planning theory. *Urban Planning*, 1(4), 1-5.

GONZÁLEZ, A., GILMER, A., FOLEY, R., SWEENEY, J. AND FRY, J., 2008. Technology-aided participative methods in environmental assessment: An international perspective. *Computers, Environment and Urban Systems*, 32(4), 303-316.

GRANOVETTER, M.S. 1973. The Strength of Weak Ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78, 1360-1380

GRIECO M, 2015. Poverty mapping and sustainable transport: A neglected dimension. Research in Transportation Economics, 51, pp3-9.

GRIECO, M. & URRY, J. (eds.) , 2011. *Mobilities: New Perspectives on Transport and Society.* Farnham, Ashgate.

GRAY, D., SHAW, J. AND FARRINGTON, J., 2006. Community transport, social capital and social exclusion in rural areas. *Area*, 38(1), 89-98.

HAMBLETON, R., 2017. Inclusive city governance: International lesson drawing from progressive urban leadership. In: *DSA 2017: Sustainability Interrogated: Societies, Growth and Social Justice.* Bradford, UK, 6-8 September 2017.

HEALEY, P. 1997. *Collaborative planning: shaping places in fragmented societies,* Basingstoke, Macmillan.

HEALEY, P. 2003. Collaborative Planning in Perspective. *Planning Theory,* 2, 101-123.

HEWLETT, D. & EDWARDS, J. 2013. Beyond Prescription: Community Engagement in the Planning and Management of National Parks as Tourist Destinations. *Tourism Planning and Development,* 10, 45-63.

HILLIER, J., 2000. Going round the Back? Complex Networks and Informal Action in Local Planning Processes. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 32 (1), 33-54.

HODGSON, F. C. & TURNER, J. 2003. Participation not consumption: The need for new participatory practices to address transport and social exclusion. *Transport Policy,* 10, 265-272.

HOGGETT, P., 1995. Does local government want local democracy? *Town and Country Planning.* 64 (4), 107–109.

HOLDEN, E. 2007. *Achieving Sustainable Mobility: Everyday and Leisure-time travel in the EU,* Aldershot, Ashgate.

INVOLVE. 2012. *Duty to Involve* [Online]. http://www.involve.org.uk/duty-to-involve-2/. [Accessed 12th June 2013].

JABAREEN, Y.R., 2006. Sustainable urban forms: Their typologies, models, and concepts. *Journal of planning education and research*, 26(1), 38-52.

JONES, P.S., 2003. Urban regeneration's poisoned chalice: is there an impasse in (community) participation-based policy? *Urban Studies*, 40(3), 581-601.

JONES, P. & LUCAS, K. 2012. The social consequences of transport decision-making: Clarifying concepts, synthesising knowledge and assessing implications. *Journal of Transport Geography,* 21, 4-16.

KEAT, R., WHITELEY, N. AND ABERCROMBIE, N. (Eds.), 1994. *The authority of the consumer.* Taylor & Francis.

KĘBŁOWSKI, W., BASSENS, D. AND VAN CRIEKINGEN, M., 2016. *Re-politicizing Transport with the Right to the City: An Attempt to Mobilise Critical Urban Transport Studies* [working paper]. Brussels, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Cosmopolis.

KENNY, M., & FOURIE, R. (2015). Contrasting Classic, Straussian, and Constructivist Grounded Theory: Methodological and Philosophical Conflicts. *The Qualitative Report*, 20(8), pp1270-1289.

KENYON, S., LYONS, G. & RAFFERTY, J. 2002. Transport and social exclusion: investigating the possibility of promoting inclusion through virtual mobility. *Journal of Transport Geography,* 10, 207-219.

KOGLIN, T., 2015. Vélomobility and the politics of transport planning. *GeoJournal*, 80(4), 569-586.

KRISHNA, A., 2002. *Active Social Capital: Tracing the Roots of Development and Democracy.* New York, Columbia University Press. Cited in: SVENDSEN, G. L. H. 2006. Studying social capital in situ: A qualitative approach. *Theory and Society,* 35, 39-70.

KWON, S.W. AND ADLER, P.S., 2014. Social capital: Maturation of a field of research. *Academy of management review*, 39(4), 412-422.

LAUCKNER, H., PATERSON, M. AND KRUPA, T., 2012. Using Constructivist Case Study Methodology to Understand Community Development Processes: Proposed Methodological Questions to Guide the Research Process. *Qualitative Report*, 17, p.25.

LEACH, S. & WINGFIELD, M. 1999. Public Participation and the Democratic Renewal Agenda: Prioritisation or Marginalisation? *Local Government Studies,* 25, 46-59.

LEEDS CITY COUNCIL, 2018. Manston Lane Area. https://www.leeds.gov.uk/residents/east-leeds-extension/manston-lane-development-sites [Accessed 24/08/2018]

LEFEBVRE, H., 1968. *Right to the City.* Cited in: KĘBŁOWSKI, W., BASSENS, D. AND VAN CRIEKINGEN, M., 2016. *Re-politicizing Transport with the Right to the City: An Attempt to Mobilise Critical Urban Transport Studies* [working paper]. Brussels, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Cosmopolis.

LEGACY, C., 2016. Transforming transport planning in the postpolitical era. *Urban studies*, 53(14), 3108-3124.

LEGACY, C., 2017. Is there a crisis of participatory planning?, *Planning Theory*, 16 (4), 425-442

LEINO, H. & LAINE, M. 2011. Do matters of concern matter? Bringing issues back to participation. *Planning Theory,* 11, 89-103.

LEINO, H. AND PELTOMAA, J., 2012. Situated knowledge–situated legitimacy: Consequences of citizen participation in local environmental governance. *Policy and Society*, 31(2), 159-168.

LEVITAS, R. 2005. The inclusive society? social exclusion and New Labour, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.

LEWINS, A. AND SILVER, C., 2009. *Choosing a CAQDAS package.* QUIC Working Paper no. 1.

LEYDEN, K.M., SLEVIN, A., GREY, T., HYNES, M., FRISBAEK, F. AND SILKE, R., 2017. Public and Stakeholder Engagement and the Built Environment: A Review. *Current environmental health reports*, 4(3), 267-277.

LIN, N., 1999. Building a network theory of social capital. *Connections*, 22, 28-51.

LIN, N., 2001. *Social capital: A theory of social structure and action.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

LINTON C and BRAY J, 2017, *Taxi! Issues and options for city region taxi and private hire vehicle policy.* Urban Transport Group, Leeds.

LITMAN, T., 2017. *Community cohesion as a transport planning objective.* Victoria Transport Policy Institute.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION (LGA), 2011. *The LG Group quick guide to local government.* London, LG Group.

LORD, A., MAIR, M., STURZAKER, J. AND JONES, P. 2017. 'The planners' dream goes wrong?' Questioning citizen-centred planning, *Local Government Studies*, 43 (3), 344-363

LOWNDES, V., PRATCHETT, L. & STOKER, G. 2001a. Trends in public participation: Part 1 - Local Government perspectives. *Public Administration,* 79, 205-222.

LOWNDES, V., PRATCHETT, L. & STOKER, G. 2001b. Trends in public participation: Part 2 - Citizens' perspectives. *Public Administration,* 79, 445-455.

LOWNDES, V. & SULLIVAN, H. 2004. Like a Horse and Carriage or a Fish on a Bicycle: How Well do Local Partnerships and Public Participation go Together? *Local Government Studies,* 30, 51-73.

LUCAS, K. 2004. *Running on empty : transport, social exclusion and environmental justice,* Bristol, UK, Policy.

LUCAS, K. 2012. Transport and social exclusion: Where are we now? *Transport Policy,* 20, 105-113.

LUCAS, K. & CURRIE, G. 2011. Developing socially inclusive transportation policy: transferring the United Kingdom policy approach to the State of Victoria? *Transportation,* 39, 151-173.

LUCAS, K. & JONES, P. 2012. Social impacts and equity issues in transport: an introduction. *Journal of Transport Geography,* 21, 1-3.

LYONS, G. AND DAVIDSON, C., 2016. Guidance for transport planning and policymaking in the face of an uncertain future. *Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice*, 88, 104-116.

MACNAUGHTON E, SHEPS S, FRANKISH J and IRWIN D, 2015. Understanding the development of narrative insight in early psychosis: A qualitative approach. *Psychosis*, 7 (4), pp291-301.

MADANIPOUR, A., CARS, G. R. & ALLEN, J. 1998. *Social exclusion in European cities: processes, experiences and responses,* London, Jessica Kingsley.

MASON, J. 2002. *Qualitative researching,* London, SAGE.

MAY, A. D. 2013. Balancing prescription and guidance for local transport plans. *Proceedings of the ICE - Transport,* 166, 36-48.

MCANDREWS, C. AND MARCUS, J., 2015. The politics of collective public participation in transportation decision-making. *Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice*, 78, 537-550.

MCKEEVER, E., ANDERSON, A. AND JACK, S., 2014. Entrepreneurship and mutuality: social capital in processes and practices. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 26(5-6), 453-477.

MEIJER, M. AND SYSSNER, J., 2017. Getting ahead in depopulating areas-How linking social capital is used for informal planning practices in Sweden and The Netherlands. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 55, 59-70.

MENZEL, S., BUCHECKER, M. AND SCHULZ, T., 2013. Forming social capital—Does participatory planning foster trust in institutions? *Journal of Environmental Management*, 131, 351-362.

MICHELS, A. & DE GRAAF, L. 2010. Examining citizen participation: Local participatory policy making and democracy. *Local Government Studies,* 36, 477-491.

MILAN, B.F., 2016. How participatory planning processes for transit-oriented development contribute to social sustainability. *Journal of Environmental studies and sciences*, 6(3), 520-524.

MOORE, K.R. AND ELLIOTT, T.J., 2016. From participatory design to a listening infrastructure: A case of urban planning and participation. *Journal of Business and Technical Communication*, 30(1), 59-84.

MORSE, J.M., 1995. The significance of saturation. *Qualitative Health Research*, 5(2), 147-149. Cited in: CHARMAZ, K. 2014. *Constructing grounded theory,* London, Sage.

MOSSE, D., 2001. 'People's Knowledge' participation and patronage: operations and representations in rural development, in: B. COOKE and U. KOTHARI (Eds) *Participation: The New Tyranny?* 16–35. London, Zed.

MULLEN, C. AND MARSDEN, G., 2016. Mobility justice in low carbon energy transitions. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 18, 109-117.

MURO, M. AND JEFFREY, P., 2008. A critical review of the theory and application of social learning in participatory natural resource management processes. *Journal of environmental planning and management*, 51(3), 325-344.

NATARAJAN, L., 2017. Socio-spatial learning: A case study of community knowledge in participatory spatial planning. *Progress in Planning*, 111, 1-23.

NAUGHTON, L., 2014. Geographical narratives of social capital: Telling different stories about the socio-economy with context, space, place, power and agency. *Progress in Human Geography*, 38(1), 3-21.

NEIGHBOURHOOD STATISTICS, 2011. The LGA quick guide to Local Government.

NEIGHBOURHOOD STATISTICS, 2016. Neighbourhood Statistics Data Portal. http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/ [Accessed 26th February 2016]

OFFICE FOR NATIONAL STATISTICS (ONS). 2012. *Census Key Statistics for England and Wales.* [Online]. http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census/key-statistics-for-local-authorities-in-england-and-wales/stb-2011-census-key-statistics-for-england-and-wales.html. [Accessed 30th December 2012].

OSBORNE, C., BALDWIN, C. AND THOMSEN, D., 2016. Contributions of social capital to best practice urban planning outcomes. *Urban Policy and research*, 34 (3), 212-224.

OSBORNE, C., BALDWIN, C., THOMSEN, D. AND WOOLCOCK, G., 2017. The unheard voices of youth in urban planning: using social capital as a theoretical lens in Sunshine Coast, Australia. Children's Geographies, 15 (3), 349-361.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2015. Oxford English dictionary [Online] http://www.oed.com/ [Accessed 25th May 2015]

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2018. Oxford English Dictionary [Online] http://www.oed.com/ [Accessed 14th March 2018]

PALDAM, M. 2000. Social capital: One or many? Definition and measurement. *Journal of Economic Surveys,* 14, 629-653.

PARKER, G., 2017. The uneven geographies of neighbourhood planning in England. In: BROWNILL, S. AND BRADLEY, Q. (ed.) *Localism and Neighbourhood Planning: Power to the People?.* Bristol: Policy Press.

PARKER, G. AND STREET, E., 2018. *Enabling Participatory Planning: Planning aid and advocacy in neoliberal times.* Bristol: Policy Press.

PARVIN, P. 2009. Against Localism: Does Decentralising Power to Communities Fail Minorities? *The Political Quarterly,* 80, 351-360.

PATEMAN, C. 1970. *Participation and democratic theory*, London, Cambridge University Press.

PATULNY, R., 2004. *Social capital norms, networks and practices: A critical evaluation* [Discussion Paper]. University of New South Wales, Sydney: Social Policy Research Centre.

PENNY, J., 2017. Between coercion and consent: the politics of "Cooperative Governance" at a time of "Austerity Localism" in London. *Urban Geography*, 38 (9), 1352-1373.

PEREIRA, R.H., SCHWANEN, T. AND BANISTER, D., 2017. Distributive justice and equity in transportation. *Transport reviews*, 37(2), 170-191.

PIERSON, J. 2010. *Tackling social exclusion,* London, Routledge.

PLØGER, J. 2004. Strife: Urban Planning and Agonism. *Planning Theory,* 3, 71-92.

POLLOCK, V. L. & SHARP, J. 2012. Real Participation or the Tyranny of Participatory Practice? Public Art and Community Involvement in the Regeneration of the Raploch, Scotland. *Urban Studies,* 49, 3063-3079.

PORTES, A. 1998. Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology,* 24, 1-24.

PRACHETT, L., 1999. New fashions in public participation: towards greater democracy? *Parliamentary Affairs.* 52 (4) 616–633, Cited in: Bickerstaff, K., Tolley, R., Walker, G., 2002. Transport planning and participation: the rhetoric and realities of public involvement. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 10, 61–73.

PUTNAM, R. D. 1995. Tuning in, Tuning out - the Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America. *Political Science & Politics,* 28, 664-683.

PUTNAM, R. D. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Decline and Revival of Civic America,* New York, Simon & Schuster.

RACO, M. 2007. Securing sustainable communities - Citizenship, safety and sustainability in the new urban planning. *European Urban and Regional Studies,* 14, 305-320.

RAJÉ, F. 2004. Engineering social exclusion? Poor transport links and severance. *Municipal Engineer,* 157, 267-273.

ROBERTS, N. 2004. Public Deliberation in an Age of Direct Citizen Participation. *The American Review of Public Administration,* 34, 315-353.

RYDIN, Y., 2003. *Conflict, consensus, and rationality in environmental planning: an institutional discourse approach.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

RYDIN, Y. & PENNINGTON, M. 2000. Public participation and local environmental planning: The collective action problem and the potential of social capital. *Local Environment,* 5, 153-169.

SALDAÑA, J., 2015. *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. London, Sage.

SANDEFUR, R. L. & LAUMANN, E. O. 1998. A Paradigm for Social Capital. *Rationality and Society,* 10, 481-501.

SALVESON, P., 2013. *Railpolitik: Bringing Railways Back to the Community*. Lawrence & Wishart.

SCHWANEN, T., LUCAS, K., AKYELKEN, N., SOLSONA, D.-C., CARRASCO, J.-A. & NEITENS, T. 2015. Rethinking the links between social exclusion and transport disadvantage through the lens of social capital. *Transportation Research Part A,* 74, 123-135.

SHAW, J. & HESSE, M. 2010. Transport, geography and the 'new' mobilities. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 35, 305-312.

SHELLER, M. 2011. Sustainable Mobility and Mobility Justice: Towards a twin transition. *In:* GRIECO, M. & URRY, J. (eds.) *Mobilities: New Perspectives on Transport and Society.* Farnham: Ashgate.

SHELLER, M., 2018. *Mobility justice: The politics of movement in an age of extremes*. Verso Books.

SHELLER, M. AND URRY, J., 2006. The new mobilities paradigm. *Environment and planning A*, 38(2), 207-226.

SHIN, H. AND LEE, K., 2017. Participatory governance and trans-sectoral mobilities: The new dynamics of adaptive preferences in the case of transport planning in Seoul, South Korea. *Cities*, 65, 87-93.

SHOVE, E., PANTZAR, M. AND WATSON, M., 2012. *The dynamics of social practice: Everyday life and how it changes*. London, Sage.

SILVER, C. AND LEWINS, A., 2014. Using software in qualitative research: A step-by-step guide. London, Sage.

SILVERMAN, D. 2011. *Interpreting qualitative data : a guide to the principles of qualitative research,* London, SAGE.

SKEFFINGTON, A., 1969. Report of the Committee on Public Participation in Planning London, HMSO. Cited in: BAKER, M., COAFFEE, J. & SHERRIFF, G. 2007. Achieving successful participation in the new UK spatial planning system. *Planning Practice and Research,* 22, 79-93.

SOBEL, J., 2002. Can we trust social capital? *Journal of Economic Literature*, 40(1), 139-154. Cited in: SVENDSEN, G. L. H. 2006. Studying social capital in situ: A qualitative approach. *Theory and Society,* 35, 39-70.

SOCIAL EXCLUSION UNIT (SEU) 2003. *Making the Connections: Final Report on Transport and Social Exclusion,* London, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM).

SOULARD, J., KNOLLENBERG, W., BOLEY, B.B., PERDUE, R.R. AND MCGEHEE, N.G., 2018. Social capital and destination strategic planning. *Tourism Management*, 69, 189-200.

STANLEY, J., STANLEY, J. & HENSHER, D. 2012. Mobility, Social Capital and Sense of Community: What Value? *Urban Studies,* 49, 3595-3609.

STANLEY, J., STANLEY, J., BALBONTIN, C. AND HENSHER, D., 2018. Social exclusion: the roles of mobility and bridging social capital in regional Australia. *Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice.*

STOKES, R. 2012. Defining the ideology of public participation: 'democracy', 'devolution', 'deliberation', 'dispute resolution' and a new system for identifying public participation in planning law. *Macquarie Journal of International and Comparative Environmental Law,* 8, 1-20.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION (SDC) 2011. *Fairness in a Car-dependent Society,* London, Sustainable Development Commission.

SVENDSEN, G. L. H. 2006. Studying social capital in situ: A qualitative approach. *Theory and Society,* 35, 39-70.

TAYLOR, M. 2007. Community participation in the real world: Opportunities and pitfalls in new governance spaces. *Urban Studies,* 44, 297-317.

TRITTER, J. Q. & MCCALLUM, A. 2006. The snakes and ladders of user involvement: Moving beyond Arnstein. *Health Policy,* 76, 156-168.

TUCKMAN, B.W. AND JENSEN, M.A.C., 1977. Stages of small-group development revisited. *Group & Organization Studies*, 2(4), 419-427.

URRY, J. 2007. *Mobilities,* Cambridge, Polity.

VEIT-WILSON, J. 1998. *Setting adequacy standards: how governments define minimum incomes,* Bristol, Policy Press.

VIGAR, G., 2017. The four knowledges of transport planning: Enacting a more communicative, trans-disciplinary policy and decision-making. *Transport Policy*, 58, 39-45.

WARD, D. 2001. Stakeholder involvement in transport planning: Participation and power. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal,* 19, 119-130.

WARREN, M.R., 2001. *Dry bones rattling: Community building to revitalize American democracy* (Vol. 117). Princeton University Press. Cited in: SVENDSEN, G. L. H. 2006. Studying social capital in situ: A qualitative approach. *Theory and Society,* 35, 39-70.

WIENER, C.L., 2007. Making teams work in conducting grounded theory. In A. Bryant and K. Charmaz (Eds). *Handbook of grounded theory*. London, Sage. Cited in: CHARMAZ, K. 2014. *Constructing grounded theory,* London, Sage.

WIKIPEDIA, 2015. Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopaedia [Online]. https://en.wikipedia.org [Accessed 25th May 2015]

WILSON, P. A. 1997. Building Social Capital: A Learning Agenda for the Twenty-first Century. *Urban Studies,* 34, 745-760.

WILSON, D., 1999. Exploring the limits of public participation in local government. *Parliamentary Affairs.* 52 (2) 249–259, Cited in: Bickerstaff, K., Tolley, R., Walker, G., 2002. Transport planning and participation: the rhetoric and realities of public involvement. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 10, 61–73.

WILSON, C. AND CHATTERTON, T., 2011. Multiple models to inform climate change policy: a pragmatic response to the 'beyond the ABC' debate. *Environment and Planning A*, 43(12), 2781-2787.

WOOLCOCK, M. 1998. Social capital and economic development: Toward a theoretical synthesis and policy framework. *Theory and Society,* 27, 151-208.

WOOLRYCH, R. AND SIXSMITH, J., 2013. Mobilising community participation and engagement: The perspective of regeneration professionals. *Journal of Urban Regeneration & Renewal*, 6(3), 309-321.

YIN, R.K., 2013. Validity and generalization in future case study evaluations. *Evaluation*, 19(3), 321-332.

APPENDICIES

Appendix A – Case study selection online survey questions (2014)

Sensitising Concept questions	Specific Question(s) - From 2010/11 onwards...	Data
1. What participation is taking place in local transport planning?	1) Have you or your organisation/authority been involved in public participation for local transport planning?	Yes / No / Don't Know (SKIP TO Q8) / Would Rather Not Say (SKIP TO Q8)
	2a) If yes, which types of public participation have you or your organisation/authority been involved in? (select all that apply)	List based on Elvy (2014) adapted from Bickerstaff et al (2002)
	2b) If no, why not? - SKIP TO Q12	Open Question
	3) When did that participation take place (select all that apply)	2010/11, 2011/12, 2012/13, 2013/14
2. Where is this happening?	4) In which location(s) have you or your organisation/authority been involved in public participation for local transport planning?	Region Level / Transport Authority area
3. How is participation being used to reach socially excluded or 'at risk' groups and individuals (as identified by SEU (2003) and SDC (2011))?	5) In the events outlined above, which of the following groups were actively involved in public participation for local transport planning? Please select all that apply (People with disabilities / Children / Young People / Older People / People on Low incomes / Lone Parents / None of the above)	List based on SEU (2003) and SDC (2011) typologies of groups at risk of transport related social exclusion - alphabetical order? (If none of the above is selected - SKIP TO Q12)
4. Who is being invited to participate?	6) Please give more details of who was invited from within those groups to participate? (for instance: organised groups, individual members of the public)	Open Question
5. For what reason are they being invited?	7) Please can you give details of why those outlined above were invited to participate?	Open Question
6. What are the outcomes of current participatory processes?	8) Please can you give details of how those groups and individuals were involved in participatory local transport planning?	Open Question
	9) Please can you give details of what impact the involvement of those groups and individuals had on the outcomes of the local transport planning process?	Open Question

7. How are these outcomes fed back to participants?	10) Was the link between their involvement and those outcomes fed back to those groups and individuals involved?	Yes / No / Don't Know (SKIP TO Q12) / Would Rather Not Say (SKIP TO Q12)
	10a) If yes, please can you give details of how it was fed back to those groups and individuals?	Open Question
	10b) If no, please can you give details of why those outcomes were not fed back to those groups and individuals?	Open Question
8. What impact are current funding and guidance structures (from central government) having on participatory practice?	11) Please can you give details of what impact current funding and guidance structures are having on current participatory practice within your organisation/authority?	Open Question
	12) Do you have any other comments you wish to make about the subject of this questionnaire?	Open Question
	13) Would you be interested in participating in a follow up interview? (Answering yes does not commit you or your organisation and you are free to withdraw at any time without reason)	Yes / No / Don't Know (If Yes please enter your contact details below - these will not be used for any other purpose)
	14) Case study neighbourhoods for further research beyond this study will be selected based on the questionnaire and follow up interviews. Would you like to be involved in this study going forward? (Answering yes does not commit you or your organisation and you are free to withdraw at any time without reason)	Yes / No / Don't Know (If Yes please enter your contact details below - these will not be used for any other purpose)
To differentiate between the different populations being sampled I also need to ask them to identify their representation status in a question?	15) In carrying out this survey, which of the following groups do you consider yourself to represent?	Local authority politician / Local authority officer/practitioner / Transport operator/provider / An organisation representing a group or community / A community transport organisation or association / A lobby group or think tank / A local enterprise partnership (tick all that apply?) - Include 'other' option and a text box

Appendix B – Case study selection interview topic sheet (2014-15)

I am carrying out an ESRC funded PhD study which aims to explore public participation in the transport planning process amongst groups and individuals at risk of Transport Related Social Exclusion. Reports published by the Social Exclusion Unit (2003) and Sustainable Development Commission (2011) identified that the groups and individuals most 'at risk' of suffering from transport related social exclusion include older people, children and young people, ethnic minorities, lone parents, people with disabilities, and people on low incomes. In this current stage of my research I wish to explore current approaches to public participation and transport related social exclusion from the perspective of organisations who are involved in the local transport planning process. It is this topic which I would like to discuss with you today.

[Informed consent using a standard consent form will be sought at this point before the interview begins]

Firstly, can I check that you are comfortable with me recording this interview using an audio recorder?
[If the answer is yes] – Thank you very much
[If the answer is no] – Ok that's fine, please don't be offended if I spend a lot of time making notes rather than looking at you whilst you are answering my questions

I would like to remind you at this point that you do not have to answer any questions that you don't feel comfortable about giving an answer to. You are also free to end this interview at any time without reason.

First question: Perhaps we could start by discussing your experiences of public participation within local transport planning that have involved the 'at risk' groups and individuals that I have just outlined? [Run through the list again if necessary]

Other potential topics for discussion (relating back to my sensitising concepts for this stage):
- Specific context in the participant's case? (spatial, political, social)
- Where participation is/is not taking place?
- How identified groups and individuals are being reached?
- Who is being invited to participate?
- For what reason are they being invited?
- If identified groups are not being reached/invited – why not?
- Link between participation and policy (outcomes)?
- Are outcomes fed back to participants and others?
- Impact of current funding and guidance structures?

Appendix C – Case Studies Selected

Using the sampling strategy and selection criteria outlined in Section 5.5, three case study locations in England were identified: Milton Keynes, Leicester and Leeds.

Leeds is in the North of England to the East of the Pennines and is the largest city in the historic county of Yorkshire (Figure C.1). As of the 2011 census, Leeds had a population of 751,485 of which 81.1% were White British, whilst 32.1% of households had no access to a car (Neighbourhood Statistics, 2016). In 2015, approximately 21.8% of the Local Super Output Areas (LSOAs) in the authority area were amongst the 10% most deprived in the country (Neighbourhood Statistics, 2016). Leeds is governed under a single tier structure known historically as a 'metropolitan borough' (since 1974). Leeds City Council is effectively a unitary authority responsible for all aspects of local government (including highways) in Leeds except passenger transport (LGA, 2011) which was governed until April 2014 by the West Yorkshire Passenger Transport Executive (WYPTE). Leeds City Council is currently controlled by a majority Labour party administration. Since April 2014, Leeds City Council has been a member of the WYCA which incorporated the former WYPTE and has responsibility for transport, regeneration and economic development across Leeds and the four other metropolitan boroughs in West Yorkshire.
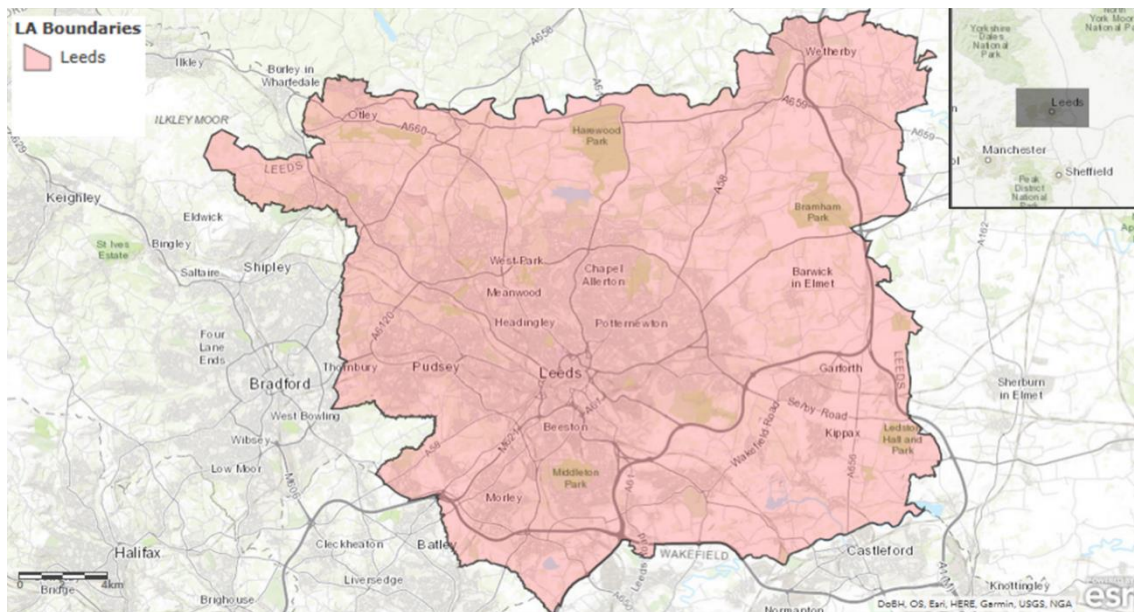
Figure C.1: Leeds City Council boundary map produced using ArcGIS online (Contains ESRI, National Statistics and OS data © Crown copyright and database right 2018)

Given that governance responsibilities in Leeds are split between Leeds City Council and the WYCA, the processes observed in this study were also split, although as transport is a major focus of WYCA, more of them are operated by them:

- City Connect Advisory Group and Stakeholder Meetings (WYCA) – The City Connect scheme is funded by the Department for Transport and aims to increase walking and cycling across West Yorkshire through improvements to infrastructure and the delivery of community activities. Their biggest project to date has been to build a cycle superhighway between Leeds and Bradford. The advisory group meets monthly and is made up of project officers and community representatives with the intention of advising on a range of project issues from infrastructure design to public engagement. The stakeholder meetings occur six times per year and provide opportunities for two-way deliberation between project officers and external stakeholders from the five West Yorkshire boroughs and the City of York (which is also involved in the scheme).
- Cross Gates Area Forum (Leeds City Council) – This area forum meets quarterly and represents the neighbourhood of Cross Gates which is

located to the East of Leeds City Centre. It is chaired by the ward councillors and is mostly made up of residents with some city council officers and local police community support officers in attendance. Whilst this group does not focus solely on transport, there is a 'highways' section in every meeting, and transport issues tend to form one of the main discussion points.

- LDCSC (WYCA) – This is a transport user group where public representatives, councillors, officers, and transport operators get together quarterly to discuss issues around public transport in Leeds. It is chaired by a councillor from Leeds City Council.

Leicester is in the East Midlands of England and is the largest city in the region (Figure C.2). As of the 2011 census, Leicester had a population of 329,839 of which 45.1% were White British and 28.3% were Indian, whilst 36.9% of households had no access to a car (Neighbourhood Statistics, 2016). In 2015, approximately 24% of the Local Super Output Areas (LSOAs) in the authority area were amongst the 10% most deprived in the country (Neighbourhood Statistics, 2016). Leicester is governed under a single tier structure known as a 'unitary authority' (since 1997). Leicester City Council is responsible for all aspects of local government including passenger transport and highways. Since 2011, Leicester has also had a directly elected city mayor (Sir Peter Soulsby) and the City Council is governed by a majority Labour party administration.
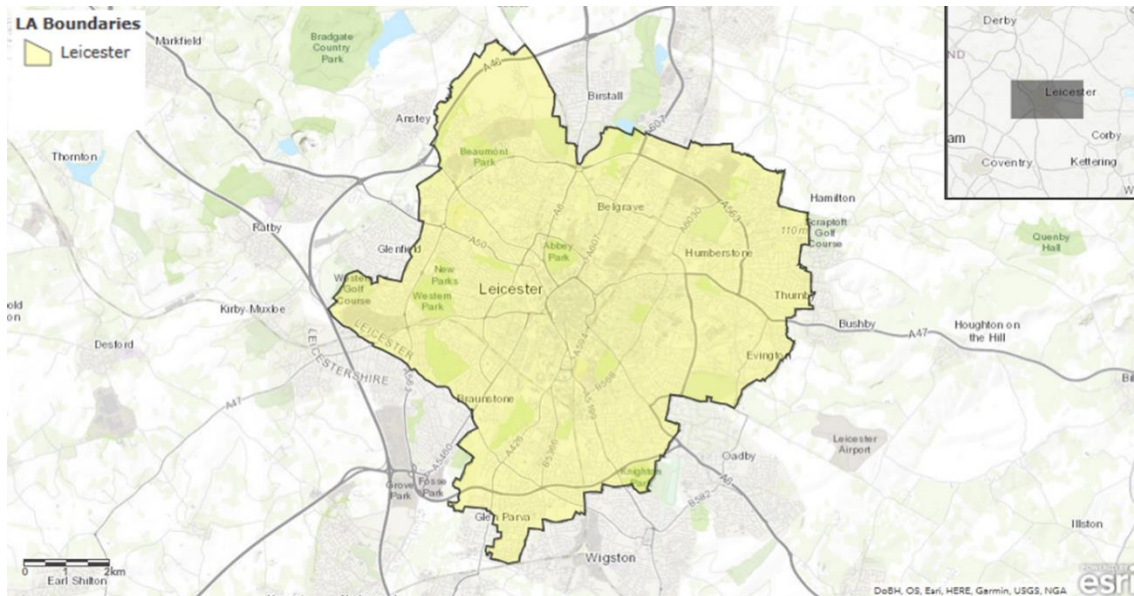
Figure C.2: Leicester City Council boundary map produced using ArcGIS online (Contains ESRI, National Statistics and OS data © Crown copyright and database right 2018)

Two processes in Leicester were being observed in this study, both of which are operated by the city council:

- Bus User Panel – This panel meets quarterly to discuss bus matters in the city, is chaired by the city mayor or his assistant city mayor for energy and sustainability, and includes members of the public, officers, and transport operators
- Cycle City Forum – This forum meets quarterly to discuss cycling matters in the city, is also chaired by the city mayor or his assistant city mayor for energy and sustainability, and includes members of the public, officers and representatives from local and national cycling organisations

Milton Keynes is a town located in the South East of England halfway between London and Birmingham and is England's largest and possibly most successful new town (Figure C.3). As such it has unique transport characteristics including an American style grid network of major roads which dissect individual neighbourhoods and a widespread network of 'redways' for off road walking and cycling. As of the 2011 census, Milton Keynes had a population of 248,821 of which 73.9% were White British, whilst 18.9% of households had no access to a

car (Neighbourhood Statistics, 2016). In 2015, approximately 6% of the Local Super Output Areas (LSOAs) in the authority area were amongst the 10% most deprived in the country (Neighbourhood Statistics, 2016). Like Leicester, Milton Keynes is governed under a single tier structure known as a 'unitary authority' (since 1997). Milton Keynes Council (MKC) is responsible for all aspects of local government including passenger transport and highways. The Council is under 'no overall control' and is politically much more 'marginal' than the more traditionally Labour strongholds of Leeds and Leicester. However, it is currently served by a minority Labour party administration.
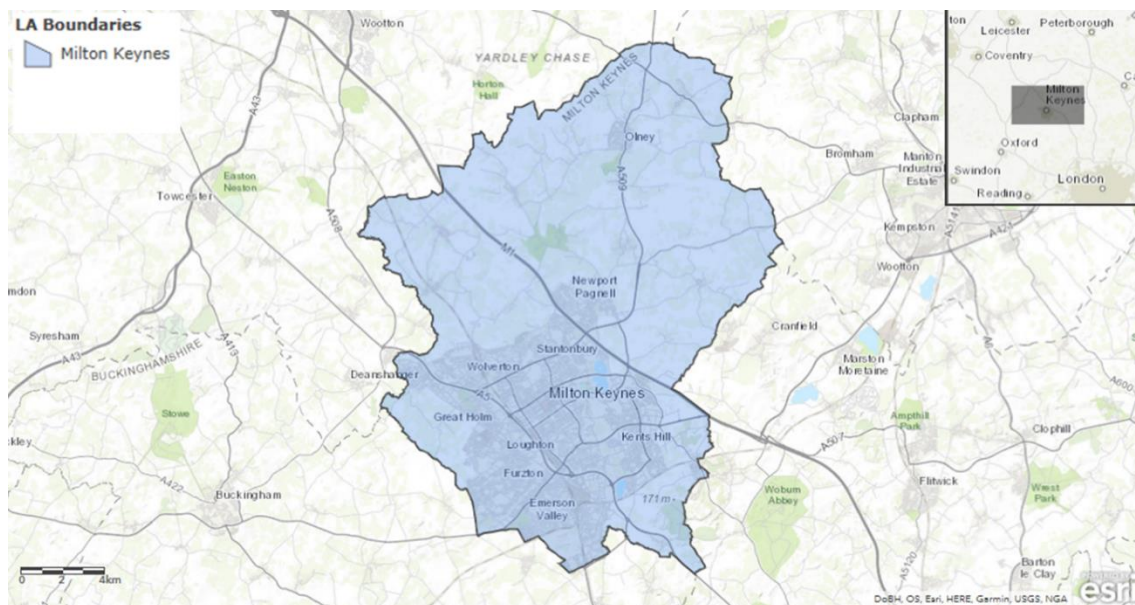
Figure C.3: Milton Keynes Council boundary map produced using ArcGIS online (Contains ESRI, National Statistics and OS data © Crown copyright and database right 2018)

Three processes in Milton Keynes are being observed in this study, which are either funded by the council or are independent:

- Disability Advisory Group (DAG) (MKC) – This group meets quarterly to discuss disability issues in Milton Keynes and is mostly made up of public representatives from the disability community representing a wide range of people with physical, sensory, mental and learning disabilities. The meetings are jointly chaired by a council representative and a public representative whilst administrative support is provided by a charity called

the Milton Keynes Centre for Integrated Living (MKCIL). Council officers and representatives from the police and National Health Service also attend. The meetings are divided into a pre-meeting for service users only and a main meeting where the external officers and groups also attend. Whilst a wide range of issues are covered in this meeting, transport and mobility issues often dominate the business of the meetings.

- Transport Sub Group of DAG (MKC) – This group is made up of a subset of people who attend the DAG and their role is to focus in more detail on the transport matters of importance to disabled people in Milton Keynes. As above the meeting is chaired by a public representative and MKCIL provide administrative support. Typically, a single council officer will be invited to address each meeting's specific topic (such as taxis, public transport or community transport).

- Milton Keynes Bus Users Group (independent) – This group was established by residents in Milton Keynes who were frustrated at bus provisions in the area. The group is operated as a paid-membership organisation independently of MK Council and is governed by a chair and executive who take an active interest. The executive meets every two months and they hold open meetings at least twice per year. Their primary focus has been to work closely with the council and bus operators on initiatives such as a passenger's charter and they have also held detailed discussions with the council over proposed cuts to bus subsidies.

Appendix D – Table of initial codes

Table D.1: Social capital practices based on initial codes and definitions

Initial Code	Practices represented	Basic Definition (Oxford University Press, 2015 unless otherwise stated)	What I typically looked for in each code?
Activism and political engagement	Action	An interest in or inclination to act in order to bring about political or social change	An interest in activism and/or politics
Agonism	Behaviour	Agonism refers to the positive acceptance of conflict and struggle by channelling it positively (Wikipedia, 2015)	Respectful disagreement or friendly (sometimes even jovial) argument
Altruism	Behaviour	Selfless concern for the well-being of others (Oxford University Press, 2018)	Participants concerns for others (particularly different or at-risk demographic groups)
Anecdotes	Action	A short amusing or interesting story about a real incident or person, could be regarded as unreliable or hearsay	Information received from other people which cannot be substantiated
Antagonism	Behaviour	Active hostility or opposition	Disrespectful or angry disagreement
Bypassing	Action	Avoid or circumvent an obstacle or problem (Oxford University Press, 2018)	Taking things outside of the process or using alternative channels of communication
Communication	Action	The successful conveying or sharing of ideas and feelings	Sharing thoughts or opinions as opposed to other forms of communication reflected by other codes
Dimensions: Lack of communication			
Co-operation	Action	The action or process of working together to the same end	Instances where participants worked together or discussed collaboratively

Co-production	Action	An equal and reciprocal relationship between individuals which makes better use of each other's assets and resources to achieve better outcomes and improved efficiency (Wikipedia, 2015)	Differed from 'co-operation' and 'productivity' in that something tangible is being created within the process
Cynicism	Belief	An inclination to question whether something will happen or an inclination to believe that people are motivated by self-interest	Disbelief in others or in their perceptions of local government as a whole
Determination	Belief	Firmness of purpose (Oxford University Press, 2018)	A tendency to carry on pushing forward with their beliefs or sense of purpose
Favours	Action	Do something for someone as an act of kindness	Occasions where someone owed something or when they did something in return
Frustration	Emotion	The feeling of being upset or annoyed because of being unable to change or achieve something	Annoyance at something or someone relating to the process or transport provisions
Gatekeeping	Action	A person or thing that controls access to something	Situations where participants controlled access to processes and people
Dimensions: Dictating, Controlling, Editing, Being Selective, Disciplining, Protecting, Confidentiality, Arbitration, and Pressuring			
Health	Outcome	A person's mental or physical condition (Oxford University Press, 2018)	References to people's health, particularly in the context of people being unable to engage in the processes
Humour	Emotion	A mood or state of mind relating to being amusing or being amused by others (Oxford University Press, 2018)	Situations where people made amusing comments or found something amusing

Influence	Outcome	The power to shape policy or the capacity to influence the character, development, or behaviour of someone or something, or the effect itself	Situations where people had some control or involvement over decisions taken, particularly when relating to transport outcomes
Dimensions: Control and Responsibility (Persuasion, Manipulation, Pressure, Setting an example, Compliance, Voting), Involvement and Input (Advice, Propose, Presence, Consultation, Feedback, Compromise, Coalition, Opposition, Resistance, Request, Appeal, Support, Commitment, Challenging Perceptions, Providing Evidence and Intelligence), Lack of Influence (Lack of Control, Lack of Input, Lack of Access, Lack of Resources, Lack of Commitment, Lack of Feedback, Ineffectiveness, Lack of Continuity, Impracticalities)			
Information	Process	Facts provided or learned about something or someone	Passive sharing of knowledge
Leadership	Action	The action of leading a group of people or the ability to do this	Actions where people took the lead during the process either formally or informally
Dimensions: Chairing, Facilitating, Being Inclusive, Making Decisions, Delegating, Generating Ideas, Educating, Mediating, Persuading			
Learning	Outcome	The acquisition of knowledge or skills through study, experience, or being taught	As opposed to the 'information' code, related to exchanges where people were learning something from each other – more of a multi-way exchange of knowledge
Dimensions: What participants learned about (people and their attitudes and behaviours; transport related knowledge, practice, skills and contexts; processes; actions, outcomes and opportunities), how people learned from each other (auditory, visual, kinaesthetic), how learning led to concerted action (change in attitudes and behaviours; change in rationale; change in approach; change in activity; putting knowledge into practice)			
Negotiation	Action	An attempt to reach agreement or compromise through discussion	Discussions where different options were weighed up or compromise took place
Networking	Action	Interact with others to exchange information and develop professional or social contacts:	Building connections and contacts

Obligation	Action	A duty or commitment to act or take a course of action (Oxford University Press, 2018)	A sense that something (including attendance) was mandatory
Past Experience	Outcome	The knowledge or skill acquired by a period of practical experience of something (such as a past event)	First-hand account of previous events
Physical abilities and impairments	Outcome	The ability or inability to make use of one's physical attributes (Oxford University Press, 2018)	The ability of individuals to utilise their senses and physical attributes
Productivity	Outcome	The state or quality of being productive (i.e. achieving a significant amount or result)	The presence or absence of useful outcomes
Dimensions: Lack of Productivity			
Reciprocation	Action	Respond to (a gesture or action) by making a corresponding one	A positive or proportionate response to a previous action
Relationships	Behaviour	The way in which two or more people or things are connected or the way in which two or more people or groups regard and behave towards each other	Interactions between participants which indicated a connection between them
Dimensions: Poor Relationships			
Representation	Action	The action of speaking or acting on behalf of someone or the state of being so represented	Situations where participants spoke on behalf of a group or community
Dimensions: Membership of interest groups, Representation of an area or community			
Respect	Behaviour	A feeling of deep admiration for someone or something elicited by their abilities, qualities, or achievements	The relative treatment of others based on their admiration (or absence of)
Dimensions: Disrespect			

Serving individual agenda	Behaviour	Having concern for one's own welfare and interests before those of others (Oxford University Press, 2018)	Situations where participants prioritised their own interests above others
Skills	Action	The ability to do something well	The abilities that participants brought to the process
Dimensions: Technical and specialist skills, Interpersonal skills, Literacy and cognitive skills			
Solidarity	Belief	Unity or agreement of feeling or action, especially among individuals with a common interest; mutual support within a group	A sense (or absence) of togetherness or unity, typically relating to their shared interests in sustainable mobility
Time	Outcome	Time as allotted, available, or used, particularly in the context of free time to commit to a process (Oxford University Press, 2018)	The availability of time to engage in PTPP
Transparency	Behaviour	A lack of secrecy or concealment	Where someone responds openly or honestly to a question or gives a frank opinion
Trust	Belief	Firm belief in the reliability, truth, or ability of someone or something	Situations where people demonstrated their level of faith or belief in others
Dimensions: Mistrust			

Appendix E – Analysis of opportunities, uncertainties and constraints for SISM

The programme board will ask CCAG for reports for example on benefits realisation of the super highway (03/11/15 meeting). Interviewee 4 felt that CCAG had clear influence in the decisions being made on city connect (as evidenced by increasingly positive design approaches). This happens because this process can creating a coherent message on behalf of the cycling community that the CC programme board can deal with (Interview 4)

Helps the board to make compromises

Limits to the involvement of CCAG as the power resides with the programme board fundamentally who are subject to their own political pressures

Influence and support City Connect Project Officers, City Connect programme board, scheme designers (e.g. PB) and district cycling officers. Opportunity to steer policy and design approaches based on the experiences of CCAG members of the cycle superhighway and other cycle design schemes.

CCAG could sometimes act as a mediator between competing powers (WYCA versus district councils and their locally elected portfolio holders) They could work with the CC programme board to provide support to district council officers in their engagements with local politicians.

The influence on local council decision making and working with politicians more broadly was beyond the scope of the CCAG because the CC project and marketing staff appeared to want to deal with these relationships personally.

The adjudicational and independent role of the chair in these instances was arguably beneficial but of course gave that person unequal influence.

Participants had different attitudes towards cycling infrastructure improvements (public health and increasing cycling vs. the specifics of junction design). This led to some debates around the competing needs of existing vs new cyclists and any attempt to come to a group decision will inevitably privilege some voices and opinions over others.

CCAG is there to advise project officers and engineers (who anecdotally have reported finding it really useful) and politicians. It tries to set standards and lead to the creation of coherent infrastructure and is a template that other authorities have looked to use themselves

Participants were able to suggest people in neighbourhoods who stand to benefit from the cycle superhighway who can then be used as a positive case study. This was intended to be an opportunity to promote cycling for people who weren't already regular cyclists

Opportunity to flag up issues during construction of superhighway and to debate design options including technical debates around widths and radius curves. The "advisory group set up to also allow different views to be aired" (Interview 4) and participants felt as if they've had input into junction design. The group also had the space to organise extra meetings to consider design issues for specific schemes in detail.

"We learned from Legard Way and Dawsons corner that there was a do nothing option which doesn't work because it literally means doing nothing, but CCAG had to take a pragmatic decision to recommend against doing anything as spending a lot of money could be wasteful and not achieve very much" (Interview 14).

Participants were able to share relevant knowledge and experience from elsewhere with the relevant cycling officers and engineers present. The TfL visit that some participants went on highlighted the importance of having an elected mayor as their leadership is important when making big investment decisions relating to cycling. CCAG participants had a further opportunity to improve cycle design through their involvement in testing sections of Leeds-Liverpool canal and the cycle superhighway.

The passion of key participants supported the benefits of approaches to changing hearts and minds, something the chair described this as "the art of the possible", which is about seeing that transformative change was possible.

Whilst this was a guiding philosophy of the group, it was unclear how they were able to assist in the realisation of it in practice.

They outlined CCAG thoughts on a particular aspect of design or decision making about the city connect project and made recommendations on issues being debated. "funding didn't allow whole Kirkstall to Shipley towpath repairs to be carried out at once, one of our roles is to be asked to make choices, in this case between superhighway and general improvements (interview 4)".

The group saw themselves as critical friends in private and supporters/partners in public. The 27/04/16 meeting identified a need for engineers to consult on high level scheme thoughts but they were concerned about over promising. This was counterbalanced against the desire for participants to look over the more detailed plans and drawings as that is where problems tended to occur (interview 14). Interviewee 14 also felt that they had an input into the canal schemes although in terms of feedback there was a lack of before and after plans and interviewee 4 felt that they battled to [at least] get the strategy right where the design and engineering was poor.

"[without an advisory group] the result of the scheme would be far worse" because participants could advise on where best to make savings (interview 14)

CCAG needed to advise how best to compromise design choices one participant described "a number of junctions where [the engineers] had to take designs out due to lack of money".

"A major issue in the lack of political engagement between City Connect and local politicians. Additionally "any meeting that's meaningful...has to have an understanding of money" (interview 5)

CCAG

- Importance of communication with City Connect Programme Board
- Site visits to phase 2 project locations
- Mediation between competing governing bodies
- Pulling in different directions philosophically
- Criticisms of the restricted accountability of the CCAG process
- Involvement in (and support of) the creation of local champions
- Debate and advice relating to design options for schemes and junctions
- Testing schemes and sharing best practice
- Involvement in placemaking and "the art of the possible"
- Creation of POSITION STATEMENTS
- Role and engagement with WYCA officers, designers and engineers
- Financial and design constraints

Figure E.1: Opportunities and constraints for the promotion and provision of SISM within the CCAG (opportunities are green, uncertainties are blue, and constraints are red)
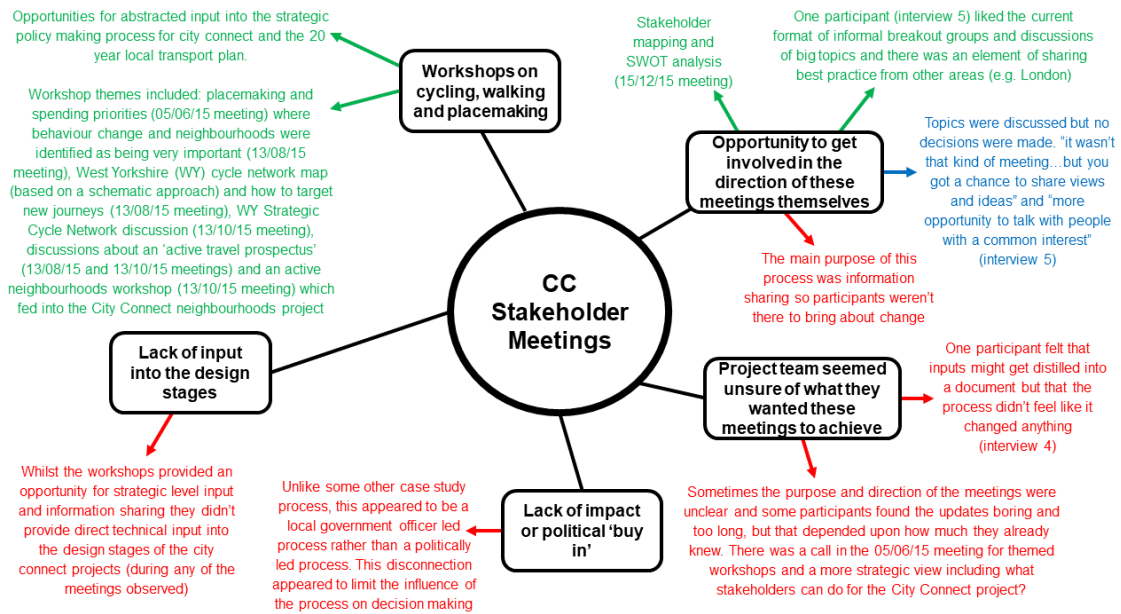
Figure E.2: Opportunities and constraints for the promotion and provision of SISM within the CCSM
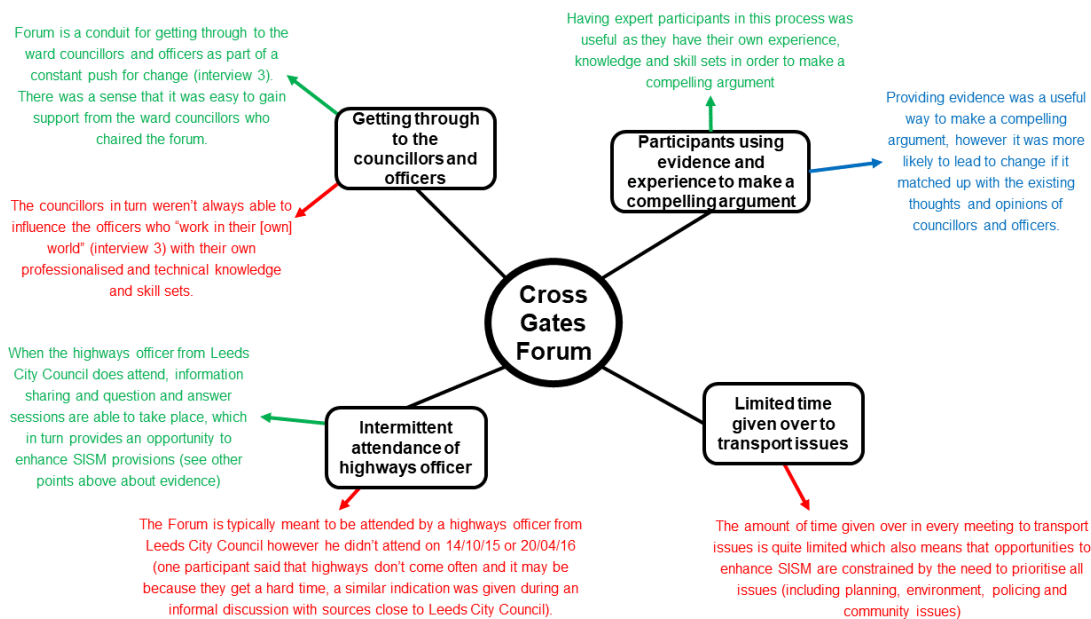
Figure E.3: Opportunities and constraints for the promotion and provision of SISM within the Cross Gates Forum

Interviewee 9 also sits on a road safety committee and works with local schools to promote road safety for children, which demonstrates a wider commitment to enhancing SISM from the perspective of some participants (a pattern also seen in Milton Keynes and Leicester)

Another participant gets involved in transport decision making out of "desperation" (10/10/16 meeting informal discussion) which shows that they see this process as a valid opportunity to get involved transport decision making.

SISM provisions in Leeds are currently perceived as insufficient (10/10/16 meeting informal discussion), a claim that decision makers would also accept given the need for significant investment in public transport in the city in the aftermath of failed tram and NGT scheme proposals.

The group is geographically distributed and a Q&A session is front-loaded into the meeting to ensure that participants are able to highlight transport problems. This provides evidence that WYCA can take action on, which indirectly provides opportunities to enhance SISM in Leeds

Participants were also invited to feed into the big conversation on transport in Leeds that took place in Winter 2016/17 as well as the Leeds Southbank masterplan consultation.

A workshop was held in Summer 2016 with all of the other district committees to discuss where everyone would like the bus service to be in 5-10 years' time. This was an indirect, abstracted and more strategic opportunity to enhance SISM, although some participants felt that this process didn't go far enough in trying to achieve this. Interviewee 8 felt that there was a need for the process to consider transport more strategically.

Passion for sustainable mobility

Sharing intelligence of local transport problems

Visioning of sustainable transport in 5+ years

LDCSC

The separation between this process and decision making

Tendency to ignore walking and cycling issues over a focus on public transport

This was particularly felt in terms of receiving feedback about information that had been brought to previous meetings. Participants are listened to but "sometimes we don't see any results from it" (Interview 9)

Even though this process covers all sustainable transport in Leeds, it tends to ignore walking issues and even to an extent cycling issues, this issue of not considering SISM more globally is one that was also discussed in the Leicester follow up interviews and perhaps creates silos or echo chambers which distance these processes from the wider general public they are meant to represent

Technological advancements

Constraints caused by external factors

One example where technological advancements were seen as a negative was expressed by participants' disappointment at the loss of the printed Metro timetables.

There is a wider issue of technological advancements having the potential to create new opportunities for some people to access SISM but at the same time creating new constraints for others. Participants in this process tended to be keen to remind WYCA that smart cards and contactless cards are a good way to handle public transport fares but that not everyone has access to a bank account. The point here is the tyranny of the majority, it is important not to assume that what works for most people (online timetable information, smart cards) work for everyone, which in turn goes against the principles of SISM.

There were further constraints caused by external factors (e.g. local authority lack of control over commercial bus services) and one participant felt "that WYCA need to stand up to the bus companies more [and that] the Bus Services Act 2017 might create this opportunity" (interview 8). This included discussions around service/provider changes.

Figure E.4: Opportunities and constraints for the promotion and provision of SISM within the LDCSC

Having council members (especially the directly elected mayor) and officers present in the room brings accountability The petition presented by participants at the 08/12/15 meeting to Arriva (on behalf of 32 passengers on the X44) about poor reliability and punctuality was followed through by the chair on the passengers' behalf. This led to a "positive outcome" as the service "improved and Arriva were thanked", albeit with "some [ongoing] niggles" (Interview 2)

The follow up interviewees mentioned that an issues log was adopted in 2016. This provided a more accountable process for the panel in that participants could clearly see when reported problems had been dealt with.

Reflects the fact that some problems are not properly dealt with by the City Council in a timely manner.

Mayor and Assistant Mayor can use evidence gathered as a way of pressuring officers to get repeated and niggling problems off the agenda. One participant was described as having their "head around the issues" and this was valued by decision makers - "so there are travel solutions that come to…both [this and the cycle] forum, [and participants] do a lot of work for [the council] in terms of feasibility and research" (interview 2). There was a sense that participants could helpfully act as the 'eyes and ears' of the council

This included getting advance information and proposed designs (Interview 2), bus shelters being in put in places where users have suggested, real time information has been improved and the new Haymarket bus station is more accessible than it would have been without involvement.

Examples included testing a new app and smart ticketing changes (23/06/15 and 15/09/15 meetings), enabling participants to improve the experiences of transport users more widely

Introduction of an issues log

Using evidence gathered as a way of pressuring officers to resolve persistent minor issues

Group involved as a consultee and getting advance information/ proposed designs

Putting complaints directly to bus operators with an element of accountability (directly elected mayor)

Taking part in trials

Panel involvement in scrutiny committee review into bus lanes

Leicester Bus User Panel

Identifying problems, giving feedback on scheme pilots and launches

Creation of a bus passenger charter

External constraints of bus operations

Role for Bus Users Panel as an important community lobby for bus lanes against non-users who may perceive that they hamper their own journey times. Participants were invited to make individual submissions as well as a joint submission (based on circulated minutes with comments added). Enforcement was identified by the panel as being a particular issue. The chair of the committee subsequently fed back to the bus users panel that their recommendations included: bus lane enforcement, bus pinch points, and making some bus lanes 24 hour in order to be more coherent.

It is much harder to demonstrate causality here than it is to demonstrate a synergy between the thinking of participants and decision makers.

"I think [the panel's comments] have really helped this process" (chair in meeting). The council were putting in two separate cycle tracks "I said well actually you need to integrate the two together because it you don't you're going to have various repercussions …and the mayor said that's a very valid point…and that's what has actually happened, that the two have been done together". (Interview 16).

Real time system constantly under test which potentially undermines confidence as problems with reliability reported in all three meetings observed (June-December 2015). "[The real time information system] doesn't need to be on the agenda…get it running as good as it can and [then] it can come back as an issue…[At the moment because it is constantly being raised as an issue, participants are saying that officers are] not doing their job properly" (Interview 2).

Welford Road Project

Poor reliability of passenger information systems

Reduction of car parking prices in the city centre

Haymarket Bus Station

Poor reliability of passenger information systems was frequently reported as a problem Some participants have carried out audits but council have reported not having the staff to deal with it (Interview 11).

Clear sympathy on the part of the assistant mayor was observed who used their professionalism and humour to not criticise the officers in a public forum.

Reduction of car parking prices in the city centre is not necessarily good for encouraging sustainable travel as it sends mixed messages about encouraging people to switch modes. Concerns were expressed by participants across all three meetings (June-December 2015).

Problems with timetables at departure gates in Haymarket bus station identified by participants (were sorted straight way by the person managing the implementation of the new bus station at the city council). Participants were also asked for feedback on where to locate 15 12-line real time signs in Leicester. The panel provided suggestions and site visits were carried out based on those suggestions (08/12/15 meeting).

It's usefulness was questioned: "I don't know where the bus charter's gone" (interview 2), "a soft launch is the polite way of putting it, …I refused [to] contribute towards it because it was such a waste of time" (interview 11).

Participants were frustrated about the lack of clout that the local authority has over getting bus operators to do things like ensure real time and smart ticketing are working well with operators looking to prioritise own tickets over multi-operator ones (Interview 11).

There was a feeling that council officers needed "to be much more stick and less carrot with bus companies, so that [they've] got a much more robust relationship [because they've] been a bit soft with them in the past" (Interview 2).

A preview visit was held for the panel (and disability access forum) before it opened but was negatively impacted by the behaviour of a small minority (interview 2). There was a delay in putting the clock in and some problems with the disabled toilet specifications (Interview 16).

Panel involvement on accessibility matters, especially those representing disabled/older people's forums, representatives were called in to look at detailed plans, although it is not without its problems in this area (interview 11 and Interview 16) "we put through a whole lot of recommendations before the bus station [had been approved] and subsequently most of it was ignored, but now they're finding a lot of what we said needs to be put into place" (Interview 16)

Figure E.5: Opportunities and constraints for the promotion and provision of SISM within the Leicester Bus User Panel

The city is very keen on promoting "very soft measures" (interview 15) like cycling events and film festivals. This can be seen as both an opportunity and a constraint because whilst it positively promotes the benefits of cycling beyond those who already cycle, it also needs to be backed up by investment in the right places and formats to encourage more timid cyclists.

Cleanliness of some cycle routes reported (e.g. glass and nails). Participants were asked to share photos of poor maintenance so that [the mayor and assistant mayor] can pressure highways.

Participants see it as very important that the process is chaired by someone who has power and influence over decision making in the city. I sensed from both the observations and follow up interviews that this was a major draw for participation.

As with the bus users panel, participants in the cycle city forum have gotten involved in scrutiny committee processes. One participant presented at a committee on behalf of the economic arguments for the city about increasing walking and cycling (which included highlighting international examples and national government calculations on the cost of congestion).

Cycle City Workshops meet separately. They give an opportunity for those individuals who are very political about cycling to be more involved in council cycling strategies/schemes, particularly the Leicester Cycle Campaign who bring a "collegiate attitude to make the city better for cycling." The forum is seen as lobbying whereas the workshop is seen as consultation (Interview 12).

Participants and others are given an opportunity to bid for funding for community projects but also to have a say on allocating the funding. In the 20/01/16 meeting two participants presented a balanceability training proposal for schools. That and a second proposal were funded after support from the forum (the cycling officer but it to a vote).

Forum members encouraged to post good examples of living streets to the project's Facebook page (and those images could then be used to inform future projects)

The city (and mayor) are trying to promote cycling as a way to improve health and air quality but there are political pressures so there is also a demand from the public to make the city attractive to people who want to drive in and park. This also means that the public perceptions of cycling projects need to be managed (Interview 2).

Participants work directly in the community with young and disadvantaged people, provide training, and are involved in running community bike rides and races. This includes offering voluntary assistance or equipment to the council. This has a significant impact on the creation of opportunities for SISM, particularly as participants can negotiate and network in this forum.

Interviewees 12 and 13 talked about the need to also go through formal consultation processes (e.g. leaving comments on a proposal online) as the forum alone wasn't sufficient to gain formal influence on transport decision making (relating to cycling)

Sometimes the council brought new planning applications (of relevance) to the attention of the group, such as a new residential development in the Waterside area which had an impact on the national cycle network (NCN) as plans included putting additional links in, removing a dog leg and altering two NCN junctions.

City Council required feedback from participants to see what works from your perspective.

Welford Road project – Participants were concerned about proper enforcement (when the cycle routes were built).

London Road project – Participants debated design issues and highlighted some potential problems over whether to have 2 cycle ways or a single 2 way cycleway along part of the route.

Issues with the design of bike lanes in the city, concerns from users so rationale (from council perspective) needs to be explained. Participants provide constructive feedback on highway design schemes, although within the forum there are difficulties with competing agendas.

Opportunities included: comments on proposals, evidence of input into technical aspects (e.g. widths and radii) (interview 2), a debate about design standards (03/06/15 meetings), some evidence of input into the pre-design process on at least a couple of occasions (Interview 15). "some of us feel that you know cycling along a busy road isn't pleasant even if it's safe and you're better off establishing off road routes or smaller minor roads between points…but there are a lot of other people who say no that's the opposite, you want to have decent cycle lanes down the arterial routes…to encourage commuters and things like that" (Interview 12). "I like to see what's happening, what's kind of like the current thinking on cycling in Leicester" (Interview 12). These comments were also supported by Interview 13.

Participants reported various issues and problems including: maintenance that is reliant on volunteers, obstructions for accessible riders (and other blockages), bike theft, a need to improve cycle facilities at council sites away from the city centre, the suspension of cycleway during roadworks (A50), a new trail was built by volunteers but had to be rerouted for going 1 metre out of boundary after a complaint by a member of the public, bylaws preventing cycling in parks, problems with overgrowing vegetation.. Interviewee 13 talked about the Welford Road and Newark Street Cycle tracks and the fact that [the council] left the street lights in the middle, a mistake that allegedly cost £10,000 to remove afterwards.

Central node: Leicester Cycle City Forum

Branch nodes:
- Providing evidence of poor maintenance
- Promoting 'soft' measures
- Involvement of directly elected mayor
- Scrutiny committee involvement
- Cycle City Workshops
- £300 bike challenge
- Places for people design project
- Political pressures from non cyclists
- Involvement in community events and projects
- Forum doesn't substitute formal consultation
- Comments on proposals, technical specifications, planning applications and design standards
- Design and Enforcement concerns
- Evidence of cycling issues and problems

Figure E.6: Opportunities and constraints for the promotion and provision of SISM within the Leicester Cycle City Forum

MK BUG worked on this and the Council and bus companies more or less unanimously supported this. Involved 18 months of working with passengers, operators and the council to get agreements on what everyone can expect from each other – "that couldn't have happened without a bus users group to bring people together" (Interview 7). One bus company is using it in their driver training (29/01/16 meeting).

It wasn't clear how this would meaningfully enhance bus services. It tackles the professionalism of service providers but without sanctions for those who do not try to achieve its aims.

Participants have worked on the Centre MK transport strategy and have been involved in MK Council consultations (e.g. Parking and transport consultation 2015). MK Council also give MK BUG updates about smart ticketing, smart signage and smart traffic signals (an open meeting in June 2016 also included learning how real time information and smart ticketing works and provided updates on funding for electric buses.

4 key members of the MKBUG committee form a technical working group that negotiates with bus operators (including the chair and the secretary and two other policy experts)

MKBUG members volunteer to guide people at Bletchley station who are travelling to MK Dons matches

"the trouble with Milton Keynes Council is because of the government cuts to local authorities they had to make £30 million worth of cuts they laid off over 400 members of staff, they've also had some leave and within highways and transport they've taken on a lot of interim senior staff and therefore they don't know the ropes" (Interview 10)

Move to take buses out of estates by some councillors (interview 10). This appears to be a party political issue and interviewee 10 identified the conservatives as being particularly in favour. This partly relates to objections from residents (who don't use the buses).

Difficulty in getting councillors to understand the issues when "only two councillors in Milton Keynes [don't] go to local council meetings by car" (Interview 10)

Direct relationships with key decision makers are key for discussing ideas for changes to timetables or improvements to reliability. MK BUG has been working with those people for years and this gives the group credibility (Interview 7). Their relationship with Arriva is much stronger than the smaller bus companies who "just don't want to know, won't turn up to our meetings. They're invited but they're not interested" (Interview 10). Although "Arriva don't always run their proposed changes past the bus users group first but mostly they will sit and discuss it with us, and we come up with ideas" (Interview 10). MK BUG will highlight inconsistencies between timetables and information at bus stops and will also get involved in "discussions [with the council] about new estates and where [bus infrastructure] should be" (Interview 10). Participants have also provided suggestions for merging routes to MK council that went to tender. "there's a bus route that links the northern towns to the villages…its [too infrequent to be] user friendly…and there's another service [where] the buses that operate that sit from 9 o'clock till 3 o'clock doing nothing…So [the proposal was]…to see if they could make the same resource in terms of number of buses…[form] an hourly sort of service…and the council's taken it on board and they've invited tenders now… I'm hoping that with the same amount of money, you can get a better service and hopefully we'll get more people using it" (Interview 7).

Although their influence on commercial services were "nebulous…we sometimes say to Arriva oh why don't you do this, that and the other and you know they might do it a year later, but you can't say directly that was because of us" but "it might have been that we put the idea into their head." (Interview 7).

MK BUG collect evidence as they see it as being important, for instance they carried out a survey on bus shelters (informal discussion), have hi-vis vests and can monitor for the benefit of the council and drivers. MK Council has also asked MK BUG for help in the past. Residents and other members of the group tend to pass on comments directly to the chair who will then identify the best person on the committee with appropriate experience to deal with the issue (Interview 10)

MK BUG also takes an interest in broader infrastructure issues such as a lack of schools (and the impact on transport): "you build a school you have to plan [for transport and in the planning application] they give the catchment areas [of the] school but that's not always done. Sometimes they…contact the bus users group or…[we are] privately fed by council officers who say, don't say it's come from [us] but there's this issue can you try and sort it." (Interview 10)

The cuts to bus subsidies are a constraint for MK BUG specifically because their influence is limited, however there was also a significant opportunity for MK BUG to influence the councils thinking on how to apply subsidies. MK BUG challenged the loading figures being given by the bus companies (only Arriva were giving accurate loading figures and the social elements also needed to be considered (informal discussion). Participants have attended briefings with council leader on this. For example the Cabinet portfolio holder wanted to sit down with MK BUG members and look at subsidy on a route by route basis (November 2015 meeting). The MK BUG committee were then able to identify where cuts could be made based on subsidy information given to them by MK Council. However, there was also evidence that the council officers were able to put their foot down sometimes: " I got a 'short' reply from [them] effectively saying 'sod off'" (29/01/16 meeting).

The infrastructure working group drew up a list in 2014 of pinch points where buses got held up: "bus punctuality was 'the' biggest complaint that people had in Milton Keynes…to be fair the bus operators can do nothing…because they're going to hit random length queues… so [there might be] a 500m queue and [within 10 minutes] it might dissipate…and then [another] 10 minutes later it's there again…just because of the local traffic conditions." (Interview 7). It seems to be a particular problem when buses cross over the main east-west routes in MK. However nothing was done by the council with the pinch point data. Interviewee 7 appears to suggest the problem at that time was with an officer who failed to act but has now moved on although the lack of staff and money is also a problem.

MK BUG

- Milton Keynes Bus Charter
- Working with MK council
- Technical Working Group
- Participant volunteering
- Highways and transport departments at MK Council not talking to each other
- Public and political opposition to buses
- Wasted efforts
- Cuts to bus subsidies
- Interest in broader infrastructure issues
- Collecting evidence and carrying out surveys
- Negotiations with bus companies and council on bus routes

Figure E.7: Opportunities and constraints for the promotion and provision of SISM within MK BUG

This created an opportunity to enhance SISM provision in MK using an evidence based approach to bring about change. The role of MK CIL was critical in terms of facilitating the collation of this evidence and providing a clear voice to MK Council and other providers on MK DAGs behalf.

MK CIL were a contractor of MK Council who appeared to see them as a service provider and so were not there to fight against the council on these issues. However, MK CIL saw themselves as the voice of people with disabilities in MK, so there was a clear conflict here (with a knock on effect on relationships)

Opportunities to enhance community transport provision using evidence came from the Transport Sub Group who agreed to set up a mystery shopper.

Research and evidence gathering with the assistance of MK CIL

Problems with Non-emergency patient transport in Milton Keynes

MK DAG had an opportunity to resolve the issues here through productive dialog with the service provider. Anecdotal evidence included a blind couple having to wait 4 hours to be picked up (18/06/15 meeting). The service provider attended the 17/09/15 meeting to discuss difficulties which included problems with reliability and the contact centre not being able to contact patients when they are running late. Outcomes from this discussion included the service provider agreeing to share service information with MK DAG and to liaise with MK community transport to see how many people use that instead of this service.

Employment Support Allowance (and concerns over Universal Credit coming in the future) and other welfare pressures reduced the means to travel as both taxis and community transport were relatively costly.

Problems with community transport

MK DAG

Wider issues beyond transport provisions that constrained the mobility of people with disabilities

Lack of attendance from key council officers and members, this constrained how much MK DAG could directly enhance opportunities for SISM.

The apparently poor relationship between MKDAG and MK Council's community transport team constrains opportunities for SISM because there was no direct dialog with the service provider during the period of this study. Also there were problems with the service more generally because participants in MK DAG reported that it was very difficult to book even though anecdotally they would often see it running empty. This could be indicative of inefficient operations but may also have been necessary because of the itinerary of that vehicle. However the lack of dialog meant that MK Council were unable to explain the reasons for the differences between perception and the reality of operations as seen from the provider.

Liaison with Thames Valley Police (especially around hate crime) is a recurring issue in the group, the police call for community champions and participants have identified a need for a non-emergency number that is inclusive. This constrained how comfortable people felt travelling.

MK DAG were unable to get the people they needed to speak to from highways to attend (responsible for maintenance). Also there was a sense that the perceptions of participants own lived experiences of using redways didn't match the perceived operational realities of MK Council. Highways are responsible for lighting and maintenance but budgets are tight which means that MK Council are unable to meet the needs of participants (and other people with disabilities). Some participants questioned whether or not this was discriminatory under current legislation.

Redways and Access

Access was seen as a whole DAG issue so they were invited to this group rather than the transport sub group (initially they were going to attend the sub group). From spending time with this group and it's participants, I would argue that this was because it was seen as an issue that effects everyone in that most journeys involve some element of non-vehicle based travel (whereas not everyone in DAG uses buses, taxis and community transport and technical and operational concerns for these modes were the focus of the transport sub group).

Walking and cycling officers (with a focus on MK's redways) attended the 26/11/15 meeting to "listen to problems and issues". These included: problems with landscaping (overgrown vegetation) and lighting, fear of crime, problems of cycling on pavements that aren't redways, a call for enforcement rather than bollards, problems with broken pavements and other hazards, vanishing redways (e.g. Shenley Church Lane), and finally a need for more lighting on new estates, particularly on underpasses. The officers advised that the national cycle route is being moved (by Sustrans), and that if participants register a complaint with MK Council it raises the profile of these issues.

Figure E.8: Opportunities and constraints for the promotion and provision of SISM within MK DAG

Previous comments shared on the MK CIL facebook page appears to suggest that some residents have suffered from discrimination with "one user expected to fold up their own wheelchair" (30/07/15 meeting). There was also anecdotal evidence at the 24/09/15 meeting about a friend whose wheelchair was too heavy and the taxi driver has reportedly told the user that she would be liable if they injured themselves. Further anecdotal evidence was provided at the 28/01/16 meeting about poor availability, abuse, not taking guide dogs, charging extra and taxi drivers not folding wheelchairs.

Transport sub group agreed to film or take pictures of these experiences (again an evidence based approach) which created an opportunity to enhance the accessibility of buses in MK, however it was not apparent from with the observations or follow up interviews that these were being realised in practice.

Efforts to progress this are constrained because community transport seen as more of a priority by this group "although if buses were better we'd have fewer issues" (280116 meeting). I'm not sure that many participants in DAG use buses so sometimes it feels as if they are overlooked (although they were a keen interest for at least one participant).

MK DAG Transport Sub Group and MK CIL were asked by the taxi licensing officer at MK Council to help write a guide for people with a variety of mobility impairments who want to use taxis. There was evidence that this process was still ongoing as of the 28/01/16 and 05/05/16 meeting. Also they cooperated with the taxi officer on delivering training to new licensees with a focus on awareness and understanding and MK CIL sent an example of the mystery shopper feedback they could provide (28/01/16 meeting). MK CIL have also offered to collate complaints on the groups behalf about taxis. The Taxi officer also worked on reviewing the taxi licensing policy with members of this group and identified a lack of policy on sensory impairments (24/09/15 meeting) and consulted the group on rear loading vehicles. The taxi officer has also rearranged induction to fit in MK DAG and MK CIL.

"we could make people attend disability awareness training if complaints are made against them" (MK Council officer at 05/05/16 meeting)

MK is trialling these although a specific role for MK DAG is unclear. Although at least one DAG member had attended consultation events. Also the benefits (i.e. inclusivity and accessibility) for participants is yet to be outlined. "[one DAG member] cannot wait to get in a driverless pod, they're so excited by it they can't wait, [another DAG member] is terrified they're going to get run over" (interview 6). In the future DAG needs to be able to cater for competing perspectives on these issues

Accessibility of Bus services

Taxi guidelines and policy in MK

MK DAG Transport Sub Group

Driverless pods

Historical disappointment

Community transport

Participants often reported MK being advertised as a city for disabled people when it was first built and a lot of the people in this sub group as well as in MK DAG as a whole moved in when it was still being built. This created a sense amongst those participants that things hadn't quite turned out as promised, which in turn explained some of the frustration that participants within the group aimed at MK Council.

Playing an active role in the new policy and training for taxi licenses had arguably been constrained by three factors: Previous actions of MK Council in not involving them in policy making (the previous policy was adopted whilst the officer was on holiday when it was only aspirational), taxis being subject to broader national regulations which limits the flexibility of the taxi officer (MK already have some of the more stringent licensing in the region), and the poor reputation of taxis and taxi licensing as a result of 'taxi-gate'.

Group call for anecdotal evidence to be put into writing with 3 or 4 pieces of feedback by 28/01/16 meeting. A Community transport mystery shopper is also set up because people are scared to speak out and then get left out [refused support]. This demonstrates unequal power relationships between service users and providers that permeates the DAG processes as a whole (i.e. a sense of vulnerability in that they have a lot to lose). Anonymous feedback through MK CIL is one way of resolving this.

DAG Transport Sub Group arrange get a list of users (through FOI request) which seems unlikely or the group will get the council to send survey out on their behalf.

Community transport officer has reportedly ignored approaches from MK DAG and MK CIL which constrains opportunities for improvements as a result of this process or the evidence provided by/to it. The group identified a need to write to the chief executive of MK Council to address the poor working relationship. "[MK Council] are not listening to the feedback that they're getting [about community transport] and in fact they've just announced that they're going to be reducing the services even further, I think if [MK DAG] were more motivated, more forthright about the issues, that [we] could have forced the council to review that again" (Interview 6). Anecdotal evidence contradicts council statements on community transport vehicles running empty, we would like to show them our evidence (05/05/16 meeting).

Figure E.9: Opportunities and constraints for the promotion and provision of SISM within the MK DAG Transport Sub-Group