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by Kwame Lowe

Social Infrastructure for the 21st Century

THE CASES OF EVERY ONE EVERY DAY AND THE IDEA STORES

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Being a dissertation submitted to the faculty of The Built Environment as part of the requirements for the award of the MSc Urban Design and City Planning at University College London: I declare that this dissertation is entirely my own work and that ideas, data and images, as well as direct quotations, drawn from elsewhere are identified and referenced.

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Abstract

Over the course of the last 30 years, changes in governance trends have led to a growing opportunity for citizen participation in decision-making at the level of local government. The 2011 Localism Act enshrined this in planning policy. However, the voluntary uptake of participatory planning mechanisms has been mixed at best. Areas with wealthier communities with more resources have been more likely to see these opportunities realised in a way they are not in areas with less affluent communities.

UK planning policy does not specify the means by which local authorities should engage their communities but social infrastructure is implicated as a possible way to do this. This dissertation will therefore explore the potential contribution social infrastructure could make to empowering communities to play a more active role in the planning system. Community empowerment will be defined by using the concept of social capital and Sen's capabilities approach.

There has been considerable interest in libraries and participatory culture spaces since the start of the 21st century for their ability to generate social capital and broaden communities' capabilities. This dissertation will look at two examples from East London. The first being Every One Every Day, the UK's biggest participation scheme, in Barking & Dagenham and the second being the Idea Stores, a chain of modernised libraries, in Tower Hamlets. These examples will be used to make the case for a new type of social infrastructure that can empower communities and contribute to achieving participatory planning in line with the evolution of governance and recommendations in current planning policy.

The findings from this study suggest that participatory culture spaces and libraries sit among wider networks of social infrastructure that, when combined, facilitate the social life and political power of communities across the UK to a greater or lesser degree.

Introduction

In the UK, over recent decades, there has been a decline in the provision of social infrastructure and a decline in the sense of community (Participatory City Foundation, 2018).[1] This suggests the importance of social infrastructure. In 2011, 58% of British people over 16 reported they felt connected to other people in the area where they lived. This was lower than the average of 67% in other EU countries (ONS, 2017). This can be linked to the absence of social infrastructure in the form of community facilities like local schools, corner shops and community centres, which have been linked with higher levels of trust in a neighbourhood (Wilson and Leach, 2011). The scale of the loss of social infrastructure in the UK is significant, as shown by the closure of 405 libraries between 2005 and 2012, making it an illustrative context to study (ONS, 2015).

We can understand more about the provision of social infrastructure in the UK by looking at the policy context. The importance of community, the infrastructure to support it and participation are all acknowledged in current UK planning policy but the link between them is seldom explained. In principle, it is left to local authorities to make their local plans without clear guidance, resulting in differing approaches to their communities. While a diversity of approaches may be suitable, it also means planning can be more or less based on communities' wants and needs depending on if they can make their voices heard. If communities do not have the capacity to do this then local authorities must find innovative ways to engage them. This could explain some of the limitations of the 2011 Localism Act, which has led to inconsistent attempts at neighbourhood planning for example. These attempts have mostly occurred in wealthier areas where communities already have the necessary resources to take responsibility for formulating neighbourhood level plans (Willis, 2019). To illustrate the point in the UK's largest city, 65% of people in London think it is important to be able to influence local decisions while only about 35% believe they can (Willis, 2019). This is a substantial discrepancy.

It is important to take a closer look at the current UK planning policy context, which has emerged in the last few years. The latest versions of the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) and London Plan were both finalised in 2019. There has been a shift in language from simple development and growth to *sustainable* development and *good* growth to reflect an

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[1] Community is defined simply as a group of people living in the same place.

appreciation of the need for a sensitivity to the competing interests of diverse interests. However, there is still an absence of prescriptive advice for local authorities when it comes to engaging communities. The NPPF, which contains the national statutory planning priorities for England, makes references to the social aspects of sustainable development and community facilities. There is also a chapter on decision-making. In this chapter, it is stated that 'early engagement has significant potential to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the planning application system for all parties' (MHCLG, 2019: 13). Similarly, the 2019 (Intend to Publish) London Plan, produced in accordance with the NPPF, includes the good growth objective to build 'strong and inclusive communities'. Here the claim is made that 'early engagement with local people leads to better planning proposals' as it makes use of the 'knowledge and experience of local people' (Mayor of London, 2019: 14). There is also a chapter on social infrastructure where it states 'social infrastructure plays an important role in developing strong and inclusive communities' (ibid. 240). This alludes to the good growth objective previously mentioned but does not elaborate on how they relate in practice. These recommendations for participatory planning are piecemeal and do not make explicit reference to the processes that facilitate or hinder them. This dissertation will therefore explore the potential of designing social infrastructure for community empowerment in the pursuit of participatory planning.

Since the beginning of the 21st century, a new type of social infrastructure has emerged that is based around participatory culture and provides space for people to be involved in common denominator activities. Common denominator activities are defined as 'activities capable of appealing to any and all residents in neighbourhoods' that 'enabl[e] people to co-produce something tangible as a group of equal peers'. Examples of these activities are cooking, learning, making and repairing (Participatory City Foundation, 2018: 20, 64). This is different from traditional participation models 'which rely on high levels of dedication from a fewer number of people, a static population or high levels of social confidence straight away'. This 'Participation Ecosystem' can be scaled upwards from the level of a single activity to the fabric of the community in which planning decisions are made (Participatory Foundation, 2018: 44). Due to the fact common denominator activities are varied, the spaces used for them follow no particular form.

Libraries are a more traditional form of social infrastructure and thus an interesting point of comparison to newer participatory culture spaces. Especially as their role in British society was

somewhat reconsidered with the UK government's review of public libraries at the start of the 21st century. This review stated that they should become 'centres of wider community activity' (DCMS, 2010: 2). The extent to which this has happened or is even possible is contested but their established position in the imagination of British community life remains. This dissertation will explore the potential of libraries and participatory culture spaces for community empowerment through the examples of Every One Every Day, the UK's biggest participation scheme run by the Participatory City Foundation, in Barking & Dagenham and the Idea Stores, a chain of modernised libraries, in Tower Hamlets.

This dissertation will review the literature on social infrastructure, its potential relationship to Lefebvre's Right to the City, the role of social capital and the evolution of governance. It will then propose a theoretical framework for exploring the possible importance of social infrastructure to community empowerment in the 21st century. This will be tested against data from reports by the Participatory City Foundation and Tower Hamlets and local newspaper coverage on Every One Every Day and the Idea Stores. It responds to Tonkiss' definition of urban design as 'social practices and processes that shape spatial forms, relationships and outcomes in intentional and less intended ways' (2013: 5). Such a view of urban design challenges urban designers to consider social processes as well as the spatial interventions the discipline is typically concerned with. One implication is that if the discipline focuses solely on spatial interventions, its impact will be limited.

Literature Review

Social Infrastructure

We should first define infrastructure. It can be defined generally as 'the background structures and systems that allow social, economic, cultural, and political life to happen. With infrastructure, the central dynamic is around the facilitation of activity' (Latham and Layton 2019: 3). We can start to build a definition of social infrastructure from this. Klinenberg popularised the definition of social infrastructure as 'an established physical space where people can assemble' (2018: 17). This definition builds on a particularly American literature on social infrastructure with its roots in Oldenberg's third places, defined as the 'great variety of public places that host the regular, voluntary, informal, and happily anticipated gatherings of individuals beyond the realms of home and work' (1989: 16). This definition is useful as it

defines social infrastructure by its function (away from home or work) rather than its form, making it relevant to contemporary cases. In the UK context, the 2019 (Intend to Publish) London Plan refers to social infrastructure as a necessary supplement to housing 'that supports the day-to-day lives of Londoners' (Mayor of London, 2019: 30). This definition is possibly too broad, especially in the context of a policy document, making it less effective for determining actions that ensure the provision of public space for social life. Overall, Oldenberg's definition is most useful for this dissertation as it defines social infrastructure by how it performs.

Social infrastructure is used to create and maintain relationships between people, which have the potential to become networks, giving social infrastructure much of its significance in contemporary society. Putnam made the case for the national significance of social infrastructure in the USA by claiming its specific importance to the development of informal social networks (2000). Similarly, Easterling alludes to social infrastructure as a type of infrastructure that extends networks (2014). Such an understanding of social infrastructure is given theoretical salience by Castells' understanding of contemporary society as a network society in which 'inclusion/exclusion in networks, and the architecture of relationships between networks, enacted by light-speed-operating information technologies, configure dominant processes and functions in our societies' (1996: 501). This perspective also suggests the importance of social infrastructure as a *low*-speed-operating information technology. A speed it is easy to forget we must still operate at in the 21st century. These references to network formation and maintenance make the quiet but important role of social infrastructure in cities clear. These networks are made up of the relationships between people, which require infrastructure. Such a conception of social infrastructure is supportive of a view of urban design that recognises the intersection between spatial arrangements and social processes.

Social Infrastructure and the Right to the City

There are forms of social infrastructure that are consciously designed so that they incorporate elements that develop networks. This alludes to the definition of urban design used in the introduction – urban design as 'social practices and processes that shape spatial forms, relationships and outcomes in intentional and less intended ways' (Tonkiss, 2013: 5). Some of these examples of social infrastructure have their roots in Lefebvre's much vaunted concept of the Right to the City. Lefebvre conceived of the Right to the City as 'real and active

participation' and *autogestion* in the reclamation of urban space (1996: 145).[2] It is through this and a 'style of thinking turned toward the possible in all areas', he argued, that we can reimagine cities and make them places that truly satisfy the desires of all their inhabitants (2009: 288). As with the 2011 Localism Act, it is possible that such participation and self-management might require investing in the resources that less affluent communities need to wield power more effectively. Social infrastructure could play an important role for these ends as it can act as an arena for people to come together, learn and contribute to decision-making if they are designed with favourable social processes (as well as spatial arrangements) in mind.

We should be attentive to a wider urban context when studying examples of social infrastructure as its relationship to other parts of cities can change the way people experience it. To this end, it is useful to examine Harvey's development of Lefebvre's Right to the City as he states 'we individually and collectively make the city through our daily actions and our political, intellectual and economic engagements. But, in return, the city makes us' (2003: 939). This distinction between the individual, the collective (or the community) and the city recognises that the city is mediated at both the level of the individual and the community in a multidirectional fashion. The idea of capital, and particularly social capital, becomes highly relevant in this case. Furthermore, an appreciation of the unequal distribution of different types of capital become significant.

This dissertation will study libraries and participatory culture spaces because of the interest in their potential to create social capital and networks. This interest has peaked since the advent of the 21st century, partly because of the evolution of governance, which we will explore later. Some participatory culture spaces are explicitly linked back to Lefebvre's thinking about cities while this is less often the case with libraries (Kranich, 2001; Participatory City Foundation, 2018: 98; Putnam, 2000). This dissertation aims to further the research on their respective effectiveness for facilitating social capital and therefore their abilities to help achieve the Right to the City.

The Role of Social Capital

An appreciation of social capital as a particular type of capital is important for considering the role of social infrastructure in cities. Bourdieu defined capital as a resource or asset that a social

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[2] This translates most closely as the right to self-management.

actor could use to further their goals (1986). More specifically, Bourdieu defined social capital as 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (2003: 249). This contrasts to the other pre-eminent, less instrumental, definition of social capital by Putnam as 'connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them' (2000: 19). Coleman's definition sides more with Putnam's, stating 'it is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors –whether persons or corporate actors– within the structure' (1988: 98). These definitions all make the relational nature of social capital clear. However, Coleman's definition is particularly useful in that it refers to the opportunities and constraints social capital simultaneously confers to individuals and groups of people in the pursuit of social objectives.

It is helpful to expand on the nature of the relationality between different social actors in order to classify different types of social capital. This is of great importance to understanding and designing social infrastructure as its capacities for empowerment depend on the precise relationships between people, groups and institutions that it facilitates. A significant distinction is made between inclusionary *bridging* social capital between social actors from different social groups and exclusionary *bonding* social capital between social actors of the same social group (Putnam, 2004; Poortinga, 2012). Bridging social capital is conceptualised as having more potential to empower large numbers of people as the relations it creates are horizontal and can therefore be broad-based. *Linking* social capital is then identified as a vertical link to those in power (Woolcock, 1998). This is also empowering if the links made beforehand are between equals representing a wide number of interests. *Bracing* social capital, identified by Rydin and Holman, is 'concerned with strengthen[ing] links across and between scales and sectors, but only operat[ing] within a limited set of actors. It provides a kind of social scaffolding' (2004: 123). It is less likely that social infrastructure will facilitate this type of social capital due to its public nature but it is still important to consider bracing social capital as a potential consequence of the design of social infrastructure. Another type of social capital, *identifying*, has been proposed by Lollo. This type of social capital has less relevance to social infrastructure as it focuses on the concentration of social contacts around an individual in a group that propels them to a leadership position (2012). We see that there are several ways to categorise social capital: bridging, bonding, linking, bracing and identifying, which all describe

different kinds of relationships with different implications for the design of successful social infrastructure.

It is important to consider the dynamics of social capital in relation to the state as well as between citizens. Rydin & Holman make the case that 'social capital is not really a tool at all but rather a variety of strategies, each of which needs to be tailored to the specific policy problem at hand and the specific local context' (2004: 131). This suggests that the different types of social capital outlined above are all useful depending on the circumstance, but their effectiveness should be considered against political needs. Putnam's conception of social capital has been criticised for lacking this dimension. By ignoring the role of the state in facilitating social capital, we overlook an important reason why different social actors have differing abilities to convert their social capital into tangible results (DeFilippis, 2001; Szreter, 2002; Welzel et al., 2005). DeFilipiss tries to address this by acknowledging the limitations of social capital without other forms of shared capital. He states the potential power social capital has requires creating 'social networks that allow individuals to realize capital, while simultaneously allowing these networks to realize the power needed to attract and control that capital (for the benefit of those in the networks)' (2001: 799). An implication of this is that routes for transforming social capital into tangible results ought to be intentionally designed into social infrastructure along with a consideration of its relationship to systemic power. There is space here for Sen's capabilities approach, which highlights the deprivation of the opportunity to exercise freedom, rather than simple economic deprivation, as the definition of disadvantage. Equally, a lack of social capital is not the sole cause of disadvantage. Nevertheless, it is an important contributing one. Social capital's importance to the capabilities approach is underscored as Sen makes a distinction between process freedoms (means) and opportunity freedoms (ends) (1999: 17). Process freedoms require the democratic participation of citizens to select which of a number of competing freedoms take priority, implicating the need for social capital among all members of society.

The distribution of social infrastructure can be seen as a matter of social justice if we consider its potential to generate social capital. This is evidenced by the research on social capital that shows it increases people's sense of community and makes them more resilient in the face of crises like climate change (Albanesi, C. et al. 2007; Smith, J.W.; Anderson, D; Moore, R. 2012). At the level of governance, social capital has been shown to increase people's political engagement, which improves the performance of governance structures (Menahem, Gideon,

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Itzhak Haim, 2011; Poortinga, 2012; Teney and Hangquinet, 2012; Zhang, Anderson and Zhan, 2011). As outlined by Harvey and supported by research, the multidirectional effect of social capital from the bottom up and top down would seem to aid the more equal realisation of participatory planning and democratic outcomes for communities.

It is useful to note that a recognition of the importance of social capital to governance has been prominent since 1990. Ostrom stated that 'when individuals have… developed shared norms and patterns of reciprocity, they possess social capital with which they can build institutional arrangements for resolving common pool resource (CPR) dilemmas' (1990:184). This becomes highly relevant if we define the city as a common pool resource, in the same fashion as Lefebvre.

The Evolution of Governance and Social Infrastructure

It appears that changes in the provision of social infrastructure correspond with the evolution of governance. Ostrom challenged orthodoxy by asserting that the traditional state-market dichotomy was an oversimplification and other forms of governance could effectively manage common pool resources (1990). This was critical in starting a discussion around institutional reform and new approaches to governance. In practice, this was contributed to by the rise of the internet which has meant people can communicate more quickly, collaborate more often and see the results of their work more immediately. This meant that many people became less bound to bureaucratic processes and traditional sources of authority (Civic Systems Lab, 2015). Citizen participation has necessarily changed in this context, with more individuals adopting an entrepreneurial approach to addressing social problems (Civic Systems Lab 2015). However, in principle, governance procedures struggle to match these developments.

Changes in global political trends since the 1980s have emphasised then undermined the role social infrastructure can play in society. In the UK, the most recent examples of emphasis for social infrastructure came with New Labour's Third Way and the Conservative Party's Big Society agenda. The former involved greater third sector provision after the abolition of Clause IV and Labour's move away from state ownership. The constituent parts of the latter were vaguely defined with much of the onus for stimulating civic society left to civil society groups (Civic Systems Lab, 2015). The advent of austerity and a decline in public spending on social infrastructure occurred soon after the coalition government was elected in 2010 (Civic Systems Lab, 2015). Sennett attributes a decline in the kind of cooperative behaviour outlined by

Ostrom to the weakening of social infrastructure, implicating cuts to public spending and the closure of social infrastructure as the reason for this in the UK (2013).

The effect of the UK government's austerity programme on social infrastructure was considerable and established the current parameters for its potential role in British society. After austerity, it was estimated that central government funding to local authorities would fall by 40% and local authorities would not have the money to meet all 1,300 of their legal obligations by the end of 2018 (Parker, 2014). Parker suggested there are three possible scenarios for local government in this context: *wasteland*, *wild meadow* and *commons*. All three involve increased citizen participation in decision-making with increasing effectiveness (or decreasing damage to society). The analysis ends by stating that 'the role of a council might increasingly become to provide services which support the public through subsidy, advice and convening' (2014: 3). The Participatory City Foundation, the charitable foundation that created Every One Every Day, support this view with their call for *co-creation* which is neither bottom up nor top down but requires 'people and institutions collaborating' (2018: 17). Here lies a growing opportunity for social infrastructure to positively contribute to empowering communities to fill the vacuums of power generated by the evolution of governance described over.

Configurations of power have been reconsidered along with the appropriate scale for political action. Manzini suggests a new approach to governance should be place specific with his vision of SLOC: Small, Local, Open and Connected. He calls for cosmopolitan localism or 'a network of locals' in which there is a combination of social and technological innovation (2011: 102-103). This suggests a role for the low-speed-operating information technology of social infrastructure. Rather than essentialise the local as a necessarily more democratic level of government, Russell focuses on local governance for strategic reasons, arguing that it is at this level that political struggles become more tangible and meaningful (2019). There is a similar motivation for Manzini's concern with the human scale (2011). The importance of social infrastructure to local governance and vice versa is also underscored by the need for a political arena that people can physically relate to in the age of the internet.

Now, more than in recent decades, citizens may be more likely to be able to achieve their Right to the City through social infrastructure because of a double imperative resulting from a lack of central government resourcing and a growing space for local, participatory decision-making.

Framework: Community Empowerment as Bridging Social Capital and Capability Space

As outlined, there is a gap in the literature around the link between social infrastructure and participatory planning. This dissertation will therefore explore a case for the possible importance of social infrastructure to community empowerment in the 21st century. It is based on an understanding of contemporary society as consisting of networks of people and power, as discussed by Castells. It then employs Ostrom's theory of governance for common pool resources to build an understanding of how social infrastructure can play a role in achieving Harvey's updated perspective on Lefebvre's Right to the City. This relies on a definition of social capital in line with Coleman's that acknowledges the multi-level possibilities and limitations afforded by different social configurations.

A definition for community empowerment, or a community's ability to achieve their Right to the City, is made by combining the concept of social capital with Sen's capabilities approach. Bridging social capital is identified as primarily important because it binds groups horizontally, reducing competition for limited common pool resources. Using Sen's capabilities approach, Frediani proposes the concept of capability space, which refers to the design choices that influence 'individual, local and structural factors' and, in turn, 'people's choice, ability, and opportunity to transform resources into achieved functionings' (2010: 178). The existence of capability space is an essential consideration for the potential of the conversion of bridging social capital to tangible results for community empowerment.
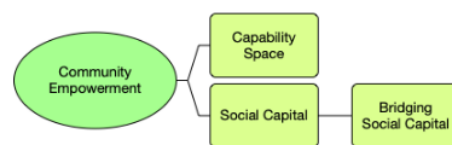

Figure 1: The constituent parts of community empowerment

Therefore, this research asks **could social infrastructure empower communities to play a more active role in the planning system by increasing bridging social capital and providing access to capability space?**

Methodology

Research Objectives

Testing the case for contemporary social infrastructure proposed in the framework by identifying:

    A. how local authorities might create social infrastructure to empower communities.

    B. the ways communities actually engage with the social infrastructure.

Exploring the potential social infrastructure has to contribute to participatory planning by seeking to:

    C. understand the contribution that social infrastructure can make to empowering communities to participate in the design of their localities (i.e. boroughs) and thus their city.

Case Studies

I will use a case study approach, investigating two distinctive cases in London that can help to test the framework and deepen knowledge of newer forms of social infrastructure:

1. Every One Every Day in Barking & Dagenham
2. The Idea Stores in Tower Hamlets

Every One Every Day is a model case study because it exemplifies a new approach to social infrastructure based around participatory culture. It acknowledges that it is 'a unique experiment which for the first time is developing and testing a systems approach to scaling participation culture' in Barking & Dagenham (Participatory City Foundation, 2018: 24).

Participatory culture spaces were traditionally community-led but the Participatory City Foundation is experimenting with operating participatory culture spaces at scale in partnership with the local authority for at least five years. This is a result of recommendations from Barking & Dagenham's Independent Growth Commission report in 2016 which stated that the council should 'play a catalytic role' (7) in fostering 'the involvement of people in the reimagining of

the Borough' (16). This would involve 'enhancing the innovative capacity of the local authority, and the institutional and policy environments in which the voluntary sector functions' (44). These recommendations culminated in the Ambition 2020 programme that set out the borough's commitment to moving to playing the 'catalytic role' mentioned above. Therefore, this partnership suggests not only a new approach to participatory culture spaces but also to local governance. The Participatory City Foundation offer a 'support platform' to enable the growth of the 'participatory ecosystem' in Barking & Dagenham (Participatory City Foundation, 2018: 21). This support platform currently includes four Every One Every Day 'shops' and one larger warehouse facility located strategically across the borough as venues for the scheme. The idea is that residents should not have to travel to access the scheme but that it can be part of the everyday fabric of people's lives. The support platform also consists of a trained Every One Every Day team who are on hand at venues to assist residents in making use of the facilities and co-designing projects. Residents are free to drop in or attend programmed events (Participatory City Foundation, 2018).

It is important to note that the backdrop against which Every One Every Day emerged. Barking & Dagenham is the 19th most deprived local authority in the country and has witnessed rapid social change with the Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) population increasing from 14.6% to 41.7% between 2001 and 2011 (Barking & Dagenham Independent Growth Commission, 2016). This was not without considerable social tension as the British National Party (BNP) became the borough's second largest party after winning 12 seats in 2006 (Participatory City Foundation, 2018). Volunteering levels are also 50% of the national average (Participatory City Foundation, 2019). Every One Every Day was therefore launched in a local authority with much need for the kind of community empowerment outlined above.

The Idea Stores are an appropriate second case to study as examples of libraries, a more traditional form of social infrastructure. Kranich suggested that after 9/11, libraries had 'a unique, if fleeting, opportunity to carve out a new library mission' of community building (2001: 41). There was an emphasis on their potential to create social capital, much like the mission of the Participatory City Foundation with Every One Every Day. Furthermore, after Tower Hamlets was ranked as having the worst performing library and information service in London, the Idea Stores were conceptualised as 'a 21st century library service' in 1999 (Tower Hamlets, 2009). This implied this form of social infrastructure was in need of modernisation to make it relevant to contemporary life in Tower Hamlets (Tower Hamlets 2009: 21). After

opening four Idea Stores, Tower Hamlets reviewed its achievements in their 2009 *Idea Store Strategy* which stated 'Idea Stores are more than just a library or a place of learning. As well as the traditional library service, they offer a wide range of adult education classes, along with other careers support, training, meeting areas, cafes and arts and leisure pursuits – all brought together in easily accessible spaces which are modelled on retail environments. They are places where individuals and families come together informally to socialise. They act as venues for community clubs' (6).

Like Barking & Dagenham, Tower Hamlets contains areas within the top 32 most deprived areas (equivalent to the 10% most deprived local authorities) (Domman, 2019). At the time of the publication of the original Idea Stores Strategy, Tower Hamlets had some of the highest levels of deprivation in Europe. This also meant it had some of the highest basic skills needs in the country. The average basic skills need in the UK was 24%, whereas the average in Tower Hamlets was 31%. In one ward, it was 36%, the highest level of basic skills needs anywhere in the country (Tower Hamlets, 1999).

Consequently, it is suitable to compare the cases of Every One Every Day and the Idea Stores to test the extent to which new types of social infrastructure are more effective at empowering communities.

Methods

The latest (annual) data collected by the Participatory City Foundation for their *Year 2 Report: Tools to Act* will be used to track their progress on their indicators relevant to this dissertation's framework of community empowerment: co-produced projects, number of people voting in council elections, number of people volunteering, perceived community capacity to start new projects using local resources, community capacity to respond collectively to social, environmental problems and collective decision-making.

Indicator	Unit	Tools	Description of indicator
Co-produced projects	Number of projects	Project calendar, resident signups and surveys, semi-structured interviews, team observations and online engagement	This indicator tracks the number of local neighbourhood projects co-produced by local people that improve everyday life in the borough.
Number of people voting in council elections	Number of people	Borough research statistics and other publications	This indicator tracks the percentage of people voting in the borough.

Number of people volunteering	Number of people	Borough research statistics and other publications	This indicator tracks the number of people volunteering in the borough.
Perceived community capacity to start new projects using local resources	Resident perceptions	Resident sign-ups and surveys, semi-structured interviews, team observations and online engagement	This indicator is a qualitative analysis of the combination of data from daily reflections, project diaries and the data published by the borough.
Community capacity to respond collectively to social, environmental problems	Resident perceptions	Resident sign-ups and surveys, semi-structured interviews, team observations and online engagement	This indicator tracks participant resident numbers, their diversity and their perceptions of their capacity to respond collectively to problems.
Collective decision-making	Resident perceptions	Resident sign-ups and surveys, semi-structured interviews, team observations and online engagement	This indicator tracks the perceived capacity of people to make collective decisions as a community.

The latest data collected by Tower Hamlets Council for their *Idea Store Strategy 2009* will be used to track their progress on their indicators relevant to this dissertation's framework of community empowerment: visits and engagement, overall satisfaction with Idea Stores and libraries, engagement and satisfaction with core library and information services, and existing networks and catchment areas.

Indicator	Unit	Tools	Description of indicator
Visits and engagement	Idea Store and library visits per 1,000 residents of Tower Hamlets, percentage of the population of Tower Hamlets using Idea Stores and libraries, Idea Store and library users by ethnic background and Idea Store and library users by age	Borough research statistics and other publications	This indicator summarises the engagement of Tower Hamlets residents with the Idea Stores and libraries through the number of visits.
Overall satisfaction	Overall user satisfaction percentage and London rank	Public Library User Survey results	This indicator summarises the satisfaction of Tower Hamlets residents with the Idea Stores and libraries.
Engagement and satisfaction with core library and information services	Number of books issued in Tower Hamlets and active borrowers as a percentage of the population in Tower Hamlets	Borough research statistics and other publications	This indicator summarises the engagement of Tower Hamlets residents with the core services of the Idea Stores and libraries through borrowing numbers. Libraries, learning and information were the key objectives of the 1999 Idea Store Strategy.
Existing networks and catchment areas	Idea Stores/libraries with user density by output area	Borough research statistics and other publications	This indicator touches on the success of individual Idea Stores and libraries in relation to their geographic communities. This can be overlaid with data on deprivation and Public Transport Accessibility Levels (PTAL).

This data will be checked and verified through comparison to data collected in *The Barking & Dagenham Post* and *The Docklands and East London Advertiser*. The available content of *The*

Docklands and East London Advertiser will be analysed for reports on the Idea Stores between June 2010 and May 2012 (the first two years after the UK government's austerity programme was announced). The available content of *The Barking & Dagenham Post* will be analysed for reports on Every One Every Day between November 2017 and October 2019 (the first two years after the first two Every One Every Day shops opened in Barking & Dagenham). Text analysis will be used to track the context of the words 'Idea Store', 'Every One Every Day' and 'Participatory City' in the newspapers then the instances of these words will be coded according to the aspects of community empowerment (defined as increased bridging social capital and capability space) they demonstrate. Instances of bonding social capital will be coded to build up an understanding of its relationship to bridging social capital. Instances of clearly negative or positive coverage of the social infrastructure by the newspapers (as opposed to individuals) will also be coded. This data will be used to build a picture of how these respective examples of social infrastructure were received at the start and end of a decade (2010s) in which these new forms of infrastructure came to prominence, helping establish their impact beyond their own programmes. Furthermore, using third party sources will help counter any bias in reporting by the Participatory City Foundation or Tower Hamlets.

Newspapers are an older form of media and may not necessarily capture the diverse views of community members in a way that social media can. However, using social media to validate diverse community experiences of social infrastructure would be problematic as the number of internet non-users has almost halved in the UK over the last decade from 20.3% in 2011 to 10% of adults in 2018 (ONS, 2019). This means that less people had access to social media at the start of the decade (when we will look at how the Idea Stores were received), making it less representative of the full range of users of social infrastructure then, particularly the least wealthy members of society (ONS, 2019). Moreover, patterns of use have changed with content consumption (e.g. watching videos and reading news stories) taking over content sharing (e.g. updating statuses, tweeting and sharing photos) as the main motivation for using social media between 2014 and 2017 (Young, 2018). This meant that when access to the internet was more equal at the end of the decade (when we will look at how Every One Every Day was received), changes in social media usage patterns meant it was used less to express opinions. Overall, it would seem newspapers would offer a more consistent commentary with which to test the nature of community engagement with social infrastructure.

Findings

In part one of this section, we will look at the findings from the second Every One Every Day report from 2019, *Year 2 Report: Tools to Act*. We will then look at the findings from the *Idea Store Strategy 2009*. Findings from each of the reports will then be compared. In part two of this section, the findings from the text analysis of *The Barking & Dagenham Post* between November 2017 and October 2019 will be presented before reporting the findings from a text analysis of *The Docklands and East London Advertiser* between June 2010 and May 2012. Findings from both text analyses will then be compared. A treemap of all the codes used in the text analyses can be found in Appendix A.

Part One: Reports

Year 2 Report: Tools to Act reports on indicators around community cohesion, neighbourliness, collective action and co-production. These indicators are most closely associated with the bridging social capital aspect of the definition of community empowerment proposed in the framework. The indicators of the number of people voting in council elections and the number of people volunteering rely on data collected by the local authority, which are yet to be collected.

Through resident sign-ups, surveys, interviews, team observation and online engagement, this report shows that 11,000 people have attended 1,060 sessions at the Every One Every Day shops (including the warehouse), creating 131 projects since they opened in November 2017. This is an impressive start if we consider that Barking & Dagenham has a total population of approximately 208,000 people, meaning 1 in 20 residents has been to a shop. On average, users of Every One Every Day shops spoke to six other people from different cultures and backgrounds during an individual session. This is also significant if we consider the borough's history of significant social change and far-right political activity. Interacting with people from different backgrounds was accompanied by users feeling an increased sense of trust among their neighbours (for which users' scores averaged 8 out of 10). This exposure to difference and an increased sense of neighbourliness also translated into a perception of increased community capacity to respond collectively to social, economic or environmental problems (users' average score for this was 7 out of 10) and an increased perception that the community can start new projects using existing local opportunities and resources (users' average score for this was 8 out of 10). While only a sense among users, this is another considerable achievement

if we consider that, on average, only 35% of Londoners feel they can influence local decision-making (Willis, 2019). The significance of Every One Every Day for place-making should not be overlooked either as (8 out of 10) users reported an increased attractiveness and vibrancy of Barking and Dagenham as a place to live. The reasons for this are not clear but it is noteworthy that people found the area in which they live more attractive after involvement with Every One Every Day. The findings point towards the powerful, if not yet extensive, impact of Every One Every Day in breaking down social barriers, building community and a sense of pride in place through bridging social capital. The data collected by the Participatory City Foundation should be monitored to see how it changes over the next three years that the scheme will definitely be taking place.

The *Idea Store Strategy 2009* was created using data collected by Tower Hamlets supplemented by Public Library User Survey results. This data was collected in 2009 as a review of the original Idea Store Strategy, which was approved in 1999. There has not been such a review since, meaning the data is still the most current. It should also be mentioned that this data relates to libraries across the borough, some of which are not Idea Stores.

After the first Idea Store opened in Bow in 2002, the total number of visits to libraries in Tower Hamlets increased from 568,464 in 1999-2000 to 2,066,436 in 2007-08. This represented an increase of 264%, making them the sixth most visited libraries of all the London boroughs. The number of visits per 1,000 residents also increased from 3,135 in 1999-2000 to 9,598 in 2007-08. This showed an increase of 206%, giving Tower Hamlets the second highest resident visit ratio of any London borough at the time. This was significant because it showed that the borough was successfully attracting its own residents. 56.6% of Tower Hamlets residents used the Idea Stores compared to the national average of 48.5% of local residents who used their local libraries. The results of the 2006-07 Public Library User Survey (PLUS) demonstrated that the ethnic background and age range of Idea Stores' users roughly correlated with the ethnic diversity and age range of the borough. As described in the framework, this data is most relevant to the Idea Stores' creation of capability space. However, we need more information on the activities that visitors engaged in to draw conclusions from this data.

In regards to the quality of the library services, the percentage of residents who said libraries in the borough were good or excellent increased from 35% in 2000-01 to 55% in 2007-08. While this was still lower than the London average, 88% of library users rated the service as

good or excellent, showing the gap between perception and experience. In a similar fashion, until 2006-07, book issues followed a national and regional downward trend. However, after offering a range of activities besides traditional book borrowing, the trend was successfully reversed from 2007-08. Book issues increased by more than 60,000 in 2008-09. Nonetheless, the data also suggested that borrowers did not borrow as many items as elsewhere with only 20% of the borough's population classified as 'active borrowers'. While book borrowing did not represent all use of the Idea Stores, it was indicative of the local population's desire for the Idea Stores to continue to make efforts to offer more than just traditional library services. This would enable the Idea Stores to contribute more to community empowerment through the extension of capability space. This perspective was bolstered with the findings that satisfaction ratings for the libraries still left in Tower Hamlets were lower than they were for the Idea Stores. It should be mentioned that parts of the borough with higher levels of deprivation and lower PTAL ratings generally had lower levels of usage and active borrowing rates. These were generally the areas that had libraries (not Idea Stores), which may have skewed satisfaction scores in favour of Idea Stores as we saw that perception often differed to experience of the Tower Hamlets' library service.

It is difficult to directly compare how users of Every One Every Day and the Idea Stores experience participatory culture services and libraries as vehicles for community empowerment from these reports due to the lack of qualitative data collected by Tower Hamlets for the *2009 Idea Store Strategy*. This is particularly limiting for insights into the Idea Stores' ability to generate bridging social capital. However, it is useful to compare the number and types of visitors they have both attracted as an indicator of the potential scale for this. Every One Every Day attracts around 5% of the population of Barking & Dagenham to visit, whereas the Idea Stores attract 56.6% of Tower Hamlets residents. The PLUS data showed that these users reflected the wider demographics of the borough. Similarly, Every One Every Day users came from all the ethnic, religious and social groups found in Barking & Dagenham. There is an overrepresentation of women among users in Every One Every Day but this is in line with the greater tendency for women to volunteer or be involved in community projects (Participatory City Foundation, 2019). Overall, Every One Every Day does not yet have the potential to generate bridging social capital at the same scale as the Idea Stores. More data on the types of activities that take place in both spaces would be useful to better understand their functioning as capability spaces too.

Part Two: Newspaper Coverage

'Every One Every Day' and 'Participatory City' appeared in 10 out of 104 editions of *The Barking & Dagenham Post* (9.6%) between November 2017 and October 2019. Reports of Every One Every Day appear the most in the context of creating capability space (eight times). Examples include coverage of the Festival of Every One with activities hosted in venues across the borough and the launch of Every One Every Day's 2018 summer programme. All the (six) reports of Every One Every Day facilitating social capital were examples of bridging social capital being facilitated. These examples were of programmes of events that necessarily brought people from different backgrounds together using common denominator activities like sunflower planting and key ring making. There was also coverage of Every One Every Day (four times) as an exciting, new regeneration scheme. Examples of this were coverage of its place on the 2018 New Radicals' list of 50 top schemes tackling society's challenges and a £850 million grant from the Mayor of London. There was no negative coverage of the scheme. The coverage of Every One Every Day supports the case for it being social infrastructure for community empowerment, using the definition in the framework.
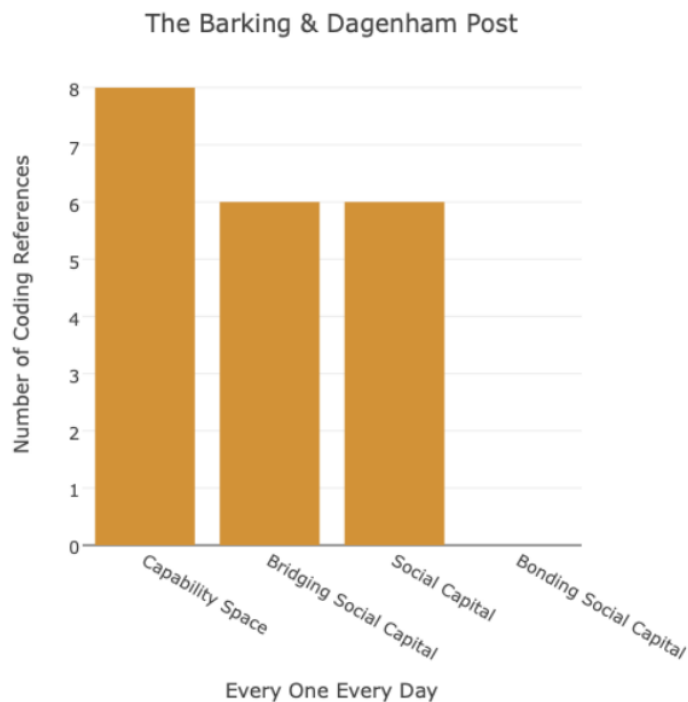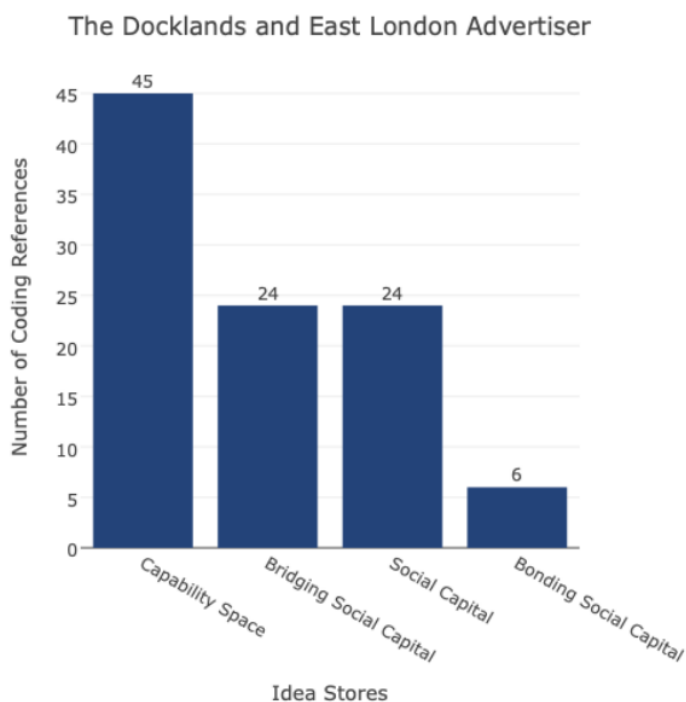

Figure 2: The frequency of coding references for instances of community empowerment from Every One Every Day in The Barking & Dagenham Post

'Idea Store' appeared in 38 of 104 editions of *The Docklands and East London Advertiser* *(36.5%)* between June 2010 and May 2012. The (45) reports of the Idea Stores also appear the most in the context of creating capability space with coverage of different examples of community events, festivals and skills workshops. The Idea Stores are mostly reported (24 times) as enabling the facilitation of bridging social capital between groups. However, beyond the framework, there are also instances where they are reported as enabling the facilitation of bonding social capital simultaneously (six times). This is where there are events for specific social groups, like the Bengali history week, which was targeted at Britons of Bengali origin while being open to the wider public. It is in this way that the Idea Stores facilitate public events by and for different social groups while remaining accessible to everyone. The Idea Stores are positively covered once as an internationally recognised set of libraries. However, there is negative coverage of them three times. This coverage focuses on their costliness and associations with the wider regeneration initiatives of the local authority. Like Every One Every Day, the Idea Stores perform as social infrastructure for community empowerment in keeping with the definition proposed in the framework, albeit with a further ability to facilitate bonding social capital.

The Docklands and East London Advertiser

Figure 3: The frequency of coding references for instances of community empowerment from Idea Stores in The Docklands and East London Advertiser

The Idea Stores feature in four times as many editions of *The Docklands and East London Advertiser* as Every One Every Day features in *The Barking & Dagenham Post* within the same length of time. This is partly a result of the Idea Stores' frequent citation as a place to buy tickets or find out more about events at other venues. This may indicate that the Idea Stores are woven into the social fabric of the borough in a way that Every One Every Day is not yet. To add more evidence to this suggestion, the Idea Stores are reported in the context of creating capability space almost six times as much as Every One Every Day is reported as doing so. Again, this is linked to the Idea Stores being a flexible venue open to use by different social groups and interests in a way that Every One Every Day is not. It is not clear whether Every One Every Day can ever become this with its predefined goals and explicit stance against closed group activities. Possibly linked to this greater potential for different uses, the Idea Stores are reported in the context of facilitating social capital in *The Docklands and East London Advertiser* almost five times as much as Every One Every Day is in *The Barking & Dagenham Post*. Idea Stores are also reported in the context of facilitating bonding social capital six times, whereas there are no reports of Every One Every Day doing this. This too may pertain to the limits placed on what groups can do in the space. Therefore, while both examples of social infrastructure can be seen through the framework for community empowerment, they both perform this role differently.

It would seem that the novelty of Every One Every Day does result in some positive outcomes as it is explicitly positively covered four times when the Idea Stores are only positively covered like this once. In fact, the Idea Stores are explicitly covered negatively three times, whereas Every One Every Day is not covered like this at all. This could demonstrate a public conservatism about what the role of a library should be and the resources that should go into creating and maintaining them, further suggesting similar but slightly different roles for types of social infrastructure for community empowerment.

Discussion

Thinking about how local authorities might create social infrastructure to empower communities (Research Objective A), we can see that an important feature of both the cases of social infrastructure is the local authorities' explicit intent to strengthen communities through their creation. This is important as they were designed, from the outset, with this core goal in mind. Every One Every Day was enabled to scale through a partnership between the

Participatory City Foundation and Barking & Dagenham Council. This involved creating a policy environment that was favourable to the kind of community empowerment (or co-creation) that the Participatory City Foundation and Barking & Dagenham saw as a favourable model of governance. Such thinking is reflected in the indicators and tools used to measure the success of Every One Every Day, which relate to bridging social capital and, to a lesser extent, capability space. The Idea Stores, on the other hand, are statutory buildings in which the council's library services would be co-located with learning and information services. The number of services located in these buildings expanded with the 2009 strategy to include employability and health services among others. There was evidence that this shift would be favoured by the local community as the Idea Stores, with their wider range of services, were more popular than the older libraries in Tower Hamlets. The number of 'active borrowers' in the borough was also low and book borrowing had only stopped declining when it was offered with other activities. There was a recognition of the potential role the Idea Stores could play in fostering 'community cohesion' in the 2009 strategy, which was not explicitly articulated in the 1999 strategy. While community empowerment is sought through community cohesion and the efficient delivery of council-led services (as opposed to co-creation), the definition used in this dissertation is still relevant to the Idea Stores as they provide capability space and the potential for generating bridging social capital. The difference in the language used to describe the community strengthening aspect of each example of social infrastructure in their own reports may be a result of the changes in the political and intellectual climate from the beginning to the end of the 2010s.

Thinking about the ways communities actually engage with the social infrastructure (Research Objective B), we can see that libraries facilitate a wide variety of public activities and are well understood by the public. This is evidenced by the 45 times that the Idea Stores are mentioned in the context of creating capability space for communities to come together for a variety of events. It appears that most of these events were co-created by Tower Hamlets and the local community, such as an end-of-term show for a performing arts course organised by Tower Hamlet's lifelong learning service. As a result of the assortment of activities Idea Stores host, social capital is reported as being facilitated 24 times. All these instances of social capital are examples of bridging social capital. This would seem to be because of the nature of libraries as public spaces open to all the community. There are six reports of bonding social capital that occur alongside the reporting of bridging social capital. These occur at events for specific communities, e.g. LGBT history month events, that are still open to people from different

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backgrounds. It is also hinted at that the Idea Stores are a key node in a wider network of social infrastructure in which the Idea Stores promote and sell tickets for events at other venues. A finding we will return to. On the other hand, participatory culture spaces seem to function differently. Every One Every Day features in *The Barking & Dagenham Post* a quarter of the times that the Idea Stores feature in *The Docklands and East London Advertiser*. Every One Every Day is also reported on in the context of facilitating social capital a quarter of the times that the Idea Stores are reported as doing so. Furthermore, all these six reports are in relation to bridging social capital, whereas the Idea Stores are also reported as facilitating bonding social capital six times. The newspaper coverage of the 2018 summer programme provides an insight into the common denominator activities that are intentionally encouraged at Every One Every Day and may be the reason for this. This perspective is given support by some of the interviews that are detailed in the *Year 2 Report: Tools to Act* where, for example, an Every One Every Day user details how they had the opportunity to meet 70-80 people from May 2018 through their participation in 35 sessions on nearly 19 different projects. They said 'I bring an ingredient, and then I meet other people, then we talk about how their day has been, and things like that, and that was how I made these three friends in the start' (Participatory City Foundation, 2019: 232-233). While this is also possible at the Idea Stores, the intentionality behind creating these relationships at Every One Every Day is more keenly pursued. Returning to the framework again, the Idea Stores excel at increasing access to capability space across the whole Tower Hamlets population and Every One Every Day excels at facilitating bridging social capital between all individual users. Communities are empowered through the existence of both but with an emphasis on different parts of the framework for community empowerment.

Lastly, we should consider the contribution which social infrastructure can make to empowering communities to participate in the design of their localities (i.e. boroughs) and thus their city (Research Objective C). We saw that Every One Every Day is used by 1 in 20 Barking & Dagenham residents while the Idea Stores are used by 56.6% of Tower Hamlets residents. Idea Stores are also integrated into a wider network of historic community activity. This does not make Every One Every Day ineffective for community empowerment. The survey results from Every One Every Day point to a powerful ability for people to engage with difference, feel a sense of community, develop a capacity to respond to problems collectively and create new projects. Such changes are not captured from users of the Idea Stores. If anything, the data collected by Tower Hamlets would suggest users and Tower Hamlets residents more generally would like the Idea Stores to offer more than just the traditional library services. Combining

the scale of the reach and integration of the Idea Stores (as a variation of a traditional form of social infrastructure) with Every One Every Day's novel ability to intensely develop bridging social capital may be too much to ask from one type of social infrastructure but, as suggested, offering Idea Stores and Every One Every Day in the same locality could serve to empower communities more completely. This suggestion is given more weight if we consider that Every One Every Day is not reported as facilitating the formation of bonding social capital. This is not necessarily a problem for the definition of community empowerment proposed in the framework but it does point to a gap in this type of social infrastructure's capacity, which does not exist in the Idea Stores due to its openness and flexibility. This suggests a potential complementarity between the two examples of social infrastructure. The contrasting negative and positive press coverage of each example furthers the case for this. Every One Every Day is written about positively four times for being a new type of regeneration scheme, whereas the Idea Stores are criticised three times for being too costly and for their association with unpopular regeneration schemes. The Idea Stores are praised once as one the best library services in the world. This contrasting coverage with a glimmer of recognition of the positivity of the Idea Stores points to the potential for the two types of social infrastructure to be packaged as contributing (albeit somewhat differently) to the same goal of empowering communities to participate in the design of their localities (among other things). More time is needed to see the extent to which Every One Every Day scales and embeds itself in wider community life in Barking & Dagenham. More research is also needed to study the effects of the existence of both kinds of social infrastructure on specific planning outcomes.

Conclusions

Through the course of this dissertation, we have seen that the power of social infrastructure lies in its ability to expand social capital and networks of people and power. This may not always be appreciable until social infrastructure is absent due to its 'background' 'facilitation of activity' (Latham and Layton, 2019: 3). Lefebvre's Right to the City provides a possible aspiration for a city adequately resourced with social infrastructure. Harvey's development of the Right to City is perhaps more usefully employed to understanding the dynamic which social infrastructure contributes to. It is important to contextualise the aforementioned theory in the present-day UK with the trends in governance that have seen a move towards co-creation where diverse communities are required to play a more active role in activities traditionally managed by the state. As posited in the framework, one aspect of social infrastructure's relevance lies in

its potential to empower communities with less resources to build the capacity to fulfil this more active role in the current context. This is particularly important in the field of planning where commercial interests may dictate priorities without organised community input. The latest versions of the NPPF and London Plan state that balancing these interests with community priorities is favourable (MHCLG, 2019; Mayor of London, 2019).

As suggested in the framework and evidenced through the cases of Every One Every Day, community empowerment can function through the creation of capability space which can then lead to the formation of bridging social capital (and sometimes simultaneously bonding social capital). While illuminating in themselves, the cases of Every One Every Day and the Idea Stores allude to their place in a wider network of social infrastructure (and policy). Social infrastructure that has been eroded by austerity and has not necessarily been created with the explicit goal of community empowerment. The success of the Idea Stores in harnessing the community activity that already exists would suggest that embedding social infrastructure for community empowerment in this network is important.

The differences between libraries and participatory culture spaces as distinct types of social infrastructure for community empowerment are also explored in this dissertation. The Idea Stores manage to facilitate bridging and bonding social capital due to their nature as public, flexible spaces while Every One Every Day seem to only enable the facilitation of bridging social capital. This is not to say Every One Every Day does not produce many other benefits for realising a sense of community and empowerment. More qualitative research should be done to gain a better understanding of whether libraries can bind users together in the way it would seem participatory cultures can. It is also imperative to assess the longer-term impact of Every One Every Day and other participatory culture spaces like it. This should include testing Every One Every Day's ability to embed into the existing network of social infrastructure once the scheme has existed for a few more years. Regardless, it would seem that participatory culture spaces are complimentary to existing social infrastructure of which libraries and other public buildings are a key ingredient. The Participatory City Foundation acknowledges this itself when it says 'practical participation infrastructure is not viewed as a replacement for other forms of community activity, but instead as an augmentation to it' (Participatory City Foundation, 2019: 58).

In answer to the research question, networks of social infrastructure (as opposed to single examples of social infrastructure) can empower communities to play a more active role in the planning system through creating capability space and different kinds of social capital. More research is needed to better understand how these networks function and what they can and cannot facilitate with the presence of different elements. This evokes Rydin and Holman's contention that 'social capital is not really a tool at all but rather a variety of strategies, each of which needs to be tailored to the specific policy problem at hand and the specific local context' (2004: 131). Having seen that different types of social infrastructure can lead to the facilitation of different types of social capital then a logical next step in Rydin and Holman's reasoning is that different types of social infrastructure should be created in response to specific policy problems and specific local contexts. This, finally, brings us back to Tonkiss and the definition of urban design as 'social practices and processes that shape spatial forms, relationships and outcomes in intentional and less intended ways' (2013: 5). As seen throughout this dissertation, the consequences of social infrastructure, and urban design more generally, for society are both spatial and social. It then seems critical that the discipline embraces this at the start of the 21st century with its unprecedented challenges of scale and complexity.

Limitations

The conclusions of this dissertation are based on necessarily limited research. This research relies on secondary data and is susceptible to the bias of the reporting organisation, particularly in the cases of reports produced by the Participatory City Foundation and Tower Hamlets themselves. As mentioned, Every One Every Day has existed for less than three years and an evidenced understanding of its role is naturally limited in a way it is not for the Idea Stores. Moreover, the Participatory City Foundation has not had an opportunity to collect all the data they had planned to collect to assess Every One Every Day's effect on the existing political and voluntary sectors. On the other hand, the publicly available data for the Idea Stores is over a decade old and it would be interesting to see if the strategy and its priorities have been reconsidered since. These documents were not publicly available if they do exist. In regards to the analysis of newspaper coverage, *The Barking & Dagenham Post* and *The Docklands and East London Advertiser*'s editorial teams may have had different points of focus with one more or less likely to report on social infrastructure than the other. This could explain the difference in the level of coverage of Every One Every Day and the Idea Stores. Additionally, the years from which newspaper articles were selected had very different contexts and the coverage

given to social infrastructure may have differed accordingly. Furthermore, the capacity for social infrastructure to be effective in these contexts, according to the definition of community empowerment employed in this dissertation, may have been very different too.
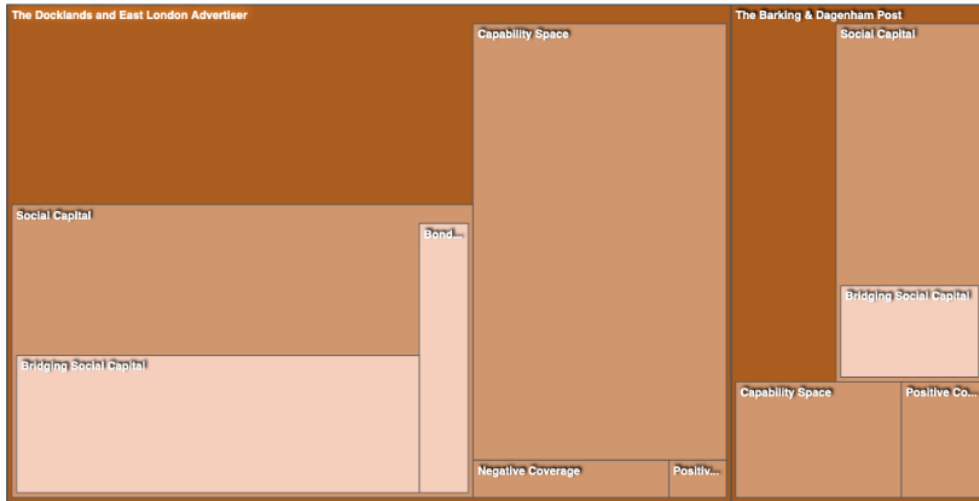
Appendix

Figure 4: Treemap of all coding references

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