Investigating public disengagement from planning for major infrastructure projects:

A high voltage powerline case study

Submitted by

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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

Signature: ……………………………………………………………………

Abstract

Public disengagement from consultation is a real-world problem affecting areas of the public sphere, such as land use planning, where democracy is a key requirement. The ethos of engaging the public in decision-making has long been accepted as an important objective in the UK planning system in order to protect and serve the public interest. However, there is limited research into why the public frequently appear to disengage from the consultation process for major engineering projects such as energy infrastructure. Public disengagement can result in a lack of representation and legitimate speech in the discourse of decision-making and my research challenges the effectiveness of the current system.

Drawing on human geography, planning theory, sociology and my professional experience of working as an Environmental Planner on Nationally Significant Infrastructure Projects, the research moves away from the current perceptions of an instrumental approach to public consultation for infrastructure. A novel approach to conceptualising disengagement is proposed through a Bourdieusian lens, which could enable a deeper understanding of the reasons for both voluntary and involuntary disengagement. By introducing a place dimension to the conceptual framework, the research is better able to understand the cognitive, affective and behavioural dimensions that reflect the ways in which communities of place choose to engage with, or disengage from, the public consultation process for infrastructure.

The research contributes conceptually, methodologically and empirically to addressing the research problem through a high voltage overhead powerline case study research design in Cumbria. Primary data has been collected through semi-structured interviews, participant observation and event ethnography. Secondary data, including local media, project documents, planning policy and best practice guidance, was also collected for contextual purposes. Qualitative methods allowed greater flexibility without a dependence on language, literacy or assumptions based on cultural norms and thematic analysis was selected as the method of analysis due to its accessibility and theoretically flexible approach to analysis which could be used with a case study research design. The credibility of the analysis was established through data collection triangulation using the secondary data to verify the emerging themes.

The primary contribution to knowledge from this research has been to expand the understanding of disengagement, using the novel conceptual approach that combines the Bourdieusian conceptual framework with aspects of place, and which also has policy and practice implications. Factors affecting engagement in the case study include an underlying thread of symbolic violence and perceptions of stigma which have been shown to be partly place-based and partly resulting from community experiences of legacy planning applications for energy. There are also underlying factors of marginalisation and peripherality, with small communities frequently perceived to be without power or voice in the process. An examination of the relationship between habitus and place has suggested that disengagement can be explained by both communities of practice and of place and an analysis of the public's relationship with place through the varieties of people-place relations can bring additional insight to understanding the problem.

The empirical output of the research includes a Typology of Engagement which disrupts the existing binary approach to engagement and disengagement. The typology incorporates degrees of engagement and, more significantly, degrees of disengagement which, once identified, can be used to inform public engagement strategies, taking into account the wider characteristics of locally affected publics.

The findings of the case study offer a new understanding of aspects of disengagement and the findings support the argument that the conceptual approach of a Bourdieusian toolkit combined with a place dimension, can help to better understand the factors leading to disengagement. This opens up new opportunities for research in areas beyond planning, such as climate change, where public engagement could be key to the implementation of future adaptation strategies.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my parents, George and Ivy King, who raised me to believe that I could achieve anything if I worked hard enough.

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I would like to thank my supervisors Prof. Patrick Devine-Wright and Dr Karen Bickerstaff for their support and advice throughout, but especially for their patience. It is not easy studying for a PhD part-time but it also takes great patience and commitment to supervise a PhD student who is part-time. I have experienced some difficult times in recent years and my PhD was often the only thing that kept me going. Without the full support of my supervisors, this would not have been possible.

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Finally, a special thank you to the farmers of Gosforth for pulling my car out of a flooded field with their tractors after the annual Agricultural Show. Their friendliness and good humour was symptomatic of the generosity of local people in engaging with my research despite their firm belief that *"it's all just common sense in't it?"*

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In August 2021, an experienced planner was quoted in The Planner magazine as saying:

> *"The planning system suffers from a democratic deficit. For years, citizens have felt that development is done to them rather than with them"* (Atzev, 2021)

This statement is particularly relevant to planning for major infrastructure in the UK.

The ethos of engaging the public in decision-making has long been accepted as an important objective in the UK planning system in order to protect and serve the public interest. The principle of public engagement having been accepted, questions still remain over "*how to effect public participation, on what basis and what to do about the competing knowledge claims*" which arise from this wider participation in the planning process (Parker and Street, 2018:13).

Previous research has suggested that processes of participation in the UK planning system currently favour groups from a higher socio-economic status who are able to understand technical information, express themselves with confidence and understand how to engage with planning processes. It is widely accepted that marginalised groups can struggle to have an impact on planning processes unless provided with support and are less likely to engage with a formal planning process (Healey *et al.*, 1988; Parker and Street, 2018). There has been limited literature which considers the comprehensiveness of participation in practice with particular reference to those publics who are disengaged, both voluntarily and involuntarily, from the process. This has resulted in a lack of attention to the specificities of disengagement and this study seeks to contribute to knowledge in this area of research. The research uses a case study design to investigate the perspectives of the publics who are both engaged with, and disengaged from, the consultation process for a current Nationally Significant Infrastructure Project (NSIP) in the UK (Creswell, 2013).

The research has been jointly funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and National Grid Electricity Transmission (NGET). The NGET part funding from the *Stakeholder Attitudes to Electricity Infrastructure* project

1.2 What is meant by public engagement?

The title of this thesis refers to public engagement and this section briefly outlines the terms *public* and *engagement* to explain what is meant by these terms in the context of this research.

1.2.1 Defining the public

This research investigates the role of the public in the consultation process for major infrastructure. In setting out the principles guiding a public consultation process, part of the process is to identify which publics are to be consulted and to understand who the public are in that place or project. The targeted publics for consultation and engagement exercises can be separated into two distinct groups differentiating their level, or lack, of knowledge and a separation is generally made between *the general public* and *interest groups* who are frequently referred to as *stakeholders*. This research will focus on the general public whose views are deemed unknown prior to consultation.

However, by its very nature, the word *public* can be contentious and subject to a range of definitions (Mahony *et al.,* 2010; Westall and Gardiner, 2014). For the purposes of this research, the existing knowledge on imagined lay publics will help to inform the discussion about who the public are, the purpose of public consultation and who consultation is designed for. This understanding will have consequences for who is included, who is heard and who is represented.

1.2.2 Differentiating between consultation, engagement and participation

In considering these public-facing planning processes, it is also necessary to understand the meaning of the different terms that are used in the literature, sometimes interchangeably, including *engagement*, *participation* and *consultation*.

Public consultation is widely used, particularly in planning processes, to share information with the public. The interpretation of the term *consultation* can vary from *informing* the public (UNHSP, 2009) to "*actively listening to the public's views, concerns and insights*" (NCCPE, 2020:n.p) which implies that information is shared and exchanged. In contrast, participation seeks to incorporate *voice*,

responsiveness and *accountability* through empowering communities and building social capital to allow for participants' concerns to be recognised. However, in practice, much participation "*is consultative or instrumental, providing participants with little real influence over decision-making*" (UNHSP, 2009:65). *Engagement* is the more general process of creating opportunities for communication and involvement by building connections between actors, stakeholders and communities. In this thesis, I will specifically be referring to *public engagement,* and *dis*engagement, as the theme of my research, but I will also be referring to *public consultation* as the planning process that is being investigated in the case study.

1.3 Situating the research around pylons and engagement

Section 1.1 has set out the funding sources for this research which is situated in the planning process for overhead powerlines in England. The policy context for this research is framed by the Planning Act 2008, Section 47 Community Consultation, which will be discussed in detail in chapters 2 and 3.

There is an existing body of work that examines the public's relationship with overhead powerlines in the context of place and acceptability. This includes a small body of work which investigates the public's engagement with high voltage overhead powerlines, specifically in planning for new overhead lines and assessing their acceptance to the public (Knudsen *et al.*, 2015). Public engagement with overhead powerlines has also been researched through the lenses of justice, health and environmental impacts (Aas *et al.,* 2014; Cotton and Devine-Wright, 2011; Knudsen *et al.*, 2015; Porsius *et al.*, 2016).

Case study based research has largely been concerned with the design and siting of overhead powerlines (Cotton and Devine-Wright, 2012, 2013; Devine-Wright and Batel, 2013; Soini *et al.*, 2011) using both quantitative and qualitative methods but the main focus of research has been from the perspective of *general* publics or protest groups (Groves *et al.*, 2013). To date, none of these case studies has focussed on hard-to-reach, seldom-heard or unheard publics which is perceived as an existing gap in the knowledge and will be reflected in my research.

1.4 The research contribution

The topic of this research has been determined through a combination of the part-funding from NGET and my own professional experience. The gap in existing knowledge around the reasons for public disengagement from planning processes for overhead powerlines manifests as a real-world problem for Transmission System Operators such as NGET and their consultants. My former role as an Environmental Planning consultant working on energy infrastructure projects has made me aware of the issues arising from this problem, not just in demonstrating the adequacy of public consultations for the purposes of the Development Consent Order Examination, but also in ensuring that all voices can be heard in the formal consultation process.

This section sets out the research problem, my overall philosophical approach to investigating this problem and the questions that I have used to guide my research. My positionality in this research is discussed in detail in chapter 3 which is the methodology.

1.4.1 The research problem

Public disengagement from consultation is a real world problem affecting areas of the public sphere such as politics and planning where democracy is a key requirement. As previously stated, public disengagement from planning processes, particularly those for major infrastructure such as NSIPs, can result in a lack of representation and legitimate speech in the discourse of decision-making. Public engagement in the current planning system has developed from the practical application of communicative rationality based on the Habermasian inspired approach to collaborative planning and participatory processes. The language of public engagement through Communicative Action is embedded in the Planning Act 2008 and the Localism Act 2011 and forms the basis for public consultations at both local and national scales.

This research challenges the effectiveness of this approach at the national scale and seeks to tackle a real-world problem of disengagement emerging from a gap in the literature and inspired by my own personal observation and experience working as an Environmental Planner on NSIPs.

There is limited existing research into why people disengage from consultation processes for major engineering projects such as highways and energy

infrastructure. In addition, the gap in the literature surrounding disengaged, or non-participating, publics has led to assumptions that they may be more difficult to engage for other purposes such as academic research. This study seeks to find a way of circumventing these problems by using a theoretical framework within which the characteristics of disengaged publics can be investigated and better understood. The background to the affected communities in a case study has been explored to understand the context and motivations which might give an insight into local disengagement.

The output of this research will be both theoretical and empirical, emphasising the links between theory and practice in examining the problem of disengagement from planning for NSIPs. Moving away from the Habermasian inspired approach to collaborative planning, I will be suggesting a novel approach to exploring disengagement through a Bourdieusian lens which enables a deeper understanding of the reasons for voluntary/involuntary disengagement. The empirical output of the research will be a contribution to an area of limited knowledge using an innovative theoretical approach and generating an output, in the form of a Typology of Engagement, to not only stimulate further research into this area but also to bridge the gap between academia and practice.

1.4.2 The philosophical approach to understanding the research problem

The research has been conducted through an interpretivist philosophy concerned with the meanings and experiences of the actors. This is based on the belief that the social world is constructed by actors in a way that is constantly evolving through interpretation. Within this interpretivist philosophy, I have adopted a social constructivist epistemology which favours an inductive style of reasoning emerging from the qualitative data. This has enabled me to interpret the emerging themes in terms of "*the meanings people bring to them*" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011:3).

Williamson suggests that a disadvantage of using interpretivism can be the potential for bias on the part of the researcher but I have addressed this in section 3.2.1 where I have considered my positionality in respect of the research topic (Williamson, 2006). I would argue that any potential for bias arising from my former role as an Environmental Planner is largely negated by my decision to research this topic through the lens of the public. This has expanded the depth to which I have been able to study the topic and to locate myself as an observer in

their world (Creswell, 2013; Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). Indeed, the constructivist approach has encouraged me to examine how my preconceptions may shape the analysis taking into account my own values and how these may resonate with the emerging constructs (Charmaz, 2014). I view this approach as being compatible with my positionality and the social world that has created and guided my conscious, or unconscious, approach to undertaking the research (Bourdieu, 2001b).

In considering the way in which actors construct their worlds, I have primarily focussed on identifying shared meanings that reflect social constructions. In the course of this research I have investigated the constructions and meanings around the broad themes emerging from the primary data which was collected through interviews and ethnographic techniques situated in the case study. In order to capture the multiple voices of the actors, I have frequently used the words of the actors in the text and allowed them to frame the construction resulting from the interview or conversation in an attempt to see *"through the eyes of the people being studied"* (Bryman, 2012:399; Charmaz, 2003).

I have also expanded upon my Bourdieusian conceptual framework to investigate emerging, socially constructed spaces as places where meanings are embedded and I regard this deeper understanding of the relationship between space and place as being compatible with my professional background in place-making (Low, 2017). The social construction of space has been particularly helpful in understanding the perspectives of the research participants in explaining how they have ascribed local meanings to the energy landscape as a contested space. By introducing a place dimension, I have been able to ascribe sited identities to the case study communities that are shaped by collective memory.

1.4.3 Research Aim and questions

My research is grounded in the planning process for major infrastructure and recognises the role of contested spaces both social and physical. Drawing from the literature and my own lived experience, I have identified a theory-practice gap in understanding the underlying reasons for public disengagement from the planning process for major infrastructure.

The aim of this research is to explore the tensions between planning process and recognition of the seldom-heard voice.

To narrow the field of research, I have chosen to focus on the pre-application phase of the Development Consent Order process for NSIPs. This is the phase in which the public are offered the opportunity to engage with the planning process prior to decision-making. In order to investigate the research aim, I have developed three research questions which will be investigated and answered using a case study approach.

Research question 1:

1. What are the public's perceptions of the pre-application consultation process for NSIPs based on the evidence emerging from the case study?

Research question 2:

2. To what extent does Bourdieu's Theory of Symbolic Violence help us to understand the diversities of engagement in West Cumbria?

Research question 3:

3. To what extent does a combined understanding of habitus and the public's relationship with place enable us to better understand local variations in diversities of engagement?

1.5 The structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 has introduced the context of this study and the background to the research aim. The Literature Review in Chapter 2 investigates existing knowledge around the effectiveness of collaborative planning as the basis for public consultation for major infrastructure. The Literature Review examines the perceived gaps in collaborative planning, as relevant to major infrastructure, including the effect of power relations, the understanding of the *public sphere* and the problem of defining *the public good*.

Chapter 2 also investigates the effectiveness of public engagement with planning, the value of knowledge contributions and the way in which Government and statutory actors approach public consultation and engagement. Empirical evidence from existing research suggests that constructions of the public are still based on assumptions that the public lack sufficient knowledge to engage, particularly in the environmental sector. The Literature suggests that this has

resulted in a preference for stakeholders and formal representatives of the public's voice in debates.

Chapter 2 also suggests that existing research into disengagement has mainly focussed on factors such as an absence of social capital in communities affected by major infrastructure, such as mining, quarries and pipelines. Other case studies have cited power relations as being a key factor in discouraging active public engagement. The critique of collaborative planning suggests that forms of capital and power relations are not adequately addressed and it is necessary to identify an additional conceptual approach to fill these gaps.

The concepts of Pierre Bourdieu have previously been used by planners and geographers in a limited capacity on small, local planning applications but the review of the existing research literature suggests that concepts such as habitus, symbolic capital and symbolic violence (frequently resulting from institutional habitus and domination) could be brought to bear in order to increase our understanding of disengagement in the public consultation process for major infrastructure.

Habitus has been described as a sense of one's place and role in the world of one's lived environment and is a combination of a cognitive, as well as an embodied, sense of place (Hillier and Rooksby, 2005) but critics of Bourdieu suggest that place is largely underplayed in his concept. This research will therefore take a new position in understanding diversities of engagement with major infrastructure using elements of Bourdieu and adding a place dimension as a novel contribution.

Chapter 3 introduces the rationale for the selection of the case study area and the novel approach taken to data collection. My positionality in the research area was an important consideration in the selection of both the case study and the selection of participants, and this is also discussed in detail in chapter 3. The chapter sets out the reasons for undertaking the research using qualitative methods and discusses why disengaged publics, including those regarded as seldom heard and hard-to-reach, may be reticent in engaging with quantitative methods such as surveys, hence the value of qualitative methods such as ethnography. The chapter assesses methods to explore *ways of understanding* using data gathered from ethnography and informed by the concepts of Pierre Bourdieu. The place-based data collection attempts to capture subjective

emotions and attachments which are not generally captured in formal consultation processes and from a wider range of publics than would typically attend formal consultation events. The choice of qualitative methods is shown as being appropriate both to the location and the participants and the use of observational methods is seen to capture multi-sited, multi-vocal and multi-layered approaches to give an insight into the so-called *silent majority* and a deeper understanding of the diversities of engagement through a Bourdieusian lens.

Chapter 4 examines the evidence emerging from thematic analysis of the data collected for the North West Coast Connections (NWCC) case study. Guided by research question 1, the chapter investigates the public's overarching response to the formal consultation process and identifies the varieties of active engagement that the data has made evident. The data collection and analysis is framed using a Bourdieusian conceptual toolkit to investigate those aspects of engagement with major infrastructure that have not been widely researched in the past. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the potential reasons for disengagement and suggests that there is evidence of an underlying theme of symbolic violence underpinning some of the themes.

Chapter 5 develops the findings from Chapter 4 by investigating the emergence of symbolic violence from the recent history of public engagement with, and consultation for, major energy infrastructure in West Cumbria. The chapter takes evidence from the recent past and local narratives to examine the relationship between institutional habitus, domination and symbolic violence as place-based factors contributing to public disengagement. In assessing the forms of symbolic violence made evident in this study, the findings suggest that there are novel variations emerging in addition to those that are recognised in the Literature Review. Reference is also made to actors who are complicit with, or opposed to, the forms of symbolic violence emerging from the data and described in the chapter. The chapter examines the relationship between habitus, forms of capital and symbolic violence in both a community and an individual capacity and assesses whether symbolic violence is apparent through the process of public consultation and to what extent it is place specific in the geographical context of nuclear and energy domination. In response to research question 2, the chapter concludes that symbolic violence is only part of the reason for disengagement,

albeit significant, and that there are other factors at play. In order to fully understand these factors, the chapter suggests that a place-based dimension must be brought to bear in conjunction with the Bourdieusian conceptual toolkit.

Chapter 6 takes a novel approach to Bourdieu's concepts by examining the questions regarding place specificity emerging from the conclusions to chapters 4 and 5, and examining the extent to which the findings from the research are place based. Chapters 4 and 5 recognise that Bourdieu's concepts can help to address the gaps in understanding engagement with the existing planning framework for major infrastructure. However, place is widely recognised as being underplayed by Bourdieu and so a new position taking elements of Bourdieu and adding a place dimension is proposed and examined in Chapter 6. In response to research question 3, Chapter 6 argues that the introduction of this place-based approach brings an added dimension that habitus alone is unable to capture. In conclusion, Chapter 6 investigates how an understanding of varieties of place-based relations could be incorporated into this research to better inform the understanding of the diversities of engagement.

Chapter 7 considers the implications of the research findings theoretically, methodologically and empirically. Having assessed the limitations of the research, the chapter also considers what further knowledge gaps have been identified and where further research is needed. The chapter discusses the potential transferability of the findings to different cultural and geographical fields including the global south. The chapter concludes by summarising the empirical outputs of the research and considering the practical application of these outputs for the co-funder NGET and other infrastructure providers.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

In Chapter 1, I have suggested that there is a real-world problem of public disengagement from the public consultation processes for major infrastructure, specifically NSIPs, and that this is not readily understood or resolved within the current UK planning system. I have argued that this is largely due to the reliance on collaborative planning methods, and that a new theoretical approach is needed which will deepen our understanding and address the issues around public disengagement.

The investigation of public disengagement from planning acknowledges that not all reasons for disengagement are process led and this research requires an examination of the literature from a multi-disciplinary perspective. This chapter therefore draws evidence from town planning, social sciences, human geography and environmental psychology. My previous career as a planning practitioner working on Nationally Significant Infrastructure Projects and managing public engagement exercises has given me an in-depth knowledge of consultation processes and industry attitudes to public engagement. This literature review moves beyond my professional training in *closing down* arguments and examines what can be learnt from taking a different epistemological approach to *opening up* our understanding of the silent majority who do not directly engage with planning consultations.

Participation in planning has evolved over time in the UK and the dominant mode of participation in recent decades has incorporated the principles of collaborative planning. In this chapter, the literature is reviewed to understand the current range of problems and critical perspectives, many of which touch on power, exclusion and disengagement. A method of theorising these problems is discussed and a framework is proposed that draws on the concepts of Bourdieu enhanced by additional concepts around place.

2.2 Understanding the current framework for public engagement in planning

The current policy framework for public engagement in planning for NSIPs, has been established through the Planning Act 2008 as amended by the Localism Act 2011 (DCLG, 2011). The policy guidance sets out a requirement for sufficient public engagement to be undertaken as part of the public consultation process in order for it to be judged sound by a Planning Inspector at Examination. This process of public consultation largely emerges from, and uses the language of, collaborative planning in the UK.

This section considers the theoretical framework of public participation and engagement in the UK, based on the principles of collaborative planning, which is founded on the principles of the Theory of Communicative Action (Habermas, 1984). A critique of collaborative planning, which arose from the communicative turn, is described based on current thinking, and collaborative ideals are explored both as the foundation for the Planning Act 2008 and also in the context of the post-political condition. The section concludes with a summary of the perceived limitations of collaborative planning with regard to public engagement.

2.2.1 Collaborative Planning

The concept of collaborative planning initially evolved within UK policy in response to the development of consensus-based approaches to achieving agreement across diverse groups of actors. The pressure from policy makers for planning practice to become more oriented towards consensus-building was informed by academic planning's communicative turn (Healey, 1992; Innes, 1996; Rydin, 2010). This emphasis on communicative planning redefined the role of planners as "*facilitators and brokers of consensus-based strategy making*" (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2011:90; Allmendinger and Haughton, 2010; Haughton *et al.,* 2010,).

Key thinkers in the evolution of this new planning theory termed it as either communicative planning (Sager, 1994) or communicative action (Innes, 1995), but these theories were broadly consensual in their focus on the work of Jurgen Habermas, the German philosopher and social theorist. The main reason for this focus was the *"ideal of a democratic, participatory style of planning which incorporated all groups who stood to be affected by environmental change, not*

just those powerful actors who were in a position to carry out – or implement – major development and environmental change. This explains the primary focus on communication in general and Habermas' theories in particular" (Taylor, 1998:123).

The so-called communicative turn in planning provided a detailed rationalisation for redefining the role of planners around ideas of encouraging an idealised form of dialogue to achieve consensus between individuals. This apparent paradigm shift in the role of the planner resulted in a redefined purpose as an actor working to overcome inequalities (Healey 1992). Thus the communicative turn was founded on ideas of deliberative democracy and rationality, and particularly referenced principles which underpinned the Theory of Communicative Action (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2011; Habermas, 1984).

The Theory of Communicative Action is a substantial body of work and aspects of collaborative planning have been interpreted from specific areas which critics claim are based upon a normative view which is no longer entirely relevant to a modern society (Susen, 2011). Advocates of collaborative planning have supported its normative purpose as a way of focusing planning processes and outcomes on issues of equity, social justice, democracy and sustainability. Prior to the communicative turn, it was suggested that planning language and processes prevented open communication with non-planners and thus limited the way in which discourses and narratives could help identify issues and shape options (Allmendinger, 2002; Allmendinger and Haughton, 2011; Healey, 1997). In contrast, the underlying normative assumption of the new collaborative approaches was that a discursive, open and undistorted process would ultimately lead to consensus (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2011).

Early research, largely originating from the USA in the 1980s and 1990s, identified benefits arising from public participation in collaborative planning processes. Firstly, the participatory methods encouraged a wider stakeholder involvement than previously achieved through traditional planning approaches (Gray 1989; Innes 1996; Susskind and Cruishank 1987). Secondly, actors and stakeholders were encouraged to form new relationships founded on trust and mutual understanding which created an arena for collective problem solving and consensus building (Healey 1997; Innes and Booher 2004; Susskind and Cruikshank 1987; Wondolleck and Yaffee 2000). More importantly, early pioneers

of communicative planning theory emphasized the need to protect the interest of all groups in the public, including less powerful and marginalised groups (Forester, 1989). Forester developed the work of Habermas to emphasise the duty of planners to facilitate a democratic, participatory planning process incorporating communicative ethics as a mandate to involve less powerful groups and to manage trust and expectations (Taylor, 1998).

Collaborative planning research in practice

Early empirical evidence in support of collaborative planning was characterised by a focus on small-scale Local Government plan-making exercises with the role of the planner being central to the process (Forester, 1999; Healey, 1992, 1993, 1996). In these case studies, there is an emphasis on policy formulation and policy and plan-making at both local and regional scales. The case studies described by Healey (1992, 1993, 1996) and Forester (1999) are based on research undertaken with Local Planning Officers and planning professionals, emphasizing the normative benefits of collaborative planning. Methods of data collection are broadly similar and comprise structured and semi-structured interviews and questionnaires.

More recent research has undertaken a similar approach using case studies based on semi-structured interviews with actors across a range of consultation processes (Brand and Gaffikin, 2007; Fox-Rogers and Murphy, 2014). The research suggests that key ideas are generally formulated outside the discourse and the public engagement in these examples was limited, typically comprising questionnaires and community workshops (Brand and Gaffikin, 2007). The findings also suggest that consultation techniques assume a higher level of public knowledge than is actually the case, suggesting that expert knowledge is valued over local/public knowledge and that consultation audiences generally comprise government agencies, lobbying groups and public representatives. A key finding has been that the voice of the inactive poor remains marginal (Brand and Gaffikin, 2007). Later research has considered power in the planning system in Ireland and carried out qualitative research through interviews with Local Planning Authority planners using snowball sampling methods (Fox-Rogers and Murphy, 2014). The researchers acknowledged their concern that respondents would only suggest others who share their views and further acknowledged that they did not engage stakeholders in order to limit the size of the interview sample. The focus

of this case study was on the informal operation of power as it affected the role of planning officers and it did not consider the effect of this power in relation to the public (Fox-Rogers and Murphy 2014).

Empirical research has suggested that the ideals of communicative rationality and consensus formation are rarely achieved in planning practice (Flyvbjerg, 1998; McGuirk, 2001; Pløger, 2001; Tewdwr-Jones and Thomas, 1998; cited in Hillier, 2003). The Habermasian goal of consensus formation often fails because it is based upon a belief that an ideal communicative situation can create understanding and agreement for all participants. In reality, actors may see little benefit in behaving *communicatively rationally* when strategic, instrumental power plays and manipulation of information could result in more favourable outcomes for themselves (Hillier, 2003). Hillier suggests that we need to understand and incorporate power and conflict into the communicative framework by providing ways in which conflicts can be expressed whilst limiting the use of confrontational behaviour. This method would enable participants to move beyond potentially *"entrenched rights-based positions"* to explore alternative viewpoints and expectations (Hillier, 2003:43).

Hillier states that Habermas' conceptions are too restrictive to use on anything but the smallest projects (Hillier, 2003) and it appears that collaborative planning was originally developed as a technique for consensus building in policy and plan-making at predominantly local scales. It is therefore questionable as to why a Habermasian communicative approach, and collaborative planning in particular, has been promoted and developed by successive UK Governments in order to inform the process for large-scale infrastructure projects since the 1990s and, in particular, the Planning Act 2008 (as amended by the Localism Act, 2011). Although this is an important question underpinning the current public consultation process in planning, it is outside the scope of this research which seeks to focus on an alternative way of understanding the practice of public consultation and, in particular, those who choose not to take part or who find themselves excluded.

Localism and major infrastructure

Having established in the previous section that public consultation based on collaborative planning has been shown to be more effective on small scale

applications, it is necessary to examine why this method is perceived as being less effective in planning consultations for major infrastructure.

Historically, the planning process for large infrastructure products has followed a *predict and provide* strategic approach. From the 1970s onwards, planning practice was seen as promoting participatory processes as an alternative to the classic technocratic model of *decide-announce-defend* (Scott *et al.,* 1998; cited in Groves *et al.,* 2013).

Critics of the current, collaborative planning based system have identified that it is not an empowering arena for debating wide-ranging options for future development. Instead, it appears to be a system focused on carefully stage-managed processes with clearly defined parameters of what is open for debate (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2011; Groves *et al.*, 2013). The new system gives the superficial appearance of engagement and legitimacy, whilst focusing on delivering growth achieved through a carefully structured process for participation which minimises the potential for those with conflicting views to be given a meaningful hearing (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2011). Empirical evidence prior to the Planning Act 2008, gave rise to similar criticisms of a process which was perceived as increasingly narrowing the opportunities for debate and public inputs (Hillier, 2003).

A critique of collaborative planning

It is not clear how marginalised groups are favoured other than by having an equal right to a voice in the communicative process, and Habermas does not fully incorporate the effect of power relations in his theory other than as an extension of knowledge types such as rational-technical knowledge (McNamara *et al.,* 1984). This link between knowledge and power was articulated by Forester (1989:28) who stated that "*information is a complex form of power in the planning process*". The acknowledgement of the role of power within planning processes continues to be a source of debate with Habermas' critics (Benhabib and Dallmayr, 1990) and the importance of power relations has been developed independently by those who are regarded as the key thinkers within collaborative planning, such as Forester (1989) and Healey (1997) rather than by Habermas himself.

Critics of communicative action, and its underlying normative assumptions, have highlighted the problems associated with assigning political equality to multiple participants and the difficulty of identifying the common good in order to build consensus (Roy, 2014). The concept of collaborative planning, arising from the communicative turn, was considered to be an ideal which rested on a series of utopian assumptions and critics of the process have stated that it would be an *easy target* for state and planning agencies to use to serve their interests (Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger, 1998).

Habermasian thought adopts a significant blindness to the role of power, however, the importance of power relations cannot be denied in any situation where a nominated actor will be required to take the role of ultimate decision maker (Forester, 1989; Fraser, 1997; Hillier, 1993, 2003). Advocates of collaborative planning have attempted to respond to criticisms of Habermas' theory by applying their own interpretation of his communicative ideals, to suit modern societal challenges, and attempting to introduce theories of power relations based upon his categories of knowledge (Healey, 2003).

Critics of collaborative planning have also identified Habermas' theory surrounding the public sphere as a weak area of evidence upon which he has placed too much reliance (Hillier, 2003; Susen, 2011). The assumption that there is *a* public sphere is flawed in a modern society which is made up of many publics determined by class, race, gender and shared interests and experiences (Hillier, 2003; Susen, 2011). Habermas' public sphere, which underpins his communicative ideals, no longer provides an adequate theoretical framework for understanding the structural transformation of public spheres in late modern societies (Fraser, 1997). Indeed it is questionable whether the Habermasian *public sphere* existed in reality other than as a federal ideal which was unique to his own cultural background. The rapid changes and mobilities of modern social networks has resulted in multiple public spheres and any concept of public normativity needs to confront the challenges posed by the complexity of these modern societies (Fraser, 1997; Hillier, 2003; Susen, 2011).

Despite the popularity of Habermas' theory, critical arguments against the assumption of communicative competence form the basis of a fundamental disagreement over the power inherent in language. Bourdieu suggests that thinkers such as Habermas use a rational approach to discourse in which the

power is in the words themselves (Bourdieu, 1991). However, for opposing thinkers such as Bourdieu, power comes from the institutional conditions that surround discourse and in which it is situated (Grenfell, 2012). In *Pascalian Meditations*, Bourdieu questions "*the economic and social conditions that would have to be fulfilled in order to allow the public deliberation capable of leading rational consensus…a debate in which the competing particular interests would receive the same consideration…and the participants would seek to understand the points of views of others and give them the same weight as their own*" (Bourdieu, 2000:65). Although Bourdieu is referring to a broader political context, this question is still central to the consensus building objectives of collaborative planning. Bourdieu offers both a critique of Habermas and also a different way of thinking about disengagement and the next section investigates how Bourdieu's theory has been used in planning.

2.2.2 What can a Bourdieusian framework bring to planning theory?

Advocates of Communicative Planning Theory (CPT) have promoted a normative, consensus based form of planning, based on Habermas' theory, whereas critics of CPT have sought to find other ways of dealing with the workings of power which are perceived as being absent from the CPT theoretical approach (Healey, 1992; Hillier, 1993, 2003; Forester, 1989; Fraser 1997; Innes, 1996; Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger, 1998; Roy, 2014; Rydin 2010). Over the last 20 years, Planners, urban designers and architectural researchers have sought an alternative analytical debate on conceptual contributions to town and regional planning and some have explored the use of Bourdieu's approach to reflexive analysis (Howe and Langdon, 2002).

Bourdieu's theory has rarely been adopted by planning academics although some of his theoretical concepts have been used independently of each other (Hillier, 2002; Selman, 2001; Wilson, 1997). It has been suggested that "*his work enables the development of a conceptual lens through which researchers can understand the reflexive nature of land use planning and development*" (Howe and Langdon, 2002:213). This type of conceptual approach would enable a researcher to think about actor's *social and scientific location and their biases* encouraging a different way to explore planning processes such as consultation. In addition, an actor's habitus can be considered as a set of dispositions that influences them to act and react in certain ways (Hillier, 2002; Howe and

Langdon, 2002). However, prior research in this area has mainly focussed on the different roles of planners as professionals in policy-making, managers of planning processes and technical experts (Brand and Gaffikin, 2007; Fox-Rogers and Murphy, 2014; Hillier, 2003) rather than the publics and interested parties who are entitled to participate in these processes, but fail to do so through inequalities in expert knowledge and skills.

Pre-consultation for major infrastructure, as required by the Planning Inspectorate, claims to acknowledge local people as *local experts* who can provide a detailed and contextualised knowledge of local issues and dynamics, which can be used to inform the work carried out by external consultants (PINS, 2012d; Rydin *et al.,* 2015). This relies on a Habermasian approach to seeking consensus through equality in dialogue rather than acknowledging that, and seeking to understand why, these alleged *local experts* may perceive themselves as subordinate actors in the land use and development planning process and choose not to participate. There does not appear to be any research that explores the planning process through this lens at a greater than local scale.

The use of a Bourdieusian approach to understanding participation, or non-participation through habitus, is problematized by the definition of the *field* which is specific to the area of research. A field is a socially structured space in which actors play out their engagements with each other (Hillier and Rooksby, 2005). Depending on the relationship between the actors, the field can also be a space characterised by conflict or competition where actors struggle to achieve their objectives. In this sense, a field can be seen as an arena of power distribution where degrees of power are determined by an actor's position within the hierarchy of the field, or where participants learn and gain power through knowledge and experience (Grenfell, 2012). In planning processes, it is possible for there to be more than one intersecting field at a variety of spatial scales to reflect both national and local planning policy and guidance. In order to conduct research into a specific planning project, it would be necessary to define the borders of that field from the context of the study and the range of participants with their interests, knowledge, skills and individual habitus. Within the field, the interested parties and actors would either be helped or hindered by their individual habitus in using their skills and knowledge, or *capital*, to achieve success in their chosen role.

Bourdieu's work has, to some degree, been explored in an explicitly spatial context in the relationship between land use planning theory and practice which expands on the geographer's perspective (Howe and Langdon, 2002). It has been argued that a new reflexive theory of planning developed from a Bourdieusian approach could assist planners and related professionals in understanding the outcome of planning practices such as collaborative planning and public consultation. This research has also suggested that an understanding of agent's habituses will help to influence expectations and motivations (Howe and Langdon, 2002).

2.2.3 Critique of Bourdieu

It has been stated that Bourdieu appropriates the ideas of others without recognition, extending back to Aristotle for the origins of hexis which informed habitus (Burawoy, 2018; Wacquant, 2016). Habitus is a contested concept which was developed by Bourdieu to overcome the dualism between objectivism and subjectivism in his wider theory of practice (King, 2000). As Bourdieu states:

> "*These two moments the subjectivist and objectivist stand in dialectical relation. It is this dialectic of objectivity and subjectivity that the concept of the habitus is designed to capture and encapsulate*" (Bourdieu 1988b: 782)

King (2000) argues that the habitus is incompatible with Bourdieu's practical theory and "*retreats quickly into objectivism*" although he also states that the Theory of Practice offers a solution to the "*impasse of objectivism and subjectivism by focussing on the intersubjective interactions between individuals*" (King, 2000:417). This contradiction between different strands of Bourdieu's work has resulted in wide criticism of habitus (King, 2000). Habitus is defended by Wacquant (2016) as a "*mediating construct*" that helps us understand how *"the socio-symbolic structures of society become deposited inside persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and patterned propensies to think, feel and act in determinate ways, which in turn guide them in their creative responses to the constraints and solicitations of their extant milieu"* (Wacquant, 2016:65).

Atkinson (2010) argues that Bourdieu's theory would have benefitted from a greater use of phenomenology building upon Bourdieu's use of insights from the phenomenological tradition. Wacquant (2016) suggests that habitus had seen a

resurgence in phenomenology in the writings of Husserl which had influenced Bourdieu (Wacquant, 2016). The gaps in Bourdieu's theory have been acknowledged by both his critics and advocates and even Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) acknowledges the existence of "*contradictions, gaps, tensions, puzzlements, and unresolved questions*" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:xiii-xiv). This leads to a requirement to think beyond Bourdieu in order to successfully use his thinking tools and Atkinson argues that this can be achieved by incorporating insights from phenomenology (Atkinson, 2010).

It is acknowledged that Bourdieu's concept of habitus is not static and has developed throughout the course of his works, partly influenced by his early anthropological focus. It has also been suggested that his ideas could be applied more widely, particularly in geography where his work has been less well applied or referred to in passing, without any depth (Painter, 2000). Painter (2000) suggests that this has been partly due to perceptions that Bourdieu's concepts are more relevant to anthropology, educational research and cultural studies. However, Painter (2000) advises caution in assuming that Bourdieu uses a spatial vocabulary in the same way as a geographer and suggests that *"Bourdieu's comparison of social space with geographic space seems to be based on an assumption that geography masks the real nature of social relations"* (Painter, 2000:171). In addition, Painter suggests that Bourdieu has a limited understanding of geographic space in terms of *"distributions, distances and arrangements"* (Painter, 2000:171). However, Painter (2000) suggests that there may be scope for geographers to develop Bourdieu's work in greater depth by employing a wider range of geographic space than that used by Bourdieu, particularly in the relationship between social space and physical geographical space. Bourdieu (1990b) compares this relationship between space and geographical space and suggests that actors *"have more properties in common the closer they are to each other in this space"* (Bourdieu, 1990b:127). He goes on to say that "*people close to each other in the social space tend to be close together – by choice or necessity – in the geographical space*" (Bourdieu, 1990b:127). However, it is possible for those who do not share the same social space to interact, albeit intermittently, in physical space through invisible structures that are not apparent through observation (Bourdieu, 1990b). Bourdieu (1990b) also expresses his fear that the actors he studies in Distinction (Bourdieu, 1984) will be misinterpreted as "*real groups*" (Bourdieu, 1990b:128). This has

particular relevance to my case study area in which specific settlements have been identified for participant observation but not for direct comparison. These settlements may share common spaces of practice which are not directly related to the overlapping scales of physical place. In this context, Bourdieu's perception of the *"sense of one's place"* emerges as a social construct which may, or may not, be situated in physical space (Bourdieu, 1990b:128). Despite this assertion it appears that Bourdieu is acknowledging an underlying tendency for these social networks to frequently be place-based.

Bourdieu is said to have been frustrated by the mis-application of his conceptual tools (Atkinson, 2010). Habitus, capital and field are all theoretically and empirically interrelated and it is not possible to abstract habitus from the other concepts which give it meaning (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Maton, 2012). According to Maton (2012), *"any attempt to explain practice using habitus alone is not Bourdieusian"* (Maton, 2012:60). Although described as being highly applicable to other disciplines, it is suggested that habitus can be problematic to define when applied empirically at different scales. This is because, empirically, it is not possible to *see* a habitus but rather, it is possible to see the effects of the habitus in the dispositions and practices to which it gives rise. This results from an understanding of which underlying structure of the habitus is in play (Maton, 2012). Maton (2012) suggests that the correct use of habitus is through its relational structure in the context of the field and in generating practices.

2.3 What is currently known and understood about engagement and disengagement?

This section of chapter 2 examines the existing knowledge around the *practice* of public engagement and consultation. Section 2.1 has already examined the broad theoretical framework informing public engagement in current planning policy in the UK but there are other approaches to public engagement which are both research and practice based. Research suggests that many of these approaches rely on the public participating and are less helpful in addressing the problem of disengagement. This section examines some of these approaches and considers their transferability to the research problem of public disengagement from planning processes.

The previous section has suggested that there is potential for developing Bourdieu's concepts to inform a theoretical approach to planning. This section will build on this approach by considering how Bourdieu's recognition of the social other can respond to the perceived barriers to engagement. Firstly, I will discuss the research conducted by University College London, between 2015 and 2017, which identifies some of these barriers in the context of planning for major infrastructure.

Examining public participation in Nationally Significant Infrastructure Projects (NSIPs)

A major interdisciplinary study was conducted between 2015 and 2017 which investigated *publics* and *evidence* within the statutory decision-making process for Nationally Significant Infrastructure Projects. The research comprised multiple strands but the findings of the *participation strand* of the research are of particular relevance to this research and provide insights into the ways in which the views of affected communities are taken into account, and the use of knowledge in the process. However, a primary concern of the research team was with the "*social purposes and legitimacy of processes that provide legally guaranteed rights for publics to participate, but in a context that may restrict the potential for public concerns and aspirations to influence final regulatory decisions in any substantial way*" (UCL, 2017:2).

Some of the key findings from the research that relate to public and engagement participation suggest that:

- There is a lack of community understanding of the importance of the *pre*-application process, including consultations;
- Lay publics can be intimidated by process, technical language and the perceptions of *experts* as powerful actors.
- Technical expert knowledge is relied upon rather than local knowledge;
- Negative experiences undermine the legitimacy of the process from the public's perspective;
- A reliance on digital communication is becoming increasingly problematic for some lay publics;
- There is a lack of confidence in the implementation of mitigation measures.

(Lee, 2017; Natarajan *et al.,* 2018; Rydin *et al.*, 2018a)

The research also makes recommendations, including funding to support the involvement of local residents, and a greater involvement by Local Authorities in sharing local knowledge and keeping publics engaged and informed. It is suggested that Examining Authorities should engage with lay knowledge that is expressed in an alternative format to that of the technical experts. Recommendations for developers include measures to widen access to participation through varied scheduling of events for different audiences, accessible locations, a range of communication options and the avoidance of technical language unless fully explained. Other suggestions include the appointment of an intermediary as a public liaison role. (Rydin *et al.,* 2018a; Rydin *et al.,* 2018b).

The research offers a comprehensive overview of the process, the key issues arising and the potential for widening participation through educating developers and statutory authorities in effective public engagement. A distinction is also made between public participation and public acceptance (Armeni, 2016). However, there is an opportunity to build upon the findings of this research by investigating different constructs of the public and understanding the reasons for public *dis*engagement from this process. An opportunity for further research emerges from the discourse on power relations which is investigated through a theoretical framework drawing on Foucauldian and Actor-Network Theory perspectives (Rydin, 2020). This research looks at power and black boxing which can restrict the legitimate speech acts of the participating public, but raises questions about alternative theoretical approaches to investigating non-participation which could capture local knowledge in different ways, reflecting local voices and *subjective* aspects of local knowledge which are not captured in the current process.

2.3.1 Conceptualising disengagement within planning policy

The planning response to *dis*engagement is typically framed around disengaged publics as being *hard-to-reach* and public consultation exercises conducted as part of planning processes, plan-making and planning applications are broadly designed in a similar format to those carried out for other areas such as health and education. The policy framework as set out in the Planning Act (2008) and the Localism Act (2011) requires consultations to adopt an inclusive approach to ensure that "*different groups have the opportunity to participate and are not*

disadvantaged in the process". Policy also advises that *"applicants should use a range of methods and techniques to ensure that they access all sections of the community in question"* (DCLG, 2008:15).

The Planning Act 2008 was amended through the Localism Act 2011 which promoted ideals of *Community empowerment*, particularly with the introduction of Neighbourhood Planning. However, there was limited change to the process for NSIPs other than transferring responsibility from the Infrastructure Planning Commission (IPC) to the Planning Inspectorate (PINS) with decision-making being the responsibility of the Secretary of State (DCLG, 2011). A range of guidance notes from PINS, published between 2012 and 2017 sought to demystify the NSIP process from the perspective of the public although only freely available on line. The Planning White Paper 2021 proposes little change to the Development Consent Order (DCO) process although there is a greater emphasis on digital participation which is seen as potentially being exclusionary to some groups whilst benefitting others (Branson, 2020).

2.3.2 Examining which publics are traditionally regarded as harder to reach

The term hard-to-reach, in common with the word *public*, is constantly evolving and has a diversity of meaning. In this research, I will be investigating disengaged publics who might also be referred to as *seldom-heard*. The term *seldom-heard* is now frequently used in preference to *hard-to-reach* to suggest that not all groups wish to be heard and many are not *hard-to-reach*, they merely require consultation processes to be more socially inclusive (Jones, 2018; Norton and Hughes, 2018).

Defining hard-to-reach and 'seldom-heard' groups

The term *hard-to-reach* (H2R) has traditionally been used as part of consultation and engagement processes in politics, marketing, health and planning (Brackertz, 2007; Jones, 2018). The term H2R is used to describe a wide range of individuals and groups but has been used inconsistently in the literature. Other terms are used, such as *seldom-heard* which was adopted by the Consultation Institute to reflect that many of the traditionally identified groups (ethnic groups, homeless people, elderly or young people, disabled, LGBTQ groups) are accessible through gate-keepers but are frequently not being listened to (Jones, 2018). According to Brackertz (2007), the problem of using a term such as *hard-*

to-reach is that it implies a homogeneity within groups which does not necessarily exist in practice. Brackertz suggests that this defines the problem as being within the definition of the group itself rather than the way in which the group is accessed (Smith, 2006; cited in Brackertz, 2007). However, beyond the previously defined groups, there also exist hidden populations who do not wish to be contacted as well as broader segments of the population such as the elderly, young people, people with disabilities and the *time poor* who cannot be clearly defined (Brackertz, 2007; Brackertz *et al.,* 2005). In consequence, the use of the term hard-to-reach is now regarded as being a potentially stigmatising terminology (Freimuth *et al.,* 1990; cited in Brackertz, 2007; Jones, 2018).

H2R, or seldom-heard publics are defined as those population segments that cannot, or do not, usually participate (Brackertz, 2007). They can be broadly characterised by an *inability*, *disinterest* or *lack of motivation* to contribute or become involved (Brackertz, 2007) and may also include disengaged people who are disillusioned with, or feel disconnected from, the political process (Brackertz *et al.,* 2005).

Much of the existing knowledge concerning H2R and seldom-heard groups is contained in the health and social science literature but there is a body of literature concerning the inclusion of H2R groups in planning processes. It has also been suggested that H2R groups are particularly highly valued where they form part of a majority such as in rural areas (POST, 2015).

The adoption of the term *seldom-heard* reflects the perceived difficulty in hearing the voices of some groups whose voices can be ignored through having less opportunity to express themselves than other stakeholders. Seldom-heard publics are less likely to be represented by gate-keepers or other intermediaries and may also lack the skills, knowledge or opportunity to use modern forms of engagement such as social media to play the *game* of consultation (Jones, 2018).

Ultimately, there is a requirement to engage with all parties affected by a planning application for major infrastructure. In addition to the planning policy documents described in Section 2.3.1, guidance is also provided through the Gunning Principles (2001) and the Equality Act (2010). Individual organisations and public bodies will have their own policies on engaging with hard-to-reach and seldom-heard publics, including developers and Transmission Service Operators such as NGET.

There has traditionally been limited guidance to engagement with hard-to-reach or seldom-heard groups. In addition, some individuals and groups choose not to engage due to their post-political stance, apathy or indifference and this can be problematic both in practical terms and also in data gathering for research (Wilson and Swyngedouw, 2015). This is a cross cutting issue, not only for Planning but also for political consultations.

Rational ignorance and the problem of citizen motivation

UK Government research (2015) suggests that 30% of the public are disengaged from political consultation processes and this can be attributed in some part to a post-political stance in which publics choose not to engage (POST, 2015; Wilson and Swyngedouw, 2015). It has been suggested that this also applies to engagement with planning related processes such as sustainable development (Raco, 2015) and a YouGov poll in 2020 highlighted that 69% of respondents had never engaged with a local plan consultation (Grayling/RTPI, 2020:13).

Undertaking consultation as previously described, assumes that the public are willing to be consulted and wish to participate in policies or plans that affect them. Consideration is given to the extent to which people are willing, rather than able, to get involved. Those publics who do not engage can either become hard-to-reach because of their own characteristics, or due to a lack of appropriate resources or knowledge in the actors who seek to engage with them. These characteristics typically comprise the recognition of diversity and understanding the barriers that some publics experience, and may require different approaches to consultation.

The underlying problem of *rational apathy* is supported by research in the UK which illustrated the prevalence of this problem and the associated importance of self-interest in determining citizen involvements. Participant involvement was found to be predominantly reactive to the protection of their own or their community's immediate interests, rather than the wider *issues*, and emerged from well organised and politically active *usual suspects* who were perceived as dominating attempts at community consultation (Geoghan, 2013; Lowndes *et al.,* 2001).

It is suggested that there may be a range of reasons why people choose not to take part in community consultation. In planning, the public can struggle to relate

spatial planning policies to their lived experience whereas policies that are specific to the local level are more accessible. Rydin (2011) suggests that the problem can be understood "*in terms of the collective action problem that underpins all such engagement*" (Rydin, 2011:98) and cites an example of the benefits of engagement being outweighed by the cost, although this does not take account of the normative view of engagement. Individual perceptions of having limited influence in a debate can motivate actors to seek representation by stakeholder groups and gate-keepers to express their views and represent community interests (Krek, 2005; Rydin, 2011). The next section will examine the role of these gate-keepers and citizen representation in greater depth.

Public representatives and stakeholders

Speaking for, or on behalf of, others can raise questions about motivation and whether the desire to speak for others is "*a desire for mastery and domination*" (Alcoff, 2016:91). There is a distinction between those who seek gratification from having the power to speak for voiceless *others* and those who seek to elevate their own status in order to facilitate change or impose a view (Alcoff, 2016; Mahony *et al.,* 2010). It has been suggested by Alcoff that speaking for others is "*arrogant, vain, unethical and politically illegitimate*" and creates a culture of *them* and *us* (Alcoff, 1991:6). A further problem arises from the way in which the dialogue is situated, suggesting that a speaker's social location or identity can have an epistemically significant impact on their claim to legitimate speech. This raises the question as to whether advocacy for oppressed groups within the wider public should only be undertaken by members of those groups who are situated in the same social location as those they represent (Mahony *et al.*, 2010). This becomes problematic if the group cannot be clearly defined either as a social group or as a community of place, gender or ethnicity (Alcoff, 1991). Where publics are indeterminate or invisible, claims can be made about protecting the *common good* without a clear definition of what this means in ethical terms (Habermas, 1994; Mahony *et al.,* 2010). Depending on the definition of the group being represented, there is also a danger of the representative voice speaking *about* the group or community rather than *for* them, resulting in a problem of whether the discourse is truly neutral or representative (Alcoff, 1991). Who is speaking, who is spoken of, and who listens as a result can thus become the

basis for unequal power relations and domination where the speaker is positioned as authoritative and empowered or as the knowledgeable subject (Alcoff, 1991).

Representation is closely linked to distributive justice by ensuring that those who have claims to justice should have a voice or be represented by speaker with a voice of power (Liddle and Michielsens, 2007).

2.3.3 Existing approaches to understanding disengagement in practice

There is limited literature that specifically examines disengagement from planning processes and this section draws from some of that literature, predominantly referring to the UK, although it is informed in part by research in Australia and Europe. Much of the research concerning public engagement with planning focusses on the plan-making process, and current thinking on the reasons for disengagement from those processes is limited in its extent. Selected grey literature has also been included to evidence earlier research findings.

A survey was commissioned by the Scottish Government in 2017 to identify *barriers* to community engagement in planning in response to an independent review of the Scottish planning system in 2016. The key issues emerging from the report were inclusion and empowerment in achieving a fairer planning system (Yellow Box Ltd, 2017). Although the research focusses on local plans, policy and place-making, there are some aspects of the report which can inform the wider context of engagement and disengagement.

A critique of the research suggests that it captures the experience and opinions of community leaders and other *active* citizens who represent communities and seldom-heard groups. In other words, these are the opinions of people who are already motivated to engage with the planning system frequently referred to as *the usual suspects* (Geoghan, 2013). This representation is potentially only a minority of the population with many demographic groups being underrepresented and a vocal minority having a greater voice in the process.

The findings of the report include perceived barriers to public engagement which are identified as language barriers, disability, poverty and discrimination. A further barrier to engagement is the difficulty experienced by the public in understanding the technical language and issues associated with planning. There is also a spatial aspect in local plans in expecting the public to understand the relevance of regional, rather than local, issues (Kitchen and Whitney, 2004). Although not

discussed in the research, this has particular relevance to infrastructure projects that extend beyond the local and have regional or national significance. The concept of barriers has also been investigated by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) raising issues around the public's low confidence in expressing themselves through lack of knowledge or understanding of technical language. Other barriers are classified as cultural (language), socio-economic (education, access to ICT), physical (remote communities or disabilities) and other factors such as being time poor (OECD, 2009:49). These suggested barriers would benefit from examination in the context of a case study to understand the transferability of the research findings from the international perspective of the OECD.

Kitchen and Whitney (2004) identified a key issue around the level of engagement that should be targeted at hard-to-reach groups. Rather than focussing on specific groups, they suggest that attention should be paid to widening participation across the public as a whole. Respondents in their research suggested that hard-to-reach groups were already disadvantaged, particularly in terms of IT access and awareness (Kitchen and Whitney, 2004). Kitchen and Whitney (2004) suggested solutions to the problem of poor public engagement with planning, including the provision of greater resources in terms of actor training and the provision of educational material to the public to enable them to better understand and respond to planning processes and how to engage with them. This is seen as a way of empowering local communities, however, these proposed solutions are potentially more focussed on Local Authority consultations, particularly relating to local plans, and would have little benefit for developers of major infrastructure who would be more likely to appoint external consultants to manage processes. This also creates potential for a blurred line between *tokenism* and *informing* in the perceptions of the public (Arnstein, 1969).

There is limited research into non-participation or disengagement from consultation processes in planning but Cropley and Phibbs (2013) suggest that there are two groups of non-participants in public engagement, partly based on their research in Australia but also relying heavily on the OECD (2009) findings in Europe. The two categories of disengagement are stated as:

- people who are *willing but unable* to participate because of:
    - cultural or language barriers

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- geographical distance

- disability or socio-economic status (e.g. lack of ICT/resources to participate in on-line processes

- people who are *able but unwilling* to participate because they:

  - are not interested in the issues

  - do not have the time

  - see no personal benefit or relevance

  - think someone else will look after their interests

  - do not trust government to make good use of their input.

(OECD, 2009:48; Cropley and Phibbs, 2013)

In their research, Cropley and Phibbs (2013) are seeking to move away from a binary view of engaged and disengaged publics but there is scope for their two non-participant categories to be examined further in order to develop a more insightful typology. In a critique of the duality of these suggested groups, the Scottish Government report suggests that the first group matches the criteria of being seldom-heard who would be willing to participate if the barriers were removed. The report also argues that this group should be divided between the *willing but unable* and the *unable and unwilling* with a suggestion that the latter group would be in the majority (Yellow Box Ltd, 2017).

The OECD (2009) report has a focus on political as well as planning consultation and offers insights into designing approaches which recognise the profiles and preferences of the publics that Governments are trying to reach. The OECD draws from research in the Netherlands which investigates non-participation in consultation for major rail infrastructure and suggests five main profiles of non-participants comprising:

- **Enquirers:** people who like to get better information before they think they can be consulted properly but often obtain valuable local knowledge: 18%.
- **Distrusters:** people with cynical feelings or distrust towards politics in general or consultation: 35%.
- **Time-stretched:** people who do not have the time and are not often involved in the environment in which they live: 27%.

- **Indifferent:** people who do not care very much about their physical environment: 10%.

- **Uncertain:** people with little political efficacy, doubting about their possibilities to add value: 10%.

(OECD, 2009:47)

The OECD profiles could potentially contribute to understanding different types of engagement and disengagement in other consultations for major infrastructure, for example in the UK. The OECD research is notable due to a greater focus on understanding the reasons for disengagement rather than using assumptions based on the recognised hard-to-reach groups. This research from the OECD takes a different approach to the majority of participatory models by using profiling methods to better understand engagement and disengagement. The priority is stated as gaining "*a clear picture of the diversity and range of groups affected by a given decision making process*" (OECD, 2009:48) and moving away from the one size fits all approach to consultation which is aimed at the average citizen. There is potential to develop these ideas of profiling and broad typologies to help frame future research and examine the benefit of classifications in furthering understanding. Two of the profiles, "*distrusters*" and "*indifferent*", also suggest valid reasons for disengagement on the basis that some publics will actively choose not to engage (OECD, 2009:47).

2.3.4 Summarising what we have learnt from current practice

In summary, this section has discussed a series of constructs including actor perceptions of *the public* and *hard-to-reach groups* and how to design processes for wider engagement and participation. The discussion has also examined the concept of representation, whether this is through the use of stakeholders, gate-keepers or intermediaries, and what it means to speak for others in terms of community representation. For example, does this reduce the represented groups to a single voice or does it introduce a seldom-heard voice into the conversation that may not otherwise take part?

There is a clearer picture of the less widely acknowledged and accepted reasons for disengagement from planning, particularly in planning consultations, although the literature is limited in its extent. Many of these reasons, although referenced in the literature, have not been examined in depth to understand their underlying

causes and effects and there is potential to expand the literature review beyond planning to draw knowledge from human geography and the social sciences.

Research into attendance at engagement activities has shown that participants are often drawn from groups with higher socio-economic status, a greater interest in the subject, and more strongly held views (Geoghan, 2013; Powell *et al.,* 2011). The cultural barrier to engagement comprises a focus on language including the use of technical language as a means of disadvantaging or excluding the public (Blowers, 2010). Other aspects include lack of public confidence due to individual perceptions of insufficient education, verbal skills and the ability to engage in debate. This has been suggested as a reason that actors prefer to design a consultation process to suit stakeholders rather than the public (Baker *et al.,* 2007). This can also be understood in terms of power relations between the hierarchy of actors which is discussed further in section 2.5.

Consultation techniques currently rely upon the public being sufficiently motivated to attend consultation events and respond to questionnaires but Baker *et al.* (2007) have argued that all approaches to public engagement will have the potential to marginalise some groups. The increasing use of *e*-planning methods of consultation, which avoid the need for men in suits to intimidate the public by overwhelming them with information (Davoudi and Healey, 1995), are counterproductive in that they disadvantage some publics, through lack of knowledge and skills, to understand the technology (Baker *et al.,* 2007). This is of particular significance in the UK based on the Government's proposals in the White Paper on the Future of Planning (2021).

In summarising this section, the reasons for disengagement can be broadly grouped under themes of marginality and/or stigma, peripherality, cultural limitations and conscious or deliberate disengagement. The theme of marginality and/or stigma has largely emerged from evidence around disability, poverty and discrimination but there is also the potential for publics to be peripheralised by their geographical location. The cultural theme emerges from the discussion around language and specifically the use of technical language as a means of disadvantaging the public. This group can be split between the engaged "*enquirers*" and the "*uncertain*" who are intimidated by their lack of knowledge and lack the confidence to engage (OECD, 2009:47). There is the potential to examine intimidation in greater depth through a lens of cultural capital and

symbolic violence in section 2.4.3. Also emerging from each of these themes is an overarching theme of power and power relations which will be discussed further in section 2.5

2.4 Marginality, stigma and violence

Section 2.4 discusses aspects of marginality, symbolic violence and otherness through examining the literature to understand some of the emerging reasons for public disengagement that I have identified in the previous section. There is a particular focus on the *rural other* using case studies to examine the emergence of marginality and stigma and how this can be constructed by rural communities to position their identities, and the identities of others, as inside or outside (Cloke and Little, 1997). Local constructs of marginality, and the power relations underpinning it, are examined in the context of case studies in Scotland, North America and Cumbria, to understand how these constructions have been spatially and temporally reproduced. There is a fluidity to these constructs which is linked to the temporality of marginality, particularly in the Cumbrian case study. Individual marginality can also vary in relation to "*the perception and understanding of the observer and observed*" (Cloke and Little, 1997:273). This is particularly evidenced in Cumbria by local residents, who see their County as "*stigmatised in the eyes of the rest of the country by its perceived servile dependent relationship to the nuclear industry*" (Wynne *et al.*, 2007:4).

This section of the literature review will assess perceived barriers to participation and engagement and consider how the research problem might be viewed through a Bourdieusian lens. There has been a resurgence of interest in Bourdieu's work in the last five years with a particular focus on understanding the social other in society and there is an opportunity to draw from this literature to understand social barriers to engagement. Recent research has drawn from the full suite of Bourdieu's concepts to investigate class inequality (McKenzie, 2016), black identity and belonging (Wallace, 2016), women's choices in education (Bowers-Brown, 2016), migration to the UK (Thatcher and Halvorsrud, 2016) and social mobility (Friedman, 2016). There is limited research that situates these concepts in the built environment or town planning but this section will give an overview of how marginality, peripherality and stigma is currently understood and how this might help to inform the research.

2.4.1 Marginality and stigma

The Cultural

Research into attendance at engagement activities has shown that participants are often drawn from groups with higher socio-economic status, a greater interest in the subject, and more strongly held views (Geoghan, 2013; Powell *et al.,* 2011). It is suggested that the cultural barrier to engagement consists primarily of a focus on language, including the use of technical language as a means of disadvantaging or excluding the public (Blowers, 2010). Other aspects include lack of public confidence due to individual perceptions of insufficient education, verbal skills and the ability to engage in debate. This has been suggested as the reason that actors prefer to design a consultation process to suit stakeholders rather than the public (Baker *et al.,* 2007).

Consultation techniques currently rely upon the public being sufficiently motivated to attend consultation events and respond to questionnaires, but Baker *et al.* (2007) argue that all approaches to public engagement will have the potential to marginalise some groups. The use of *e*-planning methods of consultation, which avoid the need for *men in suits* to intimidate the public by overwhelming them with information (Davoudi and Healey, 1995), are counterproductive in that they disadvantage some publics through a lack of knowledge and the skills to understand the technology (Baker *et al.,* 2007). In order to minimise this form of intimidation, it has been suggested that meetings could be held on the *home turf* of some of the more marginalised groups and offer more accessible ways of collecting knowledge. This was addressed by the Manchester Community Engagement Toolkit (Manchester City Council, 2005) which developed methods of consultation and engagement that responded to the needs and expectations of different cultural and social groups. An important part of this process is seen as ensuring that communication meets the needs of the public by using clear and concise language which avoids planning terminology and can be translated into other languages if required by the wider community (Baker *et al,.* 2007). Examining these factors in the context of academic case studies can also give useful insights into the problem.

Physical marginality and development: the Isle of Harris 'superquarry' proposal

Mackenzie and Dalby (2003) draw upon poststructuralist political ecology in their research examining the siting of superquarries in the Isle of Harris and Cape Breton. There is an emphasis on environmental factors, and the local communities are constructed through a lens of political resistance with a limited voice in a process that was dominated by "*outside*" experts to ensure objectivity and avoid arguments based on "*emotionalism*" (Mackenzie and Dalby, 2003:316). The primary arguments in favour of the proposal in Scotland were national benefit and economic benefits for the "*depressed state of society*" in Harris and its poor economic activity (Mackenzie and Dalby, 2003:317). The key issues emerging from this research include the threat to local identity and the question of who was able to speak from the affected community. Local people perceived a threat to their way of life due to the way in which their community was reimagined and the "*particularities of place*" which were disregarded by the superquarry developers (Mackenzie and Dalby, 2003:323). A key factor for local people was their social cohesion and the continuity of social and material practices which had emerged from the history of that place. The research states that the actors in the planning process also sought to perpetuate the binary of "*islanders*" and "*incomers*" to undermine the historical community identity and "*sustain the distinction between a community of locals and a collection of outsiders*" which created an imaginary of otherness (Mackenzie and Dalby, 2003:324). Only those actors who were local by birth were considered to have a legitimate voice in the planning process (Mackenzie, 1998). This research has implications for perceptions of the local and who has the right to take part in legitimate discourse. The research findings around the local/outsider binary promoted by the developer are seen as a way to divide opposition and disempower some of the local residents. In the Isle of Harris case study, the resilience of the local community in opposing the development suggests that the local/outsider binary framed by the developer is of less importance to the community despite the importance of historical connections for those who have lived in the area for multiple generations. The insider/outsider binary is transferable to other case studies but is perceived to be a particular feature of peripheral communities although, as stated by Mackenzie, the concepts of insider and outsider "*gloss over a complexity of social relationships*" (Cresswell, 1996; Mackenzie, 1998:528; Wynne *et al.*, 2007). The dualism of insiders and outsiders

is connected to both space and place and I shall examine this relationship with place in more depth in section 2.6.

Peripheralisation as social and economic marginalisation

Building upon the work of Mackenzie (1998) and Mackenzie and Dalby (2003), there is a body of research into powerlessness connected with marginal communities with particular reference to some of the coastal communities in West Cumbria. These peripheral communities are both socially and economically marginalised by the *"process of 'peripheralisation' which reproduces and reinforces their relative powerlessness"* (Blowers, 2010:157). Blowers (2010) suggests that peripheral locations were deliberately chosen when the first nuclear power stations were proposed in order to mitigate the risk for local communities, and the shifting power relations over time have resulted in economic dependency for the local communities who have become increasingly powerless (Blowers, 2010; Wynne *et al.,* 2007).

Blowers (2010) examines the strategy of locating Locally Unpopular Land Uses (LULUs) through the concept of peripherality whereby the burden is placed upon communities that already feel themselves to be marginalised. This burden extends beyond developments such as power stations to include extensive existing transmission lines connecting to the grid, some of which may need upgrading to higher voltage to accommodate new energy generation. This reflects an expectation by Government that *"people living and working nearby have had a long time to get used to there being an adjacent nuclear plant so this is unlikely to be a problem at this location"* (DECC, 2009:42; cited in Blowers, 2010). This impact on communities emerges as an unfair distribution of the *bads* associated with proposed development resulting in local perceptions of the futility of engagement.

Blowers and Leroy (1994) have identified five characteristics of peripheral communities which are:

- *Remoteness*: communities in areas that are either geographically remote or relatively inaccessible.
- *Economic marginality*: places which are monocultural, dependent on a dominant employer or employment sector

- *Political powerlessness:* key decision making occurs elsewhere, often in metropolitan centres.

- *Cultural defensiveness:* expressing ambiguous and ambivalent attitudes with feelings of isolation and fatalistic acceptance of nuclear activities.

- *Environmental degradation:* In the case of nuclear projects this means close to areas of radioactive contamination or places where radioactive risk is present.

(Blowers, 2010:162)

Blowers and Leroy (1994) acknowledge that processes of peripheralisation are not inevitable and affected communities may not possess all of the stated characteristics. However, where some of these characteristics are evident, they will directly affect local attitudes to engagement and/or support/oppose the subject to the level of dependency on the industry concerned. Although these characteristics have been specifically defined through research into nuclear communities, the evidence suggests that they could be transferable to other forms of development and there is the potential for this research to be transferable to related infrastructure, in particular transmission lines.

2.4.2 Social margins, stigma and the social other

Where a community is perceived as being at the *edge of civilisation*, this can give rise to a form of symbolic exclusion where their *low* or *other* voices are unrecognised and ignored or unheard (Saïd,' 1978; cited in Shields, 1992). This construction of the social *other* emerges from a range of case studies and will be discussed in this section with particular reference to the nuclear industry in Cumbria (Wynne *et al.,* 2007)

The concept of stigma has often been generalised to technologies, places and products that are perceived to be unduly dangerous (Gregory *et al.,* 1995). The source of the stigma can be a hazard with characteristics, such as serious negative consequences and involuntary exposure that typically contributes to high public perceptions of risk. Its impacts are often perceived to be inequitably distributed across groups, for example, children and pregnant women are affected disproportionately, or geographical areas where one location can carry the risk of hazardous waste storage for an entire County (Kasperson *et al.,* 2003). This can lead to social controversy over the siting of controversial development,

such as waste disposal facilities, and the use of acronyms such as NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) and LULU (Devine-Wright, 2009).

Where a coast or rural area is devoid of industry and significant centres of population, proposed infrastructure development can overwhelm scattered populations (Mackenzie and Dalby, 2003). Research has also shown that landscapes of energy production have the potential to negatively affect the perceptions of local communities where they have historical associations of *risk and threat*. Research carried out by Parkhill *et al.* (2014) subsequently explored whether this can lead to the "*stigmatisation of place and people in place*" (Parkhill *et al.,* 2014:2). Case studies are also frequently location specific, for example in Cumbria (Wynne *et al.,* 2007).

Research has shown that stigma can also be applied to people (Goffman, 1963). Communities in marginal places have been shown to carry the stigma of their marginality which can become part of their local identity (Shields, 1992). This can also be considered in terms of social spacialisation as cultural structures (Shields, 1992), for example through the concept of habitus (Bourdieu, 1977; cited in Shields, 1992). Shields suggests that spacialisation is most visible in "*spatial practices and in the connotations people associate with places and regions*" (Shields, 1992:47). He suggests that certain characteristics can be attributed to *place* which can influence the public's decision to go there. These "*place-images*" are potentially the result of over-simplification, stereotyping and labelling which may be deemed indicative of the essential character of a place despite changes over time (Shields, 1992:47). This is particularly relevant in places associated with a particular industrial facility or form of development where "*the risk perceptions of publics, both within and outside of the area that is host to a facility, can be highly significant in the creation of stigma*" (Parkhill *et al.,* 2014:3).

Other research has identified the concept of *outsider stigma* which refers to local people supporting or perpetuating negative external perceptions of perceived bad neighbour development, for example, by joining non-local opposition groups to that particular type of development (Bell, 2016). Bell (2016) refers to an individual's fear of being attributed an *"outsider stigma"* for voicing opposition to locally valued employment in industries such as coal mining. This could potentially affect an individual's standing in their community by being at odds with the "*local elite*" (Bell, 2016:247) and negatively impacting on networking and

social capital in communities (Bell, 2016:254) leading to perceptions of *"insiderness"* and "*outsiderness*" (Altman and Low, 1992; Bell, 2016:229). A similar example of outsider stigma has been identified in research into the nuclear dominated region of West Cumbria where employment at Sellafield has created great disparity in wealth with some of the poor communities experiencing the widest disbenefits in terms of stigma from a history of hazards and risk (Wynne *et al.,* 2007).

Much of the existing research into the relationship between energy infrastructure and local stigma has focussed on self-contained, and frequently contested, sites of LULUs such as nuclear power stations. Opposition has also arisen to forms of connecting infrastructure, associated with power generating plants, including overhead power lines (Cotton & Devine-Wright, 2010, 2011), underground cables and pipelines (Groves *et al.*, 2013). Research has been conducted into the public's perceptions of linear development such as overhead power lines where opposition is frequently undertaken on the basis of perceived risks to health or the visual impact on a locally valued geographical area (Cotton & Devine-Wright*,* 2013).

Contested overhead powerline projects in the last 10 years have included:

- Beauly to Denny, a 220km long, 400kV overhead power line in Scotland (Scottish Power). The line was consented in 2013.
- Hinkley C Connection, a 60km long, 400 kV overhead powerline in the SW of England (National Grid). The line was consented in 2015;
- The Mid-Wales Connection, a 50 km long, 400kV power line in Wales (National Grid). The project is currently on hold.

Research into public attitudes to the nuclear industry in West Cumbria suggested that the dominance of the industry has led to a "*dependency syndrome"* in many of the surrounding communities which has suppressed personal views and anxieties about the nuclear industry (Wynne *et al.,* 2007:3). It is suggested that "*standard attitude surveys and opinion poll methods fail to capture the range, complexity and rich texture of… local concerns about risk and dependency in West Cumbria*" (Wynne *et al.,* 2007:3). The findings of this nuclear specific research suggested that local acceptance is based on a "*fatalistic acceptance of the dominant local economic and employment role of Sellafield*" (Wynne *et al.,* 2007:3) with some local people expressing a general feeling of "*little-or-no-*

choice" (Wynne *et al.,* 2007:3). The research also suggests that the public may feel disenfranchised by the lack of recognition of the wider agenda and West Cumbria is seen by a proportion of its residents as being "*stigmatised in the eyes of the rest of the country*" due to its perceived "*servile relationship*" with the nuclear industry (Wynne *et al.,* 2007:3). Overall, Wynne *et al.* (2007) observed a "*brooding resentment*" at the lack of adequate infrastructure, such as roads, to compensate local communities for the "*sense of dependency and stigma arising from the nuclear industry's dominance*" (Wynne *et al.,* 2007:3).

In summary, existing knowledge suggests that there are three primary ways in which stigma has been discussed in the literature in relation to place, identity and development associated with energy infrastructure:

1. Stigma has been found to be present and felt in places where there are socio-technical and socio-environmentally risky facilities such as waste plants or nuclear power stations (Parkhill *et al.,* 2014; Wynne *et al.,* 2007).
2. Stigma has been resisted or rejected as a consequence of local people not accepting negative attributes ascribed to their area or themselves, particularly by outsiders (Bell, 2016; Parkhill *et al.,* 2014).
3. It has been suggested that due to the industrial development simply forming a benign or widely accepted part of the local landscape, *stigma* may not be felt at all (Parkhill *et al.,* 2014).

One way of conceptualising stigma is through the literature on types of violence emerging from domination, spatialisation and perceived risk.

2.4.3 Forms of violence

Forms of pollution and perceived environmental harm have been framed as a form of violence against the communities that reside in close proximity or within the area of influence of a source of pollution (Davies, 2019). This can be framed in terms of distributional justice but the concept of slow violence introduces a temporal aspect to the perceived harm. Nixon (2011) uses the term "*slow violence*" to describe a violence that "*occurs gradually and out of sight*" and which occurs over a long period of time rather than taking the form of a single visible action or event. Nixon (2011:2) also states that slow violence is "*an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all*" (Nixon, 2011:2). This suggests that the awareness of the effect of the hidden violence can emerge over time rather than being evident when an event is initiated.

Slow violence can arise from the redistribution of the disbenefits from 'bad neighbour' developments of industries to areas where there is a lower population or an area populated by communities who have been marginalised through economic disadvantage (Nixon, 2011). The key characteristic of slow violence is the impact that it has as a "*violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space*" on the environments of the poor (Nixon, 2011:2). Ultimately it is the communities who experience slow violence who are the "*best placed to witness its gradual injuries*" (Davies, 2019:3).

Forms of slow violence are perceived to have been present in areas such as West Cumbria predominantly arising from the legacy of the industrial heritage of the County and, in particular, the munitions, nuclear and waste industries that have been present since World War II (Bickerstaff, 2012). In this area, slow violence, which is frequently framed in terms of distributive justice has rarely been visible or explosive but rather invisible and incremental in the form of radioactive leaks and spillages polluting beaches and being associated with high incidences of leukaemia clusters in children (Davies, 2012; Nixon, 2011; Wynne *et al.*, 2007; Wynne 1993).

Nixon (2011) contrasts this *slow-motion toxicity* with conventional assumptions about violence as being explosive and visible and suggests that it can affect the way that we perceive and respond to socially challenging situations. In West Cumbria this has led to a denial of toxic leaks as the potential cause of ill-health which exemplifies Nixon's view of slow violence as a disaster that is anonymous, "*slow moving and long in the making*" (Nixon, 2011:3).

Slow violence can also be situated within the temporalities of place whether the threat is internal or external to the place. In extreme circumstances, the changes that emerge over time can result in physical displacement or exclusion (Nixon, 2011). Nixon (2011) also suggests that slow violence against place can result in communities being displaced, without moving, through the loss of land or resources beneath them. An extreme example of this type of slow violence arises from the extraction of coal in the Appalachian Mountains (discussed in greater detail in Section 2.5) where communities find themselves "*existing out of place in place*" as they seek to mitigate the ongoing environmental degradation of their living environment (Nixon, 2011:19). Davies (2019) applies a similar concept to communities surrounded by petrochemical infrastructure in Louisiana, USA, and

this highlights the emerging and changing power relations between local communities and developer/landowners over time as risks become apparent.

Casualties of slow violence are "*most likely not to be seen, not to be counted*" (Nixon, 2011:13). They are also the victims of a culture of doubt around the science of slow violence perpetuated by the actors in whose interests the existence of uncertainty can result in inaction (Davies, 2019; Nixon, 2011). Many of these communities are further disempowered by the withholding of life-enabling infrastructure such as power lines, public transport and highways. The perception of slow violence, although frequently applied to the global south, is equally relevant to the marginalised, and often hidden, edges of Counties such as Cumbria which has been impacted over decades by both internal and external nuclear threats including Chernobyl (Davies, 2013, 2015). Davies (2019) suggests that slow violence persists, particularly in cases of pollution, because the affected public's frequently have little perceived value and are rendered "*vulnerable to sacrifice*" (Davies, 2019:3).

The concern for social justice, hidden agency and imperceptible forms of violence is shared by Nixon (2011) and Galtung (1969) who is concerned more with structural violence which is perceived as a static violence and lacks the temporal dimension of slow violence. Examples of structural violence include institutionalised forms of racism and sexism and are theorised as sources of violence within society itself with a systemic normalisation of suffering (Galtung, 1969; Tyner and Rice, 2016; cited in Davies, 2019). As Galtung (1969) argued "*problems that are not avoidable are not violence*" (Canning, 2017: 65). Davies (2019) suggests that structural violence can mutate into slow violence through an example of local ethnic communities being marginalised by the extensive construction of the petrochemical industry in Louisiana, followed by the emergence of risks to health through air pollution. This supports the belief that slow violence is frequently invisible and can emerge from an initial lack of awareness developing through a gradual observation of change in one's surroundings (Davies, 2019; Nixon, 2011). Davies (2019) describes the epistemology of local knowledge which he states is not just geographical but has a temporality generated over years of experience and observation leading to a form of epistemic violence through growing local awareness (Landa, 2016; cited in Davies, 2019). Conflict arises where an *expert* narrative remains at odds with

an unofficial *local* account, based on observation and experience, and the epistemic violence is perpetuated through the continuity and expansion of local knowledge (Ottinger, 2017; cited in Davies, 2019).

Much of the literature on slow violence suggests that it is invisible but Davies (2019) argues that it depends on who is looking and what methods they have employed to gather data. Davies (2019) suggests that an ethnographic approach to deeply engaging with affected publics can be effective in making the invisible, visible which directly speaks to my approach to disengagement.

This exploration of forms of violence has clearly differentiated between structural and slow violence in terms of their cause and effect. Structural violence has been described as indirect and preventable and emerges from situations where there is no actor committing the violence, or where it is not possible to identify an actor. This type of violence emerges from the unequal distribution of power and resources but lacks temporality and has been widely used in Peace Research (Davies, 2019; Maas Weigert, 2008). The concept of slow violence has emerged in order to recognise the temporal aspect of invisible and unrecognised violence which has become evident over time through public observation and knowledge. The forms of violence discussed in this section can help in understanding the impact of invisible violence in both a geographical and social space. However, another conceptual dimension of violence would be required to investigate violence which emerges through power relations, and actor's practices in the field which seek to dominate but are dependent on complicity, whether conscious or unconscious. In the next section, I will consider whether Bourdieu's Theory of Symbolic Violence has the potential to deeper my understanding of this problem.

The Theory of Symbolic Violence

Symbolic violence is defined as "*a gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims, exerted for the most part through the purely symbolic channels of communication and cognition (more precisely misrecognition), recognition or even feeling*" (Bourdieu, 2001a:1). In order to examine symbolic violence, I will firstly examine the theory through the existing literature to understand how it underpins Bourdieu's Theory of Practice by producing and perpetuating social inequality.

Bourdieu (1977:191) argued that "*when domination can only be exercised in its elementary forms, i.e. directly, between one person and another, it cannot take place overtly and must be disguised under the veil of enchanted relationships ... in order to be socially recognised it must get itself misrecognised*". Misrecognition leads actors to construe a relationship from the standpoint of the dominant which leads the subordinate actor to "*collude in their own domination*" (Bourdieu, 1996:198-9). In Bourdieu's early body of work, this is particularly relevant to gender based domination. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) have argued that the concept of symbolic violence informs all of Bourdieu's body of work with a particular focus on the power of language as an instrument of power and domination (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Schubert, 2012).

Bourdieu states that the dominated actors collaborate in their own exclusion and subordination and that this is due to dispositions which have arisen from domination. However, Bourdieu suggests that the submission of dominated actors is not always due to deliberate or conscious acts by superior actors and can arise from the relationship between their habitus and the field in which they are operating.

> *"If it is fitting to recall that the dominated always contribute to their own domination, it is necessary at once to be reminded that the dispositions which incline them to this complicity are also the effect, embodied, of domination"'* (Bourdieu, 1989a:12)

Having investigated how the dispositions of the dominated can be complicit in their submission, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) state that there are also those who display dispositions to resist domination. This provides an opportunity to examine "*under what conditions these dispositions are socially constituted*" and "effectively triggered" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:81).

Bourdieu's theory has been used by key thinkers, such as Lukes (1974), who advocated the use of Bourdieu's work to understand domination through the concept of symbolic violence. Schubert (2012) states that Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence results from symbolic domination which maintains social hierarchies and inequalities and the suffering that they cause.

Symbolic violence is perceived as being invisible and does not need force to be applied in order to achieve domination, Schubert (2012) describes it as *"an*

effective and efficient form of domination" due to the minimal effort required from the dominant actor(s) in order to maintain dominance (Schubert, 2012:180). They only need to "*let the system they dominate take its own course*" in order to exercise their domination but the actors are required to work to create and maintain the system that dominates (Bourdieu, 1977:190). Symbolic violence relies upon complicity on the part of the dominated actors/publics and systems of domination are reproduced through perceptions of legitimacy by both dominant and dominated actors (Schubert, 2012).

The concept of symbolic violence has been used to understand domination in politics, education and society. At its most extreme, symbolic violence can result in humiliating and dehumanising actors and it has also been employed in research concerning masculine/feminine opposition such as domestic violence (Thapar-Björkert *et al.,* 2016). Other research employing the concept has included institutions such as schools and the experiences of young people in conflict situations (Connolly and Healy, 2004). Although there is the potential for a gender based aspect to forms of disengagement, this will not be a primary focus in my research. Despite a wide body of research into symbolic violence in politics and any situation where the public and officials or experts are created, there has been limited use of the concept in the arena of Planning, particularly in the UK.

Symbolic violence in planning

Environmental justice has been a topic of research into slow violence (Nixon, 2011) but the exclusion of local knowledge in research by Castán Broto (2013) has been investigated through the lens of symbolic violence. The case study in Bosnia Herzegovina suggests that "*the construction of knowledge in a scientific project led to the exclusion of local definitions of the situation and the dismissal of their observations of environmental pollution*" (Castán Broto, 2013:621). Drawing from the environmental justice research into achieving just sustainabilities, the research found that the capacity of different actors to engage in legitimate speech, using their local knowledge of environmental issues, depends on the forms of symbolic violence "*that emerge within hegemonic discourses of the environment*" (Agyeman and Evans*,* 2004; Castán Broto, 2013:621). This form of symbolic violence which removes the subordinate actor's agency and voice has been examined in other research, particularly connected with gendered violence which becomes accepted and normalised (Thapar-

Björkert *et al.,* 2016). This complicity relates "*to the way the social order is inscribed on the body through the learning and acquisition of dispositions*" (Thapar-Björkert *et al.*, 2016:24). Bourdieu describes this as way of subordinate actors learning that the symbolic violence is natural, or normalised, leading to a form of acceptance (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Through this misrecognition, the "*mechanisms of symbolic violence produce, reproduce and legitimate power relations*" in the everyday practices of actors, whether perceived as dominant or dominated (Thapar-Björkert *et al.*, 2016:30).

Symbolic violence has been used as a concept to examine the exercise of power around planning for housing in rural England (Sturzaker and Shucksmith, 2011). The research builds upon Bourdieu's analysis of the French housing market which suggests that actors with "*better constituted habitus and greater economic and cultural capital are able to enforce their interests through symbolic violence*" (Bourdieu, 2005; Sturzaker and Shucksmith, 2011:171). In Sturzaker and Shucksmith's (2011) research, the dominant actors are identified as wealthy landowners and developers who use discourse around the need for sustainable communities to legitimise development away from rural areas (Sturzaker and Shucksmith, 2011). The research also suggests that Planning Policy is designed to communicate a "*clear and powerful dominant discourse*" through the use of specific planning language in the policy process (Sturzaker and Shucksmith, 2011:179). However, the research is limited in that it does not explore the views of those actors who are perceived to be dominated and most affected by symbolic violence. This is in direct contrast to Bourdieu's work, such as *Weight of the World* (1999), in which he descends into the life of the participants (Burawoy, 2019) and examines their perspective through his concepts of habitus, field and symbolic capital.

There is a cross-cutting theme throughout the work on symbolic violence, which explores power relations and questions who has the power and how it is recognised, or misrecognised. This reproduction and legitimisation of power relations appears to give rise to acceptance and complicity and therefore needs to be examined further in the context of my research area.

2.5 Power and powerlessness: a case study approach

The relational nature of marginality and power has started to emerge from Section 2.4 and I will now consider how the existing knowledge of these power relations might work in the context of the research problem by examining case studies and reflecting upon them. The case studies are all broadly situated in energy and infrastructure making them directly relevant to the research problem. There is a particular body of work that has emerged from coal mining in Appalachia and which identifies some of the factors leading to non-participation by marginalised communities through the lens of power relations. This is followed by a discussion from a UK perspective on the relationship between power relations and dependency on energy related infrastructure in Cumbria.

Appalachian mountain-top removal mining

Bell (2016) draws on social-movement theory to examine the low incidence of public participation in an environmental justice movement in an area of mountaintop-removal mining in Appalachia. She investigates the reasons for non-action and non-participation through a case study of communities directly impacted by the mountain-top removal mining for coal. The study found that the health and environmental impacts on communities had been profound and yet people were reluctant to join the environmental justice movement and give a voice to opposition. Although Bell's research focusses primarily on the role and status of women, she considers the wider implications of the marginalisation of communities, power relations and asks who has a voice in the context of the masculine "*culture of silence*" (Bell, 2016:82). She has identified several barriers including depleted social capital in isolated communities and the economic importance of the industry to local employment. Bell (2016) also examines local power relations to identify who, from the *local elite*, benefits from the status quo and exerts power over others to suppress their willingness to speak out (Gaventa, 1980:250; cited in Bell, 2016).

Several key areas of research are investigated including the role of outsiders and non-locals in supporting the environmental justice movement which has resulted in an apparent insider-outsider binary that challenges the validity of protest as a local issue. This manipulation of the inside-outside binary to undermine the legitimacy of opposition has been evident in other case studies including the

Harris Superquarry application, on the Isle of Harris, as discussed in section 2.4.1 of this literature review (Mackenzie, 1998). Bell (2016) also examines the value of local knowledge especially as it has evolved throughout the generations of local families and states that *"local people bring critical experiential knowledge of injustices to the table. They know at first-hand how pollution and contamination have compromised the health and safety of their families and communities"* (Bell, 2016:257).

I anticipate that these findings will be directly transferable to understanding disengagement in my research but the underlying thread of power relations is potentially key to understanding why non-participation occurs. In order to inform her understanding, Bell (2016) has also drawn from the work of Gaventa (1980) who specifically researched power relations in Central Appalachia. According to Bell, Gaventa is concerned with the reasons why social movements do not "*emerge in the presence of injustice*" whereas Bell (2016) is concerned with the reasons why "*individuals choose not to join social movements that have already emerged*" (Bell, 2016:39). Gaventa (1980) is also focussed on the politics of inequality.

Past experience has taught communities to expect failure based on their history where knowledge is produced and reproduced leading to acceptance or complicity. Gaventa (1980) states that the power*ful* are able to maintain their dominance precisely because the power*less* have learnt to remain silent. He also states that "*powerlessness serves to re-enforce powerlessness"*, in other words, local people allow themselves to be done to and these power relationships become self-sustaining (Gaventa, 1980:256). It is these relationships which can *"keep issues from arising, grievances from being voiced, and interests from being recognized"* leading to non-participation or engagement (Gaventa, 1980:vii). Gaventa's language also appears to validate the concept of symbolic violence by Bourdieu (1977) which states that publics can contribute to their own subordination through acquiescence (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

> *"The miner showed no particular interest. His response did not seem one of apathy or ignorance. It seemed to grow from past experiences in the Valley, as well as from his situation in the present. The miner understood something of powerlessness, of power, and of how the two could serve to maintain inaction on injustice…."* (Gaventa, 1980:v)

According to Bell (2016), this pattern of defeat and sense of powerlessness is interpreted by outsiders as the "*fatalism of the traditional culture*" (Gaventa, 1980:254; cited in Bell, 2016:39). This fatalism can be interpreted as emerging from the production and reproduction of power relations leading to local dispositions.

Both Bell and Gaventa contribute knowledge and understanding to my research problem, particularly in considering the reasons for non-participation, but they differ in that they primarily focus on the emergence of, and engagement with, social movements. My research differs due to its focus on the act of disengagement from the planning process whether as an individual or as a community/group. However, the implications of drawing from Lukes' three dimensional approach to power, as developed by Gaventa, is helpful in understanding "*how power shapes (the) participation patterns of the relatively powerless*" (Gaventa, 1980:13; Lukes, 1974). Gaventa (1980) discusses three approaches to understanding power. Firstly, the pluralist approach to power which assesses '"*who participates, who gains and who prevails in decision-making about key issues*", secondly the argument that power may restrict the powerless to prevent issues and actors from gaining access to decision-making processes, and thirdly a view that power may not only limit action on inequalities but also shape the perceptions of the powerless about the type and extent of the inequalities themselves (Gaventa, 1980:vii). Gaventa (1980) draws from a body of work by Lukes (1974), which seeks to understand the social and political aspects of power, to develop a theoretical framework relating power to participation and non-participation in situations of inequality. Gaventa discusses the problem of investigating "*that which does not occur*" which speaks directly to the topic of my research examining the hidden face of power in understanding acquiescence and non-participation from the perspective of the powerless (Gaventa, 1980:viii). Where Gaventa differs from my research question is in his approach to understanding the responses of actors to the opportunities for action and rebellion. However, the focus on the generational aspect of local acquiescence built upon historical experience will be directly relevant (Gaventa, 1980).

There are different approaches to understanding power and domination and Lukes (1974) investigates previous research in an attempt to identify different

conceptual approaches. Gaventa suggests that Lukes' three dimensional approach identifies that power can be used to pre-empt conflict and discourage participation rather than acting as a barrier (Gaventa, 1980:13). This is a potential thread that could be followed in my research to understand whether this third dimension of power is consciously imposed by the dominant actor or taken for granted depending on the relationship between actors. The question also arises whether the imposition of power is overt or hidden and therefore unchallenged, ultimately leading to quiescence.

The case studies drawn from Appalachia are important because they focus on an area which has great wealth controlled by a percentage of the population. Great poverty therefore exists alongside this wealth in a region of "*glaring inequalities*" (Gaventa, 1980:35; Bell, 2016). For those publics who benefit from the wealth of the region, there is a high degree of quiescence amongst the working population in terms of any proposed new energy related development in the area, such as coal mining. This also manifests as apathy in all aspects of life, not just in relation to working practices (Gaventa, 1980). Gaventa argues that the historical quiescence of Central Appalachia is "*a function of power relationships, such that power serves for the development and maintenance of the quiescence of the non-elite*" (Gaventa, 1980: 4; cited in Bell, 2016). For both Gaventa and Bell, a key factor is the history of the area giving rise to understood power relations and dependency which has resulted in quiescence to subordination. Having examined the evidence from the Appalachian case studies, there is similar evidence, in respect of power relations, emerging from the context of my case study in Cumbria.

The nuclear industry in West Cumbria and community disempowerment

A body of research in West Cumbria has suggested that the nuclear industry's dominance has led to a dependency syndrome in the surrounding communities (Blowers, 2010). In much the same way as the Appalachian communities, this has manifested itself in the denial of any public concerns about Sellafield and its impacts on health and the environment (Wynne *et al.*, 2007). Wynne *et al.* (2007) state that the local acceptance is based on a "*fatalistic acceptance*" of the dominant economic and employment role of Sellafield in the absence of other major employers in the area and local perceptions of mistrust are also evident

based on historic incidents connected with the nuclear industry that have allegedly been suppressed (Wynne *et al.*, 2007:3).

Knowledge gained from the case studies

Despite Lukes (2005) suggestion that power relations might be explained through concepts such as 'symbolic violence', Bell (2016), Gaventa (1980) and Wynne *et al.* (2007) did not choose to develop their research through a frame of violence. Bell's (2016) reference to the construct of Appalachian women as "*passive, ignorant and tied to the home*" implies a society dominated by male employment but she chooses to draw on social movement theory to examine her research and the roles of violence and domination remain undeveloped (Bell, 2016:35). Gaventa (1980) focusses on quiescence and the absence of challenge to the domination of an elite, and his research questions the political response of the groups in his case study as a function of power relations, drawing heavily from Lukes (1974). Finally, Wynne *et al.* (2007) and Mackenzie draw from the literature around marginality, peripherality and stigma to understand similar themes of acceptance and social capital. In each area of research there is a focus on quiescence and a research question around the reasons for non-participation in the face of injustice or inequity. However, the case studies do not explicitly seek to understand the problem of public disengagement and its causes.

Drawing from this research we can see that the key factors include social capital, cultural capital, power relations and forms of marginalisation and stigma, and a research framework is needed that can investigate the interrelationships between the factors in a way that they can be understood. Lukes suggestion that the Theory of Symbolic violence might be effective in addressing the problem is becoming more compelling with the underlying threads of power and *hidden* violence that appears to run through all of the literature.

2.5.1 Using tools and typologies to empower the public

Having examined the role of power relations in public consultation and investigated how this has played out in selected case studies, this section concludes by examining some existing tools and typologies for public empowerment that have emerged from planning theory and practice, and asking whether these methods can address the problem of disengagement. Barnett *et al.* (2012) have suggested that the constructs of imagined publics have been used

as measures to *manage* the public's input and limit opportunities to object as a means of disempowerment. In contrast, the emergence of typologies of participation has sought to empower the public, with the earliest being the Ladder of Participation (Arnstein, 1969). Arnstein's early example was intended to be provocative and related directly to policies, plans and programmes by identifying different degrees of participation on a continuum (Reed, 2008). Arnstein's ladder has been criticised for assuming that participation strategies on the higher rungs of the ladder are superior to those beneath them. The model also fails to recognise the appropriateness of participation and the public's willingness to engage (Baker *et al.,* 2007).

In the Ladder of Participation, Arnstein (1969) focusses on the publics who are engaged in a process with an analysis of the degree to which they are heard and have varying degrees of power to participate. Each rung of Arnstein's ladder corresponds to "*the extent of citizens' power in determining the plan and/or program*" and she refers to the "*have nots*" being "*embittered by their powerlessness*" and states that "*participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless*" (Arnstein, 1969:216). Arnstein also suggests that the power holding actors in the process are able to claim that all participant viewpoints were considered, but the decision-making process makes it possible for only some of the participant groups to benefit.

Arnstein (1969) created a Ladder of Participation that used examples from *federal programs*, but she also suggested that her typology was fully transferable to a range of other scenarios and it is frequently cited in planning literature. For the purposes of my research, potentially the most interesting section of the Ladder of Participation is included under the category of non-participation which comprises Manipulation and Therapy. Arnstein suggests that these levels are a "*substitute for genuine participation*" allowing the controlling actors to "*educate or cure*" the participants (Arnstein, 1969:217). Arnstein identified the limitations of her typology in juxtaposing "*powerless citizens with the powerful in order to highlight the fundamental divisions between them*" and she stated that, in reality, neither of the groups is homogeneous and is likely to encompass different views and interests but overall, the "*have nots* regard the powerful as a system and the powerholders "*view the 'have nots' as a sea of 'those people', with little comprehension of the differences among them*" (Arnstein, 1969:217). Although

not specifically referencing disengaged or heard-to-reach publics, Arnstein (1969) identified barriers to participation which included the potential inadequacy of the public's knowledge base and the lack of social capital experienced by the *have nots*. These themes have already been discussed in detail in section 2.3.3 of the literature review.

Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Participation was followed by other versions of typologies and Models of Participation which expanded upon her ideas of *manipulative* and *passive* participation, but which again did not consider disengaged or hard-to-reach groups other than in terms of lack of knowledge capital or poor communication (Davidson, 1998; Pretty, 1995). However, Rowe and Frewer (2000) established theoretical evaluation criteria which were seen as essential for effective public participation and these have potential to help inform research into disengagement. The criteria comprise two types:

- *Acceptance criteria* which concern features of a method that make it acceptable to the wider public; and,
- *Process criteria* which concern features of the process that are liable to ensure that it takes place in an effective manner.

"Process criteria" has the potential to partly inform research into public engagement with the planning consultation processes, with criteria typically comprising resource accessibility, task definition (i.e. a clearly defined scope), structured decision-making and cost effectiveness (Rowe and Frewer, 2000:15-17). Aspects of "*Acceptance criteria*" could also inform aspects of future research through case studies to examine representativeness, independence (i.e. unbiased), early involvement, transparency and the principle that the output should have a genuine and demonstrable impact (Rowe and Frewer, 2000:12-15).

Current tools of engagement generally take a normative stance and deal with the extent to which publics will be enabled to participate, including The Spectrum of Public Participation (IAP2, 2014) and The Capire Triangle (Capire, 2015), but there remains a gap in the overall recognition of disengaged and non-participating publics.

Investigating beyond the consultation and planning based literature, there are also Science Technology Studies based frameworks (Chilvers *et al.*, 2018; Ipsos MORI, 2014) and toolkits intended for communicating wider topics such as

community planning and climate change (Manchester CC, 2005; Wang, *et al.,* 2020). In the Britain Talks Climate report, Wang, *et al.* (2020) have taken a values based approach to engagement which not only considers class, race and gender but also acknowledges the presence of disengagement. The Britain Talks Climate report suggests that there are widely held stereotypes about active public engagement with climate change, citing *the usual suspects*, which can create a barrier to wider engagement and reinforce societal inequalities. However, the report also identifies two *segments* of the British public who fall into defined categories of disengagement, allegedly making up 30% of the public (Wang *et al.,* 2020). Although specifically focussing on climate change communication, the research offers some novel and transferable ideas on engagement with a range of publics including two *segments* who are perceived to be *disengaged*.

Wang *et al.* (2020) suggest that the first of these segments, the "*Disengaged Battlers*", do not feel represented or heard and regard themselves as powerless in relation to national politics (Wang *et al.*, 2020:79). Lack of trust is a defining characteristic of this segment and they feel left out of society and disillusioned, and are also unlikely to feel part of a community (Wang *et al.*, 2020). The research suggests that communication with this group should focus on issues of fairness and equity with assurances against the distribution of unfair burdens on those who are marginalised. Wang *et al.* (2020:85) also suggest that communication should focus on the "*local*" rather than the national or policy landscape. A second segment, the "*Disengaged Traditionalists*", are alienated, disillusioned and sceptical about society in general and feel broadly excluded and unrepresented (Wang *et al.*, 2020:88). However, they do not identify themselves as vulnerable and veer toward meritocratic beliefs. The research suggests that communication with this group should focus on trust, including "*trusted*" messengers (Wang *et al.,* 2020:97).

Overall, there are some aspects of these existing typologies, tools and toolkits that are helpful in establishing the degree to which the public can input into a process, but the majority are designed to focus predominantly on the actors who are engaged and therefore likely to participate. The primary gap appears to be in understanding and classifying the actors and communities who do not engage. The more recent models, such as Britain Talks Climate (Wang *et al.,* 2020), are more likely to acknowledge both engagement and disengagement in the public

and to address the approaches required to engage with those groups who are perceived as harder to reach. Using this example, there is scope to consider whether the development of a typology as a tool would be beneficial to the data analysis stage of my research.

2.5.2 Learning from the examples

Lukes' suggestion that the Theory of Symbolic violence might be effective in addressing the problem of non-participation and disengagement is becoming more compelling with the underlying threads of power and hidden violence that appears to run through all of the literature (Lukes, 1974). In seeking a conceptual approach to understanding these issues, I would therefore argue that Lukes' focus on violence and domination is a critical factor which could be investigated through Bourdieusian conceptual tools informed by insights from the *triplet* of habitus, field and forms of capital (Grenfell, 2012; Paradis, 2014).

In sections 2.4 and 2.5, I have examined what is known about disengagement in planning and environmental disciplines and examined case studies to bring greater insight to some of the perceived underlying causes. However, the planning response to all of these problems has frequently been to develop tools and methodologies that are intended to widen participation and increase public empowerment but with little effort being put into understanding the factors around disengagement that I have identified from the literature. The standard planning profession response of appointing consultants and approaching the problem via media and communications routes for decision-making processes around major infrastructure, fails to fundamentally address the overall problems of engagement and trust on the part of the public that are also evidenced in the case studies that I have cited.

Drawing from the research that I have discussed in section 2.4, we can see that the key factors behind different forms of non-participation include social capital, cultural capital, power relations, and forms of marginalisation and stigma. Based on this evidence, and the critique of existing typologies, I would suggest that a research framework is needed that can investigate the interrelationships between these factors in a way that they can be better understood.

However, *place* has also emerged as a crosscutting theme throughout this literature review and it is apparent that place-based issues can directly affect

communities and their habitus particularly as discussed in the case studies of Appalachia, the Isle of Harris and Cumbria. Bourdieu's conceptual tools have also emerged from the previous sections as a potential theoretical approach to understanding disengagement but there is a problem with Bourdieu's conceptual approach in that he fails to fully address place-based approaches to understanding. In the absence of a coherent approach to understanding place in Bourdieu's toolkit of concepts, it will be necessary to investigate which methods of understanding place would be best placed to complement a Bourdieusian approach to answering the research aim and this will be discussed in section 2.6.

2.6 Space and place

Understanding Bourdieu's underlying relationship with place is essential to investigating the research question. Who people are in a particular place has the potential to influence how they engage with external processes and a deeper understanding of this relationship with place will need to be developed. Factors such as inculcation and learned practices can potentially be attributed to family ties and local identity but a sense of place encompasses wider factors, such as rootedness and relationships with place that can bring a fuller understanding than habitus alone can achieve.

This section will examine Bourdieu's relationship with place and discuss the scope of existing research that has attempted to combine Bourdieu's concepts with an understanding of place. For the purposes of this research, key knowledge around the topic of Bourdieu and place-based research will initially be drawn from selected primary sources including Cresswell (2004), Casey (2001), Bridge (2011) and selected contributors to the edited volume Habitus: a sense of place (Hillier and Rooksby, 2005).

Section 2.6 will examine those place-based concepts that can be used to fill the gaps left by Bourdieu in understanding the specifics of people-place relations and attachments that help us to understand who people are in a particular place and how that affects their behaviours. This section of the literature review includes a summary of place-based research that has previously been conducted to specifically understand the relationship between the public and overhead power lines, to directly inform the approach to my research.

2.6.1 Problematising Bourdieu's approach to Space and Place

Bourdieu's concept of habitus is a set of dispositions that generate particular practices. The concept of habitus, which is both a structured and structuring structure, results in people's actions being automatic and their behaviours are instinctive based on their understanding of how they should behave in a particular place or situation. These actions are spontaneous, rather than formal, in accordance with a person's internalised system of belief about the norm for that specific space and/or place. In this way, practices can link the physical place to the social or cultural norms and practices associated with that place.

Although it is important to understand the ways in which spaces and places are socially constructed, places are not just social constructs and can incorporate the cultural and the physical as a non-social world. This materiality of place can have its own set of rules and expectations and, at its most extreme, can use the physical 'naturalness' of place to define a sense of place which excludes the social.

Bourdieu in Space and Place

Traditionally, Bourdieu's concepts have been less widely used in Geography and have often been related to place as a culturally rich space arising from Bourdieu's work in the Kabyle, rather than a purely physical or geographical place (Bridge, 2011; Harvey, 1989). A more explicit and in-depth exploration of the connections between *Habitus* and *Place* (Hillier and Rooksby, 2005) sought to determine whether Habitus is relevant to a range of environments at regional or national levels and how this can determine identity.

There is a small body of research that combines Bourdieu's concepts with a place-based approach, although often including other conceptual approaches such as local identity, class, social identity and stigma. Case studies have been used to provide a descriptive backdrop to research and frequently link to class-based identity in specific locations. This can situate actors in a physical neighbourhood as an indicator of their social hierarchy and positions them based on local knowledge. A key feature of this type of research is understanding the hidden social structures and processes which shape the habitus of a particular community (Robertson, 2013). However, this approach to place relies primarily upon an understanding of the social structures rather than the physicality of place

although these two factors may be connected, for example, in areas that are constructed as desirable locations such as a National Park or a Conservation Area. Other research examines the less desirable aspects of the urban environment through crime and urban fears (Kitchen and Schneider, 2005; Sandercock, 2005), whereas Healey (2006) focussed on the challenges arising from the transformation of the city's identity. This link between social and physical space was recognised by Bourdieu, although he assumed a degree of fluidity in abstract social space which is difficult to map onto physical locations and implies a tension between space and place (Hanquinet *et al.*, 2013). A key theme in the publication *Habitus : A Sense of Place* (Hillier and Rooksby, 2005) is the built environment which places the emphasis on *place-making,* through a relationship with architecture, rather than *place attachment* through social structures (Dovey, 2005; Friedmann, 2005).

Other research has developed this concept of habitus in the analysis of urban space by exploring place *changes* rather than place *creation*. In this context, the use of habitus has been applied to questions of *taste* and *class*, for example, through gentrification of parts of London as a form of Metropolitan Habitus (Butler, 1997) or in a more rural context (Bridge, 2011). Weber-Newth (2019) used Bourdieu's perspective on the social world in an analysis of urban regeneration in two neighbourhoods. This *game* of urban regeneration strategically employed the concepts of community and culture to obtain power for some actors but to the detriment of other actors, particularly the poor (Weber-Newth, 2019). Despite referencing urban regeneration, this research focussed on the social and spatial aspects of the case studies with limited reference to place.

There has been some discussion in the literature on the concept of *place* in connection with housing research (Easthope, 2004; Robertson, 2013; Sturzaker and Shucksmith, 2011). The focus of this research has been on place and identity although some consideration has also been given to symbolic violence in the spatial planning of housing in rural areas as discussed in more detail in section 2.4.3 (Sturzaker and Shucksmith, 2011). The concept of place has been used to provide a framework for human-environmental interactions when considering the relationship of actors with social and physical environments. Easthope suggests that place is linked to community and collective memory which can give an insight

into the relationship between identity and place with an emphasis on *home* (Easthope, 2004).

Some of the research linking habitus to sense of place is connected to the design of *new* places and helps to inform architectural processes and urban design where mobility and networks are important (Dovey, 2005). The gentrification of inner city areas has been another area of interest in parallel with the marginalisation of other neighbourhoods (Butler and Robson, 2001). There is scope in these areas for field analysis that seeks to understand the social divisions embedded in communities but this is less about the characteristics of the place itself and more about social stratification and the identity of the communities that live in a place (Hanquinet *et al.*, 2013). This accords with Massey's assertion that people "*actively make places*" and their ideas of place are the product of "*the society in which we live*" (Massey and Jess, 1995:48-50).

Bourdieu's later works, including the Weight of the World, are more inclined toward recognising physical spatiality, although this is still related to class-based influences on where actors reside:

> *"As bodies (and biological individuals), and in the same way that things are, human beings are situated in a site (they are not endowed with the ubiquity that would allow them to be in several places at once), and they occupy a place. The site (le lieu) can be defined absolutely as the point in physical space where an agent or a thing is situated, "takes place", exists: that is to say either as a localization or, from a relational viewpoint, as a position, a rank in an order." (*Bourdieu, 1999: 123*)*

Research by Savage *et al.* (2005) has suggested that privileged social groups are more likely to be invested in, or attached to, a place by association, particularly where it is perceived as a desirable location. This attachment to place is linked to personal connections, places that actors know well and combines "*instrumental with emotional relationships to place*" (Savage *et al.,* 2005:89).

There is a body of work that suggests actors may feel attached to places where they have resided for a short period of time and where they may not have a family history (Lewicka, 2013; Savage *et al.,* 2005). Savage *et al.* (2005) examined attitudes from recently arrived residents in an urban area and identified *elective belonging* which appears to be closely linked to a nostalgic desire to capture the traditional character of a place (Lewicka, 2013). The concept of elective belonging as described by Savage *et al.* (2005) suggests that actors select their chosen dwelling place prior to "*putting down roots*" (Tomaney, 2015:508). This distances

the concept from family history connections or length of residence as the traditional determinants of belonging and Savage *et al.* (2005) identify places as "*sites for performing identities*" and actors bring their own habitus to their chosen location (Savage *et al.,* 2005:29; cited in Tomaney, 2015). Elective belonging is closely linked to cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) and Savage *et al.* (2005) and Savage (2010) suggest that actively attached actors are more likely to engage in cultural activities reflecting a higher social and educational status (Lewicka, 2013).

There has also been limited research which explores sense of place combined with Bourdieu's field theory. Research from Australia has been used to respect the decolonising potential of indigenous place names by situating the actors in social space (Thomson *et al.*, 2016), understanding indigenous connections with space and place (Plumwood, 2005) and examining the status of women in aboriginal society (Gale, 2005). All of this research investigated deeply held identities, memory, attachment and community history associated with place and this potentially has transferability to understanding the identity of rural communities of other nations.

The physical scale of place varies across the literature including research which examines internal spaces and how these can impact on public participation. The settings in which meetings or events are held, both physical and virtual, can impact on the outcome of community participation particularly if they are perceived as a formal setting. Consideration then must be given to the participants' habitus in the choice of venue and facilitation techniques for consultation processes and situating a meeting in a community space will allow participants to engage more freely (Simpson, 2016). This has direct relevance to investigating planning processes of public engagement and the power relations played out through the timing, choice and layout of venues.

Research concerning the use and value of Bourdieu's concepts in human geography has identified themes of *identity* and *belonging* and Bourdieu's concept of habitus has been explored to inform new ideas of habitus, such as the significance of elective belonging to a neighbourhood "*as part of an ongoing/spatial trajectory of middle-class habitus"* (Bridge, 2011:79. However, Bridge (2011) refers to Bourdieu's work as having "*a paucity of references to space or place"*, although this has been partly redressed by increasing research

in urban studies using the spatial elements of Bourdieu's work (Bridge, 2011:79). Bridge (2011) suggests that this discovery of the spatial aspects of Bourdieu's work as well as the use of Bourdieu's work in an explicitly spatial context should prove to be a rich vein of future research where subconscious sensitivities to space and place can be explored through the combining of theoretical advances with careful empirical work.

2.6.2 Bringing a place-based approach to disengagement

The previous section has highlighted the problems of understanding Bourdieu's relationship with place. In order to examine the conflicted relationship between place and disengagement, which is suggested in the case studies in section 2.5, this section of the chapter will discuss what is meant by sense of place and how Bourdieu's thinking tools can be used to deepen our understanding of this concept.

Sense of Place

The phrase *sense of place* is used by geographers to emphasize the significance of place in respect of personal feelings i.e. the significance of particular places for people (Cresswell, 2004; Rose, 1995).

In geographical thought, place is something that is created by people either individually or in groups. Rose (1995) examines the connection between people and place by thinking about identity in terms of the way in which we make sense of ourselves. Where the meanings given to place are particularly strong, they can become a part of the identity of the people who live and work in them. She expands the concept of sense of place to refer to lived experiences and "*subjective feelings associated with everyday consciousness*" but she also states that "*such experiences and feelings are embedded in wider sets of social relations*" (Rose, 1995:88). Sense of place is not just about experience, it must also be understood in terms of its wider social context. Even though sense of place is a personal response, it is not limited to an individuals' feelings and meanings but these are shaped by the social, cultural and economic capital of an individual's life. Rose (1995) emphasises that feelings about place can be closely connected to power relations in the lived experience of a particular place and suggests investigation of ways of thinking about sense of place through considering the social, cultural and economic relations in which identity and sense

of place are "*embedded*" (Rose, 1995:89). These relations are complementary to Bourdieu's concepts, particularly in relation to forms of capital, and will help to inform my approach.

The public's relationship with place: the cultural capital approach

In its simplest form, place has been variously described by geographers as a "*space that has been given meaning*" (Altman and Low, 1992:5) or a space that has *value* attributed to it (Tuan, 1977). This approach has been summarised as defining the difference between "*abstract space and meaningful place*" (Lewicka, 2011a:207).

An alternative to the definition of place as a specific location is the consideration of place as a way of understanding (Cresswell, 2004). Cresswell states that our view of *place* is how we make the world meaningful and it explores the way in which we experience the world. In this sense it is more than a distinction between one place and another (Cresswell, 2004).

Place attachment expands upon the value of place by acknowledging that value is subjective and may arise from personal bonding rather than conventional ideas of value since "*without exception, humans grow attached to their native places, even if these should seem derelict of quality to outsiders*" (Tuan, 1974:xii). For this research, place will be closely linked to identity, exploring attachment to place at different scales to develop a sense of home with respect to dwelling, community, and region (Cuba and Hummon, 1993).

The development of thinking on place attachment over time has also reinforced the view that place attachment is not static (Giuliani, 1991; Seamon, 2013) and it is widely accepted that places will change over time causing a change in people's feelings which could be a direct response to the change in the place but could equally be due to changing values or multiple attachments. These approaches to multiple place attachments offer the potential to examine the relationship with a "*habitus clivé*" or split habitus (Bourdieu, 2004:130) and to assess to what extent place is a factor. In order to make sense of this relationship with place, I will also consider the relevant literature concerning the varieties of people-place relations, particularly in respect of cultural capital (Lewicka, 2011b).

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Hummon (1992) described five ways in which people may relate to their places of residence in the context of community attachment. These five "senses of place" include two types of rootedness, everyday and ideological, and three types of sentiments comprising alienation, relativity, and placelessness (Altman & Low, 1992; Lewicka, 2011b). The two types of rootedness refer to actors who are strongly attached to their place of residence and either take their place for granted, described as everyday rootedness, or take an active interest in the place where they have chosen to live, referred to as ideological rootedness. The three remaining types of sentiments describe attitudes that range from dislike to indifference (Hummon, 1992).

Lewicka (2011b, 2013) developed Hummon's ideas to examine qualitative differences between people in their sense of place. Lewicka (2011b) also states that place attachment generally correlates positively with a number of factors including the strength of local connections and the length of residence, and correlates negatively with the size of a community and the economic development of the surrounding region (Lewicka, 2011b). In surveys carried out in Poland, Lewicka applied Hummon's five types of sense of community to investigate these factors through the lens of people-place relations. A number of measures were identified that differentiated between the five values including measures of social and cultural capital (Lewicka, 2011b). Social capital was investigated through measures of social trust, networking social capital and social engagement, and cultural capital was investigated through general cultural activity associated with the arts (Lewicka, 2011b). Other measures concerned a sense of continuity and comprised factors such as an interest in family history or community history associated with a place. This examined who actors thought they were in a particular place or family group.

Lewicka (2011b) developed Hummon's (1992) concept of rootedness into two new types described as *traditional* and *active* attachment which are both associated with high levels of place attachment but differences were identified in aspects of "*place discovered*" and "*European and non-territorial identities*" with the active attachment having higher scores (Lewicka, 2011b:689). The active attachment also scored highly on aspects of both social capital and various types of cultural capital, and on openness to change which seems to combine "*the best*

of both worlds" allowing for strong social ties and upward mobility (Lewicka, 2013:44). Place attachment implies rootedness but can also encompass types of mobility connected with employment (Gustafson, 2002; Lewicka, 2011a, 2013). Savage (2010) also identified a type of attachment, *dwelling*, which is closely related to Lewicka's findings around traditional attachments (Lewicka, 2013).

Lewicka's (2011b) research suggests that place attachment results in actors who are "*firmly socially anchored*" and have close ties with family, friends and neighbours (Lewicka, 2011b:705). It generally includes an interest in the history of the place of residence and a high level of satisfaction with life. However, questions remained around the issue of identity arising from the research (Lewicka, 2011b).

Lewicka (2013) has also investigated the links between attachment and cultural capital in greater depth and found evidence that "*intellectual endowment, along with refined cultural tastes, may directly contribute to emotional engagement in residence places, helping to put down roots in a new place*" (Lewicka, 2013:52). This supported her previous research concerning openness to change, exploring new places and curiosity about new environments with an ability to adapt to those environments. Although Lewicka's research was based on quantitative methods and recognised certain limitations associated with differences in the countries studied, it suggests that there is scope for future research which should take greater account of non-attachment (Lewicka, 2013). The research also has parallels with other concepts including multiple, or split, habitus (Bourdieu, 2004) or life-place trajectories across the life course of actors (Bailey *et al.,* 2016a). The limitation of this research was Lewicka's reliance upon a partial definition of cultural capital, as derived from Distinction (Bourdieu, 1984), and considering only superficial actor engagement with the arts, cinema, theatre and literature. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital has already been described in section 2.6.1 of this chapter, and there is scope to develop a deeper understanding of people-place relations through employing the three forms of cultural capital, specifically embodied, objectified and institutionalised (Bourdieu and Wacquant*,* 1992).

Bailey and Devine-Wright (2014) developed Hummon (1992) and Lewicka's (2011b) studies in relation to a proposed overhead power line in South West England and drew on research which "*indicated that respondents reporting higher levels of active attachment were more likely to oppose*" the overhead power line

(Bailey and Devine-Wright, 2014:2). Subsequent research findings, from an empirical study into the same overhead power line, suggested that the way in which actors relate to place can change over time, and also identified a novel form of place attachment that was simultaneously traditional and active (Bailey and Devine-Wright, 2014; Bailey *et al,* 2016a). Bailey *et al.* (2016a) also suggested that actors with weaker attachments to place might become aware of place change, arising from development, at a later stage than active residents and may also see the change as being less disruptive. Bailey *et al.* (2016a) conclude that actors with a traditional form of attachment would be more likely to accept the proposed power line due to their familiarity with the smaller power lines that are an existing feature of the case study. The technology has an existing visual presence and is perceived as *being in place (*Bailey *et al.,* 2016a; Cresswell, 2004). The research supports existing research suggesting that place-based opposition emerges from actively attached residents where the technology is perceived as being at odds with the countryside (Bailey *et al*., 2016a). Perceptions of procedural justice and distributive justice were suggested as being the foundation for opposition from less strongly attached individuals who base their argument on the grounds of justice rather than place (Bailey *et al.,* 2016a). Opposition to development is often re-cast as place protective behaviour but there is limited research that adopts a place-based approach to understanding responses to energy infrastructure, particularly overhead power lines (Bailey and Devine-Wright., 2014).

In place/out of place and belonging to place

As discussed in the previous section, Hummon (1992) identified a concept of placelessness which manifested as a dislike of, or indifference to, a place and this has already been suggested in section 2.3 as a potential barrier to engagement.

Relph (1976) had also developed an early concept of human bonding with place and expanded his research into considering the definition of the types of bonds in addition to the consequences of a lack of bonding, also referred to as placelessness. The major criticism of Relph's work was that it was essentialist, that is to say out of touch with "*what places really were*" (Massey, 1997:323; Cresswell, 2004:26, 30-33).

There are different aspects of placelessness such as those based on either an emotional response or the physical appearance of a location or setting (Relph, 1976). Much of the key thinking on placelessness reinforces the relocation or removal of people from those places which have meaning for them. Placelessness has been described as the erosion of place (Cresswell, 2004:43; Relph, 1976), but Relph also suggests that placelessness results from an inability to have a genuine or *authentic* relationship to a place where people are considered to be outsiders.

Identity and belonging: what determines who is out of place?

A place can be a creator of difference and it is possible to be an insider or an outsider in a sense of geographically belonging or belonging to a social or economic network. An outsider may be someone who is from a distinctly separate geographical location but it might also be someone who doesn't know the rules and doesn't *fit in*. (Savage *et al.*, 2005; Tomaney, 2015)

Behaviour can be interpreted according to who is *in place* i.e. who belongs, and how we know that someone belongs in that place. Often it is because they have a pattern of behaviour that denotes their belonging and they know how to act and interact socially. Alternatively it could be that they have grown up there or chosen to integrate themselves into that place. This does not necessarily mean that they have an innate habitus associated with background, memories and history of that place connected with current practices, and they may have acquired an attachment to that place through an attraction or choices arising from preferences, taste or circumstances.

Cresswell talks about the *taken for grantedness* of being *in place* where attention is only drawn to those who don't fit in or who don't instinctively know how to behave or who don't know their place (Bourdieu, 1984). This elevates place above being simply a geographical location and it also becomes an arena for sociocultural expectations. Behaviours or practices in one geographical place may be out-of-place in another location. These meanings of place are not natural but rather socially and historically constructed. One of the key questions to be asked is *"by what social process(es) is place constructed?"* (Harvey, 1993:5). It follows that the social construction of places will directly affect the judgement of events that happen within them. *"What results is a cycle of meanings, actions,*

and places influencing, constituting, and structuring each other" (Cresswell, 1996:150).

Cresswell uses examples of events which contravene the expectations of place to show the relationship between place and sociocultural power (Cresswell, 1996). I would argue that these expectations of place are partly determined through the habitus of the communities, social groups and individuals occupying the geographical place under consideration. In Cresswell's case studies, he is considering a set of places/spaces in which an event occurs that is *judged* by an *authority* to be bad and the authority seeks to connect the place with a particular meaning to strengthen an ideological position. I would like to explore the opposite of Creswell's view by flipping this approach to consider a case study where an event, or a change, is proposed that is judged by the people who *belong* there to be bad. In the some way, the individuals or communities who present themselves as belonging will connect *their* place with meaning to strengthen their ideological position.

Cresswell identified two connected central themes to his research. Firstly, "*the way in which space and place are used to structure a normative landscape*" (Cresswell, 1996:8) which he describes as the way that appropriate ideas and practices are communicated through space and place. The effect of these spatial structures is to distinguish between what is deemed appropriate in some places but not others and was researched in depth by Bourdieu in his study of the Kabyle (Bourdieu, 1979). Bourdieu explored the way in which *certain orderings* of space provide a structure for experience and help to define who and what we are in a social context and how we see ourselves in this world (Cresswell, 1996; Hillier and Rooksby, 2005)

> *"The spatial structures structure not only the group's representation of the world but the group itself, which orders itself in accordance with this representation"* it is through *"the dialectical relationship between the body and a structured organisation of space and time that common practices and representations are determined"* (Bourdieu, 1979).

The spatial structures, as understood through Bourdieu, structure representations of the world as they are perceived in a taken-for-granted manner (Cresswell, 1996) but values and meaning are ascribed through human experience and not inherent in any space or place. These values and meanings arise through a human attachment to place.

Transgression or 'out of place' behaviours

Cresswell (2004) suggests that, just as space and place are used to structure a normative world, they can also be used to challenge that normative world, either directly or indirectly in the form of resistance. Out-of-place behaviours are defined as unacceptable practices that go again the norm and are based on a normative view of the world and what is acceptable or unacceptable. In Cresswell's research this considers an *authorities* view of what the transgression is and why it doesn't fit but it does not consider what the public's view might be. It implies that the public's view of acceptability is shaped by authority. However, it does not consider what happens when the *authority* or *public body* is perceived as the transgressor promoting something which is deemed as unacceptable in space and place. In the context of my research into public consultation processes, it is necessary to assess whether a voice is provided for the public through consultation and participation to challenge the unacceptability of that action in space and place. Alternatively, participation may be merely a structure within which the transgression can be redefined, or presented, as an acceptable or mitigated action, justified by the authority or expert actors as being for the common good. This reverts to the argument around Habermasian communicative assumptions in section 2.1 and suggests that the transgression may be seen as *out of place* for the public's located within the context of the physical geographical place whereas in an over-arching spatial context, for example the bigger picture supported by national infrastructure requirements, politics or a business case, the transgression is deemed as a necessity in that place.

2.7 Conceptual framework: Putting a Bourdieusian toolkit 'in place'

The purpose of this conceptual framework is to set out my approach to this research by drawing from the findings of the literature review, and proposing a novel approach to investigating public engagement with planning for infrastructure based on a Bourdieusian toolkit with an added dimension of place.

2.7.1 Why Bourdieu?

The research questions at the heart of this thesis have emerged from a real-world, practice-based problem of public disengagement and a desire to deepen my understanding of the underlying tensions in the planning process for NSIPs. Having reviewed the existing theoretical framework for public participation in

planning, I chose to conduct this research through a Bourdieusian lens in contrast to the Habermasian approach to collaborative planning. The initial aim was to investigate the effect of power relations on public disengagement, in the case study communities, and collaborative planning did not allow me to fully explore this topic through either a collaborative or participatory lens. The works of Bourdieu are less widely used in Planning and have tended towards local planning engagement rather than major infrastructure (Howe and Langdon, 2002; Sturzaker and Shucksmith, 2011). However, the advantages of conducting this research through a Bourdieusian lens were three-fold. Firstly, it has previously been argued that a new reflexive theory of planning developed from a Bourdieusian approach, could assist in deepening an understanding of the outcome of planning practices through the Bourdieusian toolkit of habitus, field and capital (Howe and Langdon, 2002). Secondly, these same concepts could be more sensitive to understanding local community characteristics and therefore the diversity of engagement in the communities of the case study. Finally, the underlying thread of power, domination and hidden violence, emerging from the literature review, reflects the Theory of Symbolic Violence which is perceived to be a cross-cutting theme in Bourdieu's works (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Schubert, 2012). The applicability of Bourdieu's theory and concepts to disadvantaged communities experiencing marginality, peripherality and stigma, has already been evidenced through section 2.4.3 of the Literature Review with specific relevance to West Cumbria (Wynne *et al.,* 2007). This supports my argument that Bourdieu's concepts are particularly relevant to my research in response to the gap in the literature around disengagement connected to the planning processes for major infrastructure.

The critique of Bourdieu's work has already suggested that his concepts have frequently been applied in isolation, whereas they are intended to be inextricably linked and the relationship between them should form the basis for any research conducted through a Bourdieusian lens. For the purposes of my research, Bourdieu's framework therefore cannot be used without acknowledging my reasons for, and approach to, using this conceptual toolkit. My research is being conducted through a multi-disciplinary studentship and, as a planner and human geographer, I have elected to undertake an investigation of the research problem as interpreted through a Bourdieusian lens. I offer two key arguments in support of my approach. Firstly, Bourdieu has been described as a sociologist "*in*

someone else's field" through his writings on a range of topics including education, art, literature and language, which are largely understood through the theories and debates relative to those topics (Webb *et al.*, 2002:4). It has been argued that this allowed him to bring new "*ways of seeing*" to those topics, unrestricted by discipline (Webb *et al.*, 2002:4). Secondly, Bourdieu has been described as making use of both empirical and theoretical methodologies and bringing a practical insight to inform understanding and knowledge. This builds upon the work of others and brings new ways of seeing and interpreting their work (Bourdieu, 1992b; Webb *et al.*, 2002). This approach to applying the conceptual framework to a cross disciplinary project is compatible with both the research questions and my own positionality. In Chapter 3, I will also explain how I have adopted a theoretical-qualitative approach to undertaking field work through a Bourdieusian lens.

I have sought to engage empirically with Bourdieu's concepts and to use them to frame my data collection and analysis. I acknowledge that there are other aspects of Bourdieu's work that I have not engaged with and I have limited the scope of my research to understanding the complex relationships between power, habitus, forms of capital and symbolic violence as these play out in the field of public consultation for NSIPs. I also acknowledge that my interpretation is likely to diverge from some of Bourdieu's thinking, not least due to my decision not to seek to investigate, or directly attribute, class to any of the typologies that I have identified. This type of research has previously been undertaken by others, most notably Bennett *et al.* (2009), who have previously applied Bourdieu's ideas about class to the UK. I have already examined the ways in which other researchers have used Bourdieu's concepts in order to set out my own adaptation of those concepts which contribute to my understanding of what is at play in my own research. I have identified cultural capital as an asset in the process and the game (also referred to as *illusio*) and, in common with researchers in the USA, I have taken a stronger cultural capital approach in my empirical chapters (Davies and Rizk, 2017).

In considering the factors affecting the public's characteristics, knowledge contributions and participation, I argue that this study lends itself to adopting a Bourdieusian approach to the analysis of disengagement building on existing knowledge of the role of habitus and forms of capital to networks of power

relations with an underlying theme of Symbolic Violence. According to Burawoy (2018), a distinctive feature of Bourdieu's sociology is "*engagement with the world of the participant*" which will be the focus of my methodology in chapter 3 (Burawoy, 2018:83). Having described my reasons for using a Bourdieusian framework, I will now set out the 'conceptual toolkit' that I have used as a framework for this research.

2.7.2 Theory of symbolic violence

The literature review has made evident a history of slow violence in West Cumbria (Nixon, 2011; Wynne *et al.,* 2007) but perceptions of the perpetuation of *known* violence requires a difference approach to understanding power relations and expanding this to examine how forms of power relations and domination pervade diverse aspects of this research (Lukes, 1974).

As stated in section 2.4.3 of the literature review, symbolic violence is an enduring thread through all of Bourdieu's work (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) and is defined as "*the violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity*" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:167). Having discussed applications of the Theory in connection with planning, I will be using the Theory of Symbolic Violence to build upon the evident legacy of slow violence enabling a broader view to be taken of the field of public consultation in my case study.

2.7.3 The Bourdieusian toolkit of habitus, field and capital

According to Paradis (2014), *"habitus is deeply and inextricably associated with the concepts of field and capital, as anyone who has wrestled with Bourdieu's (in)famous equation will know: [(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice"* (Bourdieu, 1984: 101; Paradis, 2014:101). Consequently, this tripartite structure of concepts forms the basis for my research which has been conducted through a Bourdieusian lens.

Habitus

Habitus is a key concept for Bourdieu's theories and comprises "*an array of inherited dispositions that condition bodily movement, tastes and judgements, according to class position*" (Bourdieu, 1984; Bridge, 2011:77). The concept of habitus was evolved by Bourdieu from an earlier tradition which defined *hexis* as consisting of habits or accomplishments necessary for participation in society and

Bourdieu's use of the Latin word *habitus*, as a translation of the Greek word *hexis*, allowed him to expand his definition of the word and attribute greater meaning and depth (Wacquant, 2016).

Bourdieu's own definition of habitus is as *"a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organise practices and representations"* (Bourdieu, 1990b:53, cited in Hillier and Rooksby, 2005). In simple terms, habitus can be described as a sense of one's place and role in the world of one's lived environment and is a combination of a cognitive, as well as an embodied, sense of place (Hillier, and Rooksby 2005).

The documented interpretation of Bourdieu's wider theory and concepts by sociologists, anthropologists, philosophers, geographers and social scientists (Giddens and Sutton, 2013; Grenfell, 2012; Hillier and Rooksby, 2005) suggests that his broad concepts can be flexible and adaptable according to environmental and social context. This flexibility has created freedom for researchers to explore habitus and to use it to understand a range of social environments. This flexibility is well suited to my research investigating the characteristics of individual settlements and the individual habitus of the residents.

In his work, Bourdieu recognized differences and diversity between members of the same cultural grouping and explored the characteristics of the individual habitus. He states that habitus, within, as well as between, social groups, differs to the extent that the details of individuals' social trajectories diverge from one another (Reay, 2004):

> *"Just as no two individual histories are identical so no two individual habituses are identical".* (Bourdieu, 1990c:46)

Habitus has been adopted, and developed as a concept, by key thinkers in human geography due to its ability to develop in response to new situations (Hillier and Rooksby, 2005). This arises from Bourdieu's claim that habitus is generative and may break down before being reconstructed in response to a new situation or geographical context (Bourdieu, 2000). This theme has been expanded by Sweetman (2003) who argues that this transformation is becoming common due to the geographical, social and cultural shifts that people experience during their lives. This transformation was also identified by Bourdieu (1990b) who talked about a permanent capacity for invention to enable one to adapt to

varied situations. He developed the idea of multiple, or split, habituses depending on particular social situations but did not directly connect these habituses to *place attachment* although a person's change in, or acquisition of, new habituses could evolve from adaptive behaviour based on *where they are* and *what they are* in a particular place. In this way a person would be capable of moving from one habitus to another through migration or a change in social class through lifestyle changes, such as changes in employment. This idea of multiple habitus related to the social context of the person's place in the world but excluded any consideration of attachment to the physical environment of that place. This directly relates to the history of West Cumbria which is characterised by frequent influxes of incomers, primarily for the purposes of employment and joining communities of practice rather than place. Other incomers have moved to the area based on perceptions of the distinction of place, and an aspiration for an imagined lifestyle through elective belonging (Savage *et al.*, 2005). All of these incomers will bring their own habitus with the potential for it to be reconstructed over time partly due to the communities that they join.

Although institutional habitus was originally identified in educational institutions by Bourdieu (1993), it has been applied to wider areas of research (Reay *et al.*, 2001; Wainwright *et al.,* 2006), and is extended in a novel way in this chapter to refer to institutions of employment where training and inculcation make an important contribution to the individual habitus. It has also been argued that institutional habitus does not exist and that an institution should be treated as a field which encompasses the individual habitus of the actors (Atkinson, 2011), however, for clarity in this research, I will use the term institutional habitus to refer to the community habitus of a workplace.

The field

> *"The field as a whole is defined as a system of deviations on different levels and nothing, either in the institutions or in the agents, the acts or discourses they produce, has meaning except relationally, by virtue of the interplay of oppositions and distinctions."* (Bourdieu, 1991)

A field is a socially structured space in which actors play out their engagements with each other (Hillier and Rooksby, 2005). Depending on the relationship between the actors, the field can also be a space characterised by conflict or competition where actors struggle to achieve their objectives. In this sense, a field

can be seen as an arena of power distribution where degrees of power are determined by an actor's position within the hierarchy of the field or where participants learn and gain power through knowledge and experience.

Bourdieu also identified a range of field mechanisms and field conditions in his research which are specific to natural beliefs and opinions which are *taken for granted* by groups of actors based on their personal habitus (Grenfell, 2012). I suggest that the concept of the field as a socially structured space is effective as a frame for research into public engagement with the topic of planning as a multi-layered and overlapping hierarchy of social spaces and actor/public interactions. For the purposes of this case study the field will occupy one layer of planning for NSIPs comprising the pre-application process.

Forms of capital

The attainment or distribution of power within the field can be understood through Bourdieu's concept of capital which he defines as the resources that actors take to the field. The concepts of field and capital are closely linked and Bourdieu states that "*capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field*" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:101). As such, capital is a field mechanism which can be used to describe either symbolic capital or specific types of capital such as cultural or social capital. Bourdieu uses capital in a broad sphere where it refers to an exchange of non-economic assets, within networks, as a form of cultural exchange (Grenfell, 2012). These non-economic assets can include status, power, personal contacts, and formal and informal knowledge which can be directly applied to different forms of public engagement with other actors such as experts in the field of planning (Hillier and Rooksby, 2005).

Bourdieu also emphasised the importance of the symbolic dimensions of capital and his use of the term *symbolic capital* incorporates three forms of capital - economic, social and cultural - which can be applied directly to a case study to investigate the links between the various forms of capital and their relationship to the acquisition and use of power (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

Economic capital can manifest as material wealth and attendant power or, in planning terms, as the overarching factor influencing forms of development and potentially affecting employment and the prosperity of an area. It is evident from

the literature review that economic capital is a significant factor in power relations, marginalisation and stigma in West Cumbria (Blowers, 2010; Wynne *et al.*, 2007).

Social capital can manifest as the resources and power that people obtain through their social connections or networks bringing not shared attitudes and consensus arising from a shared habitus but also community identity and history. The case study has emerged from the literature review as the site of conflicting communities of practice and place, based on the nuclear and rural communities (Blowers, 2010; Wynne *et al.*, 2007). Each of these communities exhibits its own social networks and history which can be explored through methods including ethnography, which will be discussed in chapter 3.

> "*Social Capital involves useful social networks, a sense of mutual obligation and trustworthiness, an understanding of the norms that govern effective behaviour and, in general, other social resources that enable people to act effectively*" (Giddens and Sutton, 2013:855).

In general, differences in social capital can mirror the effects of social inequalities, for example, in respect of gender, race or personal wealth. This has the potential to be directly relevant to the communities of practice in Cumbria and the networks that arise from them.

Cultural capital in its simplest form refers to the knowledge and skills which actors have acquired through both formal and informal education and which they bring to the field. Bourdieu identified three forms of cultural capital whereby it can exist in:

* an *embodied state* in which we carry it around with us in our ways of thinking, speaking and bodily movement.

* an *objectified state*, for example in the possession of works of art, books or other material objects.

* *institutionalised forms,* such as those held in educational qualifications, which are nationally accepted and easily translated into economic capital in the labour market.

(Bourdieu, 1989b; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:119; Giddens and Sutton, 2013; Hillier and Rooksby, 2005).

I will primarily examine cultural capital in both an embodied state and in an institutionalised form to investigate the research problem. Giddens and Sutton (2013) state that Bourdieu's theory broadly connects economic position, social status and symbolic capital with cultural knowledge and skills. Bourdieu's theory of forms of capital has been recognised for its significance in various fields of sociology but it has been widely acknowledged that his concept of cultural capital is of particular relevance to education. In particular, it has been suggested that the embodied and institutionalised forms of capital, defined above, are acquired through education which can be a rich source of cultural capital (Giddens and Sutton, 2013) which will influence the cultural capital that actors will bring to the field in my research. In the case study, education will be examined in two forms. Firstly, I will consider the role of inculcation through the family and school environments in the case study and, secondly, I will assess the role of further education and training in the communities of practice and recognition as a form of distinction (Bourdieu, 1984).

All of these forms of capital are brought to the field of power by individuals but their value is manifested through the actor's practical sense in using their symbolic capital to navigate power relations. Bourdieu refers to this interaction as the arena in which people play the game or *illusio* (Bourdieu, 1991).

Playing the game

Bourdieu replaces the concept of society with those of field and social space and regards the field as "*an ensemble of relatively autonomous spheres of play*" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:17). The field is a socially structured "*space of conflict and competition*" where actors seek to empower themselves through capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:17). Bourdieu likens this interplay between actors seeking dominance to the rules of a game where even playing with the rules is part of the game (Bourdieu, 1991). This concept has been widely used in politics, education and sport although there is limited literature investigating the concept in planning. Weber-Newth (2019) has examined Bourdieu's perspective on the social world in an analysis of urban regeneration in two neighbourhoods. This *game* of urban regeneration strategically employed the concepts of community and culture to obtain power for some actors but to the detriment of other actors, particularly the poor (Weber-Newth, 2019). Bourdieu has stated that playing the game is often an unconscious action and that the

ability to play the game is dependent on the quantity and type of capital that an actor brings to the field. I intend to use Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the game as a way of understanding active public engagement in the field of the planning process for NSIPs.

2.7.4 Reconciling place with Bourdieu's sociology

Major infrastructure in the form of high voltage overhead powerlines is a three dimensional entity with a perceivable spatial impact. Overhead powerlines have a physical impact upon space and place but there is evidence to suggest that there is also a cognitive impact insofar as proposals for major infrastructure can result in both physical and emotional place disruption through instability and change during construction and operation leading to a lack of contextual fit and coherence (Brown and Perkins, 1992; Cotton and Devine-Wright, 2013; Devine-Wright and Howes, 2010). Emotional and place protective responses can arise from a threat to the stability of place (Devine-Wright, 2009). This research seeks to understand the reasons for public disengagement from the planning process, despite the expression of these emotional and cognitive responses to proposed overhead powerlines through the formal NSIP public consultation process (PINS, 2012d).

Place is defined by geographers as a *"space that has been given meaning"* (Altman and Low, 1992:5) or a space that has *value* attributed to it (Tuan, 1977) defining the difference between "*abstract space and meaningful place*" (Lewicka, 2011a:207). In this way, the space around communities frequently reflects their work practices, often industrial or agricultural, in addition to elements of the local culture and society (Malpas, 1999). The materiality of a place is a product of this society (Harvey, 1993) and can bring together the social, economic, natural and cultural within a physical geographical place (Malpas, 1999).

An alternative to the definition of place as a specific location is the consideration of place as a way of understanding, or a place that is socially constructed resulting in a sense of identity and identifiable local or regional consciousness (Cresswell, 1996, 2004; Harvey, 1993). Cresswell states that our view of *place* is how we make the world meaningful and it explores the way in which we experience the world. In this sense it is more than a distinction between one place and another (Cresswell, 2004) and a specific place can be important as a location which defines a person's identity (Malpas, 1999).

I will be seeking to understand the social, cultural and economic structuring of place through habitus (Bourdieu, 1977; Cresswell, 1996; Hillier and Rooksby, 2005). An individual will assign personal relevance to a place through a perceived attachment where these perceptions are a construct of the observer. It is the individual's habitus that can determine how these constructs are formed and it may include elements of familiarity, personal connection or taste based on forms of social capital. Habitus and place attachment are connected in that each broadly defines a *space* that has been given meaning. In habitus the meaning is formed of practices connected to family, geography and ways of being but habitus is not necessarily tied to a physical place and may evolve though lifetime mobility between places (Bourdieu, 2000).

The connection that links habitus, as a sense of place, and place attachment is the perception and construction of place and how an individual and their learned, or inherited, practices relate to that place. Habitus is one's place and role in the world of one's lived environment, whereas place attachments are the emotional bonds that form between people and their physical surroundings (Devine-Wright, 2013). Those emotional bonds may arise from the family, educational context or social groups within which the individual exists but it is the individual habitus that gives structure to the way in which those bonds are formed.

In this way, one's *place*, or habitus, is more of a social construct which is sometimes influenced by the constraints of one's physical environment, whereas place attachment can be an emotional construct connected to a physical place but influenced by family connections, education, questions of taste, aspirations and opportunity all of which are elements structured and bound together by the individual's habitus.

In order to examine the articulation of place, from a local and personal perspective, this research uses the concepts of place attachment and habitus to explore knowledge and values inherent in communities in the selected case study area of West Cumbria. By acknowledging the emotional bonds with place, it is possible to distinguish between varying forms of attachment in the study area including both inherited and acquired attachments or traditional and active varieties of people place relations (Bailey *et al.,* 2016b; Devine-Wright, 2013; Hummon, 1992; Lewicka, 2011b; Lewicka, 2013). Where place attachment is inherited, for example through Cumbrian farming families and landowners, the

research will examine local practices and histories that give rise to a strong sense of attachment to place. In order to explore these practices, habitus can be used as a tool to understand the sense of one's place in that world and also to understand which factors can contribute to one's sense of place. Typically factors will include an individual's cultural capital insofar as it defines the history and practices of the environment in which that person grow up, but this is closely related to the individual's social capital which refers to the networks in which they now move. In this way, habitus is symbolic of the way that an individual subconsciously feels attached to a physical place based on a range of factors which may include upbringing, memories and family or work practices. Work practices are a key defining element of people who work on the land, for example through farming or mining, and whose family history/cultural capital and social networks are closely connected.

A wider understanding of *acquired* place attachments, or elective belonging, can also be explored through the use of habitus to explore the aesthetic sensibilities arising from an individual's cultural capital. Sometimes referred to as a predictor of taste, habitus determines an individual's view of the world and the way that they identify with their place in that world (Bourdieu, 1979). There is potential for elements of taste and nurture to result in a desire for elective belonging to Cumbria particularly where incomers are seeking perceived tranquillity and remoteness informed by idealised concepts of a *natural* landscape (Devine-Wright and Batel, 2013; Savage *et al.,* 2005).

However, the emphasis in this research will be on *unheard* and *seldom heard voices* which may be perceived as hard-to reach publics but which can also broadly encompass people who are both voluntarily and involuntarily disengaged from the consultation process. In rural communities in particular, that are characteristic of the Case Study area, there is a perception that these other voices are seldom-heard in public debate relating to structured planning process, such as consultation for NSIPs. Bourdieu's work has been described as a model for giving *the other* a voice in public debate (Cresswell, 2002) in understanding *what it is like to be on the receiving end* of, in this case, the consultations for the NWCC overhead powerline. This research then explores how aspects of place, and emotional attachments to place, can shape engagement to, or

disengagement from, this formal NWCC consultation process as investigated through a Bourdieusian lens.

2.7.5 Summary

In summary, this conceptual framework has brought together the Bourdieusian triad of habitus, field and capital, informed by Bourdieu's Theory of Symbolic Violence which is said to underpin all of his work (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). I have built on the literature review, through this predominantly Bourdieusian conceptual framework, to propose an alternative analytical approach on conceptual contributions to infrastructure planning despite Bourdieu's concepts being less widely used in the context of planning. In a novel approach, my conceptual framework combines Bourdieu's conceptual triad with a place component which responds to the space – place debate in section 2.6.1 and brings an added dimension to my research.

Chapter 3: Methodology: Ethnographies of Engagement

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 has described the current thinking on public engagement and introduced the smaller body of existing research that explores the rationale behind public disengagement. Much of the current thinking on disengagement in the UK has been researched from the perspective of the actors in planning consultation or engagement processes, resulting in constructs of disengaged publics and theoretical assumptions concerning the reasons for their disengagement.

The intention of this research is to disturb those assumptions by looking at disengagement through the lens of the public. This is problematic in itself by virtue of the potentially reticent nature of some publics who choose not to engage with consultation processes. Those publics who withdraw from formal opportunities to offer their knowledge and opinions as part of a structured planning consultation process, might also be unlikely to engage with aspects of academic research. In order to understand the context of disengagement, this research seeks to understand, firstly the nature of public attitudes to consultation and engagement, and secondly how this plays out in a selected case study.

3.1.1 Research context

There has been limited literature which considers the comprehensiveness of participation in practice with particular reference to those publics who are (in)voluntarily disengaged from the process. There are some commonly held assumptions around why some groups disengage and it is assumed that publics may be unwilling to take part through a post-political stance, or they may be intimidated by the socio-technical nature of the content. The Post-Political view of public participation is that it is weak, and susceptible to narrow outcomes that have been defined in advance with an outcome that is a foregone conclusion (Wilson and Swyngedouw, 2015). With limited evidence from the literature, these are mainly assumptions which could still have significant implications as a real-world problem of particular interest to policy makers and infrastructure providers of all kinds, including companies like National Grid and other Transmission Service Operators (TSOs). In order to respond to this gap in understanding, this

research has focussed on the perspectives of publics who are disengaged from the consultation process for an NSIP in the UK.

The aim of this thesis is to explore public disengagement from planning processes and to develop an understanding of the reasons and motivation for both active and passive forms of disengagement. As discussed in Chapter 2, non-participation and disengagement are areas which have attracted limited research in areas other than health and education. Having established the problematic nature of Collaborative Planning in projects where consensus cannot realistically be reached in Chapter 2, this research explores alternative methods of understanding and framing the disengaged publics that are frequently referred to as the silent majority or seldom-heard.

3.2 Research Design

A case study approach was selected as the research design to bring depth and richness to the data collection. This approach allowed for the complexity and unique characteristics of the single case to be observed (Bryman, 2012). The intensity of the setting also allowed the research problem to be investigated using the case study as a specific illustration with multiple sites being examined (Creswell, 2013).

The research was jointly funded through ESRC and NGET which is the primary TSO in Great Britain and has a duty to provide a connection to the electricity grid where one is requested. The part-funding provided by NGET restricted the choice of the case study project to a proposed high voltage overhead powerline, classified as an NSIP. Fewer than ten active projects were available for case study selection at the commencement of the PhD research.

3.2.1 The positionality of the researcher

The relatively small number of suitable projects, at different stages of the planning process, was further restricted by my ongoing professional employment at the commencement of my PhD, when I was employed by a consultancy as an Environmental Planner on projects related to overhead powerlines. My previous work experience had not included the North West Coast Connections (NWCC) project in West Cumbria and a higher level of impartiality could therefore be achieved through an initially limited knowledge of both the project and the geographical area. The project consultation timeline also had the advantage of

closely matching the six year duration of the part-time PhD research, particularly in relation to the stakeholder and public engagement phase of the project (as shown in Appendix 2).

I acknowledge that my own professional experience could potentially have influenced or informed my interpretation of the data that I collected. Consequently a degree of auto-ethnography and personal reflexivity has been necessary to understand how this has played out in the choice of research methods and analysis. In highlighting the importance of positionality in this research, I recognise that:

> *"… one does not have to choose between participant observation, a necessarily fictitious immersion in a foreign milieu, and the objectivism of the 'gaze from afar' of an observer who remains as remote from himself as from his object. Participant objectivation undertakes to explore not the 'lived experience' of the knowing subject but the social conditions of possibility – and therefore the effects and limits – of that experience and, more precisely, of the act of objectivation itself.* (Bourdieu, 2001b)

Bourdieu suggests that what needs to be objectivized is not the researcher performing the analysis but rather the social world that has created the researcher and guided her conscious, or unconscious, approach to undertaking the research itself. This resonates with my positionality as the researcher in this study, with regard to my professional training and experience, but Bourdieu expands this positionality to incorporate the researcher's social origins, beliefs, gender, age, and how these, and other, factors might influence the choice of research methods. This has caused me to reflect on my own habitus and how my professional background, qualifications and dispositions might influence my understanding.

To limit the need to take a "*point of view on one's own point of view*" (Bourdieu, 2003:284), I have chosen to undertake my research from the perspective of the receiving publics in the consultation process rather than from my professional perspective as an actor facilitating that process on other projects. However, Bourdieu states that:

> *"scientific objectivation is not complete unless it includes the point of view of the objectivizer and the interests he may have in objectivation….. but also the historical unconscious that he inevitably engages in his work"* (Bourdieu, 2003:284-5)

This acknowledges that there will be a degree of personal reflexivity in my approach to the case study research. By using the word *historical*, Bourdieu is specifically referring to educational experiences but this potentially applies equally to my professional experience which has created a set of cognitive structures which I recognise may unconsciously have framed my approach. A key part of the research methods has therefore required a more open, and flexible, approach to qualitative methods which has allowed the participants greater opportunities to influence the data.

I consider my acknowledged positionality in this research to be an advantage in bringing together both theoretical and empirical perspectives on the findings and this has been further enhanced by undertaking a multi-disciplinary approach to the research. The research problem is grounded in a Planning process but the research has not been constrained within this discipline, allowing me to approach it from a novel multi-disciplinary perspective. This will extend to future knowledge exchange which I believe can provide greater opportunities for discourse around the transferability of the findings.

3.2.2 Background to case study selection

This research has been jointly funded by the ESRC and NGET, on the basis of an initial research proposal requiring the research to be undertaken on a proposed high voltage overhead powerline project in the UK. Since 2012, the Planning Inspectorate (PINS) have become the government agency responsible for operating the planning process for NSIPs which are defined on the PINS website as follows:

> *"NSIPs are major infrastructure projects such as new harbours, roads, power generating stations (including offshore wind farms) and electricity transmission lines, which require development consent under procedures governed by the Planning Act 2008 (PA2008). Anybody wishing to construct an NSIP must first apply for consent to do so. For such a project, the Planning Inspectorate examines the application and will make a recommendation to the relevant Secretary of State, who will make the decision on whether to grant or to refuse development consent. Development consent, where granted, is made in the form of a Development Consent Order (DCO)"* (PINS, 2012c)

Great Britain's onshore electricity transmission network is currently planned, constructed, owned and operated by three Transmission Owners: National Grid Electricity Transmission (NGET) in England and Wales, Scottish Power

Transmission in the south of Scotland, and Scottish Hydro Electric Transmission in the north of Scotland. A review was undertaken of the current, and planned, overhead powerline projects to be progressed by NGET during the course of this research project, which was to be undertaken part-time over a period of six years. Of the NSIP applications being prepared by NGET at the commencement of the research, the majority were already too far advanced in the consultation process to be suitable as a Case Study. Following discussions with NGET, it was agreed that the forthcoming NWCC project in West Cumbria, which was still at the pre-application stage, would represent current consultation best practice based on lessons learnt in the public consultation process for previous high voltage overhead powerline applications including the Hinkley C Connection, in Somerset, and the Mid-Wales Connection.

The formal consultation phase for the NWCC project was originally programmed by NGET to take place during 2015 and 2016, and the project timeline was expected to broadly coincide with the funding of this research project as shown in Appendix 2.

3.2.3 The Case Study

The North West Coast Connections project

North West Coast Connections (NWCC) was a proposed new transmission project to connect a potential 3.4GW nuclear power station at the Moorside site in Cumbria to the electricity transmission system. The NWCC project was a 164km route comprising high voltage overhead powerlines, underground cables and a subsea tunnel, with the route running between Harker substation in Cumbria and Middleton Substation in Lancashire. The route comprised both northern and southern connections to ensure the resilience of the supply from the proposed Moorside power station to the electricity transmission network (Image 3.1).

For the purposes of this research, the case study has been limited to the County of Cumbria and the section of the route between Harker and Roosecote, where the 13 mile Morecambe Bay tunnel would commence.

Image 3.1: North West Coast Connections preferred route corridor. Source: NGET, 2014

One of NGET's key roles is to connect new generation into the electricity transmission system, and work on planning to link the proposed new nuclear power station at Moorside into the network started in 2011. The project was paused in May 2017 when Toshiba announced that they were undertaking a review of the viability of the Moorside nuclear power plant and subsequently announced their decision to withdraw from the Moorside project. The connection to the grid was no longer required and NGET's connection agreement with Toshiba was subsequently terminated, bringing the NWCC project to an end. All of the data collection for this research had already been completed by this date and the termination of the NWCC project was not considered to be an issue of concern by the joint funders.

Consultation Timeline

The NWCC project was initially developed as a series of strategic options between 2009 and 2012. At this stage, consultation was limited to stakeholders, such as Local Authorities, and there was no input from the public. Although not statutorily required, Stage 1 Public Consultation events were held in 2014 as a series of 33 events over 12 weeks. The events were designed to give the public an opportunity to *comment* on the outline routing and siting stage which included both northern and southern routes and an offshore option.

The Stage 2 Public Information events were held in 2015 following the announcement of the proposed route corridor. The 27 events were held over 6 weeks and were intended to *inform* the public about progress on the project since the Stage 1 Consultation on route options in 2014. Stage 3, the formal public *consultation*, was held in 2016 under sections 42 and 47 of the Planning Act 2008

> *"Section 42 of the Planning Act 2008 (PA2008) sets out whom an applicant must consult about a Proposed Development. In respect of consultation with the local community, s47 of the PA2008 prescribes how an applicant must go about consulting people living in the vicinity of a Proposed Development. Section 47(6) sets out how an applicant must make the Statement of Community Consultation (SoCC) available to people living within the vicinity of the Proposed Development. There is no statutory duty for an applicant to consult with the local community directly in the form of letters and/ or leaflets"* (PINS, 2017)

The Stage 3 consultation launched in October 2016 and closed in January 2017 and comprised 30 events across an 11 week consultation period which included both Christmas and New Year. This was subject to negative media publicity on the grounds that it was a week short of the recommended 12 week period and also included national holidays during which the public would be less likely to engage with the process.

Case study areas and defining the field

Conducting data collection from all of the settlements along the 164km route corridor was not considered to be feasible given the resources of this study. Consequently, a site selection process was undertaken to identify suitable case study settlement areas along the route in order to achieve a geographically representative range of data. A range of criteria for selection were identified based on geographical and social characteristics combined with the relationship of the settlements to the route corridor. The full settlement selection Tables can be found in Appendix 3 and the selected sites are summarised in Table 3.1, in this chapter.

The study area settlements were selected according to both physical and demographic criteria. Settlements were initially listed based on their proximity to the preferred route corridor as identified at the Stage 2 consultation. Settlement populations of <1,000 or >10,000 were excluded on the basis that very small settlements would be less representative and would provide fewer opportunities for interaction whereas larger settlements would be likely to exhibit a range of

publics across their population that would make it more difficult to define the local habitus. Other factors considered, included evidence of the existence of community based groups, age range and ethnicity compared with the figures for the County as a whole.

Three locations, within the research case study area of West Cumbria, were selected to capture a range of settlement characteristics along the project route. The settlements of Wigton in the North, Beckermet and Gosforth in the middle of the route, and Kirkby-in-Furness in the South, are broadly representative of West Cumbria but it was acknowledged that some of the characteristics of these local communities may be influenced by the proximity of local employment to the Energy Coast of Cumbria. Each of the selected settlements had a different relationship with the proposed overhead powerline (either inside, abutting or outside the route corridor) and each community had historically had different levels of engagement with the NWCC project consultation events ranging from low to high based on anecdotal evidence from discussions with attendees at consultation events and the minutes from Parish Council meetings. The location of each of the selected settlements is indicated on the map in Appendix 1.

Name	Key characteristics
Wigton	*Borough:* Allerdale *Population:* 5,830 (2011), Households: 2,515 *Age profile:* U16=1,065, 16-65=3,545, Over 65=1,220 *Socio-economic status:* Economically active 70%, inactive 30% *Economically active* = Higher managerial/professional 19.6%, Highly skilled 45.5%, Low skilled 35%. *Index of multiple deprivation*: Decile 3=20%, Decile 4=20%, Decile 5=20%, Decile 7=40% *Topography:* Shallow valley for the River Wiza *History:* Market town *Major employers*: Innovia, local businesses. *Position on NWCC route corridor:* Abutting route corridor, northern section. *NWCC Consultation events:* October 2014 and December, 2016

Beckermet	*Borough:* Copeland *Population:* 1,620, Households: 680 *Age profile:* U16=290, 16-65=995, Over 65=335 *Socio-economic status:* Economically active 70%, inactive 30% *Economically active* = Higher managerial/professional 31.6%, Highly skilled 45.8%, Low skilled 22.5%, Economically inactive 34% *Index of multiple deprivation:* Decile 4=50%, Decile 8=50% *Topography:* Coastal plain *History:* Farming and mining village, now dependent on Sellafield *Major employers:* Sellafield, agriculture *Relationship to NWCC:* Within preferred route corridor adjacent Sellafield *NWCC Consultation events:* September 2014, September 2015 and November 2016
Gosforth	*Borough:* Copeland, LDNPA *Population:* 1,336, Households: 522 *Age profile:* Not available *Socio-economic status:* Economically active 69%, inactive 31% *Economically active* = Higher managerial/professional 35.3%, Highly skilled 45.7%, Low skilled 19%. *Index of multiple deprivation:* Decile 5=33.3%, Decile 8=33.3%, Decile 9=33.3%. *Topography:* gently rising from coastal plain *History:* Farming village expanded due to Sellafield *Major employers:* Sellafield, agriculture *Position on NWCC route corridor:* Outside route corridor on the southern section *NWCC Consultation events:* No
Kirkby-in-Furness and the Duddon Estuary	*District:* South Lakeland *Population:* 1,175, *Households:* 530 *Age profile*: U16=160, 16-65=715, Over 65=300 *Socio-economic status*: Economically active 71%, inactive 29% Economically active = Higher managerial/professional 33.9%, Highly skilled 45.8%, Low skilled 20.3%. Index of multiple deprivation: Decile 5=20%, Decile 6=20%, Decile 7=40%, Decile 8=20% *Topography*: Coastal plain and rising land to Kirkby Moor *History*: Village created from 6 small hamlets. *Major employers*: Barrow Shipyard and BAE Systems Submarines, agriculture *Position on NWCC route corridor*: Within route corridor, southern section *NWCC Consultation events:* December 2016
Sources: ONS, 2011; Cumbria Observatory https://www.cumbriaobservatory.org.uk/	

Table 3.1: Summary of case study site selection

<u>Wigton</u>

The town of Wigton was selected to represent the northern section of the route. The town abuts the preferred route corridor, which lies to the north, and has been the site of 2 public consultation events held in October 2014 and December 2016.

It is a small market town of approximately 5,500 population, south of the A596 and approximately 15 km west of Carlisle. It is also served by the railway line up to Carlisle. There is a locally elected Town Council and a Mayor. Wigton is a largely self-sustaining community with predominantly independent shops owned by local shopkeepers and the High Street is characterised by very few nationally recognised chain stores as illustrated in Image 3.2 below. Markets are held weekly in the car park close to the refurbished Market Hall which is the venue for local societies, conferences and events. An indoor Country Market is also held weekly in the Methodist Hall on the High Street.

The primary employer in the town is Innovia with a multi-generational workforce of 600 people drawn predominantly from the local community. There is also a thriving farming community around the town which is supported by an auction house hosting regular farm and livestock sales.

The presence of numerous social groups, the various markets and independent shops provided a range of opportunities for interaction with local residents.

Image 3.2: Independent shops in Wigton. Source: Author's own photograph

<u>Beckermet and Gosforth</u>

The villages of Beckermet and Gosforth are located close to the Sellafield nuclear power plant and were selected to represent the central section of the route. Beckermet lies within the route corridor and close to the Moorside site. Consultation and information events were held for NWCC in September 2014, September 2015 and November 2016. Gosforth is some 5km south east of Beckermet and lies outside the route corridor but within the Lake District National Park boundary. A large part of the growth of the village has been due to the influx of skilled workers to the Sellafield plant. None of the formal public consultation or information events were held in the village of Gosforth but a separate event was held at the request of the Parish Council. A consultation event was held in 2015 for the proposed Moorside nuclear power station at which a NGET representative was present.

Each of the settlements comprises a historic core with more modern urban extensions which have responded to the housing needs of incoming workers at Sellafield. Both of the villages lie within the Borough of Copeland, but Gosforth is also within the boundaries of the Lake District National Park. Each of the villages also has a Parish Council.

Beckermet has a central conservation area which incorporates the main street and notable buildings such as the church and the White Mare Public House. The residential properties are typically stone-built cottages, many constructed as terraces. A stone bridge in the centre of the village crosses Kirk Beck. Views out from the village are dominated to the south by the towers and other structures associated with the Sellafield plant (Image 3.3) and Beckermet has traditionally been home to many of the incoming workforce. The village also has a strong farming tradition. There are no longer any local shops within the village and the bus service has been discontinued. The majority of residents travel to Egremont for their local needs. Potential opportunities for interaction with local residents were limited to local societies and the Parish Newsletter. Beckermet residents also actively take part in the Gosforth Agricultural Show which provided further opportunities for interaction.

Image 3.3: View of Sellafield from Beckermet. Source: Author's own photograph:

Nearby Gosforth lies to the south east of the Sellafield plant and within the Lake District National Park boundary. Historically, the High Street supported a range of local shops which have all closed and only a general store and three small food outlets remain. (Williams, 1954). The main road through the village leads to Wasdale which is a popular tourist destination lying at the head of Wastwater, and voted *Britain's favourite view*. The small number of retail outlets serves this tourist trade and there are also several public houses and hotels.

The village centre is mainly built in local red sandstone, with other residential areas comprising modern housing estates and a Park Home development for retirees, over the age of 55 years, on the edge of the village.

Opportunities for interaction with the community included a number of active groups, including University of the Third Age (U3A), and local shops. The largest local event is the Gosforth Agricultural Show in July which gives direct access to the farming community.

Kirkby-in-Furness

The area around the village of Kirkby-in-Furness has been selected to represent the southern section of the route. The village lies directly on the route of the proposed NWCC and a consultation event was held in the village in December 2016. A previous consultation event had been held in October 2015 at nearby Grizebeck.

The village is situated on rising land to the east of the Duddon Estuary with far-reaching views to the Lake District National Park. The area around the estuary is

outside the National Park boundary although the Duddon Valley to the north-east lies within the Lake District National Park.

Image 3.4 Kirkby-in-Furness. Source: By kind permission of Meg Twycross ©2010

The village comprises the six hamlets of Soutergate, Wall End, Beck Side, Sand Side, Marshside and Chapels. There is a General Store combined with a Post Office at Four Lane Ends, a traditional village crossroads which also has a public house. Other facilities are scattered throughout the hamlets including an additional public house, a garage and St Cuthbert's Church. The village also has a railway station in Sand Side, the westernmost hamlet of the village. There is a community Hall in Beck Side which includes car parking and playing fields and provides a venue for a number of village interest groups. The village also has a locally elected Parish Council.

The quarry above the village on Kirkby Moor provides some employment, although the shipyards and submarine base in nearby Barrow-in-Furness are also important to the village as employers.

Potential opportunities for interaction with the local community included social activities and special interest groups including a Local History Society. There were also a number of outdoor events including walks.

3.3 The methodological approach to data collection

This section sets out the methodological approach to data collection.

3.3.1 Methods

Although seldom-heard publics can make up a significant proportion of the affected publics in the consultation process for major infrastructure, chapter 2 has suggested that they can be largely invisible in mainstream guidance, conventional consultation strategies and academic accounts of public engagement (Natarajan *et al.*, 2018). This research has adopted a range of methods to draw attention to often marginalized and unrecognized actors to make visible the processes that are often invisible in the study of power and influence at sites of planning consultations.

Disengaged publics can be, by their very nature, reticent and may not engage with research in the same way that they do not engage with projects such as the NWCC consultation process. Collecting quantitative data, through surveys or questionnaires, was expected to appeal only to those publics who were most likely to already be engaged by the project. Consideration of the target research participants, indicated that qualitative methods, such as ethnography, would be more effective for data collection by giving a voice to individuals or groups who are unable to make their voices heard. "*Giving voice*" is central to ethnographic research with unrepresented or hidden groups in attempting to overcome the social inequalities that silence them (Duffy and Bailey, 2010:1). In this case study, qualitative methods allowed greater flexibility without a dependence on language, literacy or assumptions based on cultural norms (Bryman, 2012; Cook, 2005; Crang and Cook, 2007).

Ethnography

The traditional aim of ethnographic research has been to "*understand the world-views and ways of life of actual people in the contexts of their everyday lived experiences*" (Crang and Cook, 2007:37). For the purposes of this research the ability to fully immerse oneself into individual communities was limited by the geographical scale of the NWCC project, the timescale over which the project was being undertaken and the practical restrictions limiting my activities as a part-time researcher. Consequently, the ethnographic aspect of this research was segmented and based around my flexible working life which may ultimately have reflected more accurately the nature of *normal* interaction with communities rather than being immersed full-time (Crang and Cook, 2007). In order to ensure methodological rigour, the ethnography was undertaken over a period of two

years and careful consideration was given to season, time of day and the occurrence of local activities. In this way, the form of the ethnographic interaction was adapted to undertake different approaches than full immersion, as described in the following sections.

Access

Prior to undertaking the field work, representative local organisations including Parish/Town Councils and other local groups were emailed and invited to contribute to the research. A list was compiled using NGET stakeholder engagement reports publicly available on the NWCC website. In addition, other stakeholder and representative groups were identified through the Local Planning Authorities and from the Statement of Community Consultation prepared for the related Moorside Project. The email process yielded a very low response rate and a change in approach was needed to build contacts and trust in participants. Successful access was achieved by attending social groups and events in each of the selected village study areas. Personal contacts were generated by having a physical presence at meetings or events where conversations could be initiated. This included educational meetings such as U3A and area or village-based events such as exhibitions and agricultural shows. Other contacts were made through local employers, particularly where the employer was a key factor in the economic capital of a town or village. Once contact had been made with one of the Parish Councils, it was possible to place a news item in the village newsletter which yielded a positive outcome. In another village, a Parish Councillor agreed to introduce the research at the start of an open meeting.

Having created an initial list of individual participants, there was a small degree of snowballing where other individuals, known to the participants, were introduced to the research project however this was carefully limited to ensure a broad range of views and to avoid the over representation of similar opinions from socially constructed groups in specific locations.

The use of Field Notes and auto-ethnography

Field notes were initially taken as a record of observations and conversations where it was not possible to use a recording device. The recording of field notes was either a covert or an overt process depending on the circumstances of the

interaction. The resulting field diary was used as an aide memoire with extracts used as vignettes in the empirical chapters.

I have previously discussed my positionality in section 3.2.1 and the field diary also became an important source of thoughts and observations. Ideas were noted, particularly after events, and revisited as prompts in the pursuit of evidence for early assumptions and hypotheses. The notes were also helpful in capturing the sense of place in the events that I attended. This perspective on recognising one's own experience is recognised by Bourdieu as being beneficial to research as long as it is carefully controlled, that is to say, not over interpreted or exaggerated:

> *"Nothing is more false, in my view, than the maxim almost universally accepted in the social sciences according to which the researcher must put nothing of himself into his research (Bourdieu 1996). He should on the contrary refer continually to his own experience but not, as is too often the case, even among the best researchers, in a guilty, unconscious, or uncontrolled manner" (Bourdieu, 2003:287)*

Overt versus covert research methods

In order to build honest and open dialogue, the majority of the research was conducted overtly and the ethics approved information sheet was openly displayed and distributed. However, at some of the formal consultation events associated with the NWCC case study, I moved from a role as an "*open*" observer to become a "*disguised*" observer mingling with the public in the second and third round of consultation events (Bryman, 2012:433). The purpose of disguised observation was to observe the interaction between the public and the actors undertaking the events. Publics attending consultation events were initially regarded as being likely to be engaged and it was assumed that they would fall outside the scope of this research. However, this eventually proved to be a false hypothesis, as evidenced by the research and described in Chapter 5. Covert attendance at the events as a participant and process observer also allowed for greater reflexivity on my first impressions of the events. I captured my observations, and reflections on the events, through covert note taking using my field diary. Observing, taking notes and drawing diagrams of room layouts allowed for a greater degree of reflexivity after the event.

Participant observation

"Nothing is stranger than this business of humans observing other humans in order to write about them" (Behar, 1996:5)

Participant observation was used as an early stage method of familiarisation within the study area by spending time observing day-to-day activities. Data was collected through participant observation on different days of the week, including market days, and at different times of day. Everyday venues were selected including supermarkets with seating, coffee shops, public houses, local shops, outdoor sitting areas, food banks, and both internal and external markets. In these locations, I was frequently *outside* the activity of interaction and was observing rather than participating in the activity or being immersed in the community but, where possible, I initiated informal conversations with shopkeepers and members of the public. As previously described, I was able to capture these observations of day-to-day activities through note taking in my field diary.

The opportunity for contact locations was influenced by the layout and size of each settlement. A large village or small nuclear town such as Wigton provided greater opportunities for sedentary interactions and informal conversations than a linear village, such as Kirkby–in-Furness which comprises several distinct former hamlets and has limited opportunities for interaction outside local groups and events. It became apparent that other forms of ethnography would be required in the smaller villages to create opportunities for richer data collection.

Event ethnography

The forms of ethnography were subsequently adapted to suit the individual characteristics of the case study settlements and event ethnography was used to generate opportunities for discourse in the more rural settlements where participant observation was not possible due to a lack of shops, sitting areas or local events such as markets. Small events included weekly markets and local exhibitions and attending local interest group meetings such as U3A where I was introduced at the start of the meeting and able to carry out overt observation. Larger public events were also attended including agricultural shows, organised walks and planning consultation events for both NWCC and the proposed Moorside Nuclear Power Station. In each of these events I conducted the research as a "*participating observer*" (Bryman, 2012:442) with my level of involvement ranging from shopping at local markets through to actively taking

part in organised walks and other events. I was invited to take part in the Gosforth Agricultural Show in successive years through a conversation at a U3A meeting in Gosforth. I was advised to book a place in the Local History Tent which is the annual focus of farming family activity. Image 3.5 shows my display in 2017 which was developed following my experience at the show in 2016. Having a visible display at the show prompted spontaneous interactions with local farmers that would not have been otherwise possible.

Image 3.5: Participant recruitment at Gosforth Agricultural Show (2017). Source: Author's own photograph

My display also incorporated items that acted as ice-breakers including historic maps of the route, photographs and bowls of sweets. This was effective in drawing attention and the majority of passer's–by either exchanged a brief greeting or stayed to talk.

The On-site Ethnographic 'Interview', conversation or exchange

It has been argued that participant observation should not separate its subjective and objective components but should be approached as a way of developing intersubjective understandings between an interviewee and their subject (Crapanzano, 1986; Dwyer, 1977; Spencer, 1989; Tedlock, 1991; cited in Crang and Cook, 2007). Using event ethnography as a method allows the researcher to engage with participants in a shared event or experience without necessarily being part of a community.

The events selected for the research were place based but attracted attendees from a wider catchment area of up to 30 miles distant. It soon became apparent that there was a high degree of suspicion concerning my motives for conducting research in Cumbria combined with the fact that I was not perceived as local. My Lancashire accent was an important factor in acceptance and I was quickly identified in the majority of conversations as being *northern* although not Cumbrian following direct questions about my place of birth. In order to build rapport, I used my third generation family history of connections with Cumbria where this was necessary to engage people in conversation as evidenced by Bell (2016). I also spent half of each week resident within the County during data collection and was able to demonstrate an acquired knowledge of colloquial terms, local place names and their correct pronunciation. This overt personal approach to engaging participants was effective in being accepted as an observer.

Photography

Bourdieu frequently used photographs as visual representations of social spaces, most notably in his time spent in Algeria where he recorded cultural practices to illustrate how social space was structured in that time and place. The photographs were viewed from different perspectives in that they considered how the subject of the photograph related to their environment and also the position of the photographer taking the image. The images also focussed on the people who were the subject of the photograph in analysing their relationship to each other and to the place they were in (Hardy, 2008; cited in Grenfell, 2012).

In this research, I used photography as a spontaneous response to recording events or as an aide memoire for the research. Care had to be taken to ensure that individuals were not photographed without their knowledge, or identifiable from any images, in accordance with the University of Exeter ethics approval.

My photography was used for more than one purpose. Firstly, it was used as a record of the physical appearance of the community infrastructure in locations selected for detailed study including public spaces where people gather; secondly, it was used to record locations highlighted by participants; and thirdly, it was used to record the context of events. The use of photography at events is helpful in capturing a moment in time which can later assist in the recall of events as set out in the field notes. This is in keeping with Bourdieu's own approach to

photography which allowed him to step back and reflect on the images following the completion of field work (Sweetman, 2009)

Some photos were taken of views in which participants had invested meaning and this enabled me to reflect upon aspects of their sense of place which could not be captured in an interview (Crang and Cook, 2007). This was the result of short walking interviews which will be discussed in more detail in the next section of this chapter.

As a visual method, photographs were also helpful as a record of areas that were difficult to verbalise, including events and ways of being in the social environment of the agricultural show. Photography has also been suggested as a way of uncovering habitus as the embodiment of social structure (Sweetman, 2009).

Selected external sources of photography have been used as a record of events attended, either with the permission of the copyright holders or in accordance with academic usage guidelines. External image sources have included participants own images and images copied from news media.

For the purposes of analysis, all photographs were uploaded into the NVivo project and notes were attached to the files via memos. Photographs were primarily used as a means of remembering locations and events and were not coded.

Qualitative semi-structured interviewing

Twelve semi-structured interviews were conducted in person across the three case study areas. Eleven of the interviews were recorded and transcribed. A twelfth interview comprised the same format but was not recorded at the request of the participant and a thirteenth interview was conducted by telephone with notes taken. The interviewees were recruited via Parish Council committee members in each of the study area sites (4), a local employer (1), local societies (1), advertisements in separate Parish Newsletters (2), direct approach to a NGO (1), snowballing (2) and personal encounters through on-site ethnography (2). The aim was to achieve a minimum of three interviews per town/village which would be supplemented by informal conversations with those who did not wish to take part in an interview.

The purpose of undertaking semi-structured interviews was to guide the topic content of the interview whilst allowing for freedom to slightly vary the questions

or ask supplementary questions (Bryman, 2012), as set out on the interview question sheet which is contained in Appendix 7. Each interview was divided into two parts with the questions relating to the two strands of empirical work discussed in chapters 4 to 6. The first part of the interview established the background to the research by exploring the habitus of the interviewees and their communities. The questions centred upon the characteristics of their home village, their perceptions of social capital and any negative aspects of their village. The participants place awareness was also explored, particularly in relation to their attachment to place and awareness of existing electrical infrastructure which formed a link to the remaining questions in part 2 of the interview.

The second half of the interview was focussed on interaction with, or disengagement from, the NWCC project and it directly concerned the respondent's experience of, and reactions to, the Case Study. All of the interviews were conducted face-to-face in the homes of the interviewees and permission was given for all but one of the interviews to be recorded for later transcription. Physical places of personal importance were mentioned during the course of the interviews and three of the interviewees also initiated short walks after the interview to show, as well as describe, the importance of place in their lived experience (Rishbeth, 2014).

The walking interviews were not audio recorded for practical reasons, related to elevation and prevailing windy weather conditions, and photography played an important part in capturing individual experiences as well as assisting in note-taking. Each of the walking interviews also captured aspects of the individual habitus and experience in place that could be witnessed rather than captured through an interview at the participant's home (Rishbeth, 2014; Sweetman, 2009).

Three of the twelve interviews followed a broader structure which was instigated by the participant requesting the interview questions to be emailed in advance. These interviews were more loosely themed and structured but largely uninterrupted by the interviewer which allowed the interviewees to run with their own perspective on the topics. These requests for advance information were received from two Parish Councillors and one individual. In each case, the interviewee used the interview to create a looser narrative account of their

experience of the NWCC consultation process loosely structured around the questions (Bazeley, 2013).

This was a benefit of using a semi-structured interview format which allowed for individual inputs to the process and the opportunity to pursue other strands of thought that arose. By asking supplementary questions, I ensured that the content of the narrative included all of the questions that would be required to subsequently code these interviews in the same way as the question and response format of the remaining semi-structured interviews.

The three accounts were given by highly engaged individuals with a particular interest in the outcome of the consultation process and in portraying how they engaged with the power relations of the process as an active participant. This offered insights into personal distinction and the embodied capital of the individual (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

Secondary Data

Secondary data was collected to provide context to the research and to inform my initial desk study. The purpose of collecting secondary data was also to triangulate the emerging themes from the interviews. The following sources of secondary data were investigated:

Source	Content	Data search
Parish and Town Council minutes	The documents retrieved from Town and Parish Council websites were restricted to meeting minutes that were available online for the period 2014 – 2017 which covered the NWCC consultation period.	Searched for references to: - the NWCC project - Community engagement - Major infrastructure
Local media	County-wide newspapers: - Cumberland News, - Westmorland Gazette, - Cumberland and Westmorland Herald Local newspapers: - Whitehaven News, - News and Star, - The Mail (North West Evening Mail), - Times and Star	Documents searched using key words: - 'pylons', - 'electrical infrastructure', - 'public consultation' - 'North West Coast Connections'. 147 separate articles were downloaded for the period 2009-2017

Objection letters and representations	Online sources: - Local stakeholder groups - Protest groups - Village websites, and - obtained direct from interested individuals contacted throughout the research.	Uploaded into the NVivo project and coded. The documents were analysed separately to enable triangulation of the themes from the semi-structured interview.
Best practice guidance	Best practice guidance (grey literature): - PINS (NSIP specific) - Guidance note 8.1 and 8.3 (PINS, 2012a and b) - NGET policy documents.	Used to inform background context.
	Other grey literature from professional bodies: - the Consultation Institute - Royal Town Planning Institute - Institute of Environmental Management and Assessment	Used to inform background context.
NWCC Consultation documents	Downloaded from the project website: - Consultation Strategy, 2014 - Consultation Strategy, 2016) - Statement of Community Consultation (2014). - Stakeholder Reference Group (SRG) minutes Hard copies of public documents and collected from NGET consultation events: - Map booklet 2016/17 - Overview of feedback 2015 - Navigation booklet 2016/7 - Project News 2015 and 2016 - Information booklet: Formal consultation 2016/17 - Statement of Community Consultation 2016/17 - Consultation feedback form - FAQs - Magnetic fields 2013 www.northwestcoastconnections.com	Used to inform the context of the interviews and project events. During the period 2014-2017. Note: the information was removed from the website after the project was put on hold in 2017.
Moorside new nuclear power station.	Downloaded from the project website: Consultation Strategy Statement of Community Consultation due to the direct link between the NPS and NWCC. Moorside Stage 2 feedback form 2016 Documents received at events: - Memory stick	Used to understand the contextual relationship between the two projects and the different approaches to consultation.

Table 3.2: Summary of secondary data

3.4 Making sense of the data

As described in section 3.2, a wide range of data was collected from a diversity of different sources and it was therefore necessary to use qualitative data analysis software to store, manage and code the materials.

Thematic analysis was selected as the method of analysis due to its accessibility and theoretically flexible approach to analysis which could be used with a case study research design (Braun and Clarke, 2006). I had considered using content analysis due to the diversity of data that I collected including photographs and newspaper articles. However, having tested this method of analysis on a sample of words and word patterns from the interviews, I found that this method would be less effective than thematic analysis in my case study.

Thematic analysis can be used as a process in other qualitative methods of analysis but, in this case study, I used thematic analysis as a method in its own right for identifying, analysing, organising and describing themes, primarily within my interview data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006: Nowell *et al.,* 2017). It was selected as being a suitable method for examining the perspectives of the interviewees and other participants, identifying similarities and differences, and generating some unexpected insights into disengagement in the case study.

The process of thematic analysis is not as well documented as other qualitative methods and I primarily referenced three sources comprising Guba and Lincoln (1989), Braun and Clarke (2006) and Nowell *et al.* (2017).

3.4.1 Coding and analysis

Coding was initially used as a method of familiarization with the data and for organising the various sources, including interview transcripts and the field diary, into a form that could be used for analysis.

The semi-structured interviews were transcribed as word documents and uploaded to NVivo. The use of NVivo also permitted the uploading of all of the other qualitative data including pdfs, photographs and scanned documents, including my field diary. The main purpose of using the software was to provide a central repository which could be used to store and manage the mixed methods of data collection. Organising the data in this way, helped to provide consistency in coding across the interview data content and the local representations drawn from the secondary data.

The data sets were coded in separate batches to enable triangulation of the emerging themes. There were two batches of primary data comprising the semi-structured interviews and the informal conversations gathered through ethnography. The secondary data comprised the sources listed in table 3.2 such as Parish Council minutes, the grey literature from the NWCC and Moorside projects, and the letters of objection from local residents/stakeholders.

The first cycle of coding used three approaches to generating codes. Each code was a word or short phrase which assigned an "*essence-capturing*" attribute for portions of the text (Saldaña, 2016:4). The codes were generated in three stages, firstly, a series of conceptual codes were identified which directly related to the Bourdieusian toolkit that had emerged from the Literature Review. The second series of thematic codes was created after the interviews, but prior to the first cycle of coding, by identifying a series of emerging themes such as *belonging* and *place change*. The third tranche of codes were inductive, allowing new codes to emerge from the content of the raw data during the coding process. Inductive codes were created specifically to capture these perceptions of process driven consultation which was subsequently developed into an overarching theme which will be discussed in the empirical chapter 4.

At the end of the first cycle, the codes were refined prior to carrying out the second cycle and this was an opportunity to split large, unclear codes. Some of the preliminary theoretical concepts to which material was coded included habitus and forms of capital. However, the coding of material to the concept of habitus was initially problematic and the coded data was subsequently refined into a series of child nodes by using Bourdieu's definition of the concept.

> *"a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organise practices and representations"* (Bourdieu, 1977).

In this way, coding of identifiable components of habitus, such as structuring structures and durability, could be identified frequently overlapping within the text, such that a phrase or sentence could be coded under multiple child nodes. Care had to be taken to avoid breaking down the concept, as criticized in section 2.2.3 of the Literature Review, and the data in the child notes was not investigated in isolation but rather as part of the whole concept by means of node memos within the software (Grenfell, 2012). Other overarching nodes with high volumes of data, such as *disengagement*, were separated into a series of more specific phrases

with definitions again attached as node memos. A total of seventy codes were identified from the coding process in Nvivo and a code book was generated through the software to set out the definitions and properties of each of the codes/nodes.

The second cycle of coding ensured that all of the data sources had been consistently coded against the final hierarchical code book which grouped the related nodes under an upper tier of overarching themes. The code book is included at Appendix 8. A series of preliminary over-arching themes was identified by grouping the codes, including the child nodes, according to content and common meaning. Each of the themes was an outcome of "*coding, categorization and analytic reflection*" (Saldaña, 2016: 13). By initially grouping the codes into these 12 overarching themes, it became easier to explore the relationships between codes and nodes.

Following the second cycle, a matrix coding query was run against the textual data sources to identify emerging patterns in the distribution of the codes, for example, clusters of related codes appearing to be connected to geographical locations. The matrix also enabled a preliminary investigation into the patterns of association between one group of codes and another (Bazeley, 2013). The matrix coding query for the semi-structured interviews is included at Appendix 9. The data was also interrogated to identify words and expressions that were repeated with particular phrases recorded *in vivo* in the coded material.

Once the data had been coded, it was sorted and collated into themes with a theme being defined as *"an abstract entity that brings meaning and identity to a recurrent experience and its variant manifestations"* (DeSantis and Ugarriza, 2000:362). Having organised the data through coding in Nvivo software, the material collected under each code was printed as a hard copy and separated into separate items of text that were sorted manually into groups to identify emerging themes. This resulted in some of the early inductive codes being identified as underlying themes, woven through the data, rather than as overarching themes. One example of this sorting process included the data that was initially coded to *north-south divide* and which was subsequently split into individual text items which informed different aspects of all three empirical chapters.

The primary data comprising interviews and conversations was used to explore patterns across the data in search of common themes across multiple participants. Depending on the background of the participant, this also allowed the data to represent different dimensions of the emerging themes. This enabled me to capture different aspects of themes that participants talked about frequently.

Memos were drafted for each of the emerging themes and the relationships between these themes were also identified through the use of spider diagrams. In this way, the original codes could be re-categorised to bring out the themes and implications of the materials (Crang, 2005). Each of the themes was therefore documented through data from different sources and, in this way, gaps and the absence of expected themes, which had previously been identified through the Literature Review, were made evident from the interviews, (Bourdieu, 1984; cited in Crang, 2005).

The primary data sources were the interviews and supplementary conversations. The secondary data sources were analysed separately to deepen my understanding of the themes, emerging from the data, from different perspectives and to enable triangulation. Themes were mainly generated inductively but some themes were also generated deductively from theory and existing research by others on the NSIPs research project (UCL, 2017). The themes of process driven consultation and symbolic violence were generated inductively from the raw data but each of these themes was also informed either by prior research or theory. The reference to process driven consultation was specifically mentioned in the interviews and was data driven whereas symbolic violence was drawn directly from the literature review.

Weaving it all together

I used a checklist adapted from the Consolidated Criteria for Reporting Qualitative Research (COREQ) reporting guidelines to ensure completeness and transparency in my data collection and analysis (Tong *et al.,* 2007). In order to fulfil the requirement for trustworthiness, I used the "*widely accepted, and easily recognised criteria*" introduced by Guba and Lincoln in 1985 (Nowell et al., 2017:3). The credibility of my analysis was established through data collection triangulation using secondary data to verify the emerging themes. I was mindful of the potential for transferability of the findings and ensured that I provided thick

descriptions so that I, and others, would be able to judge the transferability of the findings for other scenarios (Guba and Lincoln, 1989). In order to facilitate this process in the future, I have kept secure records of all raw data, field notes and transcripts as well as a reflexive handwritten field journal which has been cross referenced to the interviews, conversations and ethnographic events. I will offer some thoughts as to the transferability of the findings in Chapter 7.

In terms of dependability, the process was clearly documented through the use of data management software, within an NVivo project, and manually constructed thematic analysis tables following coding.

The Bourdieusian structure

Having completed the preliminary analysis of the data, I used a Bourdieusian approach to structuring the coded and themed materials to "*obtain a picture of how the real world is constituted*" in the context of my case study (Grenfell, 2012:214). This sought to combine my empirical investigation with a theoretical explanation of the nature and extent of my participants understanding of, and participation in, the structuring of part of their social world. In common with a Bourdieusian approach, my research began with a practice based research question in the form of a real-world problem emerging from the practice of engaging the public in consultation for major infrastructure. Having collected the data, I sought to use it to analyse the overarching theme of disengagement in an attempt to "*rupture*" pre-constructed notions around public engagement by elucidating a topic that is "*poorly understood*" (Grenfell, 2012:214). In this way, I initially sought to identify and understand the structures that operated to exclude certain groups from public engagement and, in so doing, it has emerged that engagement and disengagement do not exist as individual constructs but rather as extremes in the diversities of engagement whilst disengagement is often misrecognised in practice.

In order to evidence these findings, I have used a broad interpretation of Bourdieu's methodological approach, originally developed for statistical analysis, but subsequently applied more widely and presented in my research as a method of analysing and presenting qualitative data (Grenfell, 2012). Bourdieu's approach can be described in 3 levels:-

1. Analyse the position of the field vis-à-vis the field of power;

2. Map out the objective structure of relations between the positions occupied by agents who compete for the legitimate forms of specific authority of which the field is a site;

3. Analyse the habitus of agents; the systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalising a deterministic type of social and economic position.

(Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:104-7; cited in Grenfell, 2012)

For the purposes of field study, the Bourdieusian approach is to commence with data collection and interpretation at level 3 and to gradually construct the field of power, through the relations of its actors, to arrive at level 1. Bourdieu's intent was to construct a "*model of the social space*" which accounted for the "*set of practices*" found there (Grenfell, 2012:217). I have applied this approach to consider the space around the NWCC public consultation process but with regard for the external and overlapping social spaces that have indirectly influenced practices in the field. In my case study, the dominant actors have "*an interest in preserving the status quo and social space*" of the public consultation process, as constructed through the planning policy framework (Grenfell, 2012:219). However, by investigating other fields, as social spaces and communities of practices external to the consultation process, I have sought to develop a deeper understanding of the sets of relations at play in the case study area.

3.5 Typologies as method: creating a typology as a thinking tool

A key theme of my research has been to develop a deeper understanding of diversities of engagement, including disengagement, as emerging from my coded data. In order to structure these diversities of engagement and understand the *characteristics of* and *relationships between* the emerging types, I initially investigated ways of framing the coded data through existing typologies that have emerged from the fields of planning and health but with a focus on those directly applicable to public consultation.

In the Literature Review I have discussed the emergence of typologies such as the Ladder of Participation (Arnstein, 1969). For my purposes, the key feature of the Ladder of Participation, is that Arnstein focusses on the publics who are *engaged in* a process with an analysis of the degree to which they are heard and have varying degrees of power to participate. Despite Arnstein's (1969) suggestion that her typology was fully transferable to a range of other scenarios,

there is limited attention given to the category of *non-participation*. Although not specifically referencing disengaged or hard-to-reach publics, Arnstein (1969) identified some of the barriers to participation which included the potential inadequacy of the public's knowledge base and the lack of social capital experienced by the *have nots*.

Subsequent versions of typologies and Models of Participation have also been discussed in the Literature Review. Many have expanded upon ideas of *manipulative* and *passive* participation but without considering disengaged or hard-to-reach groups other than in terms of lack of knowledge capital or poor communication (Davidson, 1998; Pretty, 1995). Current tools of engagement generally take a normative stance and deal with the extent to which publics will be enabled to participate (Capire, 2015; IAP2, 2014) but there still remains a gap in the overall recognition of disengaged and non-participating publics.

There were some aspects of these existing typologies, tools and toolkits that were helpful in establishing the degree to which the public can input into a process but the majority were designed to focus predominantly on the actors who are engaged and therefore most likely to participate. The primary gap appeared to be in understanding and classifying the actors and communities who do not choose, or are unable, to engage. Although recent models, such as *Britain Talks Climate,* have attempted to acknowledge the presence of both engagement and disengagement in the public, and to address the approaches required to engage with those groups who are perceived as harder to reach (Wang *et al.*, 2020).

In the absence of an existing typology or tool that was able to respond to the full diversity of engagement emerging from my data, I developed a new typology as a thinking tool and it became apparent that it would be helpful not only in the data analysis stage of my research, but would also enable me to frame the diversities of engagement in my empirical chapters. Unlike the typologies and models that have preceded it, my typology moves away from the binary of engagement and disengagement and recognises that there are diversities of engagement, frequently with fuzzy boundaries. The typology is referenced throughout the empirical chapters 4, 5 and 6 and is located in full in chapter 7, as table 7.1.

3.6 Summary

In summary, this chapter has described how I have used ethnography, informal conversations and semi-structured interviews in an effort to capture the subjective public emotions, perceptions of power relations and experiences which can be misrecognised as part of a formal consultation process (Bourdieu, 1977). I have also collected secondary data for the purposes of triangulation of the emerging themes.

The advantage of using observational methods has been my ability to include multi-sited, multi-vocal and multi-layered approaches. Each of the Case Study sites has unique characteristics and the ethnographic methods have captured local characteristics including perceptions of a higher level of engagement in Gosforth, and evidence of a local history of disengagement which is characteristic of Wigton as reported in secondary data from both the Town Council minutes and the Town Plan consultation. This will be discussed in detail in the following empirical chapters 4, 5 and 6 which respond to the research questions as set out in chapter 1, section 1.4.3. The data used to inform each chapter is detailed in Table 3.3, and the full schedule of participants can be found in Appendix 4.

Chapter 4	
Primary data sources	
Semi-structured interviews	Parish Councillors – Bill, Mark, Robert, Tim
	NGO – Pam
	Others – Tom, Alan
Conversations	Dan, Frank, George, Paul, Bob
Secondary data sources	
Media – newspapers	The Mail (local to Duddon, Furness and Barrow)
Parish Council minutes	Beckermet PC, Gosforth PC, Wigton TC
Grey literature	Planning Act 2008 NWCC PINS
Objection letters	Paul, KPG, PwP
Chapter 5	
Primary data sources	
Semi-structured interviews	Borough councillor – Richard
	Parish Councillors – Bill, Mark, Tim, Robert
	NGO – Pam
	Others – Eric, Gail, Jenny, Alan, George, Tom

Conversations	Maggie, Tony, Susan, Jack, Nick, Lisa, Bob & Joan, Paul
Secondary data sources	
Media	Media reports of historic applications including Drigg
Grey literature	PINS NWCC Moorside consultation strategy, Nirex public enquiry inspector's report, Drigg application
Chapter 6	
Primary data sources	
Semi-structured interviews	Parish Councillors – Bill, Mark, Tim, Joe
	NGO – Pam
	Others – Eric, Gail, Jenny, Alan, George, Tom
Conversations	Barbara, Mary, Maggie, Tony, Susan, Jack, Nick, Janet, Kim, Linda, Geoff
Secondary data sources	
Media	BBC news
Grey literature	Planning Act 2008 Localism Act 2011 PINS Planning for a sustainable future white paper (2007) NWCC NWDA Energy coast Wigton Town Plan questionnaire
Objection letters	KPG, PwP
Protest group literature	FLD, PwP, KPG, No Pylons

Table 3.3: Data sources for the empirical chapters

The order of Bourdieu's three level approach has been the subject of discussion regarding the potential for commencement at either level one or level three but it is understood that Bourdieu himself would commence his field work at level 3 (Grenfell, 2012). For the purposes of this research, Bourdieu's three level structure has also informed the way in which I carried out my field work by commencing with level three, but the conceptual focus for each level has been adapted to suit the case study. Whilst acknowledging that the Bourdieusian approach to *field work* commences with level 3 and builds up to an overall understanding of the field in level 1, the order has been reversed for the drafting and presentation of the empirical chapters to commence with an overview of the power relations in the field in chapter 4 before focussing in on the detail in the subsequent chapters and introducing an additional component of place. The empirical chapters are therefore structured as follows.

Chapter 4 will broadly discuss level 1 of the field analysis framework where the field comprises the consultation process for the NWCC project. This includes both physical places, social and digital spaces which are bounded by planning policy and guidance. The emphasis is on the actors' positions and interactions within the field based on the symbolic capital that they bring but with a particular emphasis on a cultural capital approach. This chapter focusses on the overall power relations in the field as apparent from the interactions between the actors and engaged publics and examines how this can give rise to disengagement.

Chapter 5 presents and discusses the findings of level 2 of the field analysis framework. The relations between the positions occupied by actors are examined through a lens of symbolic violence as apparent from the overarching forms of domination that are identified in chapter 4 as being evident in the NWCC case study area. This chapter also draws on evidence from overlapping fields including the residual effects of the perceived local history of *being done to* and includes the consultation process for the proposed Moorside Nuclear Power Station.

Finally, Chapter 6 examines level 3 of the field analysis framework but with the addition of a novel approach of incorporating a place based component. The habitus of actors is investigated to understand local dispositions and how these determine position-taking on individual, and community, engagement with public consultation processes at a local scale. Bourdieu's Level 3 methodology only partly informs Chapter 6, due to the addition of a *place* component. Although habitus is helpful as a concept, the chapter investigates whether the introduction of a parallel place-based approach can bring an added dimension that habitus alone has been unable to capture.

Chapter 4: Engaging with power: investigating the public consultation process for the proposed NWCC overhead powerline

4.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises a critique of the public consultation process for the NWCC project from the perspectives of those who engaged with the process. The aim of the chapter is to examine what can be learnt from these actively engaged publics to inform our understanding of why other publics are disengaged from the process and the chapter responds to research question 1:

> *What are the public's perceptions of the pre-application consultation process for NSIPs based on the evidence emerging from the case study?*

The public consultation process for a NSIP is an arena within which tensions and power relations potentially arise and are played out between the actors and publics. This chapter uses the Bourdieusian concept of the *field* to investigate the socially constructed, formal process of public consultation for a proposed overhead power line using fixed temporal limits within the study area of West Cumbria. The use of the concept of the *field* allows the limits of the study to be clearly defined as the pre-application phase of the NSIP process where the power relations at play between NGET and the public can be analysed and understood.

The chapter, and chapters 5 and 6 which follow, draws from, and examines, a range of primary and secondary qualitative data comprising archive literature and media data from the first round of roadshow events in 2014 and empirical data from interviews and observation conducted during the second and third rounds of consultation in 2015 and 2016. The interview data was coded in NVivo through inductive thematic analysis which was then sorted through a matrix coding query in which I used higher order codes to organise the data according to settlement. The emerging themes were triangulated using data from multiple sources including ethnography, participant observation, semi-structured interviews, archive materials and a media search.

This chapter comprises three sections. Following this introduction, Section 4.2 investigates the NWCC process driven consultation, through the lens of the policy structure as it constitutes the field, and examines the stakeholder's perspective

on the effectiveness of the formal process through interview data. Section 4.3 deals with powerful publics, those who are actively engaged with the process, who engage with *playing the game,* or *illusio,* and use distinction as informed by their collective and individual forms of symbolic capital as evidenced in the interviews. Section 4.4 then considers what we can learn from the experience of the powerful publics, about how process driven consultation can give rise to public disengagement through domination and public disempowerment informed by reflections from sections 4.2 and 4.3.

Section 4.5 is the conclusion which summarises the interpretation of the findings, with regard to public engagement with the NWCC in the study area, and discusses the emergence of themes of local disengagement arising from power relations and symbolic violence.

4.2 The NWCC process driven consultation

The NWCC pre-application consultation process investigated in this chapter was carried out in order to meet the requirements of the statutory process for submitting an application for a DCO for a Nationally Significant Infrastructure Project (NSIP). This section of the chapter examines the policy background to the public consultation requirements of the process, how this was delivered by the developer (National Grid) and how it was perceived by the stakeholders. A combination of documentary analysis and analysis of the interview data was used to summarise the policy background to the NSIP process and consider the stakeholder's perceptions of that process.

The policy context

In this case study, National Grid as the TSO was the applicant responsible for the NSIP and therefore had a statutory duty to carry out consultation on the proposals including public engagement. The consultation was required to be carried out at the pre-application stage of the project, before it was submitted to PINS for Examination. PINS' advice to the public states that:

> *"Responding to an applicant's Pre-application consultation is the best time to influence a project, whether you agree with it, disagree with it, or believe it could be improved." (PINS, 2017)*

At Stage 3 of the Public Consultation process in 2016/17, PINS was not yet part of the process and all pre-application dialogue was conducted between National

Grid and the public via a series of events and methods to secure the acceptance of the Secretary of State when the application was submitted to the Planning Inspectorate through the DCO process. According to PINS, *"The Pre-application consultation process is crucial to the effectiveness of the major infrastructure consenting regime."* The thoroughness of the process can *"give the Secretary of State confidence that issues that may arise during the statutory six month Examination stage have been identified, considered, and as far as possible/necessary, been addressed."* This confirms that National Grid, as the applicant, had *"a statutory duty to take account of any relevant responses received in the prescribed consultation period"* (PINS, 2017).

The process of consultation is set out in Section 47 of the Planning Act, 2008, and firstly required National Grid to prepare a document, the Statement of Community Consultation (SoCC), which set out how they would consult with the local community. According to PINS:

> *"An applicant must make its SoCC available for inspection by the public in a way that is reasonably convenient for people living in the vicinity of the land where the Proposed Development would be located. It must then conduct its consultation in line with the SoCC."* (PINS, 2017)

National Grid's Consultation Strategy and Consultation Report were made available via the project website at the start of the pre-application consultation process which ran between 2014 and early 2017. There were three opportunities for the public to engage with the consultation process through a series of structured *roadshow* events. The first of the roadshows presented a series of route options, the second roadshow focussed on information sharing from NGET to the public, and the third roadshow presented the preferred route option with detailed information including a computer generated fly-through and detailed construction plans. The third roadshow in 2016/7 represented the public's final opportunity to comment and give feedback on the proposals before a DCO application was to be submitted. I attended a series of roadshow events in 2015, 2016 and 2017 where I undertook both overt and covert participant observation.

Stakeholder perceptions of the consultation process

In my research, a stakeholder is defined as an individual, group or organization that is impacted by the outcome of the NWCC project, also referred to as "*an interested party*" (Rydin *et al.*, 2018a:569). This section focusses primarily on

interviews with stakeholders comprising four Parish Councillors and the Policy Officer of an environmental charity, gathered between 2015 and 2017, all the Parish Councillors had engaged with the consultation process by attending roadshows and submitting online feedback to NGET.

All of the participants suggested that the process was perceived, by them, as a *tick box exercise* to meet the policy requirements. For example, Bill attended all of the consultation roadshows held in his village and said that:

> *"it all boils down to the fact that when … they put their DCO in, they will be able to say 'we have conducted the number of consultations that we said we would"*

The consultation roadshows relied upon the public being sufficiently motivated to attend these events and provide feedback but Bill suggested that the purpose of the event was either tokenistic or strategic and instrumental in seeking a desired outcome (Hillier, 2003; Natarajan *et al.*, 2019; Rowe and Frewer, 2005; Rydin, 2020). As a Parish Councillor living in the village of Beckermet, he had read both the PINS guidance and the SoCC and concluded that the consultation would be carried out strictly in accordance with the commitments made in the SoCC. Bill's opinion of the process was that it is an instrumental approach to public consultation in order to achieve a specified goal (Rowe and Frewer, 2005). Bill's opinion was supported by Tim, a Parish Councillor in the south of the case study area who stated that:

> *"It's not a conversation. Never has been, never been set up that way, it's been set up to deliver an outcome which says National Grid have followed the guidelines set out by (a) the legislation and (b) by the guidance of PINS and it becomes a tick in the box 'yes, we've done that"*

Tim referred to the instrumental purpose of the process as not being a conversation but rather a method of ensuring delivery of a predetermined outcome (Natarajan *et al.*, 2019; Rowe and Frewer, 2004, 2005; Rydin, 2020). The information was delivered as a one-way flow and could be more accurately described as "*public communication*" rather than public engagement (Arnstein, 1969; Rowe and Frewer, 2005:254). Tim's choice of the word *conversation* reflected an emerging trend in public engagement to use the term *Conversation* rather than *Consultation* implying a two-way exchange of information or views (Rowe and Frewer, 2005). However, Tim also said that *'they used the process to*

avoid the conversation" reinforcing his opinion that the process was instrumental rather than substantive. He went on to clarify his opinion:

> *"they've turned it into a process so that what was meant to be the principle of a conversation's become a conversation around a process and that's what's been lost. In looking back, every time you try to engage with them, discuss anything with them, or get any answers from them, you know, it became a process"*

Tim was suggesting that the process of consultation is not an empowering arena but rather a stage managed process with defined parameters of what is open for debate (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2011; Groves *et al.*, 2013). His observations confirmed that he was actively engaged with the process and had attempted to engage with the actors through asking questions and having two-way conversations but he expressed frustration at the way in which the statutory process was structured to exclude external forms of dialogue or engagement (Ashworth, 2016). This can also be described as a form of *black boxing* where debate is avoided or ended by withholding details from the conversation (Rydin *et al.*, 2018b). Tim's use of the words *they* and *them* referred not only to National Grid as the applicant but also to the intermediaries facilitating the consultation events (Devine-Wright, 2012). Tim explained his personal observation that:

> *"the consultation process that we have in this country now is so, sort of, professionalised and so hi-jacked by consultancy companies, that they've become a means to an end and therefore, by their very nature, will always disenfranchise the vast majority of people. That's the problem we face"*

As the Chairperson of a Parish Council, Tim claimed to represent the opinions of his parish residents when he said that the consultation process was organised and implemented by professional consultants who were removed from local issues and who lacked local knowledge and empathy (Ashworth, 2016). Tim suggests that the power shift from the developer is managed by specialist consultants who are experts in managing engagement and shutting down debate in order to achieve the desired outcome, that is, it is a means to an end or a *done deal* (Rydin, 2020). However, it is questionable whether these specialist consultants have agency but the introduction of these independent *experts* to manage the process brings a degree of separation between the public and the developer, and a delegation of power to external actors (Devine-Wright, 2012). This appears to be a mechanism of depoliticising participation through creating distance between the public and political actors.

Tim also said that the consultants were regarded as *outsiders* who were unresponsive to local knowledge and characteristics and did not have the trust of local people (Nooteboom, 2007). This concept of the consultants being *out-of-place* (Cresswell, 1996) can also be understood through the Typology of Stranger Relationships, with the consultants viewed as intruders and the subject of compulsive antagonism by the host community due to the purpose of their visit (Levine, 1977). Tim's description of this *outsiderness* refers to the overall demeanour and lack of engagement of the actors on the project team including the NGET project manager who he suggested "*was on a mission which was very, sort of, clearly process driven. He was seeking to… make sure that his process was done regardless*".

Bill also cited an example of this *outsiderness* which manifested as a lack of engagement at consultation events where the one-way conversation is reversed and the local publics are trying to share knowledge which is not being recognised:

> *"what's bothered us is that, whenever they've had a consultation or whenever you've talked to them, their body language is 'we're not listening', they look absolutely bored….There was… no discussion at all"*

This results in perceptions of unequal power relations where residents and locals perceive that they are not heard, not seen and ignored (Natarajan *et al.*, 2018). Bill and Tim were actively engaged individuals with a high degree of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1990a). They were both previously employed in senior roles at the Sellafield nuclear power plant and had a high degree of embodied cultural capital in the form of formal qualifications and professional experience (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). This was reinforced by the social capital gained from elected positions in their respective Parish Councils and the local social networks that had resulted from their willingness to represent, and speak for, their local communities leading to individual recognition (Alcoff, 1991; Bourdieu, 1992a). In their position as representatives of local voices, they were both critical of the structured, and apparently inflexible process of public consultation, where they were unable to access channels of communication and identified information deficits (Natarajan *et al.*, 2018).

Pam was also regarded by actors, including Parish Councillors who have been interviewed for this research, as a representative voice through her role in a local stakeholder organisation. Unlike Bill and Tim, Pam did not represent a specific community and spoke for the wider area including the Lake District National Park

as both a geographical and physical entity and as a community (Mahony *et al.*, 2010). As an invited attendee at the project SRG meetings, she shared Tim's frustration at the perceived lack of stakeholder opportunity to input to the process and explained that:

> *"SRG meetings generally tend to be a meeting where you're talked at. There's very little opportunity to input"*

Pam suggested that the meetings were a form of one-way communication, with little stakeholder opportunity to input, rather than engagement and she also challenged the stage-managed process of the workshops which were planned and implemented by powerful actors (Rowe and Frewer, 2005):

> *"And going back to the… consultation that National Grid have done with stakeholders again, even the workshops weren't really workshops. It was still … sitting and being told stuff"*

This contradicts the purpose of the planning process as a space within which Pam's views as a stakeholder should have been expressed and represented (Rydin *et al.*, 2018a). This suggests an imbalance in the power relations and Pam's experience can also be understood through the Ladder of Citizen Participation (Arnstein, 1969) as *informing*, the lowest degree of *tokenism* which is located immediately above non-participation. As a stakeholder in the process, Pam was frustrated by her perceptions of her inability to actively participate in the process despite being a policy expert with technical knowledge in landscape based issues (Rowe and Frewer, 2005; Rydin *et al.,* 2018a). Bill and Tim described similar perceptions of tokenism, although higher up the *Ladder* than Pam's experience, through "*consultation*" and/or "*placation*" (Arnstein, 1969: 217). In each example, they were provided with information and given an opportunity to respond but they both questioned whether their inputs would be recognised in the outcome of the decision-making process despite National Grid's *statutory duty to take account of any relevant responses received in the prescribed consultation period* (Natarajan *et al.*, 2018; Rydin *et al.*, 2018a). The decision to indefinitely postpone the DCO following the delay in delivering the Moorside project means that it has not been possible to establish whether the SoCC would have been fully implemented and delivered as part of the decision-making process.

The three interviews have suggested that the consultation process is carefully managed and perceived by stakeholders as a one-way flow of information. The

power to manage this process appears to lie with the developer, NGET, and their intermediaries. This raises questions as to the balance of power relations in the field and the ways in which the public are able to engage.

4.3 Powerful publics

Section 4.2 has examined the stakeholder response to the consultation from the perspective of three actively engaged local actors and their perception of the one-way flow of information and apparently inflexible approach to engagement (Rowe and Frewer, 2005). This section examines the experience of publics who have actively engaged with the consultation process for the NWCC project and assesses the ability of actors to overcome the challenges of process driven consultation.

This section draws upon data collected from interviews and conversations across the study area with specific reference to fourteen individual members of the public who were actively engaged with the consultation process during the research data collection. The fourteen participants include the three stakeholders discussed in section 4.2 but this section represents their individual views rather than their view as a community representative. In seeking to understand how the actively engaged participants were empowered to engage in the field of public consultation, a number of key factors were examined including length of residence, location on the proposed route corridor, employment, habitus and symbolic capital.

The length of residence in West Cumbria varied between the interviewees with four interviewees being regarded as local i.e. a minimum of 3rd generation, seven interviewees had been resident for approximately forty years and the remaining three interviewees were comparatively recent at less than five years. A schedule of participants is contained at Appendix 4.

Section 4.3.1 examines how the interviewees have engaged with the NWCC process and assesses what can be learnt from their experience by analysing their perceptions of the barriers to engagement. I will also investigate the importance of the individual symbolic capital in enabling these engaged publics to challenge the one-way communication and the way in which the consultation process appears to be dominated by the *expert* actors who exercise power in decision-making. Bourdieu refers to this form of active engagement as *practical sense* or

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having "*a feel for the game*" (Bourdieu, 1990a:66) and states that "*Men [sic] are trained to recognise social games in which the stake is some form of domination*" (Bourdieu, 2001a:75). Although Bourdieu suggests that 'playing the game' is frequently an unconscious response of the individual habitus, I will argue that Bourdieu's concept of *playing the Game* can be interpreted in two ways in the case study. Firstly it will be constructed by participants as enacting a *game plan*, a tacitly agreed and socially constructed method of engagement in response to the formal process of public consultation for the NWCC project. Secondly, it will manifest as a more spontaneous response to the symbolic violence of actor domination and appear to be constructed not only to show an emotional response to the perceived injustices of the project but also to gain recognition. The Bourdieusian approach will contrast with previously documented perceptions of the *game* being played to advantage by developers in the planning regime for NSIPs (Rydin, 2020). Section 4.3.3 will expand upon ideas around the relationship between power and engagement and section 4.3.4 will conclude with a summary of the factors contributing to active engagement.

4.3.1 Challenging domination: the engaged public's experience

The most active engagement along the proposed route of the NWCC project took place along the southern section and the most visible activity was focussed on the area around the Duddon Estuary and the Furness peninsular. Out of the interviewees along the route who situated themselves as active engagers, over half were resident in the Duddon/Furness area and the smallest number of active engagers were from the northern section of the route. The evidence emerging from the data suggests that the higher numbers of active engaged individuals around the Duddon Estuary was partly due to a lesser reliance on the nuclear industry for employment and a lower dependency on economic capital and peer pressure from the nuclear community of practice (Wynne *et al.,* 2007). Of the fourteen individuals interviewed who identified themselves as actively engaged in the consultation process, eleven had no connection with the nuclear industry. The remaining three individuals had all retired from senior engineer/management roles at Sellafield and situated themselves as highly experienced and well informed through personal distinction as Parish Councillors and representative voices for their communities (Alcoff, 1991; Bourdieu, 1984;). Each of the three former Sellafield engineers expressed an opinion that they were not intimidated

by other expert actors in the field of consultation for Planning and regard themselves as experts in their own field with transferable skills, through embodied cultural capital, to conduct effective engagement (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Each actor regarded his personal distinction (Bourdieu, 1984) as an enabler of agency to engage with the power relations in the field (Bourdieu, 1991) as Bill said:

> *"in a former existence I used to have to go on the tele and defend Sellafield and things like this, you know… and I'd always done me homework and if you have the confidence to say 'I don't care what they ask me, I'm going to be able to deal with it'… that puts you… in a good position because you come over better."*

More than half of the active engaged interviewees situate themselves as representative voices for their communities ranging from Parish Councillors to landscape based charities and pressure groups (Mahony *et al.*, 2010). Of those interviewed, six actors were members of independent protest groups including Power without Pylons (PwP) and the Kirkby Pressure Group (KPG) with both groups based around the southern section of the proposed route for the overhead line. The reasons given for membership of these groups were generally framed around issues of procedural and distributive justice and the centralisation of decision-making (Butler and Simmons, 2013; Walker, 2012).

4.3.2 Playing the Game: active engagement through a Bourdieusian lens

This section is primarily informed by interviews but supported by the output from the media search and review which has been described in chapter 3. Although there was regular factual reporting based on press releases from National Grid, the period at the end of 2016 was the most productive in terms of active protest reporting based around events. These events included a New Year's Day walk and a St George's Day walk which I attended for the purposes of participant observation and ethnography. I attended as an overt, impartial observer but I also took part by assisting with traffic management to ensure safe road crossings for the participants. An emerging thread of protest based articles were a feature of this time period including coverage of press releases from PwP, NoPylons, Friends of the Lake District (FLD) and the PCCG, some of which were designed as provocations which are discussed in the next section.

This section examines the evidence for the balance of power relations in the consultation process as described by the public. Tim attributed power to NGET in having overall control of how the consultation process was organised and when public events were undertaken. He used the phrase *playing cat and mouse* to suggest that an invisible form of symbolic violence was being enacted against the dominated publics who would be expected to engage with the process at short notice and according to the rules laid out by National Grid (Bourdieu, 2001a). In this way, he positions National Grid as the instigator of the game. Tim's response to this act is to assert his agency by having a role in the game and to actively participate by "*indulging in the games of domination*" (Bourdieu, 2001a:75).

Bill adopted a practical sense approach to participating in his interpretation of the game (Bourdieu, 1990b:61). His actions were characteristic of his habitus in the measured and professional way in which he considered his course of action. He sought to build on his symbolic capital by acquiring a detailed knowledge of the planning process, learning from a meeting with Parish Councils contesting the Hinkley C Connection in Somerset, and applying transferable skills from his former role as a manager at Sellafield. He explained his long-term strategy:

> *"we've got to play a very careful game here, we don't want to, excuse me, 'piss them off' by going running to the Planning Inspector but, on the other hand, that's a card we might have to play if (the developers) keep just simply, you know, turning the deaf ears. We've got to sort all that game plan out"*

Bill referred to *we* meaning himself and a former colleague, John, with similar experience and skills. The value of symbolic capital, both social and cultural, was emphasized in this relationship and Bill explained that "*we've come out the same background, we tend to think alike, we're almost telepathic*." This suggests that Bill and John's individual habitus comprises shared dispositions, through working in a community of practice at Sellafield (Bourdieu, 1977). This strong social bond and embodied cultural capital, in the form of knowledge and experience, informed Bill's ability to apply his technical background to the problem of preparing his *game plan*. He attributes this confidence in himself through personal distinction as an expert in his former role at Sellafield (Bourdieu, 1984):

> *"in a former existence I used to have to go on the tele[vision] and defend Sellafield and things like this, you know? and I'd always done me homework and… you have the confidence to say 'I don't care what they ask me, I'm going to be able to deal with it'…I may not be an expert in everything… but*

they're not gonna catch me and I think that makes quite a difference to the way you can plan and what you can do"

Bill refers to his practice of knowledge acquisition, by doing his homework, which influenced his decision to visit Somerset to learn from the experience of Parish Councils on the Hinkley C Connection. Bill also references the use of media outlets, mainly based on his past experience but which also has relevance to playing a different type of game through provocation and misinformation which will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

Provocation as an emotional response

In addition to the formal engagement process, the research data suggests that actors with high symbolic capital were motivated to *play the game* by seeking to undermine the existing power relations of the field. Whereas Tim and Bill embody a formal and considered method of engaging in "*practical sense"* to play the game (Bourdieu, 1990b:61), this section considers another dimension of game playing which is more spontaneous, taking advantage of opportunities and frequently manipulating the local, and national, media.

Local acts of provocation although not referenced as game-playing by Bourdieu, rely upon gathering sufficient support in the care study area to achieve impact and momentum as Tim states:

> *"basically our strategy was… to get noticed, you know, create some noise in the media so that people knew we were there. And I say 'people' – North West Coast Connections knew we were there"*

Tim was attempting to disturb the balance of power relations in the field and went on to describe a specific act which sought to undermine the power of locally elected officials, in this instance the mayor, by creating an event which would attract media attention. He refers to *we* throughout his interview reinforcing the importance of social capital in unifying local opposition to the proposed scale and design of the pylons.

"*So (the Mayor) came down, what was he gonna get? He was gonna get a doggin', and he did! And unfortunately, it being bonfire night, a couple of days before… Did you see the picture? We built a bloody pylon and… so we did it, and the reason we did it, we did it for media interest*"

Image 4.1: Photograph published in local media 2/11/2016. Source: The Mail newspaper

Tim's reference to this deliberate provocation is acknowledged by him to be a game played by retired *local* publics, including himself. The media perpetuated this activity through multiple local print outputs including both Barrow and Whitehaven based weekly newspapers. The target of this provocation seems to have been the higher governance of National Grid, including the decision makers who are perceived as remote from the process. He describes himself and his colleagues as:

> "*people who are either retired or whatever who, if they've got nothing to do will, you know, (enjoy) nothing greater than annoying National Grid,… which I did on many days because I find them completely… the leadership of it, I mean, are just completely and utterly bereft of any emotional content*"

Tim refers specifically to "*people who are retired*" which encompasses a wide range of publics. Tim is a retired engineer from Sellafield and, as a local, is representative of many of the participants in the research who live along the southern section of the NWCC route. However, the Duddon Valley and Estuary, in the south of the study area, is also perceived as an aspirational retirement location for affluent incomers, many of whom have a high degree of embodied and institutionalised cultural capital in the form of qualifications and experience from former employment combined with the social capital that they acquire by networking with like-minded individuals through local interest groups (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Pam explained the impact that these incomers have had on the area particularly in trying to mobilise public engagement by *"getting all of the local communities het up."* Pam described incomers as being highly motivated with high symbolic capital who frequently seek to use their embodied cultural

capital by sitting on Parish Councils. The presence of these actively engaged individuals frequently appears to be the catalyst for local communities to be mobilised. However, a significant factor in this engagement is the absence of the farming community who, according to several of the farmer's wives at Gosforth Agricultural Show are time poor with *far too much to do* (Rydin, 2020).

The tendency of informed publics to engage in the challenge of *playing the game* appears to be closely linked to personal distinction enabling individual actors to bring symbolic capital to the field of consultation (Bourdieu, 1984). Bill's account of his experience suggests a confidence in problem solving and an ability to assimilate complex technical information outside his own experience. There is also evidence in this section of similar experience applied to Tim and Pam's accounts of their engagement with the NWCC project. This suggests a relationship between personal distinction, through high symbolic capital, and a willingness to use *practical sense* to engage with the perceived challenges of the consultation process and to play the game. This raises uncertainty around who cannot, or does not, play the game and why.

According to Tim, the rules of the game are determined by those actors who have the power in the field and who "*always determine the rules.*" In the field of consultation, the game is played according to the rules which emerge from the best practice guidance as interpreted by the developer and their consultants. Tim suggests that power is imposed by the *stakeholder plan* in establishing the format, timescale and location of consultation events. :

> *"So there's lots of things that people do in a collective way but if you actually go to their space, rather than it being your space, cause we always determine where they should come to and what they should do by setting out the rules of the game, you know, we'll do this or we'll do the other or we'll have this sort of stakeholder plan or whatever it happens to be, is that we set the rules but not everybody conforms to those rules"*

Tim suggested that moving the *game* into the public's space would help to overcome the power based structure of the consultation process. In order to understand why some publics are unable to *play the game*, I will examine the effect of power relations in setting the rules of the game in section 4.3.3.

4.3.3 Power and engagement

Section 4.3.2 has presented evidence of the importance of bringing high symbolic capital to the field in order to engage with the NWCC consultation process, in

particular this refers to cultural capital, both embodied and institutionalised (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Having already introduced the concept of challenging power relations by *playing the game*, this section of the chapter examines sources of power, how power is introduced into the NWCC consultation process and how it is perceived to guide and contain the public's input to the three rounds of consultation events. This section also builds on the investigation of ways in which some publics use forms of power and distinction to build capital.

> *"Symbolic power is that invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it"* (Bourdieu, 1991:164)

For those publics who choose not to *play the game* of engagement, the NWCC consultation process is perceived as an exercise in power relations.

Tom lives on the Furness peninsula and expressed his frustration with his perceived disempowerment by the consultation process. Although he seeks to be an active participant in the process, he feels that his opportunities to input are limited by the *tokenism* of the consultation events that he has experienced (Arnstein 1969:217):

> *"There's no way that anybody could say 'this has been a sincere and honest consultation'. It's been ramming down the throats of local people what they are going to do. There is no equality in the relationship, it's National Grid saying 'we are going to do this whether you like it or not'. There is something very, very wrong about the astonishing arrogance of National Grid. Essentially they behave as if they knew that the Government would let them build the pylons that they prefer and this is what they convey in the consultations. They're only paying token lip-service to the people who object".*

Tom sought to achieve fair and equal dialogue in the field but talked of experiencing a one-way flow of information (Rowe and Frewer, 2005), tokenism (Arnstein, 1969), unequal power relations (Bourdieu, 1991) and a perception that the project is a *done deal* (Natarajan *et al.,* 2019; Rydin, 2020). Tom's perception of the process is that options are presented as decisions rather than opportunities for local knowledge contributions (Natarajan *et al.,* 2019). He refers to the *arrogance* of the developer and his perception that the developer actors have prior expectations regarding the outcome of the consultation based on a process which "*privileged the involvement of the applicant*" (Natarajan *et al.,* 2019:131). This is reinforced by other participants in the research who believe that *they'll do what they want anyway*, referring to National Grid as *they*. In each example, it is

implied that the power relations are skewed in National Grid's favour by the process.

This was described by Pam who spoke as a member of the SRG:

"National Grid appeared to value our input. Now, this hasn't continued over the last year. There's been a real withdrawal of National Grid from talking to us and we actually feel quite isolated at the moment"

This sense of disempowerment was also described by individual members of the public who struggled to engage with the apparent power shift to third party actors and there was also resentment at the resources available to the developer (Rydin, 2020). Tom described his own frustration at trying to understand the hierarchy of actors and communication beyond the project events:

"what I find very frustrating is that I don't know who to speak to, to write to, to say 'this is wrong"

The data suggests that there was also a feeling of *otherness* or *outsiderness* about the project actors (Cresswell, 1996) which extended across the study area from north to south. According to Robert, *"it's like everything else, they don't live here"* and his opinion was shared by George and Tim who explained that *"they don't understand the legacy of this area"*. Local frustration is apparent with the powerful actors, from National Grid and their consultants, who are seen as decision makers but who have limited local knowledge and are seen as being *out of place* (Cresswell, 1996).

"Many members of the community complained of being passed around 'so called' National Grid experts who clearly had limited understanding of the NWCC project and its devastating impact on the Duddon Estuary. It is obvious that the consultation events were staffed mainly by public relations personnel with insufficient knowledge to answer many questions posed by the community" (KPG objection letter)

The opinion is shared by publics north of the Duddon Estuary such as Mark who referred to a lack of local knowledge and preparation on the part of the professional actors when he says *"they come from away and they haven't really done their homework"*. His opinion is shared by Bill who says:

"it's so obvious especially having worked here and knowing the difference between people from outside. It's so obvious that they're building up a team … who could look at a map and you think 'if you lived here, you would never propose that', you know?........it's a lack of knowledge of the area but I think it's more that they're just not professional enough in rigorously getting these people up to speed"

There was an emphasis on the non-local status of the experts who *"come from away"* according to Mark or *"outside"* according to Bill. This disconnection with geographical place, reinforced by an apparent lack of understanding of local communities resulted in an overall sense of disempowerment even in publics having a high degree of symbolic capital who had attempted to fully engage with the process. There was an underlying resentment of the preference for expert over lay constructions of knowledge, and the limited opportunities for dialogue appeared to disadvantage local voices (Natarajan *et al.,* 2019; Rydin *et al.,* 2018a).

4.3.4 Summarising the factors that have contributed to active engagement in the study area

The individual habitus has influenced the empowered response to various forms of symbolic violence evident in the field of consultation in the case study. The actively engaged actors are not complicit with the subjugation of the wider public's response and actively challenge the power relations in the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). This gives rise to an *active engaged* variant in the Typology of Engagement contained in Chapter 7, which comprises actors who are enabled to resist domination and powerlessness for the following reasons:

Independence

They are actors with no connection to, or reliance upon, the nuclear industry and the economic capital that gives rise to dependency (Wynne *et al.,* 2007). Actors who previously felt marginalised by their exclusion from the Energy Coast can also be empowered by their independence from its dominance. However, it is acknowledged that this may not always give rise to engagement due to the wider public recognition of economic dependency across West Cumbria.

Cultural capital

They include highly educated, retired nuclear engineers, from both Sellafield and Barrow, with embodied cultural capital, using "*practical sense*" to challenge the role of the *expert* in the consultation process (Bourdieu, 1990b:61; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Their embodied distinction enables the assimilation of technical information and confidence to engage (Bourdieu, 1984). There is evidence from NWCC that this engagement with the process can develop into a

challenge to the *experts* through taking cultural capital in the form of alternative scenarios to the field as evidenced by Dan and Frank. Tom describes Dan as someone who has challenged the proposals:

> *"it's people like Dan who have got the guts to say 'this is wrong'… He has done a huge amount of work and I admire the tenacity of the guy. He's a very clever guy…. so he's not daunted by it…"*

'Offcomers'

Offcomers to the area, including retirees with high cultural capital, are unaffected by the historic marginalisation and subjugation of West Cumbrian communities (Blowers, 2010). The offcomers have relocated to the area by choice and frequently display place protective actions (Devine-Wright, 2009). Offcomers such as Paul are immune to the historic power relationships that have dominated local communities resulting in acquiescence (Bell, 2016). Paul is outspoken in his condemnation of National Grid particularly in the context of his elective belonging to the Duddon Valley (Savage *et al.,* 2005):

> *"It is totally unacceptable that the Duddon Estuary should be sacrificed for a cheap and dirty solution for National Grid."*

Symbolic capital

The *actively engaged* actors frequently combine their high cultural capital, through experience and educational attainment, with social capital through generating networks of both practice and place. This is evidenced by Alan's experience as a retired engineer who moved to the Furness peninsular and initially voluntarily disengaged from the NWCC consultation process. The acquisition of social capital through membership of both local village societies and district wide professional networks, linked to his former engineering experience, led to an emerging sense of injustice and a transition from *elective disengagement* to *active engagement* (Bell, 2016).

This section has summarised some of the key factors identified as contributing to active engagement. However, the spatiality of active engagement through submissions to the project appears to have been skewed by the NWCC route's proximity to the Lake District National Park. Seen in this context, those who submitted responses to the consultation were not just confined to the County of Cumbria as illustrated in Image 4.2 below.
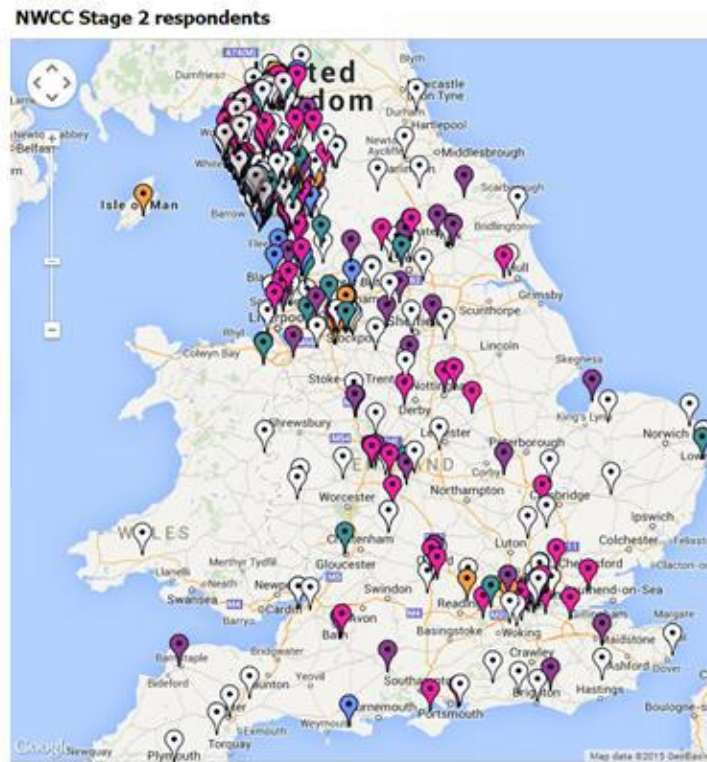
Image 4.2: Distribution Stage 2 consultation respondents. Source: National Grid (2015)

Of the 1,200+ submissions received, it is apparent from the image that not all interested parties are local residents. When viewed as a percentage of the 136,000 addresses mailed within the consultation buffer zone, this suggests a high level of disengagement from this stage of the consultation process. Perceptions of the potential reasons for this high level of disengagement are examined in section 4.4.

4.4 Perceptions of disengagement held by the actively engaged

This section considers the actively engaged public's perceptions of the overarching reasons for the diversities of engagement with the NWCC project as emerging from the data. The previous section investigated the data from semi-structured interviews with participants and examined their experience and perceptions of the public consultation process. The key theme emerging from sections 4.2 and 4.3 has been the distribution and implementation of power through both the policy process and the practice of consultation. The previous section has examined the perceived dynamics of the relationship between the expert actors and the public in a field where the public were actively seeking to engage. The evidence of apparent frustration, provocation and allegations of

domination, have disturbed the notion of a fair and equitable process and suggested an emerging theme of unequal power relations.

This section draws from the experience and opinions of the engaged publics and discusses the emergence of perceived factors which they think can lead to *dis*engagement.

4.4.1 Technical presentation and language

The first phase of the NWCC public consultation in 2014 introduced the DCO process, which was outside the experience of many local residents, resulting in a lack of community understanding of the pre-application process and public consultation (Lee, 2017; Natarajan *et al.,* 2018; Rydin *et al.,* 2018a). In order to engage effectively with the collaborative elements of this planning based process through actor framed speech acts (Habermas, 1984), there was an emerging requirement for publics to understand, and develop a feel for, this process or *game* using "*practical sense*" (Bourdieu, 1990b:61). The concept of practical sense has previously been discussed in section 4.3 in respect of how the actively engaged publics used these means to challenge power relations in the field. In contrast, this section examines the absence of practical sense, or the ability to play the game, as a barrier to engagement.

The primary form of information sharing in a consultation process is through formal public consultation events and the availability online, and in selected locations, of the project documents. However, despite the availability of this information, there is emerging evidence that the project information can remain inaccessible in terms of language and understanding (Natarajan *et al.*, 2018; OECD, 2009; Rydin *et al.*, 2018a). This raises questions about the effectiveness of the supporting documents in communicating information about a project to the public. In the case study, PwP, a local group protesting against the NWCC project, made particular reference to the consultation documents in their objection letter which referred to the lack of detail and clear decision-making. Their objection described the consultation documents as not being *fit for purpose*, citing the use of technical or expert language which can exclude the public (Natarajan *et al.*, 2018; Rydin *et al.,* 2018a). The technical documents that were provided were not considered to be drafted in accessible language. In addition, PwP considered that there was insufficient evidence provided for transparency into the decision-making process leading to the proposals.

The PwP's concern regarding the ability of publics to be able to read and understand the technical outputs of the consultation was shared by other participants and the following extract is from an objection letter submitted by Paul as an actively engaged public participant in the process. Paul states that:

"Expecting people to assimilate relatively complex technical information whilst grasping and fully understanding local environmental implications in such a short period of time and especially over a busy holiday period involving a major religious festival can in no way be considered good practice. National Grid should be widely condemned for the manner in which people's priorities and well-being have been compromised for no apparent reason other than statutory requirements having been satisfied"

Paul makes a reference to the statutory requirements, the importance of which is not always clearly understood by communities (Lee, 2017; Rydin *et al.*, 2018a). In addition, Paul suggests that there is a degree of information overload without the recognition that lay publics will require more time to digest information, particularly information of a technical nature (Natarajan *et al.,* 2019).

In the NWCC consultation process, multiple reasons are offered by participants to explain why they think that the process and technical language can be a barrier to participation. Tim states that:

"if we've designed legislation, guidance and processes in such a way that they're designed for a certain class of people, there'll only be a certain class of people that can ever engage with the process. Those who are reasonably articulate, reasonably engaged and certainly can express themselves written or orally. And it's those people who can engage in a consultation process"

Tim is suggesting that the consultation process has been designed for imaginary publics where assumptions may have been made regarding sufficient knowledge for the public to engage (Maranta *et al.*, 2003). It is also suggested that the developers prefer a process where the public can be "*managed more effectively*" and opposition negated (Barnett *et al.*, 2012:47). Tim indirectly expresses a Bourdieusian view of engagement, particularly with regard to the importance of embodied cultural capital as manifested through class (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Tim claims that those publics who are able to articulate an opinion through oral or written discourse are advantaged in the process of consultation for planning. He also suggests that this will limit the social groups who are able or willing to take part. Where there are lower levels of literacy, publics will be less able to engage (Natarajan *et al.,* 2019). His view is shared by Robert who stated that *"not everybody's used to writing objections, you know?"* It

is also notable that Tim refers to the overarching policy framework, as well as the consultation process itself, as being more intellectually accessible to a "*certain class of people*" (Bourdieu, 1984). This aligns with Bourdieu who refers to the importance of education in distinguishing between the abilities of different social classes to engage:

> "*The point of my work is to show that culture and education aren't simply hobbies or minor influences. They are hugely important in the affirmation of differences between groups and social classes and in the reproduction of those differences*" (Bourdieu, 2001a).

Tim also makes reference to his perception of the public's limited capacity to assimilate the volume of technical content provided as part of the consultation information documents (Natarajan *et al.,* 2019). He implies that this is a deliberate action on the part of the project actors to discourage discourse due to a large quantity of technical information being shared to overwhelm the public.

> "*I mean, people at that point also, you could see that they were just being overawed with the amount of detail that was coming at them, you know, just the number of booklets the number of information and it felt like a strategy of… shock and awe whereby, if we could drown them in information, they won't be able to get their head above the water because they won't work their way through this*"

In this example, Tim is suggesting that too much information provision is seen as a way of preventing a two-way conversation (Natarajan *et al.,* 2019; Rowe and Frewer, 2005). Tim's opinion is shared by other participants in this research, such as Bob and Bill, who were initially overwhelmed by the volume of technical information provided. Bob talks about the volume of information and says:

> "*I was given a (memory stick) because I had some quite detailed questions… and it has got, you know, all of the papers, background papers, there's thousands of… it's thousands of pages*"

Whereas Bill is more concerned with understanding and interpreting the information in his role as a Parish Councillor and as an individual interested party:

> "*they've issued a document which is several hundred pages of detailed technical stuff… you have to not only read it, you then have to make sure you understand it, you then have to say 'yeah, but what does it actually mean for me?*"

Bill also talks about his responsibility, in his Parish Councillor role, to share information with his village community. Echoing Tim's reference to personal distinction due to the fact that the information is only "*designed for a certain class*

of people" (Bourdieu, 1984), he explains that he has *'the right background',* referring to his former occupation as an engineering manager at Sellafield, and he considers that he has the knowledge, skills and time to interpret the reports and findings in a more accessible format whilst retaining the essence of the technical detail.

> *"In putting out all this information, to villagers, there's a fine line between trying to make it easy for them to understand what's being said and not spoon feeding them as much as to say 'you've got to agree with what I'm saying' you know, so I've always been very careful with my language in saying 'these are the points that occur to us, please use some of them if you want to but the important thing is that you put in your own response' and that kind of language comes out of it"*

This relies upon Bill's embodied cultural capital of knowledge and qualifications (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Bill refers to the means of submitting a response to the project consultation through writing a letter to the project team. However, the pre-printed feedback forms, which captured the data from the consultation events, were mentioned in three of the interviews as discouraging public engagement for a number of reasons. Firstly, Alan describes the feedback form as being too long, having 12 pages requiring completion, and says that:

> *"… it seemed to me… that they would not accept objections or comments in any other way. The impression they gave… and (other) people felt the same, it seemed to me that unless you submitted the stuff on that (indicating the feedback form), you weren't gonna… nothing was…. If you sent it in as a letter that was it, you know? And whether that's true or not I don't know but, whether we got the wrong end of the stick I don't know, but if we did get the wrong end of the stick, it's because they didn't make it clear enough"*

Alan goes on to explain that local protest groups have offered *surgeries* in order to help local publics to complete the forms due to their complexity. His own criticisms included the length of the form and the technical language used and he suggests that this was a key factor in the low response rate from the 2014 consultation (OECD, 2009). The over reliance on email and online methods was an issue in an area of slow broadband speeds and the size of the documents prevented them from being downloaded (Rydin, 2020). Alan distinguishes himself as a person with the knowledge and experience to understand and complete the form but suggests that he was still discouraged by the presentation of the technical data (Bourdieu, 1984):

> *"Power without Pylons were helping people do it. Because people were so put off by it, you can understand why they didn't respond… I mean I'm an*

engineer you know, I'm in a position where that doesn't faze me really but even I, when I looked at it, I thought 'my God' you know?"

Alan's account of the Power without Pylons *Surgeries* is an example of engaged publics attempting to overcome the problem of technical literature as a factor in disengagement. However, this section has highlighted the issue of who is *able*, and not just *willing*, to engage with the process when faced with substantial quantities of documents phrased in technical language.

4.4.2 Transparency, fairness and 'black-boxing'

Other aspects of consultation that are perceived as factors in disengagement can also be problematic for actively engaged publics. Where actively engaged individuals wish to challenge the veracity of the NWCC proposals, there is a greater tendency to ask questions and to seek more detailed information about the proposals. Alan resides in the south of the case study area and has lived in a village on the route for less than 10 years. As a more recent resident, he was initially emotionally detached from the consultation process but gradually became engaged through his growing social network and emotional attachment to the village. As an engineer, he was interested in the technical aspects of the NWCC construction but became frustrated by the lack of availability of technical information and evidence which he felt was being *black-boxed* (Rydin *et al.*, 2018b; Rydin, 2020). Consequently Alan felt that he could not engage in debate because the details were locked:

"National Grid were totally useless at the time, to get information from them was absolutely hopeless. It was just a blank wall and that shouldn't be the case to my mind, I mean that is wrong, totally wrong …we've asked questions and not got anything back"

Alan uses the word *we* to refer to his social network which is a small community connected by embodied cultural capital in the form of electrical engineering knowledge (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). His social network, in the physical community of Kirkby-in-Furness, has subsequently expanded beyond this group due to his growing interest in the NWCC project.

"I've been talking to the people in Power without Pylons mob and other people and they said to me, you know, that their whole attitude was, it seemed to me, they just didn't want to discuss anything else except their provisional route, you know, that… the preferred route. That was it. There was no Plan B or… that was it, Plan A was the only Plan A"

Alan refers to the preferred route and the absence of alternatives as insufficient evidence of the decision-making process to enable the public to comment (Lee, 2017; Natarajan *et al.*, 2018; Rydin *et al.*, 2018b; Rydin, 2020).

Stakeholders, such as Bill, are critical of the principle of the NSIP consultation process itself, as described in section 4.2 of this chapter, which explored the policy background to the process and showed that Bill had previously dismissed the consultation events as a "*box ticking*" exercise. Bill also considers that the process is unfair because it is skewed towards the applicant rather than the consultees (Natarajan *et al.,* 2019). He states that:

> "*the process is fundamentally unfair because, understandably, it's geared to encourage the construction to go ahead*"

Bill clarified his use of the word *unfair* by explaining it was deemed to be in the national interest that the project was built (Rydin, 2020) and there is a perception that the developer is unfairly privileged by the process (Natarajan *et al.*, 2019):

> "*I think the process is, I use the word unfair, I mean it's one-sided, let's put it like that… I think that's one of the reasons that people find it difficult to put a response in*"

Bill is suggesting that the consultation process is not balanced in terms of power relations between the actors and the public and, in his opinion, this can discourage active engagement on the part of the public (Arnstein, 1969). The ability to comment on what is important to local communities and publics is challenged by other participants in the research and there is a sense of topics being excluded, black-boxed or framed to discourage public engagement and feedback (Rydin *et al.*, 2018b; Rydin 2020). Tom explains how this impacted on his consultation response and says that:

> "*they only asked the questions that… they were framing… I'd have to look at the questionnaire again but, they were asking very specific questions and it was hard… I told them what I thought and I used…. my expression, it was a fait accomplis you know,... it was a sham. This thing about community consultation was a sham. They weren't consulting with the community. They were making a gesture at consulting with the community*"

Tom expresses his opinion that the decision-making process is tokenistic (Arnstein, 1969). He shares Bill's opinion that the process is skewed in favour of a positive outcome for the developer and is frustrated by the way in which the consultation questions are framed in the feedback document used at the consultation events (Natarajan *et al.,* 2019). Tom is suggesting that the format of

the feedback form was manipulated to exclude local relevant issues and shutting down opportunities for debate (Rydin *et al.*, 2018b; Rydin 2020). This refers back to the criticisms of basing the process on the principles of Collaborative Planning which, it has been suggested, has given developers the opportunity to carefully stage manage process with defined parameters of what is up for debate (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2011; Groves *et al.*, 2013).

A further example of this stage management of processes was described by Tim based on his experience of attending the public workshop events. He states that:

> *"the problem… is that you're actually remote from the real issues of how people are feeling disenfranchised by not being able to talk and have conversations and deal with people direct without being boxed off into 'well, this is your day, that's your day'….No I'm sorry I can't talk about that because that's outside the scope of the consultation,… they just bounce you around and, for most people in this area,….. , you know it's really bad"*

There is a recurring theme through the interviews of participants not having the opportunity to speak directly to an actor in a two-way conversation about a specified topic (Rowe and Frewer, 2005). Tim refers to his impression of being passed between actors and being unable to raise issues that are perceived to be outside the scope of the consultation (Natarajan *et al.,* 2018). This is expressed by other participants, such as Tom and Bill, as not being recognised as having a voice in the process and reverting to a one-way process of communication (Rowe and Frewer, 2005; Rydin *et al.,* 2018a; Walker, 2012). As Tom states:

> *"There's been none of this for the community being able to say 'we'll talk to you but… we want to know that you're gonna listen to us'. National Grid hasn't listened to the communities. There's no way that anybody could say 'this has been a sincere and honest consultation'. It's been ramming down the throats of local people what they are going to do. There is no <u>equality</u> in the relationship, it's National Grid saying 'we are going to do this whether you like it or not"*

The primary concerns emerging from this section have been around issues of transparency and fairness both in decision-making and responding to information requests. This builds upon the conclusion to section 4.4.1 which suggested that an overload of technical information can be a factor in disengagement whereas, in this section, the engaged publics have highlighted difficulties in obtaining some of the evidence for decision-making, in particular the selection of preferred options. This has also led to implied accusations of black-boxing where evidence is deliberately being withheld in the interests of closing down debate (Rydin *et al.,*

2018b). The analysis suggests that local publics seeking to engage with NWCC, viewed the consultation process as instrumental rather than substantive and the next section will describe their perceptions of the ways in which local knowledge and opinions appeared to be negated by the process.

4.4.3 Recognition and mis-recognition: establishing who has a voice

Another factor giving rise to the potential for disengagement is the recognition of who has a voice in the process, and is able to speak. Justice as recognition is defined as justice which "*is conceived in terms of who is given respect and who is and isn't valued*" (Walker, 2012:10). As discussed in chapter 2, the guidance to the Town and Country Planning Act, 2008, states that:

> *"In consulting on project proposals, an inclusive approach is needed to ensure that different groups have the opportunity to participate and are not disadvantaged in the process. Applicants should use a range of methods and techniques to ensure that they access all sections of the community in question" (DCLG, 2008)*

The guidance specifically refers to *different groups* and the Consultation Strategy published by National Grid discussed the requirement for inclusivity. Specific groups mentioned included "*Parish and Town Councils*", "*Landowners*" and "*marginalised*" or "*hard-to-reach groups*" (National Grid, 2014:13). The planning guidance continues:

> *"Because they live, work and socialise in the affected area, local people are particularly well placed to comment on what the impact of proposals on their local community might be" (DCLG, 2008)*

This emphasis on local knowledge from all sections of the community is intended to facilitate substantive decision-making, leading to high quality decisions based on a wide range of knowledge with an openness to explore new issues rather than closing them down. National Grid stated that they would fulfil their duty to consult with local communities by focussing their public consultation on those actors living within the vicinity of the preferred route corridor, thereby limiting what counted as a local voice to an average 1km wide route corridor (National Grid, 2014; Rydin *et al*, 2018a).

The data suggests that there were strong public perceptions of non-recognition and mis-recognition as a consequence of geographical location and local demographics, in particular population sizes within rural communities. A feeling of being disadvantaged by being a small community was identified in the data

from both the north and south of the study area. Villagers such as Robert, George, Bill and Tim all felt disadvantaged by living in small village communities with a perceived lack of recognition in the consultations.

Robert lives in the village of Rockcliffe, some 10 miles north east of Wigton. The village is close to several existing pylon routes due to its proximity to the Harker substation. The NWCC project sought to connect to the grid at this substation which left limited scope for flexibility in routing around the village. Robert attended the consultation events and said that:

> *"We… got the impression, because we were Rockcliffe…, little village can't do a great lot about it because they have to come here, that we weren't being listened to"*

Robert expresses a feeling of disempowerment through the non-recognition of local voices in his village. There is a sense in Robert's words that a village that is already heavily influenced by the presence of pylons is perceived by others as having less value. Robert says *"they have to come here"*, which suggests a degree of acceptance but his words indicate that, in the village, *"we, still wished to have an input to the process"*. This is also reflected in the interview data from George who lives in Beckermet and says:

> *"The local feeling is that there are not many people here and that they, and their opinions, don't matter. Nothing makes a difference"*

Although a Parish Council is a statutory consultee and has the right to be consulted, they have no power in decision-making. Villagers in the south of the study area also felt that their voices were not being listened to, as expressed by Tim:

> *"… it became so evident that as a Parish Council, a very small Parish Council sat on our own, we were left basically feeling we were really going nowhere with this despite our real intent to get under the skin of the issues that we were now facing."*

Tim felt that his village had limited opportunities for influence and was not being heard. He also criticised the process for limiting his access to channels of communication (Natarajan *et al*, 2018). Although the Parish Council was recognised as a consultee in the Consultation Strategy (National Grid, 2014), Tim suggested that local voices were constructed in different ways and that what counted as a local voice was ultimately being constrained by the NSIPs regime in that it differentiated between interests (Rydin *et al*, 2018a).

Tim, in his role as a Parish Councillor, actively sought engagement in the consultation process but felt that there was a lack of recognition of the knowledge contribution that could be made by local publics (Rydin *et al*, 2018a). In common with other local residents, he is a former employee at Sellafield and has high cultural capital in an institutionalised form comprising formal qualifications and relevant experience (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

Tim's realisation that the Parish Council did not have a legitimate voice in the decision-making process was addressed by the formation of a Parish Council Coordination Group (PCCG) comprising seventeen Parish Councils along the route between Sellafield and Furness. Tim used the social capital gained through his role as a Parish Councillor to increase the impact of his community voice in the process. He referred to *we*, initially referring to the village that he represents, and articulated a shared aim to understand the issues and respond to the proposed NWCC project by generating a stronger voice (Rydin *et al.*, 2018a). Bourdieu states that the game is usually played unconsciously with mastery gained through experience and the intention of the PCCG was to create a powerful voice, informed by actors with high symbolic capital, which could be brought to the field (Bourdieu, 1990b). Tim's effort to create a stronger voice ensured that the imbalance between community size and different constructions of stakeholders was being better addressed to the south of Whitehaven (Rydin *et al.*, 2018a; Rydin, 2020).

The perceptions of Robert, George, Bill and Tim with regard to whose voice is heard in the consultation process, has mainly focussed on the non-recognition of the knowledge contribution that can be made by small village communities. Tim in particular has learnt from the process and sought to overcome this imbalance in the power relations by creating a larger spatial community which he perceives will have a greater voice. As an actively engaged actor, Tim has relied upon symbolic capital, both personally, and from the wider community to be recognised (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

4.4.4 Summarising the factors underlying disengagement

In summary, the actively engaged participants in the study area have suggested that disengagement may arise from a range of factors as follows:

- The spatial presentation of options as a whole, relating to overall context without being place specific (Kitchen and Whitney, 2004).

- Information is presented through a *one size fits all* approach whereas participants want detail about how the project will affect them, e.g. the choice of pylons. Participants seek more detailed descriptions of locally based options (Natarajan *et al.*, 2018; OECD, 2009).

- The presentation of proposed options as final solutions. The perception of a done deal, limited options for discussion and information deficit (Natarajan *et al.*, 2019; Rydin 2020).

- The use of technical language and controlled access to information, often through a reliance on online resources (Natarajan *et al.,* 2019) and limited access to expert actors in selected locations (OECD, 2009).

- The perception of too much technical information which can overwhelm even those who are already interested and motivated (Natarajan *et al.*, 2019). This can also be understood as Consultation fatigue which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

- Disempowerment through the controlled framing of feedback forms and limiting what is open for debate through black-boxing (Rydin et al, 2018b, Rydin, 2020).

- Lack of time or poor timing of events

- Lack of representation and/or recognition (Rydin et al, 2018a)

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has been informed by interviews and secondary data sources which predominantly focus on the experience and perceptions of *engaged* participants in the NWCC consultation process. The chapter has also drawn from the existing knowledge in the literature review which has been largely derived from actively *engaged* actors (Natarajan *et al.*, 2018, 2019; Rydin *et al.*, 2018a, 2018b; Rydin, 2020; Yellow Box Ltd, 2017). However, it is apparent that only a very small percentage of the public were playing the game in the NWCC project, and the engaged publics comprised a small percentage of the affected publics within the consultation buffer zone. Engagement was estimated at less than 1% in 2015 (NWCC, 2015). Although this chapter has identified some of the key factors that

may lead to disengagement, there is clear scope for further investigation into the research problem of public disengagement.

In this chapter, the engaged public's response to the consultation process has appeared to be focussed on factors such as the availability of information, the transparency of decision-making, the recognition of local voices and whether they are able to achieve legitimate speech in the process (Habermas, 1984). Section 4.4 has focussed on some of the procedural factors that are perceived as *barriers* to participation but the data omits other reasons for disengagement that were identified in the report produced for the Scottish Government as discussed in section 2.3.3 of the literature review (Yellow Box Ltd, 2017). Factors including education, peripherality, marginalisation and stigma are not directly referenced by participants in the interview data in this chapter, but the literature review suggests that these issues must be considered in addressing disengagement. Traditionally, it has been suggested that these issues should be addressed through engagement with policies and consultation strategies specifically aimed at hard-to-reach or seldom-heard groups (National Grid, 2014). However, I agree with Kitchen and Whitney's (2004) argument that attention should be paid to widening participation across the public sphere.

The next chapter will develop the themes of peripherality and marginalisation in relation to the apparently disengaged communities and individuals who were resident in the case study area. Chapter 5 will seek to progress to a deeper level of understanding about diversities of both indirect engagement and *dis*engagement by asking how they are created and how they can be more accurately defined to further our understanding. Sections 4.2 and 4.3 of this chapter have discussed aspects of symbolic power and domination through the NSIP regime, with power giving rise to a "*willing compliance*" and introducing ideas of acceptance and acquiescence (Lukes, 2005:106) and these themes will also be examined further in Chapter 5 through the lens of Bourdieu's Theory of Symbolic Violence.

Several of the active participants have already been identified in this chapter as representing the community voices of the unheard and silenced in their villages, and these active individuals can be constructed in different ways, both as active participants and intermediaries giving expression to others (Rydin et al, 2018a). There has been a focus on their individual role in chapter 4 but they will also be

constructed as representative voices and examined in more detail in chapter 5. In chapter 4, I have investigated these active participants through the Bourdieusian *triad* of habitus, symbolic capital and field to understand how their habitus and symbolic capital has enabled them to actively engage in the consultation process (Paradis, 2014). I will further develop my understanding and application of these concepts in relation to the themes of power and domination in Chapter 5 by investigating whether symbolic violence has a role to play in disengagement.

Chapter 4 has been examined through the binary of engagement and *dis*engagement whereas the experience of the publics in this chapter suggests that there is evidence for a greater diversity of engagement. Although there is limited existing literature which suggests more than one category of disengagement (Cropley and Phibbs, 2013; OECD, 2009; Wang *et al.*, 2020), I would argue that there is scope to use a novel approach through the Typology of Engagement, introduced in chapter 3 and included in its entirety in Chapter 7, which encompasses diversities of both engagement and disengagement. Many of the current typologies used in planning consultation processes have emerged from Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation, which has been referenced in terms of power relations in this chapter, but does not assist in fully understanding disempowerment in the context of disengagement.

Table 4.1 (below) summarises the active engaged category of the typology as evidenced in this chapter and this will be developed further in chapter 5 to examine further categories of both engagement and disengagement.

Diversity of engagement	sub-type	Definition	Attributes/commentary
Active engaged	Capital rich engaged	Well-informed local publics originating from the area.	Actively engages with any local or regional consultation processes.
	Capital rich engaged *offcomer*	Well-informed publics who have moved to the area and choose to engage with the process.	Characteristics include: - Skilled in 'playing the game' but disengaged from local opinions. - Member of distinct social networks framed by employment or educational attainment. - seeking to motivate the disengaged.

Table 4.1: Summary of the types of engagement identified in Chapter 4

Chapter 5: Symbolic power and domination: Analysing the role of symbolic violence in diversities of public engagement

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 has investigated the *process* of public consultation for the North West Coast Connections project and examined the views held by the actively engaged public. The chapter has also examined the factors that lead to engagement through a Bourdieusian framework of habitus, field and forms of capital, in particular the importance of embodied and institutionalised cultural capital. The findings have drawn from interviews with actively engaged publics, and the literature review, to suggest some of the potential factors affecting the diversities of engagement and disengagement in the study area. An examination of these factors has suggested that there may be some cross-cutting themes that affect the manifestation of different forms of engagement, in particular the themes of power relations and symbolic violence which may help to partly explain the reasons for disengagement in the case study.

Symbolic violence is defined as "*a gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims, exerted for the most part through the purely symbolic channels of communication and cognition (more precisely misrecognition), recognition or even feeling*" (Bourdieu, 2001a:1). There is a cross-cutting theme throughout the existing research on symbolic violence, which explores power relations and questions who has the power and how it is recognised, or misrecognised. This reproduction and legitimisation of power relations appears to give rise to aspects of acceptance and complicity and is perceived as being relevant to the context of the case study.

The literature review in chapter 2 has drawn from existing knowledge of Cumbria, situated in the context of wider research into forms of *dis*engagement from Appalachia (Bell, 2016; Gaventa, 1980) and the Hebrides (Mackenzie, 1998; Mackenzie and Dalby, 2003). Gaventa (1980) in particular, framed his research around concepts of power drawn from Lukes (1974) and focussing on power and powerlessness. Lukes suggested that Bourdieu's Theory of Symbolic Violence could be a method of better understanding power relations and this chapter will conduct a deeper investigation of this emerging theme of symbolic violence and

the factors that have contributed to its role in the case study (Bourdieu, 2001; Lukes, 2005).

The chapter will thus respond to research question 2:

To what extent does Bourdieu's Theory of Symbolic Violence help us to understand the diversities of engagement in West Cumbria?

This chapter will be divided into four sections. Section 5.2 will investigate the recent history of planning for energy focussed projects in Cumbria to assess the emergence of symbolic violence from the legacy of planning for energy in the case study area and the habitus of local publics in relation to their lived experience (Bourdieu, 1990a). Selected examples of energy related planning applications between (1959 and 2016) are discussed in section 5.2.1 and conclusions drawn, in particular, the nuclear connection and how this might explain aspects of the local habitus relating to decisions to engage or not engage.

In section 5.3, I will discuss the contribution of symbolic violence to disengagement but I will also consider the evidence for other factors which appear to be contributing to new varieties of disengagement. By taking this approach, the chapter will focus on multiple varieties of engagement rather than taking a binary view of engagement/disengagement.

Section 5.4 will comprise a discussion and conclusion which will summarise the argument and assess the evidence for a relationship between symbolic violence and other factors leading to disengagement. The conclusion will also highlight an underlying connection to place. The relationship between varieties of engagement and place will then form the basis of the investigation in chapter 6.

5.2 Forms of symbolic violence evident in the legacy of recent infrastructure projects

This section will identify and discuss the varieties of symbolic violence that have become evident from the conceptual and thematic data analysis. The data analysis has suggested that there are emerging variations in symbolic violence which will be examined through the individuals and communities of practice where symbolic violence has become evident. The varieties of symbolic violence will also be situated in terms of both temporality and spatial context.

Chapter 4 has already made evident the conflicting power relations and information deficit that is present in the NSIP planning process as described by the active participants. The conclusion to the chapter has also introduced the role of symbolic violence as a factor. However, there are other emerging factors in which the data suggests that symbolic violence plays a part and these include:

- Perceptions of historic injustice comprising residual memories of public consultation processes associated with projects, often related to the nuclear industry.

- The prioritisation of economic capital over public sentiment at both a national and local level.

- The role of social capital in perpetuating the *taken for grantedness* of prioritising nuclear interests and leading to peer pressure and marginalisation.

- Perceptions of power relations in national and local politics.

In order to understand the context of symbolic violence and its effect on habitus, specifically dispositions and inculcation, section 5.2.1 examines the legacy of applications for development and investigates whether actors' historical experiences of planning has contributed to their complicity and acceptance.

5.2.1 Slow violence or symbolic violence? - Evidence of residual memories of public consultation processes

This section examines energy and nuclear related applications that have previously been submitted for planning consent in the Case Study communities. The aim is to investigate whether engagement has been influenced by historic domination, symbolic violence and institutional habitus.

This section focusses on nuclear related projects comprising the proposed Moorside Nuclear Power Station (NPS) and two older planning applications associated with proposed Waste Storage at Sellafield (Nirex); and a Low Level Waste Repository at Drigg. These planning applications have been selected as examples because they were referenced by six of the participants in the semi-structured interviews conducted as part of data collection. The interview data was triangulated with historic newspaper articles and personal accounts from conversations with members of the public including local residents and employees at Drigg. The dataset is summarised in chapter 3, table 3.3. Analysis

of the data has been informed by the thematic analysis of interview data, triangulated with participant observation, archive material and a media review.

There are two main ways in which symbolic violence appears to be manifested in the study area. Firstly domination results from the institutional habitus that has evolved from employment in the nuclear/energy industry in West Cumbria as identified in Chapter 4. Forms of symbolic violence arising from nuclear domination can be split between communities and individuals expressed as either *insiders* or *outsiders* in different contexts including social, cultural, economic and geographical contexts (Cresswell, 1996). The second form of symbolic violence arises from process driven consultation, as investigated in Chapter 4, where symbolic violence is manifested in the field of consultation for the NWCC project and is closely connected to procedural justice and justice as recognition as experienced by the participants.

Each of the historic applications has been examined through the data collected from individual interviewees perceived as either insiders or outsiders (Altman and Low, 1992; Cresswell, 1996).

The nuclear industry in West Cumbria has been a primary employer of the local labour force since 1947. There is evidence of a local acceptance that the industry brings economic benefits to the area and there is a dependence in the local economy for both direct labour and the service industry (Blowers, 2016; Wynne *et al.,* 2007). Analysis of the interview data suggests that local publics are supportive of the principle of the new Moorside Nuclear Power Station and the perceived benefits in terms of employment security and long-term economic growth. For all of the actors interviewed, the economic capital appeared to outweigh the perceived environmental disbenefits of the project.

Maggie moved to West Cumbria from Hampshire and spoke as someone who is *out-of-place* (Cresswell, 1996). As an observer rather than a participant, she observed a *taken for grantedness* and acceptance of new nuclear energy development in West Cumbria when she said *"I've heard of Moorside. Local people round here support it don't they? We need power and there's the jobs."* This opinion was supported by Pam who has also moved to Cumbria and similarly situates herself as an outsider or offcomer.

"I think you've got a lot of people in this area that work at Sellafield so they don't want to be seen to be getting on the wrong side of Sellafield and Moorside developers"

Pam refers to the Sellafield employee loyalty which is historically embedded in many local communities due to their dependence on the nuclear industry (Wynne *et al.*, 2007). This is an example of a form of institutional habitus which is dependent upon ways of thinking for people who rely upon the nuclear industry for their continued employment (Bourdieu, 1984; Reay *et al.*, 2001). This results in acceptance of new energy related development leading to limited engagement with the Moorside project (Blowers, 2016). Pam suggests that it is taken for granted by the nuclear community of practice that Sellafield employees will support the Moorside project. The reference to *not being seen* applied to the reluctance of local employees to attend consultation events. This was due to a concern for the opinions of others, mainly work colleagues, as a form of symbolic violence through the expectations of their community of practice and an inability to question the need for the project without acquiring *outsider stigma* (Bell, 2016).

Bill, a retired Sellafield employee, lives in Beckermet and suggested that the proximity of the proposed Moorside NPS to his village resulted in evidence of place protective behaviour from some of the residents (Devine-Wright, 2009). He described the local community responses to the project as ranging from indifference and acceptance through to denial but also suggested that the project had:

*"**really** brought the village together,… most people in the village felt it didn't really concern them. When the project first came up it was called the Sellafield site and that also encouraged people to think it was essentially at Sellafield … I think they probably hoped it wouldn't affect them."*

Bill's reference to Moorside being referred to as the *Sellafield site* reinforced the local acceptance of, and dependency on, the nuclear industry and the institutional habitus which frames local responses to consultation (Blowers, 2016; Wynne *et al.*, 2007). There appeared to be a general acceptance of development at the Sellafield site and a high degree of trust associated with BNFL as an employer (Nooteboom, 2007).

The question of proximity also arose with the Nirex application and the interview data suggested that the public's response to the proposed Nirex waste storage varied across the County. The communities in the west, in closest proximity to

the proposed site, regarded themselves as local to the application with a greater entitlement to a voice in the debate (Rydin *et al.,* 2018a). The western communities also suggested that those experiencing the greatest disbenefits from the proximity of the site should benefit from employment and any community based incentives (Walker, 2012). Despite the passage of twenty years since the application was withdrawn, the local issue remains current in the minds of local residents and three interviewees referred to their perceptions of the potential for the unfair distribution of these benefits and disbenefits (Walker, 2012). Bill suggested that perceptions of who was local were also highlighted by the project and said that "*I think you're right to handle the word 'local' (carefully) because… suddenly lots of people become 'local'… you've got to define what you mean by 'local."*

Issues of local interests in the Moorside and Nirex applications also led to negative local perceptions of local government decision-making and a belief that local knowledge should play a key role in decision-making:

> *"locals were really up in arms that Copeland Borough Council reckoned they were going to take all the decisions,… there's quite a bit of antagonism between this area and Copeland… Copeland Council was very Whitehaven centred and they wouldn't have bothered about 6 storey towers just outside the village, they couldn't give a damn. All they wanted was the goodies. So we feel that you've gotta consult the local people because they've got different concerns"*

Mark's distrust of Copeland BC has also been mentioned by other interviewees in the context of NWCC suggesting that the distrust has arisen from past decision-making which was not perceived to be in the interests of local communities (Nooteboom, 2007). Gail also acknowledged the conflicting needs of different communities in the Nirex application when she said:

> *"In the end the County Council voted against the Repository. They voted against it because it was the eastern county councillors who outvoted the western ones 'cause there was more of them and they did it because their concerns were tourism. Our concerns were jobs coming,… but unfortunately we're lumped in together because we're such a spread out area and we don't have the same interests and so what's good for one is not necessarily good for another"*

Mark recalled that the *whole village* of Gosforth was initially against the Nirex proposal but his perspective on the proposal was focussed on the historically constructed outsiderness of the Nirex actors.

> *"When they first came they brought the so-called experts up from Harwell and they did not go down well particularly because frankly there was antagonism,… between Sellafield and Harwell when I first came here … some of them down there reckoned they knew more about our business than we did".*

The Drigg Low Level Waste Repository (LLWR), was not discussed by the participants interviewed in Wigton, Beckermet or Gosforth but emerged from interviews in the south of the study area. In contrast with the unsuccessful proposal for waste storage at Sellafield, the existing LLWR at Drigg was mentioned by interviewees as a source of concern, and even confrontation, connected with ongoing local decision-making. According to Eric, the local Parish Council *"carried the battle forward,… into days when Drigg tip became American controlled".* The reference to a *battle* supports my argument for the potential for symbolic violence against those who did not take part in the battle but accepted the outcome. The enduring role of Sellafield as an employer over several decades has resulted in a culture of acceptance emerging from dependency and loyalty to BNFL as an employer (Blowers, 2016; Wynne *et al.*, 2007) and interviewees viewed the Drigg LLWD as being historically connected to the Sellafield plant as the recipient of radioactive waste from the plant. In order to continue operating, the repository was required to renew its licence every five years with the applications being scrutinised by local Parish Council committees. Eric explains that former BNFL employees were frequently elected as Councillors in local Districts (prior to the boundary reorganisation) resulting in a lesser degree of scrutiny of applications for the renewal of the licences for Drigg tip in the past. Eric described his service as a Parish Clerk as being unusual in that he was not a former Sellafield employee and he stated that:

> *"it came up for renewal while I was there… and it was, you know, about item 17 on this long agenda of trivia. And we got to it and they said, "oh yes, it just comes round every 5 years so we just nod it through"*

Eric was advised that the licence would be renewed on the instruction of a centralised decision-making body, remote from local Governance in Cumbria. This historic account of the decision-making process is similar to a recent decision to allow the repowering of the Kirkby Moor wind farm on the basis that applications for new infrastructure need the backing of the local community, but the renewal of existing facilities do not require the same level of scrutiny resulting in the disempowerment of local communities (Windemer, 2019). Eric explains that

his perception of justice as recognition of local knowledge was negatively affected by this experience (Walker, 2012), and he says:

"I think I was profoundly affected by that experience of dealing with, you know, really dealing with the Government at the end of the day"

A distrust of the nuclear community of practice has emerged from Eric's account based on his experience and there is a perceived *insiderness* of the nuclear communities which subjugates the interests of geographically local villages in terms of risk perception. Both current and former employees of the nuclear community of practice are perceived as perpetuating power relations connected to economic capital and decision-making at a local scale is disempowering local villages who are unaware of, rather than complicit with, the process (Blowers, 2016).

There is evidence of a legacy of conflict and distrust emerging from the interviews and media accounts of the historic energy applications including Moorside, Nirex and Drigg. The interviews with Bill, Mark, Eric and Pam have all suggested that the applications gave rise to local feelings of dominance by the energy sector which has subjugated local voices in decision-making. Section 5.2.2 will examine the emerging themes from the legacy projects and assess their potential to influence engagement.

5.2.2 Identifying the emerging themes from legacy projects and investigating their potential to influence public engagement

Section 5.2.1 has described the legacy of the nuclear industry over the past 30 years through local perceptions of three planning applications for energy related development and waste storage. Section 5.2.2 examines the key findings from section 5.2.1 in order to investigate whether there are clear sources of residual symbolic violence which have had an enduring effect on local communities and which may help to explain diversities of engagement.

All of the interviewees described a high level of local support for the proposed Moorside NPS. The primary reason was the potential for enhanced economic capital in an area which is largely reliant on the nuclear industry for employment (Bourdieu, 1990a; Wynne *et al.,* 2007). According to Tim, the PCCG *"were not there to campaign against the reactor"* but rather against the proposed transmission connections. Parish Councillors suggested that local residents were

less likely to attend consultation events because they were supportive of the proposals in principle, but workers in the existing nuclear industry were also allegedly more likely to have their loyalty challenged by their peers if they attended consultation events. This resulted in a high level of apparent disengagement from the consultation events for Moorside, whereas it was suggested by the interviewees that this resulted from symbolic violence in the form of peer pressure and subsequent acquiescence and complicity on the part of Sellafield workers arising from the existing institutional habitus of the nuclear plant (Bourdieu, 1990a). This led to the "*collaboration of the dominated*" local workers to their own subordination (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:24). Bourdieu (1989) suggests that the dominated always contribute to their own domination and in the case of the nuclear industry this domination mainly emerges from fear of a negative impact on the economic capital of the area. As expressed by Pam, *"they don't want to be seen to be getting on the wrong side of Sellafield and Moorside developers"*. Acceptance of this domination is not necessarily a conscious decision but rather emerges from the dispositions of the workers' habitus in the field where they operate (Bourdieu, 1990a). This encompasses whole village communities, according to Mark and Gail, where housing estates were built for Sellafield workers, in villages such as Gosforth and Seascale, and everyone's neighbours were also work colleagues of varying seniority. The overall impression is of communities of insiders following a group agenda where loyalty is expected to local employers, and those communities close to Sellafield are perceived to be broadly accepting of nuclear related infrastructure which benefits the local economy (Blowers, 2016; Wynne *et al.,* 2007).

A similar expectation of acquiescence from local communities arose from the Nirex application, however the *insiderness* of the nuclear industry in West Cumbria was disrupted by a local mistrust of *outsider* experts who were unable to demonstrate local knowledge and were seen as *out of place* (Cresswell, 2004) as described by Mark. As with the Moorside application, communities close to Sellafield were perceived to be broadly accepting of nuclear related infrastructure which benefitted the local economy, but Mark suggested that local opposition and suspicion ultimately led to Nirex recognising a need to engage with local engineering experts in Village level engagement, and using local knowledge, which was perceived as potentially contributing to substantive decision-making. Throughout the interviews, the participants referred to an enduring mistrust of

different levels of Governance, particularly the Parish Councils, who were perceived as lacking in impartiality in decision-making processes. Eric's view was that retired employees from Sellafield were so numerous that they tended to take up a high proportion of the roles in Parish Councils. His concern, as someone not employed in the nuclear industry, was the lack of scrutiny of decision-making. Eric suggested that retired former employees remain subjugated by the dominance of the nuclear industry's institutional habitus and continue to perpetuate this subjugation without question in public office (Bourdieu, 1989b).

Three separate interviewees referred to the issue of *local-ness* with regard to the Nirex application, in particular the conflict between different tiers of *local-ness* in identifying the public interest across Cumbria. Unlike Mark's discussion around insider/outsider conflicts with pressure exerted by *experts* from the south of England, Bill and Gail both mentioned conflicting priorities between the village *locals* and the wider County when assessing the benefits, or disbenefits, of the Nirex proposal with claims that that the decision-making process highlighted the different priorities of local communities with regard to the source of local economic capital. Mark, Gail and Bill also drew attention to the scalar argumentation around degrees of local-ness and how this has historically played out in decision-making. The emerging theme of *local-ness* suggested that spatial issues were also important and this will be examined in chapter 6.

5.2.3 Consultation fatigue as a form of symbolic violence

The construct of *consultation fatigue* was discussed by interviewees in connection with the concurrent series of consultation events for Moorside and NWCC held in 2016. In this context, "consultation fatigue" is defined as "*multiple requests for feedback*" causing the public to respond only to those requests with which they have an "*affinity*" (Norton and Hughes, 2018: 42). It can be caused by Local Planning Authorities allowing multiple consultations in a specific location, and projects with an extended duration (Norton and Hughes, 2018). The existence of the concept of consultation fatigue has been disputed (Miles, 2018) and it has been suggested that low response rates result from publics not engaging with a consultation unless it is a subject that they feel passionate about (Norton and Hughes, 2018). However, my analysis and interpretation of the interview data, from Pam in particular, raised a question whether consultation fatigue can also be regarded as a form of symbolic violence which exerts

overwhelming pressure on stakeholders who are required to respond to more than one project consultation at the same time on the public's behalf.

Pam expressed her frustration that Moorside and NWCC were consulted upon in two separate processes.

> *"at Moorside, NuGen do not appear to want to take any responsibility at all for NWCC. It's nothing to do with them so we're trying to make this about NuGen as well as about National Grid because its' NuGen's… they basically say 'National Grid are putting in a new… route to connect energy projects in the west of Cumbria' and it's like 'no, they're putting it in for you. They're not putting it in for anybody else, if you weren't there it wouldn't be being put in."*

Pam was aware that the two projects, Moorside and NWCC, were being consulted on concurrently despite the apparent lack of emphasis on the link from NuGen's perspective and she makes reference to those publics who are actively engaged with both projects when she says that "*people are bringing up the issue of consultation fatigue and concurrent NSIP consultations for the same area*". Pam explains how she perceives this injustice of expecting communities and stakeholders to respond to more than one NSIP:

> *"if we're talking about consultation and how the public deal with things, running the two NSIPs concurrently is totally and utterly nonsensical. It is a huge amount of work even from just one of them. Local people… general public only have themselves to get onto this, how on earth can you expect to run two NSIPs concurrently in two different parts of the County?"*

Pam also framed the problem as procedural justice by referencing the Aarhus Convention. She explained that she was "*getting legal advice on whether this actually breaks Aarhus Convention on allowing people timely access to making consultation responses*". She suggested that "*you can't expect people to be able to grasp something with tens of thousands of pages at the same time, especially when some people don't even know about it*" and "*some people won't know the difference between the two.*" The concept of consultation fatigue has been identified in other research (Natarajan *et al.,* 2019). On the basis that both PINS and Local Planning Authorities (LPAs) have a duty to ensure that major applications are not consulted upon concurrently in the same geographical area, I would argue that the two simultaneous consultations associated with NWCC and Moorside could reasonably have been expected to create issues of consultation fatigue and overwhelm stakeholders. As a conscious decision on the part of the developers, I have interpreted this action as a form of symbolic violence potentially leading to disengagement.

5.2.4 Historical factors and their relationship with symbolic violence

Sections 5.2.1 to 5.2.3 have made evident an overarching theme of complicity in acquiescing to any proposals perceived as being part of, or related to, the dominant industries of the area, through loyalty (Nooteboom, 2007). This complicity with dominance gives rise to symbolic violence through successive developer's expectations of non-opposition from local people. This has emerged as a history of people allowing themselves to be done to (Blowers, 2010, Wynne *et al.,* 2007).

Interview data suggests that there are other spatial factors which are perceived as a cause of symbolic violence in the area including the loss of traditional industries outside the nuclear industry leading to economic dependency combined with the geographical and economic peripherality of the affected communities (Blowers, 2010).

There is also a perceived history of slow violence associated with Sellafield which Pam suggested was a related factor in the public's acquiescence to this form of development (Nixon, 2011):

> *"You know, when you've had generations of 'being done to'; you've had generations of not allowing your kids on the beach because of contamination from Sellafield; you've had generations of Sellafield doing whatever the hell they want and, you know, like leukaemia clusters and all this sort of thing. I think you're probably tired, probably just can't be bothered."*

Pam was referring to a legacy of marginality and stigmatisation of communities in the study area, partly due to the nuclear association, but the area also suffers from being geographically disadvantaged leading to sparse rural populations and the physical and social disconnect from other parts of England. The progression from slow violence to symbolic violence is evident in Pam's words through enduring memories of risk and dependency (Wynne *et al.*, 2007).

Drawing from Bourdieu's Theory of Symbolic Violence and combining this conceptual approach with the existing body of work on slow violence, I have argued that the legacy of major projects in West Cumbria has resulted in a public predisposition towards disengagement from those projects related to the existing industries upon which the economic capital of the area depends. Viewing this legacy through the lens of symbolic violence evidences my assertion that this violence has been *"imperceptible and invisible even to its victims",* ultimately

leading to unconscious acquiescence through misrecognition (Bourdieu, 2001a:1)

5.3 Analysing the factors that give rise to varieties of disengagement

Section 5.2 has suggested that symbolic violence can be a significant factor in disengagement and I have argued that this can be partly attributed to the legacy of energy applications in West Cumbria. However, this section will present evidence of a wider range of factors that I have identified as contributing to the diversity of disengagement in the case study.

I have investigated the history of (dis)engagement in the area to understand some of the reasons for acceptance and acquiescence in section 5.2. In order to move away from the binary of engagement/disengagement, this section investigates other emerging diversities of engagement and discusses them under two overarching thematic categories comprising the *Voluntarily disengaged* and the *Indirectly engaged.* Section 5.3.1 examines the publics who have elected not to engage directly with the consultation process and Section 5.3.2 examines the publics who have chosen alternative, *hidden* methods of engagement either by proxy or by indirect engagement with parts of the consultation process. Each is examined using a series of variables to assess the various factors at play, including the role of symbolic violence, through a Bourdieusian lens of habitus and symbolic capital in the field. The results form part of a novel Typology of Engagement which is reproduced in its entirety in Chapter 7:258 (Table 7.1).

5.3.1 Voluntarily disengaged publics: a culture of ignorance, indifference and complicity

This section investigates those publics who have consciously abstained from being recognised as a participant, or from having a voice in the consultation process for the NWCC project. The first category of publics to be examined comprise people who are resident within the consultation area and are aware of the project but have not engaged directly with the public consultation process through choice. For that reason, they have been labelled *voluntarily disengaged publics*. To examine this category in depth, two subtypes will be considered comprising *elective disengaged publics* and *intimidated disengaged publics*.

The data emerging from interview transcripts was interrogated and coded according to emerging themes around reasons for engagement and

disengagement which have been used to inform this category. The key emerging themes comprised:

- In denial that the project will affect them
- Lacking in motivation, too busy to engage
- Acceptance or acquiescence
- Nuclear domination
- Stigmatised by low cultural capital
- Perceptions of disempowerment in decision-making
- Intimidated by the process itself or by the expert actors implementing the process

5.3.1.1 Elective disengaged publics

Elective disengaged publics comprise individuals who have made a conscious decision not to engage and are motivated by multiple factors including:

- Political disenchantment;
- Perceptions of being at odds with Sellafield as an employer
- Acceptance of the principle of development
- Spatial proximity to, or distance from, the proposed development

I will examine each of these reasons in turn and provide evidence to support my case.

The first factor is one of political disenchantment either at a national or local scale. Interview data from George, in Beckermet, reveals his belief in the dominance of centralised Governmental decision-making which is remote from Cumbria (Blowers, 2010). George believes that local voices and interests are disregarded in the public interest (Habermas, 1984) and that local people, himself included, accept that the decision is beyond their influence. This view reflects power relations both at a national and a local scale and relies on local complicity with centralised decision-making (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). As a form of symbolic violence, the decision-makers are seen as distant and remote from the case study area with an assumption of local acquiescence (Cresswell, 1996).

During data collection, multiple participants used a variation on the phrase "*they'll do what they want anyway, won't they?*" referring both to national and local decision-makers, and the project developers. The prevalence of this phrase in

interviews and spontaneous conversations during field work, was indicative of a widely held view that engagement is tokenistic at best and that the outcome is a *done deal* (Arnstein, 1969; Natarajan *et al.*, 2019). Tom has been actively engaged with the consultation process for NWCC but understands the acquiescence of the public in the face of perceived centralised decision making. He observes that many of his neighbours are intimidated by the perception of Governmental involvement and says that:

> *"the thing that makes me most angry is the fact that … a company that has a monopoly … and seems to have the OK by a lot of the Government to say 'well,… we'll build a transmission line, we'll build it the size we want, we'll build it where we want and all these plebs that live in … pretty places like the Duddon estuary, you know, they'll moan but we'll build the bloody pylons where we want and let them moan."*

Tim also referred to local governance in terms of the commitment to the Moorside project and expressed his opinion that Copeland Borough Council were exercising weight to influence decision making in the interests of the local economy. He stated that:

> "*Anything that was a risk to NuGen was seen as discontent and was seen as an issue for them to effectively try and neutralise because they don't want NuGen caught up in a campaign that's perceived to be against the reactor. So they were wedded to NuGen.*"

The interview data suggested that these participants' opinions had been formed from their experiences during the historic projects described in Section 5.2.1. Seven of the interviewees expressed feelings of disempowerment due to the dominance of the nuclear industry as a source of economic capital through employment (Wynne *et al.*, 2007). None of the participants were currently employed in the nuclear industry but associated the NWCC project with Moorside, which was also notionally linked to Sellafield in their minds. Pam described this as:

> *"…they are used to being 'done to'. They feel absolutely helpless… they don't engage because they consider the might of Sellafield and Moorside 'what can we do about it? Nothing."*

Pam refers to the perceived domination of the nuclear industry as the *might* of Sellafield which discourages any public engagement (Blowers, 2010, 2016).

The second reason for elective disengagement is evident amongst some of the participants who were currently, or previously, employed at Sellafield. Tony is a

former senior engineer at the Sellafield plant, with 40+ years' experience, and stated that he had chosen not to engage with the consultation process for the NWCC project. Tony was both highly qualified and experienced in his role with a high degree of embodied and institutionalised cultural capital, but expressed his personal reasons for elective disengagement by questioning the consultation process (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Tony confirmed that he broadly supported NWCC but sees "*no value in engagement*" because "*these things get hijacked so it's not balanced*". When asked who hi-jacked the consultations, Tony gave Greenpeace as an example referring back to past experience of Greenpeace challenging the Sellafield plant over the leakage of nuclear material onto the coast in the 1970s. When asked why he thought other people might not want to engage with the planning process he said that "*only people with a strong opinion* **for** *or* **against** *go to the consultations*" (my emphasis). He concluded by saying that he had not attended the NWCC consultations because they were "*too political*" and often ended up as "*a shouting match*".

Tony's decision not to engage with the NWCC consultation process is typical of many Sellafield employees but his personal reasons are at odds with the explanations offered by other interviewees. It has been suggested by Tim, Pam and Bill that there is a culture of disengagement emerging from peer pressure at the Sellafield plant. According to Tim who is, like Tony, a former Sellafield engineer of 37+ years' experience, he has been ostracised by former work colleagues who perceive him as a *traitor* for engaging with the NWCC consultation. Tim is clear in his support for the Moorside project in principle but says that his engagement with NWCC has caused conflict within his social networks:

> *"That's been a difficult position for me because I'm a 37 years Sellafield man. On the face of it. I've been on Radio Cumbria, been on the news, done this, I've put meself (sic) on the page. You know, people… I've worked with at Sellafield, think I'm a turncoat. A turncoat who's gone against Sellafield, you know, and it's got nothing to do with Sellafield, it's got nothing to do with nuclear. It's got to do with… protecting an environment that deserves to be protected. It's got nothing to do with the reactor in many ways, it's just got to do with finding the right technology and route with a bit more thought than National Grid could have done."*

Tim identified himself as a "*Sellafield man*" but he was concerned that he had been attributed "*outsider stigma*" by his social network of practice at Sellafield (Bell, 2016:247). Pam is not connected to Sellafield but works across Cumbria

and agreed with Tim that there is a culture of loyalty to Sellafield which leads to disengagement by workers employed in the nuclear industry:

> *"I think you've also got a lot of people in this area that work at Sellafield so they don't want to be seen to be getting on the wrong side of Sellafield and Moorside developers."*

This local acceptance has arisen from a dependency syndrome in the surrounding communities, which discourages engagement due to a "*fatalistic acceptance*" of the dominant role of Sellafield, resulting in local workers feeling that they have "*little or no choice*" (Wynne *et al.,* 2007:3).

Interviews were also conducted with participants in Rockcliffe and Wigton who were perceived to be outside the sphere of influence of Sellafield both economically and geographically, however, *elective disengaged* publics were still evident. The data was interrogated further to investigate the reasons for this diversity of engagement and to identify sources of symbolic power or symbolic violence that influenced the publics' decision to participate.

The third reason for elective engagement has been attributed to public acceptance of the principle of the development. In Rockcliffe, at the northern extent of the proposed overhead power line, Robert spoke in his capacity as a long-term (45 years) resident of the village and as a former Parish Councillor. He described a pragmatic local opinion that "*we all accept that, if we want the lights to stay on, it's gotta get here somehow.*" He also showed that he had knowledge of the planning requirement for NWCC when he described National Grid's obligations to provide a connection to the grid:

> *"They've got a duty to get electricity from Moorside into the National Grid we know and we all accepted that"*

Robert elected to engage with the consultation process in order to represent the interests of residents in his village who had questions or concerns regarding the number, size and positions of any new pylons (Alcoff, 1991). Robert explained that Rockcliffe Parish has "*more pylons…than the rest of Cumbria"* which raised concerns that local residents would be powerless to oppose additional infrastructure being proposed for the area (Blowers, 2010). Robert's opinion was expressed in terms of distributive injustice and the added burden that his village might suffer due to the presence of an existing substation (Blowers, 2010; Walker,

2012). He referred to the "*beauty areas*", meaning the Lake District National Park, and accepted that these areas should be protected:

> "*We were at the end of the line if you know what I mean and all the money was being spent in the beauty areas. You can understand, but up here … we got the feeling that, 'well they're already used to pylons, just leave them with them….*"

Robert is acquiescing to the *stigmatisation of place* (Parkhill *et al.,* 2014). This is an acceptance of the existing power relations in the energy planning process and, by accepting his own argument based on a historic feeling of *being done to* as a village, Robert is seen to be contributing to his own subordination (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

The fourth type of elective engagement can be attributed to factors such as spatial distance or lack of proximity. Elective disengagement is evident in Wigton from interviews, participant observation and informal conversations with local residents. The majority of people engaged in informal conversation were unaware of the existence of the NWCC project despite posters on Town Council noticeboards and advertisements in the local newspaper. Interviews were conducted with two Wigton residents who either experienced or observed elective disengagement in the town. Jenny remembered receiving a copy of the NWCC consultation newsletter in the post but decided not to attend either the proposed consultation events or respond to the request for feedback because she said:

> "*They sent us a communication… with a map of how, where it was all going to affect and I can't really remember that much about it because, at the time, I didn't really think it was going to affect us…You know, I thought it was a way away but it isn't…'… 'it was only sometime after we got this leaflet… this pamphlet through. It was a fold-up map with details of the pylons and I kind of was wondering 'why are we getting that?' and then there was going to be some disturbance…*"

Jenny acknowledged her awareness of the NWCC project but explained that no one had ever discussed it with her until she was interviewed as part of this research. Jenny is very engaged with issues of flooding in the town and also attends employer's forums in the local area so that she has an awareness of economic capital with regard to employment (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). She also attends Town Council meetings when issues are to be discussed that are relevant to her or her employer, Innovia. She explained her lack of engagement with NWCC by describing the generic nature of the consultation newsletter and stated that the project description was not specific to Wigton

(Rydin *et al.,* 2015). She says that "*we dismissed it, because it was very generic.*" Jenny was also deterred from attending the consultation events by the language of the consultation newsletter which she interpreted as relating to Sellafield and the Energy Coast (Natarajan *et al.,* 2019). She explains that:

> "*We're inland. From our perspective, everything is in the west around Sellafield and we're forgotten about. We didn't understand why we got the letters because it didn't apply to us. Everything is down near Sellafield and on the coast. Even the name West Coast Connections, we're not on the coast, we're nowhere near, so we didn't think it would affect us.*"

Jenny is referring to a lack of proximity to the Energy Coast which she regards as being in someone else's backyard. This gives greater clarity on the way in which the Energy Coast, and Sellafield in particular, appears to have a marginalising effect on communities who do not directly benefit from the economic capital of the nuclear industry (Blowers, 2010, 2016; Wynne *et al.,* 2007). Jenny sees Sellafield as the focus of economic capital in West Cumbria and expresses her town's otherness in terms of being *forgotten about* (Blowers, 2010, 2016; Blowers and Leroy, 1994; Cloke and Little, 1997). In accepting that the nuclear industry is distinguished in West Cumbria, Jenny is complicit in the marginalisation of her community and feels powerless against the choice of language and project name which prioritises coastal development (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). The power relations that were evident in the area around Beckermet and Gosforth remain unexpectedly relevant to more distant communities like Wigton, which is not dependent on Sellafield for employment, and yet the Energy Coast remains a source of domination and outsider stigma (Bell, 2016). Jenny feels marginalised both by geographical distance from the Energy Coast (Blowers, 2010) and by her town's exclusion from the industries that are perceived to bring the greatest symbolic capital to the field (Bell, 2016; Bourdieu, 1991).

5.3.1.2 Intimidated disengaged publics

The *intimated disengaged* publics are a sub-type of the *elective disengaged* public, but the decision not to engage is due to complicity with symbolic violence emerging from power relations in the field of public consultation as informed by cultural capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). In the case study, the evidence of *intimidated engaged* publics emerged from interviews and participant observation but the variant was initially identified by a TSO during a discussion

at an Energy and Communities seminar, at the University of Exeter, in 2015. The TSO observation had arisen from the consultation process connected to the proposed Beauly Denny overhead power line but there was no supporting empirical evidence from that project and it was suggested that this could be an area for further consideration. The *intimidated disengaged* publics are specific to the exercising of symbolic power within the planning process and are linked to the role of the expert in subordinating those publics who have low cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

During the data collection process, none of the participants in the semi-structured interviews were identified as *intimidated disengaged* but their observations of, and interactions with, other publics enabled them to describe the characteristics of this variant. In Beckermet, Bill referred to the challenges of assimilating and interpreting the extensive documentation supporting the planning process. He suggested that it takes time and a high level of understanding to be able to engage with the literature (Natarajan *et al.,* 2018, 2019). This opinion was also shared by Tim who added that local people were overwhelmed with the volume and complexity of the technical information (Natarajan *et al.,* 2019). Tim described this as a strategy of "*shock and awe*" in order to overwhelm local publics:

> *"we were looking at an Environmental Report which they'd put onto the internet,… which run to thousands and thousands of pages,… I mean, people at that point,.. you could see that they were just being overawed with the amount of detail that was coming at them, you know, just the number of booklets the number of information and it felt like a strategy of er… shock and awe whereby, if we could drown them in information they won't be able to get their head above the water because they won't work their way through this."*

Alan explained that it was necessary to complete a twelve page long form to give consultation feedback, which he described as "*over the top*", and suggested that some local publics would struggle to understand the information provided (Natarajan *et al.,* 2019; Rydin *et al.*, 2015). He referred to his own experience as an engineer which enabled him to understand technical information and he attributed this to embodied and institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). He also referenced the protest group Power without Pylons who organised *surgeries* to empower intimidated publics to complete the forms. He suggested that some local actors would not have responded without this offer of capacity building:

"Power without Pylons were helping people do it. Because people were so put off by it, you can understand why they didn't respond. You know, I mean I'm an engineer, I'm in a position where that doesn't faze me really but even I, when I looked at it, I thought 'my God' you know?"

Interviewees identified three main reasons for the presence of intimidated publics in the field of consultation. Firstly Bill, Tim and Alan's assertion that the technical reports and feedback forms discouraged participation and secondly the method by which information was shared, for example by digital means. A familiarity with responding online coupled with good access to the internet was regarded as being essential, particularly in an area with historically poor internet connections. Tim suggested that *"it's probably easier in some ways for the younger generation who are very, sort of, social media savvy"* and went on to explain that the reliance on IT to respond to consultations was both intimidating for some older groups and excluded others through the availability of suitable broadband speeds (Natarajan *et al.,* 2019; Rydin, 2020). Tim suggested that the use of virtual methods in consultation created local barriers to participation through digital exclusion:

"a lot of the stuff was done on IT, people hate IT, you know, and that is a barrier in its own right, particularly for much of the older community. They find that, you know, challenging, it's not right so, you know, there are a number of things that are barriers."

I also identified a third type of intimidated public from my participant observation at consultation events, including Aspatria near Wigton. I observed several retired couples who were dependent on the staff at the event to explain the maps and technical materials to them (Rydin *et al.,* 2018a). The participants voiced an assumption that the proposals were fixed and decisions had already been made with regard to the proposed alignment close to their property (Natarajan *et al.*, 2019). The *expert* consultant with whom they were in conversation, suggested that any change in the overhead line alignment in order to benefit their homes would subsequently negatively impact on other residents. In one instance, the same expert suggested that the perceived impact on a hamlet of three properties would be preferable to impacting a greater number of people in a village nearby. A retired couple, from the hamlet, were actively discouraged from objecting on the basis of the distributive justice argument that this would adversely impact their neighbours (Walker, 2012). There was an assumption on my part that these publics were engaged with the process by attending the events, but I observed that they refused the feedback forms and chose not to engage further. This could

be interpreted as acquiescence but, in that context, it appeared as a form of intimidation through the presentation of project information as *a done deal* (Natarajan *et al.*, 2019; Rydin, 2020). This appeared to reinforce the belief of several participants, who expressed an opinion, that *"they'll do what they want anyway, won't they?"*

This thesis has not specifically undertaken a detailed analysis of intersectionality in the case study but it appears likely that this may also contribute to intimidated engagement (Crenshaw, 1989). The data collection did not distinguish between age, gender or class but several participants suggested that women were more likely to be intimidated by engineering led consultation events. Pam suggested that this was due to the local *masculine* culture and the expectation that women's roles are clearly defined in rural communities, particularly in farming (Bell, 2016):

> *"Women,… they're excluded and I really think that because… it's very traditional and it's very old-fashioned and it's very sad."*

Pam's opinion was supported by data collected through event ethnography at Gosforth Agricultural Show in 2016 and 2017. In 2016, none of the women engaged in conversation had attended a consultation event although their husbands had often attended. The women told me that they had not discussed the project with their husbands afterwards. When asked why they had not attended, they explained that they were too busy with family commitments and balancing their lives and work in farming which was a "*masculine culture*" (Bell, 2016:82). This suggests that new ways of giving voices to local people are required (Rydin *et al.*, 2018a). When asked what would make a difference to how they could engage, several women said that they would like National Grid to engage them in ways that would fit in with their lives, such as having a presence at the local agricultural shows. An investigation of the minutes for the Community Liaison Group in 2015 reveals that this form of engagement was proposed by an external consultant but it was disregarded by the consultation team. This raised doubts around the understanding of local requirements and also an apparent preference by the developer for an instrumental approach to formal events which were both less convenient for some publics and potentially intimidating for others.

Follow-up conversations were held with the women in 2017 and two of the women confirmed that they had subsequently attended consultation events, in December 2016 and January 2017, but they had been discouraged from responding through

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formal means by their experience of engaging with the expert actors. The first of the women said *"we respond but nobody gets back to us"* and this was supported by another woman who said "*You can ask questions and they say, "oh yes, somebody'll get back to you" but they never do… I don't know, what's the point?"* This perception of a lack of procedural justice ultimately discouraged further engagement (Walker, 2012).

In summary, there appear to be two main aspects of symbolic violence at play in the *elective disengagement* variant. The first type of symbolic violence has emerged from the institutional habitus of the Energy Coast and specifically the nuclear industry with clear evidence of peer pressure and expectations of a culture of loyalty from both employers and work colleagues. Despite emerging from a community of practice, the data suggests that this example is place-based in West Cumbria but this will be investigated further in Chapter 6. There is also evidence that the impacts extend beyond the community of practice to towns and villages that have been marginalised by being remote from that community (Blowers, 2010, 2016; Shields, 1992; Wynne *et al.,* 2007).

The second aspect of symbolic violence is space-based and emerges from the interplay of power relations within the field of public consultation for this project. The main drivers are the position of the technical experts who dominate the field, through embedded cultural capital, relying upon the subordination of local publics who are complicit with their own domination (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). This form of symbolic violence is not project specific or place based and emerges from the NSIP process (Rydin *et al.,* 2018a; Rydin *et al.*, 2015).

5.3.2 Varieties of indirect engagement and the role of the intermediary

Section 5.3.1 has examined varieties of *dis*engagement and section 5.3.2 will investigate varieties of indirect engagement. This is a category encompassing publics who are resident within the consultation area and have not engaged with the public consultation process except through indirect methods, including representatives (Mahony *et al.,* 2010). Two varieties will be considered comprising *engaged disengaged* publics and *disengaged engaged* publics. A third diversity of engagement examines the role of a *representative voice* in the process who speaks for those publics who either do not have a voice or who choose to speak through, or be represented by, an intermediary (Devine-Wright, 2012; Mahony *et al.*, 2010). This differs from the role of an intermediary who has

been appointed by a developer to liaise with the public (Fischer and Guy, 2009) and, in this case study, refers to a locally based individual or organisation who attempts to mediate between the developer (National Grid) and the public (Devine-Wright, 2012). The data suggests that this emerges from issues of personal trust in social groups or institutions such as Parish Councils (Nooteboom, 2007).

5.3.2.1 Engaged disengaged publics

The *engaged disengaged* individual emerged from the data coding and analysis as an actor who had chosen not to engage directly and relied on the engagement of others in their community to express their views or represent their interests (Mahony *et al.*, 2010). The responsibility for representation is passed on to local representatives such as Parish Councillors who are perceived as capital rich and trusted by the individual or community (Nooteboom, 2007).

The *engaged disengaged* differ from the *elective disengaged* in section 5.3.1.1 because they have made a decision not to engage directly with the consultation process based on the expectation of having a nominated representative who is able and willing to speak for them (Mahony *et al.*, 2010). This is either a deliberate decision to nominate a proxy who is perceived as having greater symbolic capital to take to the field of power relations, or, it is a reticence to engage directly with a process which is seen as intimidating or confusing as a result of the technical focus and planning process (Natarajan *et al.,* 2018). The representative is also likely to have voluntarily positioned themselves to speak for others in additional to engaging on a personal level as discussed in Chapter 4 (Alcoff, 1991).

Data was collected through conversations with individuals who indirectly described themselves in terms of the above characteristics of the *engaged disengaged.* These conversations took place at community events such as the Gosforth Agricultural Show where visitors were engaged in conversation during the course of the show day. Supporting data was also collected through conversations and semi-structured interviews with Parish Councillors who were referenced by the other participants and, in some instances, identified as their representative. This also enabled the analysis of the data to examine how the nominated representatives viewed themselves and their responsibility in speaking for others (Alcoff, 1991).

Susan is a resident of Beckermet and situates herself as someone who prefers for her voice to be represented by the Parish Council. She is regarded as local with a high degree of social capital through membership of a number of local societies and she has extensive knowledge of the history of her community (Bourdieu, 1990a). However, she has delegated her voice in the process to the Parish Council and to one named Councillor in particular (Mahony *et al.*, 2010). When asked about the project she confirmed that she had not attended any of the consultation events and said:

> "*You should speak to the Parish Council, they gather the information and speak for us. Bill is very good.*"

Susan's decision to trust Bill to speak on her behalf is supported by Bob and Joan who live in the same village and said "*Bill does it all for us*". They are aware of the process but have chosen to rely upon Bill's local knowledge and experience in communication and not to engage with the public consultations themselves (Mahony *et al.*, 2010). This is largely due to trust and an acknowledgement of Bill's distinction as an expert (Bourdieu, 1984; Nooteboom, 2007).

5.3.2.2 The role of the representative voice

The role of intermediaries has received limited research attention and has mainly focussed on intermediaries employed by developers to facilitate communication with local communities on developments such as onshore wind farms (Devine-Wright, 2012). Bill's role differs from that of a traditional intermediary in that he is independent of the developer and his role has emerged from his knowledge and experience as evidenced in his role on the Parish Council. In this way, he is a representative of the community's voice rather than an intermediary (Mahony *et al.*, 2010). A semi-structured interview with Bill gave an insight into his understanding of the local resident's reliance upon him to speak for them. Through an interview, it emerged that Bill would not typically be regarded as *local* on the basis that he has lived in the village for forty years and initially moved to Beckermet to take up employment at Sellafield. However, following retirement, Bill made a decision to remain in the village that had become his home and to take up a role on the Parish Council. He suggests that his embodied cultural capital in the form of qualifications and experience of public speaking at public inquiries, and on national media, enable him to engage with expert actors without experiencing personal intimidation (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). In

conversation, Bill describes himself as having a role representing others (Mahony *et al.*, 2010):

"There's always people, individuals and people like us, representing."

The use of the phrase *people like us* is used by Bill as a form of *distinction* (Bourdieu, 1984, 2002) and refers to a fellow Parish Councillor who has a shared disposition, through a similar habitus, and embodied cultural capital which enables him to engage with technical literature (Bourdieu, 1990a; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Bill's role as a representative is spatially limited to the village boundary of Beckermet although he stated during the interview that he had acquired knowledge and experience from conversing with similar villages, in other parts of the UK, affected by proposed overhead powerlines (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Bill's awareness of external knowledge capital varies from other representative voices who are more likely to focus on local knowledge and collaboration (Mahony *et al.*, 2010).

The representative voice challenges the power exerted by expert actors in the consultation process and resists the subordination of intimidated publics by giving a voice to their communities (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Mahony *et al.*, 2010). In addition to the normative view that communities should have a voice in decisions that affect them (DCLG, 2008, 2011), there is an added dimension of emotion in engaging with the siting of proposed development (Cass and Walker, 2009). In the case of NWCC, emotion was cited in two interviews as being a reason for public disengagement through a lack of symbolic capital. In Beckermet, Bill was surprised by the emotional response to the proposals as voiced by people within his Parish. He said:

"what was different for me is the number of people who've either emailed me personally, not only with comments that they'd like to take into account, but emotions. It's been quite staggering, all people who've stopped me in the street are more or less saying 'keep going, we're relying on you' and it's taken me aback a bit."

Bill suggests that this is an additional burden which has been placed on him as a community representative, with little or no planning experience, to mediate in the consultation process for the proposed NWCC (Parker and Street, 2018). The reliance on Bill has arisen in recognition of his symbolic capital, predominantly cultural and social, and the trust that local people have for him as the representative of their voices of concern (Nooteboom, 2007). The reasons for the

lack of trust in the proposed NWCC development and the emotional response identified by Bill in Beckermet are due to recent experience of the Moorside application as discussed in section 5.2.

The reliance placed upon the actions of the representative can also lead to frustration in attempts to undertake capacity building, enabling participation by engaged disengaged publics. In the NWCC case study, two representative voices explained how they had attempted to give agency to publics within their Parish. The first quotation is from Bill's interview in Beckermet and the second quotation is from Tim's interview in Furness:

> *"In putting out all this information, to villagers, there's a fine line between trying to make it easy for them to understand what's being said and **not spoon feeding them** as much as to say 'you've got to agree with what I'm saying' you know, so I've always been very careful with my language in saying 'these are the points that occur to us, please use some of them if you want to… the important thing is that you put in your own response."*

> *"We had the community events… and the… surgeries which, I have to say, were a bit of a dead loss to be honest. I was pretty disappointed… **people wanted to be spoon-fed**. They wanted a one template letter that they could send in. That's what they wanted. They'd sign, do anything for you as long as you wrote the letter for them… so the passion was there but the ability to translate the passion into… something which was written was very difficult for some people to commit to."*

Bill and Tim use similar language to describe their interaction with the engaged disengaged publics who rely upon them to represent their interests. Bill and Tim sought to encourage local residents to engage directly with the process by disseminating information and creating opportunities for knowledge exchange. Tim's account varies from Bill's in that he refers to a *passion* to engage which suggests a transitional stage of emotion from elective disengagement to some form of direct engagement with the process albeit with third party support. Tim is a member of the Parish Council Consultation Group in the southern section of the NWCC route with the stated aim of creating a "*stronger voice to be heard within the consultation process*" and motivating constituents to engage with National Grid (PCCG, 2016). These aims encompass two of the variants discussed above including the *elective disengaged* and the *engaged disengaged*, particularly those publics who are intimidated by the process.

5.3.2.3 Disengaged engaged publics

The *disengaged engaged* individuals are defined in this research case study as individuals who are intrinsically part of the consultation process, for example as a landowner or tenant farmer, but choosing not to otherwise actively engage with, or input to, the process. These actors are constructed differently by the developer as participants in a wider process of engagement involving access to their land or property for surveys and accommodation works (Rydin *et al.,* 2018a). In the case study, these publics were observed as participating only as far as they are required by the planning process. This included permitting access to their land for surveys but having little or no interest in the outcome and choosing not to engage with the formal consultation process. The number of actors in this category is anticipated to be low, based on the potential number of landowners along the route which is characterised by agricultural land with scattered farms. All of the interviewees who were identified as having this variant of engagement, were present at Gosforth Agricultural Show and lived on the central section of the route between Beckermet and the Duddon Valley. Consequently all of their land lies within the National Park boundary.

Jack lives close to Gosforth on land which has been owned for several generations by his family (Bourdieu, 1998). He refers to it as a *family farm* lying within the boundary of the Lake District National Park. He described his engagement with representatives of National Grid and said:

> *"It runs right through my farm… I'm not bothered. I'm in the National Park (and) I would have preferred the pylons to be honest, it would affect me less. They're going to put cables through. It's a hell of a disruption but I'm not bothered. They've been down doing surveys, all hedges and such-like. I don't know much… they didn't have positions for the pylons. What we don't need here is more windmills."*

The proposal to underground the NWCC within the National Park resulted from objections and concerns from stakeholders, such as FLD, around the visual impact of the pylons on the protected landscape. Jack views his land in terms of his farming practices and disregards the visual effects of the proposed high voltage line. The installation of cables will require the excavation of his farmland which will render some areas inaccessible for the duration of the works. In terms of agricultural practice and stock rotation this is of greater inconvenience than the installation of pylons and their eventual stringing. When asked, Jack says that he

did not attend any of the public consultation events although he has had a lot of contact with ecologists and surveyors on his land.

Jack engages with the NWCC team as a landowner but appears to have no emotional response to the changes proposed for his land. He is accepting of the disruption and his subjugation is complicit with the symbolic violence being done against his family's land (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Jack's acceptance of the disruption to his farm was mirrored by other farmers at the Gosforth Agricultural Show. Nick is a landowner on the Duddon Estuary and, like Jack, he owns land that has been in his family for several generations. He opened the conversation by saying, *"They'll do what they want anyway, won't they?"* and he had the *taken for grantedness* of an elective disengaged individual. However, he went on to say that he would prefer pylons to the undergrounding that he was being offered across his land and explained that he was unconcerned by the appearance of pylons. He had not attended any of the local consultation events and defended himself against criticism from people he knew who were standing nearby. Nick is also accepting of the symbolic violence against his land and complicit with the dominance of the power relations in his engagement with the developer, National Grid (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

Two other landowners in the area, each with the ownership of only one field, did not fit the emergent characteristics of the *disengaged engaged* variant despite being directly impacted by the surveys required for the installation of the high voltage line across their land. Lisa was originally from Hampshire and was not considered local, having moved up to West Cumbria in recent years. She had attended the consultation events. Her relationship with the land differed from Jack and Nick whose families had worked their land over generations resulting in the inculcation of farming practice in successive generations of their family (Bourdieu, 1990a).

The *disengaged engaged* variant has predominantly been identified in a specific group of individuals along the route and, in this case study area, appears to emerge from the habitus of local farmers who have occupied their land over multiple generations and formed a history of farming practices (Bourdieu, 1990a). However, a variant on the theme of the *disengaged engaged* individual has also emerged from the data coded as *representative voice*. The existence of public representatives has already been discussed in connection with their role in

facilitating a form of proxy engagement for publics who would not otherwise engage with the process (Mahony *et al.*, 2010). However, there are also actors within local government who are expected to formally engage and fulfil this role as statutory stakeholder. Eric lives on the Furness peninsular and stated that:

> *"People do sometimes defer to local Councillors, Parish Councillors and so on. But it doesn't follow that because they defer to them that they necessarily make much effort."*

Eric suggested that there is a variant of disengaged representative voice that has been evident in the process of stakeholder consultation basing his opinion on his previous experience as a Parish Council Clerk.

In the first stage of the consultation process for NWCC, National Grid established a Stakeholder Reference Group (SRG) made up of key stakeholders who wished to be involved in general discussions about the Project. The stakeholders comprised both statutory consultees including Cumbria County Council, Copeland Borough Council and Allerdale District Council, and non-statutory consultees including the Lake District National Park and FLD. The SRG was established as a method of two-way communication between the project team and the stakeholder members who were representing various interests, including the public, and the SRG meetings continued at intervals throughout the pre-application stage of the project (Rowe and Frewer, 2005).

Pam was interviewed for this research as a member of the SRG and described the lack of engagement by the statutory consultees when compared with the non-statutory consultees such as her own organisation:

> *"You can see how they act with who they consider to be their important stakeholders which is all of the County Council and that sort of thing. You can also see how crap some of the stakeholders are. So, the County Council will send 8 people in and not a single person will say anything….. It's the absences that you don't actually realise… So Copeland won't say anything. County Council don't say anything. Allerdale, the staff don't say anything."*

Pam suggested that the views of statutory consultees are given greater weight than non-statutory consultees (Rydin *et al.,* 2018a). Her experience of the SRG was that the non-statutory consultees are more likely to engage in dialogue and to represent the views of their members. She referred to absences meaning the lack of any formal response from the key organisations addressed within the discourse. The complicity of the statutory consultees in not challenging the prevailing power relations within the discourse can be attributed to the economic

capital of the various authorities (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Wynne *et al.*, 2007). The economic benefit of the Moorside and NWCC projects were prioritised allowing for the subjugation of unrepresented and voiceless local publics (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). As part of this research, an interview was arranged with a Copeland Borough Councillor but permission was subsequently withdrawn for the interview to take place on the basis of the interviewee being time constrained. However, the Councillor offered a personal opinion on the reasons for public disengagement and said:

> *"You want to know why people don't engage? Because they're too bloody lazy."*

Despite his role in representing the public's interest, the Councillor appeared to transfer responsibility for engagement to the public that he represents. In the case study, the disengaged engaged representative voices in local government appeared to acquiesce to the power of the dominant actors in the consultation process (Bourdieu, 1991). The source of this power is the promise of investment to the area and the distinction arising from the perceived national significance of the project giving rise to symbolic power as a source of symbolic violence in the subjugation of key stakeholders (Bourdieu, 1984, 1991). The representative voices are trusted individuals and groups (Nooteboom, 2007) who are actively engaged in the consultation process for NWCC and constructed as actively engaged publics in Chapter 4. These actors can be regarded as *multiply connected* by belonging to different categories of actors which may overlap in the process (Rydin *et al.,* 2018a).

5.4 Discussion and Conclusion

Chapter 5 has firstly examined the legacy of disengagement through the lens of Bourdieu's Theory of Symbolic Violence and suggested where symbolic violence has been a factor as evident from the case study. The data analysis suggests that the planning process for NSIPs has given rise to local publics who are disempowered by the technical discourse and a lack of transparency in decision-making (Natarajan *et al.,* 2018). The legacy of expert actors in energy projects, who were perceived to be out of place, has resulted in an underlying mistrust of outside experts in the case study area. This includes actors who are not only *out of place* but also empowered to make decisions for local projects (Cresswell, 1996). Consultation fatigue arising from multiple simultaneous NSIPs has also

impacted on both stakeholders and publics in the Moorside and NWCC projects and is contrary to good consultation practice (Natarajan *et al.,* 2019). It was perceived by Pam and Tim as a form of hidden violence in preventing them from effectively responding to the consultation process.

The legacy of consultations for major projects in the West Cumbria has given rise to perceptions of disempowerment in previous applications. The residual memory of distrust from this past experience has been produced, reproduced and perpetuated, and has impacted on both the expectations and dispositions of local people leading to complicity and disengagement (Wynne *et al.*, 2007). This legacy of mistrust extends to both local and national levels of governance and an expectation of ongoing County, Borough, District and Parish Council support for economic security at the expense of local communities. Much of this is due to the perceptions of complicity with the dominant nuclear industry in the area with the value placed on economic capital, through local governance, relying upon an expectation of non-opposition from local people. As expressed by Pam, this has resulted in a history of people allowing themselves to be done to (Wynne *et al.*, 2007). The presence of LULUs in the case study has also resulted in local perceptions of national stigma as viewed from outside the County. The literature has suggested that a history of marginality, peripherality and stigma has emerged from the geographical isolation of West Cumbria, the loss of historic industries and the limited symbolic capital of low and dispersed populations (Blowers, 2010)

To understand whether the underlying thread of symbolic violence running through these factors is unique to the study area or transferable, I would argue that the NWCC case study partially supports the evidence from Gaventa (1980, 2016) and Blowers (2016) that an area dominated by a particular industry, of high economic capital and institutional habitus, results in greater complicity and voluntary disengagement through dependency. This can give rise to the symbolic violence of peer pressure and the demands for loyalty emerging from the dependency of the employees. There is also potential for a local divide between actors who work for, or benefit from, the dominant industry and those who do not (Gaventa, 1980; Bell, 2016).

There is existing evidence that disengagement emerges from areas with low social capital and predominantly affects marginal groups (Bell, 2009, 2016) but my case study adds to this knowledge by introducing greater complexity to the

understanding of disengagement. The evidence from my case study highlights varying forms of geographical and social marginalisation akin to Mackenzie's case studies, (Mackenzie and Dalby, 1997, 2003; Pini and Mackenzie, 2006) although with different outcomes in terms of varieties of (dis)engagement. In Mackenzie's case studies it is partly the geographical marginalisation that serves to draw individuals and communities together to oppose the super quarry proposals but this is less evident in Cumbria (Mackenzie and Dalby, 2003).

Chapter 4 has already examined the evidence that power, and symbolic violence, can act as a catalyst for engagement in those publics who have a high degree of social and cultural capital. A number of factors are therefore playing a part in the decision whether to engage or not and, although symbolic violence is evident as a key driver in acceptance, acquiescence and types of disengagement, it is not the only factor at play in the case study. Instances where symbolic violence is a primary reason for disengagement have been made evident in this chapter, but other variables have emerged including the relationship between different forms of capital, the habitus of the individual and the relationship with communities of practice and place.

Chapter 5 has investigated the diversities of engagement that challenge the binary of engagement and disengagement. It has also introduced new elements to the *Typology of Engagement* and thereby expands current thinking around disengagement. The varieties of engagement examined in Chapter 5 are summarised in Table 5.1 overleaf.

Variety of engagement	Sub-type	Definition	Characteristics
Voluntarily disengaged	Elective disengaged	An individual who makes a conscious decision not to engage.	Political disenchantment. Lack of trust in the developer from past experience and sees no value in engagement. Conflicts with aspects of own life/ employment/ community. A lack of confidence in the process Prioritises potential project benefits e.g. employment, over potential for negative effects.
	Intimidated disengaged	Publics who choose not to attend events due to a lack of confidence or low self-worth. OR Publics who attend but do not engage	Resigned to outcome in favour of developer. Complicity. Feeling of lack of worth or importance, perceived lack of knowledge, low educational capacity, disadvantaged by disability or language. Geographical or social exclusion/stigma.
Indirectly engaged	Engaged disengaged	An individual or community who relies on the engaged representative voice to represent their interests	Elected not to engage through reliance on representation by others. Passes responsibility to capital rich representatives such as Parish Councillors. Lack of cultural capital, knowledge, confidence. Intimidated by process.
	Disengaged engaged	Intrinsically part of the process e.g. as an affected landowner/tenant farmer but choosing not to otherwise actively engage with, or input to, the process	Pragmatic approach. Directly engaged by developer/actors but limited involvement e.g. persons with an interest in the land but having no interest in outcomes. Broad acceptance of process, not active. Taken for grantedness.

Representative voice	Engaged individual	Typically a local office holder representing the interests of others (individuals who speak for disengaged or seldom-heard voices)	Responsibility for speaking on behalf of others e.g. a Parish Councillor, representing the interests of a community, who considers that he has a duty to facilitate representative and legitimate speech in the consultation process. Seeks personal distinction as a spokesperson . Motivated by a belief that publics have a right to be heard and to have their opinions considered in the process. The rep voice is an active participant in their own right.
	Disengaged individual	A local office holder (typically a Parish or Town Council) choosing not to engage with the process e.g. on the basis that there is no perceived public engagement/interest	Formal stakeholders who do not engage with the process, i.e. information is all one-way. Process is seen as an information gathering exercise with no legitimate dialogue between parties.
	Group	An organisation/group claiming to represent a range of unheard voices e.g. protest groups, environmental groups.	Engaged representative group (groups who speak for disengaged or seldom-heard voices) often politically motivated. Recognises and actively opposes sources of symbolic violence.

Table 5.1: Summary of the types of engagement identified in Chapter 5

The analysis of the data has suggested that disengagement in Cumbria may emerge from the dispositions of the local habitus and perceptions of marginalisation and stigma which have been shown to be partly place-based and partly resulting from historic experiences of planning applications for energy. The habitus of the communities has been formed through factors that are inextricably linked to place in terms of the rurality which is juxtaposed with the nuclear legacy. There are also underlying factors leading to disengagement including marginalisation, isolation and small communities perceived to be without power or voice.

It is apparent that some of the diversities of engagement discussed, particularly those associated with process, are non-place specific but aspects of place-based factors have emerged. It will therefore be helpful to investigate the diversities of disengagement, not fully explained by the concepts used in chapters 4 and 5, by the novel introduction of *place* in Chapter 6 to complement the research framed around Bourdieu's concepts, particularly the habitus of the participants. A place based approach will examine to what extent place plays a part in the evident varieties of disengagement and assess what might be transferable to other scenarios. Place has already emerged as a cross cutting theme in the diversities of engagement that have been made evident by the research. In chapter 6, I will investigate to what extent place, and the choice of case study, appears to be a key factor in the emerging diversities of engagement with a focus on disengagement from the public consultation process for major infrastructure.

Chapter 6: Place matters: Investigating the relationship between space and place, and its effect on public engagement in West Cumbria

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 takes a novel approach to understanding place-based diversities of engagement and builds on Bourdieu's concepts by examining questions concerning place specificity emerging from the conclusions to chapters 4 and 5 The chapter also sets out the ways in which forms of capital and domination are rooted in place-making practices and sets out how this is connected to place in the case study. Chapters 4 and 5 have recognised that Bourdieu's theory and concepts can help to address certain gaps in understanding diversities of engagement with the existing planning framework for major infrastructure. However, place is widely recognised as being underplayed by Bourdieu (Bridge, 2011) and so a new position taking elements of Bourdieu and adding a place dimension is proposed and examined in this chapter. The introduction of this place-based approach will bring an added dimension that adds even greater depth to the concept of habitus and the chapter will respond to Research Question 3:

> *To what extent does a combined understanding of habitus and the public's relationship with place enable us to better understand local variations in diversities of engagement?*

The chapter incorporates three areas of investigation and firstly examines the case study communities' relationship with space and place followed by an examination of how this helps to inform our overall understanding of the case study when combined with a knowledge of habitus. Finally, I use these discussions and findings to assess the relationship between habitus, place and diversities of engagement in the study area.

Chapter 4 has made evident the influence of habitus and symbolic capital in the diversities of engagement that have emerged from the field of public consultation for NWCC. Chapter 5 has developed the theme of institutional and procedural domination, as introduced in the Literature Review, and investigated the effect of symbolic violence on insiderness, outsiderness and the evident diversities of

engagement. Overarching themes of space and place are woven through chapters 4 and 5, which appear to be inextricably linked to the habitus of the communities and individuals. Whilst habitus informs our understanding of social space, it contributes less to our detailed understanding of the importance of physical place and this chapter seeks to address this gap through an investigation of the public's relationship with place, in the case study, and the relationship with habitus.

In considering the habitus of the individuals and communities of the study area in chapter 4, the data draws clear distinctions between *locals* and *offcomers*. This theme continues in chapter 5 which develops the themes of *insiderness* and *outsiderness* and this is expanded in chapter 6 by examining how this relates to place through framing actors as being *in place* or *out of place*.

This chapter is organised in three parts. Part 1 investigates the actor's spatial perceptions of the study area from a National scale to a Local scale, and how this affects power relations and political engagement. Part 2 is a place based study at a local level and explores what it means to live in, and belong to, a place and how that affects varieties of people-place relations in the selected villages. Attention is also given to who is regarded as being *out-of-place* in each of the villages. The relationship between habitus, people-place relations, identity and engagement is predicted to be more evident at this scale. Part 3 is a discussion assessing the relationship between place and social space, in the case study villages, and how engagement and disengagement with the NWCC project are evidenced and understood in this context. This section will also revisit the typology of engagement introduced in Chapters 4 and 5 to understand to what extent place can influence the diversities of disengagement.

6.2 Space

The people I spoke with, in the three selected communities of West Cumbria, constructed political and social spaces in different ways and this section briefly considers how different individual's narratives around engagement linked spatial constructs across a range of scales from national to local. Each is discussed in terms of the field and power relations, particularly with regard to who is perceived as having the dominant power.

6.2.1 National and Regional scale

Centralised decision-making by the UK Government was raised as an issue by several of the interviewees across the study area. This was presented as a belief that major infrastructure consultations in particular are *London-centric* without an input from local voices other than Members of Parliament for the local constituencies. George, who lives in Beckermet, expressed his opinion that major infrastructure consultations are *"London-centric"* with the perception that West Cumbria is not important; "*it is a dumping ground; there aren't many people and it's not vocal enough."* There is a belief that energy and infrastructure decisions in particular are made to serve a national rather than local need and that decision-making is silent on local issues. With the perceived dominance of the nuclear industry, Wynne *et al.* (2007) have observed that *"West Cumbria is seen by at least a proportion of its residents as stigmatised in the eyes of the rest of the country by its perceived servile dependent relationship to the nuclear industry."* (Wynne *et al.,* 2007:9). In addition, Peripheral communities tend to be politically powerless with strategic decisions being taken elsewhere (Blowers, 2019).

Nowhere is the disparity between National and Local need and decision-making more evident than in the proposals for a coal mine in Whitehaven although this was not mentioned in any of the interviews (Mason, 2021).

This perception of stigma is, according to Wynne *et al.* (2007), coupled with a local resentment at the inadequate infrastructure, particularly roads and health services, *"paid for by central government, to compensate the area for the sense of dependency and stigma arising from the industry's dominance"* (Wynne *et al.*, 2007:9) This view was supported by a number of residents in Copeland District, particularly Barbara, speaking from her perspective as a retired NHS manager for the region, and Mark, a retired Sellafield engineer who lives in Gosforth. Mark stated that *"it's just been the case that they really don't know about how bad our roads are, and how bad our rail line,… until they come 'ere and see for themselves."* By *they*, Mark is referring to his perceptions of central Government decision makers as being remote from both regional and local issues. This perceived resentment of the domination of the UK Government in local decision-making can also be understood through the lens of symbolic violence as discussed in Chapter 5. The local perception of national stigma also plays out through problems associated with attracting outsiders into employment.

As a result of the Local Government Act of 1972, the political map of Cumbria was restructured on 1 April 1974, abolishing the historical Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland and creating a two-tier system comprising Cumbria County and local District or Borough Councils. In this reorganisation, areas in the south of the study area were moved from the historic County of Lancashire into the new County of Cumbria. Resentment of this boundary change is still evident in living memory as expressed by Eric who lives on the Furness Peninsular, one of the areas that was *moved*:

> "down here of course, I mean there's no love for Cumbria. I'm a Lancastrian."

Eric seeks to retain his personal identity as a Lancastrian despite subsequent boundary changes by national government. This resentment of national decision-making on boundaries has been rekindled with the proposal to abolish the two-tier system and replace Cumbria Council with two unitary authorities (BBC NEWS, 2021). The proposal broadly results in a West Cumbria/East Cumbria split passing through the centre of the Lake District National Park, which retains its own governance on issues such as Planning. The overall decision will formally be taken by the UK Parliament, but local opinions have drawn on a national/local argument surrounding the various boundary options as expressed on social media by the local MP, Tim Farron:

> "Only someone who's never been to Cumbria would put Windermere in with Whitehaven……!"

Expressed as a Tweet on social media, Tim Farron cites the impossibility of travelling between different parts of the same authority because, as expressed by Pam:

> "You can't solve topography, you can't solve the poor communications between the east of Cumbria, the M6 and the west of Cumbria. It can't happen, there is the Lake District in the way."

This emphasis upon materiality and physical place will support my argument in section 6.3 that the Bourdieusian toolkit, particularly habitus, is limited in helping me to understand the place-based aspects of disengagement. The multiplicity of personal identities within the living memory of many of the population raises further questions around who has the power in the field of decision-making and what is prioritised, local governance and the Lake District National Park or national constituency boundaries. These regional disparities also suggest that

some areas are perceived as having greater value than others, further increasing the marginality of communities outside the National Park boundary as expressed by Eric in Furness who says *"this area just feels abandoned*." According to Eric, it appears overall that local people have negative perceptions of both London based politics and national government, and the ways that local spaces and boundaries are governed.

6.2.2 West Cumbria and the Energy Coast

Despite West Cumbria and the Energy Coast being unbounded spatial constructs, there is a perceived degree of overlap between the two constructs amongst local communities, which will be examined in this section.

Defining West Cumbria

West Cumbria is perceived through different lenses by the participants in the case study. It can be defined in topographical terms as the coastal plains to the west of the Lake District National Park massif and arguably lying outside the World Heritage Site boundary. However, in administrative terms, West Cumbria comprises the Borough of Allerdale and the District of Copeland which partly overlap the Lake District National Park Authority boundary. As previously discussed, this is expected to change following the announcement of two new unitary authorities to replace the existing County of Cumbria when West Cumbria is expected to be renamed.

However, there remains a discrepancy between County and administrative boundaries, and local perceptions of marginality. According to Pam, *"there's a feeling in West Cumbria in general that people are hard done by… and it is a feeling that they've been left behind from the rest of the country."* This is a perception that extends into the western reaches of the National Park and comprises feelings of marginality and peripherality. Pam attributes this to the physical constraints of place and says:

> "you *are always gonna get people who are like 'it's not fair, why don't we get what the rest of England gets?' …people in the west of Cumbria want the connectivity that everyone else in England I think has… You cannot solve the problem of the fact there's the Lake District in the way unless you decide the Lake District has no value and you're happy to bulldoze mountains or build tunnels."*

Local perceptions are generally at odds with the romanticised view of the protected areas of the National Park although there are those amongst the interviewees, like Bill and Tom, who enjoy the isolation and accept the disadvantages. Tom explains his view that:

> *"the Duddon estuary and this part of Cumbria is very special and the fact that most people go to, most tourists to the Lake District go to, the 'honey pots' of Windermere and Bowness and Keswick, that's fine.… I like this area the way it is, it will change, it will develop but it still, for the foreseeable future, I think is kind of off the beaten track."*

Tom's claim for positive local distinctiveness is at the root of his feelings of place attachment and elective identity and this will be examined in greater depth in section 6.2.

Williams (1956) describes the remoteness and isolation of the parish of Gosforth as having been instrumental in the retention of certain cultural features, in ensuring a freedom from the *romantic invasion* of the Lake District and in contributing to the resistance of *developments of a national character*. In contrast, current local perceptions are of high unemployment rates in some areas, over-dependence on the manufacturing industries, peripherality, lack of inward investment, lack of resources and dominance of the local economy by large single employers (Blowers, 2019; Wynne *et al.*, 2007). Tim supports this view and claims that *"it has been shown if you're inside the National Park you get looked after."* This is a view shared by others who are, according to Pam,

> *"looking inland and they see the Lake District as being a bar to the development of their communities into something better than what they've got."*

These feelings of marginality and temporality are perceived across both industry and communities in West Cumbria (Blowers 2010; Wynne *et al.*, 2007) where distances are frequently measured temporally.

Peripherality is also expressed in economic terms with Whitehaven and Barrow suffering from relative isolation and remoteness from markets. As discussed by Mark (section 6.1.1), the inadequate communications and transport infrastructure is perceived to have a severely negative effect on inward investment to the area. (Wynne *et al.*, 2007).

Employment outside the nuclear industry is perceived as problematic due to the stigmatisation of the area, and interviewees across the study area have

suggested that attracting skilled professionals to this part of England is undermined by the wider perceptions of the area. Jenny is an HR manager in Wigton and explains this it is frequently the partners of skilled workers who are reluctant to come to the area. She says: *"we've got GPs retiring left, right and centre and we haven't got anybody coming in to fill those positions"* and her experience is reflected by Bill in Beckermet:

> *"the whole of West Cumbria struggles to recruit people…Whether you're talking Sellafield, you're talking the health service, or education or whatever, because, if you say to somebody living in Manchester, or wherever, we're moving you up to West Cumbria, they say 'no fear', you know? … it has been a perpetual theme and in fact the health service is an absolute basket case at the moment because they simply can't fill the jobs…. the funny thing is that once people get here they think 'this is great."*

This reinforces the perceptions from outside Cumbria *looking in* that the area is stigmatised by its association with the nuclear waste industry (Blowers, 2010, 2019; Wynne *et al.*, 2007)

The Energy Coast

The Energy Coast was originally a vision promoted through a masterplan in an act of place-making by an institutional partnership, including regional and local planning partners, such as the North West Development Agency (NWDA) and the District and Borough Councils of Copeland and Allerdale. As an unbounded entity, it was structured spatially as an economic capital based field. The partnership vision was subsequently superseded by changes to the spatial planning framework for England which abolished the NWDA in 2012. The Energy Coast as an entity does not have physically defined boundaries and initially emerged as a spatial plan for West Cumbria in 2007. It was intended to contribute to the UK's national energy strategy through the national policy framework incorporating the *Planning for a Sustainable Future White Paper* (2007) which put forward proposals for Nationally Significant Infrastructure Planning that were enacted in the Planning Act 2008 (DCLG, 2008).
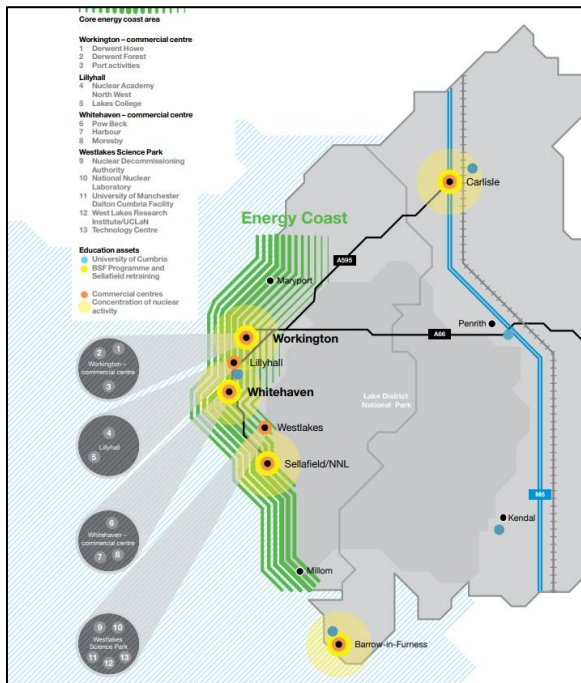
Image 6.1: The Energy Coast. Source: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/

The physical extent of the Energy Coast is broadly defined as the coastal region between Silloth in the north and Barrow-in-Furness in the south and it incorporates the Sellafield site. The Energy Coast masterplan proposed a series of business and science parks focussed around the Whitehaven area which is still perceived as the economic centre of West Cumbria.

The Energy Coast constituted an exercise in the place branding of a spatial construct which encompassed a policy framework and associated economic development practice. There is an assumption from actors interviewed in Beckermet and the Duddon Valley that they lie within the Energy Coast but interviewees in Wigton positioned themselves as outsiders. Mike views the Energy Coast as an economic construct and a potential opportunity to secure funding for his town council despite his assumption that Wigton is remote from that area:

> *"I think we're remote from the Britain's Energy Coast and things like that because it's basically Whitehaven, Workington,… to be honest, as far as Wigton's concerned, the people of Wigton, it's way above their 'eads like really. It is. It's only because I'm actively interested that I find out, like,... I still kind of like have a Council hat on sometimes and I think 'where's the money?' and 'what's it going to be spent on?' so I have an interest in as far as, if there's a pot of money, I'm looking to dive into it if you like, aye."*

Despite the spatial nature of the Energy Coast as an economic policy led construct, there was a tendency on the part of the interviewees to frame the construct in terms of geographical location. This local perception of the *Energy Coast* as a place based construct, serves to reinforce local perceptions of a broad north-south divide in Cumbria although interviewees also identified a north-south divide at different spatial scales including national, regional and local as discussed in the following section.

6.2.3 Perceptions from North and South of the study area

Chapter 5 has already viewed the North-South divide from a national perspective, particularly with reference to Southern *experts* attempting to exert authority over decision-making in Cumbria but there are other underlying constructions of *North* and *South* at play in Cumbria which I will discuss in terms of their spatial and governance contexts.

There are regional and local perceptions that the North and South of Cumbria typically elicit different types of response to local governance and planning issues. This will be investigated further in section 6.3 of this chapter to understand the role of place-based dispositions, but perceptions of power relations in the field of local politics also suggest a North-South divide across the route of the NWCC project.

A history of disengagement in the north can be examined through the perceptions of actors in the south of the study area to understand how the north is viewed by others. The transition from north to south was regarded by the participants as being Whitehaven, and Tim described the north as follows:

> *"the north is effectively an industrialised environment, even in Allerdale, Copeland terms. Most of that is much more industrial. You get to Sellafield and upwards, it's a much more blue-collar environment".*

Tim went on to say that *"it's completely different to the south…it doesn't look 'out".* When asked about the NWCC consultation, Tim said that:

> *"there was a north line and people do forget about the north line going up from Whitehaven upwards er… I don't think the north ever got themselves in any shape or form organised in a way that would have put some additional pressure on them".*

The reference to forgetting about the north line is significant in that the PCCG comprised all of the Parish Councils south of Sellafield, but there was no attempt to include Parish Councils to the north of Whitehaven which reinforced perceptions of the marginality and peripherality of those communities (Blowers, 2010; Wynne *et al.,* 2007).

Local perceptions of the field of power

Tensions emerge in local Governance in particular, perceptions of marginalisation, and stigma in respect of where the power lies in West Cumbria. The regional tensions previously discussed, can also be perceived at a

subregional level. This is exemplified in Wigton by Mike in his description of the town's relationship with the Borough of Allerdale and he reinforces local feelings of peripherality when he says

> *"the only negative… is one that we've had for years, like…, 40 years or so, in that we're just like a pimple in the Borough, really, so they didn't really… they're mekkin' (sic) a lot of inroads at present because the Allerdale mayor is a Wigton feller this year. So there's a chance that we'll get quite a bit of support from the Borough Council but quite obviously, the Borough Council's loaded with people from Workington, Maryport and Cockermouth, and they're gonna be fightin' their corner stronger than what the Wigton one's are, aye?"*

Mike's perceptions of the town of Wigton being politically disadvantaged in Allerdale are mirrored in the District of Copeland where Mark talks about decision-making in Gosforth and says that:

> *"locals are really up in arms that Copeland Borough Council reckoned they were going to take all the decisions, etc, and… there's quite a bit of antagonism between this area and Copeland…Copeland Council was very Whitehaven centred and they wouldn't have bothered, you know,…they couldn't give a damn."*

Marks view is shared by Tim who lives on the northern side of the Duddon Estuary and states that:

> *"There's always a perception that any MP for this area is very north-centric, i.e. Whitehaven, and this sort of area gets left out a little bit in terms of its… it might be perception, it may be factual, but that's… perceptions are often quite powerful in people's heads.*"

Tim's statement that perceptions "*are often quite powerful"* indirectly relates to the tensions across the District arising from the significance of the nuclear industry and evidences the marginalisation of communities across West Cumbria that are outside Sellafield's sphere of influence in terms of benefits. It is significant that different parts of the same District share a distrust of the overall local Governance.

6.2.4 Summarising the spatial and governance perceptions of the case study area

The actor perceptions of the spatial and governance landscape of Cumbria, focus on issues of marginality and peripherality in describing the remoteness of national decision-making on NSIPs such as the NWCC project. Centralised decision-making is perceived as excluding local knowledge and withholding power from local communities but regional spatial constructs including the Energy Coast

Masterplan are also perceived as being remote from the same communities. Levels of distrust and separation from governance are therefore manifested at a range of scales from national to local. The actors quoted in section 6.2 perceive this remoteness from the fields of power as the cause of marginality and stigma, particularly in non-nuclear communities such as Wigton.

There is a wider perception emerging from the interview data that Whitehaven is regarded as the focus of economic capital in the region. This is reinforced by the alleged tendency of Copeland BC to support all aspects of nuclear development within their Borough regardless of public sentiment and relates more closely to concepts around place rather than space. Pam has also made reference to physical forms of separation such as the Lake District central massif which largely restricts access to the west. This is specifically a place-based factor which will be examined in greater detail in the next section alongside other place-based analyses to bring an extra dimension to the understanding of the case study area.

6.3 Place

Section 6.1 has outlined which spatialities are invoked by local actors to understand the area, and tensions in environmental governance in particular, from a national to a local level. Section 6.2 moves from this more spatial approach in understanding the study area, to a place-based analysis of the selected settlements. The key characteristics are examined to understand what it means to live in, and belong to, each of the settlement areas.

Section 6.3 frames the relationship with sense of place in the Case Study by investigating the geographical definition of sense of place, but informed by social, cultural and economic capital, and power relations, as understood through the concepts of Bourdieu (Hillier and Rooksby, 2005). Essentially this revisits a geographical approach to defining sense of place and views it through a Bourdieusian lens to unpick the complex relationship between power and place (Hillier and Rooksby, 2005).

In considering the way in which the participants are attached to place, it is possible to examine place both as a locus of attachment and as a centre of meaning (Williams, 2014). Analysis of the research data has identified some characteristics that appear to be place specific in the study area and these will be

discussed in the following subsections to examine whether they are transferable or unique to that place.

6.3.1 Wigton and the North

Wigton is the northernmost of the three study area settlements and was selected in accordance with the criteria set out in Chapter 3 and Appendix 3.

The relationship between community and place

Nowhere is the local habitus more evident than in the town of Wigton, in all of its aspects. According to Bourdieu, habitus can be seen as the way in which the culture of a particular social group is embodied in the individual, during the socialisation process beginning in early childhood. Habitus is, "*society written into the body, into the biological individual*" (Bourdieu, 1990b:63). However, Wigton also evidences unique characteristics in terms of the emotional relationship that the residents have with place and sense of belonging.

Jenny is a resident of Wigton and has a strong sense of belonging when she says, *"from a personal point of view I feel very safe here"* (Tomaney, 2015). She goes on to explain why a local education and attitudes are important to her feeling of rootedness (Hummon, 1992):

> *"it is lovely that I go into the shops and I know the people that are serving behind the counter and kind of … know their children and … how they've been grown up and watching people grow, etc, and that's nice."*

Jenny is expressing a strong emotional attachment to place but, at the same time, she is emphasising the durability of the community habitus, reinforced by a strong sense of identity and knowing who she is in that place (Cresswell, 2004; Hillier and Rooksby, 2005). A similar sense of knowing who he is, is expressed by Mike:

> "*Well I was born 'ere in er…, 67 year ago, and I've lived 'ere all me life. I've never moved more than 400 yards in me life from* one side *of the town to the other."*

Sense of place is important to Mike who went on to describe his emotional attachment to Wigton in terms of the buildings where he had lived and worked as a series of places that had meaning for him (Tuan, 1977). This emotional attachment also had a temporal component which defined, and made sense of, different phases of his life. For some interviewees, the attachment to communities of schooling is reinforced by other structuring structures such as religion,

particularly where denominational village schools are available to reinforce the inculcation connected to the *family spirit* (Bourdieu, 1998). As Mike explains:

> *"I went to school 'ere, in the local Catholic school. There's a fairly predominant Catholic population in Wigton,... Kids that went to the Catholic school, were brought up in the Catholic tradition so there's a strong community sense if you like amongst the older portions of the town but mebbe not the younger ones."*

Mike reinforces the importance of the local school as both a structuring structure and a means of inculcation which shapes the habitus of the Catholic children and he distinguishes the religious foundation as having a perceived higher value (Bourdieu, 1990a). This idea of value attributed to local education is also reinforced by Jenny:

> *"we do have good schools. So we've got Nelson Thomlinson School which is an Ofsted Outstanding school … and they're very proud of that fact."*

The school is the source of much of the social capital of the town by cutting across generations and employment. Janet is a shop owner in the town and grew up on a local farm but went to school in Wigton. She states that her entire social network is based around fellow pupils, with strong links to both her parent's and her children's generations (Bourdieu, 1998). Her friend Kim is from a younger generation but she confirms that their social networks are the same with the different generations all linked by the school. There is strong evidence of this institutional inculcation contributing to local dispositions and the habitus of the community (Bourdieu, 1990a, 1998). However, the school also manifests as a focus of an emotional place-based attachment for participants in this research who wished to remain part of the multi-generational community, influencing their decisions to remain in Wigton throughout their lives.

History, memory and employment practices

Wigton has overlapping communities of place and communities of practice due to the presence of a major employer, Innovia, with a multi-generational local workplace partly generated through local apprenticeships. Shared memories of the social capital, generated through schooling and shared workplace memories, generate loyalty to the town's biggest employer and perpetuate the durability of the community habitus and a strong attachment to place through a sense of rootedness (Bourdieu, 1990a; Cresswell, 2004; Hummon, 1992). It is not unusual for employees to complete forty years of service which is celebrated at annual

social events. A contributory factor to community stability is the ability of the largest employers to sustain workforces across multiple generations of the same families (Bourdieu, 1998). Jenny is a local HR manager and she recognises the value of having different generations of the same family working at her company

> *"We've got grandparents and it's not unusual… I mean, we've got an event, middle of November, where there's 135 colleagues are going to a sit-down meal with a band and they're celebrating either 25 or 40 years' service. So them and their partners are going…."*

The data gathered from interviews with Jenny and Mike suggests that their roles in employment and local Governance networks have given them a degree of distinction in the community with high symbolic capital based on networks generated through social, cultural, and in Jenny's example, economic capital (Bourdieu, 1984). Jenny explains that she is readily identifiable in the community,

> *"because of the job that I do, which is the HR manager, I sometimes really find it a struggle going up street to get my groceries on a Saturday because I get stopped by every Tom, Dick and Harry that wants a job."*

Jenny's words reinforce her sense of belonging in the community. Mike describes a similar experience based on former employment at Innovia followed by a period in local office as Mayor. Mike's personal distinction emerges through his personal knowledge, qualifications and local recognition connected to his perceived social standing in the community and high symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1984)

> *"when I was the mayor I knew everybody in this town. I… could walk down the street and knew everybody"* (Mike)

As part of the semi-structured interview, Mike took me on a walk through the town and I was able to witness evidence of his recognition in the community. On the short walk, he was acknowledged and greeted by name by every person that we passed reinforcing his role as an active participant in the social networks of the community (Bourdieu, 1990a). Mike's strong emotional attachment to place is also evidenced through his *giving back* behaviour through standing for local office and volunteering for local charities focussing on quality of life for residents.

In place/Out-of-place: perceptions of the stranger

The concept of being out-of-place or a *stranger*, is discussed by Mike. He specifically uses the word *stranger* as someone who has moved into the town rather than the more usual expression, *offcomer*, which is widely used across Cumbria for someone who is not local. It is not certain whether the use of the

word *stranger* is a reflection of the linguistic habitus of the individual or the community (Bourdieu, 1991). Mike also talks about the *alienation* of the community through an influx of *strangers* moving in to the town and how this was previously monitored by the Town Council:

> *"I was on the Council and one of our policies when I was on the Council was that we consulted with the local housing association about who they brought into the town, and… it worked fairly well, you know, we didn't stop anybody comin' but we had a fair idea of the kind of people that were comin', they were proposin' to bring, and we offered opinions about whether they would fit in with the town, kind of like, the whole wellbeing of the town." (Mike)*

This suggests that the Town Council was formerly concerned that people would *fit in with the town* although the discourse with the housing association appears to be based on opinion rather than opposition. It is not clearly explained how this information was recorded or used but implies a requirement for an awareness of the habitus and dispositions of new community members (Bourdieu, 1977,1990a)

Mike explains that the local housing association subsequently changed hands and the dialogue with the Town Council was terminated resulting in more 'strangers' coming in to the town and undermining the strong community connections (Cresswell, 1996):

> *"…the Home Housing Group went away from that and now we have a lot of strangers come, you know, brought into the town and them strangers didn't have that same link you know,… strangers that have come into the town who didn't have that same link with everybody, aye? So it, it's changed a bit dramatically if you like really in that it isn't as strong a community as it was."*

In this example, the role of the stranger can be defined through Levine's (1977) typology of stranger relationships, as an actor seeking membership of the community as a newcomer. Mike's perception of the stranger is of an actor who *settles down in the place of his activity* and becomes part of the community but is unlikely to become connected with them through *ties of kinship, locality and occupation* (Simmel, 1908).

Mike's overall perception is that people moving into the town are weakening the community bonds, but Jenny takes an opposing view, informed by acceptance and realism, that there are positive benefits of employing highly qualified *outsiders* for specialist roles at Innovia:

> *"We do allow some outsiders in* (laughs and pauses)… *every now and again! We tend to employ within a 13 mile radius for our production guys so we've got them from Silloth, Aspatria, Wigton and surrounding areas… we tend to*

go further afield if it's a specialist role. So, we have an R&D facility … some of them are local. We train quite a lot of people up via apprenticeship schemes and sponsored student schemes and we try to grow our own people."

Jenny is very specific in establishing a radius of 13 miles distant for production workers which includes Silloth on the coast where she was born. However, there is an emphasis on *growing our own people* which relies upon employing locally educated apprentices. According to Jenny this is partly achieved through careers events at local schools, seeking to perpetuate local networks of symbolic capital and a shared habitus and ensuring the inculcation of the workforce as a continuation of their local education (Bourdieu, 1998).

Sense of place

The interviews and observed behaviours of the actors have been used to attribute varieties of people-place relations to the actors and conclusions have also been drawn from the data arising from the conversations and ethnography undertaken in Wigton. Mike and Jenny's interviews, and conversations with six other individuals seem to fit with a traditional form of attachment in Wigton (Hummon, 1992; Lewicka, 2013). Mike is an exception being a better fit with the novel Traditional Active form of attachment (Bailey and Devine-Wright, 2014; Bailey *et al.*, 2016a) due to his engagement with planning consultations for projects that were perceived as affecting the town, and particularly those with opportunities to bring benefits or funding.

The town has a strong sense of place emerging from physical factors such as the local vernacular; symbolic capital emerging from the social, economic and cultural networks; communities of practice established through employment; and local identity experienced as being *in place* (Cresswell, 2004; Lewicka, 2011b; Rose, 1995). There are perceived threats to the local identity, from outsiders moving in to the town, which can be readily understood through the lens of habitus, as suggested by Mike:

> *"this influx of people that's come in, they have different opinions maybe and different attitudes to life to what the original Wigton do and I'm not saying everybody was perfect mind you, you know, we had the complete range of people but I think it was a nicer, kind of like, community then than what it is now."*

The observation of *different attitudes to life* is particularly relevant to local dispositions arising from the durability of the community and its structuring

structures of education and employment giving rise to high symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1990a).

Summary

A profile of Wigton as a place has emerged from the evidence, of a self-contained and largely inward-looking town with a strong sense of place and local identity. Key structures include the schools and churches creating a community of actors who share aspects of their habitus, including shared dispositions. The employer, Innovia, perpetuates a community of practice which is largely place dependent for its workforce with evidence of inculcation and durability across multiple generations. The farming community has become less visible but the urban sense of place emerges from the locally owned shops and markets which are self-sustaining and important to the history of the community. Changes have taken place with the influx of *outsiders* but the perceptions of who is local and *in place* are constant. An insight into both the sense of place and habitus in this community is essential to understanding the underlying tendency towards apparent disengagement from both policy and planning processes which will be discussed in section 6.4.1 of this chapter. Identifying the presence of different varieties of people-place relations will help to inform the discussion of (dis)engagement in section 6.5 of the chapter.

6.3.2 Beckermet and Gosforth

The villages of Beckermet and Gosforth are the most central of the study area's settlements and were selected in accordance with the criteria set out in Chapter 3 and Appendix 3.

Distinction and the National Park

Each of the villages is described by the residents through a Bourdeiusian lens of *Distinction* due to their history, geographical locations and local vernacular (Bourdieu, 1984). Bill lives in Beckermet and describes the village as *"one of the better areas in the district"*. He explains that *"it's a nice part of the world to be because of the countryside and how near you are to the Lake District."* Mark, who lives in Gosforth describes it as "*quite a nice village"* which is on "*the fringe of the National Park.*" These attachments to place link the desirable location of the villages with personal connections and combine *"instrumental with emotional*

relationships to place" (Savage *et al.,* 2005:89). The proximity to the Lake District World Heritage Site is a significant factor in encouraging visitors to the area and has high symbolic capital for each of these actors already resident (Bourdieu, 1990a).

Social capital

The loss of local shops and bus services in both Beckermet and Gosforth has perpetuated a sense of isolation in the communities, but high social capital has been generated through membership organisations within the community such as the Round Table and U3A which share knowledge and values contributing to strong social networks of local residents with varied histories (Savage *et al.,* 2005). The U3A meetings in Gosforth were used as a means of network building and data collection in the early stages of this research project.

Negative factors affecting the two villages include the poor road infrastructure. There is one main road running north to south, following the coast, and in the relatively frequent event that this becomes blocked by an accident, the villagers are subjected to an 80 mile diversion. Susan describes this in terms of the villages' peripherality and her belief that the communities are regarded by external actors as unimportant due to their small size (Blowers, 2010).

Prior to the arrival of the nuclear industry, Williams (1956) stated that the "*physical isolation of Gosforth was very marked*" (Williams, 1956:69) and many of the local families were related through marriage. However, Gail states that this is no longer true and cites local examples of *offcomers* marrying into local farming families. The farming community remains a key factor in village life but the relative isolation of remote farmsteads in surrounding Wasdale is offset by the social value of local agricultural shows during the Summer. The multi-generational nature of the rural workforce, particularly land-owning farmers, reinforces the durability of the rural practice and the expectation that successive generations will be inculcated throughout their childhood, helping on the family farms and taking part in rural events such as the local agricultural shows (Bourdieu, 1998).

The agricultural show

The Gosforth agricultural show is a place specific opportunity to build and maintain social capital. For local farmers, it is also a source of distinction through the various classes judging the quality of their livestock, and there is evidence of

family inculcation through the children's classes where children under the age of four have an opportunity to 'show' a sheep (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 1998). A further material example of the perpetuation of memory and nostalgia is the annual display of photographs in the Local History Tent displaying multiple generations of prize winners at the show. The display is updated annually as a record of the durability of the habitus of farming families and a historical record of local farming practice (Bourdieu, 1990a)

Image 6.2: Gosforth agricultural show local history tent display board. Source: www.gosforthshow.co.uk

The local agricultural show is a significant event providing an opportunity for the overlapping communities of practice and place to meet and perpetuate the enduring rural habitus, in contrast to the community of practice that has emerged from the nuclear industry (Bourdieu, 1990a; Casey, 2001).

Economics and employment: The Sellafield effect

There is a community of practice encompassing Beckermet and Gosforth which has emerged from the nuclear industry around Sellafield. Unlike Innovia in Wigton (section 6.2.1) the interview data suggests that major industries, and Sellafield in particular, have created new communities of work practices characterised by the durability of shared experience and attitudes which are reported to extend beyond a typical working life (Bourdieu, 1990a). Interview data highlights the distinction between belonging to place and belonging to communities of work. At the most basic level, respondents divide the communities around Sellafield, such as Beckermet and Gosforth, into two main groups as expressed by Gail:

> *"There's roughly two kinds of people. There's the people who came here for Sellafield and there's the people that were born and bred here"*

Gail is married to a former Sellafield employee and believes that the durability of the nuclear industry and the impact on the local communities, including the integration of new communities of practice, is widely accepted. As an incomer to the area, some 41 years earlier, she states that:

> *"it doesn't really make much difference, whether people came from Sellafield or have been here for generations"*

Having opened in 1956, Sellafield has operated in excess of 60 years as a local employer and is now being decommissioned. Of the semi-structured interviews conducted as part of the data collection, three interviews comprised the opinions of former employees, now retired. Each of the interviewees voices the opinion that there are broadly two communities of practice comprising industrial and rural. The transitory nature of industry is acknowledged when compared with the durability of the rural community, as stated by Tim:

> *"The rural community is the one that's lasted longest. Most of the industries round here have been and gone and one shape or form but rural has been the long continuity of this area.*"

The significance of Sellafield as an employer with high economic capital has created place specific issues of domination giving rise to symbolic violence, as discussed in Chapter 5, in the ongoing governance of the area and the restricted freedom experienced by actors in expressing opinions contrary to the interests of the communities of practice (Wynne *et al.*, 2007).

Out-of-place

A more relevant application of Cresswell's (1996) concept of being out of place is the role of the temporary stranger who does not belong in that place. Interviewees refer to the visiting development project teams and experts as being *people from outside*, or people who have *come from away*. These visitors are regarded *as "intruders" who* have a job to do and are not seeking residence or membership of the community leading to "*compulsive antagonism"* from the local host communities (Levine, 1977:23). The interviewees, including George in Beckermet, have a sense of *being done to* by project teams who do not live in the area, do not understand the village and do not have local knowledge.

Communities in the villages of Beckermet and Gosforth are broadly divided in their histories, marked by the arrival of Sellafield and the earlier Calder Hall and Windscale developments on the same site. Mark refers to his relocation for work

at Sellafield and talked about the division of the community that has been caused by the influx of workers:

> *"when we first moved here in the 1970s, it was a bit 'them and us' more, because there were people who've lived here … their families have lived here for generations, particularly the farming, and there were all these 'off-comers'."*

Mark's experience resonates with the work of Williams (1956) who undertook research to understand the sociology of the village in the 1950s. Williams stated that the effect of Sellafield on the life of the parish extended far beyond the changes to the economy by introducing "*urban values*" from the new workers who "*associate constantly with people from all parts of the British Isles*" (Williams, 1956:31). Williams particularly referenced the negative effects on the farming community due to higher salaries and the impact on local housing stock.

Mark's wife, Gail, expressed the opinion that "*I don't think it makes any difference, whether people came from Sellafield or have been here for generations*" but this is a contested view amongst other interviewees including Mary, a farmer's wife, who states that she is still not regarded as local despite living in the village for over 40 years and there remains a strong belief that *offcomer* status endures for at least three generations. Conversations with local residents suggest the enduring belief that individuals are identified as either *"one of us"* or "*different from us*" resulting in suspicion of outsider experts and "*officials*" (Williams, 1956:169).

The perceptions of place in the study area varies between villages and individuals but a significant factor in people-place relations is relocation to the area for employment since the 1950s. Eric lived and worked in the area around Sellafield but was not employed at the plant. He observed the impact of *offcomers* moving to his village and in particular their lack of a sense of belonging to that place:

> *"I shouldn't have gone to the Post Office because it was a bit like Alan Bennett, you know, listening to conversations on buses. And they were going on one day in the Post Office you know, 'are you going home for Christmas?' 'oh yes, we're going home' and I thought, __this is home__, you know, when are people ever going to….. commit themselves to this place?"* (my emphasis)

Eric's observation is based on his experience of living in Seascale during a work placement and he recalls that many of the early senior management at Sellafield were provided with *company houses*. In recounting the conversation in the Post Office he refers to the lack of connection to place on the part of incoming workers

who have retained a place that they call *home* in another part of the country (Easthope, 2004). The actors that he is observing can be defined as *place alienated* rather than *placeless* (Hummon, 1992; Lewicka, 2013) due to their apparent enduring attachment to another location and giving rise to a multiple habitus, or habitus clivé (Bourdieu, 1990a). The lack of connection can be linked back to a dual, or even multiple, habitus for the actors moving up to work at Sellafield, often temporarily, and it concerns who they are in that place (Hillier and Rooksby, 2005). In Eric's example, Sellafield is perceived as a place to work but not as a place to live and in that place, the actors become workers, scientists and engineers who belong to the community of practice discussed earlier in this chapter. The perceived temporary nature of residence is later referred to as a *transit camp mentality* by Eric who follows up his comment with his personal opinion that:

> *"The only thing that made Seascale attractive to people was that it wasn't Thurso, you know, the alternative was a posting to Dounreay."*

Eric's comments refer back to the early days of Sellafield, in particular the 1950s and 1960s, however, Bill a retired engineer from Sellafield suggests that this attitude of being disconnected from place still exists in the village of Beckermet:

> *"Obviously there's plenty of people who basically come, work at Sellafield or what-have-you and really don't get involved. They really don't get involved very much with things."*

Bill draws a clear distinction between those *offcomers* who have treated Sellafield as a temporary placement and the actors who decide to stay and make the area their home. Bill has transitioned from being out-of-place when he first arrived as an engineer at Sellafield and his words and behaviour, in becoming a Parish Councillor, suggest that he has developed an Active attachment to place (Lewicka, 2013). Following retirement, he made the decision to stay in the village and has acquired personal distinction as a Parish Councillor and spokesperson for the village (Bourdieu, 1984). The acquisition of both social and embodied cultural capital has defined him as an *expert* who speaks for others (Alcoff, 1991; Mahony *et al.,* 2010).

Sense of place

Both villages have a strong sense of place emerging from different physical factors including the local vernacular; symbolic capital emerging from the social,

economic and cultural networks; communities of practice established through employment; and local identity experienced as being *in place* (Cresswell, 2004; Lewicka, 2011b; Rose, 1995). This is expressed in different ways in the interview data. According to Mark and Mary, Gosforth is distinguished by its geographical location in the Lake District National Park and as the perceived gateway to the highly valued Wasdale (Savage *et al.,* 2005). In contrast, Beckermet is notable as the village in greatest proximity to the Sellafield plant with open views of the works dominating the skyline across farmland from many parts of the village which is mentioned by both Bill and George. The surroundings are predominantly rural with a coastal boundary comprising beaches and holiday parks and this is described as being important to the area by Pam. Views of Scotland and the Isle of Man situate the village within the landscape.

Some conclusions have been drawn regarding the potential varieties of people-place relations that are prevalent in Beckermet and Gosforth, as evidenced by the interviews, observed behaviours and event ethnography that was undertaken. In total, data was gathered from 28 individual actors split between the Sellafield community of practice and the traditional farming community. All of the data gathered from the farming community in Gosforth and at the agricultural show indicated a *Traditiona*l form of attachment defined as a deep unselfconscious attachment to one's residence place (Hummon, 1992; Lewicka, 2013). One actor, Steven, self-identified as a former miner in the Whitehaven area and described how multiple generations of his family had been miners before him and the conversation indicated a *Traditional* attachment to the place where three generations of his family had lived (Bourdieu, 1998; Lewicka, 2011b).

Conversations with three residents of Beckermet, indicated an Active attachment partly emerging from roles as a Borough Councillor, local employer and a retired engineer. Of the remaining actors whose people-place relations could be imagined, two individuals indicated *Place Relativity* with ambivalent attitudes towards place and limited local interest. The remaining nine actors were attributed a *Traditional Active* based on a long duration of residence in excess of 40 years and a deep self-conscious attachment to their residence place with an active interest in the place's goings-on (Bailey and Devine-Wright, 2014; Bailey *et al.*, 2016a; Hummon, 1992; Lewicka, 2013). Of these nine actors, six are retired

employees from Sellafield who have developed a deep attachment to place with evidence of emerging place protective behaviours (Devine-Wright, 2009).

One actor who engaged in conversation at the agricultural show is considered to be *placeless* (Hummon, 1992). Maggie lives in a village adjacent the route but does not self-identify as local or belonging. She has relocated from another part of the country and says:

> *"I'm from the south but I've lived everywhere…."*

Maggie also refers to her village neighbours as "*people round here*" which suggests that she does not feel part of the social network despite being a resident (Cresswell, 1996). Her reference to living everywhere also suggests the potential for a habitus clivé (Bourdieu, 1990a).

The attribution of varieties of people-place relations will be discussed further in section 6.4 to understand the link with forms of (dis)engagement.

Summary

A profile has emerged from the interview data, of two villages in an area with a strong sense of place and local identity but split between two distinct communities of practice and place. The villages are said to be distinguished by their historic village core and the longevity of rural traditions of farming by local residents such as George, but, according to Mark the community is divided between this traditional way of life and the community of practice that has evolved around the nuclear energy and waste plants over several decades. The largest employer, Sellafield, perpetuates a community of practice which is dependent on a combination of place and institutionalised cultural capital for its workforce, drawing from a national workforce of specialists with the appropriate skills. The farming community has become less visible but the rural sense of place emerges from annual events such as the agricultural shows which sustain both the social and cultural capital of the farming community. Dramatic changes have taken place with the influx of *outsiders* over recent decades but the perceptions of who is local and *in place* are becoming locally blurred. Long term residents of over 40 years, now regard themselves as local despite traditional, multi-generational expectations. An insight into both the sense of place and habitus, as well as the duality of the communities, is essential to understanding the local dispositions and expectations for engagement with policy, political and planning processes.

6.3.3 Kirkby-in-Furness and the Duddon Estuary

Kirkby-in-Furness is representative of settlements on the southern route of the proposed NWCC and was selected in accordance with the criteria set out in Chapter 3 and Appendix 3.

Identity, integration and belonging

Alan moved into the village approximately five years prior to being interviewed for this research and has taken a particular interest in the history of the built form and industrial connections. Local identity is closely linked to the physical arrangement of the six historic hamlets that comprise the village of Kirkby-in-Furness and, according to Alan, each hamlet still retains its own identity as part of the whole but overall continuity is achieved through the farming community and land ownership.

> *"There wasn't a Kirkby before the railway station came. Yeah, it's strange isn't it? It's intriguing really. You see, you got the sort of separate parts, you got like Sandside and Soutergate and Marshside and then you've got Beckside and Chapels and they're all sort of separate. They're all little hamlets that all really came together to make Kirkby, yeah. Then you got Four Lanes End, of course, at the bottom."*

When speaking to local residents, or reading local newspapers, it was noted that the individual hamlets that make up the village are still retained in memory and used as part of the local distinctiveness. Each individual automatically references which hamlet they identify with (Savage *et al.,* 2005).

According to Alan, the community of Kirkby-in-Furness seeks to actively integrate *offcomers* moving into the village. Alan cites the practices generated by the local Parish Council who visit all new residents to give them a *welcome package* of information about the village and its various social groups:

> *"I was amazed how, when you come to live here you know, they visit and bring you a package to tell you all about the place and what there is going on and all the various groups there are"*

> *"everybody gets it that's new to here. They get this package and then we have what we call the Kirkby Caller which, for some reason, we haven't got this month in Beckside. But that comes every month except August, that does and that's quite a good little… that's the sort of village newsletter. It's run by the Church mainly"*

Alan lives in the village of Kirkby-in-Furness but refers to his home as being in Beckside which is one of the six hamlets that traditionally makes up part of the

village. Despite being a 'recent' arrival in the village he has acquired the local disposition to distinguish between the different parts of the village by specifically referencing Beckside (Bourdieu, 1990a). Alan suggests that the practice of integration through information sharing may have arisen from concerns about the falling numbers of local people in the village. A conversation with Joe, the leader of the local Parish Council, indicates that the welcome pack is a place-protective practice by actively integrating new residents into the community of place. Other villages in the study area are less inclusive in terms of integrating *offcomers* but all have their own village newsletters and websites, including villages such as Beckermet.

The majority of residents who were not born in the village are attracted to the area by its proximity to the Lake District National Park, the remote areas along the coast and the impact on property prices from being located outside the National Park boundary according to Alan and Paul who had both moved into the area from other parts of the UK. The wish to integrate into a community that is welcoming of 'offcomers' arises from a feeling that the chosen place of residence "*is congruent with one's life story*" (Savage *et al.*, 2005:54). This gives rise to a form of *elective belonging* that has not been created by being born and bred in that place although some residents, such as Eric, have returned to a place that they regard as *home* (Easthope, 2004).

> "*I regard this as my native heath in as much as I was born and brought up in the Furness area although I've never actually worked here… I feel a strong affiliation with the area and, I mean, the name is also very local. I mean, the family have links in farming in this part of the world going back to, well, mid 1700s. So, this is an emotional attachment…. it's quite nice to feel that one's actually settled for good.*"

Memory is attached to family connections, workplaces, built environments and ways of knowing and thinking inculcated through family life. These connections are explored by Bourdieu in his discourses on *"kinship"* (Bourdieu, 1990a:166-199) and the "*Family Spirit*" (Bourdieu, 1998:64-74). To recapture memory, individual respondents, like Eric, state that they have returned to their *home* village. In this example, the meaning of the word *home* is the place or dwelling where he grew up (Easthope, 2004).

Out-of-place

People living in Kirkby-in-Furness use their own linguistic habitus to describe local people who have belonged to the village for multiple generations, known as *roundheads*, and others who have moved there, known as *squareheads* (Bourdieu, 1991). These place specific terms can be traced back to the history of slate quarrying and mining in the area connected with industries in slate, copper and iron. The terms roundhead and squarehead allegedly refer to the practice in the slate quarries of rounding off the top of roofing slates. Conversations with local residents suggest that the term is less pejorative than the word *offcomer* despite still seeking to distinguish those who were born in the village. Anecdotal evidence suggests that dissent has occasionally arisen where the term has been adopted by residents who were not entitled to do so, despite being resident in the community for over fifty years.

Data emerging from local interviews suggests that there is less of a divide between locals and *offcomers* in the village of Kirkby-in-Furness, with the *offcomers* frequently outnumbering locals in a social network as Alan explained:

> *"The thing about this village is, it's the same as all of Furness really, is that there's not that many proper local people….. and, I mean, on the Local History Group, for instance, I mean there was, what(?), about 13 or 14 of us out the other day and only 3 of the whole lot of us were actually local people."*

Alan's description of the Local History Group suggests that the *offcomer* members feel attached to a place where they are relatively new and lack family history (Savage *et al.,* 2005; Lewicka, 2013). The measures described in the previous section to integrate new residents into the community are reflected in the unity evidenced by the village in their response to perceived development threats, including the extension to the Kirkby Moor Wind Farm as discussed in Chapter 5 (section 5.2.1), and this will be discussed further in relation to the NWCC project in section 6.4 of this chapter.

Sense of Place

The villages on the Duddon Estuary have a strong sense of place emerging from different physical factors including the geographic location, local vernacular; symbolic capital emerging from the social, economic and cultural networks; small communities of practice established through employment at Sellafield and Barrow; and local identity experienced as being *in place* (Cresswell, 2004;

Lewicka, 2011b; Rose, 1995). The surroundings are predominantly rural with a coastal boundary and views up the valley to the Lake District National Park. The River Duddon and its estuary situates the local villages within the wider landscape which is important to the interviewees (Tuan, 1974).

Two of the interviewees discussed particular responses to place which were investigated through short walking interviews to see and understand what place meant to them as *offcomers* (Rishbeth, 2014). Both Alan and Tom had selected this area for their new home prior to "*putting down roots*" (Tomaney, 2015:508). Tom has lived just outside the village for over thirty years and says that:

> *"I love living in this part of the world…. I've made this my home but I like to think that I've contributed to the community that has… allowed me to make it my home."*

His proximity to the estuary has led him to volunteer with a local group that maintains the footpaths in the Kirkby area. Tom's contribution has been to assist in marking out the Cumbria Coastal Way which passes close to his home and is described by him as a "*fabulous walk*" unless you "*don't know where you are going*". Tom values the continuity of the view across the estuary towards the Lake District National Park but also describes the perceptible changes in the estuary that he has witnessed whilst living in his cottage and states that:

> "*there have been remarkable changes in the estuary. Nobody seems to know why. It's taken hundreds of acres of this side, just completely eroded it away … but it's an estuary it's always gonna be changing.*"

Standing on the edge of the Coastal Path with Tom, it is evident that he has become attuned to place change in the landscape that he values and he is sensitive to the possibility of man-made objects detracting from the view as "*urbanization*" of "*the countryside,*" moving away from the sense of "*wilderness*" (Tuan, 1974:102, 109).

Alan also took part in a walking/driving interview as part of the data collection and elected to show me the views from Kirkby Moor. This represents his Friday evening trip to Ulverston for Fish and Chips which he eats in a lay-by on the Moor whilst experiencing far-reaching views (Images 6.3 and 6.4). The lay-by places him in a broad geographical context by affording views across three nations (Scotland, England and Wales), but the Moor also has local meaning as a wildlife habitat. Alan, like Tom, is sensitive to change in this landscape which also has meaning for him through elective belonging (Savage *et al.*, 2005).

Images 6.3 & 6.4: Alan's Friday evening views to the North and South. Source: Author's own photographs

Some conclusions have been drawn from the interview data about the varieties of people-place relations in the south of the study area based on the participant's words and actions. Twelve interviews and conversations were conducted with three participants regarded as Traditional Active through their involvement in local interest groups and the Parish Council. The majority of participants interviewed were assessed as Active reflecting their status as residents who were not born in the area. The three Traditional Active residents comprised one local person and two people with residences of 35 to 55 years respectively (Bailey and Devine-Wright, 2014; Bailey *et al.*, 2016a; Hummon, 1992; Lewicka, 2013).

The two exceptions were Eric who had a Traditional attachment having been born and bred in the area and now returned, but who had transitioned through being Place Alienated due to his work which had involved deployments across the country throughout his career. The remaining interviewee was Linda who was considering a move to the area for personal reasons and admitted to having a lack of attachment either to her current place of residence on the Lancashire coast or the area around Kirkby-in-Furness. Linda was regarded as being largely placeless (Hummon, 1992; Lewicka, 2013).

Both the Traditional Active and Active actors had strong connections with forms of cultural capital, both embodied and institutionalised (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Lewicka, 2011b, 2013) but there are also some similarities with the social capital of the community as investigated by Mackenzie and Dalby (2003).

Summary

A profile has emerged from the evidence, of a village in an area with a strong sense of place and local identity but characterised by an influx of residents. For the majority of the residents in the Duddon Valley and Estuary, place is one of the key factors influencing their choice to either move to, or stay in, that place.

This applies to both locals and incomers. The Duddon Estuary is distinguished by the high degree of elective belonging and the varieties of people place relations lean strongly towards being Active or Traditional Active (Bailey and Devine-Wright, 2014; Bailey *et al.*, 2016a; Hummon, 1992; Lewicka, 2013; Savage *et al.*, 2005).

The villages around the Duddon Estuary are influenced to a degree by employment at Sellafield and the Barrow Shipyards, but this does not define the village of Kirkby-in-Furness to the same degree as the villages further north. The majority of the villages are distinguished by their historic village cores and the longevity of rural traditions of farming, but the rural is less evident with the advent of large landowners. Gradual changes have taken place with an influx of *outsiders* over recent decades, but the perceptions of who is local and *in place* are less important and newcomers are actively welcomed to build on the social capital of the community. An insight into both the sense of place and habitus of these *southern* communities is essential to understanding the local dispositions and expectations for active engagement with policy, political and planning processes.

6.4 The relationship between space, place and diversities of engagement

This section will take each of the case study areas in turn and examine how engagement is informed by the relationship between habitus and place.

6.4.1 Wigton

The town abutted the preferred route corridor for NWCC, which runs approximately 1km to the north, and there had been two NWCC public consultation events held in the town in October 2014 and December 2016. The following discussion has emerged from the public's experience of that process and grey literature produced by the Town Council in the form of meeting minutes.

A history of disengagement in Wigton

Wigton Town Council have cited disengagement as a characteristic of the local community, most notably in connection with the Town Plan (Wigton Town Council, 2014). The Town Plan questionnaire conducted in 2014 resulted in only 129 responses, out of a population of 5,500 people, which were skewed towards the upper age range with a total of only 69 respondents who were not retired. Of

the 129 responses, 85 respondents were resident in the town with the remainder either working there or resident in a village nearby (Wigton TC, 2014).

A total of eight people were interviewed, or took part in informal conversations to inform my data collection regarding disengagement. Of these, only Mike had attended the NWCC consultation event, and Jenny recollected seeing an information newsletter being delivered to her home. The remaining six people were either disinterested (N=5) or unaware (N=1). Other individuals were engaged in brief conversations during the participant observation but were also unaware of the NWCC project and they have not been referenced.

During the interviews, both Mike and Jenny were asked why they thought that local actors in Wigton did not engage with planning consultations. Jenny's perception is one of local apathy in the town (Krek, 2005; Rydin, 2011) and reliance on community representatives and she says:

> "I think there's a bit of apathy as well in terms of people attending consultations…. I'm not sure, I think there's a bit of apathy that somebody else'll do it for me rather than 'let's get involved' or I might get a job if I go so I'm not going to go. I'm not sure what it is…"

Jenny speaks from her experience of attending consultations for *local* issues such as flooding but confirms that she did not attend the NWCC consultations in Wigton believing that the project did not affect her. She refers to her own, and other local actors, perceptions of the marginalisation and peripherality of the Wigton community (Blowers, 2010; Wynne *et al.*, 2007), when she says:

> "We're inland. From our perspective, everything is in the west around Sellafield and we're forgotten about. We didn't understand why we got the letters because it didn't apply to us. Everything is down near Sellafield and on the coast. Even the name West Coast Connections, we're not on the coast, we're nowhere near, so we didn't think it would affect us."

Jenny explains that she has difficulty in reconciling the name of the project with the market town of Wigton and Mike supports Jenny's view that Wigton is remote from the *Energy Coast* which he perceives as being around Whitehaven. Mike's perceptions of the wider reasons for disengagement are more directly concerned with the dispositions arising from the local habitus, but he also suggests that there is a degree of marginalisation of the community from having a voice in decision-making (Blowers, 2010):

> "I think most people would think 'oh, I'm just not involved me and I wouldn't have any say in the matter anyways'. So it's a feeling of er hopelessness, not

hopelessness but a feeling of 'I'm not involved in this at all' really, isolated from it, really….. I think you'll find that in quite a lot of people in Wigton… we put up with all kinds."

Mike's comments suggest a history of Local Authority decision-making which has been perceived by the town's residents as excluding local opinions and he later refers to other forms of development including new housing and a large supermarket chain as examples. This feeling of *being done to* reflects the discussion in Chapters 4 and 5 in respect of the disempowerment and symbolic violence emerging from the implementation of public consultation within the planning system (Natarajan *et al.,* 2018; Rydin *et al.,* 2018a).

Table 6.1 summarises the varieties of people-place relations and the typology of engagement for each of the participants in Wigton. Jenny, John, Carol and Sue are also representative of conversations with other residents in Wigton whose words and behaviours suggested that they can be attributed a Traditional form of attachment which relates to a lack of awareness of the project despite consultation events being held in the town (Hummon, 1992; Lewicka, 2013; Bailey *et al.,* 2016a). The novel form of people-place relation, identified by Bailey et al (2016a), has been attributed to two participants who are local to the town but display actions of Active engagement through their involvement in the Town Council and attendance at the NWCC consultation events.

Name	Links to place	Identifying as local	People-place relations	Typology of engagement
Wigton and environs				
Mike	Place of birth Multiple generations of family residence Employed at Innovia Former office holder at Town Council	Local	Traditional active	Engaged
Jenny	Born 15km distant Lived in town 20+ years Multiple generations of family residence Employed at Innovia	Not local	Traditional	Disinterested/ disconnected
John	Place of birth Employed at Innovia	Local	Traditional	Unaware
Carol	Moved into town from nearby farm Retired teacher	Not local	Traditional	Unaware

| Sue | Moved into town from nearby village Shop owner | Not local | Traditional | Unaware |
| Robert | Resident 45+ years Multiple generations of family resident in village 22km distant | Not local | Traditional active | Representative voice |

Table 6.1: Summary of the types of engagement identified in Chapter 6 Wigton

6.4.2 Beckermet and Gosforth

The village of Beckermet lies close to the proposed Moorside site and consultation/information events were held for NWCC in September 2014, September 2015 and November 2016. Gosforth was excluded from the list of formal consultation event locations.

A history of (dis)engagement in Beckermet and Gosforth

Chapter 5 (section 5.2.2) has already made evident the role of symbolic violence, emerging from peer pressure in the nuclear community, as a factor in public disengagement. Chapter 5 has also examined temporally distant decision-making in planning applications for energy and waste which has resulted in local acquiescence and a belief that local voices are unheard (Bickerstaff, 2012). Pam works for a local charity and speaks as an outside observer of this local domination when she describes her perception of the historical disempowerment of communities (Blowers, 2010; Wynne *et al.,* 2007):

> *"it's really sad because, you know, these people have been cowed. They've been made to feel that nothing they ever do will ever make any difference and that is terrible. They've been disenfranchised, they've been disempowered and it's terrible because, if anything, this is their heritage more than anyone else's. This is their landscape. This is what they come from."*

Pam describes the strong local attachment to place based on residence by multiple generations of local families and she attributes the domination of the nuclear industry as the cause of disengagement in local communities when she says:

> *"It's where they belong. It's where their families have been for however many generations and yet, I don't think it's that they don't care. I don't think they can afford to care. I don't think that they are able to bring themselves to care because so much stuff has happened to them."*

The presence of former Sellafield employees on local Parish Councils and committees are generally actors with high levels of embodied cultural capital who can either perpetuate or challenge the dominance of Sellafield (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Two of these actors were among the 28 local residents who engaged with either the semi-structured interviews or informal conversations to inform this research. A full list of the participants is located in Appendix 4 and an extract has been included at Table 6.2 below, showing the named individuals from this chapter.

Unlike Wigton, there are wider diversities of engagement apparent in the villages of Beckermet and Gosforth. Of the 28 participants only six were identified as engaged with the process for the NWCC consultation as individuals, with two additional engaged individuals who were also acting as representative voices and speaking for their communities (Mahony *et al.,* 2010). Of the remaining twenty individuals, there were four diversities of disengagement evident in the interviews and conversations. These comprised two actors who were *unaware* of the NWCC project including Steven who has been discussed regarding his Traditional form of place attachment in section 6.2.2. Additionally, Maggie was *unaware* due to her recent move to the area. She self-identifies as a newcomer to the area and references the opinions of local people as an observer. Her lack of personal attachment is also discussed in section 6.2.2 (Hummon, 1992; Lewicka, 2013).

Eight of the participants interviewed expressed post-political views, gender bias and disconnection from the process, and so were classified as elective disengaged for a range of reasons. Post-political views were expressed by several unnamed participants in addition to Geoff and Tony (Wilson and Swyngedouw, 2015). Tony is a former Sellafield engineer who also expressed an opinion that the consultation process can be *too political*. He has voluntarily disengaged from the process saying that it should be *"practical not political"* and in his opinion *"only people with a strong opinion 'for' or 'against' go to the consultations."* Other participants were also concerned that politics played a role in decision-making with Geoff stating that *"It's politics isn't it? The Government don't want to get stuck with a problem and make a decision."* Geoff's view reinforces a local belief that the area is marginalised in relation to central Government as discussed in section 6.2 of this chapter (Blowers, 2016; Wilson and Swyngedouw, 2015; Wynne *et al.,* 2007).

Six participants were reliant upon the representative voices to speak for them and so were framed as *engaged disengaged* actors. Susan did not attend the consultations held in Beckermet but says that:

> *"You should speak to the Parish Council, they gather the information and speak for us. 'Bill' is very good'."*

Susan's words were repeated by other Beckermet residents including a retired couple, and four farmer's wives who explain that they are too busy to attend events themselves but rely upon Bill to *"speak for us"* (OECD, 2009:48; Cropley and Phibbs, 2013).

The remaining participants described in conversations how they were involuntarily part of the consultation process due to their status as landowners and so were framed as *disengaged engaged*. None of the four showed any further interest in the process other than how it immediately affected their land and they had not attended the consultation events. Jack and Nick are representative of this group with Jack saying "*it runs right through my farm, I'm not bothered*" and Nick expressing the common local opinion that *"they'll do as they want won't they?"* Both Jack and Nick are at odds with local opinion in stating that their preference would be for pylons rather than undergrounding of the cables but neither has been motivated to express this opinion during the consultation or to attend any events for more information.

Beckermet and Gosforth showed the greatest diversity in forms of (dis)engagement which also reflected the diverse communities of practice in the area including agriculture and the nuclear industry. The participants specifically referenced in this chapter are summarised in table 6.2 below.

Name	Links to place	Identifying as local	People-place relations	Typology of engagement
Beckermet and Gosforth				
Bill	Resident 40+ years Retired Sellafield employee No family connection to area Parish Councillor	Elective belonging	Traditional active	Representative voice
Jack	Place of birth Multiple generations of family residence Farmer	Local	Traditional	Disengaged engaged

George	Resident 40+ years Father was a Sellafield employee No family connection to area Not locally employed	Local	Traditional active/place alienated	Engaged disengaged
Steven	Place of birth Multiple generations of family residence Retired miner	Local	Traditional	Unaware
Mary	Place of birth Multiple generations of family residence Retired	Not local	Traditional	Engaged disengaged
Maggie	Resident <5 years No family connection to area Retired Serial mover	Offcomer	Placelessness	Disconnected

Table 6.2: Summary of the types of engagement identified in Chapter 6 Beckermet and Gosforth

6.4.3 Kirkby-in-Furness

The village of Kirkby-in-Furness lies on the route of the proposed NWCC and a consultation event was held in the village in December 2016. An earlier consultation event had been held in October 2014 at nearby Grizebeck.

Images 6.5 & 6.6: Power without Pylons.Source: Pylonshttp://powerwithoutpylons.org.uk/

A history of engagement around the Duddon Estuary

The area around the Duddon Estuary differs from the other study area settlements due to the composition of its local population in the villages and hamlets. Anecdotal evidence from local NGOs suggests that there is a higher percentage of the population who have moved in to the area as a form of elective belonging as discussed in section 6.3 (Savage *et al.,* 2005; Tomaney, 2015). As

discussed in section 6.3.3, the words and behaviour of a higher proportion of the population seem to fit with the Active attachment as proposed by Hummon (1992). Pam works for a local charity and explains her experience of how this has impacted on engagement with development, particularly NWCC, in the area:

> *"Duddon Valley is also full of incomers, well, it's not full of incomers but it's a very high percentage of incomers, a lot of retired people, a lot of people with time on their hands and a righteous cause."*

Interviews and informal conversations took place with thirteen individuals who either lived in Kirkby-in-Furness or the surrounding area in order to understand how this affected local engagement with planning processes. Data was also gathered from events including an organised St George's Day walk up Black Combe and attendance at the NWCC consultation event in 2016. The data was also supplemented with participant observation at local events and within the villages themselves.

All of the interviewees were actively engaged with the process including two Parish Councillors representing the voices of local communities (Alcoff, 2016), and representatives of four groups opposing the location of the overhead power line. The groups included FLD, PwP, KPG and No Pylons. The remaining actors were classified as either *engaged* or *engaged disengaged* publics. A high proportion of *engaged disengaged* publics in the village has been attributed to the activities of PwP who undertook a bottom-up approach to engagement by visiting every residence in the village and circulating posters for display in windows. The Parish Councils and PwP also organised *surgeries* to assist publics in completing the feedback forms from the consultation. According to Tim, the purpose of the surgeries was to meet the needs of actors who *"didn't know how to write or articulate their feelings"* and these events were also supported by public meetings. The KPG also advised that over 50% of the village's residents were registered as supporters of their campaign.

Pam described the actions of PwP in mobilising support:

> *"They have knocked on people's doors… They've gone out and said 'did you know this is happening? What d'you think of it? Will you write to NG? Please put one of these posters in your window'…it's local people talking to other local people so it's almost like a… cascade, so you've got a couple of people, who've got a lot of knowledge about it,…it's grass roots. People trust grass roots."*

Several of the interviewees expressed an opinion that the success of their campaigns was due to trust building amongst the local communities (Nooteboom, 2007). This directly relates to research into informed voices representing communities of place (Alcoff, 2016) however, it builds upon this idea by advocating direct engagement with the public. Pam commented:

> *"you actually need to go to where people are rather than expecting people to come to you. Yep, and you actually need them to be able to do something which is a bit more than writing a comment on a comments slip and putting it in a box. You actually want to be able to engage people."*

The actors responsible for establishing the various action groups generally had high cultural capital comprising industry experience at Sellafield and Barrow, educational attainment and distinction as recognised experts in their field (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Support for the various protest groups was generated through using the existing social capital of the villages and the manipulation of fear through symbolic violence manifested as information sharing around risk, visual and health impacts (Parkhill *et al.,* 2014).

The *Sellafield effect* (section 6.3.2) extended as far as the Duddon Estuary during the consultation but the symbolic capital of former Sellafeld employees, who had become local representative voices, was used as a means of empowerment in the field of consultation where perceived local experts sought to directly engage with the developer(as discussed in Chapter 5 by Tim). This is at odds with Eric's personal experience of acquiescence to Sellafield by local Parish Councils to the north of the Duddon Estuary which were historically dominated by British Nuclear Fuel employees (Blowers, 2016). Eric's past election to a Parish Council in Millom was in response to a locally identified need to appoint *"somebody who's not a company man"* ensuring greater representation in speaking for the public (Mahony *et al.,* 2010).

The emergence of active engagement around the Duddon Estuary can potentially be attributed to a high degree of attachment to place arising from elective belonging (Savage *et al.*, 2005). Other factors include a high proportion of *offcomers* exhibiting place protective behaviours and taking symbolic capital, particularly embodied cultural capital, into the field of consultation to challenge the power relations (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Devine-Wright, 2009). The role of the representative voices is also significant in generating high levels of trust appearing to result in a higher percentage of 'engaged disengaged' publics

(Alcoff, 2016). To a certain extent, the high percentage of offcomers with an Active variety of attachment enabled a cohesive sense of community within people of this kind, including a high degree of trust. However, there was also evidence of Traditional Active attached publics, such as Tim, who were Representative voices for their community.

Alan is representative of the high numbers of incomers to the area who were initially unaware of the NWCC project and disconnected from it. However, Alan's disconnection transitioned over time into active engagement through membership of social networks as he became aware of the implications for the local context and this is expected to be the experience of other incomers. This can partly be attributed to Alan's nostalgic desire to capture the traditional character of the village, but also due to his engagement in activities reflecting a higher social and educational status (Lewicka, 2013). In Alan's village, social capital was frequently generated through village-based activities such as societies which gave rise to events such as walks on New Year's Day and St George's Day becoming a feature of engagement with the NWCC consultation process.

The interview data and anecdotal evidence collected from event ethnography in Kirkby-in-Furness and the surrounding area has reflected a higher level of engagement with the NWCC consultation process when compared with the other villages on the route that were investigated. This has been attributed to a higher percentage of offcomers to the area who have expressed their decision to move to the area in terms of elective belonging (Savage *et al.*, 2005). The appearance of the surrounding landscape is cited by many, including Tom and Alan, as the reason for their move to the village. This has prompted place protective behaviour as a response to the perceived industrialisation of the countryside (Batel *et al.*, 2015; Devine-Wright, 2009). Table 6.3 references those participants who have been discussed in this section of the chapter.

Name	Links to place	Identifying as local	People-place relations	Typology of engagement
Kirkby-in-Furness and Furness peninsular				
Alan	Resident <5 years Retired engineer No family connection to area	Offcomer	Active	Changed from disengaged to engaged

Tom	Resident 31+ years No family connection to area	Elective belonging	Traditional active	Engaged
Eric	Place of birth Multiple generations of family residence	Local	Place alienated to traditional active	Engaged
Tim	Place of birth Multiple generations of family residence Retired Sellafield engineer Parish Councillor	Local	Traditional active	Representative voice
Joe	Resident 50+ years Parish Councillor	Local – not by others	Active	Representative voice
Paul	Resident <5 years No family connection to area Not locally employed	Offcomer	Active	Engaged

Table 6.3: Summary of the types of engagement identified in Chapter 6 Kirkby-in-Furness

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the relationship between place and disengagement in the study area through a Bourdieusian lens and has also sought to inform the answer to research question 3 as defined in Chapter 1. Chapter 6 has also expanded upon and applied the Typology of Engagement, which was introduced in Chapter 3, to understand which of the (dis)engagement typologies are particularly associated with, or affected by, place and how they are distributed across the study area. Two additional categories have been discussed, *Unaware* and *Disconnected*, and these have been added to the full typology which is included in chapter 7 (section 7.3.2).

Diversity of engagement	sub-type	Definition	Attributes/commentary
Unaware	Locally attached	Individuals with no apparent knowledge of a project despite having a local connection, such as residence, to the area within which the proposal is sited.	Denies all knowledge of the project. Outside the consultation buffer zone. Remote from community or social networks. Belonging to place rather than community.

Disconnected		An individual who does not acknowledge the relevance of the project to self.	Resident within the catchment area for consultation. Unable to identify a personal connection or relevance to one's situation. Time-poor Indifferent to the impacts of the project.

Table 6.4: Summary of the additional types of engagement identified in chapter 6

Historically, it has been suggested that the marginalisation of West Cumbrian communities has helped to perpetuate a degree of separateness from the rest of the country (Blowers, 2010, 2016). However, the case study settlements have each demonstrated different characteristics and communities of practice and the responses to the research questions will vary according to the character of each of the villages/town. My finer grained place-based approach builds upon existing knowledge and has produced evidence that there are important differences between local places across West Cumbria that have been overlooked by other researchers such as Blowers (2010).

The data analysis has suggested that engagement is not consistent across the study area and typically ranges from high levels of disengagement in the north, preferences for representation in the centre and active engagement and representation in the south. The data analysed to inform this research comprised twelve semi-structured interviews from across the study area, two informal interviews and forty informal conversations as well as a range of secondary data, but there is still an emerging pattern of diversities of engagement across the study area. This suggests that settlements within a geographical area can vary widely in their dispositions, with a place-based community habitus appearing to be a factor in engagement.

This chapter has identified differences between communities of practice and communities of place and suggested that they have different responses to engagement. Where the overlap of communities of practice and place is at its most diverse and complex, in the area around Beckermet and Gosforth, there is evidence of a greater diversity of engagement. This is partly explained by the evidence from the earlier chapters which has suggested that symbolic violence associated with peer pressure in the nuclear community of practice could be a factor in voluntary disengagement. However, it is also apparent that the agricultural community who have a multi-generational history of belonging to the

land in this area can be inclined towards disengagement due to the demands of agricultural practice and economic pressure.

The stigma of peripherality seems to be a key factor in the north of the study area which feels left behind both economically and geographically (Blowers, 2010, 2016). The strength of social capital in Wigton is inwardly focussed on the school community and the main employer in the town which, to a certain extent, defines the community. Wigton experiences extreme apathy towards consultations and this chapter has offered some insight into the reasons underlying this in the context of a strong attachment to place being undermined by marginalisation and stigma.

The habitus of Wigton contrasts with the central villages of Beckermet and Gosforth and it has been suggested that this is due to the dominant influence of Sellafield combined with a large influx of *offcomers*. This differs from the dominant employer in Wigton which prioritises local people, rather than *offcomers*. Sellafield defines part of the community in the centre of the study area through a complex duality between the nuclear industry and local farming traditions. The dominance of the nuclear industry is a factor in discouraging engagement from the current workforce through symbolic violence and peer pressure but retired, highly qualified Sellafield workers have become the voice for the local communities by using their high cultural capital, both embodied and institutionalised, to challenge the power relations in the field of consultation. The central area of the Case Study around Beckermet evidences the greatest diversity of engagement emerging from the different communities of place and practice in the villages.

In the south of the case study area, the village of Kirkby-in-Furness is perceived as being dominated by the influx of new residents in recent years, attracted both by employment opportunities and the proximity to the Lake District National Park. This influx appears to have changed the habitus of the community through consciously building high social capital across both locals and *offcomers*. This has resulted in growing community cohesion and more active forms of engagement although the most active community members are those who are empowered by high cultural capital.

A number of overarching factors have been suggested as influencing the diversities of engagement across the case study area, including habitus and

dispositions, local employment, numbers of incomers, the strength of the farming community and the varieties of people-place relations. The dominant factor contributing to active engagement appears to be the symbolic capital which actors take to the field.

Social capital is an important factor in deciding to engage within communities but my findings have suggested that it is cultural capital which overcomes the power relations and symbolic violence of the consultation process. This is particularly evident in the representative voices who are all highly qualified, experienced and eloquent. This chapter has also referenced the work of Lewicka (2013) which advocated a cultural capital based approach to understanding varieties of people-place relations, but I have expanded the limitations of Lewicka's research, which tended towards a class-based definition of cultural capital, and examined the dominant role of embodied and institutionalised cultural capital in place based engagement practices. However, social capital can also strengthen communities of place to deal with conflicts or threats to that place by sharing in the place meaning and emotional attachment to their physical community (Manzo and Perkins, 2006).

Overall, the evidence presented in this chapter has suggested that habitus and forms of capital are strongly linked to place in the study area. Habitus is also intrinsically connected to the concept of *rootedness* or being at home in a particular place in an unselfconscious way (Casey, 2001). Harvey (1989) also suggests that "*we are able to foster a (conscious) sense of place*" and suggests that this process is important because the places in which our habitus is enacted can be changed or threatened by external forces, such as the NWCC project. He suggests that the feeling of rootedness diminishes, and "*our need to create a sense of place as secure and stable is heightened*" (Harvey, 1989; cited in Massey and Jess, 1995:48).

By bringing together habitus, forms of capital and a place dimension to understand disengagement, I have been able to better understand the *"cognitive, affective and behavioural dimensions"* that reflected the way in which communities of place chose to engage with, or disengage from, the consultation process in the case study (Manzo and Perkins, 2006:343). In the case of Kirkby-in-Furness, this emerged from the nature of the relationship that the public had

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with place, and gave rise to a greater level of engagement with the planning process for the NWCC project.

Building upon the findings of previous chapters, the consultation process appears to have been flawed in not reaching some of the communities, partly through a lack of understanding of community habitus and with the added complexity of the relationships between place and practice, and informed by aspects of both social and cultural capital. Anecdotal evidence and personal observation has suggested that consultation events in the south were better attended than those in the north and this could have been investigated through the lens of habitus and place as soon as it became apparent at an early stage of the project. Overall, the findings suggest that rigorous community profiling could be considered as a means of enabling more effective engagement in similar projects in the future.

In conclusion, the evidence from this case study has examined the complexity of the relationship between habitus and place and supports my argument that a conceptual approach of a Bourdieusian toolkit combined with a place dimension, can help to better understand the factors leading to disengagement.

Chapter 7: Key findings, reflections and recommendations

7.1 Introduction

My primary contribution to knowledge through this research is to expand the understanding of disengagement, using a novel conceptual approach that combines Bourdieu and ideas of place, and which also has policy and practice implications.

This research project has investigated pre-application public engagement with planning for NSIPs, with a particular focus on the real-world problem of public disengagement. Having worked as a chartered planner for many years, my work has included participatory forms of planning which have developed from the communicative turn and collaborative planning. The literature review has discussed how the ideological paradigm shift from the planner as expert to a more collaborative form of planning had been intended to progress communication from a one-way process of informing the public to *"communication as an interpersonal activity involving dialogue, debate and negotiation"* (Innes, 1995; Taylor, 1998:122). However, the failure of the majority of infrastructure projects to engage more than a token percentage of the public, typically the usual suspects of middle aged and well educated white males, indicates that this type of planning would benefit from a different conceptual approach (Geoghan, 2013). The literature review has suggested that the assumptions upon which the success of collaborative planning was founded, are unable to be met by the current planning process for major infrastructure in the UK. The literature review has also identified where there are gaps in the theory which may lead to problems around engagement.

The research has adopted a social constructivist approach to understanding the research problem by assuming that publics actively construct their own knowledge and that reality is determined by their experience. The research used a case study approach focussed on the NWCC project in Cumbria and there was evidence that, in many cases, the public had built a set of beliefs with regards to power relations and (mis)recognition of public knowledge and voices based upon their previous experience of consultation for energy related developments. Through this experience, they constructed a body of local knowledge as individuals within social groups as a way of understanding the process. This

response to the problem appeared to be an interpretive structure which was repeatedly articulated and re-created in the case study area. In order to understand this problem, I have developed a novel conceptual framework which allowed me to investigate public knowledge and beliefs through a case study research design.

A new conceptual framework for public engagement with infrastructure

In this research, I have proposed a new framework to understanding disengagement from planning consultations for major infrastructure, which addresses the deficiencies identified in the current theoretically situated approach derived from the communicative turn. The key areas in which I have focussed my attention are the presuppositions for communication, power relations and the role of the social other which I have primarily investigated through the work of Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1999).

In section 2.7 of the thesis, I set out my argument for undertaking a Bourdieusian inspired approach to examining the research problem and I am revisiting the core principles of that argument in this chapter to examine whether there is evidence that the theoretical approach has given new insights into public engagement with, and disengagement from, planning for major infrastructure projects.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. Section 7.2 revisits the conceptual framework and examines the contribution derived from applying Bourdieu's concepts with the added dimension of place. Section 7.3 summarises what has been learnt about diversities of engagement in the case study and how these have been used to create the Typology of Engagement. Section 7.4 summarises the knowledge contribution to practice and to the joint funder of the research, and this is followed by section 7.5 which sets out the limitations of the research. The final section 7.6 considers the potential for future research to develop the themes from this case study.

7.2 Investigating disengagement from planning through a Bourdieusian framework

In section 2.7, I proposed a conceptual framework based upon the work of Bourdieu but with an added dimension of place and I will now revisit this framework to assess the theoretical contribution of my research.

The conceptual framework set out in chapter 2 has brought together the Bourdieusian triad of habitus, field and capital combined with the Theory of Symbolic Violence which is said to underpin all of Bourdieu's work (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Habitus, capital and field are all theoretically and empirically interrelated and it is not possible to abstract habitus from the other concepts which give it meaning. I have built on the literature review, through a predominantly Bourdieusian conceptual framework, to propose an alternative analytical approach on conceptual contributions to infrastructure planning despite Bourdieu's concepts being less widely used in the context of planning. In a novel approach, my conceptual framework also combines Bourdieu's conceptual triad with a place component which responds to the space – place debate in section 2.6.1 (Bridge, 2011, Painter, 2000).

In this section I will discuss the perceived contribution made by each of the conceptual tools that I have used whilst still recognising that each concept cannot be used in isolation.

7.2.1 Understanding the contribution of the Bourdieusian framework

This section considers what each aspect of the Bourdieusian conceptual framework has brought to the research and offers some thoughts on what worked well and what this might mean for the future.

Habitus

In discussing the contribution of habitus to my understanding of the research problem, I have recognised that habitus can be problematic to define when applied empirically at different scales (Maton, 2012; Painter, 2000). For the purposes of this chapter, I will discuss the contribution made by investigating the individual habitus of the actors and the interconnections between those habituses at a local scale. I also wish to revisit the point made in my literature review that, empirically, it is not possible to *see* a habitus but rather, it is possible to see the effects of the habitus in the dispositions and practices to which it gives rise (chapter 2, section 2.2.3). This results from an understanding of which underlying structure of the habitus is in play (Maton, 2012). It is therefore important to understand how habitus may have given rise to practices of disengagement by investigating its composition.

Habitus is perceived as an overarching concept which comprises a number of component parts all integrated to contribute to the whole (Bourdieu, 1990a). Viewing the public through the lens of their habitus in this research brought opportunities to understand community dispositions from a perspective that informs an individual's willingness to take part in public engagement. The research sought to investigate aspects of habitus through conducting semi-structured interviews and undertaking ethnography in selected locations along the route of the NWCC. The first half of each interview was designed to establish knowledge around each individual's relationship with their networks and communities, and questions indirectly examined the presence of structuring structures, and discussions around durability, through length of stay and multi-generational influences where these were at play. Insights were also gained from understanding communities of practice such as schools and workplaces and how these had shaped the individual's dispositions.

Where interviewees were perceived as local, that is, having been in a place for more than one generation, the structuring structures contributed to a strong sense of inculcation, particularly in the farming community and multi-generational workforces where children followed parents and grandparents into local industries. This has given rise to communities of practice, particularly associated with work, as identified in my empirical chapters 4, 5 and 6. Bourdieu has previously discussed the impact of legacy on one's own personal history (Bourdieu, 2003) and this encapsulates the effects of durability and inculcation on how the individual habitus is produced and reproduced through practice. Learned behaviours emerging from the multi-generational experience of being *done to* in parts of West Cumbria have given rise to a self-perpetuating practice of disengagement in some social spaces.

Field

The concept of the field as a socially structured space in which actors play out their engagements with each other, has been a useful structure in understanding the multi-layered distribution of power across the study area in terms of relations with national and local governance. In order to clearly define the scope of my research, I confined my focus to the process of public consultation as a field defined by planning policy and practice. The scope was further refined by focussing on the pre-application stage of the planning process for NSIPs where

the power dynamics are largely restricted to the relationship between the developer (NGET) and the public. This space was characterised by practices of contestation, complicity and acquiescence where degrees of power were determined by the actors undertaking the consultation process with the objective of meeting the planning requirement to consult. The data analysis revealed the ways in which the public either struggled to achieve their objectives or gained power through transferable knowledge and experience which played out in the Bourdieusian concept of illusio, or playing the game (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). In the case study, I identified the most significant factor in this game as the possession or acquisition of cultural capital.

Capital

I have argued that the role of Bourdieu's forms of capital, including economic, social and cultural, has been a key factor in the way in which public engagement has been played out in the field and I will commence with a discussion around the significance of cultural capital before moving on to consider the parts played by economic and social capital in my case study (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Chapter 4 has made evident the role of both embodied and institutionalised cultural capital in enabling actors to actively engage with the field of public consultation. I have distinguished between these two forms of cultural capital to emphasis the difference between acquired knowledge and formal, education based qualifications. Within the field, these actors are guided by their individual habitus in using cultural capital to play the game and challenge the power relations of the dominant actors, in this case NGET and their consultants. Referring back to the words of a participant in the case study, there will *"only be a certain class of people that can ever engage with the process; those who are reasonable articulate"* and *"reasonably engaged"* (Tim)*.* Tim elected to attribute these manifestations of cultural capital as emerging from *class* but my experience of the research has suggested that these skills can be attributed to education, professional experience and personal distinction. I have not specifically examined whether class is a factor and this will be discussed as part of the limitations of the research in section 7.5 of this chapter.

I have suggested that the absence of cultural capital in particular is an important factor in disengagement particularly in giving confidence to the public to engage with processes informed by extensive evidence bases and technical expertise.

My Bourdieusian framework has been helpful in understanding other aspects of disengagement and I have visualised the identified communities of practice as overlapping fields where actors bring high symbolic capital to the process. Specific examples of communities of practice in the case study have included workforce based communities, such as Sellafield and Innovia, where the cultural capital acquired through highly technical roles is combined with the social capital of the community network and the economic capital associated with the value of that work community to the stability of the area. Unexpectedly, these communities also gave rise to the voluntarily disengaged publics who choose not to take part in the process for various reasons including a post-political stance, lack of trust or peer-pressure from work colleagues and I will discuss this in more detail in the section on symbolic violence.

In contrast, there are other dispersed communities such as farming families who lack the same opportunities and bring less influence and power to the conversation. Examining the habitus and practices of these individuals has been important in understanding how their dispositions have formed around inculcation, history and the durability of multi-generational farms, in addition to the peripherality of their lives in remote locations with poor broadband connections (Blowers, 2010; Wynne *et al.,* 2007).

Power and symbolic violence

To date, existing research in the case study area had recognised aspects of slow violence (Nixon, 2011) but I developed this theme by investigating the evidence for symbolic violence to understand firstly, whether it was present in the case study and, secondly, what impact it has had on local actors in discouraging public engagement from the pre-application process for NSIPs (Blowers, 2010; Nixon, 2011, Wynne *et al.,* 2007). The interview data analysis was used to identify emerging sources of symbolic violence which included the legacy of historic planning processes, the domination of particular industries in the area and the planning process itself drawing on the findings in chapters 4 and 5 of the thesis.

My decision to investigate disengagement through the lens of symbolic violence resulted in a focus on issues such as disempowerment, marginality, peripherality and stigma. I would argue that aspects of the Bourdieusian framework is more readily able to pick up issues such as marginality and peripherality, and to help in understanding the reasons underlying disengagement through the lens of

symbolic violence in this particular case study. Having examined the history of slow violence in Cumbria from the literature, the theory of symbolic violence has helped to explain the sources of hidden domination which have produced, reproduced and perpetuated patterns of public acceptance, acquiescence and complicity, particularly in matters relating to planning for infrastructure (Blowers, 2010; Wynne *et al.,* 2007). Unexpected findings have subsequently emerged from the communities of practice in overlapping fields which would have remained otherwise hidden.

The findings from the interviews suggested that disengagement can result from a local expectation of complicity both with the perceptions of national planning processes and with the dominance of powerful local employers and communities of practice. In the case study, this manifested as nuclear dominance and a historical perception of *being done to* resulting in a mistrust of both national and local governance. There were also other factors such as geographical isolation and low populations which contributed to disengagement and my analysis of the interview data suggested that symbolic violence, although evident, was not the only factor in disengagement in the case study.

Using the Theory of Symbolic Violence allowed me to achieve a much greater depth of understanding of one aspect of research question 2 by thinking through a Bourdieusian lens and my findings can be summarised as follows.

- Investigating disengagement through the lens of symbolic violence can give rise to a deeper understanding of aspects of power relations and barriers that were not made evident in an analysis of the process through the perceptions of the engaged publics.

- An investigation of the local history of planning engagement produced evidence of historic, place specific factors, that can perpetuate symbolic violence as a cause of disengagement;

- Although evident, symbolic violence is not the only factor at play in this case study and other factors include issues emerging from peripherality and stigma.

The factors affecting engagement also suggested that there was a strong place-based element emerging from the case study.

Summarising the value of the conceptual approach

There are advantages to the Bourdieusian conceptual framework when compared with existing practices of public consultation and the Bourdieusian approach emerges from a very different place which removes the research from the Habermasian suppositions, and the associated criticisms, and looks at it in an entirely fresh way. In summary a Bourdieusian framework can:

- enable a more reflexive approach to understanding the public sphere

- enable the examination of power relations in the process through the structure of the field and the forms of capital that actors bring

- enable a deeper understanding of communities of both place and practice, revealing deep-seated concerns and historic experience that has affected their dispositions with regard to engagement.

- draw from the theory of symbolic violence which is a novel approach to understanding the underlying factors for disengagement some of which are place specific.

- build on previous research to suggest that forms of cultural capital are key to being able to engage

- expand on existing NSIPs research using a different conceptual focus to understand those whose voices are not typically heard.

- use the field to define the specific focus of the study.

7.2.2 Expanding the limits of a Bourdieusian framework with the novel introduction of a place-based approach

Although the Bourdieusian framework has assisted in analysing the data to understand more fully who the public are, it has highlighted a limitation associated with understanding who the public are *in that place*. Bourdieu's approach to space rather than place was particularly helpful in understanding communities of practice but in the case study, this has overlapped with communities of place without incorporating other publics, both individuals and communities, in that place. It was therefore important as part of my research to pursue the line of investigation into who people were in those places and how this impacted on the distribution of disengagement across the study area.

The introduction of a place-based component as a way of enhancing the Bourdieusian conceptual framework has brought an added dimension which has helped to make sense of located conflicts and issues around marginality and stigma. Throughout the data analysis, there is a strong focus on place specificity which underpins the distribution of the types of disengagement which have become evident across the case study area and this will be discussed in section 7.3.1.

The role of place was investigated through understanding sense of place with a particular focus on varieties of people-place relations and ways of belonging (Bailey and Devine-Wright, 2014; Devine-Wright, 2013; Hummon, 1992; Lewicka, 2011b, 2013; Massey, 1997, Massey and Jess, 1995; Rose, 1995; Tomaney, 2015). By incorporating this place dimension with the Bourdieusian toolkit, I was able to assess the way in which place was constructed by the participants. This reinforced the belief that places are not just social constructs and can incorporate the cultural and the physical as a non-social world (Stedman, 2003). As discussed in the literature review, this materiality of place can have its own set of rules and expectations and can use the physical naturalness or perceived beauty of place to define a sense of place which excludes the social. In the case study this manifested in the role of the Lake District National Park as a social construct, built on perceptions of naturalness and uniqueness of landscape and rural practice, and regarded as a non-human actor. This drew from the literature investigating landscape essentialisation in response to powerlines which suggested that the public perceive powerlines as industrial and at odds with natural and unspoilt landscapes (Batel *et al.,* 2015). Although the National Park comprised only part of the route, it was regarded as a valued resource which is strongly linked to objectified capital by actors who attributed personal distinction to living in the National Park (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). This attachment to a place which is perceived as a desirable location, has been attributed to privileged social groups and is apparent in part of the case study area through active engagement which arises from elective belonging and can manifest as place protective behaviour through perceptions of the potential for disruption of place (Devine-Wright, 2009; Lewicka, 2013; Rose, 1995; Savage *et al.,* 2005). This aspect of attachment to place is strongly associated with habitus where a location is perceived as desirable and becomes a site for "*performing identities*" where

outsiders bring their own habitus to their chosen location of the Lake District National Park in this case study (Savage *et al.,* 2005:29).

Combining sense of place with Bourdieu's field theory appears essential to understanding a range of affects including identity, memory, attachment and community history associated with place. This has been particularly valuable in understanding the identity of rural communities. Another aspect of place which emerged from the reasons for disengagement was the reluctance of some publics to engage with consultations in formal spaces chosen by NGET and their consultants (Simpson, 2016). An emerging finding from this research was the benefit of engaging with the public on their *home turf* to shift the balance of power relations away from powerful actors dictating the timing, choice and layout of venues (Simpson, 2016). This is discussed in more detail in section 7.4.1 where an example is given of how this can work in practice.

My research findings have also referenced work by Hummon (1992), Lewicka (2011b, 2013) and Bailey and Devine-Wright (2014) in understanding varieties of people-place relations and the way in which people may relate to their places of residence. Examining the ways in which the public are attached to, and take an active interest in, the place where they live can be seen as a potential indicator of engagement (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). This thread was not fully developed in my study but I have suggested in section 7.6 that there appears to be a correlation between the two factors which could be the subject of future research. Research published by Lewicka (2013) also suggested that there is a relationship between cultural capital and forms of place attachment, although her focus was on objectified cultural capital. The findings of my research support this hypothesis although I have argued that the relationship with forms of engagement is more closely connected to both embodied and institutionalised cultural capital.

The final aspect of place that I addressed through this research concerned the concept of being *in place* or *out of place* and this incorporated aspects of belonging and identity (Cresswell, 1996). In the research, this concept was particularly helpful in distinguishing between two aspects of being out of place. Firstly, in the local/non-local debate relating to length of residence and family connections in a physical place and, secondly, in the discussion around power relations and the role of external actors, such as NGET, as outsiders who do not know the rules and exhibit out of place behaviours (Bourdieu, 1984; Cresswell,

1996; Savage *et al.*, 2005; Tomaney, 2014). My findings suggested that the sense of being in place or out of place can also give rise to varying responses to engagement with public consultation processes. The evidence from the data analysis, in particular the matrix coding query (in Appendix 9), has suggested that there is a pattern of behaviour that denotes belonging to a particular community or location. This has given rise to local dispositions which lean more towards engagement, or disengagement emerging from either the background, memories and history of that place connected with current practices, or they have acquired an attachment to that place through an attraction or choices arising from preferences, taste or circumstances (Cresswell, 1996, 2004).

My findings have identified a North-South divide across the case study suggesting that disengagement is frequently associated with communities in the north of the case study where communities are characterised by 'locals'. In contrast, the south of the case study area has a higher proportion of incomers to the area with an associated interest in public consultations for activities that are likely to impact on the appearance of the area. Cresswell (1996) and Rose (1995) have both regarded place as being elevated above a geographical location as an arena or field of sociocultural expectations. In particular, key thinkers have emphasised the connections between the social, cultural and economic structuring of place through habitus which directly relates to the elements of a Bourdieusian conceptual framework indicating the value of bringing place to bear in Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1977; Cresswell, 1996; Hillier and Rooksby, 2005; Rose, 1995).

7.2.3 Summarising the contribution made by the research

In summary, I will return to my conceptual framework in chapter 2 to reflect upon the arguments I have made for undertaking this research through a Bourdieusian lens with the added dimension of place.

I initially set out my conceptual framework for this research in Chapter 2, supported by an argument in favour of using a novel approach to examining public engagement through a Bourdieusian lens with the added dimension of place. In this section, I will revisit that argument and consider both the merits of my approach and what could have been handled differently.

Drawing from Howe and Langdon (2002), I argued that a new reflexive theory of planning developed from a Bourdieusian approach, could assist in deepening an understanding of the outcome of planning practices through the Bourdieusian toolkit of habitus, field and capital. By moving away from a Habermasian inspired approach to communicative or collaborative planning, I found that Bourdieu's conceptual toolkit offered a way to deepen my understanding of the communities that were the subject of the proposed DCO application. Using this reflexive approach to understanding the outcome of previous energy based applications in the area, including Nirex and Moorside, added greatly to my understanding of the public's response to the NWCC project.

I also argued that the concepts could be more sensitive to understanding local community characteristics and therefore the diversity of engagement in the communities of the case study. In section 7.2.1 of this chapter, I have described in detail the contribution made by each of the concepts to the research and I have also identified gaps and limitations. Overall, I have found that the concepts of habitus, field and capital have enabled a far deeper understanding of the public response to, and engagement with, planning than would have been possible using an existing consultation framework.

My third argument concerned my approach to the investigation of an underlying thread of power, domination and hidden violence which had emerged from the literature review. I proposed that this could be investigated through the Theory of Symbolic Violence which is perceived to be a cross-cutting theme in Bourdieu's works and would be compatible with the Bourdieusian triad of habitus, field and capital. Power relations were acknowledged in the literature review as missing from a collaborative planning approach and my conceptual framework sought to incorporate this aspect in my research of the NWCC process which was based on collaborative planning principles as set out in best practice guidance.

The applicability of Bourdieu's theory and concepts to disadvantaged communities experiencing marginality, peripherality and stigma, was evidenced through section 2.4.3 of the Literature Review with specific relevance to West Cumbria (Wynne *et al.,* 2007) and this supports my argument that Bourdieu's concepts are particularly relevant to my research area in response to the gap in the literature around disengagement connected to the planning processes for major infrastructure.

The critique of Bourdieu's work in chapter 2 discussed the lack of Bourdieu's engagement with place which was expected to be a potentially significant omission in my research (Bridge, 2011). By drawing on the substantial body of work collected by Hillier and Rooksby (2005), concerning habitus and sense of place, and adding a further people-place dimension to the research, I have made a contribution to understanding how place can be brought to bear in my Bourdieusian framework to understand the place specificity of my case study (Lewicka, 2011b, 2013).

7.3 The typology of engagement

In addition to the novel conceptual approach to investigating public engagement with planning for energy, this research has devised a new Typology of Engagement to inform future consultations by incorporating diversities of disengagement. This expands upon the engagement/disengagement binary approach of earlier typologies (Arnstein, 1969; Pretty, 1995) by suggesting that there are degrees of engagement and, more significantly, disengagement which, once identified, can inform a public engagement strategy which takes into account the wider characteristics of locally affected publics.

7.3.1 Summarising what has been learnt about engagement and disengagement

The empirical chapters of this thesis have examined the diversities of engagement in the case study area and this section briefly summarises the findings on (dis)engagement from the research questions.

Empirical chapter 4

Chapter 4 examined public perceptions of the pre-application consultation process for NSIPs and the impact on engagement. Interview data was used to inform the chapter, primarily drawn from semi-structured interviews with Parish Councillors and other actively engaged individuals.

The active public engagement with the NWCC consultation process has suggested that there was an emphasis on the role of cultural capital in public engagement and this builds on two existing areas of research. Firstly it challenges the evidence from Appalachia suggesting that strong social capital is the primary factor in decisions to engage (Bell, 2016). Secondly, it acknowledges Lewicka's (2013) research into objectified cultural capital which was partly linked to class

and distinction in her research on active varieties of people-place relations (Bourdieu, 1984). As discussed in section 7.2.1, I adopted a different approach to examining cultural capital by focussing on *"embodied"* and *"institutionalised"* forms and my findings suggest that these forms of cultural capital are key enablers of active public engagement (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:119). I presented evidence in chapter 4, which suggested that the embodied and institutionalised cultural capital of the participants emerged from their higher qualifications, technical experience and connections with the dominant nuclear industry in West Cumbria. Two varieties of engagement emerged from this chapter comprising *Representative voices* and *Active engaged publics* and it was acknowledged that there is an overlap between these two categories due to five of the actively engaged individuals being regarded as non-statutory consultees representing the voices of their communities. Chapter 4 did not identify any varieties of disengagement but it outlined some of the factors that might lead to disengagement including a lack of cultural capital, an information deficit and whether the public perceived that they had a voice in the process expressed as legitimate speech (Habermas, 1984).

Empirical chapter 5

Chapter 5 investigated the reasons for disengagement and suggested that the problem of disengagement might be better understood through Bourdieu's Theory of Symbolic Violence. It was suggested that this gave rise to issues such as disempowerment, marginality, peripherality and stigma. These issues also emerged from factors such as geographical isolation and low populations.

The findings from semi-structured interviews with Pam and Tim suggested that the resulting disengagement can result from a local expectation of complicity both with the perceptions of national planning processes and with the dominance of powerful local employers and communities of practice. In the case study, this manifested as nuclear dominance and a historical perception of *being done to* resulting in a mistrust of both national and local governance. My conclusion was that symbolic violence, although evident, was not the only factor disengagement in the case study.

This chapter moved away from the binary of engagement/disengagement to reveal a range of variables that contribute to variations on the theme of

disengagement. The varieties of (dis)engagement that emerged from this chapter included both disengaged and indirectly engaged groups as follows.

- Voluntarily disengaged – *Elective disengaged* and *Intimidated disengaged*.
- Indirectly engaged – *Engaged disengaged* and *Disengaged engaged*
- Representative voices – *Engaged individual*, *Disengaged individual* and *Group*

Empirical chapter 6

This chapter primarily examined the relationship between communities and diversities of engagement, by introducing a place dimension to the Bourdieusian toolkit and considering the importance of the relationship between place and habitus. I also investigated what it means to be *in place* or *out of place* in the study area and how this has affected disengagement when combined with the insights afforded by the Bourdieusian toolkit (Cresswell, 1996; Grenfell, 2012). There are multiple ways to be *out of place* and I examined one variant, the *offcomer,* which was added to the typology to distinguish between those voices perceived as local and those who had moved into the area. The findings of the research were that each community had its own distinct identity which, to a certain extent, predisposes it to engagement or disengagement as a disposition of those who consider themselves to be local.

Viewing the case study area through the lens of place also informed two further categories of (dis)engagement comprising *Unaware* and *Disconnected / Disinterested.*

7.3.2 Understanding and applying the typology

This section sets out and briefly describes each of the diversities of engagement, listed in the previous section, that comprise the typology of engagement. The typology comprises five overarching categories with a number of sub-types which are illustrated by extracts from the raw data of the semi-structured interviews and field notes.

A Typology of Engagement			
Overarching categories	**Type**	**Variables Sub-type**	**Aspects of Conceptual Framework**
Unaware	Unaware	Locally attached	*Bourdieusian concepts*: Habitus, forms of capital. *Varieties of people place relations:* Traditional.
Disconnected	Disinterested		*Bourdieusian concepts:* Habitus, forms of capital. *Varieties of people place relations:* Traditional, relativistic, alienated or placeless
Disengaged	Voluntarily disengaged	Elective disengaged	*Bourdieusian concepts*: Habitus, field, forms of capital, symbolic violence. *Varieties of people place relations*: Traditional, relativistic, alienated or placeless.
		Intimidated disengaged	*Bourdieusian concepts*: Habitus, field, forms of capital, symbolic violence. *Varieties of people place relations*: Traditional.
Indirectly engaged	Engaged disengaged		*Bourdieusian concepts*: Habitus, forms of capital, symbolic violence *Varieties of people place relations*: Traditional.
	Disengaged engaged		*Bourdieusian concepts*: Habitus, field, forms of capital. *Varieties of people place relations*: Traditional.
	Representative voice	Engaged individual	*Bourdieusian concepts*: Habitus, field, forms of capital (embodied and institutionalised cultural capital), distinction, illusio. *Varieties of people place relations*: Traditional Active, Active
		Disengaged individual	*Bourdieusian concepts*: Habitus, field, forms of capital (embodied and institutionalised cultural capital), distinction *Varieties of people place relations*: Traditional, Traditional Active, Active
		Group	*Bourdieusian concepts*: Habitus, field, forms of capital (embodied and institutionalised cultural capital), distinction, illusio. *Varieties of people place relations*: Traditional Active, Active.

Fully engaged		Capital rich engaged offcomer	*Bourdieusian concepts:* Habitus, field, forms of capital (embodied and institutionalised cultural capital), distinction, illusio *Varieties of people place relations*: Active.
		Capital rich engaged	*Bourdieusian concepts:* Habitus, field, forms of capital (embodied and institutionalised cultural capital), distinction, illusio *Varieties of people place relations*: Traditional Active.

Table 7.1: A typology of engagement

7.3.2.1 Unaware

The first category encompasses those publics who have no knowledge of the project despite living in close proximity to the route corridor and/or having a strong local connection to the area within which the proposal is sited. The following extracts of raw data describing this variety of disengagement have been taken from interviews with Robert and Pam:

"My sister doesn't know anything about it, unbelievable eh?" (Robert)

"there have been a lot of people that don't know about this, despite the fact that they are close to the route, they don't know about it" (Pam)

This category is partly influenced by geographical location in terms of peripherality but elements of habitus and social capital are also at play.

7.3.2.2 Disinterested or disconnected

The second category describes an individual who does not acknowledge the relevance of the project to self. This variety is found within the catchment for consultation events or communications such as newsletters but is unable to identify a connection with their own life and interests or a relevance to their situation. Other reasons may include being time-poor, indifferent to the impacts of the project as described by Jenny who did not attend any of the consultations:

"They sent us a communication… with a map of how, where it was all going to affect and I can't really remember that much about it because, at the time, I didn't really think it was going to affect us" (Jenny)

This category is partly influenced by geographical location, although frequently disconnected from the route corridor, but elements of habitus, social capital and a lack of cultural capital are also at play.

7.3.2.3 Voluntarily disengaged

This is a broad category encompassing publics who are aware of the project but have elected not to engage with the public consultation process. It can be divided into 2 sub-types as follows:

Elective disengaged

This sub-type describes an individual who makes a conscious decision not to engage. Their disengagement is frequently motivated by political disenchantment, distrust of the process or lack of confidence in the developer. Alternatively it can describe an individual who perceives the potential for conflict with an aspect of their own life, employment or community, such as employees at a major local employer. There is frequently an air of resignation, acquiescence or compliance expressed as:

> *"They'll do what they want anyway, won't they?"* (various)

Another form of elective disengaged comprises capital-rich, well-informed actors choosing not to engage with the process for a specific reason such as a distrust of the consultation process or a post-political stance. In the case study area, this also included actors who broadly supported the project but saw no value in engagement as shown in this extract from my field diary

> *"these things get hi-jacked so it's not balanced'….'Only people with a strong opinion "for" or "against" go to the consultations"* (Tony)

This category is partly influenced by geographical location in relation to the route but elements of habitus, social capital, cultural capital and symbolic violence were also at play.

Intimidated disengaged

A sub-type of publics who choose not to attend events due to a lack of confidence or low self-worth. These actors are frequently resigned to a pre-determined outcome in favour of the developer. Feelings of complicity with the symbolic violence of the process are coupled with feeling of lack of worth or importance and perceived lack of knowledge, low educational capacity, disadvantaged by disability or language.

> *"I think most people would think 'oh, I'm just not involved me and I wouldn't have any say in the matter anyways'. So it's a feeling of er hopelessness, not hopelessness but a feeling of 'I'm not involved in this at all' really, isolated from it, really"* (Mike)

This category is partly influenced by geographical location in relation to the route but elements of habitus, lack of cultural capital and symbolic violence were also at play.

Intimidated (interrupted) engaged

A variation on the intimidated disengaged sub-type includes attendees at consultation events who subsequently do not submit a consultation response due to incomprehension of the information or a perceived lack of understanding/knowledge and confidence. This sub-type is similar to the intimidated disengaged but will attend events because it is the right thing to do or in order to find out more information about personal impacts. They are frequently resigned to the decision being a foregone conclusion and expect that their views will be disregarded. They can frequently be time poor and disinclined to complete extensive consultation feedback forms.

> *"I talked to people that haven't been, haven't got involved and I mean members of the Local History Group have not got involved heavily. They have been involved, they went to the consultation and they stood with us in the field and that, you know? I mean, virtually the whole village was stood in the field, you know, so I mean we actually swamped them at Kirkby. They couldn't believe how many people were there"* (Alan)

This category is partly influenced by geographical location in relation to the route but elements of habitus, social capital, lack of cultural capital and symbolic violence were also at play.

7.3.2.4 Indirectly engaged

This category comprises publics whose voices are indirectly represented through other channels such as gatekeepers or spokespersons. It can be subdivided into two sub-types:

Engaged disengaged

This sub-type relies on an engaged representative voice to speak for them and to represent their interests. They have often chosen not to engage through a reliance on the engagement of trusted others. They often pass the responsibility to trusted 'capital rich' representatives such as Parish Councillors but do not attend the consultations themselves:

> *"You should speak to the Parish Council, they gather the information and speak for us. Bill is very good"* (Susan)

Social capital was frequently important in this sub-type but elements of habitus, a lack of cultural capital and occasionally symbolic violence were also at play.

Disengaged engaged

In contrast to the engaged disengaged, this sub-type is intrinsically part of the process, for example as an affected landowner or tenant farmer, but they choose not to otherwise actively engage with, or input to, the process. This individual frequently takes a pragmatic approach. In the case study example, the farmer has been directly engaged by developer/actors but is involved only as far as he has to be e.g. as a person with an interest in the land. This has involved permitting surveys on his land but having no interest in the outcome. Overall the sub-type is broadly accepting of the process. In an extract from the field diary, Jack, a local farmer describes his view of the project:

> *"it runs right through my farm, I'm not bothered. I'm in the National Park and I would have preferred the pylons to be honest, it would affect me less. They're going to put cables through. It's a hell of a disruption but I'm not bothered. They've been down doing surveys, all hedges and such-like. I don't know much, they didn't have positions for the pylons".* (Jack).

Jack went on to explain that he did not go to the consultation events but has had a lot of contact with different surveyors doing surveys, including ecology, on his land. He is engaged by virtue of being a landowner who is directly affected but he is emotionally distanced from the process.

This category is partly influenced by geographical location, particularly in relation to remote dwellings but aspects of habitus were also at play.

Representative voice

This sub-type can be further subdivided as an Engaged Representative Voice, a Disengaged Representative Voice or a Representative Group.

The Engaged Representative Voice is typically a local office holder representing the interests of others, regarded as individuals who speak for disengaged or seldom-heard voices. It is a role which can be undertaken due to an implied responsibility for speaking on behalf of others or by someone who voluntarily tries to help others by representing them in a debate. In the first instance this may be a Parish Councillor, representing the interests of a community, who considers that he has a duty to facilitate representative and legitimate speech in the consultation process. In the second example, the actor may be seeking personal

distinction as a spokesperson or may be someone with high cultural capital using their skills and knowledge to put forward a representative view from a normative perspective. In the case study area, the representative voices are frequently motivated by a belief that publics have a right to be heard and to have their opinions considered in the process. The representative voice is an active participant and will represent his/her own viewpoint by engaging with the formal process in their own right, for example by submitting a written or online response. In the case study area there is a degree of frustration with publics who rely on the representative voice without submitting their own individual views:

"There's always people, individuals and people like us, representing" (Bill)

The Disengaged Representative Voice is a local office holder (typically a Parish or Town Council) who chooses not to engage with the process, for example on the basis that there is no perceived public engagement or interest. There is anecdotal evidence of attendees at Stakeholder engagement meetings who do not engage with the process and allow information to pass one-way. The process is seen as an information gathering exercise with no legitimate dialogue between the parties.

"you can see how they act with who they consider to be their important stakeholders which is all of the County Council and that sort of thing. You can also see how crap some of the stakeholders are. So, the County Council will send 8 people in and not a single person will say anything" (Pam)

"people do sometimes defer to local councillors, Parish Councillors and so on. But it doesn't follow that because they defer to them that they necessarily make much effort" (Eric)

The final sub-type is the Representative Group which is an organisation claiming to represent a range of unheard voices, such as protest groups and environmental groups. Their views can be distorted by either a political or other priority. An example of this type of group is Friends of the Lake District:

"We are a membership organisation…. and I suppose we represent member's interests but we also will sometimes represent members of the public's interests because we are the 'go to' organisation for people who have queries about landscape. We also represent the interests of the landscape" (Pam)

This category is partly influenced by geographical location in relation to the route and the representation of communities but elements of habitus, personal distinction, social capital and cultural capital are all key factors.

7.3.2.5 Actively/fully engaged

The final category in the typology is the fully engaged category which can be split into two sub-types. The first of these sub-types is the capital rich engaged individual comprising well informed local publics originating from the area, who actively engage with any consultation processes:

> "I would go to any consultation just out of habit. I was interested, you know, I've been following what was going on at Moorside, as indeed I've been following what West Coast Mining are doing at Whitehaven, having lived in Whitehaven. And I mean, you know, I've pottered up to Whitehaven for one of their consultation programmes and have been since to subsequent briefings" (Eric)

The other sub-type is the Capital rich engaged offcomer who is not regarded as being truly local. This sub-type comprises well informed individuals choosing to engage with the process who are frequently retired incomers to the area. Individual forms of capital may include economic and embodied cultural capital through education, qualifications and experience. These individuals are often perceived as 'playing the game' but frequently disengaged from the views of 'local' people. They can be part of distinct social networks framed by (former) employment or educational attainment. In certain circumstances, they will seek to motivate the disengaged publics by standing for office in local Parish Councils or protest groups. This can include seeking distinction, often speaking as a representative voice for others:

> "I have been involved with Power without Pylons for some 18 months, initially offering help at the NG 2015 information days at Grizebeck and Askam plus providing assistance in terms of technical advice in some areas. My involvement greatly increased when I established the Kirkby Pressure Group in August 2016 in close association with Kirkby Parish Council. At this point I also joined the Power without Pylons Committee. This has led to a great deal of involvement across most elements of the NWCC project and a great deal of close contact with Kirkby Parish residents" (Paul)

This category is partly influenced by geographical location in relation to the route but the key factors are habitus, personal distinction, social capital and cultural capital.

7.3.3 The implications for practice

It is envisaged that this novel approach can be developed through testing in other scenarios and locations using a simple participant mapping diagram as shown in Figure 7.1 below:
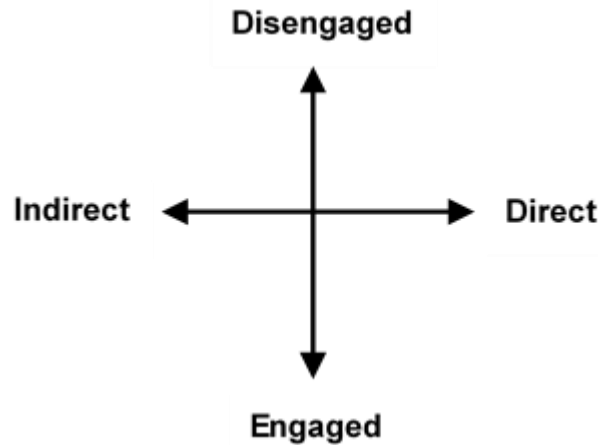
Figure 7.1: Public engagement mapping

The diagram allows for different types of public to be mapped, depending on whether they are disengaged/engaged, and clarifies whether they are engaged either directly or indirectly with the project, for example, through representatives. The inclusion of the indirect/direct dimension moves the mapping forward from the engaged/disengaged binary previously discussed and borrows from the principles of stakeholder mapping (Bishop, 2015). As an example, a selection of diversities of engagement that I have identified from the NWCC project are mapped onto this figure and the analysis could be developed as shown in Figure 7.2 below:
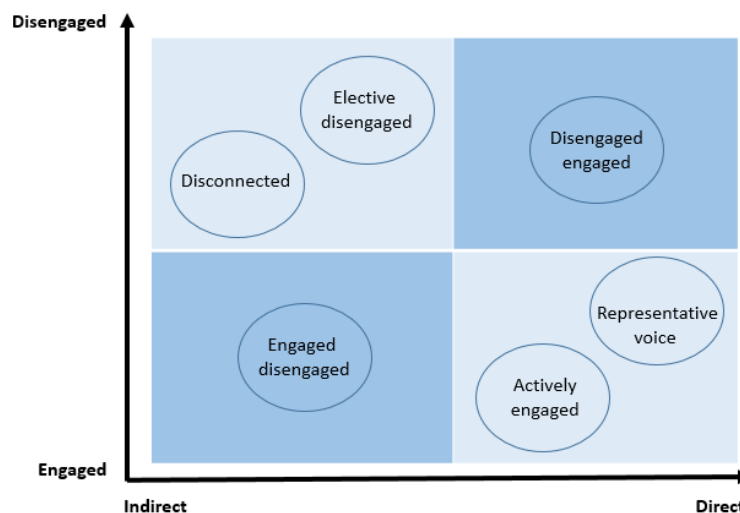
Figure 7.2: NWCC engagement matrix

This method of mapping makes reference to the existing process of stakeholder mapping which is undertaken in accordance with best practice guidance for public consultation processes (Bishop, 2015; Norton and Hughes, 2018). Stakeholder mapping identifies the interrelationship between 'impact on stakeholders' and 'influence of stakeholders' as a means of developing a strategy for engagement (Bishop, 2015). According to Bishop (2015), stakeholders with high levels of influence, and experiencing high levels of impact, would be the primary focus of engagement methods.

In my proposed matrix, it could be possible to map types of disengagement in order to design a strategy for engagement with those publics who are expected to be seldom-heard. This proposal is based on the output from my case study and will need to be tested and refined in other case studies to establish any benefit in practice. I consider what can be learnt from practice and how the typology can be applied in Section 7.4

7.4 Summarising the knowledge contribution to the practice of public consultation

As discussed in section 7.2, my research has adopted a very different approach to the recognised communicative action and participatory approach which emerged from the work of Habermas (1984). This section now considers the practice-based contribution that my conceptual framework can bring to practice by combining a Bourdieusian toolkit with a place dimension. I will argue that incorporating aspects of this novel theoretical approach can potentially transform the way planners think and approach communities using different theoretical constructs and frameworks to engagement with the world of the participant (Burawoy, 2018).

Bourdieu's work has rarely been used in planning despite Howe and Langdon's assertion that "*his work enables the development of a conceptual lens through which researchers can understand the reflexive nature of land use planning and development*" (Howe and Langdon, 2002: 213). I have suggested that using a different approach to public consultation through a Bourdieusian lens allows for greater reflexivity on the part of the researcher and I offer the following evidence gathered through my experience of working on the public consultation for the pre-application stage of the A66 upgrade in 2020. I will briefly describe how this

approach enabled me to think about the actor's social and cultural siting, and also their historic biases which could assist in my understanding of their response to the public consultation process. This has built upon an expectation that an understanding of the actor's habituses could help to influence motivations (Howe and Langdon, 2002).

7.4.1 Putting the theory into practice: a case study example

The A66 Northern Trans-Pennine upgrade

The A66 NTP upgrade project adopted a novel approach to public consultation by appointing an independent team of Public Liaison Officers (PLOs) to act as intermediaries between the developer (Highways England) and the public (Devine-Wright, 2012). All of the PLOs originated from within one hour's drive of the A66 and had relatively local accents in addition to existing links with the area and its communities. The aim of the role was for the PLO to act as a two-way communication channel and to change the way in which the project team thought about, and engaged with, the public. The PLO for each section of the route provided a named individual as a non-technical interface through whom knowledge and enquiries could be channelled. I was appointed as the PLO for the section of the route in Cumbria and, as part of my familiarisation with the route, I used my research experience to undertake familiarisation exercises with the local settlements including an understanding of their socio-economics, social capital and the legacy of previous infrastructure applications for the same route. This uncovered a history of perceptions of being done to, and communities feeling let down by applications that had subsequently been withdrawn by central government. Understanding the legacy of the area also involved liaising with farming families and learning about their multi-generational history of belonging to the land and the inculcation of subsequent generations into farming (Bourdieu, 1998; Tomaney, 2015). I gathered local knowledge through conversations on the farms, assisted by understanding the Cumbrian linguistic habitus and dispositions from my research in West Cumbria (Bourdieu, 1984). This gave me an insight into who the public were in that place and also the emotional attachment to land that had been farmed for generations. Major infrastructure projects typically use land referencing which is a combination of letters and numbers, and I found that the system of referencing and land ownership maps was proving to be too technical with language that was inaccessible to the public. By discussing the

history of the farms with the families, I was able to establish that each field had a unique name and this applied regardless of the size or modernity of the farm. I re-drafted my plans to reflect the local field identities comprising distinctive names such as *Mother's field*, *three cornered field, big café field* and *soggy bottoms*. I was subsequently able to use this information to guide communication by explaining how a road junction might impact on 'Mother's field' for example. This method also enabled the collection of unique information which had not been part of the project desk study including historic gateways, stock movement and complex relationships between connected family farms. This also highlighted unexpected networks of power relations within the local area between families and different generations of farmers.

Traditionally, farmers, tenants and landowners are represented by land agents, or sometimes solicitors, in consultation processes and this relates to a variety of reasons including the presentation of technical information and being time poor. I found that actors who had previously only been contactable through agents (representative voices) became more willing to engage due to the avoidance of technical language, the use of their local field names and my willingness to go to their *home turf* at times that were convenient for them rather than holding formal events.

The PLO role extended beyond landowners to local residents and included traditional methods such as consultation events although many of these had to be undertaken digitally due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Working with Parish Councils enabled the information to be shared with remote farms, elderly residents and those who were unable to access digital resources covering both hard-to-reach and seldom heard publics (Jones, 2018). For those publics able to access the digital consultation environment, the content comprised videos of the PLOs talking specifically about the history of the communities, the local impacts and how information from the public was being use to inform the design.

Liaison with the locally representative voices was essential to understand the community structure and traditions. In a rural area characterised by landed estates, working with land agents enabled me to use skills gained from conducting event ethnography in my research and included informal meetings with farmers and landowners in car parks at events such as game bird shoots. I typically used a similar format to my event ethnography at Gosforth Agricultural

Show by siting a table and chairs in an open barn for easy access (Image 7.1). This was significant in moving away from the public's perception of what a consultation process traditionally looks like.

Image 7.1: Tenant farmers day at a private estate. Source: Author's own photograph

By applying the principles I had developed in the typology of engagement, I was able to gain a deeper understanding of the methods that were most effective in engaging each group. The methods, which were tested on this particular project, are summarised in table 7.2 below.

Typology	Examples of those included	Preferred methods of engagement
Unaware		
Unaware	Remote farms, visitors to the area,	Liaison through representative voices including owners of holiday parks and land agents. Visiting sites in person for face to face conversations.
Disconnected		
Disconnected/ disinterested	Remote farms, absent landlords and landowners.	Liaison through representative voices, typically land agents. Using experience from event ethnography and attending events such as Agricultural shows or local groups.
Voluntarily disengaged		
Elective disengaged	Members of the public – no specific characteristics noted.	Kept informed by letter, email and invitations to events held locally. As above, attend events and initiate conversations to understand potential reasons for disengagement. Establish whether these are place-based.

Intimidated disengaged	Anecdotal evidence of elderly residents in villages who were reluctant to engage.	A dedicated phone number for a single point of contact, the use of non-technical language and informal meetings on their 'home turf' as an alternative to attending formal events. Use of non-technical data including photographs Relationships to be built with Parish Councillors, churches and schools to help identify the seldom-heard publics in each community. Attending local events on 'home turf' to initiate conversations.
Indirectly engaged		
Engaged disengaged	Local residents, frequently time poor, directly impacted by the route but relying upon representatives including Parish Councils, land agents and solicitors.	Offers of direct liaison for those individuals represented by others – hold joint meetings with representatives where possible. Provide direct information to individuals and copy in representative voice to all communications. Offer local information events on 'home turf'.
Disengaged engaged	Landowners, farmers, tenants.	Direct contact by letter follow up with email and phone call to introduce the PLO. Arrange meeting at their location. Keep informed and act as two-way communication if required. Provide information as available – newsletters, plans, etc.
Representative voice	Parish Councils, Land Agents, Local Councillors, local charities/groups. (Schools and churches).	Initial letter or phone call introduction followed by a local meeting at a convenient time and location for them. Conversation to understand local/group characteristics, who is likely to be disengaged and what methods can be used to engage
Fully engaged		
Local and offcomers	Local residents	Traditional methods

Table 7.2: Summary of methods used for engagement on the A66 project

The perceived benefit of this approach in widening consultation can be summarised as follows:

- By bringing a place-based dimension into practice. Recognising local distinctiveness and showing how this would be incorporated into the project. Unlike the formal Landscape and Visual Impact assessment, this process was driven by local values and perceptions.

- By recognising the local history and attachments, to identify what was important to communities at a local level.

- Understanding the local habitus and any dispositions which might form barriers to effective engagement

- Gathering knowledge on the history of engagement in the area to understand the history of engagement with former iterations of the project.

- Adapting methods to suit local needs and building relationships based on trust (Nooteboom, 2007)

In summary, my conceptual approach offered a different way of thinking and framing the public in practice which took account of underlying factors, some of which could be partly explained through habitus, but also considering power relations though a combination of habitus, field and forms of capital. In section 7.2, I discussed the theoretical contribution of my research and suggested that these concepts were more sensitive to understanding local community characteristics, power relations in the process and the diversity of engagement. Having previously suggested that Bourdieu's theory and concepts are applicable to disadvantaged communities experiencing marginality, peripherality and stigma in West Cumbria, this section has demonstrated that I was able to directly apply some of my findings to enhance the quality of a public consultation in East Cumbria.

7.4.2 The value of this research to the joint-funder, National Grid Energy Transmission

This research was jointly funded by ESRC and NGET and, having set out the wider research and practice contribution in the previous sections, I will now turn my attention to the specific aspects of the output that could help to inform future public consultations undertaken by NGET and their consultants. NGET are required to undertake a programme of public consultation for projects such as NWCC which is an NSIP (PINS, 2012). The programme comprises three stages which are reported in the SoCC, at the DCO Examination, for the consideration of the planning inspector as to the adequacy of the consultation undertaken. It is anticipated that the findings of this research can help to inform future consultation processes by:

- Offering NGET a broader understanding of the perceptions of the public regarding the consultation process and materials

- Providing greater depth into an understanding of the reasons for public disengagement from this process

- Introducing the Typology of Engagement as a method of widening participation

- Suggesting alternative methods of communication, based on the research method of event ethnography, and taking events to where the public are

- Making the research findings available to inform robust future strategies based on this experience from an NGET case study

- Expanding on knowledge around perceptions of trust in NGET

- Deepening the understanding of the types of voices that are both heard and unheard in public engagement

As part of this studentship, a workshop will be held by NGET in Spring 2022 to share the findings of the research. There will be an invited audience of TSOs and suppliers in addition to consultants and in-house staff from NGET. The workshop will be an opportunity to not only share the findings but to engage in discussion about the contribution the research can make to NGETs work on NSIPs. The focus is expected to be on the methodological and empirical findings as applied to practice and a summary document will be provided, and shared widely, which will set out and explain the main findings with recommendations for the future. It is anticipated that there may be opportunities for other research with NGET in the future to build upon the findings of this study and to test the proposals in practice by informing future consultations.

In summary, although there is evidence that NGET are experienced in meeting the requirements of the NSIPs regime for public consultation for major infrastructure such as NWCC, my research has shown that an enhanced approach to outreach could expand upon their public engagement to widen participation and include more voices in the future. My recommendations also include the take-up of more direct methods of face-to-face engagement in informal settings such as public events.

The quantity and quality of public engagement for NSIPs is guided by the Planning Act (2008), The Localism Act (2011) and PINS guidance but it is currently the responsibility of the Inspector at an Examination to decide whether

the amount of consultation is adequate. By expanding the opportunity to incorporate seldom heard voices in a theoretically informed approach to public engagement, there is a potential opportunity for NGET to demonstrate that they have widened participation and expanded the impact of their best practice guidance.

7.5 Research limitations

The research was undertaken within the parameters set out in chapter 3 including the choice of case study and the timing of the research activities. This gave rise to a number of limitations as set out below.

7.5.1 Choice of case study

The research was carried out on one case study in accordance with the requirements of the joint funder, NGET, and the perceived limitations arising from the positionality of the researcher which has been discussed in chapter 3. There is a high degree of site specificity, particularly with regard to the nature of local employers, the geographical location and the local demographics. This has resulted in a limited understanding of the extent to which the findings are transferable. This will be discussed further in section 7.6.

The route of the NWCC is 164km long and the data covers only a percentage of the route for practical reasons. This resulted in the selection of a small number of representative case study settlements as set out in the selection procedure included at Appendix 3. Although the case study settlements were chosen to reflect the different sections of the route, it is acknowledged that other factors may have become evident from the inclusion of additional settlements. This was mitigated to a limited degree by attending a range of consultation events in other villages prior to the selection of the representative settlements and the commencement of data collection. This was undertaken for the purposes of familiarisation with the study area and the consultation process and included consultation events at locations including Bootle, Great Orton and Aspatria. Some general impressions of these events were noted and used to inform the subsequent data collection. Each round of consultation comprised upwards of 30 events and there was no significant benefit identified from attending numerous locations following the selection of the representative settlements.

7.5.2 Participant selection

An aim of the research project was specifically to understand the problem of public disengagement. Despite a willingness on the part of protest groups in the study area to take part, the data collection was restricted to a smaller number of interviews backed up by conversations, grey literature and mixed sources of data due to the nature of the disengaged publics who were the subject of the research. Although I successfully used event ethnography to engage in research with people who were not engaged with planning for NSIPs, there was further potential to widen the extent of the ethnography across the case study area. The active engagers were also examined in less detail because they were not the main focus of the study. With greater resources, further research into the actively engaged group could have been conducted through a larger sample and analysed using quantitative methods. However, this may not have added significantly to the research aim of the case study which was to examine engagement with a particular focus on disengagement.

7.5.3 Co-funder technical input

No data was made available by the co-funder, NGET, for the Stage 2 and 3 consultation outputs or the information events. In accordance with best practice, NGET had made the decision to withhold the attendee data from the 2016/7 consultation events with the intention of incorporating it into the DCO submission. However, after the project was put on hold in 2017, this material was not made publicly available and could not be incorporated into this research. A final request to National Grid in 2020, for details of the consultation attendance, was approved but was unable to be fulfilled due to office closures during the Covid-19 lockdown. This has resulted in gaps in my knowledge regarding the reported increases in the level of attendance at consultation events, particularly those held in 2016/7.

Some high level, publicly accessible data was available through press releases but was insufficient for any form of detailed data analysis to be carried out and comparisons were not possible with either the 2014 or 2015 attendance figures, the details of which were withheld. It would have been useful to compare the figures from the various stages of the consultation undertaken as part of the DCO pre-application process in order to gauge the increase in the levels of engagement for the route selection as compared with the responses to the preferred route.

7.5.4 Translations

Bourdieu's main body of work was originally published in French and I have had to work with translations of his work throughout. In order to work with his concepts, it has been necessary to consider translations and interpretations from multiple sources. This research is therefore based on my interpretation of the case study through a Bourdieusian lens viewed in the context of the available literature as described in chapter 2.

7.6 Opportunities emerging from the research

The next steps have been identified as having potential through three possible areas of output comprising theoretical, methodological and empirical.

Bourdieu's theories have not typically been used to investigate power relations for energy projects of this nature and the theoretical framework of Bourdieusian concepts that I have used in this novel area of research offers scope for further development. The use of the Bourdieusian *conceptual toolkit* which has been enhanced by the incorporation of the Theory of Symbolic Violence has suggested that a greater depth of understanding can be achieved by applying this conceptual framework to the research questions. My findings concerning the role of symbolic violence in this research are specifically related to West Cumbria and, in order to understand the value of this particular approach, there is a need to conduct further research and compare this case study with others. This might also contribute further knowledge to my findings on marginality and stigma. I presented my preliminary findings, on the role of symbolic violence in disengagement, at the Royal Geographical Society Conference in September 2021, at a session sponsored by the Energy Geographies Research Group (EnGRG). The follow-up questions suggested that there is interest in further investigating the theoretical relationship between slow violence and symbolic violence for publication. The EnGRG contains a growing cohort of energy geographers with an interest in expanding Bourdieu's theory with some scope for future workshops for knowledge exchange. Currently there is little research linking Bourdieu, planning and energy infrastructure although there is a growing body of work which uses Bourdieu's theoretical framework and my research has the potential to add another dimension to understanding the public's relationship with energy (Butler *et al.*, 2014; Khalid, 2017).

I have already acknowledged that there are areas of theory that were not fully investigated in this research and which provide an opportunity for future research. The first of these areas was examining the research through a lens of class (Bourdieu, 1984) building on Bourdieu's arguably most well-known work and considering how this might impact on disengagement. I have taken a cultural capital approach, both embodied and institutionalised, to understanding active engagement and it has been argued that this could be viewed as being influenced by class (Bennett *et al.,* 2009; Savage *et al.,* 2005). A second area for further investigation has been identified as the topic of varieties of people-place relations (Bailey *et al.,* 2016b; Devine-Wright, 2013; Hummon, 1992; Lewicka, 2011b; Lewicka, 2013). This topic has been discussed in both the literature review and in Chapter 6 and some evidence presented to suggest that varieties of people-place relations have a direct connection with types of engagement and disengagement, particularly in relation to place. However, there is insufficient data to prove this assumption and this would provide a useful further area for future investigation.

From a methodological perspective, I have suggested the potential to develop my novel Typology of Engagement as a *thinking tool* in the Bourdieusian tradition both for academics, and adapted for practitioners. I have already started to develop this version further to recognise additional variables and to offer novel ideas around methods of engagement for each of the identified diversities of engagement. This would draw from my experience of data collection and a further examination of the ideas emerging from that data.

Moving forward, I will examine the application of the data by, for example, using the typology to inform the creation of personas. I anticipate that the typology could be transferable across a range of subject areas including climate change but arguing that, to a certain extent, there needs to be scope for including a local focus and place specific application of the findings. I was invited to present a plenary session at the RTPI Live North Conference in May 2021 discussing the role that planning can play in communicating climate change to the public. The audience predominantly comprised planning practitioners. As part of this presentation, I introduced ideas around disengagement, marginality and stigma and found that some of the findings of this research may be transferable. The demonstrable external impact of this presentation was a brief report in The

Planner magazine in August 2021 and a contribution to an article concerning the Just Transition to Net-Zero in The Planner magazine in September 2021 This is an area of potential research which I intend to explore through the University of Liverpool Climate Futures research stream or other similar programmes.

The Typology of Engagement has the potential to be used both theoretically and empirically with opportunities for future publications which are both academic and practice based. The core concepts of my conceptual framework, including habitus and symbolic violence, are fundamental in accounting for the patterning of (dis)engagement irrespective of the specifics of a case study site. Arguably they would be expressed differently based on geographical differences but the concepts are still key with the addition of the place-based component. The characteristics of many infrastructure projects also require them to be in peripheral or less populated locations (Blowers, 2010). Current and speculative infrastructure projects in the UK include the planned new coal mine near Whitehaven in Cumbria and the UK's first prototype fusion energy plant at Moorside, and other locations. My existing knowledge and experience of working on overhead powerlines, trunk roads and interconnectors also supports my argument that this research is transferable.

However, my findings are site specific to a major infrastructure project in a rural area of the UK and the findings from my sample cannot be generalised to the wider population without further study. Some thought has already been given to applying the principles of the typology to the A66 Trans-Pennine Route in section 7.4.1 and there is potential for further discussions with the co-funder of this research, NGET, to identify areas of particular interest from an empirical perspective. I also envisage using case studies to undertake further research into the role of intermediaries based on the approach of other infrastructure projects, such as the A66, based on my practice-based experience of the project as a public liaison officer, as described in section 7.4.1.

There is some evidence that the findings of this research are transferable to other topic areas, including climate change, and other geographical areas both national and international. However, on the basis of the geographical specificity and current limits from my single study design, I recommend that future research to test the application of my findings and typology, should be considered in different social and geographical global contexts such as Pakistan where existing

synergies are apparent between the evidence of disengagement and the reasons for it (Diduck and Sinclair, 2016; Jha-Thakur and Khosravi, 2021; Sainath and Rajan, 2015; Sinclair and Diduck, 2000). This suggests that there is an opportunity to bring a different approach to a previously identified network of related research at the University of Liverpool.

Word count: 94,975

Appendix 1: Location Map

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National Grid original project timeline / National Grid revised project timeline / PhD research timeline / Field work conducted / Events attended (2013–2016)

	2013 Q4	2014 Q1	2014 Q2	2014 Q3	2014 Q4	2015 Q1	2015 Q2	2015 Q3	2015 Q4	2016 Q1	2016 Q2	2016 Q3	2016 Q4
National Grid original project timeline		Stakeholder consultation and preferred route surveys.										Public consultation events	
National Grid revised project timeline			Public consultation events					Community information events				Public consultation events	
PhD research timeline	Training and Literature review				Stakeholder engagement				Upgrade	Survey design		Site survey and transcription	
Field work conducted													
Events attended													

National Grid original project timeline / National Grid revised project timeline / PhD research timeline / Field work conducted / Events attended (2017–2019)

	2017 Q1	2017 Q2	2017 Q3	2017 Q4	2018 Q1	2018 Q2	2018 Q3	2018 Q4	2019 Q1	2019 Q2	2019 Q3	2019 Q4
National Grid original project timeline	Prepare and submit DCO				Decision			Construction commences for completion in 2024				
National Grid revised project timeline	Project is put on hold pending NuGen outcome							National Grid confirms that it has a connection agreement in place with NuGen but anticipates that this will be terminated bringing the North West Coast Connections project to an end.				
PhD research timeline	Site survey and transcription				Analysis				Writing up			
Field work conducted												
Events attended												

Appendix 3: Case Study Selection Criteria

Settlement Name	District	Parish/ Town Council	LDNP	Brief description of settlement	Relationship to preferred route corridor boundary	Consultation events
Carlisle	Carlisle	Other	No	Preferred route corridor is to the Western edge of the City	outside	Yes
Harker	Carlisle		No	Settlement in the Parish of Rockcliffe, north of Carlisle. Existing substation site and proposed connection point for the NWCC.	inside	No
Rockliffe	Carlisle		No	Linear settlement north of Carlisle. Village centre based around Pub and Church.	abutting	Yes
(Great) Orton	Carlisle		No	Linear settlement west of Carlisle plus dispersed farmsteads	outside	Yes
Wigton	Allerdale	Town Council	No	Route corridor modified to follow urban edge of nuclear settlement. Town centre is based on the B5302 but the settlement extends north across the A596 including the hospital.	abutting	Yes
Waverton	Allerdale		No	Linear settlement on the A596 comprising dwellings and agricultural buildings.	abutting	Yes
Aspatria	Allerdale	Town Council	No	Settlement boundary marginally outside route corridor to the south. Settlement centred on the A596	outside	Yes
Dearham	Allerdale	Parish Council	No	Setlement to the north-west of the route corridor and almost abutting it. Small settlement based around the junction of the A594 and minor roads. Settlement is close to, but separate from, Maryport.	outside	Yes
Broughton Moor	Allerdale			Small village based around the junction of local roads approx 2 miles inland	abutting	No

Settlement Name	District	Parish/ Town Council	LDNP	Brief description of settlement	Relationship to preferred route corridor boundary	Consultation events
Seaton	Allerdale	Parish Council	No	Settlement to the west of the route corridor, and north-east of Workington, focussed on a cross-roads formed by minor roads. One of the largest villages in England. Relies on west coast industries.	outside	Yes
Stainburn	Allerdale	Parish Council	No	Settlement on the A66 and closely associated with Workington	outside	No
Workington	Allerdale	Town Council	No	Coastal town to the west of the route corridor. Centre for local industry on the A66, A596 and A597.	outside	Yes
Branthwaite	Allerdale		No	Dispersed settlement located on a minor road five miles south-west of Cockermouth off the A5086.	remote	No
Whitehaven	Copeland	Parish Council	No	West of the preferred route corridor on the main A595 route. Coastal fishing town.	abutting	Yes
Low Moresby and Moresby Parks	Copeland	Parish Council	No	Parish split between Low Moresby, close to Whitehaven, and Moresby Parks. The larger population is centred on Low Moresby on the A595.	outside	Yes
St Bees	Copeland	Parish Council	No	Coastal settlement, south of Whitehaven on the B5345. Railway station on the coastal line. Large caravan park to the north-west.	outside	No
Egremont	Copeland	Town Council	No	Market town south of Whitehaven on the A595. Town centre lies to the west of the main through-route with the River Ehen to the south-east.	outside	Yes
Thornhill	Copeland	Parish Council	No	Included as part of Beckermet	remote	No
Beckermet	Copeland	Parish Council	No	South of Egremont and bypassed by the A595. The village is centred on St John's Church and the Public House.	abutting	Yes

Settlement Name	District	Parish/ Town Council	LDNP	Brief description of settlement	Relationship to preferred route corridor boundary	Consultation events
Braystone	Copeland		No	Scattered community south west of Beckermet reached by local roads. Main feature is a large holiday park for caravans. No village centre and extensive new-build properties.	outside	No
Seascale	Copeland	Parish Council	No	Coastal settlement on minor roads to the west of the A595 south of Sellafield. In an area lying between the coast and the National Park.	outside	Yes
Drigg and Holmrook	Copeland	Parish Council	No	Small villages to the south of Seascale and accessed via minor roads. Close to, but outside, the National Park boundary.	outside	Yes
Gosforth	Copeland	Parish Council	Yes	Small village to the east of the A595 and inside the National Park boundary. Accessed by local roads and with a direct road link to Seascale and the coast.	remote	No
Gubbergill	Copeland		No	Small village east of the A595 and bordering the National Park boundary. Close to Drigg.	outside	No
Ravenglass	Copeland	Parish Council	Yes	Settlement on the estuary of the Rivers Irt, Mite and Esk. Located to the west of the A595 on local roads. Small coastal village and natural harbour. Also on the Cumbrian Coast Railway Line.	abutting	Yes
Bootle/Bootle Station	Copeland		Yes	A small village on the coastal section of the National Park. The main part of the village is on the A595 whereas Bootle Station is separate and located to the west accessed by minor roads.	abutting	Yes
Annaside	Copeland		Yes	Included within the Parish of Bootle. A small village on the coast accessed by minor roads from the A595.	abutting	No

Settlement Name	District	Parish/ Town Council	LDNP	Brief description of settlement	Relationship to preferred route corridor boundary	Consultation events
Silecroft	Carlisle		Yes	A small village on the coast accessed by minor roads from the A595.	abutting	Yes
Millom	Copeland	Parish Council	No	A town on the western side of the River Duddon estuary accessed from the A5093.	remote	Yes
Hallthwaites and Duddon Bridge (Millom without)	Copeland		No	Dispersed settlements and hamlets between Duddon Sands and the National Park boundary. Accessed by the A595 and the A5093.	abutting	No
Duddon Bridge	Copeland		No	A hamlet on the A595 (see above) significant as the crossing of the River Duddon.	outside	No
Broughton-in-Furness	South Lakeland		Yes	Small market down near the River Duddon and on the southern edge of the LDNP. Accessed from the A595 which has been diverted to improve the environment of the town.	abutting	Yes
Grizebeck	Eden		Yes	Small settlement accessed from the A5092 and the A595. Within the Parish of Kirkby-in-Furness.	outside	Yes
Kirkby-in-Furness (and Grizebeck)	South Lakeland		No	One of the largest villages on the peninsular, originally 6 hamlets. Accessed from the A595 and aso has a railway station.	inside	Yes
Askam-in-Furness	Barrow-in-Furness	Parish Council	No	Historically 2 villages located on the coast of the Duddon estuary and accessed from the A590 to the north of Barrow-in-Furness.	abutting	Yes
Lindal-in-Furness + Marton	Barrow-in-Furness	Parish Council	No	4 miles to the east of Barrow on the A590.	abutting	Yes
Dalton-in-Furness (with Newton)	Barrow-in-Furness	Town Council	No	Small town (second largest settlement after Barrow). Accessed on local roads from the A590 to the north of Barrow-in-Furness.	abutting	No
Newton-in-Furness	Barrow-in-Furness		No	Small settlement south of Dalton.	inside	Yes

Settlement Name	District	Parish/ Town Council	LDNP	Brief description of settlement	Relationship to preferred route corridor boundary	Consultation events
Barrow-in-Furness	Barrow-in-Furness		No	Main town on the Furness peninsular accessed by the A590	abutting	No
Roose(cote)	Barrow-in-Furness		No	Inland settlement to the south east of Barrow and encompassing Rampside on the A5087 coastal route.	inside	Yes
Rampside (included in Roose)	Barrow-in-Furness		No	Located on the tip of Roa Island overlooking Morecambe Bay.	inside	Yes
Heysham South	Lancaster	Parish Council	No	Part of a larger settlement to the west of Lancaster and south of Morecambe in a coastal location. Remote from the centre lacking a separate identity as a community.	inside	Yes

Settlement Name	ONS DATA (2011)				CASE STUDY SITES		
	Pop	Ethnic groups	No of homes	Age range	Shortlist	Selection	Reasons
		Cumbria average 3.5% (England average 20.2%)		under 16 16 to 65 over 65			
Carlisle	75,306						
Harker	N/A						
Rockliffe	780	45 (5.8%)	320	120 515 145			
(Great) Orton	455	10 (1.8%)	200	75 300 80			
Wigton	5,830	100 (1.7%)	2,515	1,065 3,545 1,220	√	√	Contrasts with other case Study locations. Not typical of the ethnicity figures for the wider area. The town is largely white and experiences a range of social problems particularly associated with young people. The Town Council experiences problems in engaging the local community.

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| Settlement Name | ONS DATA (2011) | | | | CASE STUDY SITES | | |
	Pop	Ethnic groups	No of homes	Age range	Shortlist	Selection	Reasons
		Cumbria average 3.5% (England average 20.2%)		under 16 16 to 65 over 65			
Waverton	306						
Aspatria	2,835	30 (1.1%)	1,255	495 1,775 565			
Dearham	2,150	30 (1.3%)	890	415 1355 380			
Broughton Moor	783						
Seaton	5,020	85 (1.6%)	2,125	910 3,155 955			
Stainburn	N/A						
Workington	25,505	485 (1.9%)	11,500	4,415 16,050 4,740			
Branthwaite	N/A						
Whitehaven	25,032						
Low Moresby and Moresby Parks	1,995	40 (2.1%)	745	390 1,290 315			
St Bees	1,800	110 (6.0%)	735	330 1,190 280			
Egremont	8,195	170 (2.1%)	3,605	1,465 5,230 1,500			
Thornhill							
Beckermet	1,620	35 (2.3%)	680	290 995 335	√	√	Site of multiple consultation events in connection with both NWCC and Moorside Power Station. Strong physical and visual links with existing power lines.
Braystone	N/A						

Settlement Name	ONS DATA (2011)				CASE STUDY SITES		
	Pop	Ethnic groups	No of homes	Age range	Shortlist	Selection	Reasons
		Cumbria average 3.5% (England average 20.2%)		under 16 16 to 65 over 65			
Seascale	1,755	50 (2.8%)	780	270 1,020 465	√		Strong links with Gosforth but not located in the National Park. Hosted NG Consultation Event. Decision made to focus on Beckermet and Gosforth rather than Seascale.
Drigg and Holmrook	450	10 (1.3%)	195	55 285 110			
Gosforth	1,336		522		√	√	Located in the LDNP. Evidence of a high level of local interest although the village is remote from the scheme and NG did not host any formal consultation events in the village. Informal events were held following invitations from local groups such as U3A
Gubbergill							
Ravenglass	200						
Bootle/Bootle Station	740	15 (1.8%)	325	105 440 195			
Annaside	N/A						
Silecroft	N/A						
Millom	7,830	255 (3.2%)	3,220	1,250 5,035 1,545	√		
Hallthwaites and Duddon Bridge (Millom without)	860	20 (2.3%)	360	105 540 215			
Duddon Bridge							
Broughton-in-Furness	529						
Grizebeck							

	ONS DATA (2011)				CASE STUDY SITES		
Settlement Name	Pop	Ethnic groups	No of homes	Age range	Shortlist	Selection	Reasons
		Cumbria average 3.5% (England average 20.2%)		under 16 16 to 65 over 65			
Kirkby-in-Furness (and Grizebeck)	1,175	25 (2.1%)	530	160 715 300	√	√	Parts of the village lie within the route corridor for the pylons. The village is an amalgamation of 6 historic hamlets and the route of the pylons will pass between Beck Side and Sand Side.
Askam-in-Furness	3,460 (3632)	70 (2.0%)	1,425	625 2,175 660	√		
Lindal-in-Furness + Marton	755	25 (3.0%)	305	145 490 120			
Dalton-in-Furness (with Newton)	7,827	160 (1.9%)	3,565	1,475 5,145 1,505	√		
Newton-in-Furness							
Barrow-in-Furness	56,745 (69,100)	3.10%					
Roose(cote)	4,724	102 (2.2%)	2,050	718 2561 1,445	√		Parts of the area lie within the route corridor, particularly Rampside. The route corridor applies to both pylons and undersea crossing.
Rampside (included in Roose)							
Heysham South	7,264 (17,016)						

Settlement Name	LOCAL INFORMATION		
	Local Groups	Venues e.g. village hall	Notes
Carlisle		Morton Community Centre	
Harker			
Rockliffe	Mother and baby group, coffee mornings during the week for older residents	The Rockcliffe Centre, Rockcliffe CE School.	Included to reflect diversity across the north.
(Great) Orton		Great Orton Village Hall	
Wigton	Wigton Youth Station, Borderlines (Youth angling club), Singing for Fun Group, Wigton Park Bowling Club, Allotments, Theatre Club, Wigton and District Civic Society, Wigton Young Farmers	Market Hall, St Cuthbert's Church.	Smart Grid project TC evidence of very poor turnout to local Parish Poll.
Waverton		Waverton Village Hall	
Aspatria	Aspatria Young Farmers, Allotments, Tennis Club, Bowling Club	Aspatria Rugby Club	Town Council reports no volunteers to administer Community Fund. Concerns about local crime are paramount - Shop-Watch Scheme and CCTV. Gala Day and Music Festival.
Dearham		Primary School, Church (St Mungo's Mission Rooms), 4 pubs. Dearham Village Hall	Active Parish Council meets monthly, Village newsletter. Facebook Page. Gardening competition, Carnival.
Broughton Moor		Broughton Moor Primary School, 2 churches	
Seaton	Baby and toddler group, Rugby Club	Village Hall (Welfare Hall), Parish Rooms, (British Legion?), library, rugby club, 2 local schools. Several pubs.	Allotments Carnival, Best Kept Garden and Scarecrow competitions
Stainburn			Lowca? Included in Workington
Workington		Helena Thompson Museum	
Branthwaite			
Whitehaven	SCD at Moor Row, Local History Society	NuGen's Moorside Information Centre	
Low Moresby and Moresby Parks		Moresby Rugby Union Club	

Settlement Name	Local Groups	Venues e.g. village hall	Notes
		LOCAL INFORMATION	
St Bees	Brownies, choir, bell-ringing, over 60s club, garden society, Village History Group, toddler group and others including sports.	Village Hall Church, Village School	Village website, start of the Coast-to-Coast walk (Wainwright), active Facebook page for village news and events.
Egremont	South West Cumbria History and Archaeology Society, Brass Band, Creative Egremont (arts project)	Market Hall, Secondary (1) and Primary (4) Schools	Crab Fair annual event. Regular farmer's Crafts and Fairtrade Market.
Thornhill			
Beckermet	West Lakes U3A, Village Association, History Group, Women's Institute, Sports Committee, 'Young at Heart' events,	Beckermet Reading Rooms	Site of proposed Moorside Nuclear Power Station. Village newsletter.
Braystone			Tarnside caravan Park, club and restaurant.
Seascale	SCD group, West Lakes U3A, Singing for Fun, Art Appreciation, Photography, Walking, Golf Club, Football Club, Women's Institute, Cricket Club, Saturday Coffee Morning, Knitting Club, Women's Outlook.	Seascale Methodist Church Hall, Windscale Club, St Cuthbert's Church, School, Library, Sports Hall, Hotels including conference facilities	Tethera Magazine shared with Gosforth and Drigg.
Drigg and Holmrook	West Lakes U3A History Society	Drigg and Carleton Parish Hall	
Gosforth	West Lakes U3A, Blengdale Runners, Book Group, Youth Praise Band, Mother's Union, Scouts, Cumbria Wildlife Trust West Coast Support Group, West Lakes Music Centre, Young Farmers Club, Women's Institute, Amateur Dramatic Society.	Public Hall, Gosforth Library, Methodist Church, St Marys Church, Scout Hut, School	Close links with Seascale - combined activities including West lakes U3A (200 members). Main employer is Sellafield. Recent NWCC presentation to U3A Discovery (Science and Technology Group) suggesting a local level of engagement with the project. Annual Gosforth Show
Gubbergill			
Ravenglass	West Lakes U3A, Ravenglass Village Forum,	Muncaster Parish Hall	Noted for tourist attractions including Ravenglass and Eskdale Railway and Roman Bath House (English Heritage).
Bootle/Bootle Station		Bootle Village Hall, St Michael's Church, Chapel.	Note that a ward of the same name has a population of 1300.
Annaside			

	LOCAL INFORMATION		
Settlement Name	**Local Groups**	**Settlement Name**	**Local Groups**
Silecroft		Silecroft Village Hall	Railway station, caravan park, pub, horse trekking centre and golf course
Millom	Local History Society, Oral History Group, Art Society, Pensioners Club, Furness Ramblers, sports clubs (Cricket, Rugby).	Millom Network Centre, numerous churches	Folk Museum
Hallthwaites and Duddon Bridge (Millom without)			
Duddon Bridge			
Broughton-in-Furness		The Victory Hall, St Mary Magdalene's Church	Cattle Market
Grizebeck		The Community Hall (Village Hall?)	
Kirkby-in-Furness (and Grizebeck)	Ladies Supper Club, History of Kirby Group, Literary Society, Football Club, Toddlers Group, Ladies Friendly Society, Tennis Club, Bowling Club, Book Club, Footpath and Cycleways Group, Brownies, Horticultural Society, Over 55s Luncheon Club.	Kirby Village Hall	Roll-out of Super-fast broadband. Cummuter village with an allegedly ageing population. Lack of younger families due to shortage of affordable property.
Askam-in-Furness	Village Silver Band, History Society, Carnival and Christmas Lights Committee, Duddon Inshore Rescue, Askam Old Age Pensioners Club, Women's Institute and Sisterhood, Tea and Chat with Age Concern, Crown Green Bowling Club, Karate Club, Old Time Dancing and Line Dancing.	Askam Community Hall, Askam Public Library.	A quarter of local population under 24 yrs. Allotments. Still a strong sense of identity between Askam and Ireleth although usually connected for local ward and groups.
Lindal-in-Furness + Marton	Resident's Assoc., Cricket Club	Buccleuch Hall, Church and Village Hall, Primary School	

Settlement Name	LOCAL INFORMATION			
	Local Groups	Settlement Name	Local Groups	
Dalton-in-Furness (with Newton)	SCD Group, Cricket Club, Football Clubs (including ladies), Rugby Club, Tidy Town Group	Leisure Centre, 4 Primary and 1 Secondary school, St Mary's Church, Newton Village Hall	Castle	
Newton-in-Furness		Newton Village Hall		
Barrow-in-Furness				
Roose(cote)	Library - homework club, Adult Creative Writing Group, Reading Group, Townwomen's Guild,	Roosecote Community Primary School, church, 2 pubs, Library	Railway station	
Rampside (included in Roose)	Golf Club, Boating Club.	Rampside Village Hall, St Michael's Church	Cake-bake, Christmas and Easter Fairs, Craft Fairs, Roa Island Lifeboat Station and Piel Island Ferry. Caravan Park	
Heysham South		Heysham Library		

Settlement Name	SELECTION CRITERIA							
	PHYSICAL			SOCIAL			NG CONSULTATION FINDINGS (by % population)	
	Identifiable geographical location (i.e. not dispersed)	Population above 1,000 and below 10,000	Relationship to route corridor (Physical or Visual)	Evidence of a range of community based groups	Evidence of ethnic diversity greater than the average figures for the District	Wide age range (by %)	High degree of interest and engagement	Low degree of interest and engagement
Carlisle		X						
Harker								
Rockliffe		X	P	(√)	X			√ (30%)
(Great) Orton		X						√
Wigton	√	√	P+V	(√)	X	√ TBC		√
Waverton								
Aspatria	√	√	V	(√)	X			
Dearham	√	√	V	√	N/A			
Broughton Moor								

Settlement Name	PHYSICAL			SOCIAL			NG CONSULTATION FINDINGS (by % population)	
	Identifiable geographical location (i.e. not dispersed)	Population above 1,000 and below 10,000	Relationship to route corridor (Physical or Visual)	Evidence of a range of community based groups	Evidence of ethnic diversity greater than the average figures for the District	Wide age range (by %)	High degree of interest and engagement	Low degree of interest and engagement
Seaton	√	√	V	√	X			
Stainburn								
Workington		X						
Branthwaite								
Whitehaven		X						
Low Moresby and Moresby Parks	X	√	P					
St Bees	√	√	V	√	√			
Egremont	√	√	V	√	√			
Thornhill								
Beckermet	√	√	P+V	√	√			
Braystone								
Seascale	√	√	V	√	√	√		
Drigg and Holmrook		X						
Gosforth	√	√	V	√	(√)	√	√	
Gubbergill								
Ravenglass	√							
Bootle/Bootle Station		X						√
Annaside								
Silecroft	√						√	
Millom	√	√	V	√	√			
Hallthwaites and Duddon Bridge (Millom without)		X						
Duddon Bridge								
Broughton-in-Furness		X						
Grizebeck								
Kirkby-in-Furness (and Grizebeck)	√	√	P+V	√	N/A		√ ?	

Settlement Name	SELECTION CRITERIA							
	PHYSICAL			SOCIAL			NG CONSULTATION FINDINGS (by % population)	
	Identifiable geographical location (i.e. not dispersed)	Population above 1,000 and below 10,000	Relationship to route corridor (Physical or Visual)	Evidence of a range of community based groups	Evidence of ethnic diversity greater than the average figures for the District	Wide age range (by %)	High degree of interest and engagement	Low degree of interest and engagement
Askam-in-Furness	√	√	P+V	√	N/A			
Lindal-in-Furness + Marton		X						
Dalton-in-Furness (with Newton)	√	√	P	√	(√)			
Newton-in-Furness								
Barrow-in-Furness	√	X						
Roose(cote)	√	√	P	√	(√)			
Rampside (included in Roose)								
Heysham South	(√)	√	P					

Appendix 4: Schedule of Participants

Ref	Name	Type of data collected	Occupation/role	Typology of engagement
Schedule of participants				
Study area 1				
W1	Jenny	Transcribed interview	Innovia employee (HR)	Disengaged
W2	Mike	Transcribed interview	Retired (formerly Innovia employee)	Engaged
W3	Jim	Conversation	Artist, retired	Disengaged
W4	Carol	Conversation	Artist, retired	Disengaged
W5	Janet and Kim	Conversation	Shopkeeper	Disengaged
	Linda	Conversation	Artist, retired	Unaware
W6	John	Conversation	Innovia employee	Disengaged
R1	Robert	Transcribed interview	Retiring PC chairman	Representative voice
Study area 2				
B1	George	Non-recorded interview	Beckermet resident	Engaged
B2	Bill	Transcribed interview	Retired, Parish Councillor	Representative voice
B3	Brian	Conversation	unknown	Engaged
B4	Angela	Email and conversation	unknown	Engaged
G1	Mark	Transcribed interview	Retired, Parish Councillor	Engaged
G2	Gail	Transcribed interview	Retired	Engaged disengaged
G3	Mary	Non-recorded interview	Farmer's wife	Disengaged?
G4	Barbara	Non-recorded interview	Retired NHS	Disengaged?
GS1	Richard	Conversation	Borough Councillor	Representative voice
GS2	Laura	Conversation	Local arts coordinator	Disengaged
GS3		Conversation	Stall holders, farmer's wives	Disengaged
GS4		Conversation	Local employer	Disengaged engaged
GS5	Steven	Conversation	Retired miner	Disengaged unaware
GS6		Conversation	Farmer's wives	Engaged disengaged
GS7		Conversation	Beckermet resident	Disengaged

GS8	Susan	Conversation	Beckermet resident (retired)	Engaged disengaged
GS9		Conversation	Beckermet resident (retired)	Engaged disengaged
GS10		Conversation	Beckermet resident	Engaged
GS11		Conversation	Beckermet/Local resident	Engaged
GS12		Conversation	Local residents	(Disengaged?)
GS13	Bob and Joan	Conversation	Beckermet resident	Engaged disengaged
GS14	Tony	Conversation	Former Sellafield engineer	Voluntarily disengaged
GS15	Geoff	Conversation	Local resident	Disengaged
GS16	Maggie	Conversation	St Bees resident (retired)	Unaware
GS17	Jack	Conversation	LDNP Farmer	Disengaged engaged
GS18	Lisa	Conversation	Small landowner	Disengaged engaged
GS19	Nick	Conversation	Farmer	Disengaged engaged
GS20		Conversation	Partner of Local Councillor	Engaged disengaged
N1		Conversation	Consultant	Professional interest
N2		Conversation	Parish Councillor	Engaged
Study area 3				
KF1	Alan	Transcribed interview	Retired engineer	Capital rich engaged offcomer
KF2	Joe	Telephone interview	Parish Councillor	Representative voice
AF1	Tom	Transcribed interview	Retired teacher	Engaged
AF2	Eric	Transcribed interview	Retired vicar	Engaged
AF3	Dan and Frank	Conversation	Retired engineers	Engaged
M1	Tim	Transcribed interview	PCCG, Retired engineer	Representative voice
StG1	Paul	Conversation	Retired professor (IT), Journal editor	Capital rich engaged offcomer
StG2	Liz	Conversation	unknown (partner of StG1)	Engaged disengaged
StG3		Conversation	unknown	Engaged
Regional/other				
RV1	Pam	Transcribed interview	Policy Officer NGO	Engaged
LD1	Gary	Conversation	Consultant	Engaged
PWP		Conversation	unknown	Engaged
AR1	Andy	Conversation	Consultant	Professional interest

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INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Investigating the seldom-heard voice in public engagement with overhead power lines

I would like to invite you to participate in this research study which forms part of my PhD research at the University of Exeter and is primarily funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). Before you decide whether you would like to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following carefully and ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

What is the purpose of the study?

The aim of this study is to provide a better understanding of the barriers to engagement for members of the public in consultations for major infrastructure projects in the UK and my research will use the North West Coast Connections (NWCC) project as a Case Study. I am particularly interested in learning about people's attachment to the place they live in, how they feel about development that might affect the area around them, and how this might influence their decision to either take part in, or disengage from, the public consultation process connected with the NWCC project. The study will involve interviews with members of the public in three locations along the route of the existing and proposed power lines.

You have been invited to take part because you live in the Case Study area but participation is voluntary. You should read this information sheet and ask me if you have any questions.

What will happen if I take part?

If you decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and will be asked to sign a consent form. I will then discuss the interview procedure with you and arrange to interview you at a convenient time and venue. The interview will take up to one hour and be based on an interview topic guide which is intended to be flexible based on your experience. The interview will be recorded, subject to your permission. This will allow me to accurately transcribe what you have said but all recordings of data on audio-equipment will be deleted after transcription. You are free to withdraw your participation at any time during or after the interview without giving a reason.

After this interview, you may be invited to participate in a short walking interview where you will be able to show me why your local area is important to you and to talk about any possible local changes that you are aware of from the NWCC project. Not all participants will be invited to take part in a walking interview and you are free to refuse without giving any reason. The walking interview will not be recorded but notes and photographs of views may be taken.

What are the possible benefits and risks of taking part?

The information that I get from the study will help to improve understanding of the factors that influence people to either take part in public consultation for new overhead powerlines or choose to withhold their involvement. I am interested to gain a better understanding of how this is influenced by people's sense of belonging to the village or town that they live in.

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COUNCIL

Version 1   February 2016

If you would like to know more about the outcome of the study, I can provide you with a summary of the main findings when the study has been completed.

The disadvantage of taking part in the study is that you will be donating an hour of your time to take part in an interview. There are no foreseeable risks in participating in the study.

Will my taking part be kept confidential?

What is said in the interview is regarded as strictly confidential and will be held securely until the research is finished. All data for analysis will be anonymised and I will not reveal the names of any participants or any details that would link participants to the data unless they specifically wish to be identified as part of the study.

The UK Data Protection Act 1998 will apply to all information gathered within the interviews and held securely within the University of Exeter. No data will be accessed by anyone other than me; and anonymity of the material will be protected by the method that I have agreed with you on the Consent Form.

How is the study being funded?

The study is part of a funded ESRC PhD Studentship at the University of Exeter. External funding is provided to the University by the Research Council and National Grid but the study is completely independent of the funding bodies and has been approved by the University of Exeter Ethics Committee.

What will happen to the results of the study?

I will produce a final summary of the main findings which will be sent to the participants on request. The study will form part of my PhD research and I will disseminate my research findings through future publications, seminars and conference presentations.

Who should I contact for further information?

If you have any questions or require more information about this study, please contact me using the following contact details:

Catherine Queen
Department of Geography
University of Exeter
College of Life and Environmental Sciences
Rennes Drive
Exeter EX4 4RJ

Email: caq201@exeter.ac.uk

Tel: 07513 880085

If you have any concerns about this study, you can contact the University of Exeter using the details below for further information:

Research supervisor: Professor Patrick Devine-Wright
Tel: 01392 722298; Email: P.G.Devine-Wright@exeter.ac.uk

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and for considering taking part in the research.

Appendix 6: Participant Consent Form

Department of Geography, University of Exeter
Individual Consent Form - Confidential data

Title of Study: Investigating the seldom-heard voice in public engagement with overhead power lines

I understand that my participation in this study will involve taking part in an interview. This will involve participating in a meeting which will last for approximately 1 hour and the interview will be recorded with audio equipment.

It has been explained to me that participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

I understand that I am free to ask any questions at any time or I can discuss my concerns with Catherine Queen (caq201@exeter.ac.uk or 07513 880085).

I agree that anonymised data (including photographs, written materials and interviews) obtained in the interview may be utilised in any ensuing presentations, reports or publications according to the conditions below:

- The information provided by me will be held confidentially, such that only the researcher can trace this information back to me individually.
- My data will be anonymised during the time my interview is being made into a written transcript and that after this point no-one will be able to trace my information back to me.

I understand that I can ask for the information I provide to be deleted/destroyed at any time and that I can have access to the information.

I, _____(PRINT NAME) consent to participate in the study led by Catherine Queen, Department of Geography, University of Exeter.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 7: Interview Questions

Question	Follow-up question if required
Place attachment and forms of capital	
Would you like to tell me about living in (insert place name)?	Can you describe the good and bad things about living here?
Is there a good community spirit in the village/town?	What sort of opportunities are there for people to get together?
Do you think you would ever consider moving away from this area?	If so, why?
What has changed since you have lived here?	
How do you (and your neighbours) feel about the changes?	
To what extent do you think that the area around (insert village name) is affected/defined by energy infrastructure?	
Project specific	
Are you aware of the North West Coast Connections Project?	If 'Yes' - How do you think it will affect you? (And your village?)
How have you found out about the project?	
Have you attended or responded to any of the consultation events?	Can you describe what methods you used to respond?
If the answer is 'no' to the previous question, can you explain why?	
Have you discussed the project with friends or acquaintances?	How do you think local people feel about the project?
	Why do you think people might not want to get involved in the public consultation?
	Is there anything that would encourage you to take part?

Appendix 8: NVivo Code Book

Code	Name	Description	Sources	Refs
Acc	Acceptance	Broad acceptance of the proposal. Actors don't question the proposal either because they assume it is the right thing to do or because they have no expectation of having a voice in the process.	7	23
Acq	Acquiescence	Giving-in having considered the options. Closely linked to disengagement. Implies acceptance but can be described in more detail as 'giving in', compliance, deference, submitting or yielding. Whereas Acceptance is used to denote acceptance without question, Acquiescence implies thought and a giving in or not bothering to challenge.	2	4
AE	Active engagement	Refers to publics and stakeholders. Implies that actor attends consultation events, researches detail, responds to consultation in writing or feedback form. Attending meetings, asking questions.	9	42
AEcD	Diverse engagement		8	19
	"No names that's another thing"		1	1
AEcER	NWCC and energy related engagement		17	50

Code	Name	Description	Sources	Refs
AoF	Anger or frustration	Anger or frustration at the process of developer as expressed through interviews.	9	24
Be	Belonging	Actors expressing their sense of belonging to an area and citing examples. Closely connected with habitus and place attachment.	9	29
Becl	Indifference		2	2
BG	Bureaucracy and governance	High level bureaucracy remote from the geographical area. Perceptions of national decision-making at the expense of local consultation.	6	13
CC	Cultural capital	Forms of cultural capital and how they play out. Linked with distinction where persons discuss their own knowledge and experience. Explaining why some people are able to engage because they have the confidence of knowledge. Identifying others as not having the same knowledge. Education - higher attainment.	10	32
Dp	Disempowerment	Previously coded as anti-consultation. Refers to the actors who are conducting, overseeing or responsible for the consultation and its process. Anti-consultation refers to instances where the actors have consciously and deliberately gone against the principles of consultation. Decisions have already been made and given as final without any option to engage or comment. Tokenism -	16	58

Code	Name	Description	Sources	Refs
		informing rather than consulting.		
	"National Grid hasn't listened to the communities."		1	1
	"That is wrong, wrong, wrong and what I find very frustrating is that I don't know who to speak to, to write to, to say 'this is wrong'"		1	1
	"To me it was not really truthful at all, you know."		1	1
De	Disengagement	There are a number of sub-codes within disengagement: Disconnection - cannot see the relevance of the project to them Disengaged engaged - see definition elsewhere. In this instance - people who want to be 'spoon fed', people who turn up at events but don't follow up. Alternative is the stat authorities who turn up at meetings and don't have any input -they don't use their voice at all. In denial - hoping or believing that the project will not affect them. Hoping it will 'go away'. Believing it's to do with Sellafield.	9	32
DecD	Disconnection		3	5
	"Coast, you think seaside, you do"		1	1

Code	Name	Description	Sources	Refs
	"Even the name West Coast Connections"	304	1	1
	"How does it affect me?"		1	1
	"I didn't really think it was going to affect us"		1	1
	"I think it was just too vague"		1	1
	"I thought it was a way away but it isn't, I don't think"		1	1
	"If you put a poster up saying there's a consultation, people never look at it."		1	1
	"It's not something that's on my radar"		1	1
	"Nobody's ever discussed it with me"		1	1
	"People just couldn't be bothered, they didn't see the relevance"		1	1
	"We didn't think it would affect us"		1	1
	"We dismissed it, because it was very generic."		1	1

Code	Name	Description	Sources	Refs
	"What's in it for me,"		1	1
	"Why are we getting that?"		1	1
DecDE	Disengaged engaged	Engaged by attending consultations/events but not involved with responding to consultations, did not follow up. Reliance on representative voice?	3	4
DecID	In denial	Publics who think or hope that it won't affect them. Not thinking through the impacts. Don't attend events to gather information	1	1
DecIU	Indifference or unaware	Lack of connection to local area, not engaged with community. Typically low attachment to place. Disinterested.	7	18
DecLM	Lacking in motivation	People who can't be bothered. Engaged at a superficial level. Do not engage with the actual process.	3	8
DecPM	Perception of marginalisation		1	2
	"Oh, I'm just not involved me and I wouldn't have any say in the matter anyways"		1	1
	"Everything is in the west around Sellafield"		1	1
	"It didn't apply to us"		1	1

Code	Name	Description	Sources	Refs
	"Just a voice in the dark"		1	1
	"We were at the end of the line if you know what I mean and all the money was being spent in the beauty areas. You can understand but up here it wasn't… we got the feeling that, 'well they're already used to pylons, just leave 'em with 'em'"		1	1
	"We're forgotten about"		1	1
	"We're not on the coast"		1	1
DecTB	Too busy to engage	Engagement is seen as a low priority when compared with work, family life, or other practices such as farming.	2	2
Di	Distinction	Individual distinction - Distinguished by having a voice. Being a member of a local group or Parish Council Being an expert witness in the past. Pride in former job/position e.g. at Sellafield Being confident in own technical knowledge and ability to communicate Engineering background Distinction by association - reference to home village as being a nice place to live, one of the better villages or in the	9	39

Code	Name	Description	Sources	Refs
		LDNP. Mixing in perceived elevated social and professional circles e.g. with landowners, p		
DicA	Distinction by association	e.g living in the National Park or one of the 'better areas'. Being part of a wider network or association	11	33
DicI	Individual distinction	Identifying self as having personal distinction through education, experience, knowledge. Position in social or professional networks.	7	22
EC	Economic capital	Impact on local economy of nuclear related industries Difficulties arising from earnings differential - house prices, Sellafield salaries Importance of big employers such as Innovia and impact on communities Reliance on local workforce Moorside/NWCC offering less for local workforce Impact on local economy through support for service industries. Barrow - shipyards, up and down economy, nuclear subs Investment in the area from local employers e.g quarry at Kirkby-in-Furness Industrial heritage Tour	14	34
Ep	Empowerment	Previously described as effective consultation, includes involvement and awareness - being kept informed, knowing what has been decided. Sharing of decisions. Comments about where the consultation went well. Acknowledging how the community was recognised	6	21

Code	Name	Description	Sources	Refs
		and given a chance to ask questions. Ways in which consultation could be improved to ensure community empowerment. Mainly applies to the views of the rep voices about where things went well.		
EV	Environmental value	References to specific locations which are perceived to be beautiful or special. Ascribing value to undesignated landscape. Identifying which areas mean something to local people. References to proximity of LDNP or AONB. Skyline - enduring landscape Changing landscape - natural processes, e.g. Duddon estuary tidal changes, farming practices Giving particular weight to the perceived LDNP buffer.	15	26
H	Habitus	Habitus is split into its component parts for the purposes of coding, namely: Dispositions - expressed as ways of thinking, responding, acting as a community. General attitudes to defined circumstances. Durability - continuity due to longevity of occupation, family connections, investment in practices such as farming. Generation or organisation of practices and representations - Inculcation Multiple habitus Structuring structures - includes family, community, education, religion, workplaces, industry	8	21

Code	Name	Description	Sources	Refs
HcDi	Dispositions	Automatic ways of behaving or responding	9	34
	"Now we have a lot of strangers come"		1	1
	"Strangers that have come into the town who didn't have that same link with everybody"		1	1
HcDu	Durability		13	27
HcGoP	Generation or organisation of practices and representations		15	40
HcI	Inculcation	Programmed from childhood	8	13
	Multiple habitus	(Envisaged as being mainly offcomers who have settled in the area)	0	0
HcSS	Structuring structures	Schools - education. Family ties - history. Employment - history of multi-generational plus support for communities. Historic industries contributing to the development of the community - may have been replaced by others but evidence endures. Could be boundaries e.g. National Park and how that impacts on people's lives through restrictions.	10	39
L	Identifying as local	Several areas of focus Sellafield employees - distinguishing between those who are from the area and	10	24

Code	Name	Description	Sources	Refs
		those who came for Sellafield. Not necessarily out-of-place, belonging to Sellafield community rather than traditional community. Historic definition - going back several generations. Where you were born and brought up. Where your family are from. Geographical - identifying as local to benefit from projects. Social - thinking in terms of social networks across more than one village. Becoming local, giving back.		
In	Integration	Being integrated into the local area though involvement in community/organisations or by marriage with 'local' family.	4	5
Int	Intimidation	Various types. Intimidated by the process or individuals involved in the process. Being intimidated or overwhelmed by financial implications as presented by the developer. False rumours, scaremongering.	5	8
IntcPl	Public intimidation	Specific examples of intimidation of, or by, the public.	4	5
JF	Justice and fairness	A broad category of perceived injustices against communities or unfairness of the process.	7	39
	"It comes back to treating the village of Beckermet fairly		1	1

Code	Name	Description	Sources	Refs
	for what they're doing here"			
	"There's no way that anybody could say 'this has been a sincere and honest consultation'. It's been ramming down the throats of local people what they are going to do. There is no equality in the relationship, it's National Grid saying 'we are going to do it"		1	1
Lh	Linguistic habitus	Figures of speech or dialect. Use of speech abilities (relating to cultural capital) for legitimate speech discourse.	1	1
LhcDV	Dialect or vernacular		1	9
Lk	Local knowledge	Specifically in relation to the geographical area but also with regards to the community.	4	11
Ma	Media awareness	Talking about using the media to gain interest and support. An awareness of how powerful the media can be. Doubts about accuracy and misrepresentation	4	10
NR	Non-recognition	Arrogance dismissing local knowledge and voices. Could also be mis-recognition? Also a degree of	7	19

Code	Name	Description	Sources	Refs
		disempowerment. Negating impacts on local communities.		
	"They don't understand the legacy of this area."		1	1
	"You're not understanding people's emotions and people need a way of expressing their emotions because they're not being heard."		1	1
N-S	North-South divide	Discrepancies between the way the route is viewed north of Sellafield and south of Sellafield. Perceptions of publics north and south and likely impacts.	7	20
Nd	Nuclear domination	Seeking to identify examples of nuclear domination of local politics, opinions, decision-making, jobs, etc.	6	26
O	Opposition	References to local protest groups. Pejorative references to stereotypical protestors.	6	18
	"It were spoiled by the protestors, to be honest, and that was it"		1	1
	"These lot came in 'we're not 'avin' these bloody pylons 'ere. Nae good		1	1

Code	Name	Description	Sources	Refs
	talkin' to us, we're not havin' 'em'. I thought to meself 'Oh Jesus, I don't think we'll 'ave much say in it to be perfectly honest, d'you know what I mean?"			
OoP	Out-of-place	People as 'other'. People who don't belong e.g. incomers who don't integrate. People without local knowledge, particularly the actors in the project. Unable to answer questions or appreciate local issues. People who don't live here. People who live here but have no attachment to the place.	10	22
	"It's like everything else, they don't live here."		1	1
PEI	Perception of energy infrastructure	Includes existing and proposed infrastructure - pylons, nuclear, waste, wind turbines, even quarries. Do people notice it around them? Do they distinguish between what is acceptable?	12	35
	"Unlike those bloody windmills"		1	1
	"Well nobody can accuse us of being NIMBYs, we've got more pylons in Rockcliffe Parish		1	1

Code	Name	Description	Sources	Refs
	probably than the rest of Cumbria"			
PA	Place attachment	As perceived by individuals. Some distinction between acquired and inherited.	6	12
PAcA	Acquired		1	1
PAcI	Inherited		3	5
PC	Place change	Changes to villages and, in particular, infrastructure serving the local communities. Change in perception of visitors or people who have moved to the area. Change in economic basis for employment. Changes in appearance through energy infrastructure. Changing demographics.	6	22
PDC	Process driven consultation	Perceptions of the process - effectiveness of consultation, lack of trust, lack of opportunity to engage. Strong link with tokenism, justice and fairness.	15	62
	"It's been set up to deliver an outcome which says National Grid have followed the guidelines set out by (a) the legislation and (b) by the guidance of PINS and it becomes a tick in the box 'yes, we've done that'."		1	1

Code	Name	Description	Sources	Refs
	"So, that then led to this whole question about 'was this a process or was this a consultation?'"		1	1
	"They used the process to avoid the conversation."		1	1
R	Recognition	Identifying who should have a voice.	2	6
RV	Representative voice	Individuals setting out their credentials. Who they represent and why they are able to do so (connection with cultural capital and distinction). Also includes organisations.	21	87
RVcE	Elected representatives	Local councillors - District and County. MPs. Not Parish Councils	1	1
	"Somebody else'll do it for me"		1	1
Ro	Rootedness	Durability of residence. Publics who either feel that they belong or those that have acquired an attachment to a place and choose not to move following retirement. Somewhere that feels like home.	5	6
SC	Social capital	Evidence of wide networks of friends, work colleagues, neighbours. Also evidence of good community spirit through the availability of	9	28

Code	Name	Description	Sources	Refs
		social events, groups, networks.		
Sa	spatial awareness	Demonstrating an awareness of different spatial scales. Looking beyond the local. Considering wider impacts. Scalar values.	11	32
SMD	Stigmatised marginalised disadvantaged	Includes sub-nodes - allowing to be done to; disadvantaged as a community; disadvantaged by lack of cultural capital; domination; economically disadvantaged; gender or age specific marginalisation; geographically disadvantaged.	9	61
SMDcA	Allowing to be done to	Allowing stigmatisation or marginalisation through lack of a voice, culture capital. Inability to resist symbolic power or being intimidated by symbolic power and individuals with greater forms of capital. Complicity	5	17
SMDcDC	Disadvantaged as a community		18	69
	"If you're inside the National Park you get looked after"		1	1
	"They thought 'ah, well, it's got past the Lake District now, it doesn't really matter. It's not a National Park or anything like that'"		1	1

Code	Name	Description	Sources	Refs
SMDcCCK	Disadvantaged by lack of cultural capital or knowledge		6	14
	"Not everybody's used to writing objections, you know"		1	1
SMDcD	Domination	In its broadest sense. Several possible causes - energy coast and nuclear in particular dominate decision making but these are dealt with under a separate code of nuclear domination. This code is domination through manipulating the process and overlaps with disempowerment.	0	0
SMDcEd	Economically disadvantaged	Issues with recruitment, house prices, proximity to the NP. Vast differences between Sellafield and other industries - the have's and have nots.	5	8
SMDcGA	Gender or age specific marginalisation		6	11
SMDcGd	Geographically disadvantaged	Disadvantages arising from location. Lack of resources, amenities facilities. Access problems. Loss of public transport. Proximity to Sellafield	12	45
SMDcM	Marginalised		1	1
	"The deprivation in West Cumbria is quite severe"		1	1

Code	Name	Description	Sources	Refs
	"There's a feeling in West Cumbria in general that people are hard done by… and it is a feeling that they've been left behind from the rest of the country"		1	1
SP	Symbolic power		6	29
TG	The Game	Playing the game, understanding the rules and the distribution of power, Building cultural capital through knowledge to engage at a level of equal power, Symbolic power relations.	5	16
	"We always determine the rules"		1	1
To	Tokenism	Undertaking consultation for show. Connected to process driven consultation code. Box ticking exercise, meaningless, without value to local people.	15	28

Pam (FLD)	Conversations in Kirkby	Eric (part 2 Furness)	Tim (Furness)	Alan (Kirkby in Furness)	Tom (Askam in Furness)	Conversations at Gosforth Show 2016 & 17	George (Beckermet)	Eric (Seascale)	Mark and Kate (Gosforth)	Bill (Beckermet)	Robert (Rockcliffe)	Conversations in Wigton	Jenny (Wigton)	Mike (Wigton)	Concept		
0	0	1	1	2	1	0	0	9	4	2	0	0	0	0	Habitus	Habitus	Bourdieuian concepts
5	0	1	5	3	0	1	2	2	0	0	1	4	4	12	Dispositions		
1	0	1	1	4	3	1	6	3	2	1	1	1	3	5	Durability		
0	1	2	2	4	2	2	3	0	1	0	3	3	7	8	Generation or organisation of practices and representations		
0	0	2	0	1	1	2	2	2	0	0	1	0	4	1	Inculcation		
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Multiple habitus		
3	0	3	4	7	0	1	0	4	4	2	3	3	7	2	Structuring structures		
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	Linguistic habitus		
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	Dialect or vernacular		
2	0	0	1	4	3	0	5	2	5	2	1	0	2	7	AY : Economic capital	Forms of Capital	
3	5	0	6	3	0	0	2	7	2	4	1	1	4	1	L : Cultural capital		
0	3	0	2	4	1	0	0	5	2	2	5	0	3	3	CZ : Social capital		
1	0	0	2	9	0	0	0	8	6	7	0	0	2	3	Distinction	Distinction	Bourdieu's key strands
3	2	0	0	2	1	0	1	3	9	3	1	0	7	1	Distinction by association		
0	0	0	3	1	0	0	1	3	3	6	0	0	0	2	Individual distinction		
7	1	0	5	1	1	0	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	Environmental value place based distinction		
2	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	8	2	2	3	0	0	2	Acceptance	Domination	
1	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	Acquiescence		
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	DI : Domination		
8	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	Complicity (allowing to be done to)		
8	0	0	3	1	0	1	3	10	3	0	0	0	1	0	Nuclear domination		
0	0	0	2	0	4	0	1	7	3	10	3	0	0	0	Symbolic power	Power	
2	0	0	7	1	0	0	0	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	The Game		

Regional | Furness peninsular interviews | Beckermet/Gosforth interviews | Wigton and north interviews

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Coding matrix — Inductive thematic analysis

Theme	Mike (Wigton)	Jenny (Wigton)	Conversations in Wigton	Robert (Rockcliffe)	Bill (Beckermet)	Mark and Kate (Gosforth)	Eric (Seascale)	George (Beckermet)	Conversations at Gosforth Show 2016 & 17	Tom (Askam in Furness)	Alan (Kirkby in Furness)	Tim (Furness)	Eric (part 2 Furness)	Conversations in Kirkby	Pam (FLD)
Identity and belonging															
Belonging	4	3	0	3	4	7	4	1	0	2	1	0	1	0	0
Rootedness	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Identifying as local	2	2	4	1	4	4	2	0	0	2	3	0	1	0	3
Local knowledge	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Integration	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Active engagement															
Active engagement	3	0	0	5	7	2	3	0	0	3	4	9	0	0	5
Diverse engagement	7	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	3
NWCC and energy related engagement	0	0	0	1	7	4	2	0	0	4	1	8	0	0	12
Empowerment	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	1	1	6	0	3	7
Recognition	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
Media awareness	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	1
Disengagement															
Disengagement	8	7	0	3	4	0	2	0	1	1	3	1	0	0	3
Disconnection	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0
In denial	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indifference or unaware	2	7	2	2	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	4
Indifference	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lacking in motivation	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0
Perception of marginalisation	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Too busy to engage	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Space															
CB : North-South divide	1	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	6
DA : Spatial awareness	3	3	0	5	4	5	3	0	0	1	2	1	0	2	4
Place															
Out-of-place	4	1	0	2	4	4	2	3	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
Perception of energy infrastructure	5	1	0	3	4	3	1	1	0	1	5	7	0	1	2
Place attachment	0	0	0	1	2	2	4	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	0
Acquired	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Inherited	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Place change	4	2	3	1	0	6	0	0	0	3	6	0	0	0	0

Inductive thematic analysis

Theme		Mike (Wigton)	Jenny (Wigton)	Conversations in Wigton	Robert (Rockcliffe)	Bill (Beckermet)	Mark and Kate (Gosforth)	Eric (Seascale)	George (Beckermet)	Conversations at Gosforth Show 2016 & 17	Tom (Askam in Furness)	Alan (Kirkby in Furness)	Tim (Furness)	Eric (part 2 Furness)	Conversations in Kirkby	Pam (FLD)
NWCC Consultation process	Process driven consultation	0	0	0	2	11	1	0	3	3	4	1	15	0	2	3
	Tokenism	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	7	4	2	0	0	3
	Disempowerment	0	0	0	1	10	1	1	2	2	8	5	7	0	0	9
	BY : Non-recognition	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	1	0	5	2	2	0	0	5
	K : Bureaucracy and governance	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	1	1	0	4	0	0	4
	BM : Intimidation	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
	Anger or frustration	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	1	8	1	3	0	0	6
	BN : Public intimidation	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1
	CV : Representative voice	1	2	0	1	17	1	3	0	2	0	1	15	0	3	22
	CW : Elected representatives	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	BO : Justice and fairness	0	0	0	0	16	0	7	0	0	5	1	1	0	0	7
	CD : Opposition	2	0	1	5	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	3
Stigmatised, marginalised, disadvantaged	DB : Stigmatised marginalised disadvantaged	6	4	0	0	11	7	12	0	0	1	1	7	0	0	12
	DD : Disadvantaged as a community	5	3	0	9	12	4	4	1	2	2	3	7	0	0	4
	DG : Disadvantaged by lack of cultural capital or knowledge	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	9	0	0	1
	DJ : Economically disadvantaged	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	DK : Gender or age specific marginalisation	0	1	0	1	4	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3
	DL : Geographically disadvantaged	0	5	0	2	7	10	1	1	1	0	0	3	0	0	9
	DM : Marginalised	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	CU : Recognition	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3

Wigton and north interviews — Beckermet/Gosforth interviews — Furness peninsular interviews — Regional

Glossary

CPT   Communicative planning theory

DCLG   Department for Communities and Local Government

DCO   Development Consent Order

ESRC   Economic and Social Research Council

FLD   Friends of the Lake District

H2R   Hard-to-Reach

KPG   Kirkby Pressure Group

LLWP   Low Level Waste Repository

LULUs   Locally Unpopular Land Uses

NGET   National Grid Electricity Transmission

NPS   Nuclear Power Station

NSIPS   Nationally Significant Infrastructure Projects

NWCC   North West Coast Connections

NIMBY   Not In My Back Yard

OECD   Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PINS   Planning Inspectorate

PwP   Power without Pylons

SRG   Stakeholder Reference Group

TSO   Transmission Service Operators

U3A   University of the Third Age

UNHSP   United Nations Human Settlements Programme

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