Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/cjoe20

Who is (not) in the room? An epistemic justice perspective on low-carbon transport transitions

Anke Klaever & Ersilia Verlinghieri

To cite this article: Anke Klaever & Ersilia Verlinghieri (07 Nov 2024): Who is (not) in the room? An epistemic justice perspective on low-carbon transport transitions, Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning, DOI: 10.1080/1523908X.2024.2422842

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/1523908X.2024.2422842

JOURNAL OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY & PLANNING
https://doi.org/10.1080/1523908X.2024.2422842

Who is (not) in the room? An epistemic justice perspective on low-carbon transport transitions

Anke Klaever [a,b] and Ersilia Verlinghieri [c]

[a]Transforming Consumption and Provisioning, Research Institute for Sustainability – Helmholtz Centre Potsdam, Potsdam, Germany; [b]Chair of Sustainable Mobility and Transdisciplinary Research Methods, Technical University of Berlin, Berlin, Germany; [c]Active Travel Academy, University of Westminser, London, UK

ABSTRACT

Car-centric planning exacerbates the climate crisis, compromises public health, and erodes public space. Street-space reallocation programmes, which redistribute road space from cars to active travel, leisure and urban green, are an important strategy to respond to these challenges. In line with a wider shift towards collaborative planning, many of these programmes include public participation. However, participatory planning approaches face criticism for being exclusionary, favouring a loud or privileged minority. Following an epistemic justice perspective, this paper invites to consider the question: 'who is (not) in the room?' Based on in-depth qualitative analysis of the participatory processes linked to a pedestrianisation scheme in Berlin, we focus on the link between non-participation in invited participatory spaces and the emergence of claimed spaces of participation. We found all participants to have participated in one of them. The decision of how to participate is a complex interplay between the relevance of the scheme and the feeling of being heard. We show that it seems irrelevant whether this interplay applies to oneself or to one's social network. Based on our findings, we argue that epistemically just participatory planning approaches to transitions need to go beyond invited spaces to include claimed spaces both spatially and temporally.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 30 January 2024
Accepted 20 October 2024

KEYWORDS
Epistemic justice; street-space reallocation; low-carbon transitions; participatory planning; transport governance

Introduction

Car-centric planning has generated intertwined urban crises. Not only does it contribute substantially to the climate crisis and epidemic of poor public health, but it also increases the pressure on already scarce public space. This, in turn, leads to wide inequalities in the distribution and access to travel provisions for walking and cycling and scarce recreational and public sites.

Growing awareness of such issues and widespread campaigns for traffic safety and air quality, combined with changes in priorities around public space allocation during the Covid-19 pandemic, have led several cities in Europe and elsewhere to introduce measures to redistribute public space from car traffic to other uses. These measures have in some cases been included in broader 'sustainable' or 'low-carbon' transitions (Gössling et al., 2016).

The governance of such street-space reallocation measures, often taking an experimental form, has only recently become the object of inquiry and remains complex (Bertolini, 2020; Smeds & Papa, 2023). Themes of public engagement and participation have been recurring, often as a consequence of a wider shift in transportation and urban planning towards more collaborative approaches (Karner et al., 2020; Legacy, 2018; Verlinghieri &

CONTACT Anke Klaever anke.klaever@rifs-potsdam.de Transforming Consumption and Provisioning, Research Institute for Sustainability – Helmholtz Centre Potsdam, Berliner Str. 130, 14467 Potsdam, Germany

Supplemental data for this article can be accessed online at https://doi.org/10.1080/1523908X.2024.2422842.

Schwanen, 2020). Theoretically, this shift emphasises the inclusion of local knowledge, or lived expertise, as a crucial element alongside technological knowledge. Local knowledge, emerging as part of and reflecting civil society's experiences and perceptions (Lowe et al., 2023), is mainly integrated through participatory exercises.

However, participatory and engagement exercises linked to street-space reallocation measures show limitations. Recent studies highlight how participatory exercises in transition experiments and street-space reallocation projects are often conflict-ridden (Vitale Brovarone et al., 2023) and criticised for being a 'tick-box exercise' and not really influencing schemes' implementation (Willis et al., 2022). Most importantly, these exercises can be exclusionary and reserved for a loud or privileged minority of residents.

In this paper, we reflect on these challenges, following the recent suggestions to bring an epistemic justice perspective to transport transitions (Sheller, 2018). In particular, we consider the invitation to integrate Fricker's (2007, 2013) framework for epistemic justice as part of a reflection on mobility justice (Smeds et al., 2023). Fricker invites a critical reflection on participation processes and their contribution to epistemic justice both in terms of 'what is said in the room' (testimonial injustice) and 'what happens before entering the room' (hermeneutical injustice). Building on these reflections on participatory spaces ('the room'), we focus on a complementary question, considering the implication of the question around 'who is or not in the room' for just transitions in transportation and beyond.

We argue that such a question is a central pre-condition to building epistemic justice and particularly key to just transitions, as non-participation intersects strongly with other forms of inequality (Beramendi & Anderson, 2008). For example, research on formal participation in Germany underscores that groups with higher income and educational levels demonstrate higher participation in elections (Bödeker, 2011; van Deth, 2014b). Socio-economic inequality in election participation has been on the rise in Western European countries (Armingeon & Schädel, 2015) and can also be observed in in-formal participation, such as in grassroots organisations (Escher, 2013; van Deth, 2014a). Whether formal or in-formal, political trust as well as distrust plays a central role in participation in Europe (Hooghe & Marien, 2012). When comparing trust in parliament across European countries, research has found that trust in central states such as Germany is higher than in southern states, but still lower than in Nordic states (Duvsjö, 2014). Campbell (2023) underlines that recently, trust in the German parliament is higher than at any point since German unification.

The paper is based on an in-depth qualitative analysis of the participatory processes linked to the Lausitzer Platz's pedestrianisation scheme in Berlin. By combining Verba et al.'s (1995) Civic Voluntarism Model with Bourdieu's approach to social capital, we analyse residents' perceptions and experiences of participatory processes and their epistemic settings, and barriers to their participation. We focus on the link between non-participation in invited spaces and the emergence of claimed spaces for participation (Chilvers & Longhurst, 2016). In this way, we nuance our understanding of both non-participation in street-space reallocation schemes and debates on a just implementation of society-centric approaches to planning. We conclude arguing that truly just street transitions require an approach to participation beyond invited spaces which includes claimed spaces both spatially and temporally.

Literature context

Participating in just street transitions, who is not in the room?

Debates on participation and engagement have predominantly entered the literature on sustainable transitions and transport planning (Chilvers & Longhurst, 2016). As Karner et al.'s (2020) analysis of transport planning approaches summarises, state-centric approaches, which have vast primary authority, expertise, and agency in the hands of state entities, have often opened up to society-centric approaches. Here, planning legitimacy requires constructive dialogue between planners and the public.

As part of a wider disciplinary shift to transport and mobility justice (Sheller, 2018; Verlinghieri & Schwanen, 2020), Fricker's (2007, 2013) work has recently informed works considering whose knowledge contributes to street-space reallocation projects. This is thanks to its focus on 'forms of epistemic injustice that are distinctively epistemic in kind, theorizing them as consisting, most fundamentally, in a wrong done to

someone specifically in their capacity as a knower' (Fricker, 2007, p. 1; Smeds & Papa, 2023). For Fricker, epistemic injustice is composed of testimonial injustice and hermeneutic injustice. The former occurs when certain knowledges are not being trusted because the credibility attributed to a speaker's word is deflated by listener(s)' prejudice. Hermeneutical injustice relates to the incommunicability of one's own experience and occurs when a gap in collective understanding hinders one's ability to articulate or comprehend a social experience.

These concepts cover key aspects of non-participation, in terms of exclusions of certain groups and voices in knowledge production. They, however, sideline more radical forms of exclusion, where certain voices are silenced before expression. We argue that an encompassing consideration of instances of epistemic (in)justice should also explicitly consider who physically does not participate and why. In other words: 'who is (not) in the room'. The presence or absence of certain actors and groups in decision-making processes is an important precondition for the consideration of local knowledge and will have a strong influence on 'what is said in the room' and 'what happened before the room was opened'. Therefore, this paper explored local residents' given reasons for not attending or participating in the room, and the implications of such decisions for epistemic justice.

Spaces of participation

To answer the question of who participates in the room, we should clarify the concept of 'the room' itself, as any space where decisions are made. Clausen et al. (2021, p. 734) define 'spaces' for participation as 'opportunities, moments and channels through which citizens can act to potentially effect policies, discourses, decisions and relationships that affect their lives and interests'. This perspective metaphorically interprets space, acknowledging that participation is intricately connected to social contexts and infrastructures. Consequently, 'space' becomes instrumental in shaping epistemic justice, in terms of what is included, what can or cannot be articulated, participants' influence in decisions-making, and the prioritisation of knowledge and competences.

For Karner et al. (2020), society-centric approaches to transport decisions can orient towards the 'inside', i.e. within formal public engagement processes and initiate a community-based discussion of needs within state-centric planning, as part of what we, building on existing literature (Chilvers et al., 2018; Gaventa, 2006; Hilbrandt, 2017) call 'invited spaces'. Alternatively, society-centric approaches can orient towards the 'outside' by engaging with social movements in and beyond formal engagement processes, through considering residents' 'claimed spaces'. These claimed spaces, which also encompass what other authors refer to as 'invented spaces' (Miraftab, 2004), are 'spaces in which citizens act without (both outside, and in the absence of) and on' the state (Cornwall, 2002, p. 20).

Invited spaces are spaces opened and organised by authorities. As noted by Chilvers et al. (2018), these can be seen as dominant and instituionalised forms of participation, in which residents are asked to participate, and entail various engagement mechanisms, such as public meetings, dialogue groups or round tables (Rowe & Frewer, 2005). The limitations of such spaces, which have often been idealised as bringing in consensual outcomes based on a fair and trustworthy dialogue (Habermas, 2007), have been highlighted as part of a long debate on the limits of communicative rationality (Cass, 2006; Legacy, 2016). Despite stated intentions and idealisations, invited spaces are often instrumental to a particular end, for example, acceptance of certain decisions (Cuppen, 2018). They are also often embedded in and likely to reproduce power, authority and discrimination (Legacy et al., 2019). Particularly, the inviting actor holds the power to favour knowledge, while also having the authority to exclude those that do not align with the established objectives (Aitken et al., 2016; Cuppen, 2018).

Claimed spaces comprise more marginal participatory practices (Chilvers et al., 2018) initiated by non-institutional actors. They are self-organised and can range from social mobilisation to physically created spaces. Their actors are social movements, neighbourhood coalitions, petitions, complaint letters to places where people informally gather to debate, i.e. a neighbourhood square. They are such spaces where forms of so-called 'grassroots planning' (Friedmann, 1987; Hilbrandt, 2017) thrive. Just as invited spaces, claimed spaces can become exclusionary, for example by giving the opportunity to a loud and resourceful minority of actors to obstacle democratic decision-making or planning.

Whether invited or claimed, society-centric approaches are fundamentally linked to the debate on epistemic justice as they attempt to create processes that include local knowledge traditionally excluded from planning (Friedmann, 1987). Our focus on epistemic justice within society-centric approaches strengthens this link by highlighting the limitations of invited participatory spaces as a commonly applied approach to just transitions.

How do we explain (non) participation?

An important pre-condition for epistemic justice, is the actual presence of local knowledges within the 'room', a broadly understudied aspect of participation. Often with disconnect from transition and transport studies, sociologists and political scientists have long examined political participation. However, also here, non-participation has received less attention, partly due to challenges of investigating individuals based on their abstention (Hensby, 2020). Analysing non-participation across different participatory spaces is complex, and existing research tends to be marginalised from 'specific disciplinary and methodological orthodoxies' (Hensby, 2020, p. 10).

One explanatory approach to non-participation is the civic voluntarism model (CVM) (Verba et al., 1995). Although, predominantly operationalised quantitively (except for e.g. Amann & Kindler, 2021), the approach offers an important resource-based theory of political participation. It understands non-participation to result from three factors: 'because they cannot; because they do not want to or because nobody asked' (Verba et al., 1995, p. 269), i.e. related to three factors of resources, psychological engagement, and social recruitment network. Here, resources imply money, time, and civic skills – knowledge, communications and organisational competencies; psychological involvement captures the interest in politics and the feeling of political self-efficacy; social recruitment networks describe communication networks with family, friends and others, and recruitment into political engagement via these networks.

With its almost mechanistic focus on these three factors, the CVM remains focused on the individual level, and therefore limited in the explanation of non-participation and non-representation of local knowledge as simply a linear result of an individual's access to resources, psychological engagement or social recruiting networks. A more relational approach accounting for the complex interplay of individual preconditions and the context in which one is able to use those is offered by Bourdieu's theory of social practice (2023) and further elaborations by Putnam.

Bourdieu explains social action (non-participation), as an interplay of habitus, capital and the field,[1] where habitus is defined as a learnt set of dispositions and preferences which structure one's or one group's perspectives and actions (Bourdieu, 2002). In this mutual dependent interplay, the availability and 'quantity' of (economic, social, cultural, symbolic) capital individuals have, and the relevance of these for the regarded field – in our case, the political field – determine the position of individuals or groups in that field, and the perceived possibilities of actions within it. Therefore, as Lenger et al. (2013) summarises, social behaviour, including non-participation, should be explained by the mutual interaction of habitus, capital and field.

Social capital, as part of Bourdieu's practice theory, goes beyond the CVM's 'social recruitment network' to comprehend engagement between the public and state networks, by describing the extensiveness and durability of social networks. Social capital brings to the core of analysis a focus on 'the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119).

While Bourdieu views social capital bound to individuals or their groups, Putnam et al. (1993) consider it as a societal resource. According to Putnam, the involvement in a network is in itself a source of social capital, as it 'create[s] social trust, which spills over into political trust and higher political participation' (Jacobs & Tillie, 2004, p. 421) for a mutual collective benefit. In this sense, social capital describes 'social networks and the norms of reciprocity associated with them' (Putnam & Goss, 2002, p. 3), which cannot be produced individually. Rather social capital is the result of social interaction. Thus, for Putnam, social capital, including trust, is a resource available for society; the 'glue' which sticks society together.

In this paper, we bring together CVM's attention to resources and Bourdieu's and Putnam's insights on social capital and social networks for participation to better understand the reason behind not entering the room opened by society-centric approaches to transport planning.

Methodology

Embedded in the debate on how to bring epistemic justice to low-carbon transitions, our research seeks to enhance our understanding of what is lacking in current society-centric participatory processes accompanying street-space reallocations. To do so, we focus on an in-depth case study: the redesign of the Lausitzer Platz, which represents an emblematic case study. Firstly, it is an exemplary municipality-led experiment promoting a low-carbon mobility transition while prioritising public participation. Secondly, the diverse participation mechanisms used, ranging from providing information to online participation, discussion rounds, and outreach formats, enable the examination of non-participation across different invited spaces. Third, the authors' (Klaever) familiarity with the case enables in-depth comprehension of the participation process.

In line with our epistemic justice focus, the analysis presented is predominantly based on 18 semi-structured residents' interviews, lasting approximately 60 min. Interviews were conducted from March to July 2023, three years after the beginning of the pedestrianisation process, though still in the making (see Figure 1). The interview guideline, combining core concepts of the CVM and Bourdieu's social theory, encompassed residents' views on the neighbourhood, the squares redesign and the participation formats, reasons for (not) participating (resources, social network, and psychological engagement), and general perceptions of local change processes.

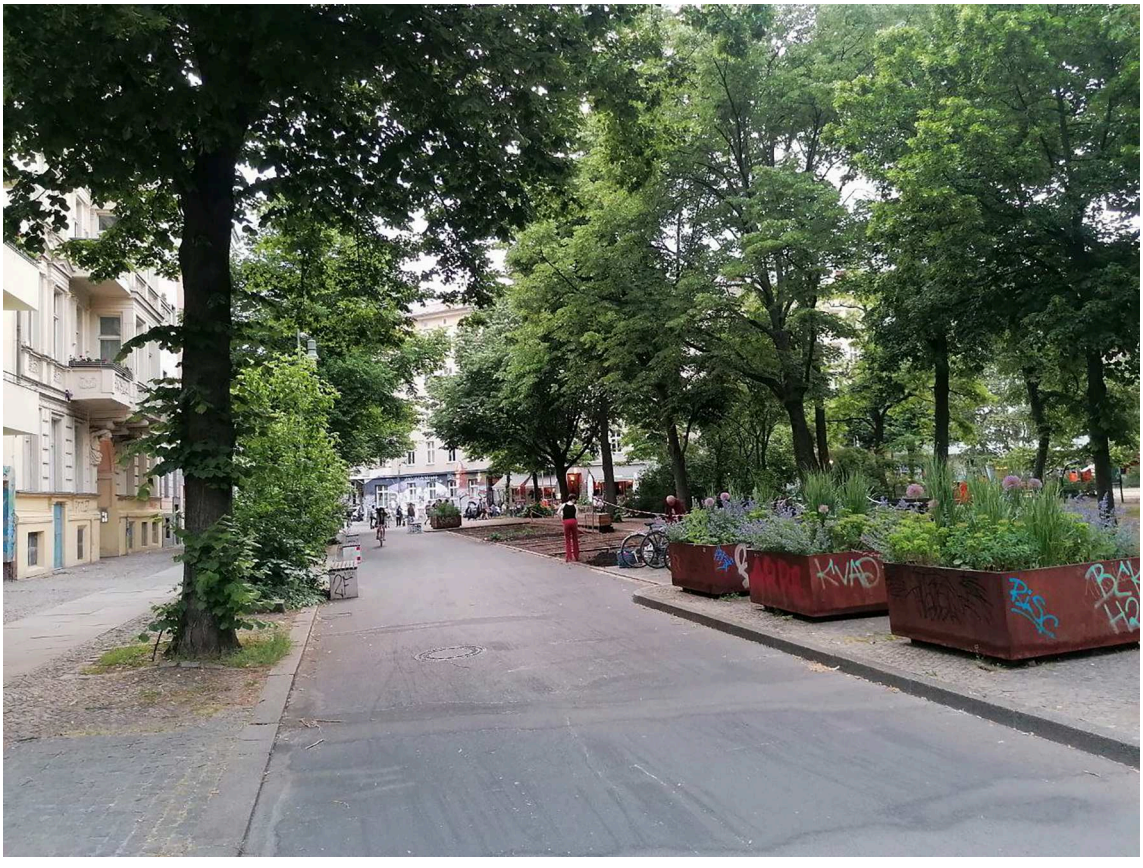

Figure 1. The street space reallocation in the making. Photo by the authors.

Table 1. Details of interview participants.

Interviewee	Age	Gender 0 = non male 1 = male	Citizen ship 0 = German 1 = other or more	Participation online 0 = no 1 = yes	Participation survey 0 = no 1 = yes	Participation meetings 0 = no 1 = yes	Participation maintainance 0 = no 1 = yes	Attitude on Pedestrianisation A = strongly oppose B = tend to oppose C = unaware D = tend to support E = strongly support
1	61	0	0	0	0	0	0	A
2	41	1	1	1	1	1	1	E
3	42	1	0	0	0	1	0	C
4	53	0	0	1	1	1	0	B
5	63	0	0	0	0	0	0	D
6	58	1	1	0	1	0	0	A
7	58	0	0	0	0	0	0	D
9	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	C
10	66	0	0	0	1	1	1	E
11	56	1	0	1	1	0	0	D
12	60	1	1	0	0	0	0	D
13	38	0	1	1	1	1	0	A
14	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	D
15	67	0	0	0	1	0	0	B
16	69	1	1	0	0	0	0	D
18	57	1	1	1	1	1	1	E
19	40	1	0	0	0	0	0	D
20	69	1	0	0	1	1	1	E

To cover diverse perspectives, we opted for non-probability, participants' quota sampling (Taherdoost, 2016). Potential participants were asked to fill in a screening questionnaire ($n = 28$) covering their involvement in the engagement process, and socio-demographic characteristics. Potential participants were approached: directly in the square, via local initiatives and neighbourhood groups, via public posters, via an online platform for neighbours and snowballing.

The final participants' group that took part in the interviews (Table 1) contains half respondents who took part in at least one of the invited participatory events and half who did not. Participants provided a diverse range of perspectives on the scheme. Those who did not participate responded 'no' to the first screening question about their participation in the redesign. Within these two groups, we defined age and gender as additional selection-critical characteristics. Education level, household size, travel behaviour, migration background and income were operationalised as control variables, not least to simplify the recruitment.

We complemented interview findings with an analysis of documents, reports and presentations of the pedestrianisation process, all accessible on the municipality's website. This broadened our understanding of the project and the outcomes of the participation process. It also helped in situating the pedestrianisation process within federal and district visions and resolutions.

The data analysis, conducted in NVivo, included qualitative deductive-inductive coding of interviews (Gläser & Laudel, 2009), i.e. themes from the theoretical framework with additional codes such as the perception of participation in the field of local politics, perception of the field of local politics and experiences with former participation.

Case study

Lausitzer Platz is located in the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district. The square's pedestrianisation has been justified by the district to increase school route safety and the quality of stay and can furthermore be seen as part

of Berlin's commitment to reduce overall GHG emissions (EWG Bln, 2016). Berlin is the first German federal state that gives priority to public transportation, walking, and cycling, as explained in the 2018 Berlin Mobility Act (MobG BE, 2018). The pedestrianisation project is anchored in the Mobility Act, and supplemented by many resolutions at the district level containing directives for improving green infrastructures (DS/1969/V, 2021), walking provision (DS/1460/V, 2022), and new low-traffic neighbourhoods (DS/0299/VI, 2022).

Besides these federal and district commitments to a low-carbon mobility transition, both political levels have formally committed to public participation. Participation is suggested for the implementation of the Mobility Act's plans, which states that the public should be involved by municipalities in an 'appropriate manner' to 'increase the transparency and acceptance of the plans and the resulting measures' (MobG BE, 2018, §19). Moreover, care should be taken to ensure that the interests of all people living in Berlin, regardless of age, gender, income, mobility impairments, living situation, origin and individual transport availability are included and taken into account (MobG BE, 2018, §19).

Some of these principles, such as information and involvement at an early stage, inclusivity and transparency resonate with the guidelines on public participation in urban development projects approved in September 2019 by the federal state (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen, 2021). The implementation of these guidelines is the responsibility of the districts. Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg has not yet adopted them formally, although it has a long tradition in public participation especially within the department of urban development and the department of roads and green spaces, which lies in the district's complex history.

Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg became a unitary district in 2001. Before the German unification, Friedrichshain was in East Berlin, Kreuzberg and the Lausitzer Platz were on the outskirts of West Berlin. Kreuzberg was a mixed-use ethnically diverse neighbourhood with cheap housing, manufacturing, and artists, almost forgotten by the state and developers, but home of a very organised local community and different social groups, including migrant workers and their families. In the 1960s the area was famous for mobilisations against urban renewal (Rosol, 2010). These relationships changed dramatically since the unification of Germany, when Kreuzberg became a central district in Berlin. In the last decades, the area has rapidly gentrified.

The pedestrianisation scheme

The pedestrianisation of the Lausitzer Platz is aimed at transforming space used for car parking into space used for active travel, leisure, and greenery. Initially proposed to enhance road safety in journeys to school, the community's involvement, notably the initiation of a playstreet by local residents in 2020, fostered the square's redesign process. In August 2020, the borough assembly formally tasked the borough administration[2] with pedestrianising the Platz. The overarching objectives were to improve road safety, promote active mobility, and enhance urban quality of life and health. The pedestrianisation process included a variety of measures, from removing parking lots to a new design (DS/1712/V, 2020).

In line with the federal and local directives, the remake of the square was accompanied by a three-phased participatory process to develop new design guidelines, delivered by a commercial participation company. Firstly, the company collected ideas for the redesign through consultations with local businesses, a primary school, and workshops with children. Online participation via the city's platform supplemented on-site formats. The second phase refined initial guidelines through interactive and discourse-oriented public workshops. In the third phase, district officers reviewed the guidelines for feasibility in public workshops and reacted to public concerns (Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, 2022a).

This society-centric approach, with the above-named participatory elements, was followed by a traditional planning process. Following the BVV resolution and the development of the guidelines, the district issued a public tender for their implementation (Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, 2022b). Subsequently, the square underwent a redesign intervention, which included the pedestrianisation of three streets, the colouring of street surfaces, speed calming measures for cyclists, installation of street furniture, and the conversion of parking lots into urban green spaces.

Findings

When investigating non-participation in the Platz pedestrianisation, we found that, contrary to our initial assumption of non-participation, all interviewees did participate. However, the manner in which they engaged varied. Some attended the invited spaces, while others opted for claimed spaces, engaging with the reallocation process through their social networks. The decision regarding where and how (not) to participate appeared to be a complex interplay between the feeling of being heard and the relevance of the scheme of the planning process to individuals and their social networks.

Feeling heard

With the concept of 'feeling heard' we capture those instances where interviewees discussed testimonial and hermeneutical (in)justice, i.e. the extent to which their or their social networks' voices could be expressed and were taken seriously in the spaces for participation, and that they mattered to others.

We found that 'feeling heard' was influenced by three aspects, all connected to 'what happened before entering the room': experiences made in the life course, experiences made with and expectations around invited spaces for participation, and the perception of the field of local politics. In other words, trust in other people, in invited spaces as well as in local politics influenced local participation behaviour. This finding aligns to Laurian's (2009) observation, that trust emerges from complex and dynamic social and interpersonal processes and thereby contributing to diverse positive and negative feedback loops around participation.

We found trust to be not only a major determinant of non-participation in invited spaces (Kwok et al., 2018; Lee & Schachter, 2018; Menzel et al., 2013), but also of the methods of such participation. Positive past experiences and trust, i.e. the feeling of being heard, were presented by participants as having a positive influence on participation in invited spaces. Similarly, Kim (2014), among others, has shown that individuals with higher levels of trust tend to hold a positive perception of democratic institutions, engage more actively in politics, and participate more in civic organisations. Additionally, they are more inclined to mobilise their communities. In our case, however, trust led also to non-participation where participants felt they already delegated their voice to representatives.

Conversely, previous negative experiences and a lack of trust, i.e. the feeling of not being heard, were presented to voice criticisms (Lee & Schachter, 2018) and reported a negative influence on the participation in invited spaces, instead strengthening the participation in and via social networks, claiming their own space.

Experiences in the life course

Interviewees' experiences of social interactions throughout their life course influenced whether they feel heard and engage in invited spaces. Similarly, Menzel et al. (2013) found generalised trust to be highly correlated with initial levels of trust of political institutions. In particular, our interview material revealed a set of dispositions, influencing thoughts on and actions in the invited spaces. This habitual thinking and acting, to use Bourdieus' terms, were gender-specific. Two central resources (or civic skills, in CVM terminology) mentioned are one's perceived knowledge on the scheme and the perceived communicational skills. For interviewee 14, it felt '*not in my nature*' and inappropriate to express an opinion in social contexts when this is felt as not 'fully formed'.

> *I think [the participatory process] it's really complex. And it's not in my nature to assert my thoughts one hundred per cent. Because I'm also too sensitive to other opinions.*

This sensitivity to perceived limited knowledge of a thematic stream described in the quote, paired with insecurities in communicational competencies, can lead to the avoidance of certain topics, and, potentially, as Fricker frames it, hermeneutical justice, as the participant further elaborated:

> *I generally find [expressing interests and opinions] rather difficult. But that also depends a bit on my socialisation, not being able to hold discussions so well, or believing that I can't hold discussions so well. I haven't had that many fundamental discussions in my life. (Interviewee 14)*

The participant considered the decision to not-participate to be influenced not only by the perceived lack of self-confidence in these two civic-skills or, as Bourdieu would refer to, cultural capital influences, but also by the expectation that knowledge on the scheme and different communication skills would be necessary resources to enter the invited space. In this sense, feeling (un)heard was connected to the expectation of feeling ignored in the participatory spaces.

We could hypothesise that such expectation is reinforced by the observation that loud and incorrigible voices of other participants seemed to be expected to take part in invited spaces. Another participant, who associates loud voices with those of car owners, stressed how they '*only know and spend time with people who don't have a car*', because '*car owners are incorrigible. They just want a place for the car*' (Interviewee 7).

Interviewees expected to have to deal with pressure to be clear (Interviewee 14) or with loud voices (Interviewee 7). They expected meetings to reproduce what they do not like about everyday social interactions. Such expectation that invited spaces are reserved for clearly articulated and loud voices, intimidated insecure voices, leading them to avoid these spaces.

Experiences with local participation formats

Much explanatory force on why people do or do not feel heard was found in their memory of previous experiences of local invited spaces (Kwok et al., 2018; Menzel et al., 2013). The invited spaces around the street-space reallocation followed a series of other participation processes in the neighbourhood.[3]

In some cases, previous experiences were associated with positive instances of feeling heard. Consistent with the CVM, participants' positive past experiences of political self-efficacy positively influenced their willingness to engage in future invited spaces (Interviewee 3). For example, for interviewee 20 the possibility to engage strengthened the sense of community. Such sense of community linked to the presence of own social networks is valued even more than the participatory process itself:

> *For a certain time, something like these [participatory events] can definitely have positive effects, bringing together different people, somehow getting people to identify differently with their neighbourhood, […] and simply to meet and do things together. […] I think these things are almost more important than catalysing participation. (Interviewee 2)*

Such descriptions of community in the invited spaces, align with research by Menzel et al. (2013) and Putnams' understanding of social capital, that participation is not only the result of social networks, but also strengthens it.

Others had rather negative experiences. For example, in line with expectations expressed in the previous section, some interviewees recalled experiences of epistemic exclusion. Interviewee 7 felt that previous invited spaces were reserved to loud voices (*'people who just love to talk'*) and to those who wanted to have their interests heard. Interviewee 10 experienced invited spaces as unpleasant due to people shouting and having an aggressive tone.

Moreover, many experienced local invited spaces as 'fake'. This overarching negative feeling is built on three different experiences. First, some participants perceived that invited spaces dismissed local knowledge and expertise. Interviewee 4 criticised the facilitation style for prioritising pre-structured proposals denying genuine discussion. This perception is strengthened by participants' view on political actors involved. For interviewee 15, by proposing an arrogant ideological stand on '*what is best for people here, get rid of your cars*' (Interviewee 15), politicians denied real dialogue and were judgmental towards local residents' needs. Others saw invited spaces as mere 'tick-box exercises' for image improvement, for example used by local political actors to self-promote in the media. Interviewee 16 commented: '*Citizen Participation is about hyping the day's political offers*' or, another participant considered the event only as '*something to write in the press*' (Interviewee 12).

Secondly, a negative perception of invited spaces was built on the feeling of unfairness where, despite talks about affected and marginalised groups in the programme, organisers did not adapt the events (e.g. their language, format and timing) for their inclusion. For example, people with limited German proficiency felt anxious and had to send representatives (Interviewee 12). The discussion on the market extension was held at a time when shop owners could not attend (Interviewee 1, 6), despite their request for a time change.

Similarly, interviewees felt elderly people were excluded due to the limited accessibility of online participation. In all instances, the sense of unfairness extended beyond individual experiences, resonating with the broader experiences of one's social network.

Thirdly, lack of authenticity caused by missing transparency and externalisation of the invited spaces influenced respondents' negative experience. Lack of transparency pertained to both the actors involved and the degree of binding nature of the invited participatory spaces. Some interviewees criticised outsourcing the participatory process to an external company instead of being administered by the municipality (Interviewee 6). Others highlighted issues around the trustworthiness of the evidence provided on the scheme (Interviewee 4).

The range of personal and social networks' experiences associated with local invited spaces for participation, which encompassed both positive and negative aspects, was predominantly influenced by factors such as top-down approaches, perceived unfairness, and lack of authenticity. These elements underscore that the dynamics of trust and mistrust within invited participatory spaces were intricately informed and moulded by individual experiences and interactions within one's social network. Furthermore, the presence or absence of trust in local participatory exercises significantly shaped individual expectations, subsequently influencing the decision to go or to abstain from invited spaces in the redesign of Lausitzer Platz.

Perception of the field of local politics

Our theoretical framework suggests that (non)participation is not only about individual and social networks' resources, but also about the field in which the action takes place. In this section, we deal with the perception of the field of local politics.

Almost all participants perceived the actions of local politics or administration as slow. As mentioned, interviewee 20, felt slowness strengthened sense of community. However, many criticised it as it meant a conspicuous investment of time resources for those who wanted to get involved. Interviewee 10 commented on the disconnect between commitment to participation and one's self-efficacy, compounded with slowness: '*Well, you just have to [engage], you just need stamina*'. Similarly, the absence of direct and concrete outcomes resulting from one's personal participation prompted interviewee 4 to raise concerns about the uncertainty surrounding personal effectiveness within the field of local politics. Similarly, participants' frustration and mistrust pertained to the absence of responsive behaviour of political actors. For example, several interviewees who were and are eager to become active reported that they had not received a response to their calls or e-mails from the local administration. Only some have found a way to deal with the perceived complexity of institutions. Interviewee 10 further reflected on how: '*If you try to reach them at the office, they don't call back or anything. But if you meet them in person, then it's useful*'. For those who found a way to communicate with institutions, it seemed possible to introduce their own ideas and, at least after a while, see them implemented.

Relevance of scheme

Besides the feeling of being heard, another explanatory line for non-participation runs along the perceived relevance of the participatory event or the scheme to residents' lives.

On the one hand, some people attended because they were concerned over more noise,[4] parking availability, and gentrification of the neighbourhood. Affordable housing and feelings of belonging seemed to matter more than the pedestrianisation of the Platz. Moreover, the scheme's rational around safety on school journeys, appeared incomprehensible to some. In contrast to other areas, the square had already received traffic-calming measures and there were no known crashes.

Respondents not only participated when the scheme negatively impacted themselves but also when it had a negative impact on their social network. Interviewee 4 reported being motivated to take part after a friend shared with them information about the process and the way it was negatively impacting them:

> *[the scheme] came so sneakily. All of a sudden it was there. And then a well-informed friend somehow said: Hey, have you seen what this is going to be? And then we started to inform ourselves and then everyone got so excited. And we immediately made Lausizulaut's website and said, "This can't be like this." And then we wanted to resist.*

On the other hand, some attended because the scheme mattered to them in a positive sense, and they wanted to make sure their view was considered:

> *It's my place, where I live. It also belongs to the residents, especially, not only, but, right? And of course, I thought it was important to represent your position if it's already public. And at the time, the opponents were quite vocal. And of course, I wanted to do something against that and say: No, there are also a lot of people who think it's cool and so on. (Interviewee 2)*

Conversely, a few did not attend exactly because the scheme already represented their vision for the square, with interviewee 7 asserting that '*I didn't take part myself because it was clear what they were planning, […] would have been all I wanted*'.

Besides attending participatory events based on personal support for the scheme, the social network also positively influenced the perception of the scheme. Interviewee 19 further clarifies this point:

> *I'm stuck in my own bubble and now somehow as a young dad you only talk to young parents. And there was relative agreement about the redesign of Lausitzer Platz, that it should be quieter, with less traffic, and that the playground should be expanded. You can imagine what young parents think of that.*

In line with what the CVM theorised, the social network encouraged some to attend invited participatory spaces or to contribute to the scheme with small actions which held significance within their social networks. For example, some residents offered to store garden tools needed to take care of the new urban green spaces. However, as interviewee 14 highlighted, this also means that to participate*: 'You have to get to know someone somehow and be taken along',* which might not happen for everyone, or, for interviewee 14 '*it hasn't happened yet*'.

Both in the case of non-participation linked to not-feeling-heard as well as the perceived relevance of the scheme, invited spaces seemed to prioritise those for whom the scheme mattered more, positively or negatively – those who were against the scheme and those that are normally heard and feel confident and rather optimistic about being heard. As interviewee 10 summarised: '*I can make myself heard. And if I don't, then I'm so persistent that I eventually get it through*'. Therefore, invited local participation spaces currently risk reproducing existing unfairness in political decision-making processes as they prioritise loud, persistent, and confident voices, or those with a clear agenda.

Conclusion

This paper sought to respond to the call to better integrate epistemic justice into mobility justice research, complementing its focus on hermeneutic and testimonial justice with a focus on (non)participation. We argued that a comprehensive epistemic justice approach to road transitions should also carefully consider the presence and absence of certain actors and groups in decision-making processes, i.e. 'who is (not) in the room'. Through an in-depth focus on the participatory processes of the Lausitzer Platz, we have shown how such a focus can reveal other forms of exclusion from the decision-making 'room' that are deeply connected to the processual component of current engagement exercises. In particular, our analysis shows that non-participation in invited participation formats is tied to both individuals' and their social networks' feeling of being heard and the relevance of the scheme. The invited spaces at the Lausitzer Platz emerged as a space for people who trust they will feel heard as well as those who, primarily, opposed the scheme. Conversely, residents who feel unheard or for whom the scheme did not matter, tend to not attend the invited spaces. This creates rather exclusionary rooms, where co-design and full local knowledge consideration for mobility justice is difficult.

However, as we have pointed out, residents' perception of not being heard does not equate to non-participation. Instead, residents who feel so claim their own space in which to discuss the scheme with others or form

counter petitions. These claimed spaces still do not tend to be considered in the participatory process of the Lausitzer Platz.

Incorporating these claimed spaces into participatory transport planning, i.e. including claimed spaces as spaces integral to society-centric participation, could mean that other voices can be given entrance to the 'room'. In this sense, our findings align with Chilvers et al.'s (2016) call for considering participation as an emergent and coproduced phenomenon, and therefore for including claimed spaces as a constitutive part of participation.

Feeling heard in invited spaces

Given our finding that the feeling of being heard, both in present and past participatory experiences, influences the decision of whether to join invited participation formats or not (Kersting, 2013), creating invited participation formats in a 'right' manner so that everyone feels heard seems an unattainable goal. A consequentialist perspective in such a case might view public participation as inevitably leading to a 'new tyranny' (Cooke & Kothari, 2004).

However, we propose that there are important steps that can be taken by embracing an epistemic justice lens. As other's have highlighted, our results point to the need to improve the so far exclusionary room, which is dominated by loud, persistent and authoritative voices; by those for whom the scheme matters, mostly in a negative way, and by people who trust that their voices are being heard.

As our findings underline, it is key that invited spaces enable participants to go past negative expectations of social interactions, and pay greater attention to trust and mistrust, as emerging historically in the life-course and locally within previous experiences of participation (Laurian, 2009). Invited spaces should welcome insecure voices without an agenda, by incorporating diverse mechanisms of participation (e.g. small group discussions where one does not necessarily have to make strong points, or targeted engagement with certain communities). Facilitation should exhibit dual sensitivity, encouraging insecure voices, and preventing loud voices from becoming dominant.

Additionally, as also demonstrated by Reichborn-Kjennerud et al. (2021), it is crucial to include voices who view the scheme positively but may have had negative past experiences or perceptions of local politics. It seems necessary to cover different social networks rather than sticking to a representation of socio-economic characteristics and resources of individuals participating. Logistical arrangements in terms of more convenient timing, proper efforts over providing translation and accessible online formats, appropriate outreach, and also, we would add, on the basis of our previous research [REFERENCE REDACTED FOR REVIEW], providing childcare and remuneration are all due steps in this regard.

Thirdly, it is important to overcome the negative experiences of local participation, when not voiced instrumentally. As our findings highlight, transparency and clarity on all procedures and actors involved is key. Clarity on the purpose and remit of invited spaces is needed before their initiation, including in relation to municipal, state and federal political structures, legal frameworks and political parties' visions. A way to prevent false expectations could be a more differentiated vocabulary for the different invited formats, as well as adequate pace and responsiveness to residents' concerns.

Setting the frame for society-centric planning approaches

Legislative requirements may establish the foundation for low-carbon transition in transport and ensure, to a certain extent, residents' right to be involved. However, they often lean towards top-down processes and prioritise invited spaces (see for example Verlinghieri et al. 2024). In Berlin, legal and institutional frameworks shape how planners, municipalities, and residents relate to one another in planning processes and spaces for participation. The Mobility Act itself supports society-centric approaches, while its underpinning legal frameworks bound the remit of participatory processes as part of a mandate to implement specific actions under the decarbonisation mandate.

When tied to a predetermined outcome, such as the design details of the pedestrianisation of one area, participation processes risk leading respondents to see them as a tool for acceptance rather than for addressing

justice concerns. Unlike the idea of society-centric approaches, where residents' voices should have a fundamental influence on the entire process, legally mandated engagements linked to specific plans are likely unable to do so. This perception fosters feelings of not being heard and engenders mistrust in the processes and local politics. A similar perspective arises in the work of Clausen et al. (2021, p. 745), who characterise invited spaces in Denmark's wind turbine planning as sites of 'systemic exercise of power'.

This does not imply that the objective of low-carbon transitions should be put under discussion, as this would contradict overall political and scientific support. Instead, we argue that participatory spaces should fill the gap that exists between a general mandate to reduce emissions and the very localised, simplified, and technically focused co-design exercises covering design guidelines. As others have highlighted (Willis et al., 2022), there is a need to open up just collaborative discussion spaces, which cover the several steps and changes needed to achieve just transitions, at a broader scale than just a local square. Citizens assemblies and similar exercises of deliberative democracy that address the different aspects and implications of transitions, often bringing together invited and claimed spaces, are one of the many ways to bring epistemic justice into climate politics.

Implementing these recommendations poses a challenge, especially within what we called the 'field of local politics', which has been progressively dismantled under neoliberal and austerity planning (Beveridge & Koch, 2021). The constrained conditions of this field make it difficult to acknowledge and welcome emergent participatory relationships and potentials. However, as others highlighted (Hilbrandt, 2017; Legacy et al., 2017), possibilities exist where institutionalised planning processes (closed and invited) may inadvertently give rise to claimed spaces. Hilbrandt (2017) terms this phenomenon as 'insurgent participation', where claimed spaces politicise and challenge institutional planning endeavours. Since these have the potential to include a wider range of voices, we posit that attention should be paid to ensure that legal frameworks do not silently disregard perspectives that go beyond the confines of invited spaces. This is particularly important where claimed spaces are able to create a space in which those who have traditionally experienced exclusion and epistemic injustice can feel heard, feel that the content of the discussion is relevant to their lives, and contribute to the building of social networks.

Notes

1. For Bourdieu society is a social room, which is constituted in different relatively autonomous, though bipolar structured fields. Local politics can be seen as one field (Bourdieu 2001).
2. Berlin is a city-state with a two-tiered administration structure. The central administration is responsible for all matters significant to Berlin as whole, such as finance or judiciary. On the lower tier are the twelve borough administrations, including Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. Each borough administration comprises a borough assembly (BVV) and a borough office. Therefore, every borough is also a municipality (Senate Chancellery 2023).
3. One process concerned the redesign of a nearby market hall, the other regarded the extension of a weekly market in a street leading to the square.
4. from human voices rather than traffic

Acknowledgements

We express our gratitude to all the research participants for their time and insights. We would also like to thank (XXX) for their valuable suggestions and comments, which greatly contributed to improving the manuscript.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

This project was funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research, FONA Programme, Project EXPERI [grant number 01UU1902A/B].

Ethical declaration

This research project was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Research Institute for Sustainability (RIFS) in Potsdam. Informed consent was obtained from all participants.

ORCID

Anke Klaever http://orcid.org/0009-0006-1914-6343
Ersilia Verlinghieri http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1388-2623

References

Aitken, M., Haggett, C., & Rudolph, D. (2016). Practices and rationales of community engagement with wind farms: Awareness raising, consultation, empowerment. *Planning Theory & Practice*, *17*(4), 557–576. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649357.2016.1218919

Amann, K., & Kindler, T. (2021). Social workers in politics–a qualitative analysis of factors influencing social workers' decision to run for political office. *European Journal of Social Work*, *25*(4), 655–667. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691457.2021.1977254

Armingeon, K., & Schädel, L. (2015). Social inequality in political participation: The dark sides of individualisation. *West European Politics*, *38*(1), 1–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2014.929341

Beramendi, P., & Anderson, C. J. (2008). *Democracy, inequality, and representation: A comparative perspective*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Bertolini, L. (2020). From "streets for traffic" to "streets for people": Can street experiments transform urban mobility? *Transport Reviews*, *40*(6), 734–753. https://doi.org/10.1080/01441647.2020.1761907

Beveridge, R., & Koch, P. (2021). Contesting austerity, de-centring the state: Anti-politics and the political horizon of the urban. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, *39*(3), 451–468. https://doi.org/10.1177/2399654419871299

Bödeker, S. (2011). Die soziale Frage der Demokratie - Einkommen und Bildung beeinflussen die Chancen politischer Teilhabe. *WZB-Mitteilungen*, *134*, 26–29. https://bibliothek.wzb.eu/artikel/2011/f-17043.pdf

Bourdieu, P. (2001). *Das politische Feld: Zur Kritik der politischen Vernunft*. UVK Verlagsgesellschaft mbH.

Bourdieu, P. (2002). Habitus. In J. Hillier & E. Rooksby (Eds.), *Habitus: A sense of place* (pp. 27–34). Ashgate.

Bourdieu, P. (2023). *Die feinen Unterschiede: Kritik der gesellschaftlichen Urteilskraft* (29th ed.). Suhrkamp.

Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. J. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. University of Chicago Press.

Campbell, R. (2023). Germany United? Trust in democratic institutions thirty years after unification. *German Politics and Society*, *41*(1), 1–24. https://doi.org/10.3167/gps.2023.410101

Cass, N. (2006). *Participatory-deliberative engagement: A literature review: Working Paper 1.2*. https://geography.exeter.ac.uk/beyond_nimbyism/deliverables/bn_wp1_2.pdf

Chilvers, J., & Longhurst, N. (2016). Participation in transition(s): Reconceiving public engagements in energy transitions as co-produced, emergent and diverse. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, *18*(5), 585–607. https://doi.org/10.1080/1523908X.2015.1110483

Chilvers, J., Pallett, H., & Hargreaves, T. (2018). Ecologies of participation in socio-technical change: The case of energy system transitions. *Energy Research & Social Science*, *42*, 199–210. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2018.03.020

Clausen, L. T., Rudolph, D., & Nyborg, S. (2021). The good process or the great illusion? A spatial perspective on public participation in Danish municipal wind turbine planning. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, *23*(6), 732–751. https://doi.org/10.1080/1523908X.2021.1910017

Cooke, B., & Kothari, U. (2004). *Development studies. Participation: The new tyranny?* Zed Books.

Cornwall, A. (2002). *Making spaces, changing places: Situating participation in development*. IDS Working Paper No. 170, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, England.

Cuppen, E. (2018). The value of social conflicts. Critiquing invited participation in energy projects. *Energy Research & Social Science*, *38*, 28–32. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2018.01.016

DS/0299/VI - Vorgehen zur Umsetzung flächendeckender Verkehrsberuhigung und Umgang mit der Beschlusslage sog. Kiezblocks. (August 17, 2022). https://www.berlin.de/ba-friedrichshain-kreuzberg/politik-und-verwaltung/bezirksverordnetenversammlung/online/vo020.asp?VOLFDNR = 10538

DS/1460/V - Fußverkehrskonzept für Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. (January 24, 2022). https://www.berlin.de/ba-friedrichshain-kreuzberg/politik-und-verwaltung/bezirksverordnetenversammlung/online/vo020.asp?VOLFDNR = 9353

DS/1712/V - Widmung von Straßenzügen zu vier Fußgänger*innenzonen. (October 8, 2020). https://www.berlin.de/ba-friedrichshain-kreuzberg/politik-und-verwaltung/bezirksamt/beschluesse-des-bezirksamtes/2020/150-sitzung/beschluss-widmung-von-strassenzuegen-zu-vier-fussgaenger-innenzonen-974793.php

DS/1969/V - Entsiegelungskonzept für Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. (February 24, 2021). https://www.berlin.de/ba-friedrichshain-kreuzberg/politik-und-verwaltung/bezirksverordnetenversammlung/online/vo020.asp?VOLFDNR = 9882

Duvsjö, J. K. (2014). *What is affecting political trust? A comparative study on Europe*. Department of political Science. Linnaeus University.
Escher, T. (2013). Mobilisierung zu politischer Partizipation durch das Internet: Erwartungen, Erkenntnisse und Herausforderungen der Forschung. *Analyse & Kritik*, *35*(2), 449–476. https://doi.org/10.1515/auk-2013-0209
EWG Bln - Berliner Klimaschutz- und Energiewendegesetz. (2016). https://gesetze.berlin.de/perma?d = jlr-EWendGBEV2IVZ
Fricker, M. (2007). *Epistemic injustice: Power and the ethics of knowing*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198237907.001.0001
Fricker, M. (2013). Epistemic justice as a condition of political freedom? *Synthese*, *190*(7), 1317–1332. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11229-012-0227-3
Friedmann, J. (1987). *Planning in the public domain: From knowledge to action*. Princeton University Press.
Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. (2022a). *Beteiligungsverfahren: Zusammenfassung und Leitsätze*. https://padlet.com/lausi/kiez-beteiligung-lausitzer-platz-neugestaltung-von-h-userkan-z3lkxxafcvjmqhxr/wish/2276352883
Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. (2022b). *FAQ Fußgänger*innenzone Lausitzer Platz*. https://www.berlin.de/ba-friedrichshain-kreuzberg/politik-und-verwaltung/aemter/strassen-und-gruenflaechenamt/artikel.1056956.php
Gaventa, J. (2006). Finding the spaces for change: A power analysis. *IDS Bulletin*, *37*(6), 23–33. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1759-5436.2006.tb00320.x
Gläser, J., & Laudel, G. (2009). *Experteninterviews und qualitative Inhaltsanalyse als Instrumente rekonstruierender Untersuchungen* (3rd ed.). VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
Gössling, S., Schröder, M., Späth, P., & Freytag, T. (2016). Urban space distribution and sustainable transport. *Transport Reviews*, *36*(5), 659–679. https://doi.org/10.1080/01441647.2016.1147101
Habermas, J. (2007). *Reason and the rationalization of society*. Beacon Press.
Hensby, A. (2020). Political non-participation in elections, civic life and social movements. *Sociology Compass*, *15*(1), e12843. https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12843
Hilbrandt, H. (2017). Insurgent participation: Consensus and contestation in planning the redevelopment of Berlin-Tempelhof airport. *Urban Geography*, *38*(4), 537–556. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2016.1168569
Hooghe, M., & Marien, S. (2012). A comparative analysis of the relation between political trust and forms of political participation in Europe. *European Societies*, *15*(1), 131–152. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2012.692807
Jacobs, D., & Tillie, J. (2004). Introduction: Social capital and political integration of migrants. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *30*(3), 419–427. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830410001682016
Karner, A., London, J., Rowangould, D., & Manaugh, K. (2020). From transportation equity to transportation justice: Within, through, and beyond the state. *Journal of Planning Literature*, *35*(4), 440–459. https://doi.org/10.1177/0885412220927691
Kersting, N. (2013). Online participation: From 'invited' to 'invented' spaces. *International Journal of Electronic Governance*, *6*(4), Article 60650, 270. https://doi.org/10.1504/IJEG.2013.060650
Kim, H. H. (2014). Generalised trust, institutional trust and political participation: A cross-national study of fourteen southeast and centred Asian countries. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, *42*(6), 695–721. https://doi.org/10.1163/15685314-04206002
Kwok, M., Johnson, L., & Pojani, D. (2018). Discretion and the erosion of community trust in planning: Reflections on the post-political. *Geographical Research*, *56*(4), 382–392. https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-5871.12310
Laurian, L. (2009). Trust in planning: Theoretical and practical considerations for participatory and deliberative planning. *Planning Theory & Practice*, *10*(3), 369–391. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649350903229810
Lee, Y., & Schachter, H. L. (2018). Exploring the relationship between trust in government and citizen participation. *International Journal of Public Administration*, *42*(5), 405–416. https://doi.org/10.1080/01900692.2018.1465956
Legacy, C. (2016). Is there a crisis of participatory planning? *Planning Theory*, *16*(4), 425–442. https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095216667433
Legacy, C. (2018). The post-politics of transport: Establishing a new meeting ground for transport politics. *Geographical Research*, *56*(2), 196–205. https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-5871.12263
Legacy, C., Curtis, C., & Scheurer, J. (2017). Planning transport infrastructure: Examining the politics of transport planning in Melbourne, Sydney and Perth. *Urban Policy and Research*, *35*(1), 44–60. https://doi.org/10.1080/08111146.2016.1272448
Legacy, C., Metzger, J., Steele, W., & Gualini, E. (2019). Beyond the post-political: Exploring the relational and situated dynamics of consensus and conflict in planning. *Planning Theory*, *18*(3), 273–281. https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095219845628
Lenger, A., Schneickert, C., & Schumacher, F. (2013). *Pierre Bourdieus Konzeption des Habitus - Grundlagen, Zugänge, Forschungsperspektiven*. Springer VS.
Lowe, K., Barajas, J., & Coren, C. (2023). "It's annoying, confusing, and it's irritating": Lived expertise for epistemic justice and understanding inequitable accessibility. *Journal of Transport Geography*, *106*, 103504. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2022.103504
Menzel, S., Buchecker, M., & Schulz, T. (2013). Forming social capital–does participatory planning foster trust in institutions? *Journal of Environmental Management*, *131*, 351–362. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvman.2013.10.010
Miraftab, F. (2004). Invited and invented spaces of participation: Neoliberal citizenship and feminists' expanded notion of politics. *Wagadu: A journal of Transnational Women's & Gender Studies*, *1*(1), Article no. 3.
MobG BE - Berliner Mobilitätsgesetz. (2018). https://gesetze.berlin.de/perma?d = jlr-MobGBErahmen

Putnam, R. D., & Goss, K. A. (2002). Introduction. In R. D. Putnam (Ed.), *Democracies in flux: The evolution of social capital in contemporary society* (pp. 3–20). Oxford University Press.
Putnam, R. D., Leonardi, R., & Nanetti, R. (1993). *Making democracy work - civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt7s8r7
Reichborn-Kjennerud, K., McShane, I., Middha, B., & Ruano, J. M. (2021). Exploring the relationship between trust and participatory processes: Participation in urban development in Oslo. *Madrid and Melbourne. Nordic Journal of Urban Studies*, *1* (2), 94–112.
Rosol, M. (2010). Public participation in post-Fordist urban green space governance: The case of community gardens in Berlin. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *34*(3), 548–563. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2010.00968.x
Rowe, G., & Frewer, L. J. (2005). A typology of public engagement mechanisms. *Science, Technology, & Human Values*, *30*(2), 251–290. https://doi.org/10.1177/0162243904271724
Senate Chancellery. (2023). *Berlin's political structure*. https://www.berlin.de/rbmskzl/en/the-senate/political-structure/
Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen. (2021). *Gemeinsam Stadt machen! Leitlinien für Beteiligung von Bürgerinnen und Bürgern an Projekten und Prozessen der räumlichen Stadtentwicklung*. file:///C:/Users/ANK/Downloads/langfassung-llbb_gemeinsamstadtmachen_abschlusskommunikation.pdf.
Sheller, M. (2018). *Mobility justice: The politics of movement in the age of extremes*. Verso.
Smeds, E., & Papa, E. (2023). The value of street experiments for mobility and public life: Citizens' perspectives from three European cities. *Journal of Urban Mobility*, *4*, 100055. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.urbmob.2023.100055
Smeds, E., Verlinghieri, E., Kocsis, J., Connolly, J. J. T., Polgár, A., Manaugh, K., Waygood, E. O. D., Castañeda, P., & Wargant, M., (2023). 'Seeing like a citizen': Rethinking city street transformations through the lens of epistemic justice. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 24(5), 1–33.
Taherdoost, H. (2016). Sampling methods in research methodology; how to choose a sampling technique for research. *International Journal of Academic Research in Management*, *5*(2), 18–27.
van Deth, J. W. (2014a). Das schwierige Verhältnis zwischen Partizipation und Demokratie. In K. Pohl & P. Massing (Eds.), *Mehr Partizipation - mehr Demokratie?* (pp. 11–26). Wochenschau Verlag.
van Deth, J. W. (2014b). *Demokratie in der Großstadt: Ergebnisse des ersten Mannheimer Demokratie Audit*. Springer VS.
Verba, S., Schlozman, K. L., & Brandy, H. E. (1995). *Voice and equality: Civic voluntarism in American politics*. Harvard University Press.
Verlinghieri, E., & Schwanen, T. (2020). Transport and mobility justice: Evolving discussions. *Journal of Transport Geography*, *87*, 102798. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2020.102798.
Verlinghieri, E., Vitale Brovarone, E., & Staricco, L. (2024). The conflictual governance of street experiments, between austerity and post-politics. *Urban Studies*, *61*(5), 878–899. https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980231193860
Vitale Brovarone, E., Staricco, L., & Verlinghieri, E. (2023). Whose is this street? Actors and conflicts in the governance of pedestrianisation processes. *Journal of Transport Geography*, *107*, 103528. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2022.103528.
Willis, R., Curato, N., & Smith, G. (2022). Deliberative democracy and the climate crisis. *WIREs Climate Change*, *13*(2), e759. https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.759.