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**Article:**

Jephcote, C, Chen, H and Ropkins, K [orcid.org/0000-0002-0294-6997](http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0294-6997) (2016)  
Implementation of the Polluter-Pays Principle (PPP) in local transport policy. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 55. pp. 58-71. ISSN 0966-6923

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2016.06.017>

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Manuscript Number: JTRG-D-15-00279R3

Title: Implementation of the 'Polluter Pays Principle' in local transport policy

Article Type: Full Length Article

Keywords: Air Pollution; Deprivation; Environmental Justice (EJ); Local Indicators of Spatial Association (LISA); Polluter-Pays Principle (PPP); Transport Policy

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Abstract: Previous research has highlighted significant socio-environmental inequalities in the UK and elsewhere. A city's greatest polluters typically reside in affluent suburban communities located along the city's periphery, whilst those creating the least emissions reside in central locations, and most likely experience the largest associated health burdens. Using the culturally diverse city of Leicester as a study case, and building on Mitchell & Dorling's (2003) localised form of the Polluter Pays Principle, we investigate this environmental injustice. A pattern detection analysis of localised intra-urban interactions was undertaken using a 'Local Indicators of Spatial Association' (LISA) modelling approach of high resolution census data, Driver Vehicle Licensing Agency (DVLA) records, road transport emission maps and geocoded hospital admissions records provided by the NHS Leicester City Primary Care Trust.

Pearson's R statistics identified an inverse correlation between mobile polluters and communities characterised as either socially (-0.78) or environmentally burdened (-0.34), confirming the existence of environmental inequalities. Whilst some inner-city communities moderately contribute towards their environmental burden, these contributions were substantially outweighed by those made by external communities, whom appear to avoid the social, environment and physical cost of their actions. In contrast to their more affluent counterparts, residents of less affluent areas tend to use 'greener' and more active transport options, although any associated health benefits appear largely offset by increased periods of environmental exposure. Strong signs of spatial structuring within the modelling framework, suggest there may be a need to tailor travel schemes to local populaces. For example, in affluent areas where less environmentally friendly transport options tend to be adopted, options based on local carpool schemes may be more amenable than those based on enhanced public services.



## IMPLEMENTATION OF THE POLLUTER PAYS PRINCIPLE IN LOCAL TRANSPORT POLICY

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**Article Type:** Full Length Article

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## **FINANCIAL SUPPORT**

Financial support for the study was provided through an Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council (EPSRC) studentship. The authors thank Leicester City Primary Care Trust (NHS) for providing hospital admission data on residents within the Leicester City UA, and Callcredit Information Group for the provision of DVLA vehicle ownership summaries from the PARC dataset.

## HIGHLIGHTS

- LISA analysis shows socio-environmental inequalities between communities in UK city [85 characters]
- Poorer inner-city residents are subject to a disproportionate environmental burden [84 characters]
- More effective future transport schemes may need to be community-specific [76 characters]

## ABSTRACT

Previous research has highlighted significant socio-environmental inequalities in the UK and elsewhere. A city's greatest polluters typically reside in affluent suburban communities located along the city's periphery, whilst those creating the least emissions reside in central locations, and most likely experience the largest associated health burdens. Using the culturally diverse city of Leicester as a study case, and building on Mitchell & Dorling's (2003) localised form of the Polluter Pays Principle, we investigate this environmental injustice. A pattern detection analysis of localised intra-urban interactions was undertaken using a 'Local Indicators of Spatial Association' (LISA) modelling approach of high resolution census data, Driver Vehicle Licensing Agency (DVLA) records, road transport emission maps and geocoded hospital admissions records provided by the NHS Leicester City Primary Care Trust.

Pearson's R statistics identified an inverse correlation between mobile polluters and communities characterised as either socially (-0.78) or environmentally burdened (-0.34), confirming the existence of environmental inequalities. Whilst some inner-city communities moderately contribute towards their environmental burden, these contributions were substantially outweighed by those made by external communities, whom appear to avoid the social, environment and physical cost of their actions. In contrast to their more affluent counterparts, residents of less affluent areas tend to use 'greener' and more active transport options, although any associated health benefits appear largely offset by increased periods of environmental exposure. Strong signs of spatial structuring within the modelling framework, suggest there may be a need to tailor travel schemes to local populaces. For example, in affluent areas where less environmentally friendly transport options tend to be adopted, options based on local carpool schemes may be more amenable than those based on enhanced public services.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

1 Road-transport accounts for a substantial proportion of air quality objective pollutants present in the  
2 Post-industrial cityscape, attributed to the movement of labour forces and physical merchandise  
3 often within close proximity to residential districts. Furthermore, the confined nature of European  
4 intra-urban environments often determine spatial variations in traffic pollutant levels, which tend to  
5 be associated with a plethora of social disparities. Spatial modelling, object identification and  
6 gradient association techniques previously identified underlying structures in the archetypal UK  
7 multicultural city of Leicester, whereby persons of minority and lower socioeconomic status  
8 habitually reside within intra-urban areas experiencing elevated environmental burdens (Jephcote &  
9 Chen 2012, Jephcote & Chen 2013, Jephcote et al 2014).

### 1.1. JUST TRANSPORTATION

10 Transportation is a conduit for opportunities of economic mobility, sustainability and human  
11 interaction, which in a 'Just' scenario may serve to address social imbalance. In the real world, costs  
12 and benefits associated with transportation developments are not randomly distributed, with the  
13 lion's share spent on roads, while urban transit systems serving ethnic and lower social groups are  
14 often left in disrepair: In the United States, public transit has received roughly \$50 billion since  
15 1964, while roadway projects have received over \$205 billion since 1956 (Bullard et al. 2004). To a  
16 lesser extent disparities in transport related public expenditure are observed in Great Britain, with  
17 £7.52 billion spent on roads and £3.33 billion was spent on local public transport in 2012 (RAC  
18 Foundation 2014).

19 Bullard (2003) considers disparate transportation outcomes to fall under three broad categories of  
20 inequality:

21 ***“Procedural Inequity:** Attention is directed to the process by which transportation decisions  
22 may or may not be carried out in a uniform, fair, and consistent manner with involvement of  
23 diverse public stakeholders. Do the rules apply equally to everyone?*

24 ***Geographic Inequity:** Transportation decisions may have distributive impacts (positive and  
25 negative) that are geographic and spatial [...]. Some communities are physically located on  
26 the 'wrong side of the tracks' and often receive substandard transportation services.*

27 ***Social Inequity:** Transportation benefits and burdens are not randomly distributed across  
28 population groups. Generally, transportation amenities (benefits) accrue to the wealthier and  
29 more educated segment of society, while transportation disamenities (burdens) fall*

30            *disproportionately on people of colour and individuals at the lower end of the socioeconomic*  
31            *spectrum.”*

(Bullard 2003, pp.1188)

32    Across England, 78.0% of households in the highest income group own one or more cars,  
33    compared to only 53.0% in the lowest income group (Dft 2015). Car ownership would appear  
34    directly related with mobility, and thus access to opportunity, with 22.0% fewer trips made by the  
35    lowest income group (Dft 2015). Public and active modes of transportation are favoured by lower  
36    socio-economic groups, perhaps out of necessity rather than choice. *“In general, most transit*  
37    *systems have taken their low-income and people of colour "captive riders" for granted and*  
38    *concentrated their fare and service policies on attracting middle-class and affluent riders out of their*  
39    *cars”* (Bullard et al. 2003, pp.1189). A lack of car ownership, inadequate public services and a high  
40    proportion of ‘captive’ transit dependents are likely to exacerbate issues of social, economic, and  
41    racial isolation.

42    In the Western World, sprawl-fuelled growth has exacerbated the economic, social and racial  
43    polarisation of communities, with the suburban flight of jobs and white middle-income families  
44    leaving behind: A concentration of urban core poverty, closed opportunity, limited public mobility to  
45    non-centric locales, economic disinvestment, social isolation, and urban-suburban disparities  
46    (Bullard 2000). In the UK it is emerging that after decades of suburban flight, young, affluent and  
47    educated workers are returning to congregate in regenerated urban neighbourhoods, fuelled by  
48    demographic trends and lifestyle preference favouring the close proximity of amenity hubs to  
49    attractive ‘green’ spaces (Moir & Clark 2014). The redesign and appropriate pricing of city central  
50    workspaces have also played a crucial role in this redistribution of the population, with urban  
51    locations accounting for 53-70% of the annual office space take-up in the UK over the period 2002-  
52    2012 (JLL 2013).

53    McLeod et al’s (2000) incorporation of hierarchical spatial elements, while investigating national  
54    trends in UK air pollution and increasingly complex social structures, identified an association  
55    between reduced air quality and regional deprivation, the effect of which was locally magnified in  
56    ethnic minority communities. Successive modelling accounting for levels of urbanisation and ethnic  
57    diversity, found persons of higher social status to be more likely exposed to higher pollutant  
58    concentrations. McLeod et al (2000) concluded that wealthier inhabitants consider a range of  
59    property characteristics prior to purchase, however a limited quantity of housing stock display the

60 required environmental and cultural amenities, with the latter characteristic ultimately of  
61 preference in the decision making process. Thus, sweeping measures to address mobility,  
62 transportation choice and air quality across urban locations, may under certain circumstances  
63 increase the equity gap.

64 Within the transportation literature, the term 'Social exclusion' is often employed to refocus the  
65 debate not just based on income-related deprivation, but across the wider political and cultural  
66 systems determining social integration (Hodgson & Turner 2003, Kenyon et al 2002, Preston & Raje  
67 2007). Transport plays a crucial role in the discussion of social justice, through its creation and  
68 indirect distributions of socio-economic benefits and burdens, that are not exclusively defined by  
69 welfare economics (Beyazit 2011, Martens 2012, Mullen et al 2014).

70 Moving beyond a simplistic monetary debate, Martens (2012) considers the inclusion of the  
71 transport sector in Walzer's 'Spheres of Justice'. According to Walzer (1983), dominance and much  
72 of the policy debate is typically claimed by 'regular goods' (money and power) distributed through  
73 the principle of free exchange, while the creation of 'distributive spheres' for goods with distinct  
74 social meaning (education and health services) operate to limit their domination; Injustice occurs  
75 when 'distribution spheres' are not autonomous, otherwise a situation of 'complex equality'  
76 prevents the accumulation of inequalities across different goods or spheres. Building upon this  
77 concept, Martens (2012) views transport as an overarching social good rather than a distribution of  
78 individual objects, with the commodity defined not by the perceived freedoms of increased potential  
79 mobility (which ignores distributions of choice), but through the accessibility of fulfilling ones  
80 underlying social need. From this a 'maximax' distribution criterion is theorised, which seeks to  
81 combine an outcome of maximum average accessibility with a limit on the maximal gap allowed  
82 between societies worst and best-off. Beneficially the uniformity of the 'equality' principle is not  
83 required, allowing for inevitable differences in accessibility created by space, and unlike the 'need'  
84 criterion it does not require a paternalistic approach to differentiate trip necessity. Under this  
85 approach, policy can increase accessibility levels for some at the expense of those best served, with  
86 positive outcomes also obtained from non-mobility related solutions (i.e. land-use intervention).

87 More equitable implementations often elude existing systems, where distribution focuses on  
88 revenue over universal accessibility, demand forecast is based on past travel behaviour reflective of  
89 free market distributive mechanisms that ignore latent demand, and when policy success is  
90 measured through its performance of parts rather than societal benefit (Martens 2012). This is

91 highlighted by the spatial mismatch literature, which identifies concentrations of low income groups  
92 in central cities, a decentralisation of low wage jobs, and a lack of investment in new public transport  
93 facilities leading to a sharp decline in job access among the urban poor (Ihlanfeldt 1993, Ong &  
94 Miller 2005). Thus, space is divided into centre and periphery, with inequality in accessibility being  
95 inevitable, and while policy is unlikely to correct this difference it is capable of redefining it. Another  
96 widely defended justice criterion is the 'principle of need', which advocates greater levels of  
97 accessibility for certain individuals or groups, to avoid exclusion from social needs or the use of  
98 essential public services (Murray & Davis 2001, Hodgson & Turner 2003, Geurs & van Wee 2004,  
99 Apparicio & Seguin 2006, Currie 2010). Yet, the challenge in the field of transport is to distinguish  
100 needs from wants, and how to translate the basic needs of access to essential services into travel.

101 The interpretation of such needs is perhaps most viable at the neighbourhood level, for three  
102 reasons: (a) optimal integration with the existing transport infrastructure plans which focus on the  
103 collective rather than individuals; (b) census based neighbourhood units are considered to provide  
104 stable demographic information which best meet the current demand of long-term forecasts; and (c)  
105 participant confidentiality is maintained. The following sections seek to evaluate the equity of  
106 existing transport infrastructure via Pearce et al's (2010) previously unconsidered 'triple jeopardy' of  
107 social, environmental and health inequalities at the neighbourhood level for the aforementioned  
108 reasons. This approach is considered to comprehensively capture the imposed effect of  
109 transportation through an environmental accountability framework. Still, the authors recognised its  
110 limitation of considering the 'principle of need' where complex social situations call for greater levels  
111 of accessibility. This raises the question, at what cost should one group's accessibility socially,  
112 environmentally, impede the social, environmental and well-being of others? On the other hand a  
113 penalisation of excessive mobility via polluting modes is perhaps required in order to seriously  
114 address socio-environmental inequality, considering that accessibility can and should also be  
115 rebalanced by better land use policy. This is not the place to define these open and unresolved  
116 questions, with the authors advising policy makers to consider the 'principle of need' prior to  
117 imposing actions on local communities identified from an environmental perspective.

## **1.2. TRANSPORT CHOICE: GREAT BRITAIN**

118 The use and quality of public transport in British cities outside of London and Greater Manchester  
119 has declined in recent decades, with urban transport services becoming increasingly fragmented  
120 following the (a) deregulation of buses in the Transport Act 1985, and (b) privatisation measures in  
121 the Railways Act 1993 (Preston et al 2008). In part, this is due to greater prosperity and increased car

122 ownership, but a lack of coordination in local public transport services to provide a low cost, quality  
123 and integrated service has also played a role (RAC Foundation, DfT 2013a).

124 Since bus deregulation, patronage in the English metropolitan counties has decreased by 48% over  
125 the 19 years from 1985-2004, with a 23% real term increase in fares and a 20% decrease in service  
126 levels (in terms of vehicle-km operated) occurring in the period 1994-2004 (Dodgson et al 2006).  
127 Passenger focus surveys cite cost (43%), trip quality (37%), and the stress of making connections on  
128 time (32%) as barriers to the use of bus services in England, with 60% of the public only travelling via  
129 bus if they had no other choice and 52% perceiving users to be of a lower social status (DfT 2011).

130

131 Although rail use in Great Britain has doubled since 1994, to 1.6 billion passenger journeys, such  
132 trends are driven principally by London commuters (Rail Executive 2014). Like other public modes,  
133 rail has seen a real term fare increases of 24% and poor customer experiences are frequent, with  
134 South East operators recording 8.6-9.5% of passengers in excess of capacity during morning  
135 commutes (DfT 2013b, Action for Rail 2013). Furthermore, Britain is currently reported to have  
136 Europe's highest commuter fares, with season tickets priced at 0.14 £/km, compared to the  
137 respectively low values of 0.08 £/km in the Netherlands or Germany, and 0.04 £/km in Switzerland  
138 (Action for Rail 2013).

139 In England, the mix between modes of travel has marginally changed over the period 1994-2014,  
140 with the share of trips made via active (walking and cycling) modes decreasing from 28% to 24%, and  
141 public transport increasing from 9% to 11% (DfT 2015). Transport choice surveys cite the danger of  
142 road cycling (60%), the limited number of dedicated cycle paths (37%), and secure storage (41%) as  
143 key barriers to the uptake cycling in England (DfT 2011).

### 1.3. POLLUTER-PAYS PRINCIPLE (PPP)

144 At its core 'Environmental Justice' seeks to provide equal access to a clean environment and equal  
145 protection from possible environmental harm irrespective of socioeconomic factors (Cutter 1995).  
146 Of significant importance is the 'The *Polluter-Pays Principle*' (PPP), the notion that environmental  
147 actions embody mechanisms for assigning culpability, shifting the burden of mitigation to the  
148 polluters rather the polluted. "Thus EJ research seeks to determine whether marginal and/or  
149 minority groups bear a disproportionate burden of environmental problems, and whether planning  
150 policy and practice affecting the environment are equitable and fair" (Mitchell & Dorling 2003).

151 Under the OECD councils preliminary 1972 and ensuing 1974 recommendations, "the Polluter-Pays  
152 Principle means that the polluter should bear the costs of pollution prevention and control  
153 measures, the latter being measures decided by public authorities to ensure that the environment is  
154 in an acceptable state" (OECD 1992). Yet, fundamentally the PPP is not a concept of equity, but  
155 rather a measure for ensuring economic efficiency and minimising distortions in international trade,  
156 by incorporating environmental costs in the decision-making process; thus optimising the use of  
157 natural resources and ending the cost-free use of the environment as a receptacle for pollution  
158 (Vicha 2012). At an international level, such concepts exist in the trading of greenhouse gas emission  
159 allowances, in that pollution costs are internalised (efficiency), but also that producers buy their  
160 allowances before they pass on those costs to consumers (equity) (Woerdman et al 2007). The  
161 principle's precise legal definition has not been rigorously defined and, as a result, where PPP has  
162 been applied, it is often in an *ad hoc* manner by enforcement agencies acting responsively to  
163 situations on a case-by-case basis, most often focusing on the selective use of establish rules rather  
164 than seeking to refine a framework or unifying theory (Mann 2009). In this regard, corporate  
165 accountability in international environmental law has been traditionally dealt with by taxation  
166 charges on toxic substances and dangerous goods or more commonly through the retrospective  
167 compensation of the victims of environmental harm typically from developing nations (Luken 2009,  
168 Luppi et al 2012). Both, approaches can be considered crude implementations of the PPP. The prior  
169 adds an extra financial burden on those seeking to use potential harmful materials that could be  
170 used to fund monitoring and mitigation activities in 'at risk' areas, while the latter is perhaps the  
171 bluntest implementation, seeking, after the event, to make the polluter pay direct financial and legal  
172 penalties for damage done.

173

174 According to the traditional PPP definition, 'Pigovian taxation' addresses the negative externalities  
175 and societal consequences arising from the actions of commercial enterprise, through levying  
176 additional sector specific taxation (internalisation of cost). Alternatively, the government can follow  
177 a command-and-control approach, with activity restriction through abatement devices, speed  
178 control and allocated zonal access emerging as measures to control mobile pollution sources.  
179 Idealistically, internalisation restores the Pareto optimality of competitive equilibria, where no actor  
180 can be made better off without making someone worse off, resource waste is minimised, and the  
181 welfare of society is at its maximum (Schmidtchen et al 2009).

182

183 A largely unexplored issue within the EJ literature is the question of whether a Localised Polluter-  
184 Pays Principle (L-PPP) exists, whereby the community responsible for producing pollutants

185 experiences proportional environmental and social burdens. This is somewhat of a surprise, when  
186 considering that private vehicles (individually owned mobile sources), rather than large industrial  
187 facilities (corporate owned point sources) typically account for the larger proportion of detrimental  
188 pollution in urban areas. To-date the focus of EJ research has commonly been upon describing or  
189 quantifying how the socio-physical structures of the urban environment shapes health, with limited  
190 attention paid on the origins of the albeit complex environmental contributions imposed by personal  
191 sources. Recently, either as a conscious move towards a more comprehensive application of the PPP  
192 or simply a fortuitous offshoot from generalised policy, the introduction of policies based on urban  
193 zoning charges has brought aspects of local environmental responsibility into the remit of the  
194 ordinary citizen. However, the direct redistribution of collected wealth from such schemes to  
195 effected communities is not, at this stage, a required element of these policies nor, if it were, is it  
196 clear if conventional transport-sector mitigations would be the most effective mechanism for  
197 minimising environmental impacts in the most affected areas.

198 In 2003, the London Congestion Charging Scheme (CCS) became operational, as a means to alleviate  
199 traffic congestion throughout the cities central districts. Modelling indicated that wards located  
200 within the Congestion Charging Zone (CCZ) could experience a 1.3% reduction in NO<sub>2</sub> concentrations,  
201 an improvement that the modellers equated to 183 Years-of-life-gained per 100,000 persons over a  
202 10-year period (YLG<sub>10</sub>) (Tonne et al 2008). However, London's least (38.15µg/m<sup>3</sup>) and most (47.01  
203 µg/m<sup>3</sup>) deprived ward quantiles, respectively, experienced 0.05% and 0.5% reductions on their pre-  
204 CCS NO<sub>2</sub> concentrations (corresponding to 5 and 60 YLG<sub>10</sub>), suggesting this scheme, although of  
205 some benefit, has done little to address the social gap in environmental exposure.

206 Similarly, Cesaroni et al's (2012) evaluation of two low-emission zones established in Rome across  
207 the period of 2001-2005, revealed well-off residents to experience the greatest health gains from  
208 zoning implementation. Here, residential reductions in NO<sub>2</sub> concentrations were observed to  
209 conservatively provide 687 YLG<sub>10</sub> for communities of high socioeconomic position, compared to  
210 benefits of only 163 YLG<sub>10</sub> experienced by residents of the most deprived quintile (Cesaroni et al  
211 2012). In a certain respect, the Rome LEZ fails as an environmental scheme as it should be the  
212 attention of policy workers to minimise existing societal gradients. This concept has become a  
213 priority of the UK government, following the independently commissioned 'Marmot Review' of  
214 evidence-based strategies for reducing health inequalities, which called for policy objectives to  
215 (Marmot et al 2010):

216 [1] Give every child the best start in life

- 217 [2] Enable all children, young people and adults to maximise their capabilities and have control  
218 over their lives
- 219 [3] Create fair employment and good work for all
- 220 [4] Ensure healthy standard of living for all
- 221 [5] Create and develop healthy and sustainable places and communities
- 222 [6] Strengthen the role and impact of ill-health prevention.

223

224 Still, one should not rule out a scenario where deprived communities emit the most and thus the  
225 polluter is paying. If this is the case then perhaps an ethical approach beyond that of the Polluter-  
226 Pays Principle is required. Yet both zoning studies fail to address such issues because they take no  
227 account of the origins of residentially experienced road-transport pollutants. Thus it is recommend  
228 that focus be placed on locating and defining communities of interest (in terms of pollutant creation  
229 and exposures), in order to improve the ethical efficiency of future traffic management schemes.

230 Likewise, local scales of influence has begun to take precedence in the historically framed  
231 international climate justice debate, as the distribution of climate change responsibilities and  
232 vulnerabilities have been found to parallel existing patterns of urban inequality (Satterthwaite et al  
233 2008). Broto & Bulkeley's (2013) survey of 627 urban climate change experiments in 100 important  
234 urban nodes of the global economic system, positions EJ concerns (24.6%) above those of urban  
235 form (6.7%), built environment (24.7%) and adaptation (12.1%) concerns; only urban infrastructure  
236 (32.1%) was deemed to be of greater priority. While both private actors and civil society  
237 organisations explicitly considered justice measures, public actors were shown to have a poor  
238 uptake fuelled by the belief that existing mandates of governance adequately consider social justice  
239 (Broto & Bulkeley 2013).

#### **1.4 FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS**

240 Mitchell & Dorling's (2003) environmental justice analysis of British air quality across 10,444  
241 electoral districts, uniquely explores the role of locally generated vehicle emissions in the air-quality  
242 poverty relationship. Levels of NOx contributed by each community were derived from 'static'  
243 modelling techniques combining: [a] 1991 UK Census recordings of car ownership (ward level)  
244 categorised into vehicle type by DVLA fleet information (postal district), with [b] European  
245 Commission emission factors and typical travel distances respective of vehicle age. While following a  
246 comprehensive method for calculating community contributions, such models are still restricted by

247 their 'static' nature, in that they fail to account for actual population movements in favour of a  
248 uniform vehicle-age distance function.

249 Although, Mitchell & Dorling (2003) identified residents from the areas of poorest air quality to  
250 contribute the most emissions per car, a clear pattern emerged in which wards experience the  
251 greatest NO<sub>2</sub> concentrations collectively emitted the least NO<sub>x</sub>, and experienced higher levels of  
252 deprivation. These findings would suggest that strong socio-environmental inequalities prevail  
253 throughout modern Britain, igniting the previously highlighted need for ethical groundwork prior to  
254 the implementation of future traffic management schemes. Whilst Mitchell & Dorling (2003)  
255 establish this tangent of EJ research, further research is required, as L-PPP issues have yet to be  
256 explored within the context of health outcomes, or across smaller intra-urban communities which  
257 have highly variable demographics.

258 This article seeks to develop upon Mitchell & Dorling's (2003) L-PPP concept, by exploring the  
259 interactions between intra-urban community generated vehicle emissions and Pearce et al's (2010)  
260 'triple jeopardy' of social, environmental and health inequalities. Crucially, methodological  
261 enhancements are to be achieved by (a) analysing actual intra-urban workforce travel patterns,  
262 rather than assigning each community with a universal travel function; (b) assessing the L-PPP at a  
263 higher resolution census unit; and (c) through incorporating previously unexplored health outcomes  
264 into the creation-exposure evaluation.

265 Under this framework, this study aims to define intra-urban relationships between the creation and  
266 exposure of air pollution in a post-industrial setting, to best inform the internal actions of local policy  
267 makers. While the influence of commercial and longer distance commuters will disproportionately  
268 contribute to overall air pollution, external contributors to the city's ecosystem are not considered  
269 as preventative measures for such groups are best served by national policy. The later discussion of  
270 future cities offers some advice on how the influence of external groups may be mitigated.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

### 2.1. DATA COLLECTION

271 Leicester is a culturally diverse British city. In 2001, the city housed 279,924 inhabitants across 73.32  
272 km<sup>2</sup>, 22.3% of which were children aged 0-15 years (ONS 2003). The city is considered to be  
273 relatively deprived, ranked as the 31st poorest out of 354 Local Authorities in England for the  
274 revised-2004 and 2007 Indices of Multiple Deprivation (ONS 2007, ONS 2008). Leicester is currently  
275 ranked as the 21<sup>st</sup> small (population <800,000) and 98<sup>th</sup> overall most congested city in the world,  
276 with trips across the city's highways, arterial and local roads taking on average 23% longer than  
277 expected, rising to 53% during peak flow periods (TomTom International 2015).

278 Underlying demographic information was obtained from the 2001 UK Census, as part of the ESRC  
279 Census Programme (ONS 2003). Intra-city deprivation rates for Leicester were calculated using  
280 unweighted z-scores of four census variables (Carstairs & Morris 1991); outputs range from -7.19  
281 (affluent) to 9.14 (considerably deprived), with 0 identifying communities with the city's expected  
282 social standing. Census Flow Data, providing information on the movement of people across LSOA's  
283 (Origin-Destination) as part of their daily commute to work in 2001 was obtained through the UK  
284 Data Service Census Support Service (ONS 2014).

285 Leicester City Primary Care Trust provided a geocoded respiratory subset of NHS hospital admissions  
286 (ICD-10: J00-99) for children residing within Leicester Unitary Authority's (UA) 187 Lower Level Super  
287 Output Areas (LSOA's) from 2001-2005. Admissions were weighted against the number of persons  
288 aged 0-15 years residing within each census area LSOA, in order to obtain a 1-year standardised  
289 hospitalisation rate.

290 Residential exposure to particulate matter up to 10µm in diameter generated by road-transport  
291 (TPM<sub>10</sub>) was obtained at the LSOA level by kriging the '2008 1x1km Road Transport PM<sub>10</sub> Emission'  
292 map of Leicestershire (R-AEA 2010), as outlined in Jephcote et al (2014).

293 Annual LSOA estimates of private TPM<sub>10</sub> emissions created from individual communities were  
294 derived by combining vehicle fleet compositions with workforce trips, which were assumed to  
295 represent a significant proportion of population movements. Vehicle compositions (%) within each  
296 LSOA were derived from a summary of privately owned vehicles registered with the Driver Vehicle  
297 Licensing Agency (DVLA) in 2010, provided by the Callcredit Information Group. Vehicle counts were

298 disaggregated into their corresponding LSOA's, from 4 postal sectors for vehicles older than Euro III,  
299 and 22 postal districts for vehicles Euro III and above. This disaggregation procedure was achieved  
300 through the use of the online Postcode Best Fit (PBF) Methodology facilities, developed by the ONS  
301 to produce consistent demographic estimates over a range of geographic outputs regardless of  
302 whether nesting exists in the target structures (ONS 2011). The DVLA data was subsequently split  
303 into 25 vehicle groups defined by vehicle age (Pre-Euro, Euro I, Euro II, Euro III, Euro IV, Euro V),  
304 category (car, commercial vehicle, motorcycle) and fuel type (petrol, diesel). Motorcycles were  
305 uniformly classified due to low levels of ownership. The 25 designated vehicle groups were taken to  
306 account for a proportion of 2001 UK Census recorded LSOA trips to work, by mode of transport for  
307 persons aged 16-74 in employment. Each vehicle group was assigned a distance based  $PM_{10}$   
308 emission factor (g/km) for urban driving conditions, recorded in the latest Department for Transport  
309 Emission Factors toolkit (DfT 2009). These emission rates were then combined with a commissioned  
310 Office for National Statistics (ONS) 2001 UK Census dataset, detailing the daily method of travel to  
311 work by the average Euclidean distance (km) travelled within each LSOA.

312  $TPM_{10}$  contributions from public modes were estimated by combining a nationally-weighted  
313 emission factor with a national passenger split, applied to bus trips made by the local workforce, as  
314 recorded in the 2001 census. Parliamentarian records indicate that in 2005 a bus carried on average  
315 9 passengers per vehicle (UK House of Commons 2005), with 2008 fleet-weighted emission factors  
316 for a bus operating in urban conditions (0.138 g/km) calculated by applying a Euro standard split (R-  
317 AEA 2014) to vehicle emission factors (DfT 2009). While full capacity may occur on some services at  
318 peak times, this mode of travel exists as a commuter subsidised community service emitting  
319 pollutants throughout the day.

## **2.2. STATISTICAL APPROACH**

### ***2.2.1. RESPONSE SURFACE MODELLING***

320 The aforementioned datasets were analysed using the response surface capabilities of the statistical  
321 package, MINITAB 16. The resulting probability surfaces depict the relative likelihood of an outcome  
322 (z-Axis) occurring in a community as a function of two socio-environmental characteristics. For  
323 improved data visualisation, the procedure constructs a series of probability surface coordinates ( $\mathbf{u}$ )  
324 from standardised x-Axis and y-Axis socio-environmental variables. Inverse-distance weighted (IDW)  
325 interpolation creates a continuous surface area for the z-Axis. IDW interpolation explicitly

326 implements the assumption that things that are close to one another are more alike than those that  
 327 are farther apart, written in the form (Shepard 1968):

$$\mathbf{u}(\mathbf{X}) = \begin{cases} \frac{\sum_{i=1}^N \mathbf{w}_i(\mathbf{X}) \mathbf{u}_i}{\sum_{i=1}^N \mathbf{w}_i(\mathbf{X})} & \text{if } \mathbf{d}(\mathbf{X}, \mathbf{X}_i) \neq 0 \text{ for all } i \\ \mathbf{u}_i & \text{if } \mathbf{d}(\mathbf{X}, \mathbf{X}_i) = 0 \text{ for some } i \end{cases}$$

328 Where the interpolated value at a given point  $\mathbf{u}(\mathbf{X})$  is based on the weight of influence of recorded  
 329 observations:

$$\mathbf{w}_i(\mathbf{X}) = 1 / \mathbf{d}(\mathbf{X}, \mathbf{X}_i)^p$$

330  $\mathbf{X}$  denotes an arbitrary interpolated point, and  $\mathbf{X}_i$  is an observation (interpolating) point separated by  
 331 a given distance  $d$ . Each of the regular 100 by 100 mesh surface points were obtained through  
 332 interpolating all  $\mathbf{N}=187$  datum points, with a high power parameter  $p=10$  assigning predominant  
 333 influence to observations of immediate proximity. The practice is conservative by nature, restricting  
 334 z-Axis values to the current observation range. This is favourable if sampling errors are large and  
 335 where isolated values or sudden transitions occur.

### 2.2.2. LOCAL MORAN'S I

336 Local Moran I statistics, were applied to each LSOA for the detection of spatial patterns that  
 337 substantially compare or deviate from neighbouring elements (Anselin 1995):

$$I_i = Z_i \cdot \sum_j^n W_{ij} Z_j \quad j \neq i$$

338 Where,  $Z_i$  is the z-score value for the attributed of interest at the ego location  $i$ , and  $Z_j$  is the z-score  
 339 value for the attributed of interest at neighbouring observations  $j$ . Spatial weights indicating the  
 340 strength of connection between the paired LSOA features of  $i$  and  $j$  are represented by  $W_{ij}$ . Only  
 341 immediate adjacent geographic features were defined to have spatial weighting which were  
 342 standardised by neighbour count. Significance was evaluated via 9999 Monte Carlo permutations,  
 343 with the resultant p-values experiencing a Simes correction to minimise the extent of Type I and  
 344 Type II errors (Simes 1986).

### 3. RESULTS

#### 3.1. ENVIRONMENTAL EQUITY

345 Annual LSOA estimates of road-transport PM<sub>10</sub> (TPM<sub>10</sub>) emissions created by individual communities  
346 from private modes were derived by combining local vehicle fleet composition counts with local  
347 workforce trips, with public contributions estimated via nationally-weighted emission factor and  
348 passenger splits applied to bus trips made by the local workforce. Median LSOA emission  
349 contributions from private and public road modes were respectively estimated at 81.44% and  
350 18.56%, whereas the median split in commuter travel choices between these mechanical modes  
351 corresponded to uptake levels of 74.31% and 25.69%. Statistical measures of association  
352 respectively indicate strong and moderate inverse correlations between mobile polluters and  
353 communities characterised as socially or environmentally burdened (TABLE 1).

	<b>Employed Persons: 16-74 Years</b>	<b>Carstair's Index: Leicester</b>	<b>Residentially Experienced TPM<sub>10</sub> (t/y.)</b>
<b>Pearson's R</b>	0.774	-0.768	-0.330
<b>Spearman's Rho</b>	0.786	-0.783	-0.338

**TABLE 1: Statistical correlation of community created TPM<sub>10</sub> emissions from public & private modes (t/yr.) and key demographic markers (P<0.01)**

354 While a situation of environmentally inequality currently can be observed to prevail across the city  
355 of Leicester, simply pointing the finger at those affluent communities does not allow for a fair  
356 assessment of the current state of environmental affairs, without accounting for a number of other  
357 circumstances. For instance, the level of employment will determine some variations in pollutant  
358 contributions purely though an increase in required trips (TABLE 1). Under these circumstances, it  
359 would be socially unfair to simply place a raised environmental accountability onto these  
360 communities, as in many ways such inhabitants are already paying societal contributions (collected  
361 via taxation), which in theory should be used to benefit those in vulnerable situations. At present,  
362 the UK motorist is faced with two main environmental taxes:

- 363 a) Fuel Duty paid on sales of all hydrocarbon fuels, of which around 61% is taken as tax  
364 (Environmental Audit Committee 2011)
- 365 b) Vehicle Excise Duty paid on car ownership, which respectively ranges from an annual rate of  
366 £0 to £515 for vehicles emitting ≤100 and >255 g/km CO<sub>2</sub> (DVLA 2016)..

367 Arguably a carbon specific taxation is an insufficient regulation measure, as certain vehicle types  
368 may meet lower thresholds for the creation of climate change chemicals and still heavily emit

369 compounds of immediate detriment to human health. It is perhaps more justifiable to place  
 370 environmental accountability on excessive travel distance via polluting modes (in relation to the city  
 371 norm) and the use of certain transportation measures, which should be viewed after existing societal  
 372 contributions are accounted for.

373 As such, community created TPM<sub>10</sub> emissions from public-private modes were corrected by levels of  
 374 employment, to form an emission rate per employed person (PEP). With the assistance of the Local  
 375 Moran's I statistical test, one may notice that a moderately positive level of spatial structuring of  
 376 community emission contributions PEP exist across Leicester (R<sup>2</sup> =0.47). In particular, peripheral  
 377 communities with high polluting potentials are defined as socially and environmentally affluent,  
 378 whereas deprived inner-city communities with a low polluting potential appear significantly  
 379 burdened by the TPM<sub>10</sub> contribution of others (FIGURE 1, TABLE 2). Interestingly, relatively low  
 380 TPM<sub>10</sub> levels across eastern and south-eastern are located near a missing section of Leicester's outer  
 381 ring road, with traffic currently forced traffic towards central areas (FIGURE 1).

Cluster	Count	Average Residential Markers			
		Created TPM <sub>10</sub> (kg/PEP)	Experienced TPM <sub>10</sub> (t/yr.)	Carstair's Index: Leicester	Annual J00-99 Admissions Per 1,000 Children (2001-05)
L-L	14	0.01	1.70	3.82	42.43
H-H	12	0.04	0.79	-4.30	30.76
Citywide	187	0.02	1.03	0.00	38.50

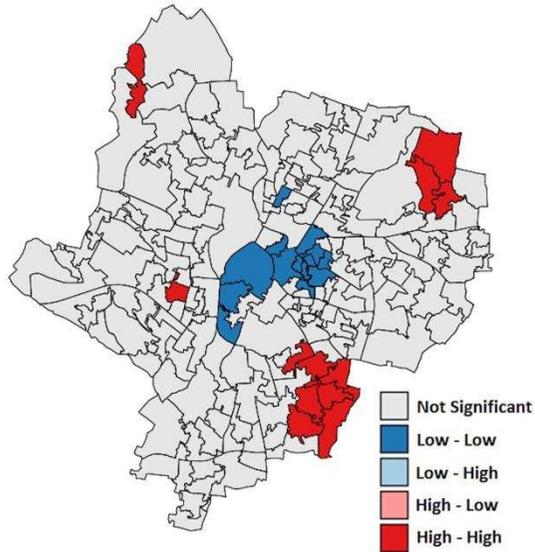
**TABLE 2: Socio-environmental summary of Local Moran's I spatial correlation structures (P<0.05), of annually corrected community created TPM<sub>10</sub> emissions from public-private modes (kg/PEP).**

382 Census flow data referencing the origin-destination of intra-urban daily commute movements were  
 383 extracted for Leicester's 12 highly polluting communities, to further evaluate the contribution-  
 384 exposure relation. Approximately two-thirds of commuter trips had destinations internal to  
 385 Leicester, with 87.4% of all trips observed to terminate within 15km of the city centre. The resulting  
 386 flow map (FIGURE 1) for internal trips was created in ArcGIS 10.2 with the 'Flow Direction' and 'Flow  
 387 Accumulation' toolboxes, informed by iteratively constructing euclidean distance cost surfaces  
 388 between LSOA destination and raster grid cells constrained to the major road network, defined by  
 389 the OS VectorMap District product.

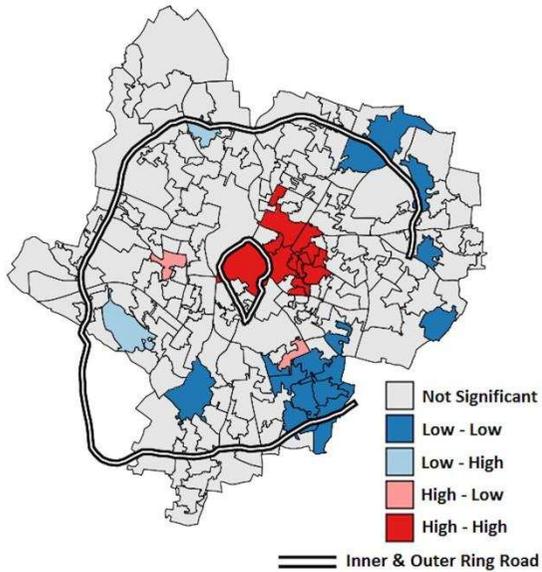
390 Commutes are shown to have a centric focus, with mechanical forms of transportation from highly  
 391 polluting communities passing through less affluent neighbourhoods, typically located within close

392 proximity to places of work. It is likely that the movement of commuting vehicles through these  
393 neighbourhoods would result in congestion, causing a localised increase in TPM<sub>10</sub> contributions.  
394 Jephcote & Chen's (2012) weighted regression analysis previously indicated that the affluent and  
395 highly polluting south-eastern block of peripheral communities experienced some, but still  
396 disproportionately low TPM<sub>10</sub> related health problems. FIGURES 1 and 2 reiterate this mild internal  
397 effect, associated with cold-start contributions and the potential for congestion by high volumes of  
398 traffic vacating affluent communities.

Local Moran's  $I=0.45, R^2=0.47$   
 (i,j) Public-Private Community Created TPM<sub>10</sub> Emissions PEP



Local Moran's  $I=0.27, R^2=0.21$   
 (i) TPM<sub>10</sub> Emissions (j) Carstairs Deprivation



Distributive Flow Of Comuters Travelling Via Mechanical (Public-Private) Forms Of Road-Transport.  
 Heavily Polluting Community Trips Constrained To The Major-Road Network (1 Std. Dev = 110 Persons)

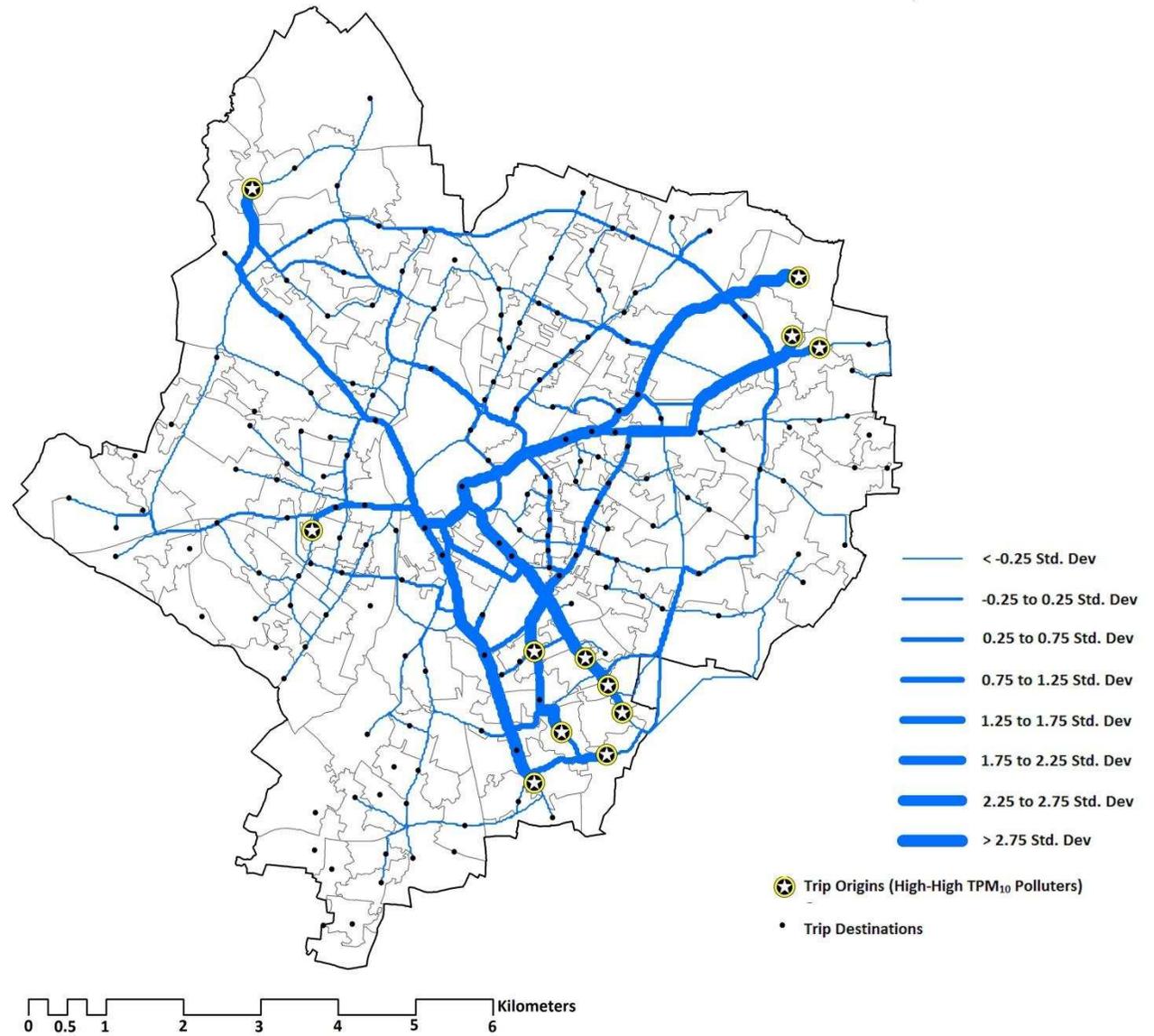


FIGURE 1: Local Moran's  $I$  spatial pattern detection of key socio-environmental communities ( $P<0.05$ ), explored in detail via census flow data referencing the origin-destination of intra-urban daily commutes

399 Across Leicester, 61.5% of affluent communities (Carstair's Rank <-1) travelled >15km PEP on their  
 400 daily return commute, whereas 85.9% of the workforce from deprived communities (Carstair's Rank  
 401 >-1) only travelled 6-15km PEP. This follows the concept that districts of work are located close to  
 402 deprived communities, and as affluent communities have further to travel the use of less  
 403 environmentally friendly modes is encouraged. In addition, a common district of destination is likely  
 404 to create an accumulation of pollutants, which may be further added to by the shorter trips of those  
 405 less privileged residents living within the nearby vicinity.

406 Spatial patterns of environmental injustices are illustrated in further detail through a set of contour  
 407 plots, simultaneously examining residentially experienced TPM<sub>10</sub> emissions (x-axis) and deprivation  
 408 (y-axis) against a final metric of interest on the z-axis (FIGURE 2). Children's respiratory cases are  
 409 shown to rise in relation to increased residentially experience TPM<sub>10</sub> emissions, the effects of which  
 410 generally appear to be felt more significantly by those communities which emit lower levels of  
 411 pollutants from personal modes of transportation. Affluence is also shown to be a powerful means  
 412 of mitigating the onset of severe health issues.

413 By assigning emissions created PEP as the final factor, one should note that some communities  
 414 identified as housing children with severely reduced respiratory health (≥70 J00-99 admissions per  
 415 1,000), tend to contributing modest amounts of transport related pollutants (FIGURE 2, TABLE 3),  
 416 which in an environmentally just situation would result in only moderate health implications. Most  
 417 unfairly, a second group of communities with severely reduced respiratory health is show to  
 418 comprise of the cities lowest polluters (FIGURE 2, TABLE 3). Collectively, these residents appear  
 419 unfairly plagued by the contributions of external communities, whom health wise pay relatively  
 420 little.

	Count	Average Residential Markers			
		Created TPM <sub>10</sub> (kg/PEP)	Experienced TPM <sub>10</sub> (t/yr.)	Carstair's Index: Leicester	J00-99 Per 1,000 Children (2001-05)
<b>Moderate Polluters, Health Burdens</b>	3	0.02	1.98	4.27	78.12
<b>Low Polluters, Health Burdens</b>	2	0.01	2.10	5.16	84.67
<b>Affluent, Environmental Burdens</b>	7	0.01	1.55	-1.64	28.03
<b>"Green" Communities: 90<sup>th</sup> Percentile</b>	19	0.02	1.80	1.76	46.27
• <b>Socially Deprived</b>	8	0.01	1.94	4.79	63.08
• <b>Socially Affluent</b>	3	0.02	1.38	-1.77	26.14

**TABLE 3: Socio-environmental summary of community groups identified to be of interest by the contour plot analysis (see FIGURE 2)**

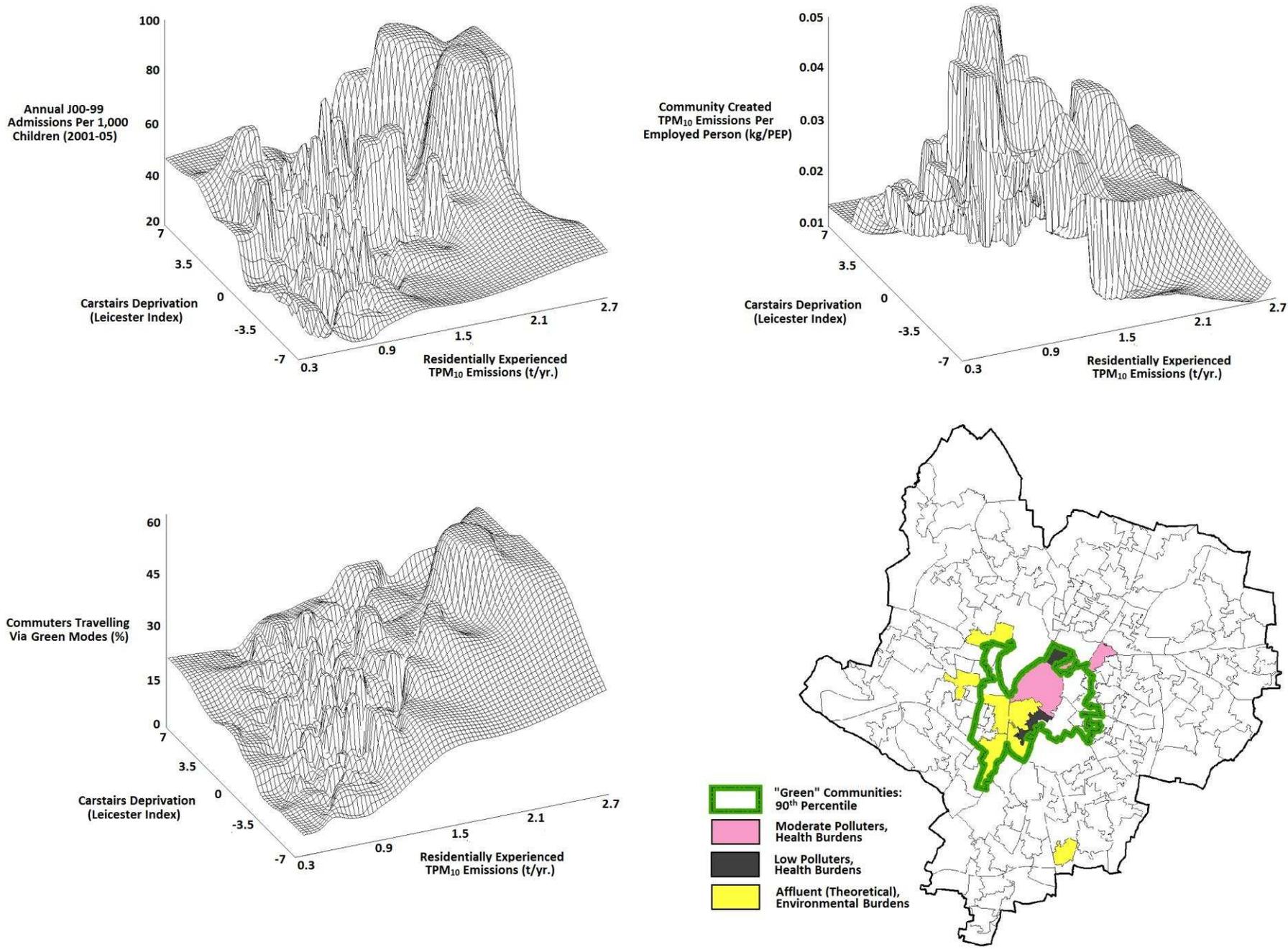


FIGURE 2: Response Surface modelling (contour plots) depicting the relative likelihood of a metrics occurrence in socio-environmentally characterised communities

421 In viewing the graphical representation of the uptake of 'green' transportation modes (on foot, and  
422 bicycle), one may observe a low average uptake of 15.76% by socially and environmentally rich  
423 communities in the visualised 'double burden' relationship (FIGURE 2). It would appear that 'green'  
424 transport use dramatically increases with respect to residentially experienced levels of TPM<sub>10</sub>,  
425 regardless of social status; uptake rates >30.0% are achieved once residential TPM<sub>10</sub> levels exceed  
426 1.5t/yr. Although one should also note that levels also increase with deprivation, suggesting that this  
427 trend could be driven by necessity rather than personal choice. While beneficially keeping additional  
428 vehicles off the road, an increased uptake in physical exercise across polluted neighbourhoods may  
429 not actually decrease respiratory cases, with the health benefits of some communities offset by  
430 increased periods of exposure (TABLE 3). Alternatively, an increased use of affordable low grade  
431 vehicle stock by such communities may exacerbate levels of respiratory admissions. Therefore, the  
432 encouragement of 'green' modes appear a means of mitigation rather than an out-and-out solution,  
433 with further measures required to limit how external communities shift their share of pollutants  
434 onto these inhabitants. The implementation of a small but targeted strategy providing assistance  
435 with vehicle maintenance and or encouraging alternative transportation modes in vulnerable  
436 communities could also have a noticeable impact.

### 3.2. BEHAVIOURAL INFLUENCES AND TRENDS IN TRAVEL

437 A degree of Environmental Injustice has been shown to prevail in Leicester. To assist policy-makers  
438 and planners in addressing such imbalances, this section of the paper seeks to demonstrate the  
439 application of spatial pattern detection techniques to understand local travel behaviour. A targeted  
440 policy approach would allow for a tailoring of broader transport strategies to community needs,  
441 potentially improving any implemented measures chance of success.

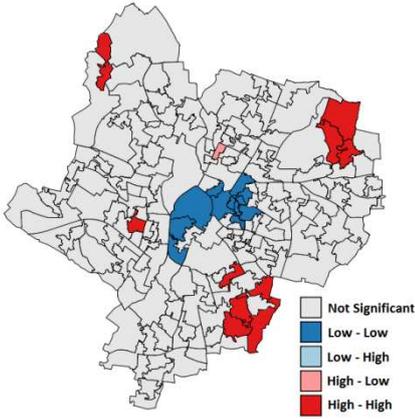
442 Intra-urban commuter travel choices are evaluated in terms of: (a) person adjusted quantitative  
443 travel contribution metrics, and (b) the uptake of transport modes within each community.  
444 Underlying information from the 2001 census was used to produce person adjusted quantitative  
445 metrics, summarised by pattern detection techniques in FIGURE 3. Here, community contributions of  
446 emissions (from private or public modes) and distances covered by 'green' travel are adjusted per  
447 employed person (PEP), with the uptake of carpooling calculated by a ratio of passengers to drivers.  
448 The pure uptake (or split) of transport modes among commuters in each community was available  
449 from both the 2001 and 2011 census, thus allowing for the discussion of long-term trends in travel  
450 behaviour. It should be noted that the 2011 entries in TABLE 4 provide Carstairs' Index markers of  
451 deprivation relative to the expected community level in Leicester, for 2001 and 2011. While there

452 have been changes in underlying information behind the expected Index value of 0 since 2001 [-8.9%  
453 unemployment levels; +17.49% vehicle ownership, +39.5% overcrowding; -20.2% social status], the  
454 two years remain highly correlated ( $R^2=0.91$ ) with index measurements between years varying by  
455  $\pm 0.76$ .

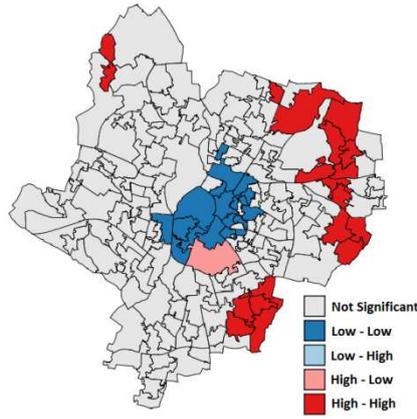
456 Pattern detections for the uptake of journeys taken via private transport and  $TPM_{10}$  emissions PEP  
457 for private modes in 2001, show strong signs of spatial structuring, and are inversely related to  
458 deprivation and environmental exposure (FIGURE 3, TABLE 4). Of particular concern is the 10.56%  
459 citywide increase on journeys taken via private modes by 2011, along with an apparent  
460 strengthening of the spatial division in which these trips originate, as designated by a 0.18 rise on  
461 the 2001 Moran's Index value. This would suggest that alternative transport schemes are either  
462 absent or not fulfilling the local requirements of these relatively affluent eastern and south-eastern  
463 peripheral communities, and thus require further evaluation. In particular, communities along the  
464 south eastern periphery had a particularly low use of public transportation (9.43%) in 2001  
465 compared to the expected citywide level (15.63%), with this modes uptake decreasing further by  
466 2011. As these peripheral communities are located the furthest away from zones of work a more  
467 viable solution to remove vehicle numbers may be carpooling.

468 Pattern detection outputs for private commutes with a passenger in 2001, identified a rate of  
469 11.36% for cold-spot communities predominantly along the south-eastern periphery; despite such  
470 areas having a high use of private transport (52.14%). In contrast, carpool hot-spots are located in  
471 deprived inner-city neighbourhoods with low levels of vehicle ownership, thought to be of a poor  
472 condition. Here, financial constraints appear to be behind the sharing of resources, which enable  
473 residents to access distant work zones with the intention of improving their socioeconomic status.  
474 The implementation of a small but targeted strategy providing assistance with vehicle maintenance  
475 may prove essential in minimising local influences across environmentally burdened communities,  
476 without impeding their mobility. While their use of public transportation is comparable to the  
477 citywide rate, anecdotal evidence indicates that private modes offer greater flexibility for  
478 employment during irregular working hours, and further evaluation is required of the local public  
479 services to check that they meet the needs of such communities.

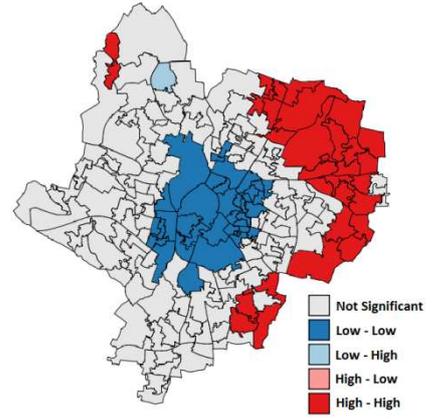
Local Moran's  $I$  [I=0.44, R<sup>2</sup>=0.48]  
 (i,j) Private TPM<sub>10</sub> Per Employed Person (kg/PEP)



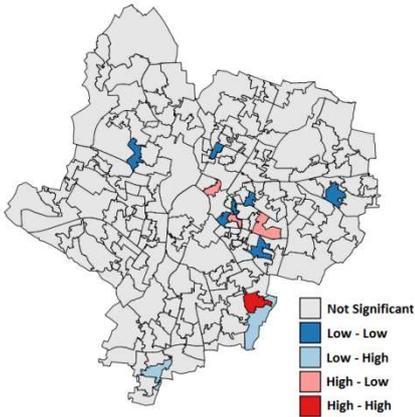
Local Moran's  $I$  [I=0.64, R<sup>2</sup>=0.71]  
 (i,j) Commutes Via Private Transport (%)



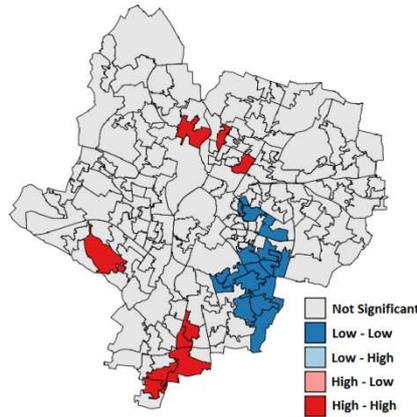
Local Moran's  $I$  [I=0.82, R<sup>2</sup>=0.75]  
 (i,j) Commutes Via Private Transport, 2011 (%)



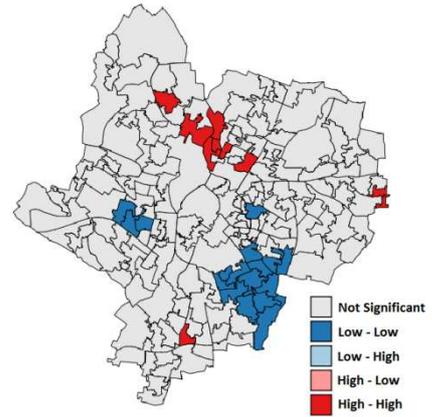
Local Moran's  $I$  [I=0.09, R<sup>2</sup>=0.04]  
 (i,j) Public TPM<sub>10</sub> Per Employed Person (kg/PEP)



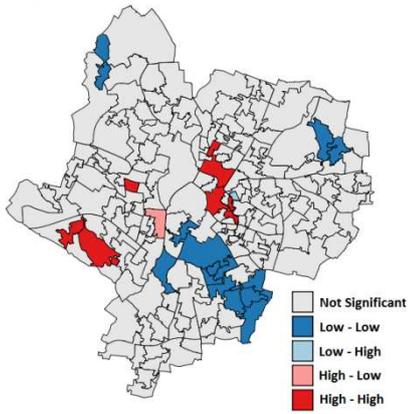
Local Moran's  $I$  [I=0.46, R<sup>2</sup>=0.47]  
 (i,j) Commutes Via Public Transport (%)



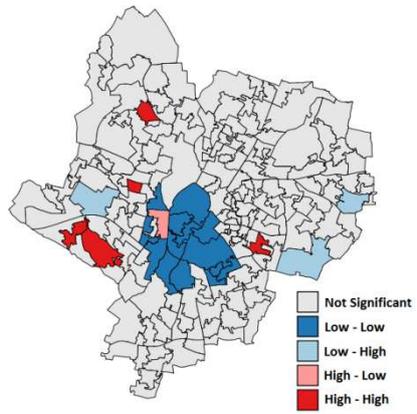
Local Moran's  $I$  [I=0.44, R<sup>2</sup>=0.46]  
 (i,j) Commutes Via Public Transport, 2011 (%)



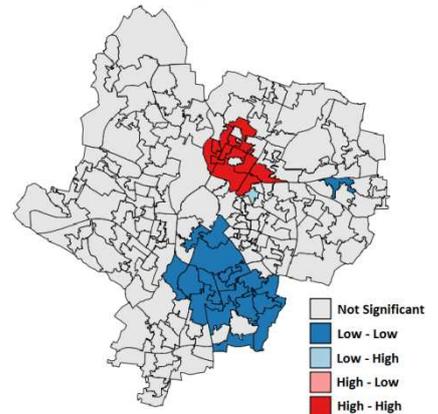
Local Moran's  $I$  [I=0.38, R<sup>2</sup>=0.40]  
 (i,j) Passengers Per Commute Driver



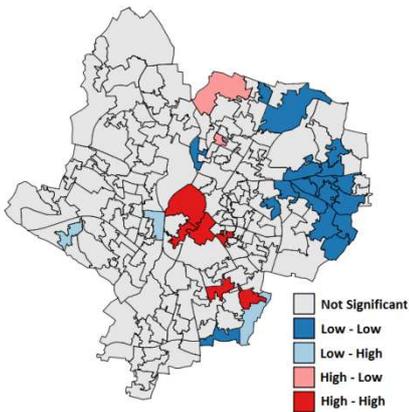
Local Moran's  $I$  [I=0.41, R<sup>2</sup>=0.41]  
 (i,j) Commutes Via Carpools (%)



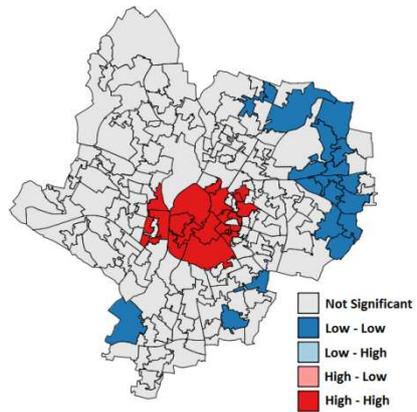
Local Moran's  $I$  [I=0.55, R<sup>2</sup>=0.58]  
 (i,j) Commutes Via Carpools, 2011 (%)



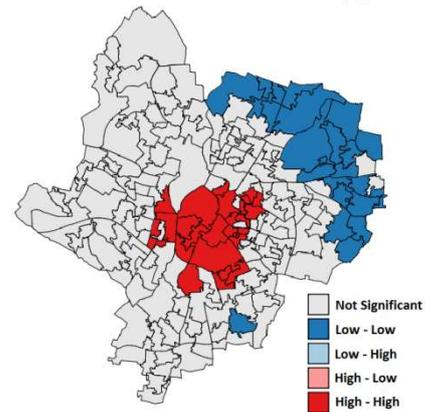
Local Moran's  $I$  [I=0.29, R<sup>2</sup>=0.23]  
 (i,j) 'Green' Travel (km/PEP)



Local Moran's  $I$  [I=0.75, R<sup>2</sup>=0.81]  
 (i,j) Commutes Via Green Modes (%)



Local Moran's  $I$  [I=0.81, R<sup>2</sup>=0.88]  
 (i,j) Commutes Via Green Modes, 2011 (%)



**FIGURE 3: Local Moran's  $I$  evaluation of intra-urban [commuter] travel choices in terms of person adjusted quantitative travel contribution metrics (left), or community uptake of transport modes in 2001 (centre) and 2011 (right) ( $P < 0.05$ )**

Variable Of Interest (VOI)	Year	Cluster Analysis			'Double Burden' Measure		Travel Mode Uptake (%)			
		Cluster	Count	VOI Value	Experienced TPM <sub>10</sub> 2008 (t/yr.)	Carstair's Index: Leicester 2001 (2011)	Private	Public	Carpool	Green
Private TPM <sub>10</sub> Per Employed Person (kg/PEP)	2001	L-L	12	0.01	1.76	3.84	33.70	14.32	6.87	34.65
		H-H	10	0.03	0.77	-4.16	57.33	12.02	6.60	14.49
Public TPM <sub>10</sub> Per Employed Person (kg/PEP)	2001	L-L	7	0.00	1.22	1.80	43.76	12.91	9.09	23.29
		H-H	1	0.01	0.77	-6.03	65.23	6.98	4.46	14.56
Passengers Per Commute Driver	2001	L-L	14	0.11	0.99	-3.69	52.14	11.21	5.75	21.61
		H-H	8	0.23	1.38	3.43	38.63	15.21	8.78	27.11
'Green' Travel (km/PEP)	2001	L-L	18	0.62	0.76	-1.73	55.61	14.90	8.32	11.17
		H-H	6	3.64	1.65	-0.68	38.40	10.92	4.29	36.80
Commutes Via Private Transport (%)	2001	L-L	19	33.52	1.77	3.33	--	14.48	6.60	34.94
		H-H	18	59.88	0.69	-3.63	--	12.62	7.44	10.28
	2011	L-L	36	36.88	1.61	2.34 (2.73)	--	13.85	8.85	34.31
		H-H	29	64.99	0.68	-2.74 (-2.77)	--	12.23	6.84	9.99
Commutes Via Public Transport (%)	2001	L-L	17	9.43	1.02	-2.31	51.17	--	7.17	21.02
		H-H	9	20.53	1.00	1.31	44.57	--	8.55	17.60
	2011	L-L	17	8.49	0.97	-3.72 (-4.09)	54.87	--	6.07	21.87
		H-H	9	17.98	1.09	1.66 (1.80)	48.39	--	10.86	18.78
Commutes Via Carpools (%)	2001	L-L	14	5.76	0.99	-3.69	52.14	11.21	--	21.61
		H-H	8	8.78	1.38	3.43	38.63	15.21	--	27.11
	2011	L-L	19	5.12	1.08	-3.39 (-3.33)	49.51	10.92	--	26.70
		H-H	13	12.14	1.22	2.49 (2.48)	43.88	17.54	--	21.42
Commutes Via 'Green' Modes (%)	2001	L-L	19	9.70	0.70	-2.77	58.71	13.86	7.85	--
		H-H	20	36.54	1.77	2.10	34.55	13.32	5.84	--
	2011	L-L	23	9.14	0.67	-2.22 (-2.33)	65.79	12.88	7.03	--
		H-H	26	37.03	1.62	1.44 (1.67)	36.22	12.70	7.45	--
Citywide	2001	--	187	--	1.03	0.00	47.08	15.63	7.72	20.36
	2011	--	187	--	1.03	±0.76 (0.00)	52.05	13.90	8.18	20.54

**TABLE 4: Socio-environmental summary of community groups identified of interest by the Local Moran's I evaluation of intra-urban commuter travel choices**

#### 4. DISCUSSION

480 Whilst Polluter-Pays Principles are traditionally theorised at an international level, the authors  
481 sought to develop on Mitchell & Dorling's (2003) localised implementation of such principles by  
482 exploring a collection of spatially detailed intra-urban communities, within the context of social,  
483 environmental and health outcomes. Statistical measures of association respectively indicate strong  
484 and moderate inverse correlations between mobile polluters and communities characterised as  
485 socially (-0.78) or environmentally burdened (-0.34).

486 A fair exploration of environmental accountability considering existing societal contributions noted  
487 these moderate and positive spatial structuring of community emission contributions, to prevail  
488 across Leicester ( $R^2=0.47$ ). The cities greatest polluters reside predominantly within affluent  
489 communities located along the cities periphery, whereas those creating the least emissions resided  
490 in central locations, and experience a range of socio-environmental health burdens. Intra-urban daily  
491 commute flows were identified to be centrally focused, with private vehicle commuter journeys  
492 from affluent polluting communities passing and terminating near less affluent neighbourhoods. The  
493 less affluent areas use active ('green') travel modes, although any health benefit may be offset by  
494 increased periods of environmental exposure. Whilst some inner-city communities moderately  
495 contributed towards their environmental demise, these contributions were substantially outweighed  
496 by those made from external communities, whom appear to largely avoid the social, environment  
497 and physical cost of their actions. In its current state, the city's traffic management strategy  
498 seemingly operates in an environmentally unjust manner.

499 Across Leicester, the majority of trips are completed via personal transport. Affluent communities  
500 particularly favour private modes, but a strong disassociation with the uptake of public  
501 transportation reveals that they do not inconveniencing external communities across a spectrum of  
502 motorised modes. In addition, those poorest inner-city communities are not observed to have a  
503 raised uptake of public transport, despite the central hub operating out of these areas. A low uptake  
504 of public services is perhaps an issue of concern, with some inner-city communities starting to favour  
505 the use of inexpensive and often poorly maintained private vehicles; with this newfound mobility  
506 seeking to address their social standing, but at the cost of their environmental attributes. To tackle  
507 such issues, perhaps these central communities require further incentive to use public modes, rather  
508 than adding vehicles to the road network. However, any measures should not be conducted in a  
509 manner which impedes the social climb of such communities.

510 The likely negative stigma of public services amongst affluent communities also requires further  
511 investigation. For these communities, a more likely and immediate response for mitigating their  
512 environmental contributions would appear to involve the use of carpooling. Here, the convenience  
513 and luxury of personal transportation is likely to be favoured, and could mark a substantial reduction  
514 in the volume of vehicles which enter inner-city areas. However, at present, the uptake of carpooling  
515 appears most prominent across those most deprived communities conducting the fewest and  
516 smallest trips via personal modes, and thus offers few benefits.

517 Within Great Britain, the Department for Transport has shown car occupancy levels to remain at a  
518 relatively stable level of 1.60 persons per vehicle between 1996 and 2008 (Dft 2009); and  
519 parliamentary records have indicated that in 2005 a bus carried on average 9 passengers per  
520 vehicle (UK House of Commons 2005). Using this information, fleet weighted emission factors for  
521 buses outside of London (0.1381 g/km) were identified as equating to the PM<sub>10</sub> contributions of  
522 either 53 petrol or 7 diesel cars (R-AEA 2014, Dft 2009), which would hold approximately 11-84  
523 passengers. Therefore, a direct shift from private to public modes of road-transport may not  
524 necessarily be the best solution to a cities air quality problem, without fleet renewal or retrofitting  
525 strategies for existing stock. Perhaps, the implementation of small but targeted measures providing  
526 assistance with vehicle maintenance in vulnerable communities would be of greater effect in  
527 reducing their proportionally high pollutant outputs per vehicle. If private vehicles are to remain the  
528 predominant mode of travel, localised incentive and carpool schemes are best placed within a  
529 citywide transport scheme (two-layer policy strategy).

#### **4.1. LOW EMISSION NEIGHBOURHOODS**

530 Recently the implementation of Low Emission Zone's (LEZ) have been seen as one of the more  
531 promising options to 'Actively' introduce greater numbers of cleaner vehicles and reduce the  
532 numbers of older more polluting vehicles on the road networks of capital cities (Tonne et al 2008,  
533 Cesaroni et al 2012). Whilst a theoretical application of comparable road user charging schemes has  
534 been seen to provide appropriate results across the considerably smaller UK municipal centre of  
535 Leeds (Mitchell 2005, Namdeo & Mitchell 2008), in practice the overall outcome of such measures  
536 remain unclear. For instance, is the draw of smaller commercial centres sufficient to retain business  
537 and a viable flow of consumers, if such a charge was in operation at a local rather than regional or  
538 national scale? One must also question the fairness of a scheme seeking to prevent the movement  
539 of highly polluting non-commercial vehicle stock in certain urban neighbourhoods, typically owned

540 by the lower social classes that reside in such areas at risk. To avoid this issue requires either the use  
541 of vehicle maintenance schemes in vulnerable communities, or the exemption of resident vehicles in  
542 communities unfairly burdened by others. It is estimated that an 'Active' LEZ in the comparably sized  
543 city of Oxford could achieve PM<sub>10</sub> reductions of up to 70% with respective feasibility study and set-  
544 up costs of £30,000 and £50,000; yet the running and enforcement costs remain an unknown entity  
545 (Oxford City Council 2006). Perhaps it would be more viable for a city the size of Leicester to adopt a  
546 'Passive' form of LEZ, known as 'Environmental Zones' (EZs), which have been in operational force  
547 across the Swedish city centres of Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmo since 1996.

548 EZs act to remove heavy-duty diesel vehicles (commercial and public transportation) older than 8  
549 years from the roads through the use of windscreen permitting. Exceptions to this age requirement  
550 may be permitted for vehicles with particularly low emissions or if vehicles are equipped with  
551 approved exhaust gas-purification equipment. Whilst remaining enforced, these zones are yet to  
552 experience updates akin to the stringent emission standards for such vehicles found in 'Active' LEZs.  
553 Still, these passive low emission charges with self-regulation would appear to have remained a  
554 largely successful measure with the proportion of vehicles not entitled to enter the Stockholm,  
555 Göteborg and Malmö's EZ's in 1997 and 2004, respectively recorded at 5% and 3% (Göteborg's Stad  
556 Trafikkontoret 2006).

557 In Göteborg, the EZ covers around 15 km<sup>2</sup> housing approximately 100,000 inhabitants and 100,000  
558 work places, which has respectively experiences traffic volumes of 30,000 and 39,000 per day in  
559 1996 and 2004 (Göteborg's Stad Trafikkontoret 2006). Scenario models for Göteborg in 2005  
560 indicate that the EZ could contribute as much as a 33.2% reduction in PM<sub>10</sub> emissions (2,767  
561 kg/year), which are substantial gains considering the schemes low implementation and running costs  
562 (Göteborg's Stad Trafikkontoret 2006). The Stockholm EZ was established in 1995, covering around  
563 14 km<sup>2</sup> housing approximately 25,000 inhabitants and 280,000 work places (Rapaport 2002).  
564 Relative change traffic emission models show that maximum roof-top PM<sub>2.5</sub> concentrations with and  
565 without an EZ (relying on a natural fleet renewal) would respectively exist at 0.40µg/m<sup>3</sup> (-49%) and  
566 0.40µg/m<sup>3</sup> (-25%); implying that the EZ scheme directly reduced PM<sub>2.5</sub> concentrations by 26% over  
567 the period 1995-2001 (Rapaport 2002).

568 In 2008, another EZ variation was implemented in the cities of Berlin, Cologne and Hanover, in  
569 response to German anti-air-pollution implementing EU Framework Directive 1996/62/EC and  
570 Daughter Directive 1999/30/EC on ambient air quality and fine particles. Here, all vehicles were

571 required to display a €12.5 special traffic-light coded environmental badge (Umweltplakette) for  
572 legal entrance to designated urban sectors known as “green zones”, with non-compliance met by a  
573 €80 fine. While the LEZ has had no measurable impact on traffic flows, the turnover of the national  
574 fleet towards cleaner vehicles has speeded up considerably; after two years of enforcement, >50%  
575 of the commercial fleet and 66% of diesel passenger fleet fall within the green category (Euro 4 or  
576 retrofit) required of badge holders, compared to respective figures of 20% and <50% outside “green  
577 zones” (Lutz & Rauterberg-Wulff 2010). In terms of local environmental benefits, areas within the  
578 Berlin ‘Passive’ LEZ have been estimated to experience a 4.5% reduction in PM<sub>10</sub> (Lutz & Rauterberg-  
579 Wulff 2010).

580 A fourth option to consider across road systems is the use of discriminatory pricing, which  
581 attractively provide a means for matching demand to capacity in a particular location and at a given  
582 time of day, more precisely than under a single or tiered pricing system. Discriminatory road pricing  
583 could be a means to reconcile a charging mechanism aimed at regulating demand with the social  
584 objective of avoiding exclusion of low-income motorists from access to employment, shops, and  
585 other facilities (Metz 2005). A 2000-03 analysis of adjusted average household expenditure on  
586 vehicle purchase and operation of personal transport across the UK respectively indicate an  
587 expenditure of £38 and £120 for the country’s poorest and richest 10th percentile (Metz 2005).  
588 When compared to current weekly road charges in Britain of £25 entry into the London congestion  
589 charging zone and £30 for two-way use of the M6 toll road, it is apparent that existing schemes have  
590 a risk of unfairly pricing those most vulnerable in society off the roads.

#### **4.2. FUTURE CITIES**

591 Rudlin et al’s (2014) winning submission for the 2014 Wolfson Economics Prize, presents a visionary,  
592 economically viable and popular approach for a modernised version of Ebenezer Howard’s utopian  
593 Garden City blueprints of 1989. The revised snowflake design, is applicable to a multitude of small  
594 (~200,000 residents) yet historically established British cities, formed of three satellite extensions  
595 each housing 50,000 people, located within 10km of the city centre. These are to be served by tram  
596 or Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) running from the existing mainline station on disused lines, switching to  
597 an on-street loop through the new neighbourhoods.

598 In the absence of large scale subsidy development can only be attained through the ‘unearned  
599 increment’. For each urban extension a City Trust (jointly owned by local and central governance,  
600 land owners, and the local community) vested with commissioning the master plans is initially

601 required to raise £50.1M (Year 0), with land equity reinvested in successive infrastructure, until a  
602 point is reached where initial investments are repaid in full and local communities take on the  
603 stewardship (Year 14: Cumulative balance = £62.5M profit). Transport infrastructure per urban  
604 extension is costed at £410M, with the 12km of tramline connecting neighbourhoods to the central  
605 hub costing £180M. This has been designed around the “Freiburg Model”, a German university city  
606 of 218,000 persons which successfully used trams to link the urban extensions of Vauban and  
607 Rieselfeld to the historic centre.

608 Constructed between 1993 and 2010, both districts contain a range of socially inclusive housing  
609 options developed around the use of public transport, with direct lines running to the centre in <15  
610 minutes, and many neighbourhood roads designated “home zone” status, restricting traffic to  
611 7km/hr. Residents who decide to own a car can purchase a parking garage space at the edge of the  
612 development for approximately £15,500, with residents who wish to live car-free simply paying a  
613 one-time fee of £3,100 to preserve open space at the edge of the development in lieu of a parking  
614 spot. This arrangement has proven successful, with a recent survey showed that there are 150 cars  
615 per 1,000 inhabitants in Vauban, compared to roughly 420 for the City of Freiburg and over 560 for  
616 Germany.

617 In the Freiburg model, successful implementation of citywide policies complementary to such  
618 developments were achieved via a multi-modal strategy, restricting non-resident parking to  
619 periphery of the city centre, while incentivising public and green modes as viable alternatives  
620 through fare subsidies, improvements to travel quality, and the complete integration of public  
621 services. In 1984, Freiburg’s public transport offered an attractively priced unified ticketing system  
622 that saw a 42% increase in ridership by 1990, with expansion of the so-called “environmental ticket”  
623 into adjacent counties increasing region-wide public transport trips by 70% between 1991 and 2007.

624 The foundations for a citywide sustainable transport first materialised in 1973 with 29 km of  
625 unconnected cycling paths set aside and the pedestrianisation of the city centre; walking in  
626 Freiburg’s old town has thrived, with 69% of all trips on foot in 2007. The total number of bike trips  
627 in Freiburg nearly tripled between 1976 and 2007 (from 69,500 to 211,000), with almost one bike  
628 trip conducted per inhabitant per day following the construction of 410km of bike lanes, and the  
629 requirement for all new developments to include secure bike parking. Fundamentally, citizen  
630 involvement has proven to be an integral part in the collective success of Freiburg’s district, citywide

631 and regional policy development measures that have enabled the complete integration of transport  
632 and land-use planning.

633 Major car manufacturers in the form of Audi, BMW, Ford, Smart and VW are beginning to explore  
634 the development of high-performance electric bicycles (e-bikes). Whether this is in response to  
635 increased demand for versatile and sustainable forms of transportation or as a marketing ploy  
636 (“green tokenism”) remains to be seen. In concept, the automotive industry sees e-bikes as a  
637 lifestyle accessory, with car-owners driving to out-of-town parking or a train station in the suburbs  
638 (continuing their journey by public modes), before motoring electrically to the office a mile or two  
639 away. This lifestyle choice has the potential to remove the environmental burdens of persons  
640 residing beyond the city limits (external contributions).

641 The BMW i-Pedelec (Pedal Electric Cycle) concept is envisioned to complement the BMW i3 electric  
642 hatchback, which is capable of semi-permanently storing and in transit, charging two e-bikes with a  
643 range of 16-25 miles (The Independent 2012). Alternatively, the prototype ‘Audi e-bike Wörthersee’  
644 is designed as an out-and-out car replacement, with an achievable top-speed of 50mph in ‘pedelec’  
645 (pedal and electric assist) mode and a 2.5 hour charge providing a range of 31-44 miles (Audi  
646 MediaInfo 2012). This luxury form of e-bike could provide a viable transport solution for suburban  
647 commuters, but at the cost of a small car, its future applicability is most likely restricted to affluent  
648 members of society.

#### **4.3. LEICESTER ACTION PLAN**

649 In order to provide a traffic management scheme across Leicester, which reduces the level of air  
650 pollutants and adheres to the PPP, one should collectively address both personal and public  
651 contributions. In terms of higher level schemes, EZs appear effective in creating a cleaner fleet  
652 entering the city. A central ‘Bus Gate Enforcement’ zone would likely curb the magnitude of  
653 environmental burdens placed on vulnerable inner-city residents from peripheral communities, who  
654 could switch to using existing-park-and-ride infrastructure if a cleaner fleet was introduced. Finally,  
655 the completion of the outer-city ring road should be viewed as a necessity in the prevention of  
656 traffic entering central locales regardless of whether these schemes come into fruition; although it  
657 would assist with any schemes enforcement.

## 5. CONCLUSION

658 Local Indicators of Spatial Association (LISA) facilitate the modelling of localised intra-urban  
659 interactions, and are shown to be useful tools in the exploration of complex interactions across  
660 different communities at the heart of the local environmental debate. The wider implementation of  
661 these practices is considered beneficial to the development of future local transport policy. In  
662 focusing the consultation process, environmentally friendly initiatives may be tailored towards the  
663 needs of local populaces, potentially increasing a travel schemes chance of success where prior  
664 uptake has been low. Similarly, by identifying and targeting the transport scheme with the highest  
665 potential for uptake amongst the more polluting communities, we aim to improve our chances of  
666 delivering greater benefits in the areas where the impacts are most pronounced. As we see it, there  
667 is ethical complexity of the situation and a need to focus on policies that are most likely to be  
668 amenable to the polluters in a situation, where the polluters are not the most polluted and a world  
669 where maybe a focus on ethics alone is not going to deliver the best results. That is obviously an  
670 ethical efficiency and, while we might feel it goes against the fundamental ideals of L-PPP, we  
671 acknowledge it as a necessary component of any strategy if we seek to deliver more change sooner.

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