Knowledge, Power and Emotions in Stakeholder Participation within Environmental Governance

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Abstract

Environmental concerns are high on the political agenda in the current circumstances of climate change and uncertainty. Given the complex nature of environmental concerns, incorporating many different stakeholders and fields of expertise, it can be difficult to see how any agreement can be reached on ways forward, and especially what might be the 'right' approach to governance.

This thesis uses interpretive policy analysis to investigate the way in which flood alleviation policy is implemented at local scales, examining the decision-making processes that lead to change. The empirical study examines two case studies of flood alleviation sites in South Yorkshire subject to policy processes concerning flood risk following the dramatic weather patterns of recent years, and leading to structural changes to the sites.

By focussing on the themes that emerged from the data and the stories that were important to stakeholders a new perspective on the governance process emerges. The way in which we conceptualise power and knowledge/expertise is examined, and the role of place attachment and relationship to place is positioned alongside traditional interpretation, to offer a more rounded perspective which accounts for the intricacies and individuality of the policy making processes which affect different places. The thesis has developed a new approach to the understanding of environmental governance, which brings together interpretive policy analysis with relationship to place, incorporating understandings of emotions and collective memory to broaden the understanding of the way stakeholders impact on the changes to environmental sites. Through this suggestions are made about the way in which policy processes can be changed to offer more equality and justice within governance processes.

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This thesis is dedicated to my granddad, who should have been here to see it completed, and to Eric, who has slowed the process down considerably.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The Problem

Climate uncertainty is a matter of global concern, and the particular issues of flooding have been highlighted in the UK in recent years, with numerous extreme weather events leading to flooding in a number of areas in England (for example, Gloucestershire, Sheffield and Hull in 2007, Cumbria in 2009, and many areas of Southern England in winter 2013-14). The estimated value of assets at risk of flooding is placed at £250 billion by the Environment Agency, potentially affecting over five million people and two million homes and businesses (Donaldson *et al*, 2013:608). These events have been a major concern for the government and national agencies, as well as the public, and particularly those affected by the events. In the UK, 'making space for water' is now high on the political agenda. The national concern with water - both flood risk and drought - is one that has developed since the significant floods experienced in regions of the UK in summer 2007. The events led initially to the Pitt Review (Cabinet Office, 2008), which highlighted the shortcomings in policy and infrastructure for dealing with such events. The issues raised by Pitt have been addressed through a number of policy and legislative changes in recent years, including the Flood and Water Management Act (2010) which attempts to unify the approach to management of water. Water policy also intersects with other areas of policy work, such as planning policy for instance, as an important factor in sustainable development.

In March 2010 the Environment Agency (Environment Agency, 2014a) released a set of flood map images predicting the extent to which major cities would be threatened in the event of flash flooding, highlighting the way in which water is perceived to be a threat to modern society. The unpredictability of water supply is of growing concern, and the drought and hosepipe bans applied to much of southern England, followed almost immediately by warnings of flash flooding in April 2012, characterised this. Although a great deal of legislative change focuses on the

national level approach, the experience of flooding and response tends to occur at smaller scales, and it is this which is the focus of this piece of research. Rather than addressing the flood incidents themselves, the research is concerned with the way that flood alleviation is addressed post-flooding, and the way that policy 'solutions' to water governance problems are reached.

The complex nature of water governance means that in UK contexts where a collaborative governance model is used many different stakeholders and fields of expertise are brought together in the policy process. The cases studied here included ecologists, arboriculturalists, structural engineers, landscape architects, water engineers, archaeologists, landowners, community organisations, local people, and more, all bringing different forms of knowledge and expertise together in complex, multi-staged discussions, with decisions in respect to one aspect having impacts on other aspects. This thesis seeks to generate a better understanding of policy processes, as through an understanding the factors that influence policy outcomes, we can better understand the ways that different outcomes come about, and why they may be perceived by stakeholders to be successful or unsuccessful. By exploring the policy process at site level, we can generate a clearer understanding of the ways that different stakeholders and fields of expertise are brought together, and how these interactions lead to the decisions made. By drawing these findings though into policy processes, practitioners will be better able to achieve outcomes that satisfy a wider cross-section of stakeholders and are therefore more widely supported and sustainable.

1.2   Aim and Objectives

The aim of this thesis is to **investigate the factors that impact on stakeholder involvement in environmental decision-making at the site level, with particular**

reference to the dynamics of knowledge and power. To do this, the following objectives are considered:

- To develop a theoretical framework for understanding the relationship between knowledge and power in environmental decision-making;
- To undertake a programme of empirical research that applies that theoretical framework;
- To examine the factors that define stakeholder roles and influence in decision-making, including the role of emotions;
- To investigate the factors that influence the ways in which knowledge and power interact in the governance process; and
- To contribute empirical and theoretical insights to the debates in interpretive policy analysis.

To address the research aim and objectives, the questions that the research focussed upon are:

1. *How is the site of intervention defined in environmental policy making, and how does that impact on the process?*

2. *How are the roles of different stakeholders constructed in environmental decision-making processes?*

3. *How is power distributed in the practice of environmental decision-making processes, and why is that the case?*

4. *What knowledge or expertise do different stakeholders bring to the decision-making process and how are the two constructed? How do the differently characterised types of knowledge impact on decision-making?*

5. *Are there other factors that determine the ways that stakeholders are able to engage in the decision-making process?*

6. *What are the implications of the research for interpretive policy analysis more broadly?*

Whilst many moves have been made in policy work to involve different stakeholders in both water management (Environment Agency, 2009a; DEFRA, 2011) and more widely in other areas of policy work (DCLG, 2011), there is often a sense that outcomes are not reflective of the needs/desires of all stakeholders (Barnes *et al*, 2004). Participation, or opportunities to participate, are not reflected in what communities feel are 'equitable' outcomes. There are a number of factors that may play a part in this. One factor is the way that stakeholders (or service users or users; other terms frequently employed in other areas of policy work, such as those concerning healthcare services) are constructed. Barnes *et al* (2007) express concerns over the way that discourse is used to classify public groups, and to define which groups are legitimate stakeholders to be engaged, whilst others are excluded.

Stakeholders in policy processes can be difficult to define and identify, and part of the challenge of this research is to seek to identify stakeholders, whilst recognising the limitations in doing so. One of the key factors in constructing a process of identifying stakeholders is the way that we interpret place. The location and locality of the site play a significant role in who identifies and engages with the site (and who chooses not to do so) (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). The research also examines what stakeholders bring to the process. Stakeholders all bring their own types of knowledge to the policy process, some of which are treated as expertise and some of which are treated as 'lay' knowledge. The way in which these two are distinguished within the policy process can make a significant difference to the way stakeholders are able to contribute and the way that their contribution is used; expertise is given more value, and is therefore privileged. Expertise is considered to be scientific in its basis, whilst lay knowledge is experiential. 'Lay' stakeholders therefore are generally seen within policy processes as bringing less 'rational' (scientific) arguments to the processes, and using discourses founded on emotional

responses and relationships to place that are not appropriate in the policy context (Evans and Plows, 2007).

Approaches to the analysis of governance have developed over time, from the rational model (see Fischer, 2007), to the collaborative (see Healey, 2006), and more recently to interpretive policy analysis (see Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). Through the development of more nuanced approaches, the 'gap' between the way in which policy processes are understood to happen and the reality of the experience of governance has narrowed. This research takes an interpretive approach to understanding the two case study sites, building a narrative of the policy processes at the sites as the process of change took place. The two sites chosen are both in South Yorkshire (Centenary Riverside in Rotherham and Malin Bridge in Sheffield), and the field research took place in 2008-9. The policy process at the two sites is explored primarily through semi-structured interviews, developing the story of each site.

1.3   Why Rivers?

This study explores river sites for a number of reasons. There is presently no empirical research available that adequately considers the complexity of the use of emotions and expertise in governance of river sites, and their relationship to power in the governance process. The complex nature of responsibility and ownership on river sites also gives rise to a complex geography of power, which needs to be understood, as this has significant impacts on the way that the site is constructed by stakeholders and the way that spaces are perceived to relate to one another. In this field there are a considerable number of stakeholders in any given site who can potentially be engaged or excluded in the process.

However there are myriad environmental concerns that appear in the media every day, from things such as conservation issues, environmental degradation, and pollution, to concerns around genetic engineering, nanotechnologies and nuclear power. New concerns arise on a regular basis, and broadly speaking the environment is high on the political agenda. The way that the patterns of inclusion and exclusion occur is likely to follow certain patterns that also occur in other areas of social and environmental policy across a range of issues. As a result, the role of emotions, power and expertise is likely to be similar in its nature, and a conceptual understanding of the way that these are interacting in river governance will offer insights into other spheres. As such, whilst the research is located in the specific sphere of river governance, it will have something to offer to the broader study of collaborative governance.

My research was located within a collaborative context; it was part of an interdisciplinary research programme that worked across departmental, institutional, and epistemological boundaries within and across universities and non-academic organisations. The Urban River Corridors and Sustainable Living Agendas (URSULA) Project was "an ambitious interdisciplinary research project lasting 4 years and worth over £2.5m." (URSULA, 2008), which addressed issues of river corridors holistically through interdisciplinary research using case studies in Sheffield. Academics and researchers from diverse disciplinary backgrounds were brought together with a range of external stakeholders with the aspiration to "produce innovations, tools and knowledge to help guide the regeneration of urban river corridors worldwide" (URSULA, 2008). The project began from the notion that through a process of collaboration and sharing of knowledge and expertise, it is possible to achieve outcomes that can meet the needs and requirements of all stakeholders. This research contributes to a better understanding of collaborative policy processes in light of URSULAs aspiration to achieve equitable 'win-win-win' (for social-economic-environmental indicators) 'sustainable' results.

1.4   Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2 discusses the theoretical setting within which this research is located, by outlining the ways in which governance has been traditionally theorised and understood academically and exploring some of the concepts used. This particularly emphasises the concept of collaborative planning, as it is this which many practitioners tend to focus upon. The chapter also explores the notion of rational planning, and some of the academic critique of these models of governance which are drawn upon in the interpretive approach. This chapter then seeks to bring together the interpretive approach to policy analysis with an understanding of relationships to place, to enhance the understanding that interpretive policy analysis can offers us of environmental governance.

Chapter 3 describes the geographical and policy context of the research. Through a discussion of the different ways in which water policy has been studied, the rationale for the way in which case studies have been identified is set out, and the wider framework of the case studies explored through a description of the South Yorkshire context. The chapter also sets out the institutional and policy context of the research, covering the different agencies and policies that impact most directly on flood alleviation work around rivers, and exploring the interactions of these and the potential impacts they have on the case studies that are explored in this project. These range from the international scale of the Water Framework Directive (Directive 2000/60/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 October 2000), to the context specific policies at local level.

The methodology of the research is explored in Chapter 4. This describes the process of the research and the various decisions and actions taken along the way, alongside the reasoning for these choices – in particular the case study sites and the approach to the research. The methodology explores the research methods undertaken and

the reasons for these. My own role in the project as the researcher, and the complex issues of positionality as they apply to the research are also explored in this chapter.

Chapters 5 and 6 begin to discuss the findings of the research by describing the case studies, recreating the story of what happened through the process using the words of the stakeholders from interviews. The two case studies selected were of flood risk management projects in the South Yorkshire area. Centenary Riverside is a site in Rotherham identified by the Council for flood management following flooding in 2000. The Malin Bridge site flooded in 2007, and was targeted by the Environment Agency for alleviation measures shortly afterwards. These chapters offer the reader an overview of the policy process as understood by the researcher through the stories related by the interviewees and the documents, and are important in allowing the reader to understand the wider story of the sites and how the flood alleviation process fits into that. Chapter 5 describes the process at Centenary Riverside, making use of photographs and diagrams to explain the setting for the research, and Chapter 6 does the same for Malin Bridge.

The three analytical chapters locate the findings of the research more firmly in relation to the aims of the research and the theoretical context discussed in Chapter 2. Chapter 7 explores the interconnected nature of the definition of a site and the identification of stakeholders, and the way this intersects with relationships to place. Chapter 8 then looks at the way in which knowledge and expertise are understood and the way they operate in the processes of governance. Chapter 9 considers the question of relationship to place, looking at the ways in which emotions and collective memory interact in the generation of these relationships.

Chapter 10 draws together the findings of the research. This highlights the theoretical implications of the research, pointing out the gaps identified in the ways that governance and environmental policy are traditionally approached, and the

ways that this research suggests would offer a more useful approach. This leads on to address directly the aim and objectives of the research, and goes on to give some concluding remarks on the deductions of the research and the implications of this. This chapter also suggests ways the research could be taken forwards in the future.

1.5   Clarifications

Throughout the content of this thesis, a variety of terminology is used. Much of this will be defined as it is introduced. However, I feel it is particularly useful to outline what I mean by two particular terms at the outset. The terms 'professional' and 'local' are used throughout as a way to distinguish two groups of stakeholders in the case studies. However, this is not an absolutely clear cut distinction, and not all stakeholders fit neatly into one group or the other, and many in fact fit into both. The terms are in this instance used as shorthand to describe the main form of involvement of the individual(s) in question with the case study site. 'Professionals' are those whose primary motivation for involvement is through their employed capacity – this may or may not mean that they hold professional qualifications or accreditations, but acknowledges that they are generally viewed within the governance process as 'qualified' in some way to perform that role. 'Locals' refers to those whose primary involvement to the decision-making process is through a personal capacity, whether they consider themselves to live locally to the site or not. The distinction between the two in practice is often, it appears, a reflection of the construction of lay knowledge and expertise within the governance process which, as discussed in greater depth in Chapter 2, is a construct grounded in power relations.

Chapter 2: The Governance of Environmental Policy Issues

2.1   Introduction

There are a number of approaches taken to analyses of governance in UK policymaking. In the 1960s and 70s policy making was predominantly seen to be based on scientific 'fact', which led to the development of a rational policy model (Fischer, 2007). Since this time the model of collaborative governance has become more common, and is seen as addressing some of the power and knowledge issues highlighted in critiques of rational policy. Despite its popularity in practice, collaborative governance has also been subject to criticism, particularly from the 'dark-siders' (for example, Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003), and considered by some to be overly optimistic with a 'normative bias towards networks' (Davies, 2011:2). These critiques led to the development of the interpretive policy analysis approach, brought together in the book *Deliberative Policy Analysis* (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). This approach aspires to bring a more nuanced approach to our understandings of policymaking. Through building on the interpretive policy analysis (IPA) approach with the introduction of the concept of relationship to place this chapter aims to develop the theoretical understanding of the way in which policy processes happen, leading to a deeper understanding of the case studies discussed in later chapters. Relationships to place are not widely introduced to discussions of policymaking, but appear to offer another dimension of understanding to the way in which policy processes happen.

2.2   Rational Policy and the Conceptualisation of Knowledge

Environmental governance has typically been founded upon a rational scientific approach to knowledge, resulting in a rational policy model. The rational policy model is based on the notion that policymaking should make use of scientific knowledge to generate progressive, forward-thinking solutions (Andrews, 2007). Science is perceived as offering impersonal, objective answers to the questions that may be posed by policy problems (*ibid*). The rational policy method aims to find

tangible 'problems' that can be solved with technical solutions (Fischer, 2007). However, this approach has some clear flaws. As Andrews points out, "it remains true that only a tiny segment of society produces, communicates, and advocates on behalf of the scientific knowledge used in public decision making." (Andrews, 2007:162). And not only this, but those scientific experts all have their own fields of expertise, and therefore a judgement on which set of knowledge is appropriate for the question to hand becomes necessary (*ibid*). This draws into question the claimed objectivity of scientific knowledge. The main critiques of rational policy therefore identify its power and knowledge relationships as problematic.

Flyvbjerg (1998:2) uses the words of Francis Bacon "knowledge is power" to summarise his perspective that the Enlightenment tradition has led to an attitude that knowledge and rationality are of paramount importance, and it is clear that this is the case in rational policy processes. Pestre (2003:250) states: "that knowledge has always mattered tremendously to states and to economic elites; that most knowledge producers have always been attentive to the interests of those elites; and that science has always directly contributed to, and has been a major resource for, changes in social ideologies." So, this line of thought argues that we cannot see knowledge as a neutral 'truth', but understand that it is necessarily partial. Despite the emphasis on knowledge in rational policy perspectives, there is a need to consider what types of knowledge are being employed. Fischer argues that scientific rationality constructs the boundaries of legitimate argument in ways that disadvantage marginal viewpoints. Only those arguments grounded in scientific reason, as the dominant authority, are considered legitimate (Fischer, 2009), and so therefore emotive and passionate arguments are excluded from the governance process. This is because the problems tackled by environmental policy, such as flood alleviation, are, in this science dominated society, primarily seen as being technical problems, rather than social problems. It is also relevant to note that in scientific practice uncertainties are necessary, and even a good thing, due to the nature of scientific enquiry (Whatmore, 2009). This means that the scientific knowledge that is presented as expert knowledge is likely to have uncertainties that may not be

immediately apparent to other stakeholders, who due to the expert nature of the knowledge produced may treat it is complete and certain.

Owens (2005) argues that much of the available knowledge generated for policy making is ignored by policy-makers, often blamed on time constraints and the inaccessibility of material. She argues instead that the types of research that are seen to be relevant to policy are dictated by technical rationality and power relationships. Technical expertise is granted legitimacy through its scientific authority, but in the examination of policy processes, expertise may in fact be selectively applied to rationalise decisions already made. She suggests instead that power may influence policy to a much greater degree than knowledge, which is deemed to be relevant and brought into the policy process depending on the way in which the problem is framed. The role that knowledge plays in the governance process is therefore less straightforward than rational policy advocates would imply, and it is therefore useful to examine the way in which different types of knowledge are constructed.

In fields of technical decision-making, such as environmental policy, expertise is often distinguished from lay knowledge. Eraut argues that the term expertise has evolved to not only suggest particular knowledge based on experience, but to also encompass a social process of training and a social role as a professional (Eraut, 2005). Frank Fischer states that we live in an 'age of expertise' (Fischer, 2009:1); expertise is highly valued in contemporary society, and in governance processes, expertise tends to be mobilised by professionals for the achievement of outcomes (Healey, 2006). The use of the term expertise seems to hold some judgements of quality and validity of knowledge, and the labelling of someone as an 'expert' confers status. However, Lane *et al*'s study suggests that there are many similarities in the ways that lay knowledge and expertise are established by those holding that knowledge and in the content of the knowledge (Lane *et al*, 2011). Pestre (2003:256) takes the discussion of knowledge and expertise further to argue that "expertise is

not a neutral political entity. The control of expertise is a major political bargaining chip." Fischer's argument supports this assertion, stating that "scientific expertise is not the neutral, objective phenomenon that it has long purported to be" (Fischer, 2009:3). Some radical viewpoints take the position that expertise is simply a form of mystification used to exclude citizens (Fischer, 2009). It is therefore useful to explore whether the distinction between lay knowledge and expertise is in fact a worthwhile one to make.

Scientific knowledge controversies of the 1990s created a lack of public trust in scientific expertise, and this has led to increased questioning of the ability of science to offer solutions to policy problems (Whatmore, 2009). This has led to greater interest in who should be involved in the processes of decision-making, and a greater emphasis on managing the governance process rather than the science (Donaldson *et al*, 2013). Because scientific knowledge is necessarily incomplete to describe real world situations (Lane *et al*, 2011), it is open to contestation, and this happens particularly when the issue is 'hot' according to Callon's distinction (1998, cited in Donaldson *et al*, 2013). 'Hot' processes are controversial and generate high levels of controversy and uncertainty, whereas 'cold' issues which are "more easily framed and resolved" (Donaldson *et al*, 2013:608). 'Hot' issues are likely to attract greater public concern and interest, and therefore greater challenge to the expert knowledge involved.

This is then where the conceptualisation of expertise developed by the field of sociology of scientific knowledge (SSK) is useful; SSK questions whether the knowledge of scientists is of greater value than that of non-experts (Collins and Evans, 2002). Collins and Evans, in their 'Third Wave of Science Studies' (2002) address the boundaries constructed from notions of 'expertise'. They see the 'First Wave' as having maintained the separation between expertise and lay knowledge, with experts' status granting them authority and decisiveness. The following 'Second Wave' brought to light the constructed nature of expertise, and consequently

rejected any boundaries between experts and non-experts. Collins and Evans raise the question "if it is no longer clear that scientists and technologists [i.e. 'experts'] have special access to the truth, why should their advice be specially valued?" (2002:236). Fields of expertise are constructed and given boundaries by criteria that grant them legitimacy and mark the field as distinct from others through, for example, certification or specialist language and acronyms, creating a culture. McNeill points out that "even in disciplines which take pride in not being 'jargon-ridden', communication 'none the less creates what linguists would call its own register – a particular set of favoured terms, sentence structures and logical syntax – which is not easy for an outsider to imitate' (Becher, 1989:24)" (McNeill, 1999:319). Lamont and Molnar expand on the way that education is used to socialise future professionals into these cultures, and this enables the maintenance of boundaries between 'experts' and 'laymen' within the same field of work (Lamont and Molnar, 2002). These boundaries are mobilised in the management of flows of information, preventing those without expertise from making use of this specialised knowledge, and limiting the input of knowledge from those who are not experts (see for example Wynne's study of sheep farming in West Cumbria, near Sellafield, 1992).

Studies of knowledge production and interdisciplinarity tell us that knowledge and expertise exist in distinct and disparate fields (McNeill, 1999), and so if we ignore the particular nature of the separate fields of knowledge production, 'expertise' becomes a generic possession of 'experts'. It is clearly important to know what area a person's expertise falls into; expertise in water quality is very different to expertise in civil engineering, and the two cannot be straightforwardly exchanged for one another. The problem of this is raised by Collins and Evans, who discuss the problem within science of the assumption that scientists have 'referred' expertise that enables them to interact with other areas of science (Collins and Evans, 2002:260). There is no unproblematic way that possession of expertise in one field can directly imply expertise in a separate field.

Collins and Evans take their argument further to contend that expert knowledge should be granted legitimacy (Collins and Evans, 2002), but without denying that the skill can be mastered by those who may not be formally accepted into the category of 'experts'. They define three levels of expertise: no expertise, which is insufficient to act; interactional expertise, which allows for interesting interaction with experts; and contributory expertise, which is sufficient to contribute to the expertise. Collins and Evans understanding of contributory expertise has been criticised as maintaining the elite status of those 'experts' by Rip (2003), as it is the formally recognised experts who decide whether or not those outside this group have valuable contributions to offer to the discussion. He argues that in fact these elite groups of experts may in fact operate as a 'closed-shop' with 'tribal norms' that mean it is only possible to act within these groups in certain ways that maintain conventions (Rip, 2003:422). He argues instead for an approach that addresses real world problems, and understands that in real world instances there may not be an appropriate core-set of experts, due to the interdisciplinary nature of real world problems. He goes on to suggest that it is not possible to be clear at the outset which contributions from outside of the core-set might be relevant and useful, and this is a necessary risk to widening participation in decision-making. This perspective certainly seems to be justifiable in relation to environmental policy, given the range of considerations relevant to environmental concerns. Edwards-Jones (1997) study of the River Valleys project in Scotland identifies 16 organisations initially involved in the River Almond project group, and identifies some of the key issues for consideration as: "water quality, habitat management, fisheries management, river regulation, recreation and access, education, landscape, planning and development, archaeology and built heritage" (Edwards-Jones, 1997:131). As Donaldson *et al* point out "flooding is overflowing with issues that become mobilised by, and in turn mobilise, various forms of expertise" (Donaldson *et al*, 2013:604). We can therefore envisage that the majority of projects of this type will necessitate a wide range of stakeholders and different types of knowledge.

The approach that Collins and Evans take to expertise is as though it were apolitical (Fischer, 2009). This is problematic as the power inequalities within the governance process clearly demonstrate that this is not the case. They pay little attention to the normative values that are of importance to decision-making in the policy sphere, instead equating this with the technical decision-making which exists within the realm of expert fields. This fundamentally misunderstands the nature of the question: "Rather than a need for a theory of contributory expertise in technical decision-making, the task concerns the relationship of technologies to society" (Fischer, 2009:146). These issues are key for ordinary citizens, Fischer argues, and it is as a result of science treating these questions as irrelevant that can lead to disengagement. Decision-making in regard to policy that involves technological information involves cultural reasoning just as much as technical reasoning for citizens, and the apparent trustworthiness of the individuals and organisations involved will have a considerable impact on how technological information is received and acted upon. It is in this sociocultural decision-making that the core-set of experts 'have no privileged role', argues Fischer (2009:154). The arguments of both Rip and Fischer point towards a need for decision-making that reduces the emphasis on the expert, as is suggested by Collins and Evans third wave, and instead develop an interdisciplinary position that utilises a range of knowledges alongside an understanding of their real-world implications.

The social context of decision-making is particularly relevant to issues relating to the environment and technology, Fischer suggests, as locally relevant situations may make technical solutions appropriate or otherwise (2009). Coburn goes further than this in his discussion of local knowledge. He argues that local knowledge can offer "valuable insights for environmental problem solving" as local people use their experiences to identify evidence of the nature of a place or relationships between factors acting on that place (Coburn, 2003:422). Local knowledge rarely conforms to the technical rationality that professional expertise is frequently founded upon, and it is often presented in passionate ways that do not fit with professionals' expectations of the decision-making process. He cites Scott's 1998 study that

concludes "projects often fail because professional planners fail to see the importance of the practical, contextual, and local knowledge that makes planning work" (Coburn, 2003:422). He argues that these hard distinctions between knowledge and expertise are not useful in decision-making processes. This would suggest therefore that an understanding of expertise as one form of legitimate knowledge amongst others (such as lay and local knowledge) is more appropriate in the context of policymaking, and all forms of knowledge can have a useful contribution to the policy process.

It is important to consider the way in which lay knowledge is incorporated however. When local knowledge is incorporated into generic scientific models the framing of the problem is not questioned, and so the models fail to take account of local circumstance and therefore have limited capacity to affect outcomes (Donaldson *et al*, 2013). Lane *et al* describe Callon's three models for the involvement of lay stakeholders in science and technology: The Public Education Model; the Public Debate Model; and the Coproduction of Knowledge Model (Lane *et al*, 2011). The Public Education Model assumes "science is sufficient but the public are deficient" (Lane *et al*, 2011:17), similarly to Collins and Evans 'first wave'. The Public Debate Model creates opportunities for all voices to be heard, but the method of its implementation can retain the power relationships that uphold scientific knowledge as superior, comparable to Collins and Evans 'third wave'. The Coproduction of Knowledge Model bears closest similarity to the 'second wave' concept, and brings together universal knowledge with local knowledge to take account of the value that both bring to the decision-making process. The Coproduction of Knowledge approach was taken by a RELU funded research project, which explored two flood risk cases in Yorkshire and Sussex, and found that the 'slowing down' of reasoning enabled both experts and lay stakeholders to better understand each other's claims to knowledge and work towards solutions that made use of both (Whatmore, 2009). In doing this the team felt that the process had questioned the hegemony of science in the decision-making process, challenging the accepted ways of working, and "unsettling the established positions of institutions and professionals in the

decisionmaking process" (Lane *et al*, 2011:32). These findings support the approach to understanding expertise as a construction and not distinct from other forms of knowledge.

2.3   Seeking Consensus

A move towards more collaborative models of governance came about as a response to some of the criticisms aimed at rational policy making, and this is often referred to as the communicative model or argumentative turn (Fischer, 2003). This has become one of the dominant models within academia, and widely popular in practice. The communicative turn places emphasis on the way in which planning is a social process in which the ways of thinking, valuing and acting of participants are socially constructed (Healey, 2006). Patsy Healey is considered one of the leading theorists in the communicative turn, and her book *Collaborative Planning* describes this theory as "focus[ing] attention on the relational *webs* or networks in which we live our lives" (Healey, 2006:57). As a result, she suggests conflicts regarding planning are cultural conflicts in which different constructions of the issues are at odds with each other, and these are underpinned by power relations. Collaborative approaches offer a potential to change the way that decisions are made through discourse and building links between different standpoints, and the collaborative planning approach seeks to use participatory processes to build consensus, grounded in the idea that this will generate more responsive democratic processes and therefore more effective solutions to identified problems. It promotes discursive processes that allow space for the collaboration of stakeholders and sharing of problems and solutions to create more equitable planning solutions (Healey, 2006).

Fischer argues that what we understand as science in fact needs to be understood 'as a more subtle interaction between physical and social factors' (Fischer, 2003:215). Scientific 'truth' is from this perspective an interpretation of certain

outcomes based on judgements and influenced by many factors, and may be very different to the judgements made using a different rationality. There is some acknowledgement of the way in which non-scientific understandings can be useful in some areas of policy work, particularly environmental policy. The concept of citizens' juries and similar public fora sometimes used in policy-making challenges the primacy of scientific knowledge, suggest Barnes *et al*, as "technical or expert knowledge alone is inadequate to the resolution of policy problems, since the issues such problems raise are also political and ethical" (Barnes *et al*, 2007:36). Fischer argues that conflict between experts and the public is most prominent in environmental politics (Fischer, 2000), and many examples of public outcry in relation to environmental issues can easily be brought to mind – nuclear power or GM crops, for example. In such examples, it is clear that a straightforward acceptance of the dominance of scientific rationality has not been the case. As such, it can be argued that a straightforward rational policy approach is not the most appropriate way to address environmental policy issues, as conflict between experts and public implies that there are differing judgements on the appropriate policy responses to perceived problems due to the different rationalities underlying the interpretations.

The issue of knowledge and expertise arises in collaborative planning, and Healey (2006:29) states that "all forms of knowledge are socially constructed; and that the knowledge of science and the techniques of experts are not as different from 'practical reasoning' as the instrumental rationalists had claimed". The distinction between experts and lay communities is further questioned by the work of Barnes *et al* (2007), who note the conflict between 'expertise' and 'lay knowledge' observed through their empirical work. They challenge the dualistic way these two positions tend to be opposed, stating:

> "We can see how lay members themselves may become 'experts',
> reinforcing institutionally defined norms of engagement and building up their
> own knowledge of bureaucratic practice, funding regimes and power

structures. Sometimes so-called 'lay' publics may bring expertise that may be lacking in public bodies."

(Barnes *et al*, 2007:193)

This undermines the notion that there is a clear distinction that can be drawn between lay knowledge and expertise, and supports an approach that breaks down the boundaries between the two. Whilst collaborative governance touches on the notion of breaking down this distinction, it stops short of doing so; Healey (2006:309) suggests 'a more interactive relationship between experts and the stakeholder communities they serve', and the inclusion of a wider pool of experts in policymaking.

If we therefore consider that all potential stakeholders may be in possession of useful knowledge that may contribute to governance processes, then we begin to problematise some of the notions of 'ignorance' that are put forward as reasons for lack of public participation. It may not necessarily be public ignorance that is to blame for lack of participation, but a general lack of opportunities to become engaged and develop the relevant skills for participation in governance (Fischer, 2009). This may suggest that collaborative governance does not go far enough in breaking down barriers between lay stakeholders and experts, and an examination of collaborative governance in practice may offer more insights into this.

2.3.1 Collaborative Governance in Practice

Environmental governance at all scales seems to be developed and achieved through processes of participation, at least if the rhetoric of policy documents is to be believed. Fischer argues:

"Citizen participation and public deliberation are today fashionable topics in both political theory and the practices of government. Public engagement

has come to be a – some would say "the" – dominant topic in political theory
and has emerged in the theory of governance as a "best practice". In the
world of politics it is more or less *de rigour* [sic] for policy-makers at
minimum to pay lip-service to the importance of participation. Indeed, so
widespread is this emphasis that some writers have now begun to describe
participation as a new bureaucratic instrument for political-administrative
manipulation."

(Fischer, 2009:48)

The acclaim for collaborative governance is based on the premise that the
engagement and collaboration of a range of stakeholders will result in the
achievement of better outcomes that meet the needs of a wider range of interested
parties, and are therefore more sustainable (from social, economic, and
environmental perspectives) (Connelly, 2007). However, the performance of
governance can often differ from the theory, so it is useful to try to identify the ways
in which governance is enacted in practice, in order to explore further what the
shortcomings in normative models and analytical tools might be.

Governance is often described as being 'collaborative' or 'participatory', but what is
meant by this is often unclear. In part, this is down to the language used. There are a
number of terms frequently used in relation to collaborative governance, and in
academia a great deal of time and energy has been employed in establishing exactly
what is meant by these different terms, beginning with Arnstein in 1969, with the
'Ladder of Citizen Participation'. She highlighted the difficulties of working in a field
of 'exacerbated rhetoric and misleading euphemisms' (Arnstein, 1969:216). In
practice the various terms utilised ('partnership', 'participation', 'collaboration', etc)
are used almost interchangeably to refer to all manner of arrangements that offer
different configurations of partners and participants a multiplicity of methods and
levels of engagement with decision-making processes. The attempt by Arnstein to
address this through her 'ladder of citizen participation' (1969) has not broadly been
felt to have resolved the confusion, and the issue is widely observed to continue to

be problematic (Abram, 2000; Thomas, 1996; Cornwall, 2008). Both policy and academic literature employ the various terms participation, partnership, collaboration, community involvement, and engagement (amongst others), and they collectively encompass a range of methods and degrees of inclusion in the processes of governance but, whilst there is a trend towards increasing this type of engagement of individuals and groups, there is a lack of clarity through the language of what is achieved by this. The lack of clarity around ideas of participation and partnership working leaves space for the language to be misappropriated and applied in contexts where it does not belong. Language can mask 'manipulation', 'therapy' or 'informing' for instance (to take Arnstein's meaning of these terms (1969:217)).

Eight rungs on a ladder of citizen participation	
Citizen control	Degrees of citizen power
Delegated power	
Partnership	
Placation	Degrees of tokenism
Consultation	
Informing	
Therapy	Nonparticipation
Manipulation	

(Arnstein, 1969:217)

Lowndes and Sullivan (2004) discuss the way in which participation and partnership have developed together, and partnerships are seen in practice as working to achieve enhanced public participation. They suggest that partnership working is seen to offer increased efficiency, integration and accountability, and it rose in popularity under the New Labour Government to 'join-up' working practices, as a response to the fragmentation of responsibilities initiated by the previous Conservative leadership. The post-2010 Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition

government also favour local level governance, but through decentralisation and the 'Big Society', emphasised heavily in the Conservatives campaign of 2010 (Smith and Wistrich, 2012). This has been followed by clear intentions to decentralise governance, including the Localism Act 2011. It has been suggested that this is a move towards participatory governance at local level, but for others it is a threat to democratic authorities with closer ties to Thatcherite models (Smith and Wistrich, 2012). The rhetoric that surrounds the culture of partnership working is often optimistic in its view of what can be achieved, grounded in the belief that collaborative governance is necessarily the most effective model. However, in practice these ideological notions do not necessarily come to fruition; greater effective participation of stakeholders in the processes of policy is not always achieved. This may in part be attributed to, as Cornwall (2008) suggests, the lack of clarity around the use of this term. However, it is apparent that even with clear and specified terminology, there would still be great diversity in practice.

Lowndes and Sullivan use the broad distinction between processes involving agencies and organisations (partnerships) and those involving the wider public (participation), although they suggest various ways in which these two concepts overlap (2004). However, it is clear that in the practice of collaborative governance, this distinction becomes less marked. In policy and the management of water the requirement for participation or engagement is referred to at all levels of policy making from the international (the Water Framework Directive (WFD) for example - Directive 2000/60/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 October 2000) to the very local (in Environment Agency proposals for site level works). In practice this appears to be entangled with the requirements for partnership working. Carter and Howe's study of the WFD and the Ribble pilot project (2006) suggests that the term 'stakeholder' tends to overlap both partnerships and public participation (Carter and Howe, 2006). This appears to be common to many examples of collaborative governance (see Edwards-Jones description of the River Valleys project (1997), and Medd and Marvin's discussion of the Mersey Basin catchment (2008)).

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Skelcher *et al* suggest that in practice collaborative governance has been effectively driven by needs to implement policy rather than democratic legitimation, and the nature of the composition of collaboration is such that elements of various organisations with varied governance structures are incorporated together in a fluid arrangement (Skelcher *et al*, 2005), particularly the case under the 1997 Labour government. This has been justified through the redefinition of the process as a practical means of assisting decision-making through the employment of knowledge and expertise rather than an actual change to the process of decision-making itself – "motivated less by a logic of appropriateness than by a logic of consequentiality" (Skelcher *et al*, 2005:590). This model is in conflict with the normative stance of the communicative turn, which has a much greater focus on participatory approaches as ways of valuing inclusivity and increasing equality for less advantaged groups (Skelcher *et al*, 2005).

Skelcher *et al* (2005:573) state that "partnerships are organisational manifestations of institutional design for collaboration." In this statement, Skelcher *et al* seem to suggest that partnerships and participation are the way to achieve the 'goal' of effective collaboration, where collaboration can be considered to be a process that gives all partners power. This implies the sharing or transferral of authority to partners with less power, creating processes that are less unbalanced. However, in practice this may not necessarily be felt to be the case by those collaborating:

> "It doesn't necessarily mean that if you have a piece of paper that says you're a partnership then you are. You've got to get on with the reality of partnership."

(quote from a local authority officer, Lowndes and Skelcher 1998, cited in Lowndes and Sullivan, 2004:66)

The language of partnership here is used to mask the 'significant power differentials' that exist in these processes (Skelcher *et al*, 2005:578). Atkinson's findings support this argument:

> "the mere existence of an official discourse advocating empowerment and partnership is no guarantee that it will actually be translated into practice in an unmediated fashion or that the intention of such a discourse is *genuinely* to empower communities through participation in urban regeneration partnerships."

> (Atkinson, 1999:60)

Lowndes and Sullivan draw attention to the problems that community representatives face in collaborative governance with regard to their lack of empowerment. Whilst partners and participants in a process might be seen to be equal, the difference in resources, technical knowledge, confidence and negotiation skills available to community representatives means that their role may effectively be little more than tokenistic (Lowndes and Sullivan, 2004). Atkinson suggests that terms such as partnership and empowerment are constructed by the discourses of the processes, and exist within "a context of power and domination" (Atkinson, 1999:59), which frequently means that some individuals and groups are actually disadvantaged by those discourses that claim to empower (Atkinson, 1999). What instead happens is that their input is used to "enhance the effectiveness of regeneration programmes under the headings: better decision-making, more effective programme delivery and sustainability of regeneration programmes" (Atkinson, 1999:65). This is a scenario that is echoed in the findings of Lowndes and Sullivan (2004). They state that those who are advantaged by arrangements as they exist will do what they can to maintain those arrangements, and when there is a change in the modes of governance, they will try to ensure that the old ways of working prevail despite new partnership structures. This effectively leaves these structures as existing in little more than a new rhetoric of participation.

In addition to the role of expertise, power has been argued to be one of the key driving forces within governance processes (Barnes *et al*, 2007). Those who are able to exercise power have advantageous resources within participatory processes, and even at the prior stages of the design of the process: beforehand power can be employed in the establishment of the aims and objectives of the process, the extension of invitations and in framing the options for discussion; during the process power can manipulate which options are discussed, whose voices are heard in the process, and what is considered to be possible. This can work to the detriment of those in possession of less power and those unrecognised forms of expertise, such as 'lay knowledge', whose contribution is, to a much greater extent, controlled by the hegemonic discourses within the process (Lukes, 2005; Barnes *et al*, 2003; Millward, 2005).

2.4 The Dark Side and Interpretive Policy Analysis

A number of criticisms aimed at collaborative planning and the communicative turn have come from the 'dark-side' of planning theory (Flyvbjerg, 1996; Flyvbjerg and Richardson, 2002; Huxley and Yiftachel, 2000; Richardson and Connelly, 2005). The 'dark siders' argue that the communicative turn is problematic because it does not adequately deal with the way that power impacts on planning, and in fact stands in the way of an understanding of this (Flyvbjerg and Richardson, 2002). This critique has led to the development of the interpretive or deliberative policy analysis school of thought.

The premise of the 'communicative turn' is criticised by Huxley and Yiftachel, who argue the approach privileges communication at the expense of the social and economic aspects of place-making (2000). Collaborative planning can also be criticised for its understanding of planning practice and the potential capacity of planning processes. Huxley and Yiftachel (2000:334) argue that there is an inherent

assumption that the 'right' decision-making process will achieve 'its emancipatory potential'; there is little separation within the theory of collaborative planning between the theory and the normative ideals of practice it is proposing. The theory privileges the planner as able to make judgements about what is best for others, as they themselves hold a 'neutral' position within a collaborative planning process and can therefore balance the views of others objectively (Huxley, 2000). Planners are "blessed with unusual reflexivity and insight into the constraints on their own and other people's understandings and actions" (Huxley 2000:376). As such, collaborative planning is extremely normative, and offers an idealised view of the production of knowledge through governance processes.

Richardson and Connelly are pessimistic of the claims to consensus made by collaborative planning. They state that "the twin beliefs that conflicts between interests are resolvable and that mutual agreement on outcomes may be reached, and moreover that such consensus is a desirable normative principle, lie at the heart of the new participative approach to planning" (Richardson and Connelly, 2005:88). They argue that the communicative turn hangs on the notion of consensus and agreement (as opposed to the need for conflict perceived in participatory movements in the 1960s), and that is dangerous. Theorists of the communicative turn themselves acknowledge that consensus is not always possible, and this therefore undermines the key objective of this model of governance, leaving us either with the traditional involvement of consultation which informs decision-makers, or collaboration as a smokescreen to neutralise conflict (Richardson and Connelly, 2005). Collaborative planning is seen as an attempt to remove the influence of power from the governance process in a way that does not question the key issue of the quality of participation. Richardson and Connelly argue that a broad solution to such issues as consensus building and exclusion of people, issues and outcomes is not possible, and that a more nuanced and situated approach is what is required. This suggests therefore that collaborative planning is not the most useful way in which to approach an understanding of policy processes, and as such my approach to the case studies in this thesis will take a different approach.

Hajer and Wagenaar suggest that the development of the interpretive approach to governance is in itself a response to the changing nature of governance (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). It reflects the way that political practices now frequently depend on fluid informal arrangements of governance rather than the previous formalised institutions of government. This does not mean that the modern practices of governance are free from the previous positivist underpinnings; in fact the positivist attitude to knowledge is deeply rooted in governance.

The interpretive approach focuses on 'meanings that shape actions and institutions, and the ways in which they do so' (Bevir and Rhodes, 2004:130, cited in Wagenaar, 2011:3). So the way in which individuals involved in the policy process understand the situation and the context of that situation, and the meanings that are attributed to different features, impacts on the way that they approach the situation. Fischer discusses the way that problems can be framed in different ways (so for example, we might talk of bad weather, climate change or global warming when referring to the same phenomena), and these different framings lead to different policy implications, as they generate different kinds of understandings (Fischer, 2009). The interpretive approach therefore concentrates on the way in which policymaking is manifest, rather than simply examining its outcomes (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003).

However, I want to argue that there is yet more to be considered here. Interpretive policy analysis offers a more in-depth qualitative understanding of the governance process than those approaches outlined previously in this chapter, but I believe that there is more to be gained by using this. Interpretive policy analysis frequently overlooks the consequences of relationships to place, as does the majority of policy analysis, as though the attributes of place and locality are of little consequence (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). The absence of place awareness within policy analysis is of critical importance, I would argue, and in particular for environmental policy

concerns (explored further in section 2.6). If we can add certain other concepts to the interpretive approach to policy analysis to reflect the importance of place, we can develop a deeper understanding of the ways that governance works in practice, and therefore seek further ways to reduce inequalities within these processes. Before moving on to do this however, it is important to first discuss how power is to be understood.

2.5   Power

Power is clearly important to our understandings of governance and policy processes, and appears as a central factor in all of the theories discussed here. However, power can be understood in a number of different ways, and the approach to power taken will clearly impact on our understanding. Many interpretive policy analysis theorists make use of Foucault's understanding of power. Foucault has produced a great deal of work on power, and particularly the relationship between power and knowledge, exploring how power can create and maintain inequalities and oppression (McNay, 1994). Foucault sees power as relational, employed and exercised but never held in one place (McNay, 1994), power exists through the social matrix itself (Couzens Hoy, 1986). Rather than being exercised over a person, power is exercised 'in the effect of one action on another action' (Couzens Hoy, 1986:135). Power is the way in which norms are maintained through society and acts to regulate the behaviour of individuals (McNay, 1994).

Whilst this model of power is clearly useful in many ways, I believe that Lukes' conceptualisation of power may offer a beneficial approach for the purposes of my study, as it characterises power as operating in three different dimensions. Lukes (2005) argues for a three-dimensional view of power, rather than the one- or two-dimensional views put forward by pluralists and their critics respectively. The first of these dimensions is explicitly observable in the concrete outcomes of decision-

making. This occurs when interests are made clear, and there is conflict between contrasting interests. The second dimension of power can be much less overt, as it is the ability to influence the process in which decisions are to be discussed and made, and may therefore not become visible through conflict. In fact, the use of this power to frame the discussion may preclude any conflict through the limitations it imposes on potential scope. He cites Bachrach and Baratz's (1962) claim that this type of power can be observed through the failed attempts of some actors or groups to be heard within a decision-making process (Lukes, 2005:24). Lukes' addition to these two dimensions is his third-dimension; "the socially structured and culturally patterned behaviour of groups, and practices of institutions, which may indeed be manifested by individuals' inaction" that serves to sustain the biases of the system (Lukes, 2005:26). In this conceptualisation, power may be action or inaction, it may be or may not be conscious, and it may be exercised by individuals, or collectivities (groups or institutions).

Mayo and Taylor (2001) use Lukes' three dimensions in their examination of regeneration partnerships, a collaborative policy context. They characterised the first dimension as being the power to make decisions. The second dimension of power can be seen in the ways that the agendas for partnerships are established, particularly with respect to the issues to be discussed, the time frames for action, and the resources with which to act.

> "Governments can also define certain policy solutions (such as policies involving significant increases in public spending) as off-limits, professionals can control the agendas of users of their services, and private sector developers can refuse to consider the possibility of less profitable land-use planning options for key development sites."

> (Mayo and Taylor, 2001:41)

The third dimension, they argue, is the power to manage the context in which decision-making processes exist. They state: "it enshrines the 'common-sense'

assumptions which tend to go unchallenged. And this dimension of power can define particular issues and agendas as beyond the realms of the possible or even the desirable" (*ibid*). Connelly further suggests that these hegemonic third levels of power can be manifest at the local level as well as at the wider national level (Connelly, 2006).

In contrast to Foucault's conceptualisation of power as relational, Lukes draws a distinction between having the means of power and actually being powerful, so by observing the exercise of power or the resources of power may indicate the existence of power, but "power is a capacity, and not the exercise or vehicle of that capacity" (Lukes, 2005:70). The different conceptualisations of power can each be useful in exploring the operations of governance and policy-making in different ways. In this study, the dimensions of power, as conceptualised by Lukes are particularly useful for understanding why things may happen in certain ways that may appear counter-intuitive. In this exploration of governance, power is understood to be something which is held by different individuals within a governance process. It is not fixed in the relationships between actors or individuals, but can (and does) move over time, in relation to different factors and influences. It is a capacity rather than a relationship, and as underlying hegemonic cultures change over time, so power is moved from one actor or individual to another. Power is related to resources and capital, but does not directly equate to these. It is also tied to value assumptions, which determine the way in which it is exercised (Lukes, 2005). Power can be manifest in a range of forms, including coercion, influence, authority, force and manipulation. However, the facility for power does not necessarily equate to the exercise of power; it is a capacity rather than the performance of that capacity. These features of power are expressed over the three dimensions he outlines, so in relation to a collaborative process these are, in essence, the power to compel people to behave in a certain way within the collaborative process, the power to frame the process itself within which any collaboration takes place, and the power to impose the wider hegemonic views within which the collaborative process exists.

Through using Lukes' framework of power my research should allow for an understanding of power that encompasses both structure and agency, therefore allowing for an approach that enhances our insight into the way that other factors interact with one another in the decision-making process (such as knowledge and relationships to place). It is not my intention to explicitly focus on the construction and role of power, however, as this has been given a great deal of attention in many other works in this field.

2.6   Place

Policy analysis has traditionally tended to disregard the importance of place (Manzo and Perkins, 2006); place has frequently been given little or no mention in theoretical work, sites in empirical studies are anonymised, and the complexities of dealing with an actual, physical site are brushed over. However, the nature and qualities of a particular locality are likely to have an impact on the way that governance processes come to bear on the site, not least because of the physical differences between places. Lewicka (2011) discusses the increased consideration to place attachment in a variety of academic fields across the social sciences over the past forty years, with a considerable increase since 2000. However, her findings suggest that, despite an increasing trend to incorporate place attachment, academic work in this area is often lacking in theory. This section explores further the literature on place and the way in which theory of place may be of use within interpretive policy analysis.

When studying governance processes that relate to issues of localities, a factor that needs to be taken into account is the relationships that people have to that locality as a place. 'Place' differs from 'space' in that it is an identifiable locality with particular features, rather than a non-specific 'space'. Manzo and Perkins (2006:336)

highlight the role that an understanding of place meaning and place attachment has started to play in planning processes. They draw together evidence that suggests place attachment is important in engaging people with their local community, and that this has an impact on the wider community. However the way in which place attachment affects the way that people engage with governance processes is less clear, frequently with conflicting or opposing viewpoints, and this is something they suggest requires further investigation. Devine-Wright, in his discussion of place attachment and scales of policy working in relation to climate change, discusses many studies where place attachment have resulted in stakeholder behaviour seen as surprising in governance processes (Devine-Wright, 2013). This suggests that, although the incorporation of place attachment is increasing across academia, there is still work to be done theoretically to develop our understandings of the bearing this has on policy processes.

Within a process of governance (and the evaluation of that process) Wilks-Heeg (2003:216) states that "public officials, researchers and evaluators rely almost universally on relatively narrow professional paradigms when seeking to understand localities". This tends to overlook the way that places are experienced by those who make day-to-day use of them, and therefore tends to overlook the diversity of interests in a site. This is problematic, according to Widdowfield, because:

> "the more positive aspects of a community may not be uncovered in research projects which often consist of researchers going into an area, engaging with the people who live there for a relatively short period of time and then leaving. Such limited engagement may lead to a tendency to accentuate the negative"

> (Widdowfield, 2000:202).

An analysis that takes account of all stakeholders should explore the ways that the site is meaningful to them. This may be complex to assess, as is suggested by

empirical work from Kakoyannis and Stankey (2002), which indicates that there are significant relationships to particular places that are developed as a result of involvement with a place. In their study of the use of sites for leisure they state that:

> "Sites that hold special place meanings for recreationists are often irreplaceable, and therefore, the existence of strong place attachments often is sufficient to mobilize people into challenging management decisions perceived as harmful to a valued location."

(Kakoyannis and Stankey, 2002:32).

They argue that these "place-based sentiments" are often overlooked in the management of sites, and Widdowfield expresses concern about the reliance on outsider, top-down perspectives when making policy prescriptions for a place (Widdowfield, 2000). In the case of river sites, the risk of excluding stakeholder concerns is magnified by the difficulties of identifying stakeholders, as they may engage with the space in ways other than those typically defined for a stakeholder; for example, a fisherman may only visit a site on a few occasions throughout the course of a typical year, but may revisit the same site over decades, travelling some distance to do so, and developing over that time a relationship with the site and a great deal of knowledge in relation to it. Blatter *et al* (2001) suggest that water can also serve as the mechanism to unite groups of people through their interest in certain sports and leisure activities across boundaries of space, giving these groups a distinctive identity. For these groups, water for sports and leisure activities behaves as a product or commodity, as it is "imbued with symbolic values, water has been reimagined as an indicator of taste and lifestyle" (Blatter *et al*, 2001: 43). As such, river sites can be anticipated to be important to stakeholders for a number of reasons just in relation to their use for leisure. This would imply that there will also be copious further sentiments and values attached to rivers on the basis of living and/or working in the area, or perhaps other, less obvious relationships with that place. Conradson states that "for many people in the western world, spending time in scenic natural surroundings is a valued counterpoint to the demands of work and home life" (2005:103). Whilst for many it will be the proximity to their home that is

a key tie to the place in question, the natural environment, such as a river, can be an attraction to those from outside of the immediate area. It may be that the basis for these different relationships to place results in different expectations and hopes of and for that place, and therefore different engagement with decision-making processes. Clearly this may cause difficulties for governance processes, resulting in conflicting ideas of a place, and of ways forwards for that place, and perhaps also resulting in different ways of expressing those views within a governance process (engagement or objection).

Collins and Kearns describe the ways that strong emotional connections to place are built up not only by individuals, but potentially over generations, and can be a way in which cumulative local environmental knowledge is built (Collins and Kearns, 2010). Relationship to place is therefore a way in which people can develop local knowledge, which can offer useful contributions to governance processes: "Local knowledge is often acquired through life experience and is mediated through cultural tradition. Practitioners of local knowledge make explicit their reliance on evidence from time-honoured traditions, intuition, images, pictures, oral storytelling or narratives, as well as visual demonstrations such as street theater (sic)" (Coburn, 2003:421).

Place-protective action by communities is often interpreted to be NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) (Collins and Kearns, 2010). This is the assumption that communities are protectionist and concerned only with what is in their personal interests (Devine-Wright, 2009), and object to proposals primarily because they are proposed to be in their own 'back yard' (Cass and Walker, 2009). The attitude frequently taken to NIMBYs is to assume that they do not have full knowledge or lack understanding of the situation, which could be remedied with facts (Devine-Wright, 2009). Collins and Kearns suggest that this pejorative term is inaccurate, and these actions are more often a reflection of the affective bonds between people and place (Collins and Kearns, 2010). Devine-Wright argues that place attachment is "a positive emotional

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connection with familiar locations such as home or neighbourhoods" (Devine-Wright, 2009:427). A threat to the place can produce very emotional responses and a sense of displacement (Devine-Wright, 2009:). This suggests a connection between relationship to place and the understandings of knowledge and expertise examined in section 2.2. Cass and Walker put forward the suggestion that NIMBY arguments are primarily emotional, and it is because emotional arguments are inherently not grounded in rationality that they are problematic (Cass and Walker, 2009). They cite Davies (1999) finding that intangible and aesthetic values contributed by the community were rejected by planning officers as irrational; "instead expertise based in scientific and economic rationalities dominates their representation of the issues at stake, with administrative processes structured around accessing and reproducing such expertise and rejecting other forms of knowledge and logic" (Cass and Walker, 2009:64). Devine-Wright's (2013) findings in relation to place attachment at much greater scales implies that the reduction of place attachment and emotional relationships to place to NIMBYism is an oversimplification of place attachment, and it seems clear that there are a number of elements to place attachment that require further investigation.

Scannell and Gifford (2010) suggest there are three dimensions to place attachment: the person dimension, the psychological dimension and the place dimension. Through a closer examination of relationships to place in my case studies I intend to expand on the components of these attachments and their relationships to other concepts. This will explore the way in which stakeholders identify themselves (whether they feel an attachment to place), how that place attachment is developed, and what it is about the place they feel an attachment to. This should therefore enable a better understanding of how and why stakeholders behave in the ways that they do within decision-making processes. This approach will facilitate a broader understanding of the way that place acts as an important dimension to the way in which decision-making happens in relation to particular sites.

2.7   Conclusion

This chapter discussed the ways in which governance has been theorised and conducted within the UK over recent decades. Rational planning has been shown to have a number of drawbacks, particularly in relation to the way that it treats stakeholders as a result of the way knowledge and expertise are constructed as separate and exclusive. The currently popular collaborative planning model also has drawbacks in the normative way in which it fails to acknowledge power relationships adequately. Collaborative governance suggests that power inequalities can be balanced through collaborative approaches, but this argument is refuted by many others. It is clear that however far collaborative approaches are able to balance questions of power, these cannot be entirely removed from the process. Interpretive policy analysis offers us a model which takes account of the nuances of meaning and action within governance processes to develop a better understanding. However there may also be further issues that ought to be taken into consideration when analysing environmental policy processes. The nature of place, and relationship to place, is of significance to the way in which stakeholders relate to sites of environmental governance. By taking account of this in analysis we can offer a more rounded understanding of governance processes, and also perhaps assist in seeking more equitable and just processes and outcomes. My research will explore the motivations and actions of stakeholders within two cases of environmental decision-making – processes of change to flood-hit river corridors – to explore what can be learnt from these, and thus elaborate a much richer picture of environmental governance processes more generally.

Chapter 3: Context of the Research

3.1   Introduction

There are a number of elements to the context of this research, and given the importance of the way in which the research is situated in the understandings that are produced from it, it is important that the context is clear. This chapter begins by outlining the way in which the scale of the case studies has been chosen, looking at a number of other studies and the way in which scale has impacted on the study. The chapter then moves on to give some explanation of the locality in which the research is situated, and the historic role that rivers play within this setting, and moves forward to explore the way in which the river network has more recently been managed and invested in. I then move on to describe the context of policy that has been put in place to guide the management and governance of rivers, and the agencies and organisations responsible for this. The chapter finishes by looking at some of the issues affecting governance at site level, and the way in which this impacts on the context of river governance. These generate a framework in which the case studies are situated, and as such aid the understanding of these.

3.2   Site and Scale

Chapter 2 discussed the theoretical underpinnings of the issues to be explored through the case studies. The inclusion of place considerations then raises further questions in how we identify site and scale. River governance and management processes occur at a range of scales, due to the nature of rivers themselves, which refuse to be neatly constrained by the spaces of political and democratic processes. Buller raises the issue of the mismatch between territorial units and the physical spaces of river basins and catchments, and the spatial geography of policy-making structures and institutions, and the ways that these serve to add complication to both the processes of managing these, and for the researcher in ascertaining what scale is appropriate for research (Buller, 1996). A key element to this complexity is that the decisions and actions occur at the different scales simultaneously, and

different actors and processes are involved at these different scales. Adding further complexity to this is the way that politically and administratively separate policy fields interact and overlap with the areas of river governance. Correspondingly, there are issues in trying to study river management work at any scale if this is taken in isolation; any study must take into account the intersecting scales and where boundaries are located. This section examines some of the studies of water governance from both the UK and wider contexts to explore the ways in which the choice of scale can impact on the outcomes of the study, and which informed the selection of an appropriate scale for my own cases. In choosing a scale at which to study the issues is also an implicit decision to 'cut out' other scales for consideration, unless a way can be found to address the issues of scale as they apply to a place, rather than a bounded site.

Much of the empirical work available on river governance in England is defined by the scale and boundaries of its object of study: Newson and Chalk's (2004) study of the Upper Wharfedale 'Best Practice' Project is defined by the scope of that project; Carter and Howe's (2006) study of the Ribble European pilot river basin network works at the scale of the Ribble catchment defined by the project; and Edwards-Jones (1997) assessment of the River Valley project in Scotland deals with the project at the scale identified by the project it studies. Whilst this approach is effective in exploring a particular project, it does little to assess its relationships in scale and boundaries to other features with which it interacts. This creates a risk of overlooking stakeholders who were not a part of the project that is being studied, and therefore giving no indication of the views of those outside of the governance process, as well as neglecting the interactions of the site with surrounding areas.

Carter's paper (2007) draws on ten case studies across five European countries, compiled as part of the ENMaR project (European Network of Municipalities and Rivers) to assess the impact of the WFD on spatial planning. The breadth of these case studies is used to show that there are common features emerging across

Europe, which Carter attributes to the WFD. This approach highlights some of the difficulties of working with policy at different scales, both for the practitioner and the researcher:

> "This study has identified that direct links between the WFD and municipal level spatial planning approaches are rare, and that the challenges faced by planners when attempting to take genuine steps towards promoting sustainable water management are great."

(Carter, 2007:341)

A number of studies on water management have emerged from the Dutch context, where the issue is considered of high concern (Wolsink, 2006). This increased level of interest and concern means that the literature from the Netherlands reflects a much more complex situation, both with regard to policy and to stakeholders and agencies engaged in the processes than is often found in the UK, perhaps because stakeholder participation in decision-making processes has a longer history in the Netherlands as well (see Enserink and Monnikhof, 2003). A similar approach to those used by Wolsink, Enserink and Monnikhof is taken in McEwen and Jones (2010) study of the Gloucestershire floods of 2007, which discusses the opportunities to link local knowledge and policy at strategic and national scales.

Studies of environmental governance in water contexts are generally conducted in an effort to explore better ways of working in practice, so it is beneficial to consider the ways that different approaches to studying water governance can infer suggested changes to governance. Various studies have resulted in suggested changes to the way in which water governance is carried out. Wolsink (2006) argues that what is needed is a move away from centralised government approaches to new forms of governance, so that the approach is integrated across the water system rather than addressed disparately in various settings. This may therefore in turn suggest that we should research these types of environmental issues in ways that cut across boundaries and integrate systems. In contrast to this, White and Howe's work in British settings leads them to argue that "One of the major problems

preventing flood-orientated development control is that there are no real tools in place to successfully enforce an anti-flood strategy over the catchment basin, as there are usually a number of local and regional planning authorities covering such an area." (White and Howe, 2002:740). This may then imply that catchment basins are too large an area for a single policy to be effective. Newson and Chalk also make the point that "the operational size for catchment-based participation is that of the community's interest and, in turn, that of the perceived problem or opportunity for change" (Newson and Chalk, 2004:902). This is not necessarily contradictory to the commonly held view (attributed to Newson, amongst others) that "effective river channel management must be holistic at the catchment scale" (McDonald *et al*, 2004:257), but raises questions about whether decisions can be taken only at the level of river channels or catchments. McDonald *et al* propose that:

> "It is often only the 'local catchment' scale that can engage stakeholders and communities such that 'neighbourhood catchments' (Carroll *et al.* 2002) may be the only socially meaningful scale of restoration."

> (McDonald *et al*, 2004:278)

It can be argued therefore that there is a strong rationale to examine governance in relation to water policy at local level, as this is the level at which communities tend to identify themselves most strongly and at which they are likely to be able to participate most effectively in governance processes. Nevertheless, at smaller scales policy may not be well integrated across the breadth of a catchment, leading to inconsistencies in the actions at different points within the catchment. As such, neither approach in isolation is appropriate to address or examine the issues of water management.

This then has implications for both the scale at which policy should operate, and the scale at which research should be conducted; it is perhaps not advisable that one should precisely follow the other. The scale at which policy operates cannot be unproblematically considered to be appropriate, and there is a role for evaluation of

the policy work to question the appropriateness of the boundaries that have been defined. This can be related to the argument evident in the literature that suggests a less clear definition of the space and scale of decision-making could be helpful. Rhoades argues:

> "The assumption that a precisely defined geophysical unit also serves as a socio-political or economic unit for planning and management is clearly flawed. Watersheds as closed human management units are external bureaucratic or researcher fantasies, not indigenous ones."

> (Rhoades, 1998:5, cited in Newson and Chalk, 2004:902)

A useful study on the issue of scales and boundaries is that by Medd and Marvin (2008), which considers the Ribble pilot in the North West of England. They describe the way that the boundaries of the various 'regional' bodies involved are drawn differently to create 'nested' multiple spaces. This makes it difficult to identify the way in which the different 'levels' of policy operate, and where and how different stakeholders can and are expected to become engaged. This is because these different levels of policy making are in themselves influenced by other scales of policy, but not in a straightforwardly 'top-down' way because of the discrepancy in the drawing of boundaries. This in turn creates implications for the scales and boundaries for any research conducted in the field of water governance. This offers a useful understanding of space as 'fluid' with hazy boundaries and work occurring across these. Medd and Marvin's study notes that local identity has been a feature of successful projects, and the understanding of issues at local level is important to mediate the successful implementation of policy.

The issues of scale highlighted in this section suggest that any scale at which the processes are examined must take into consideration the interaction of that scale with other scales of working. To address this complexity through an empirical study my research endeavours to think of the space as being clearly, but not strictly, defined: In other words, to consider a specified site but with the understanding that

policy and stakeholders may see that site in different ways, with different boundaries and as a component of different scales. River management happens at a range of scales, all of which interact, and as such it is necessary to select an appropriate scale at which to study these processes. Given that empirical research into water governance suggests that it is at the local scale that stakeholders find river management meaningful (for example, McDonald *et al*, 2004), and Collins and Evans (2002) suggest that it is at this scale that local knowledge and 'lay expertise' are likely to be found, there is a clear rationale for this study of the governance processes to take place at a neighbourhood or local scale. This is also the scale at which river management tends to be funded (Eden and Tunstall, 2006), meaning that this will be a scale at which activity can be clearly identified. It is at this scale that it is possible to identify the issues of stakeholder exclusion, the ways that voices are marginalised in the processes, and the way that emotions interplay with expertise and knowledge, that is of interest. Empirical work on this subject warns against creating rigid boundaries for the study whatever its scale however (Medd and Marvin, 2008). Therefore the case study sites are identified by their names, allowing stakeholders to give their own interpretation to the boundaries.

3.3   Governance at Site Level

Governance at the site level is subject to policy and direction from a number of scales and with a variety of purposes. River sites have potential to interact with a range of other policy arenas, and have the potential to be affected by policy changes in many of these (for example, changes to legislation around land drainage may have impacts on rivers). However, certain policy directions will have a much stronger impact on the way in which governance at site level occurs. Of particular influence during the course of my fieldwork were two Government White Papers from the Department of Communities and Local Government (DCLG): *Strong & Prosperous Communities* (2006), and *Communities in Control – Real Power, Real People* (2008a). These reflected the popular discourse of partnership working that incorporated community involvement in the policy agenda popularised under the New Labour

administration (Imrie and Raco, 2003). Both of these emphasise the value the previous Government placed on participation of communities in governance, community activism, and decision-making at neighbourhood level. The implementation of these strategies at local authority level is a feature in what Hajer and Wagenaar (2003:4) would describe as an existing reality of a 'network society'. These White Papers are characteristic of a subtle shift in these networks, which create gradual shifts in the governance of localities (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). These policies particularly promoted citizen involvement in local decision-making. Although clearly this is more compatible with the site-scale level of working than larger scale approaches to governance, it is not necessarily entirely compatible, given the way that stakeholders may define themselves as interested in a site that is not necessarily seen as 'local' to them. Organisations working at the local level (such as neighbourhood forums, 'friends' groups, or communities of interest), particularly those in the voluntary and community sector, may also struggle to work within the spaces of determined 'neighbourhood' scales if they do not directly overlap with their own spaces of operation.

Since the completion of my case studies the policy arena surrounding local governance has changed again, with the General Election of May 2010 bringing a change of government to the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition. This led to the introduction of two key changes in policy as a part of the coalition's 'Big Society' agenda: the '*Local growth: realising every place's potential*' White Paper in October 2010 (HM Government, 2010b); and the *Localism Act* of 2011 (DCLG, 2011). This was followed by the '*Neighbourhood Planning Regulations*' in 2012 (DCLG, 2012a), aspiring to give people more control over development in their local area. These emphasise decentralisation and a shift of power to local communities, which should continue to place emphasis on localised governance and increase the control of resources at this level. The changes in legislation will impact on the way that similar processes happen in the future, and need to be given consideration in the conclusions of this thesis.

The landscape of organisations, agencies and structures through which communities are engaged and which both participate and collaborate in decision-making and governance processes is complex. It is a fast changing environment that encompasses a wide range of concerns that is not clearly mapped out and varies considerably between different localities, making it almost impossible to characterise in a way reflective of a 'typical' network. In the majority of localities, there will normally be a range of statutory organisations, formal government structures, and a diverse assortment of community and voluntary sector organisations with varying levels of formality. The scales at which these organisations and institutions operate can also vary widely, and the spatial boundaries which they work within can change significantly over time, and may be very informal or may be firmly drawn, perhaps for legislative or financial reasons. The boundaries of scope of both organisations and government institutions may be equally unclear, and may in fact be defined to a large extent on an issue by issue basis. This is a common situation across Britain; there were 162,000 voluntary sector organisations in the UK in 2013 (Skills Effect, 2014), and the Council for Voluntary Services in Sheffield (Voluntary Action Sheffield) report working with over 900 voluntary and community organisations and charities each year in the city (Voluntary Action Sheffield, 2014).

In this complex setting, the already fragile distinction between participation and collaboration becomes less clear. The various types of organisation involve representatives of other bodies and agencies, leading to a complex network of employees and volunteers (including community and voluntary sector employees, council employees, elected representatives, and informally recruited community members) acting as participants in governance processes, or standing as partners representing their organisations in collaborative processes. Skidmore *et al* (2006) illustrates the way that one participating individual plays multiple roles in different governance processes, often as a consequence of their role in other schemes. This

highlights the issue raised in Chapter 2 of the complex nature of identifying stakeholders and identifying clearly the capacity in which they are participating.

3.4   The Locality

As a part of the URSULA project, my research correspondingly takes Sheffield and the surrounding area as its setting (see Figures 1 and 2). As a setting in which to examine the governance processes around rivers, South Yorkshire is a useful one, as it is neither exceptional nor outstanding. Sheffield reflects the values that Robinson (2006) puts forward as important for the understanding of all cities as 'ordinary cities', and this 'ordinariness' can be attributed to the region as a whole.

Figure 1: The Sheffield and Rotherham region (Photo courtesy of Google Maps ©2011 Google)
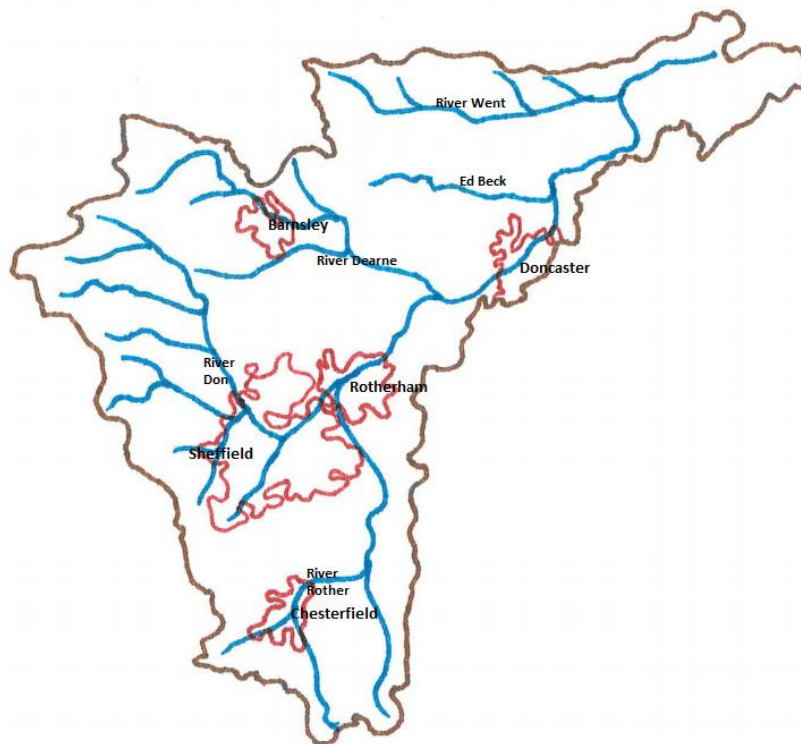
Figure 2: South Yorkshire rivers

The South Yorkshire region contains great diversity at neighbourhood level (see Binfield, 1993), although predominantly urban and industrial. In the UK, urban river corridors are frequently seriously degraded, more so than rural river corridors (Eden and Tunstall, 2006), and are therefore sites frequently associated with regeneration priorities. This is certainly true for the River Don catchment, which was described as 'little more than an open sewer' in the 1860s (Environment Agency, 1997:1-4a) – Figure 3 shows the River Don at the height of the steel industry. The degradation of the Don continued through the twentieth century, with action only beginning to address the pollution problems in 1974 when the responsibility for the system was transferred to the Yorkshire Water Authority. Typical of many urban areas, South Yorkshire rivers have played a key role in the local economy and the development of industry and are presently valued for a number of leisure purposes, whilst also being perceived as posing a threat because of recent experiences of flooding.

Figure 3: The River Don during the peak of the steel industry (photo courtesy of Sheffield City Council ©Copyright Sheffield City Council)

South Yorkshire spans the Don Catchment network of urban rivers, and these have played an important part in the history and present character of the region. The use of water to generate power is central to the history of Sheffield; the rivers were the foundation on which the city was built. Mills were built along all five rivers, including twenty six along the six miles of the Loxley (Machan, 1999), and twenty along the 2½ miles of the Rivelin (Kendall, 2005). The earliest was possibly Blackburn Brook mill on the River Blackburn tributary to the Don, founded in 1141, and at least thirty water powered mills were still in operation in the late 1940s (Peatman, 1984). The rivers supplying the power are described as "modest in size, but they fall quickly from the Pennines and could be dammed at frequent intervals" (Hey, 2002:26). Rotherham is recorded as having a mill even earlier than this, in the Domesday Book of 1086, a rare commodity at the time (Munford, 2000).

Whilst these mills encompassed a range of industries – including corn, flour, paper, glass, wire-drawing, and sawmills – the most prevalent industry was grinding cutlery and metal-working more generally. Cutlery grinding was the function of two-thirds of mills along the rivers, according to local historian David Hey (2002). Sheffield's

reputation for cutlery-making can be traced back a long way; the earliest known reference to Sheffield metalwork is to 'Robert the Cutler' in 1297 (Hey, 2005:24), and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (1386) mention a "Schefield thwytel" (Sheffield whittle knife) in *The Reeve's Tale* (Wray *et al*, 2001:5). The dominance of the cutlery industry continued through the centuries, with an estimated 60% of working males in some way employed in the cutlery industry in the 1700's (Wray *et al*, 2001: 21), primarily comprised of small scale industrial workshops of which many arose through the growth and development of the city, which housed Sheffield's 'little mesters' (Hey, 1993:7). By the late eighteenth century "every available site had been occupied" for industry along the river (Hey, 2005:148). This eventually evolved into the large scale Sheffield steel industry of the twentieth century, and maintained the international reputation of Sheffield for knife and cutlery production. The move to heavy industry of the Industrial Revolution also moved the focus of industrial sites away from the upland valleys to the lower Don Valley and into Rotherham, which was able to support railway services providing essential transport to the industry (Linton, 1956). Sheffield gained further reputation through its heavy industry to become 'the steel capital of the world' (Hey, 1993:7), and led to the nickname 'steel city'. For many residents of the city, the association with this identity of 'steel city' and industry is still influential.

The dependence of industry on the rivers shaped the city physically as well as economically, directly influencing the shape of the city as it developed, with growth along the length of the rivers primarily (Hey, 2002). The industry in turn was central to the growth of Sheffield as a city; Sheffield was not equipped to rival its neighbouring towns and cities with financial, commercial, legal or clerical commerce, and so developed instead to become "one of the greatest centres of specialised industry in the country by the end of the nineteenth [century]" (Linton, 1956:xxii). Over approximately two hundred years the population had increased from three or four thousand to over 400,000 (Linton, 1956). Jones in 1956 (p.155) stated that:

"It has been shown that by the middle of the eighteenth century Sheffield had become in some sense the centre of a region inhabited by people whose livelihood depended largely on coal-mining, the production of iron and steel, and the manufacture of cutlery, scythes, files, saws, and edged tools generally."

The population growth was seemingly the result of much immigration to the city, and Pollard and Hunt's (1956) account suggests that much of the period of rapid growth was of labourers, skilled workers, and those eager to learn a trade. The foundation of the city's development on its industrial reputation suggests that the social and cultural aspects of the city would have been informed by its metal-working character, and therefore (if somewhat indirectly) by the rivers themselves. In the same edition, Hunt (1956:241) states that "it would be hard to find a better example of sustained correlation between natural environment and the course of urban growth".

Rotherham's origins as a town can be traced to its role as an early crossing point for the river Don, with traces of a ford and evidence of a bridge from 1483 (Munford, 2000:27). Much of the industry that developed in the area made use of the natural resources of the region in the same way as Sheffield, and evidence of metalworking has been found contemporary with the Roman remains at Templeborough (Munford, 2000). Rotherham's role in the South Yorkshire steel industry was instigated by the establishment of the Phoenix Bessemer Steel Works in 1871 (Munford, 2000:112).

The metal industries were reliant upon the careful harnessing of the water to generate power, frequently through the construction of weirs, goits (an artificial water channel taken from the river to feed a mill), and dams to collect water which could then be released as required to power water wheels. Whilst most of the mills have now disappeared, many features of this industry still remain along the South

Yorkshire river corridors. These weirs, goits, and other features that are residues of the now-lost industry have been in place so long that they are now as much a part of the rivers as those that evolved naturally, and certainly seem to be perceived as such by those who use the rivers.

The challenges of finding a balance between the different priorities for the river can be clearly seen in the records of the conflicts and legal wrangles around the construction of the Don Navigation (Munford, 2000). It is argued that, for much of the industrial past, it was the economic priorities that were favoured, with ecological concerns being overlooked (Environment Agency, 1997). With the river systems used for various industrial and human waste disposal, by the Industrial Revolution the impact on the ecology was evident, with fish populations almost entirely eradicated (Environment Agency, 1997). The more recent heavy industry was also heavily reliant on water for cooling and disposal of waste products amongst other reasons, and contributed to the extremely poor quality of the water in the recent past (Wild *et al*, 2008), including the title of one of Europe's filthiest rivers in the 1980's (Environment Agency, 1997).

As the heavy industry declined (alongside other factors), the local economy and population were hard hit, a phenomenon expressed in the South Yorkshire based films *Brassed Off* (Channel Four Films, 1996) and *The Full Monty* (Fox Searchlight Pictures, 1997). In recent years the declining industry has created space along the river corridors for building and conversions into housing, office, retail and leisure spaces (Jones, 2004), with examples being Meadowhall, the Ward's Brewery apartment complex, and Cornish Place (see Figure 4). This has changed the way that the rivers are used and managed. Large scale entertainment venues and sports facilities are also located in previously industrial space along these corridors, such as Ice Sheffield, the English Institute of Sport, and the Arena.
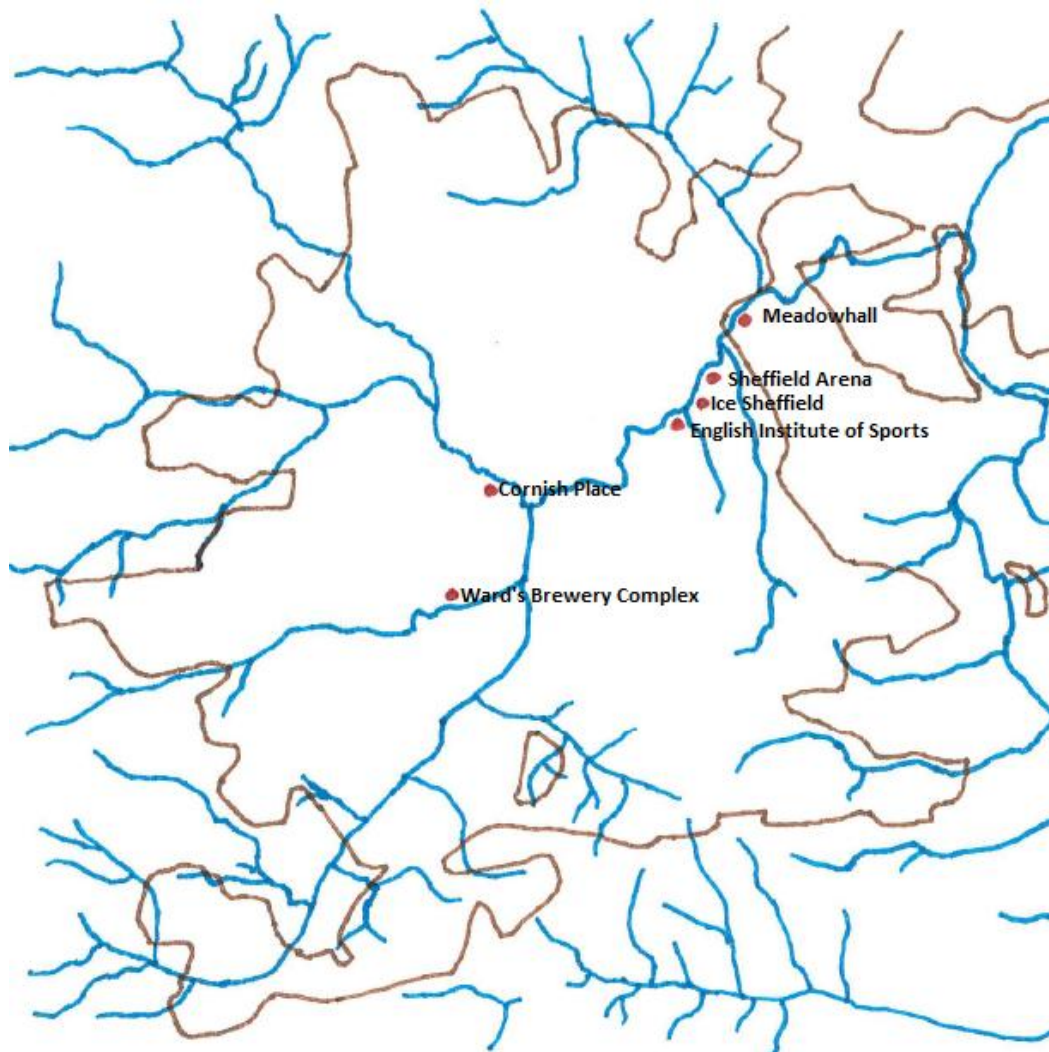
Figure 4: Map of Sheffield showing locations of riverside sites

The leisure uses of South Yorkshire's rivers have begun to take a higher priority as the demand for industrial use has declined and the levels of pollution have abated. As fish populations have re-established, fishing has become one of the most widespread and popular activities in the region (Renshaw, 1993). Dams constructed by the water-powered industry were taken over in the 1960's and 1970's as coarse fisheries, leading to growing fish populations in the river systems more widely (Environment Agency, 1997). Swimming in the rivers was a popular activity in the past, with open-air swimming pools at locations such as New Dam and Millhouses in the early twentieth century. Paddling pools are still in operation on the Rivelin, and a range of other water-based activities have risen in popularity, including canoeing, rowing, sailing, etc. As well as direct use of the water for leisure purposes, the

riverbanks are extremely popular amongst walkers and dog walkers. The rivers offer an opportunity for contact with the natural environment for many of those in the region.

3.4.1 Rivers as a Threat

In contrast to the enjoyment of the rivers as calming and pleasurable assets is the fear of flooding that is also associated with rivers and towns and cities founded on floodplains. In a region located on a network of rivers, flooding is perhaps something of an inevitability. The power of South Yorkshire's water has exerted itself forcefully on at least two occasions in recent history in major flooding incidents. Sheffield's first major flood happened on 11th March 1864, when the bank of the newly built Dale Dyke Dam collapsed in Bradfield, releasing the 700 million gallons of water it contained along the Loxley Valley (Machan, 1999:16). The flood waters killed over 250 people along the course through the city, and bodies were recovered as far away as Doncaster. As the biggest disaster of the Victorian era, the flood received national attention in the press and from visitors to the site. Accounts from the time show the focus of the concerns that the floods raised at the time, and the disparity in opinions about the cause of the incident (Machan, 1999).

The floods of summer 2007 featured graphically in national and local press, and a book produced to raise money for flood victims (Smith, 2008) uses strongly emotive terminology. The floods were a 'torrent' that the river system could not cope with, and leading to "tales of heroism, tragedy and defiance in the face of almost insurmountable problems" (Smith, 2008:5); a "Blitz spirit" (Smith, 2008: 31). The floodwaters are clearly seen in terms of polluting, bringing debris and dirt, and smell, and in the language used in connection with these floods, this was clearly set at odds with the traditional notions of the home as a safe refuge, which has been perhaps permanently scarred by the floods: "if normality can ever be returned to a

flooded home" (Smith, 2008: 100). The sense of expectation that 'experts' should be able to somehow control flooding is also present in the book which is comprised primarily of extracts from the newspapers, with reference to the anger of residents towards those "responsible for flood defences" (Smith 2008: 72). The floods here are conceived as an adversary, attacking the city and the people who are powerless against its force, and responsibility for its prevention attributed to politicians and councillors (Smith, 2008). The response of outrage and disgust towards being flooded seems to be common culturally within Britain at least, and Strang suggests this is a response not to the water itself, but the expectation that it carries 'polluting' matter, and is breaching its expected boundaries (Strang, 2004:76).

These historical and recent experiences of South Yorkshire's rivers are likely to feed into the meanings that the rivers take on for those involved with the rivers, alongside their more personal experiences. This brief summary of the history of the relationship between the two settlements and their rivers shows that the understandings that need to be taken into account are complex and multi-faceted, and it can be assumed that the meanings the rivers hold for different individuals are not straightforward. Conceptualisations of water and rivers can date back historically by thousands of years, and may be little understood by those participating in the perpetuation of those meanings (for example, throwing coins into wishing wells) (see Strang, 2004). It is possible, then, that the relationships that individuals have with the rivers will be influenced by the histories of these spaces and the meanings that they have had in the past. The way in which the past influences the way people now use and think about the rivers may not be explicit, but needs to be understood as an important element of the policy process.

3.5   Investment in Rivers

The South Yorkshire region, like many places in the UK, has been targeted in recent years with investment for the purposes of regeneration, with various perspectives on the problems and different targets, and drawing on funding from a variety of sources. Frequently areas targeted for regeneration have fallen alongside the rivers (due to the decline of industry and degradation of the environment in these areas, as outlined in Section 3.4), and so much work has been done, and continues, along the river corridors. Some of this investment has been specifically targeted to resolving the problems of water pollution and the degradation of riverside sites that followed the decline of industries (Wild *et al*, 2008), and the catchment is now rated at quality level 'fair' or above through Sheffield (Wild *et al*, 2008:18) and Rotherham (RMBC, 2009:20) according to the Environment Agency standards. Some of the works specifically targeting water quality and fish populations following the industrial decline include the Don Valley Inceptor Sewer, begun in 1979, and modernisation of the Blackburn Meadows Sewage Treatment Works in 1992 and Old Whittington Sewage Treatment Works in 1993 (Environment Agency, 1997). Another significant factor has been the social and economic regeneration agenda that has been put into place across many parts of the region, and impacting on much of the catchment. Flowing through a variety of areas of Sheffield and Rotherham, parts of the river network have benefitted from regeneration investment, such as the Rother Valley Country Park, which opened in the 1980's (Environment Agency, 1997).

With the support of regeneration agencies, such as Yorkshire Forward, both Sheffield and Rotherham have worked to develop strategic development frameworks that attract private sector investment to support public funding. In both cases, these plans have been framed around the rivers, identifying these as central aspects of the future of these places (RMBC, 2009; SCC 1998). These strategies are dependent primarily on private investment being targeted towards the river corridor through a combination of incentives and inducements to ensure that the riverside benefits from private development. Although both the Sheffield Waterways Strategy and the Rotherham Waterways Strategy were still in the process of being finalised at

the time of this study (Rotherham Waterways Strategy was finalised in 2009, and Sheffield Waterways Strategy in 2013), the ideas behind these have also fed into other policies, such as the Rotherham Strategic Development Framework (RMBC, 2005) and the Sheffield Unitary Development Plan (SCC, 1998).

As well as more strategic investment such as this, there is also investment that comes from a variety of sources for specific river projects. These are often funded by the Environment Agency, but funding may otherwise come from local Councils or charitable organisations. In Sheffield, a network of river-focused organisations has developed that drive work on the rivers across the city. One of the main coordinating bodies is the Sheffield Waterways Strategy Group (SWSG), formed in 2003 and comprising a number of partners (including members of the URSULA project) working to develop strategies and methods to bring about action (SCC, 2009). A body formed by the SWSG is the River Stewardship Company, a non-profit making social enterprise (River Stewardship Company, 2009). Grassroots groups include the Five Weirs Walk Trust (Five Weirs Walk Trust, 2009) and the Upper Don Walk Trust (Upper Don Walk Trust, 2009), two charitable trusts established to increase access to parts of the River Don, and the Don Catchment River Trust, concerned with access and environmental issues (Wild *et al*, 2008). These organisations have overlapping and complex relationships with other neighbourhood governance structures, and the traditional institutions with responsibility for management of policy, as well as informal networks and organisations that are interested in the river, such as fishing clubs, nature groups or nearby residents. Rotherham, as a smaller town, does not have this network, but has a variety of organisations that engage with the riverside environment, including Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council and Sheffield and Rotherham Wildlife Trust.

3.6   Bodies Responsible for the Governance of Rivers

In England the governance of rivers tends, as with much environmental policy, to involve a range of actors, agencies and organisations in the processes leading to change. However, statutory responsibility for the management of rivers is held by the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA), and exercised through the Environment Agency. This responsibility is complicated by the way in which statutory responsibility for other activities which may impinge on rivers is held by other organisations or agencies (for example, local authority planning departments or transport departments). In these cases a process of decision-making clearly becomes necessary to unite potentially conflicting aspirations. This section gives a brief discussion of the role of the two principal organisations in the governance of river sites.

3.6.1   The Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA)

DEFRA is the central government body for the UK that has overall responsibility for the management of flood risk and coastal erosion. It holds a key role in the development of appropriate policy in this area, and acts as the accountable body. DEFRA has produced three pieces of policy in recent years with specific reference to issues of water management in England. The first of these was *Making Space for Water* (2005), which laid out the national strategy for managing flood risk and coastal erosion, prioritising a holistic approach in line with the WFD guidance. However, this has been overshadowed by the droughts of 2004-06, and the flooding incidents of summer 2007, and was subsequently replaced in 2008 by a new strategy – *Future Water* (DEFRA, 2008). Climate change is referred to extensively in this document, and managing human impact on the environment as well as reducing disruption as a result of natural activity is a theme throughout. The strategy sets out national goals to be achieved by 2030 with an emphasis on balancing need and demand. This document emphasises the importance of coordinated working between different scales, and the need for 'Government, water companies, industry,

land managers and individuals' to work together to achieve this (DEFRA, 2008:10).
Most recently, in 2010 DEFRA produced the National Flood Emergency Framework
for England (2010). This builds more explicitly on the recommendations of the Pitt
Review (see below), and provides guidance for flood emergency and response
(DEFRA, 2010).

3.6.2   The Environment Agency

At a national level, the Government Department with overarching responsibility for
rivers is DEFRA. However, much of the Government's responsibilities for rivers in
England and Wales are met through the Environment Agency, which is an executive
non-departmental public body, responsible to the Secretary of State for
Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, and an assembly sponsored public body
answerable to the National Assembly for Wales (Environment Agency, 2008a). It is
central to the delivery of the Government's environmental priorities, and aims "to
protect and improve the environment and promote sustainable development"
(Environment Agency, 2008a). One of the ways in which the Environment Agency's
responsibilities for water management are executed is through the direction of River
Basin Management Plans, as demanded by the Water Framework Directive (see
section 3.7.1), which cover all areas of Britain. These are "the nation's plans for
improving water and wetlands", and seek to encompass recreational activities,
industry, agriculture and water consumption (Environment Agency, 2008a). It is
through the Humber River Basin Management Plan that national as well as local
priorities for South Yorkshire's rivers are dealt with.

3.7 Policy for River Management

This section considers the policy field specifically in relation to river management, from the European scale down to neighbourhood scale, identifying some of the key institutions and policies or guidelines at different levels.

3.7.1 The Water Framework Directive

The Water Framework Directive (WFD), produced by the European Commission in 2000, is the most substantial piece of water legislation they have produced (FWR, 2009). It defines the water quality standards that all river basins must have reached by 2015, and the way that this is to be achieved through River Basin Management Plans, with a process involving public participation, and assessed by the identification of various criteria and indicators. This is thought to have "raised the profile of river basin planning and floodplain management issues in the context of water quality and quantity within river catchments" (White and Howe, 2002:738). It is of relevance to this study because of its concern with promoting participatory working, and imposing legal requirements for participation (Wesselink *et al*, 2008). This has been interpreted in England and Wales as the need to ensure awareness of the River Basin Management Plan amongst key stakeholder groups, and amongst the general public via the Environment Agency website, who all have a right to feed into the plan during its development (Environment Agency, 2014b). Kaika (2003) points out the limitations of generating local level engagement through top-down policy at a European level, and suggests that "it could be argued that the interaction of the institutions, actors and norms created by the WFD with the existing ones at the local level will determine, to a great extent, the successful implementation of the Directive" (Kaika, 2003:311). So this suggests that it is only through successful engagement with pre-existing governance structures at local level through the River Basin Management Plans that the WFD can be valuably implemented.

3.7.2   Planning Policy Statement 25

Planning Policy Statement 25 (PPS25) was the previous Government's statement setting out policy in relation to development and flood risk. To support the implementation of this, a Development and Flood Risk Practice Guide was released by the Department for Communities and Local Government in June 2008. This set out to tackle the problems of development on flood plains from a planning perspective. Whilst inappropriate development was to be discouraged, the Statement acknowledged that the problems are as a result of previous decisions about settlement locations and patterns of land use that cannot be entirely disregarded (DCLG, 2008b). The Statement gave a practical approach, offering specific guidance for those involved in the planning process, and illustrating appropriate approaches using case studies. The Statement provided sequential and exception tests that gave explicit direction for development decisions, with particular implications for brownfield sites at risk of flooding, as the guidance primarily advised to avoid development in such areas (DCLG, 2008b). The document provided advice, if development was deemed necessary, for the role of planning in managing flood risk through design of individual developments and design of space as a whole, and it addressed questions of the management of flood warning systems and evacuation procedures. Since the change in Government following the general election of May 2010, there has been change to the policy framework affecting local development planning and this policy has been superseded by the National Planning Policy Framework (DCLG, 2012b). Other more recent pieces of legislation include the White Paper *'Local growth: realising every place's potential'* (2010), and the *'Localism Act'* (2011). Whilst these clearly have consequences for future governance of rivers, these pieces of legislation were not in place during the course of the case studies examined in this thesis, so do not impact directly on the cases or findings to be discussed.

3.7.3   The Pitt Review, 2008

Sir Michael Pitt was commissioned to conduct a review in 2007 by the Secretary of State following the flooding experienced across the UK. The purpose of the review was to identify what lessons could be learnt from the experiences of the 2007 floods, and how procedures could be improved to reduce the problems associated with flooding and the aftermath. One emphasis within the report is the need for clear leadership, chains of responsibility, and accountability (Cabinet Office, 2008). Whilst the Environment Agency holds overall statutory authority, the Review sees a significant role for local authorities in the coordination at local level, and the report highlights the importance of collaborative working between agencies, authorities and communities report as a contributing factor to successful outcomes. However, the report also emphasises the need to model and forecast future risk, and the role that technology has to play in managing future risk, and suggests that there is a need for the public to be educated with regard to flood risk and the potential impacts. This potentially creates an issue around the way in which lay knowledge and expertise are framed within the report, and therefore potentially within decision-making processes. The task of dealing with the recommendations of the review is given to DEFRA, with the support of other government departments and agencies (Cabinet Office, 2008).

3.7.4   Flood and Water Management Act 2010

Although this Act (and the *Water for Life* White Paper referred to below) came into place after the fieldwork for this research was conducted, they are both clear developments of much of the recent policy introduced in the area of water management, and will be influential to the context in which the findings of this research may be put to use. Concerns about flood risk have led to a dominance of flood concerns in policy relating to water management in recent years, and the Flood and Water Management Act (2010a) is a reflection of this. The Act was passed in 2010 in response to severe experiences of flooding in the UK over recent years.

Building on the gaps in the management of water, highlighted by Sir Michael Pitt's Review of the summer 2007 floods (UK Groundwater Forum, 2010), the Act attempts to create a unified approach to the management of water. The Act specifies that the Environment Agency must "develop, maintain, apply and monitor a strategy for flood and coastal erosion risk management in England" (HM Government, 2010a:5), placing them clearly as the body with strategic responsibility at national level for the task. The Act also specifies clear duties for local flood authorities, aiming to coordinate working at local levels and tie this in with national priorities (HM Government, 2010a).

3.7.5   Water for Life 2011

This White Paper is concerned with the supplies of fresh water across England, something which is taken for granted, but due to changing rainfall patterns could be at risk in the future (HM Government, 2011). Drought, intense rainfall and increasing populations mean that groundwater levels may not be replenished as well as in the past, and surface water flooding may impact on pollution of water bodies. The preservation of water resources and the reduction of waste is key to this Paper. The problems of pollution and over-abstraction are key in establishing secure water supplies, according to this Paper, and this should be achieved by using a 'catchment-based approach' (HM Government, 2011:5). 70 catchment scale pilot projects are being used to establish good practice before rolling out changes across the country (HM Government, 2011:6). The Paper claims to put customers at the heart of decision-making in the water sector, and particularly focuses on affordability and cost with regard to this. There is also an emphasis on changing attitudes to water, and understanding the ways that people use water, and what motivates them to use water in more efficient ways. Future supply and demand levels are difficult to predict, and this affects DEFRA's ability to predict future scenarios, but it is clear that the demands on the water infrastructure are set to increase. The improvement of the quality of rivers is seen as important to the achievement of sustainable water

supplies, and the Paper refers to working towards the standards laid out by the Water Framework Directive.

3.7.6 Humber River Basin Management Plan

The Environment Agency's document: "Water for life and livelihoods: River Basin Management Plan, Humber River Basin District" (2009) is the strategy for addressing the issue facing this catchment. It covers the area from the North York Moors to Birmingham, the Pennines to the North Sea, and Stoke-on-Trent to Rutland, encompassing 26,109km^2 (Environment Agency, 2009a). This is the region as defined by the WFD as an appropriate catchment, based on the river basins, but does not correspond to any administrative boundaries within the UK. As a result, any action taken forward under the River Basin Management Plan (RBMP) necessarily involves collaborative working across boundaries, unless it can be undertaken exclusively by the Environment Agency using its statutory powers. The strategies put forward for improving water environments and corridors range across diverse areas of concern, including the built environment, rural land management, wildlife habitats, and transport impacts. As a result, any action taken under the RBMP is likely to involve a range of organisations and individuals, and across different regions of regulatory responsibility. The plan was finalised in 2009 following a range of responses from stakeholders on the draft version, released in 2008 (Environment Agency, 2008b), and aspires to achieve good water status by 2015, the primary objective of the WFD (Environment Agency, 2009a).

3.7.7 Subcatchments

The Sheffield rivers are managed by the Environment Agency at smaller scales than the strategic Humber Basin; "for the purpose of river quality management the Environment Agency splits the River Don into four subcatchments: the Upper Don,

Lower Don, Dearne and Rother" (Wild *et al*, 2008:16). Sheffield City Council divides the city differently into three zones for economic masterplanning along the route of the Don corridor: the City Centre (including Central Riverside); the Lower Don Valley; and the Upper Don Valley (see Figure 5) (Wild *et al*, 2008:4). Both sets of plans incorporate a variety of targets and goals for the areas they cover, in particular increasing provision of employment opportunities and infrastructure, and this means that the tangible outcomes in any given location will be influenced by the interaction of the different policies as they are interpreted by the actors involved impacting on that location. These are not the only structures of governance at subcatchment scale, although they are the ones most directly concerned with management of the river corridors within Sheffield. Across Sheffield and Rotherham, local government was organised into Wards, with a Community Assembly structure above this in Sheffield and Area Assemblies in Rotherham (this structure has since changed). Governance at these scales can impact on the governance of river corridor when they fall within these areas.

STRATEGIC REGENERATION AREAS

UPPER DON VALLEY

LOWER DON VALLEY

CENTRAL RIVERSIDE

CITY CENTRE

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Figure 5: Sheffield Strategic Regeneration Areas map (Wild *et al*, 2008:3 ©Copyright Sheffield City Council)

3.7.8 Riparian Ownership

Despite all of the policy and legislation that gives responsibility for rivers and river corridors to different agencies and organisations, in England we also have a framework of riparian ownership of riverbanks and rivers, and responsibilities that follow on from this. Riparian ownership states that the river is owned by the person who owns the land adjacent to the riverbank to the centre of the river, and that person has responsibility for the maintenance of the channel (Environment Agency, 2013). Riparian owners are responsible for keeping the bed and banks of the river clear from obstruction, and for the upkeep of any structures, although any new structures must be approved by the Environment Agency. Nevertheless, these rights and responsibilities can be overridden by the risk management authority for the watercourse (generally the Environment Agency or local authority), which means they are able to carry out works on a property without the owner's consent, and can reclaim the costs of the work if it is deemed to be the responsibility of the owner (Environment Agency, 2013).

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1   Introduction

The aim, objectives and research questions that this thesis seeks to address are outlined in the introduction. In order to address these, this chapter sets out the methodological approach and methods to be used in the research. The chapter first examines the methodological approach and the reasons for this. The chapter then moves on to describe the process of the research, the selection of case study sites and the process of the research, describing the techniques used. The practicalities and limitations of the approach are outlined, and the reasons that aspects of the research were approached in particular ways explained.

4.2   Methodological Approach to the Research

This research takes an interpretive approach to policy analysis. As such, the research seeks to understand the way that different stakeholders within the governance process understand the process to happen and the roles of those involved. The processes of governance being observed are constructed through the actions of those involved with the process. This means that the approach needs to look past the outcomes that result from governance processes, and gain a greater understanding of the motivations and understandings of those involved (Wagenaar, 2011). As the name suggests, interpretive analysis gives an interpretation of the study as it has been understood by the researcher. There is no 'true' version of the process to be uncovered, but a collection of interpretations of events which emerge from different experiences, backgrounds and positionality (Yanow, 2000). Therefore the version of events in this account is necessarily an interpretation, and cannot be treated as a complete and impartial report. Clearly, the use of qualitative methods is central to an interpretive approach. Mason (2002:1) states that qualitative research "has an unrivalled capacity to constitute compelling arguments about *how things work in particular contexts*". Interpretive analysis is dependent on the

exploration of the way that individuals understand the way that things are happening, which is in itself integral to the way in which things happen. Wagenaar argues that we need to understand the intentions and assumptions of different actors within the governance process as well as their actions (Wagenaar, 2011). These may not be clearly articulated, or even understood, by the actors themselves or by others, as so it is through interpretive analysis that we can begin to seek out these motivators, and therefore develop an understanding of why particular outcomes are achieved. Qualitative techniques enable data collection that is contextual and detailed, and offer flexibility to respond to the social context in question (Mason, 1996).

Interpretive analysis often uses narrative, as this is a way in which we connect actions and events into understandable patterns (Fischer, 2009). Fischer suggests that the use of narrative stories in the interpretive process draws our attention to motives, opinion and normative judgements as factors of which we need to take account in our analysis. The narrative approach looks 'through' rather than 'at' language, taking the story of the case as a whole (Wells, 2011). Narrative analysis makes use of case studies, although does not prescribe what constitutes a case. Once a case has been identified, data is then gathered using 'purposeful' sampling, to seek out data that will achieve the study's aim (Wells, 2011:19).

For the purposes of my study, a case is an example of the governance process with regard to flood management, identified at the local scale. I opted to study two cases to offer two different perspectives on the issues under examination and to see whether the same themes could be picked up in two very different settings. Selecting just two sites also meant that a greater depth of analysis could be achieved than with a larger number of cases in the timeframes available. The semi-structured interviews conducted with stakeholders are brought together to create an account of each site (in chapters 5 and 6). This gives a story of each case study as

relayed by the participants, and reflects the process in their words. From this starting point, the analysis draws out the features of the process that were of importance to the participants.

Taking these two case studies of different approaches to managing a site with regard to flood alleviation, the research was able to develop an understanding of the relationship between different factors within the governance process through stakeholders' understandings. Yin (2009:4) states that: "the case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events – such as individual life cycles, small group behaviour, organisational and managerial processes, neighbourhood change, school performance, international relations and the maturation of industries." This means that by making use of case studies in this research, I will be able to draw out the meaningful characteristics, referred to by Yin, to give a comprehensive understanding of the process as experienced by those involved. This should therefore allow an understanding of the issues and their relationship to their context. Taking an interpretive perspective, the context of the study is integral to its understanding, and Stake (2000) shows how a case study approach allows the specificities of a case to be understood in relation to its context. This is achieved through a description of the governance process for each case study that reconstructs the events from the interviews with stakeholders, positioning the case study firmly in its locality, before exploring the issues of more direct concern to the study in detail.

Wells points out that "reports of narrative studies typically include detail regarding the narrator, the narrative and its analysis" (Wells, 2011:15), and this is the case with this thesis. Interpretive approaches frequently challenge the traditional positivist approaches to research in a number of ways, including that of the presentation of the data. As Schwartz-Shea and Yanow describe "more and more social scientists experiment with breaking the frame of traditional, realist-objective

writing, including greater use of the authorial "I"" (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, 2012, 129), and this is something which I endeavour to do within this thesis, writing as a positioned researcher within the field of the research.

4.2.1 Selection of Case Studies

The rivers of Sheffield and the surrounding area offered a great deal of scope in the selection of suitable case study sites. Initially the key priorities for identifying suitable case study sites were that there was a recent decision-making process with regard to potential change on the site, and that there were sufficient stakeholders with an interest in the change on that site. It was clear that the process would need to be relatively recent and open to offer sufficient access to interviewees and other data. To begin the process of identifying suitable sites, I bought a large wall map of the South Yorkshire area, and highlighted the rivers (see Figure 6). I identified potentially interesting sites through personal knowledge, suggestions of others (particularly people within the URSULA project), and sites identified through internet and local press searches. Potential sites were marked on the wall map, and notes kept on the reason for interest in that particular site and potential stakeholders of the site. Information on the sites was expanded on with information from local newspapers, leaflets, local Council information, internet chatrooms, and other sources. Many potential sites were quickly eliminated from this process because the issue of concern was lacking in 'riverness'; whilst the issue was clearly an interesting one and clearly located within the river corridor, the issue lacked an essential relationship to the river which was important to the research.

Figure 6: Map identifying potential case study sites (Photograph author's own)

With a range of sites identified, I arranged a site visit and a subsequent pilot interview with a stakeholder in relation to one such site. On an initial visit to the site there seemed to be potentially interesting issues to fulfil the case study brief, and a good range of potential stakeholders who would be relatively straightforward to access. However, the pilot interview highlighted potential problems with the choice of site. The interviewee struggled to give answers to a number of questions and, whilst this could be partly attributed to flaws in the interview schedule, there appeared to be a more fundamental issue with the choice of site. The site in question had been selected as a potential case study because of proposed changes in the management of the site and potential impacts on local wildlife. Whilst this was of some interest to stakeholders, the issues were such that stakeholders did not have sufficient concern to have strong feelings about the issues and the governance process. At the point of the interview, the changes were also only proposed, so there had been no tangible change to the site to this point. This meant that the answers given had not been particularly considered or thought through, and lacked depth. Whilst this in itself may offer some interesting insights into the

management of river sites, I felt that given the nature of my research questions, this type of site might be less useful for my purposes. A process that was underway, and would result in a bigger visual change to the site would offer greater depth of data because of the responses of stakeholders. This led me to reframe my case study criteria slightly. It was important for the issue at the heart of the governance process to be one which inspired stronger responses in stakeholders, and as such it became clear that sites of flood alleviation projects would form a suitable setting.

The decision to focus on flood alleviation sites narrowed the potential case study sites considerably. A shortlist of sites was discussed with colleagues in the URSULA project and, in the interests of maintaining closeness to the rest of the project, it was agreed that sites within and close to the Sheffield city boundary were appropriate. Consequently, two sites became clear as suitable choices for case studies: Centenary Riverside in Templeborough, Rotherham, and Malin Bridge in Sheffield, shown in Figure 7. These two sites had been subject to the flooding that hit the South Yorkshire region in summer 2007, and also in November 2000 in the case of Centenary Riverside. Both were consequently subject to governance processes that led to a process of change at the site, which aimed to achieve flood alleviation. The sites were interestingly different, as the governance processes were led by the local authority in one case and the Environment Agency in the other case. Using Callon's (1998, cited in Donaldson, 2013) distinction, the sites could be distinguished as 'cold' and 'hot': At Centenary Riverside the issues were 'cold' and the framing of the problem (at the stage of the process that the research began at least) was not controversial; at Malin Bridge however, the process was much more controversial and 'hot'.

Both sites had a clear selection of stakeholders concerned with the site, meaning that potential interviewees were available. The change process on the site was underway as the research commenced, meaning that the events would be fresh in

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the minds of stakeholders, and recent enough that they were likely to feel participation in a piece of research was a worthwhile use of their time. There is a risk when choosing case studies from a narrow field such as this that there will be a loss of 'typicalness', and that the cases will therefore be unrepresentative of the wider picture. However, this is a risk with any site selection whatever their geographical location. It is hoped that, by selecting two cases with distinctly different characters in terms of the governance processes and stakeholder involvement, that their geographical proximity will have less impact in terms of rendering the cases too similar.
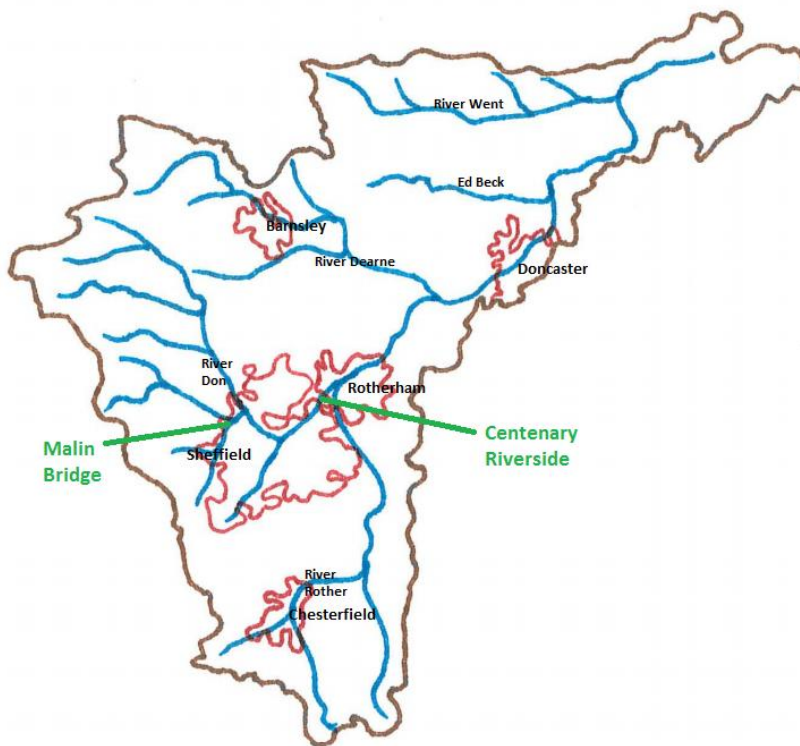
Figure 7: Locations of case study sites

4.2.2 Identifying Case Study Stakeholders

The identification of stakeholders in the evaluation of governance processes is crucial to the understanding that will be produced. The identification of stakeholders is a determinant of their views being taken into consideration, both

within the process and in any appraisal of that process; if stakeholders go unrecognised their views, opinions and interests also risk being unrecognised. The empirical work explored earlier reflects that it is perhaps more straightforward to identify the views and interests of organised, official organisations, particularly those with statutory authority. Other organised groups, such as charities and local level regeneration bodies may also be incorporated into processes with relative ease. However, local communities are much more complex as stakeholders, and appear to be problematic both for their involvement in governance and accounting for this in research. Even more problematic is the identification of those who may feel themselves to be stakeholders who may not be local to a site, but still have interests that would be valid inclusions to the governance process. There is a danger that preconceived notions, both in the processes of governance and in the research process, of who stakeholders might be can reinforce patterns of exclusion of relevant individuals or groups. Even when a governance process or a research process is widely inclusive of a range of stakeholders, there is still a range of values that may not be picked up by the process, particularly those that do not have a 'voice', such as the interests of future generations. This is to some degree inevitable, but using a range of techniques for the identification of stakeholders can help to minimise the effects of this. In this way this research allows an understanding that encompasses the varied ways a site is valued, rather than only the "narrow professional paradigms" that research typically identifies (Wilks-Heeg, 2003:216).

The process of identifying stakeholders began with identifying those involved in the governance process directly, particularly the key decision-makers. In the case of Centenary Riverside, this began with Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council who led the project, whilst at Malin Bridge the process had been led by the Environment Agency. However, from this point the process differed between the two sites. For both sites, the identification of stakeholders was a complex and partial exercise, with the impossibility of a comprehensive list of stakeholders

becoming more evident as the process continued. I began by identifying the key organisations managing the decision-making process, and exploring the stakeholders they had identified themselves. From here I added various local groups, using my own experience of the place (particularly at Malin Bridge), and the support of coordinating organisations (such as Voluntary Action Rotherham) and websites (Sheffield 'Help yourself' website – www.sheffieldhelpyourself.org.uk – lists organisations and groups across the city). I also identified individual stakeholders at the sites themselves. For both sites, early lists of stakeholders evolved rather than simply being added to, as in many cases those who were identified by others as stakeholders failed to consider themselves as such. In these cases, initial contacts with these stakeholders would fail to progress to an interview, because they did not feel themselves to have an interest in the site; this was true for individuals who had been involved in the decision-making processes as well as those who had not. For example, one contractor who had been involved in the design and construction of the Centenary Riverside site did not feel that they were a stakeholder for the purposes of research, since they saw their input to the process as purely technical. Despite assurances that I would find their input useful, they felt that they were not a stakeholder in the governance of the site. The interviewees were therefore those who self-selected as stakeholders. Given the close geographical location of both case study sites, there were some overlaps in the stakeholder groups for each site. As such, some interviews fed into both case studies.

Centenary Riverside stakeholders

The key decision-makers at Centenary Riverside were very much responsible for leading the process. I was able to meet with them early in the process of my case studies, and also to attend a stakeholder opening event at the site. These occasions were extremely useful in quickly identifying the stakeholders who had been involved in the decision-making process. Further interviewees were identified through suggestions during interviews and meetings with stakeholders. Non-

professional stakeholders were much more difficult to identify for this site however: The Centenary Riverside site is in an isolated location (although very close to a large population, the site is cut off by major roads and both the canal and River Don, creating physical barriers to the space), and it was converted from a brownfield site to a recreational site. However there were no clear users of the space. Voluntary Action Rotherham (the local body supporting the voluntary and community sector) were able to identify a range of active community groups in the surrounding area, but contact with these produced little interest in the site – many responded that the site did not fall under their area. Regular site visits also gave little success; very few users of the site were to be found. After some months of seeking interviewees, it seemed that this site did not have a group of interested local people or site users. To confirm this impression, a self-completion survey was distributed to local places used by the community (shops, cafes, etc), along with boxes for completed surveys. The surveys, and conversations with shopkeepers and others that went along with the distribution and collection of these, confirmed that the site was not widely known or used, and therefore did not have a significant sector of non-professional stakeholders.

Malin Bridge stakeholders

Stakeholder mapping at Malin Bridge followed a very different route to Centenary Riverside. Because this site was in Sheffield and managed by the Environment Agency, links with the key decision-makers and other professional stakeholders were already established through the URSULA Project. This made these contacts more simple in terms of introductions (although less straightforward in terms of gatekeeping – see section 4.5.1). Because the Malin Bridge area was regularly used by a wide range of people, site visits often resulted in contact with non-professional stakeholders and generated opportunities for interviews. My own relationship with the site and the wider area (see section 4.8) meant I was familiar with the local community groups, and was able to contact a range of these without needing to go through a third party, such as Voluntary Action Sheffield. Malin Bridge appeared to

have a much greater number of non-professional stakeholders, and a self-completion survey in the local area confirmed this, with high numbers of surveys returned. As such, a greater volume of data was generated by the Malin Bridge case study.

4.3   Research Techniques

The case study approach can encompass a variety of research techniques that are appropriate to the case. Wells points out that the broadest possible framework for the collection of data is appropriate for the narrative approach, since no one source can possibly address the complexity fully (Wells, 2011). My research used a number of different techniques to gather data, which should also "reduce the likelihood of misinterpretation", as recommended by Stake (2000:443). Qualitative semi-structured interviews with stakeholders involved (or not involved) in the governance processes from different perspectives and positions were the main technique employed, and in total 55 interviews were conducted. Interviews are an effective way to generate in-depth understanding of personal thoughts and feelings about the case in question, and a semi-structured approach allowed the interviewee to lead the discussion into areas they felt were of importance rather than simply those defined by me as the researcher. As a result the interviews often covered a variety of aspects to the interviewees thoughts and feelings about the site. Additionally to this, several meetings and events relating to the sites were also attended, and a number of informal conversations (chance meetings at the site, or before or after meetings or events) with stakeholders contributed useful and interesting data, particularly in relation to the wider context in which the case studies exist, which aided my understanding of the sites and the governance processes. A wide range of documents were collected in support of the case studies, including publically available formal documents, such as policy documents, website data and press clippings, and informal private documents including working papers, emails and personal notes. These had various purposes, sometimes giving

context to the case studies and sometimes offering further insights into the details of the issues of the cases. Some stakeholders also shared photographs and sketches of the sites. In addition to the photographs provided by stakeholders, I took a number of photographs of the sites over the course of the fieldwork, to illustrate the changes on the sites over the time of the research. A qualitative survey was conducted towards the end of the fieldwork period in both case study areas, which was used primarily to confirm that the breadth of stakeholders and opinions that had been gathered was reflective of a wider trend, and that no major gaps existed, although the survey also offered interesting comments from stakeholders in itself.

4.3.1 The Interviews

A comprehensive interview schedule was prepared prior to the interviews, but this was used only as a rough guide in the semi-structured interviews. The questions helped to ensure that all areas of interest were covered in the course of the interview in a way that made it straightforward for the interviewee to address the issue in question. In the interviews the interviewees frequently spoke freely with little need for the interruption of questions, and focussing on the themes that seemed of most importance to themselves. The themes raised by interviewees often led to different questions to those on the schedule, meaning that in some cases the interviews took very different directions. It is as a consequence of this that the focus in the research on the role of emotions and the relationship between emotions and expertise came about (discussed in later chapters). As the interviewees had the opportunity to explore the governance process and the aspects of it that were of concern to them, this allowed the subject of emotions to emerge from the data as an issue clearly of significance to the processes.

The effect of the interviews on the direction of the research is not something that is unexpected in interpretive research; Schwartz-Shea and Yanow point out that

frequently interpretive research may highlight that there is something missing from the existing literature, without a clear indication of what this may be (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, 2012). As such, "we ... should view these [research] questions as starting points that will give [researchers] a foundation for developing better questions in the field" (Soss, 2010, cited in Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, 2012).

Template for semi-structured interviews

Why/how involved	What is the nature of your involvement with the site? Why are you interested in the site? How did you become involved?
Extent of awareness	What do you know about the changes to the site?
The process	What do you know about the decision-making process that led to the changes at the site? How did you find out about it? Who was involved? Who should have been involved? Do you feel you should have been involved? How would you like to have been involved? Did you feel you had something to contribute? Did you feel listened to? Did you feel your contribution was welcomed? Did you feel you understood what was happening? Would you say any of those involved were experts? Who and why? If you left the process, why did this happen? Were you aware of any problems within the decision-making process?
The changes to the site	How do you feel about the changes? Are they positive or negative? Have they affected the way you will use the site? Will the changes affect the way others use the site? Are there other changes that could have been made?

Breakdown of interviewees

	Centenary Riverside	**Malin Bridge**	**Both**
Interviewees	23	36	3
Interviews	22	30	3
Primarily involved as a local person or volunteer* ('lay' stakeholders)	6	24	0
Primarily involved as a professional* ('professional' stakeholders)	17	12	3
Meetings & Events attended	1 x Opening events 2 x Area Assemblies 1 x Rotherham Environment Forum	2 x Residents meetings 2 x Community Assemblies 2 x Local community group meetings	2 x Environment Agency stakeholder meetings

*The characterisation of stakeholders as 'local', 'volunteer' or 'professional' is far from straightforward and so these figures give an indication of the interviewees only. Many interviewees had multiple roles that fell into both categories.

The decision to digitally record the interviews was taken as I felt it was important to generate an accurate interpretation of what was said in the interviews as far as possible, and to allow the opportunity to use quotes from interviewees. The vast majority of participants were happy to give their permission in writing for this, and the recordings were fully transcribed. In a small number of cases handwritten notes were made instead during the course of the interview, in one instance due to organisational objections (the individual stated that it was against his company's policy to allow the interview to be recorded), and in two instances to equipment failure. The majority of interviews were conducted face-to-face, but in some cases this was not possible (some interviewees were based a considerable distance away, and some had time constraints that made telephone interviews more convenient). In these cases, the telephone interviews were recorded using an adaptor.

Some researchers express concerns about the responses of interviewees regarding the recording of interviews. Willis suggests that "some interviewees feel rather inhibited by the presence of a recorder, or may be reluctant to provide sensitive information if they feel it could be traced back to them" (2006:150). Whilst this may be true, this may be no less the case if notes are taken during the interview, and therefore has little bearing on digital recording as the chosen method of collecting data. As such, I felt that digital recording was an appropriate way to record interviews in this research. No method of recording data is able to address the potential problem of interviewees choosing to withhold or modify their responses; Shipman (1997:82) claims that:

> "There is threat in being questioned, particularly by a researcher with a clipboard or a tape-recorder. This can affect responses. Firstly, people don't like to seem ignorant or forgetful, so may guess at answers where they really haven't a clue. Second, they may lie to avoid embarrassment. Third, when holding views they prefer to be private they may compromise."

Whilst careful preparation of questions and prompts might lessen this (Shipman, 1997), it cannot be overcome entirely. However, all data collection is by its very nature partial and incomplete, as research is necessarily a construction of reality as informed by the positionality of the researcher and the research participants. Interviewees may relate what they believe to be a partial and incomplete version of events, or they may relate what they believe to be the full and honest truth of events, which will also in itself be partial and incomplete. Through understanding the findings of research to be one 'truth' rather than a definitive and universal 'truth', this issue ceases to be of primary concern. Instead, pulling together a story that seems to reflect 'reality' as it is understood by the majority of stakeholders is a pragmatic target for the research. Within this, if there is no reason to suspect that what the individual interviewee is saying is not true in their opinion, it is reasonable to assume that interviewees are being honest in their accounts.

When considering individuals' experiences of landscapes and spaces, it is also relevant to think about the social and political influences on that experience. Crang and Cook (1995:8) are concerned with this, and suggest that "in light of this, researchers should consider how the context in which the research encounter takes place can provoke memories and insights into the world views and self-conceptions of differently positioned people." This leads them to argue that "not only is the *place* where the researcher and her/his subjects meet important to any study, but also the social context in which this is arranged" (Crang and Cook, 1995:8). So, in conducting the case studies, I tried to take into account in my analysis the location of the encounter, whether that be an interview, observation of a meeting or event, or something else. If the encounter occurred at the site of interest, in a public meeting hall, in the individuals own home, in the person's place of work, or on the university site, this would have some impact on the outcome of that encounter – the way the individuals involved behaved, how at ease they might be and what they may feel able to discuss, for example. Whilst acknowledging the limitations of any piece of research, it is clearly advantageous to develop a relationship of trust and a sense of relaxation with interviewees, in order to get as much from the interview process as possible, and the setting up of the interview plays a large part in this. As Shipman (1997:82) suggests, "Where the questions are asked or questionnaires completed can also affect results. Using the headteacher's study can produce very different responses to those received after school in a pub". To limit the negative interference of interview location the interviews were carried out at the convenience of the interviewee as far as possible, choosing times, days and locations that suited them best. This meant that interviews were conducted on weekdays and weekends, daytimes and evenings, and in offices, university meeting rooms, interviewees homes, at the sites, and in pubs.

I also felt it was important to consider the context that led to that encounter, and how the social environment might impact on the encounter. One important element of this is the way that I came into contact with stakeholders, and who was

involved in facilitating that introduction, particularly where that person had the capacity to act as a gatekeeper (see section 4.5.1). So those individuals who had been referred to me directly by people they trusted appeared much more open and relaxed in the interviews. Those who had little or no introduction prior to my approach were frequently more suspicious of the research and less enthusiastic to participate in an interview. Being aware of this helped me to tailor my approach, giving an appropriate level of introduction to the research project and its purpose and context, which helped to break down particular concerns.

4.4   Practicalities and Limitations

4.4.1 Access

The literature suggests that accessing different stakeholders and stakeholder groups can be problematic, and in some instances there may be resistance from individuals acting as 'gatekeepers' who may (or may try to) limit access. In the course of my research, there were some issues with accessing stakeholders that arose, some of which were related to the position of my research as connected to the URSULA project. My role within the URSULA project proved useful in terms of gaining access to certain groups through an introduction, as recommended by Crang and Cook (1995). However, this line of contact provided its own complications. In some instances my requests for interviews were hampered by other URSULA research, so that I was constrained from requesting interviews until other areas of the project had 'taken their turn'. I was also occasionally directed to the wrong individuals by gatekeepers, both within URSULA and within other organisations, because of their interpretation of what my research was about. Willis (2006:147) suggests making use of a variety of routes in to speak to people can lessen difficulties of access and reduce the problem of gatekeepers 'cherrypicking' participants, and this was certainly a useful approach, particularly where I was able to introduce myself to participants rather than relying on the goodwill of

gatekeepers. With all interviews, having established initial contact, there can also be access issues that result from reluctance to participate or to provide information. In this situation, I found it was useful to be explicit about the purpose of the research, and the purpose of the study, without being overly optimistic about its impact.

There was only one significant instance in my fieldwork where access to a key individual was withheld by a gatekeeper. A particular project manager who played a key role in consulting with other stakeholders and sharing information was, I felt, an important individual to interview. However, his direct line manager felt that an interview was not an appropriate use of his time as he was employed through an agency. Despite offering several alternatives to get around this (including offering to pay for the project manager's time), his position as line manager, and therefore gatekeeper, meant that he was able to prevent this interview from going ahead. Whilst this was extremely disappointing from a research perspective, it was in itself informative of the attitudes of the organisation to the themes of the research, and this fed into my analysis. Ultimately, while this interview would have been a valuable addition to the research, I am confident that its absence does not leave any major holes in the study because of the information provided by other interviewees.

4.4.2 Language

According to Crang and Cook (1995:28), when conducting ethnographic research "another aspect of the researcher's ideal 'blending-in' with the community under study is that of conversing in its own language as a means of gaining access to its 'culture'." These are issues that may also be a consideration with other types of research, as the divide between the research and the research participants can create barriers to communication. As a researcher working in my natural language

and in my home city, issues around territorial language and regional dialect and colloquialisms were not a concern. Professional language and acronyms occasionally created some confusion (mostly for myself when used by interviewees), but those interviewees generally seemed to expect that they would need to offer explanations in these instances. Additionally, working within the URSULA Project was of great benefit where this was concerned, as the interdisciplinary nature of the project meant that the terminology of different professional areas was much less unfamiliar than it might have otherwise been. Where the pace of interviews or meetings meant that explanations were limited, recording of interviews allowed unfamiliar terms to be revisited at a later date, and the use of documentary sources frequently assisted understanding of terminology.

4.4.3 Confidentiality

Confidentiality of participants and anonymity within publications and presentations was an important consideration for my research, and this had to be clarified at the outset so that interviewees could be confident they understood how and where the interview data was to be used. Bell (2005) warns against making promises that cannot (or will not) be kept with regards this, and the damage that this can do to participants. All participants were informed about the research and what it would be used for (PhD thesis, publications and presentations), and given an information sheet to keep which explained all of this along with my contact details. They were asked to complete a consent form, and offered a copy of this to keep. The consent form allowed the interviewee to choose whether they would prefer their identity to be anonymous in any publication of the research because, as Davies (1999) points out, anonymity will not always be desirable for participants. This was indeed the case, and the majority of participants stated that they would be happy for their name to be associated with any quotation from the transcript of the interview. Those who chose to remain anonymous were assured that their identity would not be identifiable in publications. Some interviewees stated that they were happy to

be identifiable for the most part, but had concerns (particularly for some interviewees representing a wider organisation) about certain parts of the interview being quoted. In these cases it was arranged that the interviewee would be consulted before any direct quotes were used and, if appropriate, these would be anonymised. Where names appear in the text these are all the real names of interviewees.

4.5   Data Management and Analysis

Data management was an issue of concern from the outset of the research, given the need for data protection and the ethical management of research data, and also the practical benefits of storing data in an organised and systematic manner. To manage this I planned and implemented systems at the outset of the data collection phase of the research. Computer files were set up to store electronic documents (secured with passwords) and box files for hard copy data (in a secure environment). Interviews were recorded using one digital recorder which was stored securely, and files erased from this once transcribed, with back-up copies preserved on a secure computer. A spreadsheet assisted in keeping track of data, particularly in identifying who provided different pieces of data and preventing data from being misplaced. Data analysis was an ongoing, recursive process in many ways, which commenced as the data was collected. Keeping research journals through this process was extremely useful in keeping note of important thoughts and ideas: a fieldwork journal was used during the selection of case studies and whilst these were conducted, and an analysis journal was used to keep notes and thoughts on initial analytical ideas whilst the analysis was ongoing.

To manage the analysis of the themes that emerged from the data, I chose to use a data analysis software programme (NVivo). This helped to implement a more consistent approach to the analysis of interview transcripts and complemented the

iterative approach to identifying themes by clearly arranging the data appropriate to each theme across the breadth of transcripts. This approach also helped to highlight relationships between different themes where other techniques would not have done so, as using NVivo 'nodes' can be cross-referenced against one another, to highlight the ways that there are interrelationships between themes. Some researchers express concerns about the use of software packages in analysis, such as that they can distance the researcher from their study (see Bazeley, 2007), however I did not feel this to be the case, as it is not the software that performs the analysis; it is simply a tool that can be utilised in the management of the process (Bazeley, 2007).

The data analysis incorporated a range of techniques as appropriate to the varied materials collected. Most of the data was in textual form: transcripts, copies of documents, observation notes, etc. These were analysed using a combination of 'in vivo' (making use of the participants' own understandings) and 'analytic' (my own interpretation) coding. This approach is described by Braun and Clarke as 'thematic analysis' (Braun and Clarke, 2006). They point out that the researcher plays an active role in identifying the patterns and themes within the narratives, and the initial themes which I identified related to the research questions which I had set to guide the data collection and analysis (theoretical or deductive themes). The analysis also incorporated inductive themes, which were not driven by the pre-existing research questions. Braun and Clarke suggest that these themes would not be driven by the initial theoretical interest, and this was indeed the case in my own analytical process. Thematic analysis "involves searching *across* a data set ... to find repeated patterns of meaning" (Braun and Clarke, 2006:86).

The use of NVivo software to manage the analysis allowed increased complexity and detail of the coding and the interrelationships between codes (Bazeley, 2007). The analysis takes a broader perspective to understand the texts within the context

of the case studies, building a picture of the case study as a whole and exploring themes that occur across the breadth of the interviews, rather than an in-depth approach to each document or transcript in turn. This approach is useful for understanding the broader themes within the cases, as described by Braun and Clarke (2006). In the case of my own research, this method highlighted the common approaches that stakeholders had to the governance processes, as well as the differences in understanding by different stakeholders which may give rise to conflicts in the decision-making processes, and the way that these relate to the site as an active and changing entity. Braun and Clarke suggest that thematic analysis requires a persuasive rhetoric of presentation and sufficient examples to allow those who have not read the full data set to be convinced of the plausibility of the argument (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In writing up the findings of the research in this thesis, I have made extensive use of the interview transcripts, to give a greater understanding of the feelings and perspectives of the interviewees, and to give depth to the analysis in context.

4.6   Issues of Ethics and Integrity

Research that involves human participants can raise a number of ethical concerns, and the approach taken to some of these issues, such as confidentiality and data management have been outlined in this Chapter. Research that is conducted within any University setting also requires ethical approval, to ensure that the issues have been given thorough consideration and will be handled in an appropriate manner. My research, including participant information sheets and consent forms, was ethically reviewed and approved by the Department of Town and Regional Planning on behalf of the University.

Conducting research as part of an interdisciplinary research project working at the research-policy interface brings to the surface a number of ethical issues that,

whilst relevant to any social research, become perhaps more so under such circumstances. The boundary between research and practice is far from distinct, and the impacts that the two bring to bear on one another become increasingly evident. My research was located within a £2.5 million UK government-funded project, with input from academics from a number of university departments, and working closely with representatives of the local authority and Environment Agency. The project set out with an explicitly normative agenda to "create a place where people can live and work safely, now and in the future", bringing together social, economic and environmental factors to produce "win-win-win" solutions (URSULA, 2008). As well as the generation of research findings, outputs for the project include influencing policy through representation on a city-scale Waterways Strategy Group. As the 'gatekeeper' of my research, influencing access and resources, the needs and priorities of the project (as well as the key individuals within the project), this relationship had an impact on both what my research was able to achieve and the way it was perceived by those outside of the project (Punch, 1998). It appeared at times that the critical interpretive nature of my research was uncomfortable within a project anticipating collaboration leading to 'win-win-win' solutions, given that my research questions such an idealised framing of the matter. Being clear about the nature of critical interpretive research from the outset, and about the need for my research to be at one remove from the URSULA Project helped to manage this concern. So ensuring my case studies were separate from the URSULA case study sites was important, for example.

Some of the arrangements for the URSULA project were designed to ensure that the different elements of the project merged well together, and there was some expectation that my research would be a part of this. This included a shared data storage facility and a project-wide ethical approval. In both of these instances, I felt it appropriate that my research data be kept separate from the wider project. The purpose of ethical approval, Booth *et al* (2008:83) state, is to avoid any inadvertent harm, such as embarrassment, violation of privacy, and so on. The problematic

nature of sensitive qualitative data of this sort being shared more widely, particularly given the relationships between members of the URSULA team and some of the interviewees, and the engagement that the URSULA Project has with ongoing policy formulation, meant that this had to be expressly enforced. The potential concerns that others within the project may want to access my research data was somewhat lessened by the selection of case studies that were different from those the wider URSULA Project was working on, which meant that the data would not be directly compatible with the wider project goals. However, the findings from my data have been shared within the project and used in conjunction with other data collected within the project for academic and non-academic outputs (for example Haughton *et al*, 2011a; Haughton *et al,* 2011b).

Related to ethical concerns is the value-laden and political nature of the research itself. As Davies (1999:61) points out, "research cannot be value neutral, … the vast majority of research that does not have an explicit value commitment does in fact have an implicit value orientation and political position in support of the status quo of existing power relationships." It is an important ethical consideration, therefore, to ensure that the research process is conducted with this in mind, and that any normative values are apparent in research findings and results. It is clear from the choice of my research focus and the standpoint of my research questions that I feel community engagement in the decisions that are made about the spaces that they use is important, and throughout the research process, this seemed to be clear to the research participants, given the way in which they responded to the research and to me. I have made efforts to ensure that the research is written and presented in such a way as to make clear that it makes no claims to be neutral or objective. I believe that this is important in presenting my research and its findings, so that those observing these findings are able to make informed decisions about their own judgements of the outcomes.

Where research makes contact with the 'real-world' of communities and individuals in their personal lives, this also generates a moral obligation on the part of the researcher. It is unethical to simply 'take' research findings from communities, and efforts must be made to give findings back in a usable way. During the course of my interviews, I explained to participants that I would like to share my findings with them so that they could see what their contribution had led towards. All were happy for their contact details to be kept on record for this purpose, and it is my intention to provide each with a summary of the key findings in the future. Given the intention to publish theses online they can also be provided with details of how to find the full text. I have been in a fortunate position that the URSULA Project has been very supportive of dissemination of non-academic outputs, through presentation and publication in practitioner focussed conferences and journals, so my interest in doing this has been supported. In this way I hope that the research can contribute directly to the decision-making processes as well as to progressing academic debate.

I felt it was important to consider any potential implications for participants of the publication of my thesis, and this seemed increasingly important given the requirement for online publication, which gives a significantly increased potential audience. This meant that it was important to consider any eventualities where publication of the thesis could be detrimental to participants, and perhaps to ongoing policy disputes. If this was thought to be the case, it is possible to embargo publication for a two or five year period. However, after consideration, I felt this would be an unnecessary step given the stage of progress on both case study sites and the satisfaction of stakeholders that confidentiality would be dealt with appropriately.

4.7   Reflexivity and Positionality

In an interpretive approach to research such as this, the identity of the researcher is significant to the research, as both how the research is approached and the findings it produces will be affected. As many feminist geographers and researchers have suggested (Rose, 1997; Maguire, 2000), the way that I am perceived by the various stakeholders has an impact on the interviews, exchanges, solicited materials, and perhaps the documentary resources to which I have been given access. However as Erica Schoenberger is cited as saying (with regard to her gender) "I am not sure precisely what differences it makes, and I am not sure how I would know" (Schoenberger, 1992, cited in Rose, 1997:312). This statement can be made about a multitude of aspects of my positionality: not only to my gender; but also my (perceived) age; my (perceived) class; my association with the University; my position as a PhD student; and my position as a qualitative social scientist; as well as, in all likelihood, many other factors. This complexity makes it extremely difficult to ascertain the impact that this has had, and as such it was appropriate to take a reflexive approach to any interpretation, and to keep in mind my own biography and try to consider the effects of this whilst acknowledging that a full understanding is impossible. Baxter and Eyles (1997:505) state that: "the researcher herself is a 'positioned subject' (Rosaldo, 1989) – consciously thinking about what and where he is and what and how she does things".

Wade (1984, cited in Crang and Cook, 1995:27) suggests that a neutral stance by the researcher is detrimental to the impression that they give to research participants, implying that they are disinterested, gullible and unprofessional, and this is certainly not a desirable outcome. It is therefore important to consider positionality and the way in which I may have been perceived by participants. Clearly, different participants will perceive different things on the basis of their own relative position and the way in which the research encounter comes about and takes place. It is not possible to manage other peoples' perceptions, but instead they need to be considered reflectively and findings understood in light of that.

Crang and Cook (1995:25) cite Cassell (1988) "In terms of negotiating these kinds of problems, one guideline which is perhaps most advisable to follow is that the researcher 'should adopt a role or identity that meshes with the values and behaviour of the group being studied, without seriously compromising the researcher's own values and behaviour…'". This advice offers an interesting perspective, particularly given the subject of the study is the varied interpretations and values of a site, and therefore the groups and individuals being studied are likely to hold very different perspectives in this regard. Whilst this approach was not one I intended to take in conducting interviews, in retrospect, this behaviour appears to be somewhat instinctive, as listening back to digital recordings of interviews, it was interesting to note the way I had not just expressed sympathy with certain viewpoints during the course of the interview, but recalling that I had also felt sympathy to those viewpoints in the interview situation, and which I would certainly not ordinarily be sympathetic to. This almost certainly led some interviews to proceed more smoothly than they otherwise might, had I expressed a more disapproving attitude towards their viewpoint, and perhaps encouraged the interviewees to open up further than they otherwise might. In the analysis of the data these self-contradictions were of some concern to me, and required consideration in the way that the findings were written, to avoid misinterpretation of the intentions of participants and the interviews.

Alongside the perception of the researcher are wider concerns around the researcher as situated within the research. Crang and Cook discuss the role of the 'detached researcher' in ethnographic research (1995:6). They are critical of this notion of calm, scientific disengagement, and suggest that instead "they/we are equally positioned, interconnected, and involved in the social and cultural relations under study" (Crang and Cook, 1995:7). The researcher's viewpoint is informed by their own position, both in academia and in wider society, and this has impacts on their interpretation of the research. Therefore the way in which positionality should be approached in conducting, analysing and writing about research is an issue of

concern to all interpretative projects. I would further add to this that certain research contexts can make this question of positionality a much more complex and multi-layered matter than others. My research is situated in such a way that one particular relationship has a distinct impact on the way in which my positionality as a researcher needs to be addressed within any analysis: my personal relationship to one of my chosen case study sites.

The nature of the URSULA Project meant that my case study sites were required to be within the city of Sheffield or thereabouts. During the course of my exploration of various potentially suitable sites, a programme of channel clearance work and extensive clearance of surrounding vegetation commenced on a site across the road from my house. Examination of the details quickly confirmed that this site would be suitable to answer my research questions, and so I decided upon this as a case study. However, given that my research focuses on the role of stakeholders in the decision-making processes around the case study sites, my personal relationships to the site and my knowledge and experience of the place mean that I am very much a stakeholder with regard to this site, as a citizen as well as a researcher. This is clearly of importance to my understandings of this site, and my engagement in and interpretation of the interviews I conduct in relation to this site. However, this is not necessarily a problem – feminist methodologies would support the assertion that this degree of 'closeness' to the subject is not in itself problematic from a research perspective, and can in fact be a positive thing (Maguire, 2000), but it nevertheless raises issues that needs to be addressed explicitly. Further, it creates a clear difference between my positionality in relation to this site and my positionality in relation to my other case study site, located 30 minutes drive away in an area I had little familiarity with before commencing my fieldwork.

In conducting interviews, my relationship to the local site clearly influenced the way in which I was perceived by some interviewees (as a 'local' rather than an objective researcher) in a way that did not happen with the second site, suggesting a different relationship than the typical interviewer-interviewee distinction. My knowledge of the local area and local politics gave me different inroads into the local community structures when investigating who may be stakeholders, meaning I was able to shortcut some of the routes to identifying stakeholders necessary on an unfamiliar site, but perhaps not identifying some of the contacts that might have been put forward by an outsiders perspective, such as those suggested for my other case study site by the contact at the local Voluntary Action organisation (this step was deemed unnecessary as such a breadth and quantity of stakeholders had already been identified for this site). My experiences of the locality also had an effect on the way that I digested information from stakeholders and interviewees, leading me to question some of the things I was told in a way that I would not with the second site. For example, one interviewee declared that 'everyone in the area was aware of this', something as a resident I knew not to be the case. A significant difference between the two case studies was the way that the proximity of the 'local' site made day-to-day observation of changes and occurrences much more frequent than would be possible with any other fieldwork site, and allowed impromptu site visits to coincide with evident activity.

Given the objectives of my research to explore the composition of stakeholders in relation to the sites, and the existence of knowledge, expertise and emotional relationships within the decision-making processes, it is clear that these differences will have had an impact on my research findings, and produced a different kind of experience of the two sites. As Coghlan and Shani consider in relation to organisational insider research, the position of insider can offer a number of advantages to the researcher in terms of the informal knowledge of the way that systems work and access to information (2008). Widdowfield also points out that research conducted in an area with which the researcher has limited engagement

can lead to an outsider's perception that puts emphasis on the negative (2000), a factor that is therefore reduced in a 'local' case study site (although clearly not in the other case study site, therefore creating further difference between the two).

Fay's (1996) exploration of the notion that 'it takes one to know one' examines some of the benefits and shortcomings of insider epistemology, and his construction of 'likeness' may suggest there is no meaningful distinction between my relationship to one case study or the other: "*knowledge consists not in the experience itself but in grasping the sense of this experience*" (Fay, 1996:27). However, whilst this may answer concerns around the different ways in which I 'know' the two sites, it does not address the spatial nature of my different relationships to the two sites. Yanow (2006:353) argues that "both researcher and researched are situated entities", and this situatedness must be taken into account by my research, or more particularly, how far my situatedness in relation to the two sites is important to the research. Ethnographic methods may offer some suggestions for managing this relationship in the analysis of my research. Sheata suggests that "reflexivity means being self-conscious about fieldwork and the role of the ethnographer in the production of knowledge; it is a reflexivity … about fieldwork as method and the ethnographer as 'positioned subject'" (2006:246).

I agree with Margaret Desmond that "research findings can be understood as relational, that is, the results have meaning when considered in relation to the many others, places and times implicated in this process such as the researched, the academy, the researcher and, in my own case, the PhD thesis" (Desmond, 2004:263). It is clear that the factors of positionality impact heavily on the outcomes of the research and it is of paramount importance that these issues of positionality are taken into account in the analysis of my research, as feminist academia suggests, "to rescue emotion from its discarded role in the creation of knowledge" (Fonow and Cook, 1991:11, cited in Punch, 1998:161). So as a result my

analysis does not purport to be objective and detached, but continues to reflect my

emotions towards the research alongside those of my participants.

Chapter 5: Centenary Riverside

5.1   Introduction

Whilst it is easier to think of case studies as though they exist within a fixed time frame, with processes of decision-making appearing, and concluding with definite and permanent conclusions, we know that the reality is much more messy and less clear cut. In examining the case studies, it also seems that the points at which elements of the process can be thought to 'start' and 'finish' are perceived differently by different individuals. In an attempt to map the different perceptions of the decision-making process and the wider context of the place as it exists before and beyond the decision-making process, this chapter recreates the process in the first of the two case studies. This draws on the interviews with different stakeholders to explore the ways in which their perceptions of the process differed to give a view of the process as I understood it to have happened.

Figure 8: Centenary Riverside (Photograph author's own)

This chapter draws on 27 interviews conducted with a variety of stakeholders, and the various meetings and events attended, to recreate the journey of the changes at the Centenary Riverside site.

5.2 Why This Site?

Centenary Riverside was identified as an interesting site to examine for this research because of the different perspectives on flood management that emerged from the stakeholder engagement with the site. The project began as an engineering focussed flood alleviation project, and developed through the involvement of other stakeholders. The site can be categorised as 'cold' using Callon's (1998, cited in Donaldson, 2013) distinction, in contrast to Malin Bridge, as the project was underway and harmonious when the research began. The project involved coproduction of knowledge through the input of a variety of stakeholders, and appeared to demonstrate a willingness from different stakeholders to engage with a variety of different perspectives. The involvement of a local nature charity introduced a number of less conventional aspects to the design of the site, and the way that these were incorporated in the decision-making process gave an interesting feature to the study of this site.

Embarking on the research at this site, there appeared to be no real sources of conflict or contention, although as the research progressed it emerged that there were problematic points in the process. An issue of contention arose around purchasing the land to be used for the site, and another related to the distribution of power within the relationships between stakeholders around longer term ownership of the site, particularly the way in which stakeholders were perceived. These issues are discussed further later in the chapter.

5.3   The Case Study

5.3.1 The Site
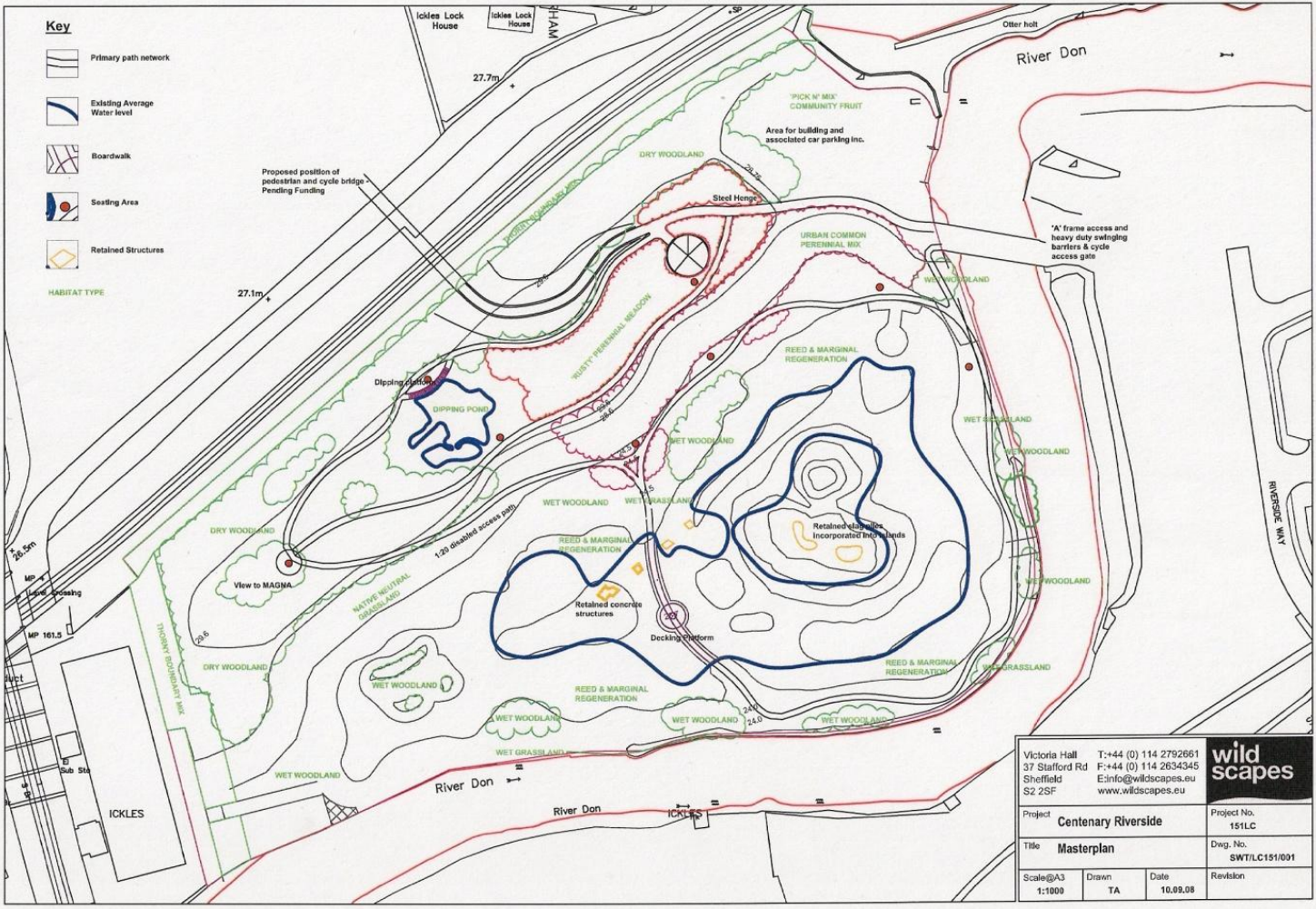
Figure 9: Centenary Riverside site plan (image courtesy of RMBC ©Copyright Wildscapes and Sheffield and Rotherham Wildlife Trust)
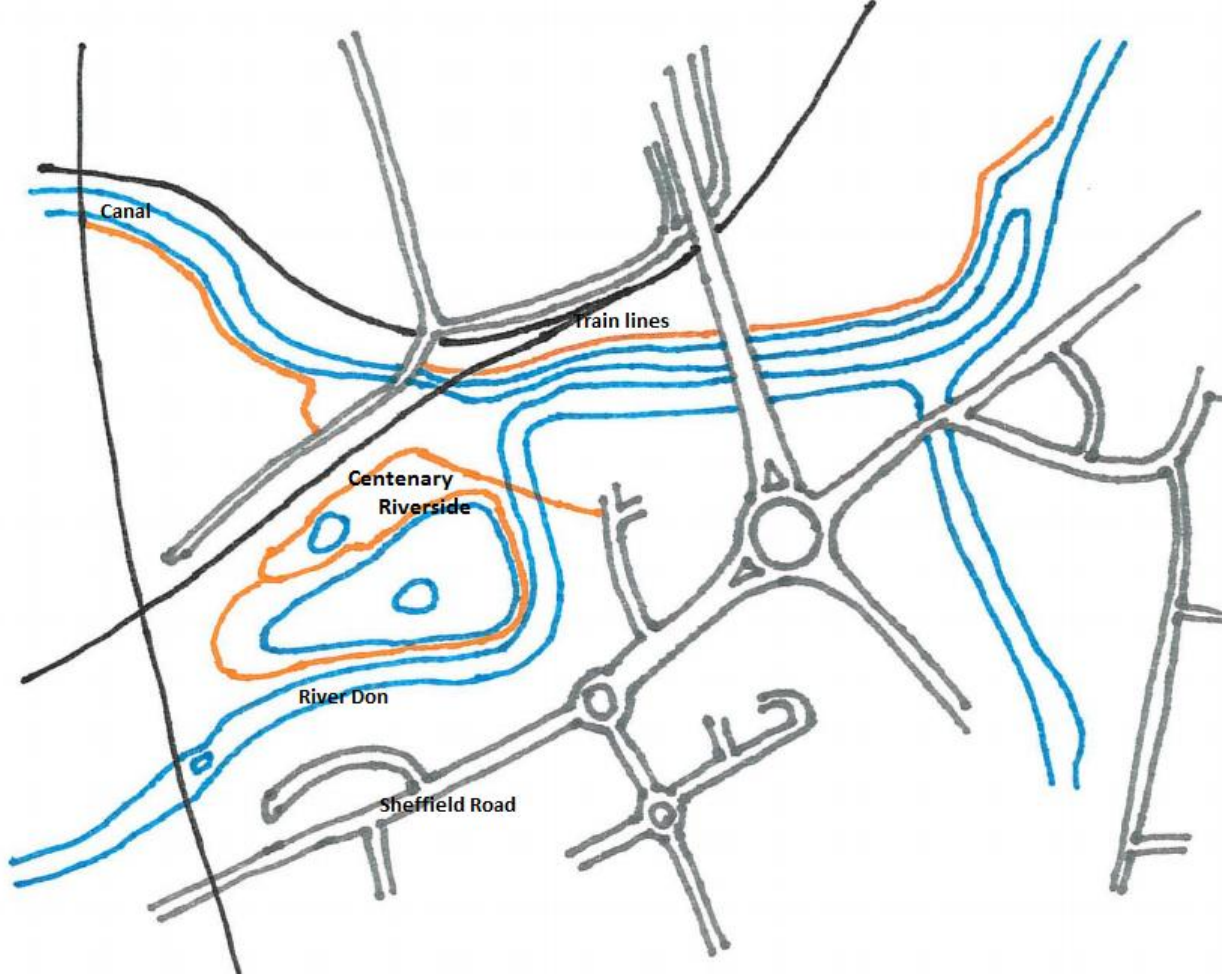
Figure 10: Centenary Riverside within the wider locality

5.3.2 Key Actors

This table outlines the main participants involved in the process.

Name	Role	Organisation	Role in the Governance Process
Greg	Partnership Implementation Officer	Investment and Development Office, RMBC	Lead driver of process, key coordinator
Steve	Assistant Development Co-ordinator	Investment and Development Office, RMBC	Lead driver of the process, key coordinator
Scott	Manager	Primesite UK	Landowner of Centenary Riverside site
Nigel	Director	Sheffield and Rotherham Wildlife Trust	Key partner, taking over management of Centenary Riverside site
Tony	Landscape Designer	Formerly Sheffield and Rotherham Wildlife Trust	Designer of Centenary Riverside Wetland Park
John	Project Development Manager	Yorkshire Forward	Main funding agency
James	Project Manager	Environment Agency	Environment Agency representative
Darren	Engineer	Firth Rixson	Main partnership contact for local business
Ian	Design engineer	Jacobs	Technical project designer

5.3.3 Timeline of Events

This table outlines the key events at the site from 1988 onwards. Prior to 1988, the site was the location of a major steelworks, and it was only following the demolition of these that the first of the key stakeholders, outlined above, became involved with the site.

Date	Activity
1988	Closure and demolition of steelworks on site; sale of land to Primesite UK
November 2000	Flooding in Rotherham Led to concerns within Rotherham MBC and Yorkshire Forward for the future of plans to regenerate the Templeborough area
	Identification of the need for flood alleviation for the area by Jacobs
	Development of a stakeholder group to make decisions about how the flood alleviation at Centenary Riverside was to be addressed (including the Environment Agency and Yorkshire Forward)
2002	Modelling of the problem by the Environment Agency and identifying funding to pay for the proposed solution
	Purchase of the land at Centenary Riverside from Primesite UK by Rotherham MBC using finance from Yorkshire Forward
	Development of relationships with adjacent landowners to prepare for works (including Corus, Firth Rixson, and Railtrack)
2006	Contractor for work engaged (Volker Stevin)
	Legal agreements drawn up with adjacent landowners
	Work began on site
June 2007	Flooding in and around Rotherham as a result of prolonged heavy rainfall
	Advertising for partners to take on the management of the site following completion
	Sheffield and Rotherham Wildlife Trust taken on as partners
	Development of landscaping plans to encompass wetland park aspirations for the site
	Site used by Sheffield and Rotherham Wildlife Trust as an

	educational venue and volunteer placements
September 2009	Launch event for the site
2010	Site handed over to Sheffield and Rotherham Wildlife Trust by Rotherham MBC for management

5.4   Overview

The Centenary Riverside site is on the River Don on the outskirts of Rotherham. It is located in Templeborough, close to the M1 Junction 34, and near to the Sheffield-Rotherham border. The site is off Sheffield Road, one of the main routes into Rotherham. The 4.5 hectare piece of land was previously owned by British Steel, who had a steelworks that stretched over site. Following its closure, the site, known as 'Seven Sisters' after the seven chimneys on the site from its operation as a foundry, was left as brownfield land, which naturally returned to a wild state:

> *"It was derelict land that hadn't been developed, and places like that often have some of the best habitat for otters to lie up in, in urban areas. They quite often use things like derelict land, and their other favourite is sewage works, because basically people don't go there very much, and often on derelict sites you get old buildings or old chambers and pipes, and scrubby areas where people aren't going. So that's often places where things like birds nest and creatures like foxes and otters lie up. In the same way as sewage works, they are good because they have very good security fencing and people don't like going there anyway because it smells. So they often have derelict bits where it's allowed to scrub up next to the fencing and the river, so again they're quite good places to look for signs of otters around there."*

> (Brian, Yorkshire Wildlife Trust)

As an area targeted for regeneration work in Rotherham, other sites nearby have gone from being brownfield to become new office space. Two car sales pitches,

leased by Toyota and Citroen, are adjacent to the site, and further along the river is a functioning steel works owned by Firth Rixson. The site is downstream of Sheffield, and nearby places of interest are the Blackburn Meadows Nature Reserve, and the Magna Science Adventure Centre. Following the river into Rotherham from the Centenary Riverside site, it is joined by the Sheffield and Tinsley Canal and the River Rother.

Prior to the development of Centenary Riverside, the site was owned by Primesite UK, a property development company, who had purchased the land in 1988 from British Steel. They had intentions to develop the site for sale, potentially as warehousing space, but were approached by Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council, who had surveyed the course of the River Don and identified Centenary Riverside as the most appropriate location for a flood alleviation scheme.

Figure 11: Centenary Riverside under flood conditions, showing recently developed office space to the west of the site (Photograph author's own)

The site was planned as part of a larger vision for the regeneration and flood protection of Rotherham, and working in conjunction with other policy for the catchment as a whole, particularly the Rotherham Strategic Development Plan and the Rotherham Public Realm Strategy. This is all brought together under the Rotherham Renaissance scheme, which is the regeneration strategy for the whole of the town centre. Planning permission was granted for the Centenary Riverside scheme in September 2005, and work on the scheme began in October 2006. The works to achieve the scheme affected a number of nearby businesses and services, including Firth Rixson, Corus, and Network Rail.

The partnership behind the development of the site, and the whole of the Rotherham Renaissance scheme, was Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council, the Environment Agency and Yorkshire Forward, with contractors Volker Stevin and designers Jacobs. Part way through the process of developing the site, Sheffield and Rotherham Wildlife Trust were brought into the partnership, as the organisation who would take on the management of the wetland park once the site was completed. Promotional literature for the Phase 1 (Centenary Riverside) scheme states that:

> "The 3km community-wide scheme underpins the Renaissance of the town centre. With funding from Objective 1, Yorkshire Forward, the Council and the Environment Agency the first phase, costing over £14million, will be completed in Autumn 2008 resulting in a 1 in 100 year flood protection standard for the upstream section and backwater protection for the downstream section also setting defence levels for the remaining section.
>
> The partners have commissioned detailed design of the remaining scheme which will fulfil the main goals and aims of the scheme to be delivered once the Urban Renaissance riverside redevelopment schemes are in place.
>
> …

The scheme will, ultimately, remove a constraint to the achievement of the Renaissance vision, affording safety from flood risk to around 30 hectares of brownfield urban and development land, the canal, the main western gateway, rail and road infrastructure and 37 hectares of land accommodating existing businesses. It will therefore potentially provide over 1,000 full time jobs and safeguard over 2,000 existing jobs." (RMBC, undated)

A summary of the scheme states that "Partnership working has been critical to managing and delivering this complex scheme to date. Complex engineering and land ownership issues have proved challenging, but have been overcome through collaborative work with the Environment Agency, landowners and contractors." (CAG Consultants, undated:1) Another element of complexity to the achievement of the scheme were the two conflicting policy drivers: the Town Centre Masterplan and Planning Policy Statement 25 (CAG Consultants, undated:1). Planning Policy Statement 25 generally opposes the development of flood plains, which Rotherham town centre is considered to be. As such, the plans of RMBC in proposing to regenerate the centre of Rotherham were in conflict with this policy driver.

The area was not classed as a high priority for flood defence works by the Environment Agency assessment criteria because of the lack of residential accommodation affected by the flood risk in the area. However, the Environment Agency were still influential in determining the design standards and appropriate consultants and contractors for the scheme. As well as meeting Environment Agency approved engineering standards, the scheme also made use of many features of the site in its new design, including concrete boulders in the channel from the building foundations, cast iron slabs recreated as 'steel henge', and wooden deckchair sculptures made from reclaimed railway sleepers.

The project was considered a success by those involved, and this was well publicised, attracting a visit from Floods Recovery Minister John Healey, and inclusion in projects and policy as an example of good practice, including the MARE project and the PPS25 Companion Guide. The site has also won awards, including commendation in the ICE Yorkshire and Humber Awards 2009, and the BURA Waterways Renaissance Award for Flood Risk Management in 2010.

Figure 12: Centenary Riverside opening, September 2009 (Photograph author's own)

5.5   Identifying a Problem

According to one interviewee, the opening of the decision-making process that led to changes at Centenary Riverside was first provoked by flooding in Rotherham in November 2000. The floods closed Sheffield Road, one of the main roads into the town from the M1 motorway. Rotherham had funding from Round 4 of the Strategic Regeneration Budget (SRB4) to regenerate the river corridor, in a project entitled New York Riverside, and the flooding had a direct impact on the SRB Board:

"Rotherham had a round called SRB4, or New York Riverside, which actually centred around this chunk of the river. And it had a board that met once a month, and Greg and I were both on the board. We didn't know each other before that. And then one night in November 2000, we were supposed to be meeting at an office building on Bradmarsh Business Park, it's in Templeborough. It's a site that Yorkshire Forward has reclaimed over a period of years, and we had our SRB full board meeting on the night of the flooding, and you couldn't get along Sheffield Road, because it was flooded. And the SRB meeting was hastily moved to the Town Hall. And Greg and I both got there, and looked at each other and said, we've got to do something about this." (John, Yorkshire Forward)

However, whilst some interviewees refer to the flooding as a relatively recent problem, others refer to incidents occurring in the area over a much longer timeframe. One stakeholder who had worked in the steelworks remembered flooding going back much further in the history of the area:

"... it was a regular thing. Even when it was a steelworks it was a regular thing that it used to flood. Across the river there used to be what they called Phoenix Hall, it was a church and they used to have it as a gymnasium and boxing. And he parked his car there, and when he come back it were floating, so it's not a new thing." (angler)

This suggests that whilst the problems may have in fact existed for some considerable length of time, it is only from an incident in 2000 that it became conceptualised as a problem that needed to be addressed, instigated by the team concerned with regenerating the town.

The immediate concerns related the flooding directly to the programme of regeneration, as mentioned by a number of interviewees. This was perhaps in some ways a logical step, as the regeneration agenda for the town was already focused

on the regeneration of the river corridor as a consequence of the decline of the steel industry through projects such as the New York Riverside scheme.

"And Greg and Steve have probably told you, that the initial investigation of Rotherham actually started around the Centenary site where the wetland has ended up, as a potential out-of-town, edge-of-centre redevelopment site. And they were approaching us as to how they could address that. And it kind of grew into a how do we look at the whole flood risk for the whole area they've got allocated for regeneration in Rotherham." (James, Environment Agency)

The perceived need for regeneration of the river corridor therefore became tied in to the problem of flooding in the riverside areas, which led to a recognition of a relationship between these two issues, and led to the integration of the solutions.

5.6   The Governance Process

Whilst the problem was recognised by the SRB Board generally, this did not automatically lead to a course of action. Without a dedicated stream of funding to support the search for solutions to this problem, recognition of the need to do this was needed within the local authority. The necessity of this was not felt across the Council, but was taken on, and became a personal crusade for two employees of Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council.

"I mean, it wasn't really a genuine desire of the council to do this. We put all the arguments within that we should pursue it. Clearly there was some support from Rotherham, I mean, we got 1.4 million quid in financial resource from Rotherham. And clearly we got support for the basis of the scheme. But the main, in terms of participation, formulation, implementation … it's very difficult to put it in any way other than that, it

*seems arrogant, but it's actually true. We pursued it, because we felt there
was a need to do it."* (Steve, Rotherham MBC)

Although it was clear that the process was driven and led by these two individuals,
there was still a sense of a shared process amongst those involved in the
development of Centenary Riverside. The key organisations involved were the
Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council's Investment and Development Office,
Yorkshire Forward and the Environment Agency. Many of those involved in the
project in various capacities felt the process had been an inclusive one, and this was
something participants were keen to share and promote as one of the successes of
their achievement.

> *"I think we worked well together, they always say. We had an interview
> from BURA [British Urban Regeneration Association] last week, who are
> shopping around for a water site regeneration award. And the BURA
> interviewer said the one thing that comes out of this is how well you lot get
> on together, which I think was actually quite a good statement."* (John,
> Yorkshire Forward)

The small group of key participants spoke in positive terms about their relationship
with the project and the communications between those involved to seek mutually
satisfactory solutions. Once this core group was established (although its wider
composition did change over the course of the project), the next stage of the
process was the identification of precisely what the problem was perceived to be.
The prevention of flooding that would allow for the continued regeneration of the
area was a key priority, and the creation of space for flood compensation was
identified as an appropriate way in which to address this.

> *"This project started following the 2000 floods, … and we were looking, and
> part of the area [of concern] was the regenerative area of Templeborough.
> Really our area of interest at that time was, given the flood, how could we
> continue to develop in that area. So, that was the first thing. That then came*

*up with a direction from JBA who were modellers of rivers, that said, you
need to actually look for flood compensation."* (Steve, Rotherham MBC)

Whilst this appears to be a straightforward technological decision, considering the
decision in greater depth, it also has a strongly political dimension, as it is only
through choosing to address the flood risk in a way that frees up land for
development that allows the regeneration of Templeborough to continue. One of
the key actors in the Centenary Riverside scheme felt that the plans for
regeneration were supported by the advice given to them by consultants, as the
proposed options for reducing Rotherham's flood risk created space for less risky
development.

*"The other important thing was the Renaissance initiative, but then brought
in the regenerative argument that actually reconciled with what the
consultants were telling us."* (Steve, Rotherham MBC)

For many of the core group involved in the governance process around the flood
compensation site, the key priority was not directly flood defence or prevention,
but the regeneration of the town of Rotherham, which flood risk was seen as a
barrier to. The Strategy Group Board played a significant role in the positioning of
the scheme in the priorities for the town as a whole, and were primarily concerned
with the potential for Rotherham to move forwards.

*"I sit on the Strategy Group Board, so yeah, it's a Board just outside the
Council. You have the Chief Exec of the Council and I suppose the Strategic
Director of the planning arm and the development side sit on it. But then
there are the Chamber on it and various outside people, so for my sins I sit
on it. And yes, it's, we have it put about all the developments for the town. It
doesn't mean what we say goes, but we can have influence back to like I say
the Council's cabinet, and one of the councillors sits on the Strategy Board as
well, so it's an important body. But it moves Rotherham forward in the right
ways. I think the beauty of it is, when you're looking at town planning as a*

*whole, all of it's about twenty years into the future. And there's a lot
happening in Rotherham and a lot of it is happening really quickly. Even with
the recession putting us back it's still happening remarkably quickly. So it's
really good for Rotherham and Centenary Riverside is a huge plus."*
(Matthew, Magna Trust)

The joining of these two issues of regeneration and flood risk was seen as entirely
rational and reasonable, to some extent using discussions to redefine both
'problems'. One of the key actors in the process explained how the project evolved
and the two targets converged through this process:

*"So the fundamental of Renaissance was the river. And obviously
identification of brownfield sites that were near the river that could bring a
newer economic and urban environment. So if you can imagine, there's two
separate things, and a convergence between the renaissance and the flood,
because the river is there, Rotherham is there, and the river isn't going to
move. The river, in essence in flood contexts is a threat. And we will do that,
in terms of again at the regenerative limits of the renaissance site, and the
outcome was that our problem had some breadth to it, because of
connections to other arterial things between the river in flood and
Rotherham. So we had that convergence in that the suggestion was again
from modelling in harmony and partnership with the Environment Agency,
that we needed to defend the whole lot to do the job, because of the specific
problem that Rotherham had. And that's when our argument expanded in
terms of the challenge of the task and obviously the cost, and how we could
attempt to fund that. So, in there you've got so many different things that
come to what I call the convergence, the harmonising of a project within the
scope of funding bodies and a driver, and the driver was renaissance in the
central area, whereas conversely the starting point for looking at the flood
was to try and look at developing out in a regenerative area on the town's
periphery."* (Steve, Rotherham MBC)

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The drawing together of regeneration and flood risk as one issue was in this instance felt to be the natural response to the issues at hand. However, it is clear that this is not as natural a conclusion for many sites. An Environment Agency employee explained that the criteria for DEFRA Grant in Aid funding to address flood risk specifies that sites at risk of flooding are unsuitable for development, and flood defence works should not encourage development in the area.

> *"There was the 'thou shalt not build on flood plain' starting point of the Agency, which is modified now, it's not quite as sacrosanct now as perhaps it once was, maybe five or six years ago, because of the realities of urban sites. Because it is a reality of urban centres."* (James, Environment Agency)

The decision to support the plans was therefore in some ways controversial within the Environment Agency. For some within the Environment Agency, supporting the scheme in any way was problematic:

> *"... we had a few heated debates within the Agency, as I said earlier, about whether we're selling the floodplain or we should be doing this at all. We had people at a higher level questioning us within the organisation, people fairly high up in policy saying what the hell are you doing? Why are you involved in this? We should be stepping back from this, and we should have our planning liaison people objecting to this scheme."* (James, Environment Agency)

This suggestion of the need for flood compensation led to the initial suggestion that Blackburn Meadows would be a suitable location for this. As a site within the Sheffield boundary, this would have given rise to governance issues in the subsequent development process and complexities regarding management and ownership. However, it became clear that permission from the landowners would not be granted for this, so alternatives needed to be found. Discussions around this potential site never developed any further, so this discussion was closed quickly, at

least in the mind of one stakeholder, although another stakeholder remembered the situation somewhat differently, suggesting that instead the site was found to be unsuitable, and dismissed for this reason:

> *"We looked further upstream, at Blackburn Meadows, where there is quite a lot of contaminated land associated with the sewage works, and actually sites where sewage sludge were dumped. Environmentally they are pretty ugly, heavy metal contamination, methane, you name it, they've got it."*
> (John, Yorkshire Forward)

The different reasons given may well have both been factors in the final decision to cease to consider Blackburn Meadows, but the different recollections of the decision may indicate the different priorities and interests of the different stakeholders in the process.

From the identification of Centenary Riverside as the appropriate location for the flood alleviation site, the design of the site was agreed by the main participants at that time: members of the Strategy Group Board and the Environment Agency, whose permission was required due to the legalities of undertaking flood alleviation work. Given the relationship between the flood alleviation work and the regeneration commitments of Rotherham MBC, the leading of the project by Rotherham MBC representatives was considered by the stakeholder group a sensible choice, despite the statutory responsibilities of other agencies.

> *"Clearly it's the Environment Agency's responsibility for river flooding, however there is no driver for achieving that in Rotherham, because there are virtually no existing houses in the extent of that - about five in the whole extent - it's mostly existing commercial businesses and infrastructure, road, rail, a substation, and that sort of thing, which scored hardly at all. It scores slightly better on the current assessment, but certainly 2001-2, it hardly scored anything at all. So, so we'd be waiting 15-20 years before the EA would even have got to looking at Rotherham. So, because of as Steve says,*

this renaissance driver, rather made a cogent decision to actually step in and take over that role, and be the lead project manager." (Greg, Rotherham MBC)

For those other stakeholders involved with the governance of this site, there were decisions to be made around their own priorities and how these related to the plans for Centenary Riverside site. For Sheffield and Rotherham Wildlife Trust, the proposal for Centenary Riverside initially on paper was not something which fitted within their priorities of ideas about how the site should be managed. However, taking a pragmatic approach, they were able to redefine the problem to create a situation that they felt able to engage with rather than oppose. Prior to engaging with the project the organisation spent some time assessing not simply what would be lost by the project going ahead, but what could be gained in its place from an environmental perspective:

"… this site was actually a really nice bit of urban common, but, well you wouldn't really call it a visitor asset, because it was full of concrete blocks and big holes and sharp bits of rusty steel and things. So it wasn't somewhere that people would habitually go to in large numbers and enjoy the atmosphere, because in any layperson's viewpoint it was a derelict mess. But it had lots of really nice plants, a really nice big fig tree at one end, it had Michaelmas daisies and buddleia, the typical assemblage of plants that come naturally on an urban wasteland, and very valuable for insects particularly, and then from the insects and birds and bats, etc. And so there were actually quite a few objections to the planning application. And we didn't object, because we figured, well, there were plenty of people raising those issues so they will be taken into account when decisions are made. Our best route in is to try to explore the opportunities that it presents, because this is going to happen." (Nigel, Sheffield and Rotherham Wildlife Trust)

5.7   Addressing the Problem

The first step in achieving change at the Centenary Riverside site was to find money to fund the project. Having effectively defined the problem to be one of enabling regeneration rather than a simple matter of flood alleviation changed the nature of the way this aspect of the problem could be approached. As flood defence funding is almost exclusively under the umbrella of DEFRA, who did not classify Rotherham's funding as a priority at that time, this finding was highly unlikely to be forthcoming. Alternatively, funding for regeneration work was more straightforward to obtain, and within the scope and experience of those at the centre of the project. The collaborative nature of the approach to the project was felt to be key in achieving the funding for the work.

> "Because the only way that phase 1 was achievable, which ended up being £14 million worth of scheme, was if we could get a number of funding sources together. There's no way any individual funder was going to be able to bite that off, so we achieved a joint business plan that went into the Objective One process and Yorkshire Forward, that was the key to it, really, without renaissance we wouldn't have been able to attract funding for phase 1. So when jointly entering those two as a single business case, backed up by Rotherham standing up with its hands in its pocket's saying right we're going to commit some money to this as well. Not huge in the grand scheme of things about 10% in total, but is significant because we were driving it."
> (Greg, Rotherham MBC)

As the quote above suggests, the emphasis on partnership working was certainly beneficial in seeking financial support for the project, and this appears to be an approach endorsed by a number of agencies:

> "We [Local Levy Fund] enter into partnerships with Local Authorities because we want to reduce the risk of flooding, but if the work can give other

benefits then fine, let's do that at the same time and both save money."
(Programme Manager, Environment Agency)

Drawing in financial support for the scheme from a range of places brings its own complications however, as their requirements for information and justification may differ. By relying on a range of funding sources, the business plan for the project was made more complex, as it needed to bring together targets that would meet the requirements of the various funding bodies.

> *"The actual modelling of a physical solution to the flooding problem was fairly straightforward. It's not a complicated flood alleviation scheme in terms of its technical aspects. It's predominantly containment, it's predominantly flood walls with reinforced concrete piles, with the wetland acting as compensation. It's not actually storage, it's an online facility that pulls the water levels down in the whole area. It doesn't store water, it doesn't take water in and let it out slowly, it's fully active with the river. So the actual scheme itself is not that complicated. Where the complexity in the scheme comes from, and where the interest really comes from, is how it's sat in terms of funding and prioritising, and how you actually put a business case together for actually building it."* (James, Environment Agency)

Because of the varied requirements of different funding bodies for them to release money to the project, the Centenary Riverside team were forced to commit spending on certain aspects of the project in order to produce evidence for the benefit of other funders. The costs of modelling the flood alleviation scheme in particular were ones that had to be undertaken before the funding for the solutions would be committed.

> *"So there is an awful lot of money spent upfront before you even achieve the business case approvals that you need, hundreds of thousands of pounds spent with consultants, proving their arguments, and all that stuff that Steve*

was talking about, modelling, feasibility analysis, all of that had to be spent

upfront." (Greg, Rotherham MBC)

Not all of the support for the project was explicitly financial. In some instances contributions were made by stakeholders that was not accounted economically in the costs of the project, but provided information that would have been expensive to obtain otherwise. This included particular types of knowledge offered by those in the Environment Agency and Firth Rixson for example.

"But they originally asked for input, and effectively they did get input for nothing, because all the engineers who were there at the time, who had to liaise with everybody and work with them, and there was a certain amount of effort put in to it. That never got any charge or anything put to it, so we put in the info and worked with them basically and got the input." (Darren, Firth Rixson)

The cost of certain aspects of the project led to some disagreement. The expense that caused most issue was the cost of the land itself for the wetland site. As the quotes below indicate, the expectations of the land value differed considerably between those selling the land and those purchasing it:

"...spoke to the landowners and explained that we were going to develop this piece of land or commercial purposes wanted to give it all up for wetland, for water, was quite actually much calmer than I thought it would be. He took it ever so well, he went away and thought about it and marshalled his case, and eventually through hard negotiation, he got his commercial value. I'm not that sure that he really lost out, even though every time we see him. He says that we could have done with another piece of land. What he really wanted us to do was swap him for another piece of land, but that was just not in our gift and remit, so he always says that we needed another piece of land, but he got commercial value for that." (Greg, Rotherham MBC)

The development company who owned the land prior to its purchase by Rotherham
MBC had a different view on the value of the land.

> *"...we got contacted from them to say that unfortunately there's some bad
> news. Your land has been identified as the key preferred site to flood. Which
> we spent many years fighting, because obviously you can't go and buy sites
> like this very easily, and although we knew we couldn't develop it because of
> the flood and how they work planning applications, clearly you can't build
> stuff on land when it floods, we knew there was a downside to it, but we still
> had anticipations of a higher value use on it, which we knew we wouldn't get
> back no matter what deal we did with Rotherham. We wouldn't get
> compensated for what we thought it was truly worth."* (Scott, Primesite UK)

Settling on a price for the site required negotiation around its perceived value from
the two different perspectives, and the landowners clearly felt that they had been
subject to the power of the local authority to dictate in this instance, as the holders
of statutory authority.

Once the funding for the project was in place, the negotiations with affected
stakeholders were able to become more concrete, which changed the nature of the
discussions quite considerably in the experiences of those managing the project:

> *"There was a period of about six months preparation in which we got the
> contractor engaged. Suddenly, the gentlemen's agreements and
> understandings had to be translated into pieces of paper and landowners
> suddenly thought again and started proposing, not unreasonable
> requirements, you might say, in terms of that the risk was to them and their
> premises and operations, but things came out of the woodwork that we
> hadn't been told about before."* (Greg, Rotherham MBC)

Despite the level of information required previously, the volume of information
needed to begin the construction was much greater:

"Now a tremendous amount of detail that wasn't originally in the plan suddenly had to be delivered. Now Firth Rixson was one of the main businesses that was part of it is and suddenly on day one of construction start, they said, well, we haven't got guaranteed electricity supply. You do have to do something about it before we're even going to allow you to start on our site..." (Steve, Rotherham MBC)

Nevertheless, for some stakeholders the construction phase of the project indicated for them the end of their involvement with the process, because they felt they had contributed all they could or needed to by this point. This was the case for the previous owner of the land, and also for the representative of the County Archaeology Service.

"… because we were consulted and certainly discussed the detail with people like Steve Smith at Rotherham, they were very aware of the concerns. I had some discussions with the consultants as well and I think there was an archaeological consultant from ### who were involved as well. So there was a lot of discussion, formal discussion of the concerns along that stretch of the river. I'd be surprised if they didn't take it on board. But I've not really had much feedback because it was more a case of avoid things rather than specifically do particular types of work." (County Archaeologist)

Of those stakeholders who continued to be involved, those taking responsibility for the site subsequent to its construction were seen as having a final say in the criteria set, particularly the Environment Agency.

"It is all being done to their design standards with their [Environment Agency] design partners and their construction partners, so that they know that they are happy with what's been built." (Greg, Rotherham MBC)

Initially it was only the Environment Agency who were seen to be responsible for the site in the long term, as have statutory authority to manage the river, but this

later also included the Sheffield and Rotherham Wildlife Trust as they took on the responsibility for the management of the site:

"The first stage we will literally, we were really just an elevated representation of some kind of expertise and public interest. We didn't have any stake, really, any bigger than anyone else, but we just happened to have got into that position where we could talk directly to the engineers at Jacobs Babtie about whether the specifications they were putting in to the designs were what we wanted to see not. And to talk directly to the contracting engineers at Volker Stevin about how they were actually implementing the works. So we didn't do anything, but we did have a direct route into it. And during that phase of the project, there were a few issues really. Because we felt as though we were very privileged stakeholders, because really Rotherham Council was pointing the engineers to us and saying we may be the clients, but the Wildlife Trust is going to take on ownership of the site, so you should treat them as a sort of supplementary client. So whenever we had meetings, the engineers were definitely working to ..., so it was all a bit confusing about who exactly was taking note of what and who exactly was going to implement what when you decided anything." (Nigel, Sheffield and Rotherham Wildlife Trust)

So whilst the local authority representatives were keen to share the power that they held in this instance with the Wildlife Trust, the perception of the contractors remained that the local authority were the ones who held the power, meaning that despite being the future owners of the site, the Wildlife Trust were constrained in their ability to exercise the power they had been given. This perhaps reflects the conventional ways of managing projects such as this, and the challenge to changing those dynamics.

The legalities surrounding the process were typically seen as a hindrance to the partnerships, rather than as supportive of the process, as they seemed to undermine the friendly relationships established through partnership working.

"There is a consistency about interventions, and this is about legal officers, sorting out legal documents in relation to what you were rather hoping that would be a mutual unofficial partnership. But there is a formality to it even then, and this is the issue, the legalities, and the way lawyers work to represent their clients, seems to militate against the purpose of partnership and everything else." (Steve, Rotherham MBC)

For some stakeholders, the initial plans for the site left opportunities to add value to the original concept. This was particularly true for the Wildlife Trust, whose contribution to the governance process led to the development of the site as a wetland park providing amenity space rather than simply a flood alleviation space offering no added value to wildlife or the local communities.

"And I went out on a couple of site visits with them [Steve and Greg] and the Environment Agency to look at different aspects of the flood alleviation scheme, where it was going to be, the hard infrastructure piling and whatever, but then working with them to try and get some sort of more natural flood alleviation within the scheme as well. ... But the opportunity to have it as a nature reserve and a soft flood alleviation project seemed to come through as quite a sensible idea. And so sending my comments back on the planning aspect of the flood alleviation scheme, it kind of just got worked up from there. And then because of my previous involvement with Sheffield Wildlife Trust I kind of suggested to Greg and to Steve that they may be a suitable organisation to take on the design and future management of it, and then that came off as well, so that was quite good. It was very good." (Carolyn, Ecologist, Rotherham MBC)

Once involved with the project, the involvement of the Wildlife Trust grew rapidly, as their suggestions for the site design and purpose were incorporated into the previous ideas held by those stakeholders already involved. The increased level of involvement led to the decision that the Wildlife Trust would be a suitable organisation to take on the long-term management of the site.

> *"But we felt that the premise of creating this dual function area for water to deliberately move into in a flood event, needed looking after, and we did argue that, and we did argue that with funders. We sought partners, early on, just through making calls, to see if there would be interested in taking on a wildlife management in that sense. The only one that we talked to that really gave over any interest in that was Sheffield and Rotherham Wildlife Trust."* (Steve, Rotherham MBC)

This arrangement meant that some of the other priorities the Wildlife Trust has introduced to the project could become more prominent in the long-term plans for the site. With plans in place for the long-term management of the wetland habitat on the site, the environmental and social goals introduced were more likely to be achieved and maintained than if the site was left to be managed purely as a flood alleviation site by the Environment Agency or Rotherham MBC.

> *"And then that's kind of grew into a realisation that actually, they were also looking to get rid of the land to somebody because they considered that it was going to be a long-term liability that they didn't really want to manage as a local authority. And so we said, actually we would be interested in managing it, if the finances worked right."* (Nigel, Sheffield and Rotherham Wildlife Trust)

In taking on the management of the site the Wildlife Trust were able to develop their proposals further as aspects to broaden the environmental and social value of the site could be introduced at a later time, rather than within the timeframe of the flood alleviation development.

*"And we're getting in contact with lots of local groups, local fishing groups
and biodiversity groups, walking groups, all that kind of stuff. The normal
groups that we would work with on our other reserves as well. Local bird
groups as well. So it will be, well it should be a good site for birds in the
future, a wetland birds in particular. There's a chap from the British Trust for
Ornithology, BTO, who's quite interested, he works down at Blackburn
Meadows, which is just down the road from Centenary, and he does stuff like
bird ringing there and stuff, where they put the little tags on their legs, so
he's got an interest in that… So it's just trying to encourage as many people
as possible. At the moment it's just being used for people from all the local
businesses and so on who are coming over for their lunch. But I've met quite
a few people walking their dog over there. I'm not quite sure where they've
come from, walking their dog down the dual carriageways. I think
sometimes you've just got to accept that it's going to take time for the word
to get out that it's there really. We're doing stuff like we've got displays and
things up in the Rotherham Tourist Board shop and that kind of stuff."*
(JohnPaul, Sheffield and Rotherham Wildlife Trust)

The Wildlife Trust were seen by the other stakeholders involved in the Centenary
Riverside project to add value to the project not only by the knowledge and
expertise they brought to the site, but also the ways in which their charitable status
allowed them to attract alternative sources of funding:

*"Originally they had only budgeted, I don't know, about £100,000 to the wall
of the surface landscaping, and basically all you could get that was to cover
the site in top soil and seed it with a very basic grass mix, and bung a few
trees in at the back. That's what you'd have got for your hundred thousand
pounds, and that's what the budget was. Now that was part of Volker
Stevin's contract, so they were expecting to use their earthmoving machines
to spread the top soil, to get a machine to chuck grass seed all over it, and
they would have got £100,000 for doing it. But when we started we said*

*that's not how you want to be landscaping, you want to have a bit of
wetland down here, dry woodland up there, wet woodland down there, and
have some re-creation of the urban common here originally by planting here,
and some experimental meadow planting, and perennials there ... try to
create something that is like the site was, but with knobs on. You don't get
that for £100,000."* (Nigel, Sheffield and Rotherham Wildlife Trust)

This added value aspect of the site is also perceived to add economic value in the
wider surrounding area by some stakeholders, with the physical appearance of the
site reflecting positively on neighbouring spaces as well as the reduction in flood
risk.

*"Now it's finished it's nice that we can ... it makes the outlook from our other
bit of land quite nice, and we have recently been talking to hotel groups, and
we've had other ideas for the site. But I think doing a car dealership or
something like that on it wouldn't be the best scheme for that piece of land
with the outlook that you've got, with the river, it makes for a pretty
picturesque setting that close to a town centre."* (Scott, Primesite UK)

5.8   Assessing Success

The interviewees highlighted different aspects of the site when assessing how
successful the project had been. The notion of flooding as a priority is clear in the
descriptions of some stakeholders, and this is unsurprising given its prominence in
the original proposals for the change to the site.

*"The fact that there's a brick wall there, and the fact that people will say
didn't it flood round here, well there's a great big wall and there's a great
big hole in the ground, and you can actually say that's where all the water's
going to go. So hopefully people's negative view of the area as it stands,*

we've seen that with our offices, that people are nervous about it, we just need a great big rainfall to test it. A bit of a savage way of looking at it, but until that happens, local people will still be a bit suspect really. I think even we are really, because as I say we're not scientists. So until it's tested in the ultimate form, where it rains cats and dogs for a couple of days, you're not going to know. But it will be an interesting exercise to see if and when that happens, maybe it'll be next spring, because that's when it usually rains a lot. That is the ultimate test." (Scott, Primesite UK)

For other stakeholders however, the regeneration that has been facilitated by the flood alleviation was more prominent as a measure of success. One of the key actors talked about 'rescuing' the site from its 'industrial past' because the site has been made available to the public and local communities rather than sealed off for private use.

"We also I think rescued it from its industrial past, which excluded people totally and brought about the principle of partnership into something that people can utilise again. That is one important thing in the context of economic, social and environmental value, because clearly, it didn't have any before that." (Steve, Rotherham MBC)

Others emphasised a more diverse range of benefits which they see the site as offering to be measured as a success:

"Rotherham Council's starting point in the whole thing was obviously, they've got a large part in the middle of Rotherham in the floodplain, threatened by flooding, they need to do something about it, the only way they can get flood defences to work is if they retain the appropriate amount of water within that bit of the river while they build the defences up. The only way to do that is to build some flood storage somewhere, and that is where they put in it. And it could have been a grassy bowl with that amount of capacity, and if it's got bells and whistles on it, well great. That was their

starting point. While the Wildlife Trust has come at it from a completely different point of view. Part of which was motivated by the way that the Sheffield Wildlife Trust has developed, so we have always had a very very economic, social, people centred points of view of what wildlife conservation is all about. And so pretty much everything we've ever done has started from the point that people need access to high-quality natural places on their doorstep, which deliver a range of benefits to them as human beings. And they could be health benefits, education benefits, entertainment benefits, economic benefits. And coming at it from that point of view, you look at that bit of Rotherham and you think there is a bit of the town that is just crying out to have something good environmentally done here. And which should bring all kinds of benefits to all sorts of people. So that's the reason why the Sheffield Wildlife Trust was keen to get involved, and why that seemed to be a very good place to do it." (Nigel, Sheffield and Rotherham Wildlife Trust)

For some stakeholders, the achievement of the Centenary Riverside site as a flood alleviation wetland signified the completion of the project, and effectively the end of the issue. However, for many stakeholders, this was simply one phase of a wider issue. For those overseeing the project, these flood defences form only part of a defence system planned to protect the whole town, and the subsequent phases of the flood defence system were for them the complete project.

"We needed a scheme because of the peculiarities of the River Don in Rotherham, that was quite a wide scheme. Basically, this scheme is joining up a flood defence to a high point in the West and doing exactly the same thing to the East of the town centre. So preventing water leaking out, that would go in various directions in Rotherham town centre if it did." (Steve, Rotherham MBC)

For these stakeholders who had taken responsibility for the overall scheme to this point, there was also an evident reluctance to relinquish the project to the management of others, suggesting that the project in some ways felt 'unfinished' or 'incomplete':

"And the handover stuff to the Wildlife Trust, we're still building a relationship with them. And it's fine, it's absolutely fine, but it needs working at on both sides. We still need to do a bit, they still need to do a bit. The point at which we can walk away and say everything's fine, well I guess it's our commitment to the site. We could do that, there's a management agreement written, but writing the words down and making it happen is two different things." (Steve, Rotherham MBC)

This in some ways seems to be less to do with the physical state of the site, or the point at which the project is at, and more to do with the emotional engagement that stakeholders have developed with the site over the time they have worked on the project.

"You will probably end there because other people will need to take on the formalities and the management committees and all those other things, which is a personal disappointment, because when you've argued for something you do have a sense of desire for continuity." (Steve, Rotherham MBC)

At some stages of the process, the involvement of a range of stakeholders meant that what would typically be straightforward patterns to the ending of involvement became much more complicated for some stakeholders. For instance, the involvement of Sheffield and Rotherham Wildlife Trust meant that the project differed from typical flood alleviation designs, and created difficulties for the engineers contracted to identify a point at which their engagement with the site reached a point of closure:

"It gives Jacobs a problem because they are used to managing a nice neat contract where there is a consulting engineer and a contracting engineer

*who is doing what they want, and they've got a very clear project. But
suddenly the site doesn't have top soil on it when it should do, but it's not
the responsibility of the contractor to do it anymore, it's the responsibility of
this strange organisation who Jacobs don't have any influence over, because
they are kind of one of the clients. So what do they do? Do they sign it off?
So it kind of caused a few problems."* (Nigel, Sheffield and Rotherham
Wildlife Trust)

For stakeholders such as the Wildlife Trust, their involvement with the site is a long
way from completion; instead it is at an early stage in the long term management of
a newly created wetland park:

*"Because we now have a lease on the site for ninety-nine years, where we
are responsible for the management and maintenance of everything on this
site that isn't technically an engineered part of the flood defences, and we
are responsible for not actively damaging or degrading the bits that are
engineered flood defence works. But the Environment Agency has a
responsibility for actively maintaining them. So, we're not really sure how
that relationship is going to work. Because I'm sure there will be things that
will come along, and you look at it and say if you look at it from one angle its
habitat management, but if you look at it from another angle its flood
defence. And then we will have to talk to each other about who is
responsible, but I'm sure it will be okay."* (Nigel, Sheffield and Rotherham
Wildlife Trust)

It also seems that there is likely to be a new collection of stakeholders who have as
yet had no involvement with the site, but will in the future develop these
relationships:

*"Now all the major practical work's done, there will be an emphasis on
getting local community groups and schools involved, and that's where a lot
of resources is going to go. For all our other nature reserves we have a
Reserve Advisory Group, which is made up of local residents and interest*

*groups and that kind of stuff, so we'll be looking to set up something similar.
They're kind of groups that have steered the development of sites really,
people we consult with on the work that we'd like to do, and they tell us
what they'd like to see as well and we try to sort it out for them, and they
help us to identify problems and maintenance issues."* (JohnPaul, Sheffield
and Rotherham Wildlife Trust)

It seems then, that the site was not clearly at a point of completion when the
fieldwork ended, although as different phases in the ongoing evolution of the site
wax and wane there will be points that finalise involvement for various
stakeholders.

Figure 13: Centenary Riverside (Photograph author's own)

5.9   Conclusion

The process at Centenary Riverside was apparently very much managed by two
individuals within Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council, yet those other
stakeholders involved in the process felt very much a part of the governance and

decision-making and were satisfied with the outcomes. The governance process and the progress of the project went smoothly and without major difficulties according to all of those interviewed, and the general satisfaction with the project as a whole was apparent. Although there was little conflict between stakeholders, it is clear that a range of different perspectives were taken on board through the course of the project, shown by the changes to the end goals at different stages. The development of the flood alleviation scheme at Centenary Riverside does not stand alone as a project for many of the stakeholders, but forms a part of a number of other wider projects, such as the regeneration of Templeborough and of Rotherham as a whole, or the opening up of social and environmental recreational spaces on the River Don corridor. As such, the project meets numerous, and sometimes apparently conflicting, goals for different stakeholders. The clear absence through the evaluation of this project is the lack of a local community involved with the space at this time. This is perhaps because the site has been perceived as unavailable to the public, as suggested by some of those stakeholders interviewed. There is some indication that this will change in the future, with stakeholders mentioning growing use of the site, and plans by the Wildlife Trust to engage with community stakeholders.

The experience at Centenary Riverside was considerably different from that at Malin Bridge for a number of reasons, and Chapter 6 moves on to discuss this case study in some depth to offer a clear overview of the process and the experiences at this site to enable a discussion of the findings as they relate to two such different examples.

Chapter 6: Malin Bridge

6.1   Introduction

As this chapter will show, the experience of the governance process at Malin Bridge was significantly different to that at Centenary Riverside. Despite both projects originating from concerns around flood alleviation, the reasoning, setting, approach and outcomes of the two projects showed significant differences. This chapter describes the process of governance at the Malin Bridge site, using the data collected in interviews and documents to reconstruct the process and the different involvements and experiences of those affected by it.

Figure 14: Malin Bridge (Photograph author's own)

This section draws together data from 33 interviews with 39 stakeholders, to recreate the experience of the events at Malin Bridge.

6.2   Why This Site?

The Malin Bridge site was selected because work began on the site as fieldwork sites were being selected, and it therefore offered an opportunity to be involved from an early stage. The site would be classified as 'hot' using Callon's categorisations (Donaldson *et al*, 2013), and it was clear from the outset that the outcomes would be contentious. Many stakeholders felt they had been excluded from the decision-making process, and much of the engagement with stakeholders had taken an 'informing' function rather than incorporation of different perspectives. As such, it was clear from the outset that the site would offer an interesting viewpoint on the decision-making process.

This site demonstrated much more clear hierarchical power relationships, with the Environment Agency being a much more powerful actor in the process than the other stakeholders they chose to engage. The Environment Agency were able to control the way in which knowledge was framed as 'expertise' within the process, and therefore selected as useful or otherwise in relation to the changes made on the site. This marked the case study as very different from Centenary Riverside, and therefore able to offer an interesting contrast.

6.3   The Case Study

6.3.1   The Site
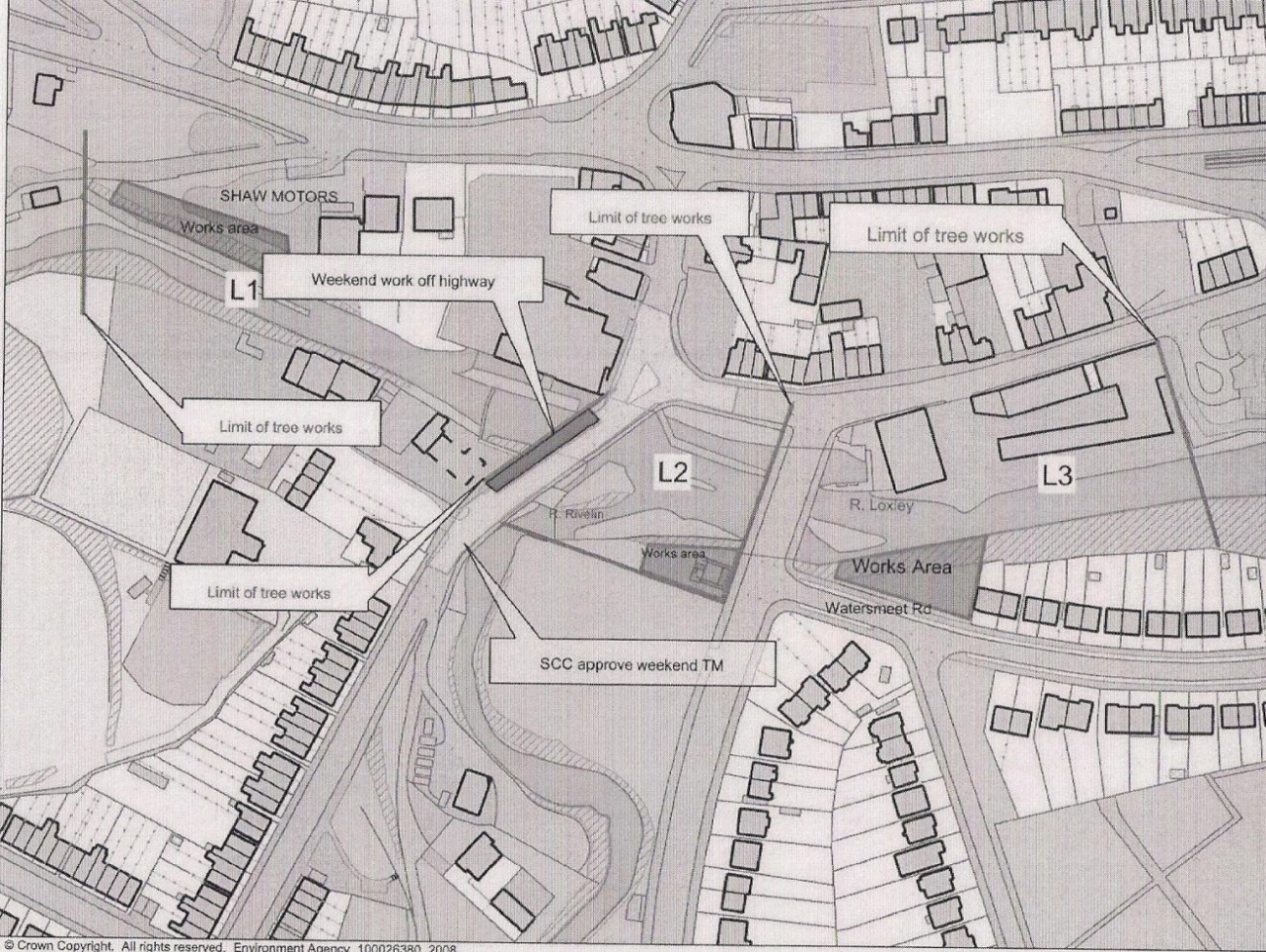
Figure 15: The Malin Bridge site (map courtesy of Environment Agency ©Copyright Environment Agency)
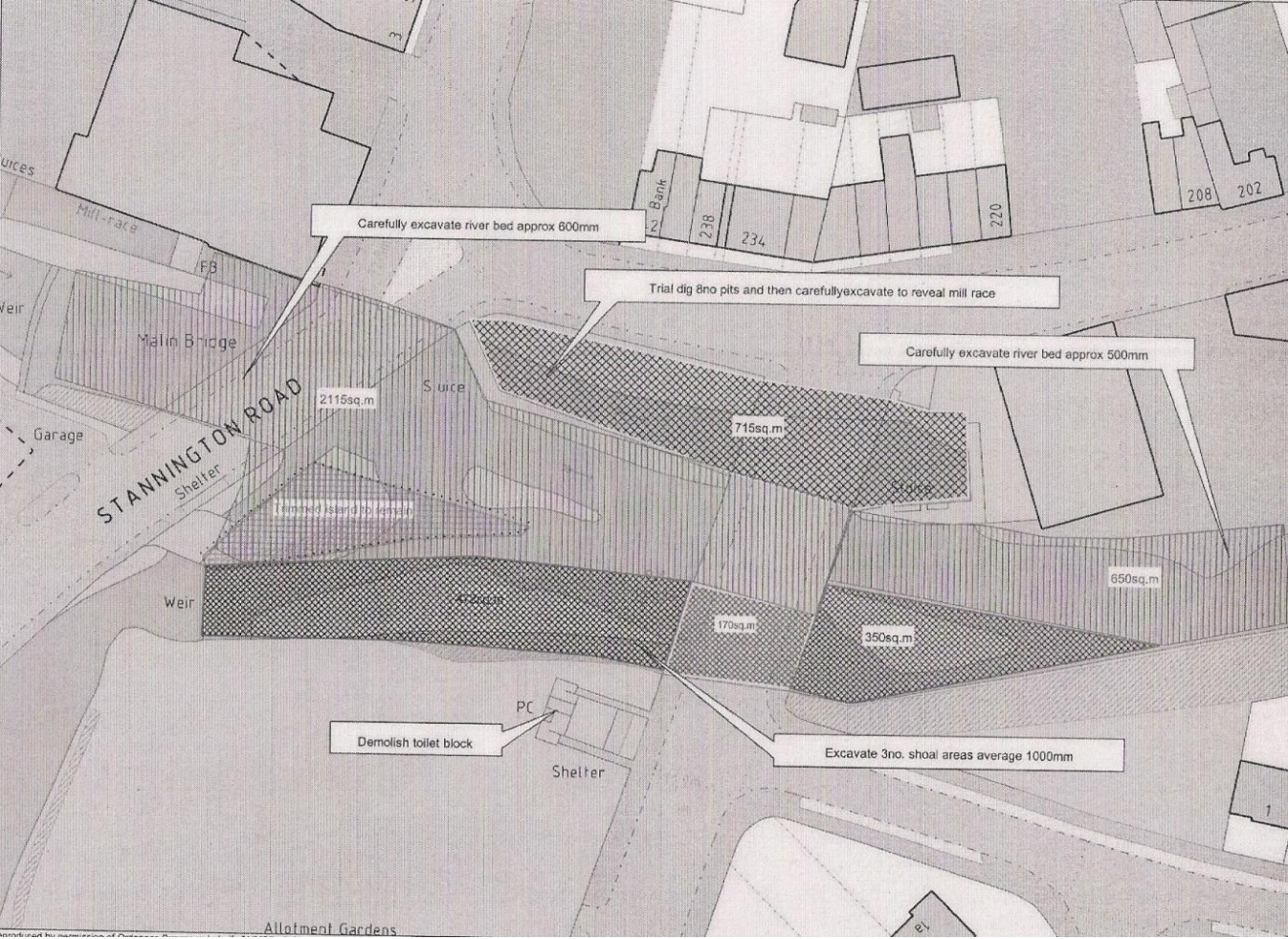
Figure 16: Shoal removal at the Malin Bridge site (map courtesy of Environment Agency ©Copyright Environment Agency)

6.3.2 Key Actors

This table outlines the main actors involved in the process.

Name	Role	Organisation	Role in Governance Process
"J"	Operations Delivery Technical Specialist	Environment Agency	Key coordinator of process
"K"	Operations Manager	Environment Agency	Coordinator of works on Malin Bridge site
"M"	Manager	Burgon and Ball	Landowner for part of Malin Bridge site
Simon	Head of Development Services and Director of Five Weirs Walk Trust	Sheffield City Council	Key partner
David	Manager	Anderson Tree Care	Arboricultural contractors
Diane	Local Councillor, Walkley Ward	Sheffield City Council	Liaison with local residents
"J"	Ecologist	Sheffield City Council	Key liaison with Environment Agency

6.3.3 Timeline of Events

The site has consistently been broadly viewed as a public space, and this table begins with the first evidence of public action concerning the appearance of the site.

Date	Activity
1990's	Site labelled as a local nature reserve, with signs placed on trees on the site
	Site used as a location for environmental education by local secondary

	school
2003	Site clearance organised and carried out by volunteers
2004	Efforts by local groups to erect a memorial to commemorate the Sheffield Flood on the site, fell through due to lack of funding and lack of support from the Environment Agency
June 2007	Flooding in and around Sheffield as a result of prolonged heavy rainfall
	Identification of sites of concern for channel clearance to be tackled using a specific pot of funding from DEFRA
	Consultation with Sheffield City Council
	Planning application notices placed around site in reference to demolition of toilet block
	Information provided to selected local groups, some approached by the Environment Agency, others approached the Environment Agency themselves
August 2009	Work commences on site at Malin Bridge – tree clearance begins, demolition of toilet block and fencing off of site
	Shoal clearance at Malin Bridge and reconstruction of damaged walls
October 2009	Meetings between the Environment Agency and local residents arranged by local councillors
Spring 2010	Alterations made to shoal and bounders placed in riverbed to direct stream
Summer 2010	Some small scale replanting around Malin Bridge site

6.4   Overview

The Malin Bridge site is a much smaller space than the site at Centenary Riverside, at the confluence of the Rivers Rivelin and Loxley to the North-West of Sheffield. Located at the meeting point of three local authority Wards (Hillsborough, Walkley and Stannington), Malin Bridge is a small community that is administratively divided. Malin Bridge itself is not a formally designated area with distinct boundaries, but is primarily identified by local residents with the meeting point of the rivers and the bridge over the river that forms part of the Rivelin Road, along

with the community around this point. The wider area consists of housing and small business premises, including light industry, shops, cafes and food outlets, car sales pitches, pubs, hairdressers and allotments. Malin Bridge was described in interviews as the 'entrance' to the Rivelin Valley, and is a convenient location from which to visit the Rivelin and Loxley Valleys, particularly if travelling by public transport with a number of bus routes passing through the area and a nearby tram terminus. A considerable number of community and interest groups are involved in the immediate and wider area, including Rivelin Valley Conservation Group, Hillsborough Forum, Walkley Forum, Loxley Valley Protection Society, and SPRITE (Sheffield Partnership for Rivers in Town Environments).

The site was identified by the Environment Agency as requiring channel clearance, following the floods of June 2007. The river confluence was, prior to the channel clearance, covered with dense foliage. Boards put up by the local secondary school many years earlier signalled the area as a 'nature reserve', although those involved with this had long since left the school. The area had been subject to community group-led clean-ups at points over the years, but had been neglected more recently. In 2007, the heavy rainfall and high river levels flowing in from the Peak District led to the river bursting its banks at Malin Bridge. The water levels exceeded the top of the arches beneath the Rivelin Road bridge, leaving debris in its wake, and carrying further debris to points further down the river towards its confluence with the Don. Just down from Malin Bridge itself, the river burst its banks on the Holme Lane side of the river, which has lower banks than the opposite Watersmeet Road side. The result of this was flooding along Holme Lane, affecting a number of business premises, roads and public transport links, and sheltered accommodation on the opposite side of the river. 2007 was not the first time Malin Bridge had experienced flooding. This was one of the most seriously affected areas at the time of the Sheffield Flood of 1864 (it is estimated that 95 of the 250 people that died were residents of Malin Bridge).

Figure 17: Malin Bridge during June 2007 floods (photo courtesy of Paul Gaskell ©Copyright Paul Gaskell)

The channel clearance programme at Malin Bridge was part of Phase 2 out of four phases of an Environment Agency work plan in response to the floods of summer 2007. A number of sites around Sheffield were targeted with a dedicated pot of DEFRA funding to address the aftermath of the flooding in Sheffield. Sites were identified using aerial photography to highlight areas on the river corridors that appeared congested and high risk. Malin Bridge was identified because of its position as a confluence, and because of the trees and shoal material deposited during the events of 2007.

Figure 18: Malin Bridge from above before clearance work commenced (photo courtesy of Google Streetview ©2010 Copyright Google Streetview/Bluesky)

The work commenced in July 2009, following appraisal of the scheme within the Environment Agency, and some discussion with particular selected groups of stakeholders. The work had been promoted to the local population by notices placed on the trees on the main part of the site. Access to the site was problematic due to the dense land use and busy road, and so the Environment Agency were forced to purchase and demolish a block of disused public toilets to create vehicle access to the site, a process which required planning permission. Throughout August and September of 2009, 400 tonnes of trees and vegetation were removed from the site, and 4500 tonnes of earth and gravel. Following the clearance, work was carried out to repair the exposed millpond belonging to Burgon and Ball, a local steel tool manufacturers based adjacent to the site since 1730. The work altered the river channels significantly, including exposing a weir on the Loxley and redirecting the flow pattern of the water as it travelled under the bridges.

Following the clearance, the site was left visibly incomplete, with piles of building materials on site, until October 2010, when the Environment Agency returned to the site to complete hard surfacing to the river access. Earlier in 2010, further tree management work along the same stretch of river was carried out on the bankside, and classed by the Environment Agency as part of the same programme of works.

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The work attracted a great deal of interest from the public as it was being carried out, with people watching the work from the bridge. It appeared to generate strong feelings, both positive and negative, towards the work and the area in general, and the Environment Agency received an unexpected level of public response, through telephone contact by the public to the Environment Agency themselves, and to Sheffield City Council and local councillors. Environment Agency workers were also approached on the site by members of the public, wishing to make their opinions heard.

6.5   Identifying a Problem

The decision to address flood risk at Malin Bridge was made unilaterally by the Environment Agency without input from any other stakeholders or organisations, as a result of a pot of funding provided to them to address flood risk following the events of 2007.

> *"So, following the floods in 2007 we took high resolution aerial photography shots of everywhere around the rivers in Sheffield. We took images of every stretch of river that the Environment Agency is responsible for in West and South Yorkshire. But because Sheffield was so badly hit, we decided to concentrate on Sheffield first for this type of work, and because Sheffield has quite a lot of engineered river channels through the city centre, we've seen it somewhere that has not necessarily got existing defences. So it is about making sure that the channel does as much as it can possibly do to reduce flood risk. And a big factor is the growth of trees in the channel. That collect debris but it also means that shoal and gravel islands appear as a result of the trees being there, but it also encourages further trees to grow, because there is something for them to grow in. So the types of trees that grow in the river channel are the types of trees that like to fall over, and get caught on*

bridges. So they're not exactly brilliant in terms of..., they do provide a very

useful and productive habitat for lots of other species of wildlife, but do they

do pose a massive flood risk. And we've spent a lot of money and time after

the floods in 2007 picking trees out of bridges, and really it's easier to pick

trees out of the ground, rather than pulling them out of bridges. That's the

main driver. And Malin Bridge is one of those jobs. Because Malin Bridge is

the confluence of two rivers, and it's got two bridges there, and associated

other restrictions in that area, Malin Bridge was just one of those sites that

we thought was really important to get done, so that's why it came in the

programme when it has." (Operations Manager, Environment Agency)

Although the decision to address flood risk at Malin Bridge at this time was made independently by the Environment Agency, it had been a site of interest and concern to other stakeholders for some time. Although the site had not been perceived to be a 'risk' locally, as it was depicted by the Environment Agency, it was of interest as a local nature reserve and with evidence of badgers on the site (with signs to substantiate this). The neglect of the space, in particular levels of litter and lack of maintenance, were of concern to some local stakeholders, and in 2003 local residents had taken action to try to improve the appearance of the site by clearing litter with the support of a local voluntary sector organisation, Action for Stannington.

Concern about the area had been heightened following the flooding of 2007, although those familiar with the area still did not appear to perceive the area to be particularly risky. There was a widespread awareness of increased natural debris on the site, with branches and fallen trees partially blocking the archways under the bridges, but not a perception that the area required a large-scale clearance.

"I think all of us understood that there was going to have to be some major

work done following the floods, which of course caused lots of disruption

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*and devastation. And the whole area was blocked up by fallen trees and so
on. But I think people have been quite surprised by the extent of the work
that has been done. And I've heard both positive and negative. The positive
has been about the fact that you can now look down and see where the two
rivers join, which you never could before. It was very overgrown and there
was very little management before, as far as I can remember."* (Veronica,
Walkley Forum)

A number of residents mentioned that they had felt that the area needed some
level of maintenance work, but many of these were not sure that the way in which
this had been tackled by the Environment Agency was appropriate. For many
residents the work was far more extensive than they had envisaged:

*"But I didn't think that it was going to be as wholesale as it has been, I
thought they would dredge the river, take out a few roots around, and I
know that you need roots in bankings to keep the banking safe and so that
you don't get … erosion."* (local resident 3)

Some suggested that the goals of the Environment Agency could have been
achieved with less dramatic changes to the site than those that were made, and
many suggested that an emphasis on regular maintenance rather than one-off
clearance would make more sense:

*"I think they should, and this is an opinion from somebody who doesn't know
anything about cutting trees down, but I would have thought they'd be
better clearing all the rubbish out, all the rocks and shopping trolleys and
whatever. And then cutting back the ones that they thought were a major
danger, if any were going to fall or anything in floods. Because I'm guessing
that some of those trees probably took some right hammer, and probably
would fall. If you walk through woods you always see trees that have fell
down, so that could cause some problems. So just clear it like that really, just*

get rid of all the danger and then keep on top of it, maintain it. Because now
there's nothing to maintain is there." (Tim, local businessman)

At Malin Bridge there was some debate around the question of how the area
'should' be maintained. Many different perspectives on how the area should
appear were put forward by different stakeholders in the process. Some felt that
the area should be kept as a nature reserve, as it had evolved to become over
recent years. For some, this was because this was the way that they had always
known the site. Although they were aware this was not how the site had always
been, they felt it had been a nature reserve for a significant period of time, and that
this appearance was not 'natural'.

> *"I've grown up around here all my life, and as long as I can remember it, it*
> *was always like it has been, just like woodland and a river running through*
> *it. So I don't know if it's like being set in your ways or stubborn or whatever,*
> *but that's the way I liked it. And to me it looks too open now."* (Tim, local
> businessman)

For others however, the river had become overgrown in its more recent state, and
this was not how it should be maintained. The area had in the past been
maintained as a clear channel with little tree cover and vegetation for use by the
many water mills in the area, and this for some stakeholders was its 'natural'
appearance.

> *"And I pulled out a load of archive pictures of what the river did look like 100*
> *years ago, and I'm really pleased, and I'm not saying this is definitely what's*
> *happened, but they used the archive pictures of the river as a template as to*
> *how to revert it back so that it's an open flowing river again. And it does look*
> *very similar to how it did, which is good, because obviously when it was like*
> *that it worked properly. So that's my involvement basically."* (Wendy,
> Hillsborough Forum)

For other stakeholders, neither of these images was necessarily the 'natural' state

of the site, but felt that the site should be kept in a state that took account of the different ways the site might be used by local people now and in the future as well as taking account of its past.

> *"I think overall I fully agree that the recent works have been a good thing and that the environment is something that has to evolve. I mean it can't just stay the same, people's needs, people, what people want from our local environment changes naturally as society changes. And I don't suppose kids go paddling there as much now as we used to and… but it's good to see that whatever work is being done is being done with taste and some respect for what went before and that… and in fact, I don't know when the, I don't know if the work has yet been completed or when it will be complete but if it'll look something like the photograph of 1905 I certainly won't have any complaints."* (Philip, local resident)

The different views on the way the site should look often alluded indirectly to different sets of values or different priorities for the space. These were sometimes made more explicit, for example one interviewee referred to the contradiction between the views of the Environment Agency and the views of an ecosystem specialist he worked with, which showed a particular concern for the aquatic wildlife, inspired by an interest in the fish populations of the rivers.

> *"Of course some of his views are in contradiction to what the flood people want, because he wants to see things like woody debris, so that you've got places for the invertebrates to go, for the trout. But if we were to say we wanted to put some woody debris across there, they would say we've just cleared it all out for the flood defences, it'd contradict it all wouldn't it?"* (John, local resident and volunteer)

Other ideas for the site focused on the particular interests of local human communities rather than environmental interests. Local councillors in particular were interested in exploring ways to create more community value from the space:

*"I could just imagine little fishing platforms on there and loads of kids
catching sticklebacks, but you never know, love. Come future things there
might be fishing groups could take that on and might have that insurance
and could talk to Burgon and Ball (a landowner for the bankside and river
channel at Malin Bridge) or whatever. I just think that would be absolutely
fantastic, but that's a vision I think."* (Diane, local councillor)

Images of the site in the past were used by the Environment Agency on notice
boards around the site during and after the works. These appeared to be used to
justify the idea that the site had been restored to its 'proper' state:

*"'K' has this fantastic shot, and there are no trees to be seen anywhere,
there are people sitting on the banks chatting with their parasols, ladies with
hats on. So it really is only in the recent time, in the past at 60 or 80 years,
that it has become as densely wooded as it was. And really the Environment
Agency have got themselves to blame, or their predecessors, for not doing
something with it earlier."* (local volunteer 1)

For others, the natural state of the site was as it appeared prior to the works:

*"… mean it wouldn't just be me would it? It'd be loads of people who'd see
that and they'd… because people used to just stop on that bridge quite a bit
and just look at, it did look like an English country scene didn't it? Very nice
water and just beautiful. So I suppose it's as if they didn't have any kind of
concerns for that whatsoever, they just went whoosh, take the whole lot out.
And I don't know if that was the prettiest part, maybe or maybe not but it
certainly was pretty."* (Paul, local resident)

Some residents were aware that the state of the site could not be described as
'natural', but still felt this was the way the site should be left. One stakeholder
argued that in fact the notion of the river having a 'natural' or 'proper' state to
which it could be restored was in fact false, and that any appearance of the channel
was in fact unnatural:

"… well it's a manmade channel. All rivers in the UK and Britain have been influenced and modified by hand and man. I defy you to find one that isn't modified." (local resident 2)

There was no clear consensus regarding how the site 'should' be in the views of the various stakeholders involved in the research, and this had a significant impact on the levels of acceptance of the changes to the site which varied considerably.

6.6   The Governance Process

The consultation that took place around the work at Malin Bridge was a subject of much contention. According to a number of stakeholders, the consultation that took place was rushed, because of time constraints around the available times to conduct the work. However, some interviews suggested that some form of work either on or around the site may have actually been planned for some time prior to the consultation process.

> *"… the Environment Agency came to see us about Malin Bridge. They came to see us originally post-2007 floods. We had an AGM not long after in the October, and we decided to centre that around the flood. So we got people from the Disaster Emergency Committee and the Environment Agency to come down and have a public meeting and explain to people what had happened and why it had happened, what measures were going to be put in place to make sure that it didn't happen again."* (Wendy, Hillsborough Forum)

The Environment Agency embarked on the consultation process with a list of stakeholder groups with whom they intended to discuss the work they planned to carry out. From speaking to those who were consulted, it appears that in many

cases the consultation was in fact more akin to informing, as there was little
opportunity for many stakeholders to have an impact on the plans for the site.
Sheffield City Council were involved in the work at Malin Bridge to a greater extent
than other stakeholders, but felt that their contributions to the process were
heavily constrained by the Environment Agency's statutory authority to conduct
works on the site. Officers of the Council felt that in this case much of their input to
the process had been disregarded:

> *"Malin Bridge was a bad example because, I mean it was from their point of
> view and from our point of view I don't think they took on board many of our
> suggestions. It's… but that's not the only, I mean that's obviously the
> example you're looking at so in a way it was probably one of the worst, so
> far, the worst in our relationship because we, well basically because of the
> difference between what we'd agreed and what actually happened on site.
> There's not an awful lot that I can think of that… We did, there were one or
> two trees that they kept that we'd identified but for whatever reason, the
> clearance was much more extensive than we'd been expecting."* (Ecologist,
> Sheffield City Council)

However, in the eyes of the local communities, the work was seen as being within
the control of the Council, and so the lack of information that the Council had put
them in a difficult position when communicating with the general public:

> *"And then people saying to me, why are you letting it happen? Have they
> done a survey? And they hadn't. So it was a bit, that was quite tricky."* (Julie,
> Sheffield City Council)

The Environment Agency also felt that Sheffield City Council had a particular need
to be heavily engaged in the consultation and, whilst they acknowledged that this
had not been as successful as it might have been, felt that they had effective
processes in place to conduct this type of consultation. The consultation with

Sheffield City Council, and some other city-wide stakeholders, was handled at a strategic level as a consultation regarding all phases of the channel clearance project. This process involved different individuals from those working directly with the Malin Bridge site, and different from those handling the site-level consultation for the Malin Bridge site. As a result, concerns by those in Sheffield City Council for site-level decisions about Malin Bridge were not as effectively addressed.

"As an ongoing theme that there has been a high level strategic bit of consultation with key external groups, and most importantly Sheffield City Council so that we join our programme up with what they want to do, but also finish the project in a way that is conducive with what they want also, and that's still ongoing. In that same level of consultation happened for some jobs prior to Malin Bridge, that are similar sorts of works but in different areas within Sheffield. And they will happen again with all the works that are similar, but again in other areas of Sheffield. But then the site specific stuff was left to the project managers themselves." (Operations Manager, Environment Agency)

It is possible that the handling of consultation separately like this may have been a contributory factor to some of the dissatisfaction with the process. Many stakeholders felt that the consultation had been managed through the Environment Agency in such a way that gave little opportunity for stakeholders to discuss the issues around the site with others involved in the process, and so creating gaps in the understanding of the reasons for particular decisions:

"But yeah, you know, consultation is great, but I think you've got to respect everybody's skills and experience, in the various aspects of it. And really perhaps the best way to do it, rather than do it in a series of broken meetings, where the information is being relayed from various people to various people, that they sit down and thrash it all out in a big meeting. Put two tables together in the café rather than just one." (David, Anderson Tree Care)

Some residents felt more strongly that the consultation had been simply lip-service, simply tinkering at the edges of a scheme that was ultimately to go ahead in the way that the Environment Agency envisioned whatever the views of the stakeholders who were consulted:

> *"The guys that I spoke to from the EA, they were there because they felt they had to be there. They were not at all apologetic about what they'd done, they thought it needed to be done, and effectively the flood gave them an excuse to find the money and get in there and do it. That's what they do, that's what their role is, flood prevention. And I think that there was no decision-makers involved, the decision was made at a higher level in the Environment Agency, and they're not ultimately that trusted. They're happy to plant a few trees, but they're not interested in not doing what they feel needs to be done."* (local resident 4)

As far as most stakeholders were concerned, the biggest problem that arose in relation to the consultation that did take place was that it missed a number of key groups and individuals, most notably a number of residents who owned sections of the land that were subject to tree removal. For the Environment Agency and Sheffield City Council this was a major oversight that must not be repeated in the future, but for those residents affected it was a much bigger concern.

> *"So he told me, well he'd all sorts of reasons why they hadn't, they'd sort of rushed it, and they'd done all this wide consultation with Conservation Societies, fishing people, all sorts, presumably Burgon and Ball, but I'm not sure whether they'd spoken to them, all sorts of people. But they hadn't spoken to any of the residents and the properties that were going to be directly affected. When I asked him about this, he said well the Estates Department, which of course is completely separate from his Department, the Estates Department had done a search in the Land Registry of the vacant*

*land at the end of Watersmeet Road, the bit that joins Malin Bridge, and had
discovered that whoever owned that land doesn't own the banking.
Assumptions were then made that that was the same for all the properties
up the street."* (local resident 3)

This led to a number of people feeling dissatisfied with the consultation process,
and feeling that the consultation that had taken place was insufficient. A significant
number of local stakeholders, both those with riparian ownership of the land and
others, complained that they felt the Environment Agency did not take them
seriously in the consultation process, and felt disinclined to engage further with the
process when they felt they were not listened to and were given poor information.

6.7   Addressing the Problem

The site was covered in dense vegetation prior to the Environment Agency's work,
and appeared to have a variety of plant species on the site as photographs indicate
(see figures 19 and 20). Ecological surveying work had been carried out
independently in the vicinity, and this suggested that the area was a good habitat,
and the river was of good quality using Environment Agency standards.
Stakeholders referred to a number of different birds, fish and animals they were
aware of on the site:

*"We have waders on and walk up through the river, because there are
kingfishers have returned down here. And there are dippers down there as
well, which are fairly rare. There's a pair just under the bridge. A little white
breasted bird, you'll see them on the river, they are quite regular. ... There
are some lovely fish in there, but most of them are wild to the river. They're
not stocked fish, and it's nicer to catch wild fish as well. Well I think it is. ...
we've caught on bait and fly-fishing, while we've been there."* (Paul, local
resident)

Figure 19: Malin Bridge before the work, from Rivelin Road overlooking the main site (photo courtesy of Google Streetview ©2010 Copyright Google Streetview/Bluesky)

Figure 20: Malin Bridge before the work, from Holme Lane looking towards Burgon and Ball (photo courtesy of Google Streetview ©2010 Copyright Google Streetview/Bluesky)

The clearance of the area began somewhat abruptly, with few anticipating the large scale clearance to go ahead as quickly as it did, and many unaware of the work before it began, in August 2009. The work was timed to take account of bird nesting seasons and fish spawning seasons, with the intention of avoiding disturbance to either, and this was a reason given for the nature of the consultation within the decision-making process. The work generated a great deal of interest locally:

"And certainly there were a lot of middle aged to elderly men who got a lot of pleasure out of looking at the big machinery. Every day when I drove past there'd just be a big long line of them looking over, do you know what I

mean. It was sort of like my dad would do… looking over the wall." (Julie,
Sheffield City Council)

The work conducted on the site was primarily clearance of trees, plant materials
and silt and the creation of a pool connected to the flowing river. The course of the
river was altered by digging the channel, in an attempt to redirect the flow of the
river more centrally underneath the bridge and the river course significantly
widened, making the river much shallower than previously. Boulders were some
time later placed in the channel to maintain the river course, as the river began to
return to its original path. The channel was also later made less wide, on the advice
of ecologists outside of the Environment Agency (an individual who approached the
Environment Agency and successfully engaged with their engineers to contribute to
the governance process) to better support fish life. In the course of clearing silt
build ups from the channel, a weir was uncovered on the Loxley just before the two
rivers converge. This was unanticipated by the Environment Agency, and only
known of by some older residents of the area:

> *"… then they found weirs in t'river, which weren't there before. Well, they
> were, but nobody knew. They'd forgotten about them. You knew that weirs
> were there didn't you? (to husband) … I can't remember that far back but he
> can. Because he used to play round here but I didn't."* (Wendy, allotment
> holder)

The exposure of the weir led to some concerns by stakeholders interested in the
aquatic life of the river for fish mobility along the course of the river, as the weir
created an obstacle that had previously not existed, preventing fish from
progressing up the Loxley.

The work dramatically affected the appearance of the immediate area. Some
stakeholders were horrified with the changes and particularly the perceived
detrimental impact they would have had on the wildlife in the area:

"... from someone who does like their wildlife in the area, what's there, it isn't there anymore. We've not got kingfishers going up and down the river they have moved on. Certainly we haven't got the badger coming around the back anymore, because it's disturbed the habitat and they won't use it, and it will be some amount of time before it gets so they can use it." (Mat, local resident)

The impact on the ecology has been confirmed by independent ecological studies on the area which had monitored the site both before and after the clearance work. These studies showed the differences to a number of ecological indicators as a result of the work.

"At the moment, or when we went back in October, the contrast was striking, so you have a drop of the number of taxa from 32 to 14, the number of individuals is 1600 to a 100 so that's a huge drop. The water quality indices have dropped significantly. This is now, I can't tell you what water quality class it is but it's dropped probably two categories." (Jim, local resident and ecologist)

These opinions that the site had been detrimentally affected were not held by all stakeholders however; some felt the works had improved the site. Issues of cleanliness and safety were often raised in relation to the ways the site had been improved:

"So it's a lot more aesthetically pleasing around there since the work has been carried out. It's a lot cleaner and more cared for. And the sight lines, you can actually see now right round onto Rivelin Valley Road so you can see what cars are approaching. I think in my view as well it's made it a lot safer for pedestrians crossing over the roads." (local resident 6)

Some stakeholders also suggested that the works may in fact have a beneficial effect on the wildlife in the area in the longer term, despite short-term negative

impacts.

"But as I said earlier, the natural history will benefit from this work. I know people say, oh all the fish will have gone, there's nowhere for the wildlife. Well I mean the only wildlife they used to run around the bank side there were rats. There hasn't been anything else of any great consequence. If we get a nice clean water system in there, and fish spawning in there, and fish stocks improving in there, then there is every chance that the otters that are down here on the lower part of the Don (refers to map), might just find their way up here is, if there are fish stocks to attract them. But as it stood at the moment, it might have been a den for an odd fox, but other than that it was brown rats, so that has improved enormously. So I think really it won't be very long until it starts to vegetate, the Environment Agency aren't intending on coming back every five years, it will probably be another 50 before they get around to coming back again, by which time there will be 40-year-old alder trees right the way up the river side there." (local volunteer 1)

Whatever the views on the work which took place on the site, positive or negative, there was generally a sense that the governance process at Malin Bridge had not given much indication of the nature of the issues that were to be tackled once work commenced on the site, and this was why the end results were so different to what had been expected by many stakeholders:

"… decisions were obviously made when they were on site rather than before and how clear they were with the contractors about the intention before the contractors actually started to get in. I think the contractors were part of the decision-making because they were… I think there was probably two contractors involved but the tree people obviously they're experts within arboriculture so they were advising on what, if you take a certain, if you take a couple of trees down on the edge of a clump of trees, you're actually gonna affect the stability of those within the clump. And so the

*arboriculturalists were advising the Environment Agency on that as they
went along and that was again something that was difficult to predict
before they actually got down to the work on site. Because I think one of the
problems with Malin Bridge is that no work had been done there over many,
many, many years. There was so much natural regeneration, so much
accumulation of silts that it was quite a massive task for them and I think
perhaps they hadn't quite appreciated the scale or communicated that to us
before they started."* (Ecologist, Sheffield City Council)

An interview with the arboricultural contractors confirmed that, for a variety of
reasons, there were indeed changes to the proposed clearances once on site.

*"the vast majority of the trees, we know which ones are coming out. But
then, it's only when you get into situations. Such as situations like further
downstream, it was hard to say when to stop, with the specification. ... But
on the ground the contracts can't be that precise, they can't be that precise.
You see when they come in and start moving the shoal about, and they've
had excavators in here and they've removed tons of spoil out of the river,
that can have great bearing on it. So if we've retained trees, and then they
start excavating and they've got the excavator around the roots then the
trees can become unstable, so that then leads to more work."* (David,
Anderson Tree Care)

6.8   Assessing Success

The extent to which the work at Malin Bridge is considered a success differs widely
between different stakeholders. Some stakeholders felt that the scheme was very
much targeted at particular criteria, making it a success in the eyes of the
Environment Agency (it was perceived), but less so to those with concerns for
aspects of the site other than flood mitigation:

"To a degree, it's flood protection work but it's flood protection work that is very focussed on the sort of engineering side rather than the more looking at the sort of catchment as a whole and the hard and soft solutions to flood management, this is very focussed towards clearing silt out of the channel and making the, conveying the water faster or with more smoothly through the city and making sure that they are eliminating any blockages along the way. It's a very sort of engineered focussed programme that they've got at the moment. And that has conflicted a little bit with some of the aims of the strategy group and the balance between keeping the natural river environment and the aims of this specific project and the criteria that they're having to satisfy within the DEFRA funding for this work." (Ecologist, Sheffield City Council)

A number of aspects of the site were felt to have been neglected in the way the works were carried out by various stakeholders. These included the ecological aspects, the archaeological remains in the area, the potential for the site to offer social benefits, and the links between the site and the rest of the Rivelin Valley. Many stakeholders did not feel that the work had been a success as it failed to address what they considered to be important features of the site. For a number of stakeholders, the main success of the project has been the fact that some form of work has been carried out at the site:

"In many ways it is an improvement because you're getting people interested in the river because they can see it again. I get, I've had positive comments when I've gone down there, people who've probably were affected by the flooding and have… I was just looking at the river and a bloke came up to me and said, he thinks they'd done a smashing job." (Ecologist, Sheffield City Council)

It was clear however, that many of those who felt the attention given to the site was a successful outcome also thought that the work would mean greater

maintenance of the site in the future, which may mean they will be less satisfied with this outcome in the future if their aspirations for upkeep are not met. Others felt conversely that the best outcome now would be for the river to be left to restore itself naturally:

> *"… the best thing from the ecology point of view could happen is if they just leave it alone for another 30 years because it will fix itself eventually"* (local resident 2)

Overall, levels of satisfaction with the site, and assessments of the success of the intervention, seemed to be strongly influenced by the awareness and expectations of the works at the start of the process for many stakeholders. Those who felt they ought to have been involved in the consultation process, or would have liked to have been involved, tended to seem less satisfied with the outcomes, and less trusting of those involved in the process to have made well-founded decisions based on appropriate expertise and knowledge.

6.9   Conclusion

The governance process at Malin Bridge was managed by the Environment Agency, and they made explicit their intention to work in collaboration with partners and to consult local communities, both in company policies and in the environmental assessment of the site in question. However in contrast to the process at Centenary Riverside, it was of little satisfaction to those outside of the main organisation, who felt they had few opportunities to contribute meaningfully to the decisions made. Because of the speed with which the initial clearance phase of the project was pushed through, many stakeholders felt that opportunities to incorporate different ideas into the site were lost, and that later moves to consider alternative stakeholder views on the site were placatory. Subsequent amendments to the site,

such as the re-narrowing of the channel with boulders and the replanting scheme, do indicate some consideration of stakeholder inputs, but to a limited degree.

For the Environment Agency, the site was very much a single element of the larger channel clearance project conducted across the city, but for the majority of stakeholders the concerns about the site itself were not adequately addressed by this strategic level of concern. Whilst the two scales did not necessarily give rise to conflicting interests, the level of detail required by the larger scale was insufficient, and the assessment of importance of features at the Malin Bridge site was inadequate by this approach.

Figure 21: Malin Bridge (Photograph author's own)

The two processes of river channel and flood risk management discussed in this and the previous chapter therefore appear to be very different in nature and outcomes. However, my analysis of the two processes suggest that despite significantly different cases, there are a number of findings that suggest that the outcomes, and

the responses of stakeholders to those outcomes, were clearly influenced by the ways that the processes happened in more complex ways than an initial examination of the case studies might imply. Despite considerable differences between these two case studies, it was possible to pick out some key themes of important elements within the processes, which are discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter 7: Establishing a Site

7.1   Introduction

The identification of a site is something which I initially envisaged to be relatively straightforward. However, my interviews with stakeholders suggest that this is not necessarily so. Identifying a site and its boundaries is in fact fairly misleading as a way of identifying stakeholders, since these definitions are very fluid in practice, and differently understood by different stakeholders. As a result the way in which individuals (both professional and lay people) self-identify as stakeholders, or not, becomes complex. Those who are interested in a site and would consider themselves to be stakeholders may have no evident relationship to the site but nevertheless have a strong relationship to the place, and a desire to be involved in decision-making about the site. As such, it is useful to explore the ways in which the identification of a site becomes problematic, as it is this that can lead to the omission of stakeholders and issues for consideration from the governance process.

This chapter explores the identification of stakeholders as experienced in my research at Centenary Riverside and Malin Bridge, and the issues encountered in this process. The chapter moves on to consider the way in which sites are bounded, and how they relate to other spaces for the different stakeholders, and how this affects the way stakeholders are defined.

7.2   Defining Stakeholders

In policy analysis, stakeholders are typically identified through the concept of interests, or using other rational models for involvement with a site. However, particularly in regard to environmental issues, this rational definition has been less useful. Connelly and Richardson (2004) and O'Neill (2001) both argue for more inclusive ways of considering the breadth of potential stakeholders, perhaps including

interests of future generations and non-humans (O'Neill, 2001). My fieldwork also suggested that the definition of stakeholders may be problematic, both in the research field and in the definitions used by agencies when planning and conducting consultation processes.

The formal approaches to identifying stakeholders applied by the Environment Agency and Sheffield and Rotherham Wildlife Trust in the two cases both focussed primarily on identifying groups that had a tangible association with the site (physical location in particular), and then seeking a representative of that group to feed in to consultation or partnerships. However, as uncomfortably discovered by the Environment Agency in the example of Malin Bridge, this approach can omit some important considerations. In this case the residents whose homes backed onto the river corridor where the work was being conducted were not included in initial consultations, leading to a great deal of anxiety and upset. This oversight was in part due to errors in land registry searches that suggested the riverbank was not owned by these individuals (and that they therefore had no financial interest), and in part due to a stakeholder mapping exercise focussed on targeting groups to consult (thereby omitting the unorganised residents). Residents who were not considered to have a vested financial interest (as suggested by the land registry results) or an organisational interest were therefore not considered as stakeholders initially. Those residents affected felt that the lack of a collective body had impacted on their involvement with the process:

> *"And that's part of our problem you see, because collectively we've only really got the Council to represent us. And individually you are a lone voice and very impotent, and deciding to take them on individually is a massive massive task."* (local resident 3)

Clearly, unorganised stakeholder groups are much more difficult to identify and approach, and this is likely to be a significant reason why they are often less effectively engaged in consultation. However for the same reasons they are likely to find it difficult to engage as individuals without the backing of an organised group.

This approach to stakeholder mapping of targeting groups seems to be a standard one used by organisations and agencies. However the understanding of which groups are stakeholders of a particular site or piece of work frequently comes down to interpretation, rather than a comprehensive recognition of all of those who may fit within the key groupings of holding an 'interest'. Many stakeholders have strong views on who else 'should' be a stakeholder when discussing particular sites. Comments made by interviewees suggested a diverse range of other groups and bodies that they felt were stakeholders of the sites in question, and these were often very different to the groups actually involved in the consultations, and different again to the groups mentioned by other stakeholders. For some, sporting groups were a particular section of stakeholders important to schemes affecting rivers:

> "I think Sport England, the Local Authorities, and individual user groups all need to be included in any project undertaken by the Environment Agency, if they have an interest. And it's the Environment Agency's job, and that will increasingly be the case once the Flood Bill is on the statute book, they'll have a responsibility to try and make sure they balance the different interests, and develop the appropriate compromises. And there will be times when the sports people have to give way on things, and equally other people." (Stakeholder)

Other stakeholders made particular mention of environmental and educational bodies:

> "... that's one of the things when he'd come to visit us, he asked who did we think were the groups, and that was obviously Loxley Conservation, Rivelin Conservation, there was local schools that they could have contacted. But they were the only active groups that we were aware of." (Diane, local councillor)

One stakeholder mentioned specifically several organisations who had not been involved in the consultations at Malin Bridge, who he strongly felt were stakeholders of the site (and one of which he was himself involved with).

> *"And of course subsequently I've now found out that the consultee list for all this flood prevention work in Sheffield does not have an adequate consultee list drawn up for it, the Sorby Natural History Society isn't on, Sheffield Area Geology Trust is not on, I've found on subsequent visits there, Sheffield Piscatorial Society is not represented so those are the fish people. All of them have fairly strong opinions about how it should have been managed and of course there's a lot of local people…"* (local volunteer 2)

Given his personal interest in the changes to the site, it cannot be assumed that these stakeholder groups would not be interested in the decision-making process, as this clearly indicates that at least the group with which he is involved would be sufficiently interested (one of those named) to be engaged. His arguments also suggest that the groups would have valid and valuable contributions to make to the decision-making process. However, in other instances when targeting groups that 'ought' to have an interest in the site when conducting my fieldwork (such as community organisations in the near vicinity of both sites), it was my experience that a number of these groups did not feel themselves to be stakeholders. These groups declined an invitation to be involved in the research, explaining that the site in question did not fall under their area of concern (for example, the Trans-Pennine Trail and Ferham Community Group in relation to Centenary Riverside, and Myers Grove School and Sheffield Landscape Trust in relation to Malin Bridge).

The predisposition to the identification of groups as a solution to stakeholder identification is confirmed by assistance given to me in seeking stakeholders by representatives of other organisations and agencies, who used the same approach of looking for organised groups, primarily based in or near the geographical area. When working primarily with organisations as stakeholders, the selection of representatives from these groups can also be problematic in identifying individual stakeholders with

which to consult. In my interviews, many of those who were 'representing' an organisation or group felt that they were unqualified to speak for the wider group, even in instances where the group in question had discussed the matter at some length. This was particularly the case where the groups in question were volunteers or collections of community members. For example, the Chair of a local environmental group was supportive of the changes to Malin Bridge, despite knowing that many of the group's members were not, as he and the committee felt that the work had benefits environmentally. This suggests that he considered his role to be contributing knowledge to the process rather than a representation of interests. It therefore may be misguided to imagine that these individuals can speak for the groups they may be thought to represent by those managing the process to a great extent.

My fieldwork also incorporated alternative methods of approaching stakeholders in an attempt to broaden the scope of the research beyond those organised groups. This included approaching those discussing the issue in online chat rooms and distributing surveys in the local area. Those who felt themselves to be stakeholders often had less clear relationships to the site than the conventional notion of 'interests' would encompass. As such, using an approach traditionally accepted in the academic literature concerning governance, these stakeholders would not be considered. Many of these individuals would perhaps not label themselves as stakeholders (perhaps because of these common understandings of stakeholders as those with a vested interest), but had opinions, feelings and questions about the sites that were both relevant to the governance process and which would for some theorists identify them as stakeholders (e.g. Collins and Kearns, 2010; Kakoyannis and Stankey, 2002).

Closely related to the question of stakeholder identification is the physical nature of the site, in that these are sites on a river corridor. Sites on river corridors bring their own unique complications in the recognition of stakeholders, because of the

movement of water along the river from one site to another, and the movement of wildlife along the channel and wider corridor. The actions taken at one river corridor site may have considerable repercussions both up and downstream of that site: the introduction or removal of a weir at a site may have implications for the ecosystem to be found upstream; pollutants may get washed downstream; and work affecting bankings could affect flood risk both up and downstream. This means that those with concerns about sites elsewhere on the river corridor may also be considered to be stakeholders. This brings us to the other issue to be addressed in this chapter of the boundaries of a site.

7.3   Space and Boundaries

The question of movement of water creating unclear 'start' and 'end' points to the site where the identification of stakeholders is concerned is just one aspect of the complexity of establishing firm boundaries to a river corridor site. My fieldwork suggests that there are two particular aspects to this: where a site is thought to be located, and how the boundaries of the site are recognised.

7.3.1   Locating a Site in Relation to Other Features

The location of the site in relation to other features of the area created issues in both case studies. The Centenary Riverside site is very close to the border of Sheffield, located only a mile or so inside Rotherham. As such, in the process of choosing a suitable site for the flood alleviation, other sites that were considered fell within Sheffield's jurisdiction. If the site for the flood alleviation work had been within Sheffield's jurisdiction, the funding and leadership of the project would have been much more complex, as the project was led by Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council, and primarily identified as for the benefit of Rotherham. The flood alleviation at Centenary Riverside serves both Rotherham and the Lower Don Valley area of

Sheffield (including Meadowhall, a large shopping mall, and much of the city's remaining steel industry), as it allows for reduced water levels under flood conditions. For individuals in Sheffield City Council, whilst not considered in the policy process to be stakeholders of this site (they were not engaged as key stakeholders), the site was clearly of interest to them, as it affected the flood risk of Sheffield upstream of the site. This is to some extent unsurprising, as an examination of political boundaries shows that at a range of scales rivers are frequently used as natural boundaries.

> *"Well Centenary is obviously in Rotherham, but it's part of one of the few remaining serious areas of flood plain left in the Sheffield and Rotherham urban area, and it's on the very border between Sheffield and Rotherham, and just a few metres up the road you've got Blackburn Meadows Nature Reserve, and then you've got Blackburn Meadows Sewage Works [both inside the Sheffield boundary], and then you've got the land where the Eon power station is going to be built, so ignoring the peculiarities of the boundaries there, in flood terms it is all one cell. So we were very interested when Rotherham came up with this idea, because it seemed to reflect what our thinking was for that area."* (Simon, Sheffield City Council)

The issue of location at Malin Bridge raised similar questions of political boundaries, authority and responsibility, although at a different scale, as the site falls on the meeting point of three political wards (Walkley, Hillsborough and Stannington), two Community Assembly areas (Central and Northern), and three MPs' constituencies (Hillsborough, Brightside and Central)[1]. Whilst in this case the work was undertaken by the Environment Agency, the political positioning of the site made it difficult for elected representatives to have effective input into the process should they choose to do so. For example, a local councillor for Walkley and Leader of the Central Community Assembly, was keen to include fishing platforms at the site as it was under a process of change, but the complexities of coordinating such efforts with

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[1] Political boundaries have changed since the work at Malin Bridge was undertaken and Community Assemblies have ended.

other Wards and Community Assembly funding pots meant that this was not possible within the given time constraints.

The location of the site as it is perceived by stakeholders depends on what the site is seen to relate to in the surrounding physical environment. So, for Walkley Forum and Action for Stannington, Malin Bridge is not part of their 'patch'. However, for Hillsborough Forum, Malin Bridge was brought into their area of concern despite being outside of the remit of their funding.

> *"And my patch has been extended somewhat. Because my patch was Hillsborough, the little bit in the middle, but now we extended it to Hillsborough Ward, and we've nicked a bit of Walkley, because we didn't want to leave them out. So my patch now goes all the way down Watersmeet, so it takes in that corner of Malin Bridge. So all the river going up to the college, and the Don from Claywheels Lane that way, that all comes under my patch as well."* (Wendy, Hillsborough Forum)

To many stakeholders, the Malin Bridge site was felt to be a 'part' of other areas, and was particularly mentioned as a part of the Rivelin Valley, because for many stakeholders this is where they would begin their journey along the valley. One resident talked about Malin Bridge as a gateway to both the Rivelin and Loxley Valleys, and also as a significant point on the route of the Great Sheffield Flood, as this was the area at which the death count was highest.

> *"… Rivelin Valley, at the top end of Rivelin Valley is Malin Bridge. So, I don't know how we got here, I mean god this is gonna make me sound really old but we actually, when I was a kid we actually had the old trams believe it or not, we actually had the old trams, you know double decker ones. And that could, I've no idea whether we came on that or whether we came on a bus but we'd get here by public transport and I'm pretty sure, well in fact I know we'd walk from Malin Bridge up the valley to the paddling pool."* (Paul A, local resident)

"It was nice to start there, you see, because you've got the rivers converging." (Grenville, local resident)

At Centenary Riverside a slightly different scenario arose, as the site appeared to have no real 'links' with surrounding sites for the majority of people (although clearly not all, as the quote from Simon earlier indicates). Several groups in the local area felt that the site was not part of their area and did not see themselves as stakeholders or as concerned with the site and any change to it. This is perhaps because the site was previously an industrial site and so has less of a sense of public ownership of the space. The change from a private site to a public wetland park did not immediately generate a change in mindset amongst those who may emerge to be future users of the space. One interviewee who did use the site was an angler, and it was clear from speaking to him that many anglers used that stretch of the River Don, and had done for many years despite difficulties of accessing the site. For him, the site was a part of the wider area, as it was a part of the two Rotherham river corridors, and therefore integral to the network as available for fishing:

"But I'm really pleased now, because I used to come up here as a lad, [and] on the River Rother, and you'd have never thought this, there's two rivers here, and there isn't a fish in it. It's all changed, and it's got to be for the better." (angler)

The experience at both of these sites suggests that identifying the location of a site is not as simple as pinpointing its geographical location on a map, but is instead closely related to the way in which stakeholders use a site and relate it to other sites in the vicinity. This does not necessarily correlate with political or administrative boundaries, and is therefore something that cannot be known without some degree of local knowledge of the site and the area. Rather than being static 'sites' these are in fact 'places' that individuals have relationships with.

7.3.2 Boundaries of a Site

Another issue of the definition of a site is the way in which the boundaries of the space are constructed. In selecting my case study sites I intentionally chose not to define the boundaries of the sites, simply to refer to the name of the site. In the case of Malin Bridge this led to an interesting range of interpretations of what that site might be, with serious implications within the governance process. Those managing the process of change at the site had defined what they considered appropriate boundaries, but these did not conform to the understanding of the boundaries of the site held by others. Information about the work prior to it commencing referred to the site as 'Malin Bridge'. To some stakeholders (nearby residents in particular) this inferred that the work would not affect them, as they saw Malin Bridge as being only the space between the two bridges (Rivelin Road and Stannington Road).

> *"… I couldn't read it (the notice of the proposed work) properly, but what I could read and what I understood it to say was that they were doing flood alleviation, they were protecting future flooding possibilities, at Malin Bridge. Well Malin Bridge to me is the area immediately around Malin Bridge, it has nothing to do with where I live, because I'm quite a long way up the river. So I'd read that but I'd assumed it had nothing to do with me."*
> (local resident 3)

**Figure 22: Malin Bridge clearance downstream of Rivelin Road bridge (to the back of Watersmeet Road)
(Photograph author's own)**

The work was in fact planned to extend under both of these bridges and into the space to each side, therefore affecting this resident directly. This left some individuals feeling that they had been misled by the information they had been given to avoid them objecting before the work began.

> "I've seen the comments of residents, those that were a bit alarmed that some of them weren't consulted. That's how they've put it. And saying that they weren't consulted before the banks and the trees were, in their words "destroyed" whatever. So there's some hard feelings there obviously." (local businessman 1)

The lack of clarity about the limits of the site continued throughout the work to some degree. As the site was referred to as Malin Bridge, some stakeholders spoke of it as though the area they perceived to be Malin Bridge was the relevant part of the works, and work occurring in other parts of the site as defined by the Environment Agency was less relevant. For a local councillor, Malin Bridge was the area between the bridges, and the work occurring here was her primary concern. However, for the

Environment Agency, Malin Bridge extended further than this, as did their work. In this quote there is a clear difficulty in reconciling the two different perceptions of the site:

"I am honest in saying I only had the three people on Watersmeet that complained about the work. And it wasn't the work on Malin Bridge but it was about their personal circumstances, I had one person who objected to taking any action on Malin Bridge, only one." (Diane, local councillor)

The plans for the work produced by the Environment Agency and shared with some of their consultees, such as Sheffield City Council, showed the points at which the site designated for the work ended. Once on site however, these lines were less clear, and the contractors continued the clearance further up and downstream than had been intended.

"… I mean, we've got a good idea when we start a job … the vast majority of the trees, we know which ones are coming out. But then, it's only when you get into situations. Such as situations like further downstream, it was hard to say when to stop, with the specification. Because actually there's more work to be done further down the river. But obviously we were limited in where our machinery could get to the trees easily, without it becoming a completely separate contract, involving a new site. So those kind of decisions are made when you're doing the job. It's like going up the river as well. Really we were supposed to stop at the weir, but we'd taken some trees out, and then you can see up the weir, and then there were trees that were problematic and, you know, well we're on site with all the machinery here. For us to go away and come back in two months time again with everything, when they've taken the ramps out of the river. So the contracts develop really as they go on. There can't really be a clear cut specification." (David, Anderson Tree Care)

The contractors clearly held different perceptions again of the boundaries of the site and therefore their remit.

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The boundary between the site and the adjacent allotments was also contentious, with some damson trees that 'belonged' to the allotments cleared as part of the contract. These boundary problems led to questions of rights and responsibilities for many of the stakeholders. Some of those stakeholders involved in the clearance works felt that those upset by the boundary issues were remiss in their failure to uphold their responsibilities to the river.

> *"Most of the people here, including 'angry from Watersmeet', probably didn't realise that they were responsible for everything on the river, right to the middle of the river. Not many people are, I would think, as riparian landowners. So they are in a difficult situation. And then they come in to avoid that situation, they come in and do the work as they see fit and get accused of coming on my land and you've destroyed this and destroyed that. That work would have had to have been carried out anyway, so if you want us to send you the bill."* (David, Anderson Tree Care)

However, the issue of ownership and responsibility is much less clear cut than this implies. The local councillor involved in the governance process around the site explained her experience of the issue of responsibility for the site:

> *"I think you have to look at the history behind it, is that for many many years, …, the rivers have never been looked after. There's all kinds of archaic rules and regulations as to who's responsible to it and who isn't. And it's changed over the years, and I think to be honest a lot of people did work in the rivers through goodwill. Nobody actually really knew who was responsible, it might have been the River Authority at one time, they changed it from that to the Environment Agency, and the Environment Agency are saying no we're just a statutory body who can't make people do things. So, I think over the years it's seen as a big gap somewhere, and when you talk to people who live alongside rivers, not all of those people realise that they are the custodians of the banking and halfway to the middle of the river. So they might have got some lovely scenery around them but they*

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*don't realise how much responsibilities they have. And there's been quite a
few voluntary groups who have done bits of work because they knew that
Authorities just don't have the funding, we just didn't have the departments.
It's things that are done in the Government's way of giving the Authorities
more work to do, but no resources to do it, so they just say get on with it you
can cope, and it's obviously proved that we couldn't, that's why we had all
the floods."* (Diane, local councillor)

The ambiguities of the boundaries of the site and the surrounding area were better
reflected in the arrangements for governance at Centenary Riverside. At an early
stage those with adjacent land were brought into discussions about the project and
given opportunities to input into the parts of the project that would affect them. Firth
Rixson, who have an operating steel manufacturing site adjacent to Centenary
Riverside, were particularly involved:

*"... we were involved right from the start, before they even give the contract.
They'd got the tenders, the Council approached us before they got to the
tendering stage, so we had all meetings on our site, ..."* (Darren, Firth Rixson)

This project, whether by design or inadvertently, was more successful in targeting
those who felt themselves to be stakeholders of the site than the Malin Bridge
project. This may be part of the reason that this project was more widely deemed
acceptable and appropriate by stakeholders than Malin Bridge. It is clear from the
differences between the two case studies that the lack of community 'ownership' of
Centenary Riverside contributed to the differences in the processes, with no
evident objection to the changes at Centenary Riverside. This perhaps suggests that
corporate stakeholders are less difficult to identify than those with less tangible
interests in a site.

7.3.3 Moving Beyond Site Boundaries

Those involved with planning for river corridors at the strategic level appear to be very conscious of the way that the boundaries create false divides across the space and the problems that these divides might create if they are adhered to in planning for river corridors. There is a clear interest in working across boundaries to produce workable solutions and an acknowledgement of the potential benefits of this. Those involved with river governance in Sheffield City Council have intentions to work harmoniously with the proposals enacted by Rotherham MBC to develop integrated solutions for the Don Valley as it leaves Sheffield and enters Rotherham.

> *"And we would like to think that the principle of those washlands, downstream of Meadowhall and as far as Centenary could almost one day be managed and regarded as a continuous flood meadow area. So that's what we're sort of working towards I think."* (Simon, Sheffield City Council)

Rotherham MBC also intend to work in collaboration with those upstream and downstream of the town to ensure that the catchment is managed in a coherent way.

> *"… our ambition is to look wider than Rotherham, and in terms of the broader issues of water management, we want to get a catchment wider partnership in place, and there's no sign of one being in place, so we're actually wanting to set one up and we're actually chairing and leading on that initial setup. That's new. … because clearly the catchment involves beyond Doncaster, and it includes all of the upstream ones in Derbyshire. So it involves all of North East Derbyshire, Derbyshire County, Chesterfield, and so on, to have them into this catchment wide review."* (Steve, Rotherham MBC)

The consideration of river management issues across boundaries was taken into account by the consultants engaged to produce both the Sheffield Waterways Strategy, and later the Rotherham Waterways Strategy, and this was carried through into both strategies.

*"We did before the possibility of us working with Rotherham had come up,
we had already said in the Strategy for Sheffield, the idea of treating the
Lower Don Valley as a landscape park, it would be pretty perverse to only do
that as far as the city boundary, and we had already said in Sheffield you
should be thinking about talking to your neighbours and seeing about
carrying that idea on through Rotherham, and indeed potentially on into the
Doncaster area as well."* (Consultant)

7.4   Conclusion

It seems clear that sites are not as defined and unproblematic as they might first
appear, and particularly when they are sites on river corridors with the
accompanying issues of political boundaries and the flow between sites. A part of
this problem is perhaps because of this assumption, meaning that different
stakeholders imagine that others understand the site and its boundaries in the
same way that they do themselves. As a result of this, identifying stakeholders can
be extremely problematic, with individuals self-identifying as stakeholders or not
based upon their own relationships and experiences of the place. The use of
organisations to 'represent' different stakeholder views in a decision-making
process can also be problematic, as the individuals representing the organisation
may not see that as their role.

Place is of key relevance to the policy process, because it is the environment in
which the policy is enacted. Relationships to place determine which stakeholders
want to engage with the policy process, and strong relationships to place result in
greater levels of involvement. As this chapter demonstrates, the process of
identifying a site and its stakeholders has many complicating factors that need to be
taken into account in the governance process. Seemingly simple matters such as
the boundaries and location of a site cannot be taken for granted, and local

knowledge can be invaluable to give an understanding of the way a site is positioned within a wider area and the ways that it is used. An awareness of these factors may be significant in the success or otherwise of a governance process.

Chapter 8: Knowledge and Expertise

8.1   Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the way in which knowledge is used in the policy processes of river sites. Certain examples of knowledge are often labelled as expertise because of the individuals or organisations that are providing it, and this chapter explores in more depth the way that this happened in the two case studies examined.

Collins and Evans argue that there has traditionally been a clear distinction between expertise and knowledge in decision-making processes, and that this was largely overturned in the second wave of science and technology studies, treating both expertise and knowledge as equally valid (Collins and Evans, 2002). They are critical of this turn in their development of a third wave, attempting to restore the demarcation of 'expert' and 'lay' knowledge, although with different boundaries. My fieldwork suggests that the distinctions between expertise and lay knowledge are distinctions imposed by those involved in the process, rather than natural distinctions that can be determined objectively, fitting most closely with the second wave position that removes the boundaries between different types of knowledge.

8.2   Privileging Expertise over Lay Knowledge

The relative status of expertise and lay knowledge within the decision-making process was difficult to ascertain, and seemed to be equally unclear to stakeholders. There was evidence of a distinction between experts and laymen in the majority of interviews *("I'm just a layman, I've got no qualifications, and the University, just the University of life, and that's about it."* John, local resident), although for the majority of interviewees this did not mean lay knowledge was not valued. There was however a sense that these 'lay' contributions were seen as less valid than those of experts, at

least by those 'laymen' offering their knowledge. Some lay interviewees indicated that they did not expect their views to be given much consideration by those they saw as experts. One interviewee suggested that the project manager showed sympathy by listening to the contributions of those non-experts, implying that the non-experts had no real reason to expect to be included in the decision-making process.

"Even though 'K' is an engineer he's quite a sympathetic engineer, and I think he listened to people." (John, local resident)

When discussing the different knowledges that may have been incorporated into the decision-making process, stakeholders had clear ideas of which types of knowledge they felt should have been incorporated, and who could have provided that:

"I asked if he'd been in touch with anybody there and they'd been in touch with the canoeists, and I said what about the fishermen, and she said does anybody fish it? So he didn't know, you see. So again, when this all came out, I spoke to somebody, and then I got an e-mail saying you know there are badger setts there. So obviously the badger people haven't been involved." (John, local resident)

This echoed some of the opinions of interviewees around which stakeholders should be included in the decision-making process, and indicates an association between stakeholder representation and knowledge/expertise.

However, for others, there was an emphasis and importance placed on the knowledge brought by lay stakeholders to the decision-making process. For some stakeholders, the nature of the expertise used to make the decisions was of little relevance, as the outcomes were not appropriate if they were reached without the input of local knowledge to the process. One local stakeholder explained that, even if it resulted in the same outcomes, he would have preferred to be involved in the

decision-making process by the Environment Agency, because without that involvement it felt that the Environment Agency were devaluing the knowledge of local people in comparison to the knowledge of professionals, who did not have the day-to-day experience of living close to the site. So, for a number of stakeholders, it is desirable that local or lay knowledge is incorporated in the decision-making process at the same time alongside expert opinions. It may be that lay knowledge offers something in addition to the expert knowledge, but there is also an implication that the nature of the relationship to the site (relationships to place) that local stakeholders bring is important to the process.

There was a perception amongst some professional stakeholders that the knowledge and contribution to be made by communities was less effective than that of paid professionals. One interviewee in particular felt that his 'professional' status was very significant to his ability to contribute to the decision-making process:

> *"They [Environment Agency] don't have tree men, they don't have arboroculturalists that are employed by the Agency, so they rely a lot on asking people like us. So at the stage of specifying the work, they are somewhat guided by our opinions on the trees, whether we feel it's necessary to take them out for whatever reason."* (David, Anderson Tree Care)

And he was clear that the contribution of 'lay-people' was of lesser importance:

> *"I'm not quite sure how effective that is and what it does, I don't know. It may just be a bunch of well meaning volunteers, in which case that's fine, but it doesn't achieve a lot sometimes. But it has its role. It gets people involved in managing their own locality and having a role in what goes on and a say in their local environment, and a willingness to do it. And that's important. But I think that for actually getting things done and managing*

things effectively you need other people involved." (David, Anderson Tree
Care)

This sentiment was echoed, although less explicitly, by other professional
stakeholders. Whilst there seemed to be an agreement that including rather than
ignoring 'lay' contributions was preferable, they should not be given prevalence
over 'expert' contributions.

> *"… it's important to ensure that we get the decisions right, and including the
> right people internally first, and then being able to check whether or not the
> considerations that we have had are right, because if we get 'design by
> committee', we could be there a long long time, and we will probably never
> still satisfy everybody's requirements. Whereas if we have got a good cross-
> section of people at the right level we should be able to do that and get most
> of it right. And then it's about getting that message out to everybody else to
> say, these are the considerations and the decisions that we have done, this is
> why we have got to this decision and why it might be a little bit away from
> what you would personally need it to be, but this is the reason why."*
> (Operations Manager, Environment Agency)

This statement implies that this individual does see the value of lay knowledge to
the process, but perceives a process that engages with a large number of lay
stakeholders as time consuming. His suggestion that 'a good cross-section of people
at the right level' can offer a sufficient alternative implies that he believes that
professionals can offer the same contributions, representing the needs of lay
participants.

However, both case studies offered a number of examples of instances where the
professionals and professional equipment or techniques had been unable to
provide the expertise expected of them. Some stakeholders related experiences
where local knowledge had been able to provide superior information to that
provided by experts:

"I mean one of the issues they had was they'd be looking for cables and they'd get the CAT scan out and it'd be useless. Because they put steel slag into some of the floor. They found some cables here and they got the wire to spike, so they thought they were live. And what it was they were laid across here, and our live one crossed it somewhere, and you've got steel slag, so if you go with your trace with the CAT scan it doesn't work, because you start following a small voltage on an HV that's been induced. And the age of the drawings, I mean some of them. Even the Yorkshire Electricity stuff wasn't right on here, just down here they found a cable that was supposed to be on this side and it was over here. Little surprises like that." (Darren, Firth Rixson)

Sometimes other forms of knowledge also provided information which was at odds with the information provided by experts. A particular example of this was the fish survey conducted at Malin Bridge by a University department, which gave data that differed greatly from the experiences of local fishermen:

"They had a fish count, and that was a bit false, because they found fish that shouldn't have been there anyway. Like tench which might have come out of the ponds, in the floods." (John, local resident)

Another local angler related the same experience with regard to the fish survey, and suggested that other groups ought to have been able to present the expertise required in this instance:

"I think that the Environment Agency have obviously got a wealth of knowledge, they used to be the National Rivers authority, they've got a wealth of knowledge in relation to waterways and what will benefit ecologically that area. But you can't beat local knowledge. Certainly in respect to local wildlife, when you look at the list that they have put together you can see that they have only been there for a short amount of time. They did electro- fishing of the area, and identified certain species. I know full well that I have caught other fish along the river that have not been identified.

*And that's just myself. But the local experts, Loxley Wildlife Trust or whoever
they are exactly, these people will have an extensive knowledge of what is in
the river and what should be in the river, and certainly of the environment as
well."* (Mat, local resident)

Another example of a discrepancy between the expertise presented within the
governance process and the knowledge of local people was in the bird nesting
predictions which the Environment Agency based the timetabling of the work upon:

*"But he did actually say that the birds had finished nesting, but I didn't agree
with this, seeing as I've got wood pigeons nesting in a tree in the garden. So I
knew he wasn't quite right, but there you go."* (Joyce, Loxley Valley
Protection Society)

These examples show that the knowledge brought to the process by the experts
was in some instances partial or incorrect when set alongside the knowledge
brought by lay stakeholders. This corroborates the second wave position put
forward by Collins and Evans (2002), and implies that approaches allowing for
coproduction of knowledge would enable these problems with expert knowledge to
be addressed.

8.3   Lay Knowledge Rejecting Expertise

The main source of knowledge for the project at Malin Bridge came in-house from
the Environment Agency. This was founded on the engineering principles of the
channel clearance decisions and ideas about water flow patterns that lead to flood
situations, which they describe as conveyance improvement. The information
gathered for the environmental assessment (not a full statutory EIA, which they
determined was not required legally) was presumably gathered from other in-
house Environment Agency specialists, although this was not made explicit in the
report. Some stakeholders suggested that the survey work had been carried out for

the Environment Agency by external contractors, but there is no evidence to verify this supposition. The survey findings as presented to external stakeholders comprised a seven page description of the site within the larger environmental assessment report for all Phase 2 sites (Malin Bridge, the area of the River Loxley adjacent to Limbrick Close, and the River Don at Penistone Bridge), and were concerned with major habitats, vegetation and physical features of the river corridor (Environment Agency, 2009b). This report was made available to all stakeholders on request from the Environment Agency, although it only became available a few days before work commenced, and the majority of stakeholders were unaware of it at all until after work had begun.

Given the nature of the governance process, and the way in which input was somewhat constrained during the consultation phase, the expertise and knowledge that went into the decisions were quite hidden from many stakeholders. This left many feeling uncertain of the validity of the some of the expertise and the decision based on it:

> *"I'd like to know the idea of replanting them Because if you think like with global warming and things like that, I mean I don't know a great deal about that kind of stuff, but they said basically that you're going to get worse winters and hotter summers, basically the climate becomes hotter but you get worse winters. Well in the future, those trees are only little now, so if we have a flood now they're just going to get snapped over and not do anything. But in the future when they grow and they're the size of what they were before, and we're getting worse winters, will they have to do it all again? It's weird isn't it. I want to know the thinking behind chopping them down and replanting them."* (Tim, local businessman)

> *"And I think that from what I heard at the review and the sort of debates happening about the procedure with the trees, and the fact that they were all cleared, and the EA were saying well once you take out a few they all*

have to be cleared because they're weak. I don't know if that's really true, or it's a bit of a kind of, going from one presumption to the next. And they seemed to take a lot of advice from the tree surgeon, and I think that's not good practice. And also loss of amenity value, because the trees look really nice when they're green, and make the river look natural, particularly in the City Centre, I was pretty upset about the loss of trees around the Home Office buildings, because I just think it looks really ugly now." (Helen, River Stewardship Company)

The stage at which different forms of knowledge and expertise were made use of in the governance process was thought by some to be one of the reasons outcomes were unsatisfactory for so many stakeholders. This was particularly the case with advice taken from the arboriculturalists, which was on a rolling basis as the works were conducted rather than in advance as part of a wider stakeholder-wide process.

"So, yeah so they were getting advice when they were on site from the arboriculturalist and I think we've said to them since then that if we can get those experts involved at an earlier stage and we can all talk together we might be able to come to some sort of more of a balanced approach." (Ecologist, Sheffield City Council)

The dissemination of information was also problematic within the governance process, with expert data not being provided to stakeholders until it was too late in the process for them to use the data effectively:

"They did do a survey, but the data wasn't released until they'd done the main part of the work, which meant that any things that were highlighted in the report which we could have asked for either to be retained or at least be sort of kept as features, it was too late by that point to do it. And I think also there was I think a sort of slight sense of betrayal, because [colleague] and I had spent a lot of time discussing it we felt really hacked off at the end of it,

we felt we'd wasted a huge amount of time and energy, when really it seemed to us they were just going to go ahead and do it anyway, it was just kind of paying lip service, and then that makes it very difficult to field that back to members of the public really." (Julie, Sheffield City Council)

By using the Coproduction of Knowledge approach advocated by Lane *et al* (2011), the 'slowing down of reasoning' would mean that all stakeholders would have access to the shared knowledge contributing to the decision making process, and therefore allow a more equal contribution to the process. This may reduce the occasions where stakeholders question the outcomes at the end of the process, as was seen in this instance. The quote below shows that some stakeholders felt that they had been convinced by the expert arguments, but later felt drawn to question it when the results were seen:

"So I think, so I could see it was justified but I suppose afterwards I thought, well did they have to quite do what they did? Because it's like literally they got in a few bulldozers and just bulldozed everything." (Paul A, local resident)

For many, the lack of understanding of the expertise behind the decisions, coupled with a shortcoming in explanations of this was what led them to question the expertise. One stakeholder felt that he had not had any opportunity to ask questions that may have given him an understanding of why certain decisions were made about tree clearance that seemed to make little sense visually and environmentally from his own understanding. He felt that, as professionals, there must be reasons behind the decisions, and that to explain these to the wider stakeholders would help people to accept the changes more readily. These responses to the tree clearance show that those without expert knowledge are not necessarily happy to take at face value the knowledge that is offered to them as expert, particularly in circumstances where they feel strongly against the action advised.

Some of the information provided by the Environment Agency was questioned by stakeholders, who felt that experts were giving them incorrect information, assuming them to lack the knowledge to question what they were told. Many stakeholders mentioned their own environmental knowledge in relation to tree species and health, species identification, and bird nesting which contradicted the evidence offered to them by the Environment Agency.

> *"He said that alders have a disease that meant they might fall down and cause a blockage in the river. I hope they don't go up Rivelin and Loxley valleys and chop all the alders down, because I haven't seen any diseased alders. I personally think it's first-year Environmental Studies baloney."* (Howard, local resident)

It seems that the closed nature of the decision-making process led to questioning for a number of stakeholders, and ultimately dissatisfaction with the dismissal of their own knowledge when it did not match with the evidence provided by the Environment Agency internally.

Lay stakeholders were less likely to reject expert knowledge if they felt it had been adequately engaged with the discussions before the work began. The Loxley Valley Protection Society were one of the groups who were 'consulted' (the Environment Agency referred to them as consultees, but in fact the group were more accurately given information about the work that was planned with little opportunity to contribute to the plans). They clearly felt that the explanations for the work they had been offered made a big difference to their acceptance of the results:

> D   *"I think we felt it was quite good of them to come and explain it to us."*

> J   *"Otherwise we might have been some of the ones that were going railing at the workmen."*

(interview with representatives of Loxley Valley Protection Society)

One stakeholder suggested that perhaps a more open attitude to the expertise used in making decisions would have offered individuals the opportunity to challenge that expertise by generating their own:

> *"So that's one of the other things I was a bit disappointed with, that they should have been there (the reports) for people who wants to know about it, not just to say we've done them and have filed it away, that's no good. People want to know, and have a chance to do their own kind of surveys if they're in that game, to see what's all happening."* (John, local resident)

This suggests that what the lay stakeholders wanted in this instance was an opportunity to be involved with the decision-making and to understand the process and discussions that led to the decisions made.

8.4   Privileging some Expertise over Others

The use of what was considered (by those stakeholders speaking about it) 'expert' knowledge was mentioned at various points in the process by a range of different interviewees. The engineering of the Centenary Riverside site was particularly considered to be the main focus of specialist expertise, although some other aspects of the site's development, such as the environmental surveying, were also seen as being examples of expertise in the process:

> *"because the survey work did find evidence of otter along there, so it was quite important to get his (Brian, Yorkshire Wildlife Trust) specialist opinion as well, and they did specialist surveys for water vole and otter, so there are some."* (Carolyn, Rotherham MBC)

Some expert knowledge related to an alternative technology used on the site as a method of stabilising the banks using techniques relatively unknown in the UK:

"I think until we came along it was [going to be] a conventional method, which was the blankets, that they (Rotherham MBC) were going to do. But fortunately for us Tony (the landscape architect) was a bit more forward thinking, and he saw the potential of the filter socks, and decided to trial that alongside it, albeit that we only got to do a small trial either side, but generally we did enough to impress him." (Mick, Scotbark)

The relative unfamiliarity of this technique in UK settings meant that this was initially not a type of expertise considered useful to the process by some stakeholders. The availability of funding to use this technique as a trial on the site meant that this became more acceptable to those other stakeholders and funders, and was accepted as a form of expert knowledge.

Input from the local steel firm affected by the works at Centenary Riverside was given a high priority in the process, given their specialist knowledge of the needs of their company and how this would impact on the process:

"... the biggest issue in the whole phase was the complications around us working together at the same time. That was the biggest issue on the site, so the actual people that came and tendered came and had the presentation and walked around the site, and we explained some of the issues before. So they knew before they were tendering what we were putting into all the documents." (Darren, Firth Rixson)

As well as the expert knowledge Firth Rixson brought, they also had what is more typically considered to be local (but still technical) knowledge about the site which was important to the works:

"But there was a lot of old – when you get the old drawings out you can see the old Bradmarsh Dyke, and we had to mention it to them because basically it was capped here. And our concern was that we didn't want anything to have gone into the dyke, and then we break the cap and let it into the river."
(Darren, Firth Rixson)

Despite a focus on making use of expert knowledge in the design and construction of the site, there was still, at least from non-professionals, a sense that the use of expertise was not guaranteed to provide failsafe solutions to the problem:

"... it's only in recent years that people have been concerned about how much water there is and where it's being held, and how it's discharged, and where it's going, calculating the quantities and the flow and what have you. I do think that sometimes people go overboard, but as I say, if you're prepared to pay and get second opinions and third opinions, you can prove potentially that something is not quite right or that it is overboard, but as I say, you've got to privately pay for that opinion." (Scott, Primesite UK)

The acceptance of expertise appears to be not only based on the 'qualification' of the individual/organisation providing the information, but also how widely accepted the expertise is. There appears to be a mindset, at least amongst some agencies, that the commonly accepted expertise is the only way in which a flood alleviation site can be managed, and a reluctance to accept less well known solutions. This can be at the scale of individual components of a larger project or at much larger scales such as the management of catchments as a whole. One example of this in these case studies was the compost spraying technique piloted at Centenary Riverside:

"When you tell people that you can blow compost 100m through a pipe, or that you have a filter system that's going to work far better than anything they've used before, people are always very sceptical. .. It's been successful in the US, but over here we seem not to accept any of that literature." (Mick, Scotbark)

There was a sense that expertise was influenced by the values of the place from which the expertise came. So, for example, the Environment Agency offered in-house expertise on the ecological aspects of the work they conducted on the Malin Bridge site:

> *"the Environment Agency has got the people that manage the purse strings, and it's got the people who manage whether or not we can gain planning consent for doing the types of works that we are doing within the river, land drainage consent, and we've also got on the project level we've got people who are involved in making sure that we are complying with different types of habitat and fisheries legislation and things like that. So the impact that we have on the ecological aspects of the job, we need to consult with people internally."* (Operations Manager, Environment Agency)

Other stakeholders were dissatisfied with the quality of the ecological expertise brought to the project however. They felt that the values of the Environment Agency as an organisation overall were not supportive of ecological concerns, and therefore expertise on this subject from the Environment Agency would be of little value, and suggested other ways in which the ecology may have been approached, using different values:

> *"Well the thing is, it's only on very selected species, it doesn't take into account any of the habitats. And having now seen the report. This is a problem that seems to crop up time and time again in terms of ecology. The focus is all on the red data book species and how it… any change will affect them, not how it affects the habitats and environment and the local landscape and of course local people are very involved with thinking of things as local landscapes rather than necessarily habitats. The habitats is a bit more of an analysis but someone like myself will do both but you're gonna get the species retained or migrate in if you've got the right habitats and if you haven't got the right habitats, you won't get it. And was the survey work okay? Comments on the bat, there was no bats roosting in the*

*trees at the time, fine but bats, well used to use that as feeding area, they
may continue to do so but I suspect because it's fairly open they may be
reluctant to do so, until a bit more trees develop along it and then they'll
start using it again."* (local volunteer 2)

Another ecologist had surveyed in the vicinity of the site prior to the work (as part
of his own work), finding the area to be:

*"… actually a pretty nice river, life story actually related to flow which isn't
that relevant, there's nothing particularly significant about that and then
using diatoms you can work out the triofic diatom index which is an indicator
also of nutrient levels and pollution and that is a relatively low figure so
again, it's not badly impacted by nutrients. In terms of, I don't have the bird
and butterfly figures, I think bird, the birds were pretty good at the site as
well. Butterflies weren't that high because it was heavily shaded. But what
you'd expect really. And everything else, the habitat was yeah, it was quite
nice, water quality is quite good."* (Jim, local resident and ecologist)

His view on the Environment Agency's work on the site with regard to ecology was
this:

*"I mean I suspect that the ecology was not even considered. I think the
works were 100% about being seen to do something about the flood risk.
And nothing else mattered."* (Jim, local resident and ecologist)

This suggests that stakeholders do not simply take the knowledge of others at face
value, but take into account the motivations behind what is offered. The
Environment Agency were clearly interpreted by many stakeholders as an
organisation motivated by values at odds with their own.

8.5   Power is Knowledge?

Power is clearly an important factor in the policy process, and this is recognised by all of the main theories for policy analysis. The interrelations between power and the ability to make use of knowledge in the policy process were evident in both of these case studies. At Malin Bridge, local residents felt that they were unable to question the knowledge employed in making decisions, and therefore the work conducted by the Environment Agency due to their position as having statutory authority, and the way in which this was wielded within the decision-making process. For many residents, the first time they became aware of the work was through a notice attached to one of the trees on the site that stated the Environment Agency would be conducting tree felling, with no reference to any consultative work that they were able to engage with. There was also a sense that the information offered to local residents, perceived as part of the consultation process by the Environment Agency, did not invite any sharing of knowledge between residents and the Environment Agency, underlining the statutory nature of their power:

> *"But of course because the Environment Agency, unelected, are able to, they sound as if they are a law unto themselves, and no one is really checking them, they're not answerable, they're certainly not answerable to the Local Authority, there's no checks and balances, so they stick a bit of paper up on a tree, and that's it. And another thing that made me cross was 'K' said well we've put notices up now. He was very proud of his notice boards, so I went down to look at his notice boards, which told me absolutely nothing. It had some photographs of Malin Bridge when it was first built, and some general phone number that you could phone if you wanted more information. But it told me absolutely nothing about what was happening, of the work. Either what was happening then or how it was going to be managed in the future, but they were very nice notice boards."* (local resident 3)

Some interviewees attributed the sense of lack of power that some stakeholders had in the face of statutory authority as a reason for their sense of apathy towards the perceived problem:

> *"But instead I think the businesses just feel like 'oh, it's the Environment Agency', they feel like it's a problem, and there's lots of negativity about the fact that the Environment Agency can come in and do what they want. They give that impression. And maybe they're also conveying the impression that that's what the EA should be doing, so the businesses feel like well the EA will come in and do it again when it gets worse."* (Helen, River Stewardship Company)

So the nature of the power that the Environment Agency held in this process left residents feeling powerless to the degree that they did not even try to engage with the process in any way. The decision-making process at Malin Bridge appeared on paper to incorporate a variety of different types of knowledge through the consultation process put in place, but for some stakeholders, the incorporation of other types of knowledge was secondary to the Environment Agency's own contributions due to the power they held in the process:

> *"Well that meeting that was this morning [with 'K' and Sheffield City Council], we'd specified the design, and they then put that design to the various other stakeholders, and they put their comments in and made their alterations, and then brought it back to us, and I was discussing with 'K' there [prior to this interview] what we were going to take on board from their comments. Because at the end of the day they can't dictate to anybody here what goes on on this site, they've no authority or statutory powers to say you will plant this on the site, they're giving their opinion."* (David, Anderson Tree Care)

Despite this attitude, it was clear that some stakeholders felt the knowledge they brought to the process had been considered and included, despite the emphasis placed on the power of those controlling the debates. The local councillors working

around the Malin Bridge area adopted a role in the process of trying to reconcile some of the local concerns with the statutory authority of the Environment Agency:

> *"Sometimes they do think they are the masters of everything, and they're not. So they had their own thoughts as well. So it was interesting that we did give a steer and say that, at the end of the day the Environment Agency are saying one thing, you're saying another, and it's how you actually marry those up."* (Diane, local councillor)

At Centenary Riverside the decision-making process was felt by all of those involved in the process to be much less power-laden than that at Malin Bridge. Nevertheless, power relationships still came into play when less conventional types of knowledge were being brought into the process, and the way in which resources can impact on the way an organisation is able to make use of power became evident:

> *"So on the face of it and we had a really good relationship, but when it got down to the detail that was going on on the ground it all kind of fell apart. And I think because we were only engaged in a very arm's-length way. We didn't really have any authority to send someone to the site to kick the contractors and say don't do that do this. And we didn't have any resources to pay for someone to work alongside the people who were there day-to-day, to make sure things were done how we wanted them to be done. So we were part of the decision-making but in a slightly hamstrung kind of way."* (Nigel, Sheffield and Rotherham Wildlife Trust)

For the most part, however, there was considerably less evidence of power being used to manage the contributions of knowledge made to the process at Centenary Riverside. At this site, statutory power was used to enable a wider range of knowledge as far as possible:

> *"But what my involvement in the project enabled was the reasonably smooth ride through the approvals process, because it still needs our planning teams to approve it, it needs consent for the rivers work. It needs*

the rest of the teams within the Environment Agency to be happy with what they're doing, there are aspects from the fisheries and environmental sides of things that need to be satisfied with any works that are going in the river. And by having the partnership approach and by having me involved, meant that as far as those processes went, which for a private individual or for a council coming in on its own can be quite onerous and quite hard work, we actually by our involvement and partnership, by me being involved in the project, it was almost as if we were doing it, in terms getting internal support and internal approval. We provided that service in effect for Rotherham, and it helped them to get hold of the right people and things like that, and talking to the right people is everything as far as getting approval goes from an organisation like ourselves." (James, Environment Agency)

The differences in the way that power was used in these two cases to control the input of knowledge to the decision-making process is marked, and correlates very closely with the levels of satisfaction felt by stakeholders in the two processes; levels of satisfaction at Centenary Riverside were considerably higher on average than at Malin Bridge.

8.6   Emotional Knowledge

The way in which many stakeholders lacked engagement with the process at Malin Bridge resulted in a great deal of dissatisfaction. When interviewees talked about being unable to participate in the decision-making process, often the knowledge contributions they wanted to make were tied up in emotional responses. Many felt that their relationship to the site should carry more weight than the statutory authority held by the Environment Agency, and that should mean their voices were heard within the governance process. Local residents felt involved with the site despite their lack of 'ownership', and were keen to engage with the process:

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"But I have to say, judging by some of the letters that went in to the press, that some of the people who actually live adjacent to the river, they would have welcomed a chance to find out and question what was going on." (local resident 6)

One interviewee felt clearly that residents sense of 'ownership' was more than reason enough to engage with them during the process of change. The relationships of local people to the site, and the knowledge of the site that they developed through these relationships, meant that changes in which they were unable to have any involvement would leave people unhappy. A process of communication with local people was felt to be important by many local stakeholders.

A number of interviewees spoke about the emotions of residents being unable to bring their own knowledge to the decision-making process, and the strength of feeling was clear in their voices during the interview. Many residents were angry about the lack of involvement they were able to have with the changes to the Malin Bridge site, and felt strongly that they should have been involved. The language used in talking about these experiences was strongly emotional, and reflected a strong sense of injustice at being excluded:

"As a resident absolutely not! My only involvement was through this. As a resident nothing. I think the first thing the residents knew was when the cranes were in and the guys were cutting the trees down. And I popped down to have a look and you know, no one knew it was going to go ahead that I spoke to. They were just there because it was a spectacle. As far as I'm aware there was no effort made to engage with local residents at all. And there's been no effort made since to find out what people might want to happen to those sites." (local resident 4)

One resident spoke of forcing the statutory authorities to engage with lay stakeholders in very emotive terms, striking comparison with the Miner's Strikes:

*"I think they'll think twice the next time they do something similar. Because
they'll probably get people linking arms, you know, going back to the old
Miner's Strikes. You're not stepping a foot here until we know exactly what
you're doing and what it involves."* (Grenville, local resident)

The experience reported by a number of residents was not simply an omission to
engage on the part of those with statutory authority, but a more active reluctance:

*"I'm concerned about how dismissive they were initially with local residents,
and that's why I took it on myself to try and do something and get a meeting
organised, because in this day and age you can't be dismissive of people's
rights, can you? That's pathetic. I know full well that all the street want to
work this problem out with the Environment Agency to sort the matter,
because they're just not happy about how it's gone. But if that happens we'll
see, watch this space."* (Mat, local resident)

Another interviewee stated:

*"So there is an issue and it does need dealing with but I'm sure there are
other ways of dealing with it. And I think there should be a lot more
openness, so they you know, transparency is a good buzzword of the minute,
I think we should, people can accept decisions a lot better if they can
understand how they've been achieved. And it's that not knowing, this
conspiracy of silence, and I know it wasn't necessarily intentional on the part
of the Environment Agency, but it makes their lives a lot easier if they don't
have to go out and negotiate and talk to people. But we're the ones who live
with the consequences of what they do. They come here for a few months
and then they move on. They're not living here."* (local resident 3)

This suggests that these stakeholders felt that they had been intentionally excluded
because of the type of knowledge they might bring to the process (local
knowledge). Some lay stakeholders clearly felt their views were taken less seriously
within the governance process because they were not bringing the expert opinions
that the professionals were bringing. A number of stakeholders referred to an

attitude of 'we know best' from those in control of the process (particularly the Environment Agency), that did not match with their own concerns.

There was a clear indication in the comments by lay stakeholders of a connection between the knowledge that they wanted to bring to the process, and the emotional relationships they have to the place in question. It was also clear from speaking to those who managed the engagement in the decision-making process that these emotions were one of the key reasons there was so little involvement for lay stakeholders – they were felt to be emotional rather than rational, getting unnecessarily upset by tree clearance. The inference being that emotions would be time consuming and inappropriate in a technical decision-making process, and therefore leading to a choice to limit opportunities for these to be brought into the process. These emotional connections to the sharing of knowledge within the decision-making process were not exclusively limited to lay stakeholders however. Some of the professionals who felt they hadn't had effective opportunities to engage with the process also gave very emotional responses in interviews:

> *"And I think also there was I think a sort of slight sense of betrayal, because "J" and I had spent a lot of time discussing it we felt really hacked off at the end of it, we felt we'd wasted a huge amount of time and energy, when really it seemed to us they were just going to go ahead and do it anyway, it was just kind of paying lip service, and then that makes it very difficult to field that back to members of the public really."* (Julie, Sheffield City Council)

The way in which professionals also brought emotions to the decision-making process is not something which is addressed in the policy literature, and this is something that merits further discussion in the next chapter.

8.7   Conclusions

It is clear that different forms of knowledge are of great importance to the decision-making process, but the distinction between lay knowledge and expertise becomes less clear in practice, and as such the second wave position that does not privilege one over the other seems the most appropriate. At Malin Bridge there were clear efforts by those with power in the decision-making process to maintain the distinction between expert and lay knowledge, with expert knowledge privileged over lay. The consultations here fit most closely with the public education and public debate models, as opposed to the coproduction of knowledge (Lane *et al*, 2011). The process at Centenary Riverside bears more similarity to the coproduction of knowledge model, and the incorporation of less familiar choices (site design for instance) attests this.

There is a greater acceptance of more established forms of knowledge by all stakeholders, rather than the less tested (such as the relatively new flood banking techniques employed at Centenary Riverside). The power differences between different stakeholders are evident in the acceptance of knowledge, particularly in cases where the powerful stakeholders are able to exclude other forms of knowledge from the process. However, it is also clear that the different values behind claims to knowledge are of significance.

Lay knowledge is treated as less valuable on occasion by some stakeholders on the basis that it is emotional. Remarks were made about the emotional responses that local people have to cutting down trees in the area, for example, in response to concerns raised about the removal of trees at Malin Bridge. However, these case studies suggest that despite this equation of emotions with lay or informal knowledge, there was frequently also an emotional relationship with the site for professional stakeholders that impacted on their use of expertise and the values

behind the way in which their expert judgements were made. This is discussed further in the following section.

Chapter 9: Relating to Place

9.1   Introduction

Relationships to place were discussed in Chapter 2 as a potentially useful addition to interpretive policy analysis. The effects of relationships to place on stakeholders engagement with governance processes has been explored by a number of theorists (see Devine-Wright, 2009; Collins and Kearns, 2010), and it is clear that these relationships impact on both engagement with processes of change and the response to change. This chapter breaks down the concept of relationships to place further, taking two particular themes that emerged from the research to look at emotions and collective memory. These two concepts appear to influence the way in which relationships to place are formed by stakeholders, and therefore underpin the way in which relationships to place impact on governance processes. This chapter uses the research data to further explore these two concepts, and examine how these findings relate to the theoretical literature on the two themes, drawing together the findings to examine how they may impact on our understanding of stakeholder engagement.

Space and relationship to place are concepts that have been addressed in theory within the discipline of geography, where the physical nature of 'place' is understood to be important. This is contradictory to the way in which governance and policy theory tends to deal with place, using "narrow professional paradigms" (Wilks-Heeg, 2003:216). However, when examining policy that deals with environmental matters, place is of direct relevance to the study in a way that it may not be with other types of governance process, and as such, environmental policy studies must consider space and place. If the complexities of place are not adequately considered in the understanding of a governance process, there is a risk that the diversity of interests in a site are overlooked, according to Widdowfield (2000).

Scannell and Gifford (2010) outline three dimensions of place attachment: the person dimension (who is attached to place); the psychological dimension (how is the attachment manifest); and the place dimension (what is the nature of the place the attachment is to). These three dimensions are useful in breaking down precisely what we are interested in exploring about relationships to place, and some of these aspects have already been explored earlier in the thesis. The person dimension is addressed through the identification of stakeholders, and the way in which individuals may choose to identify or not as stakeholders of a site dependant on their own sense of their relationship with that site. The place dimensions and psychological dimensions are addressed within this chapter through an exploration of the ways that emotions and the different aspects of memory (individual, social, cultural and political, as identified by Assmann, 2006) impact on the ways that relationships to place are formed.

9.2   The Role of Emotions

In conventional theory of collaborative governance emotions do not feature. There is a sense that they are, or certainly should be, left at the door where policy processes are concerned. Although there is on some level an acknowledgement that the subject of policy is of importance to stakeholders, the emotional relationships are somehow edited out of the theory. Where emotion is acknowledged, it is only used to show the ways that processes are inadequate (for example, showing the frustration that lay stakeholders may have when faced with professionals (Fischer, 2010)). Emotions are also only attributed to lay stakeholders, not the professional stakeholders who are instead rational and logical. Where emotion is apparent in conventional theory, it tends to be indirectly. The notion of conflict in governance processes is acknowledged in collaborative planning theory, but with the qualification that this can be addressed through the use of collaborative planning, and the emotional reasons behind any conflict are not addressed. In a variety of recent pieces of work in the interpretive policy analysis

field, there has been a much greater focus on emotions (see Fischer, 2009; Gottweis, 2012). In this work there is an acknowledgement that local residents will have emotional responses to places, and bring these emotions to the policy process. Fischer argues that emotions need to be acknowledged in our theoretical understandings of governance, and also better understood within the practice of governance (Fischer, 2009).

However my research goes further to argue that it is not just 'lay' stakeholders who express emotions within the governance process. Hoggett *et al* (2006) highlight the way that individuals values can drive them to undertake particular career choices, with particular focus on the public good, and it follows that these values and emotions will therefore carry through into their behaviour within that role. At present the emotional relationships that professionals have to place is something which is not addressed in the literature, and will therefore be explored further in this chapter.

In my research the presence of emotions in the governance process was very clear. In both case studies, one which displayed a great deal of conflict and one which was relatively harmonious, emotions were evident and important in the way that they impacted on outcomes. My research showed that it was not only the lay stakeholders that had emotional investment in the sites at the heart of environmental policy, but also the professionals involved. It was not just living in an area for a long period of time that generated a relationship to place for people, and these connections were apparently formed in many different ways. Relationships to place meant that stakeholders brought emotions into the governance process, and responded to the proposals of other stakeholders with sadness, anger, shock, distress, and aggression if they felt that the place they had a relationship with was being threatened.

Given these findings, it is useful to unpack the theory of emotions further, to better establish where these conclusions fit within the established literature. Bennet (2004:414) states that there is a "popular misconception that rationality is distinct from emotion, with the former privileged over the latter". The argument that empathy has no place in the modern climate of scientific instrumentality (see Code, 1995:120) supports the claim that the two are seen as separate and distinct, and that emotions do not have a role in an environment of scientific, 'evidence-based' policy-making. As Clarke *et al* (2006:3) put it, "reason should master emotion". Fischer (2009) traces this separation to Aristotle, who identified pathos, logos and ethos as the components of rhetoric: Pathos is the element of emotion, logos of factual argument, and ethos that of ethics and virtue. The division of these three components has persevered in philosophical thought and is at the root of the supposition that emotion does not belong in policy work. The use of rhetoric, an emotive argument, is said by Barnes *et al* to be 'a committed and passionate attempt to persuade others' and is seen as an attempt to manipulate rather than reflecting genuine expression of emotion (Barnes *et al*, 2007:38). Fischer also finds that rhetoric is perceived negatively as "self-serving" (2009:275), and emotion is seen to be "the enemy of rational deliberation" (2009:293). The unsuitability of emotions in the policy process is a reasonably well established assumption, for example, Barnes *et al* (2007:150) mentions a theme in the social movement literature that there is a "question of the capacity of officials to deal with expressive or affective interventions". Cass and Walker's findings suggest that participants are aware that emotions are not seen as appropriate in policy processes, as they often attempt to rationalise their initial reactions in order to present them within decision-making processes (Cass and Walker, 2009).

However, a growing number of academics argue instead that emotions are in fact present in decision-making processes, that in fact their presence there is unavoidable, and that this is not a bad thing. An alternative perspective on emotions within policy work is proposed by Clarke *et al*, who state that "in a world

threatened by ecological disaster and violent terrorism, there is good reason to be anxious and afraid; such emotions are appropriate responses to the world in which we find ourselves and they can motivate action to address the danger. In this sense, such emotions are entirely rational" (Clarke *et al*, 2006:5).

A number of studies have suggested that emotions are not unexpected in governance. Jasper (1998:398), in his examination of popular protest, argues that "emotions pervade all social life, social movements included". He has since proposed that "in a variety of ways emotions make us care about the world around us, so that it is hard to imagine goals of political action that are not shaped by them" (Jasper, 2006:21), and Fischer supports this argument that it is in fact emotion that drives people to become involved in the political process (2009), rather than the more narrowly rationalised concept of 'interests'. It can also be argued that emotions are in fact far from being irrational; Jasper (1998) suggests instead that while emotions may be founded on mistaken beliefs or appear inappropriate in certain situations, they are even so not irrational. Outcomes may not always be those desired, but unanticipated outcomes are equally likely with entirely 'rational' (unemotional) motivations. He claims that "emotions permeate our political tactics as thoroughly as our goals" (Jasper, 2006:22). At present however, it is difficult to say more than simply that emotions have an important role in these processes. A number of researchers find that there has been a neglect of emotions in academic evaluation of political behaviour. Barbalet points out that accounts of social processes which discuss decision-making in terms of reflective or habitual behaviour tend to exclude emotion as a consideration (2001), and Jasper states that "emotions have disappeared from models of protest" (Jasper, 1998:397).

9.2.1   Emotions and Local Residents

Local residents and 'lay' people talked a lot in the interviews about their emotional relationships to place. These relationships were very personal and significant to these individuals. Many interviewees mentioned the area as special to them in some way, for example:

> *"I've known Malin Bridge and the Loxley and the Rivelin for all of my life, more so the Rivelin than the Loxley. I've moved between different jobs, but maybe in the last 20 or 30 years I've come to realise that the environment is quite close to my heart, and that's why I started SPRITE up. I'm a fly fisherman by default I suppose."* (John, local resident and volunteer)

Residents felt a great deal of affection for the locality. The way in which they spoke about their relationships reflected their pleasure and enjoyment of the environment.

> *"I've lived here at Watersmeet Road for over 30 years. I like it very much. I very much appreciate the two lovely river valleys at the bottom of our road, where I very often go with our dogs, well every day. I love nature, so all of that's on the doorstep. And that's it."* (Howard, local resident)

The appearance of the locality played a significant role in the way in which residents related to it, fitting with Collins and Kearns finding that appearance played a significant role in the formation of relationships to place (Collins and Kearns, 2010). As such appearance was often closely tied to their experience of the area and their emotions towards it, and residents felt affected by changes to the appearance:

> *"It did, was, for me it was really beautiful. I mean obviously some of that's to do with memory but also evoking memory but also I think it did look really nice. To me it looked like something out of an English countryside painting. It was just beautiful. I used to stop there quite a bit, if I could, if I'd time I'd stop and have a look."* (Paul A, local resident)

For those who had bought houses, the environment had played an important role
in that decision, and continued to be of importance to their relationships with the
site.

> "It matters, and they bought the river, they bought the house because it's by
> the river. Like Mat with his fishing, fishing is so important to him, I mean I've
> seen him fishing here. It's really really important to him, that's why he
> bought the house. Howard with his wildlife, you know, it really matters."
> (local resident 3)

Emotional connections from a past relationship with the place were very important
for many interviewees, with many referring to their experiences of growing up in
the area, for example:

> "... it has quite a lot of memories for me that valley, it's the first river I ever
> fell in, I did all my courting up there, a lot of memories. And I used to walk to
> school up there..." (John, local resident and volunteer)

Other stakeholders expressed similar feeling, and even if they no longer lived in the
area they maintained a connection to the site:

> "I was born within a short walk of Malin Bridge here in 1948. Lived all my
> life in the area until two years ago when I married my childhood sweetheart
> and moved to Scunthorpe but I still take an interest in the area and I was
> interested to see what was happening at Malin Bridge." (Philip, past local
> resident)

This reflects Collins and Kearns findings in relation to coastal development in New
Zealand, where residents' narratives of memories of place were significant in the
formation of their relationships to that place (Collins and Kearns, 2010).

Chapter Seven highlighted the problems in conventional methods of identifying
stakeholders, and these findings suggest that the concept of emotions is therefore

useful in reconsidering the way in which we narrowly define engagement in relation to interests. Demertzis argues that interests had become prominent as an explanation for political action from the mid-Eighteenth Century, ignoring the role that passion may play in driving behaviour (Demertzis, 2006). The difficulty of identifying stakeholders in governance processes can be assisted by the introduction of emotions as a motivator for stakeholders, so identifying stakeholders as those who care about a site. Clarke *et al* argue that the role emotions can play in this process is undertheorised at present: "How emotions compare to other possible *explanans* for political actions, such a interests, opportunities, norms and institutions. Do, for instance, emotions sit alongside, give rise to or energize interests?" (Clarke *et al*, 2006:10).

The emotions that stakeholders felt about these sites were clearly place-based relationships, founded on the specifics of the sites and the way that they related to other places in the vicinity. Many of these emotions were founded on ideas of the place as informed by past experiences of stakeholders, and also the experiences of others on the site. A key aspect to our understanding of emotions in policy processes is the way in which we understand emotions as existing; whether we see emotions as biological and innate, or as social constructions.

If we consider emotions to be a biologically predetermined inevitability, then they would be considered to be universal constraints on human nature (Clarke *et al*, 2006) and therefore predetermined in the way they impact on governance. Clarke *et al* argue however that emotions are socially constructed, they are an aspect of social relations, and this point of view is one that is becoming more popular, although it is not a viewpoint that has been favoured in the past. Bennet draws attention to the way that neurobiology and psychology identify basic emotions that transcend cultures and are universally recognisable in humans (Bennet, 2004), implying that emotions are innate and therefore independent of culture and

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society. Barbalet (2001) also argues that the individual nature of emotions is more evident than the social nature, but this does not mean that they are therefore independent of society. Social constructionist approaches argue instead that emotions are constituted through the relationships between individuals and their surroundings, and emotions are mediated by social situations (Bennet, 2004). Jasper suggests that emotions are socially constructed because "an emotion is an action or a state of mind that makes sense only in particular circumstances" (Jasper, 1998:400).

It is clear that there are arguments to support both standpoints, and in fact emotions may transcend the two definitions (Bennet, 2004). To examine the role that emotions play in decision-making processes however, it may be more useful to understand emotions through a social constructivist perspective. This is because the emotions that are described as natural and innate tend to be those more basic emotions (for example fear or anger), whereas the more complex emotions (such as envy or love) involve a greater degree of mental processing and are to a much greater degree located in social contexts (Bennet, 2004). Jasper describes the way in which emotions are open to cognitive persuasion and are tied to moral values, meaning that emotions are governed by cultural rules and norms, and are open to amendment (Jasper, 1998). This would suggest that emotions are, at least to some degree, mediated by social situations. As such, they will necessarily vary from place to place and situation to situation, and therefore are important to our understanding of the governance process.

In talking about the site, many local residents and 'lay' stakeholders used very emotive terms to describe the changes to the site. Some were upset at what they felt had been lost, and others were angry at what they felt was inappropriate treatment of the site.

"When I saw the trees down? I was absolutely shocked and appalled, and very angry." (Howard, local resident)

The impact on the appearance of the site was something that residents reacted strongly to, and this also relayed a sense of feeling that the site had been poorly treated. One resident described the way that the site at Malin Bridge had been left by the Environment Agency in a very negative way, collectively describing their work alongside deliberate vandalism (graffiti) in a way that suggests he saw these as equally destructive:

"Well I don't like the graffiti, I don't like the green fences, I don't like the fact that they're using it to store hardcore. Just general kind of construction waste that they've gathered in that square. They should have made a much better job of making the site accessible and attractive. And it actually makes me quite angry every time I walk past it. What they've done is just shocking."
(local resident 4)

Some residents discussed the changes in greater depth than simply the experience, referring to their upset at the effect on the balance of wildlife:

"You can imagine, he was sat in a JCB with the engine running, and I said who's done this with all the fruit trees? Not me he said. They were under the wheels! So I thought well it's some little fairies come down… They were there, there were a big pile of trees, weren't there? I was right mad. Well, everybody were. It wasn't just us. Because everybody said tell them not to chop damson trees down." (Wendy, allotment holder)

Another interviewee described her neighbour's upset at the effects on local wildlife:

"He [neighbour] filled me in on what had been happening. He's a great, he's involved in all sorts of naturalist societies and conservation societies, he's a great nature lover. He cares very much about the river and the banking. He knows intimately what the wildlife is that lives on the banking, he observes them, because he's got a little summer house on the back of his house with a

*huge picture window that looks out onto the riverside so that he can see
what's happening. And he was absolutely beside himself about what had
happened."* (local resident 3)

As the last two quotes demonstrate, the appearance is intricately entangled with
other aspects of the site, and their upset was over more than just the way the place
looked. It is interesting to note that here, and in many other instances, interviewees
described the emotions of others, which (from their tone and expression) clearly
mirrored their own feelings. There may be a number of reasons for this, and many
interviewees seemed to want to make clear that they were not alone in their
unhappiness regarding the actions at the site. It is also possible that by describing
the emotions of others, some interviewees may have been subconsciously
attempting to remove their own emotional relationship from their account in an
attempt to fit with the greater 'rationality' that decision-making processes seem to
expect from participants. This finding fits with Hoggett's notion of 'collective
feelings', where he suggests that emotions are fundamentally relational (Hoggett,
2009). Shared emotions allow stakeholders to work together as a group to move in
a common direction.

The strength of feeling that local people had for the site at Malin Bridge was a
surprise to some of the professionals involved in the process, although not to those
who had been working in Sheffield for some time. A council employee with many
years experience working in Sheffield spoke of how unexpected the response to the
work at Malin Bridge was to the Environment Agency staff:

*"I think he [the site manager] suddenly thought, oh I didn't know it was
going to be like this in Sheffield. They've been through other cities and two
people have turned up at meetings, but here there's suddenly hundreds of
groups that seem to be taking ownership of the river."* (Julie, Sheffield City
Council)

Attitudes such as these are often attributed to NIMBYism, but this is not necessarily the case. NIMBYism implies that there is a lack of knowledge or understanding of the issues (Devine-Wright, 2009), which tends to be used as a way to contrast NIMBYist lay opinions to the rational professional judgements. However, as chapter 8 discussed, 'lay' stakeholders often have a great deal of useful knowledge to offer to the governance process, and as section 9.2.2 will demonstrate, my findings showed that it was not just lay stakeholders who demonstrated emotional relationships to place. Relationships to place are the expression of emotions in regard to environmental policy.

My research also suggested that it is not the case that individuals only have these emotional relationships to place when it is somewhere on their doorstep. One interviewee talked about some of the other sites targeted for flood alleviation works by the Environment Agency in Sheffield, describing the way that similar tree clearance works had been controversial in other areas of the city, even those with less evident lay stakeholder groups than Malin Bridge:

> *"I think a lot of the areas that they're working on, they're not actually residential areas, the ones coming into town, which in a sense would say to me there would be less interest, but then on the other hand, those areas, although they were flooded, they weren't affecting people, so I think a lot of people feel very positive about the river in those particular cases and want to keep it green. And the Five Weirs Walk of course are along those and people use that. And I think they were scared of seeing decimation as they walked along."* (Julie, Sheffield City Council)

It is clear that the emotional relationships to place that individuals have may be more evident when it is an area on their doorstep, but as this quote suggests, this does not rule out other less evident stakeholders having these relationships. A representative of a local voluntary sector community said that in his experience (of spending time volunteering on the site at Malin Bridge and nearby sites) the area was often used by people from the Parson Cross area of Sheffield rather than those

living in the immediate area. Whilst reasonably nearby, but certainly not within
walking distance, Parson Cross would not be an obvious stakeholder group for
Malin Bridge. However, he argued that those living close to the Rivelin Valley
tended to be better off and able to travel to more remote areas for days out, such
as into the Peak District, whereas for less well-off people travelling from Parson
Cross the Rivelin Valley was a bus journey away. These findings undermine
inferences of NIMBYism, for many of those stakeholders offering objections to the
changes at these sites are not dealing with their own 'back-yard', but a place that
may be quite distant from their immediate vicinity with which they have developed
an emotional relationship. This again supports the suggestion that it may be more
appropriate to consider stakeholders as those who care about a place rather than
those who have a conventional interest in a place.

9.2.2   Emotions and Professionals

Fischer argues that emotions may be helpful to the deliberative process as a way of
opening up issues for consideration that may otherwise be neglected. However, the
implicit rationality of professionals in contrast to lay individuals is something which
merits attention. In the analysis of policy processes emotional responses are only
attributed to lay stakeholders, but there is no reason to assume that these same
emotional responses do not also motivate professional stakeholders. Hoggett *et al*
(2006) cite Le Grand's study, which implies that public sector workers do not act
entirely neutrally in their professional roles. The findings of their study – that the
role undertaken by public sector workers is 'an expression of who they are'
(Hoggett *et al*, 2006:763) suggests that they are likely to bring their own emotions
into policy processes alongside those of lay stakeholders.

My interviews suggested that many of the professionals who had longstanding
working relationships with the sites they were involved with also had emotional ties
to those places, and these were evident at both case study sites. The two key

individuals who drove the Centenary Riverside project were very explicit about their feelings about the site and the impact on the wider area:

"Because obviously we've got a personal and a professional interest in this. I don't think you can put a line between the two." (Steve, Rotherham MBC)

At Malin Bridge, a voluntary sector worker described the enthusiasm of one of the Environment Agency workers who was familiar with the area and keen to do what he felt would improve the area:

"… he was wanting to carry on [with the clearance] going all the way up Malin Bridge, up the Rivelin and as far as the paddling pools and doing all that, but we knew that his budget wouldn't allow it, and building tourist information huts isn't in the Environment Agency's remit. But given the opportunity he'd have gone for it big style, because he's passionate about it and he likes that area." (Wendy, Hillsborough Forum)

These emotional ties spurred professionals to push for certain changes at their chosen sites, and to try to use their influence on others, frequently through their professional networks:

"And I witter on about it so much, I think they're finally starting to listen to me. And of course Greg is an endless campaigner for this, Greg and Steve." (John, Yorkshire Forward)

It also led professionals to become involved in non-professional ways to further their causes. One individual described how his professional interest in the rivers in Sheffield led to his personal involvement in voluntary work in the same area:

"Somewhat separate from that, because I've worked in the city for a long time, I've got a personal interest in the regeneration of the river, it's something I feel quite passionate about personally. So I've been involved through my spare time activity in the Five Weirs Trust and the Upper Don Trust." (Simon, Sheffield City Council)

The emotions that professionals felt about the sites and the changes made to the sites were in some ways more complex than for those local and lay stakeholders, as they appeared to encompass both their personal emotions and wants for the site, and a reflection of the concerns and wishes of other stakeholders. The conflict between personal feelings and professional feelings was expressed by one stakeholder, who was personally dissatisfied with the changes at Malin Bridge, but pleased from a professional perspective that it had triggered such interest:

> *"In many ways it is an improvement because you're getting people interested in the river because they can see it again. I get, I've had positive comments when I've gone down there, people who've probably were affected by the flooding and have… I was just looking at the river and a bloke came up to me and said, he thinks they'd done a smashing job. I know you get, there are other people who… I'm not happy with the extent of clearance but I think that there is good in what they've done, I just think they've gone too far in not prioritising the role that the trees have in the landscape character and as well in the stabilising of the banks and retention of habitat …"* (Ecologist, Sheffield City Council)

This conflict between personal and professional feelings was evident in a number of interviews; one in particular demonstrated a marked change in response when asked to speak about the site in his personal opinion (from professional concerns to anger). Another professional also responded with very similar emotions to those of local residents to the situation at Malin Bridge, which indicates that the engagement of professionals can often be a reflection of a particular place relationship:

> *"It seemed to me for that particular phase they kind of pushed the 'we can do what we like', and that attitude wasn't very helpful at all really, to feeding back to people at my end. I think [a colleague] felt quite betrayed by it, when we went and looked we were just shocked."* (Julie, Sheffield City Council)

As the quotes in this section show, the distinction between 'local' or 'layperson' and 'professional' became much less clear in practice. 'Locals' and 'professionals' were both motivated by emotional relationships in many cases, and these were intertwined in an emotional relationship with the site and what happened there. One individual who was not formally involved in the process pushed to become involved in his professional capacity (seeking involvement as a 'professional' rather than a local resident) because of his personal interests in the site, demonstrating that although in practice the two groups may be very similar, there were advantages from the perspective of the governance process to being perceived as a professional:

> *"I basically just stuck my oar in because I live quite near there. So I live on Tennyson Road which is, I don't know, it's a very short walk down to Malin Bridge. So initially on… walking around actually saw the signs that were notifications for shoal removal work and the tree removal work. So the first kind of involvement I had with that part of the work was to follow-up on the contact details that were posted on the notice and basically sort of say, well I think that it was communicated was that it was sediment material that was being removed and this kind of thing and because of my background in sediment eco-toxicology, that I thought there was a difference between boulders and cobbles and shoal islands and geomorphological structures within the river and what was being talked about being removed with the dredging and that kind of thing. So that was initially was kind of my question marks or, rationale for what was going on really."* (local resident 2)

These findings suggest that the distinction often drawn between professionals and lay stakeholders is far less clear cut than might be suggested, and it is unhelpful in our understanding of the way that different stakeholders may respond to both place and to the decision-making process. It may be more useful to understand

professionals as a constructed group, in much the same way as expertise is constructed. This would suggest rethinking the power relationships between 'professional' and 'lay' stakeholders as well as the way in which 'expert' and 'lay' knowledge is mobilised within the governance process.

9.2.3 Emotions in Practice

Given the sense in the literature that emotions are unwelcome in the policy process, it could be expected that there would be little acknowledgement of emotions in this context. However, stakeholders were comfortable in recognising their emotions as they related to the sites in question in interviews. Emotions were also directly related to the way in which stakeholders engaged with the policy process in the interviews, and the way that emotions motivated stakeholders to participate was referred to by a number of stakeholders. The Operations Manager at Malin Bridge talked about the emotions of many of the stakeholders he encountered:

> *"Because people are passionate about the rivers in Sheffield, and we will miss a trick really if we don't include them. There are already a number of groups, you know the River Stewardship Company and the Waterways Strategy Group, so there is a central core of people that other people can come to, or also as a sounding board to say 'this is our voice and this is what we feel about the river. We want to get involved'."* (Operations Manager, Environment Agency)

The problematic role that emotions can play in the decision-making processes was also discussed by a number of stakeholders. One local councillor discussed the ways that she would try to create a comfortable context for discussions to reduce the effects of negative emotions on people's responses, as she felt that the negative

emotions (aggression) made productive engagement with the decision-making processes difficult:

> *"And sometimes doing that actually helps people to feel more comfortable, it takes the aggression out of people so that you can have good dialogue with people, so that you can say things and people will feel more comfortable about saying something."* (Diane, local councillor)

The 'problem' of certain emotions in governance processes is recognised in the literature (for example, Nussbaum, 2001, cited in Fischer, 2009; Hoggett, 2009), but there is also a sense that emotions can play a positive role in governance, even anger.

A number of stakeholders spoke of feeling angry when dealing with the policy processes, and anger towards the way that the decision-making process was handled. One stakeholder said:

> *"My own personal feelings are that I think it was a totally wrong choice of words for him [Environment Agency representative], because I think it got my back up, to be quite honest with you I kept calm. My neighbour Howard, he was quite angry."* (Mat, local resident)

The anger was not just towards the changes that were made, but also the way the process of change was managed by those with power in the governance process. One stakeholder described his response to finding out abruptly about the changes, and his feeling that a more gradual impact would have been less distressing even if the result had been the same:

> *"But it was interesting, because as soon as I got all that stuff and I started reading the dates, I thought, I've got all knotted up again and angry just thinking about it. It's so badly managed! And if they know the first thing about introducing new initiatives, they should know that you soften people up by letting them know about it a long time in advance so that it doesn't*

come like a bolt out of the blue! Because it's a bolt out of the blue that
upsets people! You know the drip drip effect is much better." (local resident
3)

My fieldwork suggests that many individuals will still find it easier to rationalise emotional responses by attributing them to more practical or tangible outcomes (for example, safety or flood risk rather than appearance); that emotions of themselves are not enough to justify action (or the prevention of action) on a site. The local councillor who was most heavily involved with reconciling the Environment Agency and residents after the works had begun said this:

> *"Because obviously they [Environment Agency] didn't realise it was having*
> *such an impact on personal circumstances for people. And it was a case of*
> *we've not come across this before, what happens, so they had to re-look at*
> *things, as to what was going to be done, and they had to come and put right*
> *some of the issue that had been done. I have to say I would challenge*
> *anybody that they are serious for those residents, but if you were being*
> *devil's advocate, the actual aesthetics of it didn't really have an impact,*
> *what it is was people's personal safety is what they were feeling."* (Diane,
> local councillor)

This suggests that the 'practical' response of a fear for personal safety is much more acceptable, and perhaps more representable within the decision-making process, than the 'emotional' response to the aesthetics of the change. Those emotional responses that cannot be rationalised in this way can be difficult to incorporate into the discussions. Another stakeholder discussed the responses she had received to the work from the wider public, suggesting that she found it difficult to reflect those views that were less 'rational' in the decision-making process:

> *"But also because Sheffield has a very vocal green population I suppose, who*
> *are very concerned about the river. I've had a lot of phone calls from the*
> *public as well. Some very negative and some very positive, but it's great that*

people feel that passionate. So, yeah I try and sort of treat people, if they've got concerns or whatever I try and understand why. But that's quite tricky, I find that quite hard really, trying to balance the two." (Julie, Sheffield City Council)

Emotions were not only present in the policy processes, and acknowledged by stakeholders as existing within the process, but they were also clearly significant in impacting on the way in which policy happens. Key stakeholders within the local authorities for both case studies spoke of the ways that enthusiasm for the cause of the policy direction was crucial in enabling this type of policy to happen. In Rotherham, it was only as a result of the enthusiasm expressed by the key stakeholders that the policy to create flood alleviation at Centenary Riverside materialised:

> *"But the main, in terms of participation, formulation, implementation … it's very difficult to put it in any way other than that, it seems arrogant, but it's actually true. We pursued it, because we felt there was a need to do it. I want to focus on Centenary Riverside, which is the area that we argued should be devoted to water, for making space for water to use the cliché. It was clear to us that the way that we were going to have to form that, it needed looking after."* (Steve, Rotherham MBC)

In Sheffield, the prioritisation of the river corridors within city planning was also down to the pressure of particular individuals:

> *"But the strategic gradual building up of access to the river wasn't seen as being the top priority. So it's quite subtle in a way. Just having a policy is not going to do it. … Through the community you get the support of the politicians,"* (Simon, Sheffield City Council)

The reason for this was the non-essential nature of river policy, similarly to other environmental policy (and of course other policy areas), where the policy directions

were not legally enforceable or obviously safety related.   The lack of enforced direction for this type of policy arena opens possibilities for change to happen (or not) in a multitude of ways. As a result, policies such as these rely on enthusiastic individuals both within and outside of the policy arena putting pressure on the decision-makers to take account of the matters that they are passionate about.

> *"About things like access to river, deculverting, obviously flood protection, which apply to all rivers in the city in theory. But in practice it depends on whether there is actually a significantly confident and pushy voluntary sector and/or officers in the council. That often determines how successful those policies are. They're not like kind of road safety policies, which are really clear cut. You can say right, you can't have an access onto this roundabout because it's against practice. Or like land use policies that say you can't have a factory in this area because it's a housing area. They're policies that often require deals being done with developers. They're part of a shopping list of things that we might want to achieve out of a development. And in practice we rarely achieve all of the things we might want out of a shopping list. And riverside access is one that will either get onto the top of the shopping list or not depending on how hard it's pushed. And how much public support there appears to be for it."* (Simon, Sheffield City Council)

Emotions are also important in mobilising support for a particular policy direction once the policy has been undertaken. At Malin Bridge the Environment Agency used emotive arguments to persuade stakeholders that the way in which they intended to tackle the site was the most appropriate one. One particular argument that was used was the experience of elderly residents who had been flooded in 2007. The work was put to stakeholders as essential to prevent this from happening again in the future.

"…and the difficult argument was, when you're told [by the Environment Agency] we're doing this for flood mitigation, and there is old people on Holme Lane who, when it rains, don't go to bed at night because they're so worried they're going to get flooded again. And this kind of thing will alleviate the fact that there could be floods." (local resident 5)

"I think we were all quite shocked when we realised what was going to go, though. I think our hearts sank, and we thought, 'oh gosh, is this really necessary'. And then he told us it really was necessary." (David, Loxley Valley Protection Society)

At Centenary Riverside similarly, advocates of creating a flood alleviation space rather than using more traditional methods of flood barriers made use of emotional and passionate arguments to make the case for this:

"… yeah, it makes you wonder how we ever did it, doesn't it? Yeah, it was, from in here, really, the participants [were us] … I mean, it wasn't really a genuine desire of the council to do this. We put all the arguments within that we should pursue it. Clearly there was some support from Rotherham, I mean, we got 1.4 million quid in financial resource from Rotherham. And clearly we got support for the basis of the scheme" (Steve, Rotherham MBC)

One interviewee spoke of the frustrations of working with other organisations who they do not believe feel an emotional connection to place, and the ways this made working in partnership with these organisations difficult:

"And I'm rather interested in your theory of the emotional aspect of the Environment Agency and how they conduct their services or responsibilities. And I think here looking at emotions, you can detect from me, I do think they [Environment Agency] override emotions, I think they override emotions in producing the documents they produce. I think despite what they may feel, they, as many other agencies are, are absolutely useless in terms of relationships with other things." (Greg, Rotherham MBC)

9.2.4 Emotions and Scales of Working

The relationships to place held by stakeholders were quite evident at both of these case study sites. However, environmental sites have complex relationships to one another, and are often entangled by policy operating at different scales and with different boundaries. In many ways, building relationships to place into the governance of sites is relatively straightforward, and supported by the majority of stakeholders. Relationships to place, and therefore emotions, are clear because of the site specific nature. From the discussions, it was clear that for many stakeholders, relationships to place also existed at larger scales, particularly the city/town scale. These were often more evident in the interviews with professional stakeholders, perhaps because in many of these cases this was the scale at which they worked in their professional role. The passion that many of these stakeholders felt was made clear in the way they spoke about the wider area and the emotion evident in their voices when talking about the way they worked to improve the place. The changes to the two sites studied here clearly intersect for the professional stakeholders with their goals for change at the city/town scale, but it is more difficult to see from this study how that relates to work at larger, more strategic scales.

Site level work is frequently part of larger strategic programmes, as was the case for the Malin Bridge site:

> *"Malin Bridge has been done as part of a bigger programme of works, so we started off doing a number of other sites on the River Don, but really it's looking at works on rivers in Sheffield. So, following the floods in 2007 we took high resolution aerial photography shots of everywhere around the rivers in Sheffield. We took images of every stretch of river that the Environment Agency is responsible for in West and South Yorkshire. But*

because Sheffield was so badly hit, we decided to concentrate on Sheffield first for this type of work, and because Sheffield has quite a lot of engineered river channels through the city centre, we've seen it somewhere that has not necessarily got existing defences. So it is about making sure that the channel does as much as it can possibly do to reduce flood risk." (Operations Manager, Environment Agency)

The work at Centenary Riverside was also part of a wider redevelopment scheme, and both Sheffield and Rotherham have waterways strategies within which the sites fell. However, clearly strategic working involves much larger scales than simply the city/town level.

Some stakeholders very clearly felt that having a relationship to place and an emotional relationship to the place was useful to them in contributing to governance processes at larger strategic scales of working. One local councillor discussed the way her colleague had 'fought Sheffield's corner':

"And I have to say if it hadn't been for a colleague of ours, Councillor "E", many years ago when she was a councillor, she was on the flood defence body, fighting for Sheffield's corner. Lib Dem councillor bless her. Saying no, we need money, and we need to make sure that you include Sheffield in flooding, because it could just as easily affect us, because everybody was saying Sheffield will never flood, you'll never get any of that. If it hadn't been for her, one person bless her in all of the Yorkshire and Humber area, fighting our corner, we wouldn't have had all the resources or the impact that we've had over the years. Good on her. So that's a major thing, because they were going to take us out of any funding, we were going to be out. We would be on the, we would be in the system, but we would be a distant relative, right at the very back. But she stuck her heels in and said no, we're up front, with everybody else." (Diane, local councillor)

However, working at the strategic level also brings greater demands on stakeholders, and can be a stretch on resources, meaning that some individuals felt themselves to be stretched beyond their abilities to contribute to all processes. One interviewee working for a charitable organisation which operates at the county scale said:

> *"I think it is, yes, it's very useful to then transfer up into strategic things. Because I've found with the West Yorkshire work, even when you were talking to say the Council, they had very generic input to the actual scheme, because most of them had never actually been near the river, so it was very hard for them, other than saying here are the protected sites, or we know about one or two big developments, it was hard for them to actually input much because they hadn't been there, whereas at least I'd surveyed along it, so I had a good idea of what the rivers were like anyway. So I think that combination of local knowledge and taking a strategic approach is quite useful I think. Certainly a lot of the reports we get are quite generic, they've been done by like a consultant or something, who again hasn't necessarily been to the area and has done it as a sort of desktop study. We get another difficulty in that they often come to us wanting input, and again it's stuff that you end up trying to do on top of the stuff that you're actually being paid to do. Which is why a lot of the time, for a lot of schemes, they may put down that someone was asked, but didn't input anything, which doesn't necessarily mean we didn't want to. It usually means that we just were being paid to do something completely different, so we don't have time to get involved in a lot of the stuff we'd like to really."* (Brian, Yorkshire Wildlife Trust)

Relationships to place do not only operate at the site level of decision-making and governance. There are indications of them at wider city/town wide scales of working from my interviews, and it can be inferred that they are likely to also exist therefore at larger scales of strategic working, although without further

investigation it is not possible to say how they operate at such scales and the way in which they might impact on outcomes.

9.2.5   Conceptualising Emotions

It may be useful to consider the ways that social processes may affect the way that emotions are involved in the processes of governance. It is important in doing so that emotion is not taken to be simply an aspect of culture, as Barbalet (2001:25) highlights: "Culture is a self-conscious attribute of human populations which reveals what is particular about the social life of distinct groups or collectivities. The self-consciousness of culture is essential because it acknowledges that culture is always the product of intellectual, moral, aesthetic, and related activities which are necessarily deliberative and intentional in their origins. In its own terms, then, culture is the source of meaning in society." Emotions cannot be understood as synonymous with culture, although it may not always be straightforward to disentangle the two satisfactorily. One way to attempt to do this might be through a more explicit theorising of the way in which people develop their relationships to place and the emotions that consequently arise in regard to that place. The way that I propose to do this is through an understanding of the role of collective memory.

9.3   Collective Memory

To explore the way that emotions are important to the relationships people have to place and the way that these emotions are expressed in decision-making processes, it is useful to try to conceptualise the way in which these emotions evolve. Jones argues that emotional attachments to place are bound up in the spatial memories held about that place. It is in this way that people create emotional geographies of the self (Jones, 2005). Experience and personal memory seem to have a significant

role in the formation of emotions about a place, but it appears that this is not the full story. Many of the stakeholders interviewed had strong ties to the localities in question despite having only moved to the area relatively recently, and professional stakeholders were able to empathise with the history of the sites despite having no personal connection with the place. This suggests that place-based emotions are formed on more complex grounds than just experience and personal memory, and individuals may form these emotional relationships on other foundations. This necessitates a broader understanding of the formulation of emotional relationships than has been employed so far in studies of governance. The concept of collective memory has useful insights to offer to the understanding of the development of place-based emotions.

Collective memory is a concept that has attracted more attention in academia since the 1980's (Olick and Robbins, 1998). This notion was most famously conceptualised by Halbwachs (1877-1945). He felt that the memory could not be adequately conceptualised from the perspective of the individual, since "if we examine a little more closely how we recollect things, we will surely realise that the greatest number of memories come back to us when our parents, our friends, or other persons recall them to us" (Coser, 1992:38). Collective memory differs from history, as "the various groups that compose society are capable at every moment of reconstructing their past" (Coser, 1992:182). Memories are mediated by the societal structure to create a common understanding of the past, and they are passed down over generations and embedded through narrative frames (Olick and Robbins, 1998). Collective memory is an active form of the past that plays a part in day-to-day lives; as it falls out of use it turns to history (Olick and Robbins, 1998). It is also an instrumentalisation of the past as it is actively used by communities; Zerubavel suggests that it is these collective memories that are mobilised within groups and organisations to form social identities (Zerubavel, 2003).

The way that a place is known by stakeholders is not just informed by their own personal memories of that place, but generated by a broader collective memory that is informed by many elements of the history of the place. Assmann (2006) offers a useful way of structuring the various elements of collective memory. She identifies four 'memory formats': individual memory; social memory; political memory; and cultural memory. Each of these plays a different role in the entirety of collective memory. Individual memory has a role in this, but is in itself 'notoriously distorting and unreliable' (Assmann, 2006:212), offering fragments and isolated scenes that are connected through a wider personal network of memories. Social memory is based on Halbwachs model of collective memory, generated through proximity, interaction and shared experiences. She adds the categories of political and cultural memory, which are able to endure further than individual and social memory, as they are grounded less in personal experience. Political memory is one which is built through the use of symbols and practices by those who identify themselves as part of a group. She uses the example of the Holocaust to elaborate how those who directly experienced this will have individual and social memories which may differ considerably, depending on those experiences. However, for subsequent generations the memory becomes more homogeneous as it is mediated, represented and shared. She argues that "*History* turns into *memory* when it is transformed into forms of shared knowledge and collective identification and participation. In such cases, 'history in general' is reconfigured into a particular and emotionally charged version of 'our history', absorbing it as part of a collective identity" (Assmann, 2006:216). Cultural memory incorporates the dual mechanisms of remembering and forgetting that generate memory through the archiving of memories. Information is stored in libraries, museums and archives, and also at smaller scales in photograph albums and box files, to serve as 'latent' memories that can be accessed or disregarded as chosen, but remain accessible and can be selectively partial, with aspects becoming peripheral or central over time.

So in this model people's knowledge, experience and emotions about place are developed not only from their own experiences of these places, but also through the way that they come to know these places through others. The way that others have experienced that place, both in contemporary periods and in the past, works alongside personal experience to create a more complex pattern of experience and emotion informed by collective memory. The concept of collective memory has implications for identity and place at a variety of scales, but is particularly relevant at local scales, as the proliferation of local history books and books of localities in old photographs attest. The interviews with stakeholders at both of the sites studies here showed elements of Assmann's four facets of collective memory.

9.3.1   Forms of Collective Memory

A number of memories recounted by stakeholders clearly related to personal memories of the place. One stakeholder at the Centenary Riverside site described his memories of the site from when he worked there:

> *"This lot, I don't know if you know it, they used to call it the Melting Shop, Rotherham Melting Shop, because all this were part of British Steel. And this was, believe it or not there were furnaces here. … If you look you can see in the middle of them ponds there's concrete. That was the remains of the furnace floors. … Oh yeah. It was working this. Because I used to work here myself. Up to 1980. But further up, was what you call the finishing metalsheds [sic]. It used to stretch right from Darwins at Tinsley, right down to this bridge here, well a little bit further actually."* (angler)

Another stakeholder described his memories of the Malin Bridge site changing over the years:

> *"The person that owns that has done a very good job with Mousehole Forge and we used to play in the river there as well, all around there so yeah I mean I remember… I have fond memories of, everyone looks back on their*

*childhood with nostalgia and I have fond memories of paddling at Malin
Bridge as a schoolboy. And I've watched it over the years; I've watched the
trees gradually taken over. There's another photograph I have here was
taken in 1995 and here you can see it wasn't quite as overgrown as it was a
year or so ago."* (Philip, local resident)

However, many reminiscences about the sites were not based solely on personal
memory, but on a complex combination of the different elements of collective
memory, suggesting that the relationships to place and emotions about that place
are not simply based on personal experience, but on more multifaceted collective
memories. Many stakeholders made reference to both personal and social
memories in talking about the sites. For example, in this instance a stakeholder
entwined his own memories of the Malin Bridge site with elements of political
memory:

*"But you've only got to walk round the corner to see all the trees that have
grown, you only have to look at the ponds. What is there, fifteen ponds, or
there were fifteen ponds from Malin Bridge to Manchester Road. There's
only probably about three or four now which are still as a pond. And some of
them you wouldn't recognise that they were ponds. That's the sort of thing
I'd like to see, rebuilding some of the old mills. It's like the old time capsule,
I'd like to just step back in time on Rivelin Valley, just to see what it was like.
I mean, even when you go to Abbeydale Hamlet, it's just a fraction of what
used to be there. Well, you're only a young lass, but when I grew up in
Sheffield, we finally got the Clean Air Act but before that when you got up on
Monday morning it was like this, you could see across the valley, by Friday
night you couldn't see the bottom of the garden. The smog, after the Clean
Air Acts it was fine, but now we've got no heavy industry in Sheffield. And
this is all what happened up there if you go back a couple of centuries, it was
a work site."* (Grenville, local resident)

Collective memory is not the same as history. Schwartz (1996, cited in Olick and Robbins, 1998:112) suggests collective memory is a 'sensitizing concept' rather than an 'operational concept'. It is "not an alternative to history (or historical memory) but is rather shaped by it as well as by commemorative symbolism and ritual. To conceive collective memory in this way sensitises us to reality while encouraging us to recognise the many things we can do to reality interpretatively (personal communication)" (Olick and Robbins, 1998:112).

Cultural memory archives were also frequently combined with personal memories, with stakeholders using photographs and images outside of their own memories of the place to illustrate their stories. One stakeholder described the way she felt cultural memory had been incorporated into the decision-making process:

> *"And then [Environment Agency employee] came to pick my brains, because he doesn't know the area, he doesn't know the river apart from the physicality of looking at the waterway and where it should be going. And I pulled out a load of archive pictures of what the river did look like 100 years ago, and I'm really pleased, and I'm not saying this is definitely what's happened, but they used the archive pictures of the river as a template as to how to revert it back so that it's an open flowing river again. And it does look very similar to how it did, which is good, because obviously when it was like that it worked properly."* (Wendy, Hillsborough Forum)

Many other stakeholders described the appearance of the site in the past from photographs they had seen, and these seemed to many stakeholders as relevant to their memories of the site and their own emotional relationship with the site as the personal memories they held. One stakeholder described the site:

> *"And really, if you look at really old photographs, beyond your enormous memory even [to friend], the ones taken around the turn of last century, there is not a tree in sight. ... Because they had to manage the river as a power source."* (local resident 5)

Another stakeholder gave a richly descriptive story of the site from cultural and political memory that offered as much detail as from personal memory, suggesting that these different aspects of memory are indeed influential and relevant to place relationships:

> *"In our records, the guy who looks after our volunteer task force with the last five years and let the old photographs and postcards, and he's got a wonderful shot of the confluence of the river photograph somewhere around the end of Watersmeet Road looking across towards Stannington Road, and the river and all of that bank side is full of people picnicking. And this must be around 1910 or something like that. So this area was the start of people's recreation into the countryside of Sheffield, and anything in this direction you just disappeared into the yellow smog during the working day. But in the evenings and at weekends people used to flock up here where they could go up the Rivelin or the Loxley for a bit of fresh air and a little bit of country. By that time, the mills had largely fallen into disuse, or they were operating after a fashion, but most of them by the 1920s and 30s had converted to electricity, so the wheels weren't working, so they had been allowed to start to silt up and vegetate around. So really it had become a lovely place for people to wander up. And in the 1920s and 30s and 40s, if anyone visited Sheffield and sent a postcard home, it would have been of Rivelin Valley. Almost invariably. ... [He] has this fantastic shot, and there are no trees to be seen anywhere, there are people sitting on the banks chatting with their parasols, ladies with hats on. So it really is only in the recent time, in the past 60 or 80 years, that it has become as densely wooded as it was."* (local volunteer 1)

Some stakeholders were enthusiastic about their own personal memories of the place, and made efforts to translate those personal memories into collective memories by sharing them with others, such as through social networking facilities. Whilst collective memory is primarily accessed through the communication

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between individuals, it can also be accessed through more physical resources, such as photo archives (Zerubavel, 2003). In this example, a stakeholder had shared his personal old photographs of the site with a social network, essentially making a personal memory into a cultural memory, as it is archived through the process of sharing:

> *"I thought in this case in particular I thought people might not know what Malin Bridge used to look like. And so I posted a link [on Sheffield Forum] to this photograph and one or two others I think here and there just to show people that it may look different but it's not all that different from what it was 100 years ago which is rather nice, in my view anyway as someone who likes the past more than the present sometimes."* (Philip, local resident)

Whilst personal memories are only available to those who have personal experience of a place going back some way in time, collective memory is available to a much broader collection of stakeholders. Many interviewees who did not have considerable personal memories of the sites made great use of collective memory in forming relationships with the site, and felt very strongly connected to the past through that site despite not having grown up in the locality. A number of those who expressed strong emotions about the site at Malin Bridge had lived for extensive periods in the area, but gave many references to aspects of collective memory of the place. There was evidence of political memory of the site influencing the place relationships of stakeholders, as the history of the Sheffield Flood was of significance to the locality, and important to the memories of some stakeholders, with one stakeholder describing the Flood in great detail. Another stakeholder related her personal memory of the site to the political memories of its past:

> *"It's certainly ... nobody can remember anything even vaguely resembling it [the floods of 2007]. Except when the dam burst at Loxley Valley in 1867 or whenever it was, and this whole area was flooded. But that was very*

different, this was just a sort of torrential downpour." (Veronica, Walkley Forum)

The notion of political memory was less evident in the interviews at Centenary Riverside, but there was a sense of pride in the South Yorkshire traditions of steelworking that was apparent in the interviews that implies a degree of political memory in this context. At the same time there was a sense that the changes to the site had offered new opportunities that the past incarnations of the site had prevented:

> *"We also I think rescued it from its industrial past, which excluded people totally and brought about the principle of partnership into something that people can utilise again. That is one important thing in the context of economic, social and environmental value, because clearly, it didn't have any before that."* (Steve, Rotherham MBC)

Communication is clearly key in the generation and continuity of collective memory (Connerton, 1989), and Zerubavel suggests that we can understand communities which have a collective memory as *mnemonic communities*, as they have a recognition of the same events, dates and word associations (2003:4).

9.3.2 Collective Memory and Change to the Site

Place and physical space are also of great importance to the construction of collective memory. Zerubavel (2003:41) states that "constancy of place is a formidable basis for establishing a strong sense of sameness. Even as we ourselves undergo dramatic changes both as individuals and collectively, our physical surroundings usually remain relatively stable. As a result, they constitute a reliable locus of memories and often serve as a major foci of personal as well as group

nostalgia". So, place and relationships to place are of significance to the development and maintenance of collective memory, and the collective memories that they relate to contribute to the maintenance of these spaces. Connerton (1989) suggests that the way in which we experience current events is dependent on how we know the past, and this knowledge of the past tends to be used to legitimate the present.

Collective memory of the site informed design at Centenary Riverside, despite the lack of involvement of lay stakeholders in the decision-making process. Elements of political memory had been influential on the landscape designer at the site, who had been keen to incorporate its past in the new design, creating giant deckchair sculptures and other architectural features from reclaimed materials.

> *"Design of the site was heavily influenced by its past uses as an industrial site. Steel Henge was planned to use the old materials from the site, and other parts of the design also do this, so sleepers were used as path edging, and to build the giant deckchairs. The deckchairs were inspired by the old name for the site of Seven Sisters the plan was originally for seven deckchairs. I had an image of seven old women paddling in the river [Anthony Gormley style] that I wanted to remember in the design."* (Tony, Landscape Architect)

In some senses the political memory of the site evolved alongside the design process, with the design evolving to incorporate the history of the site as it was uncovered:

> *"Some features of the site developed as the project evolved: for example the steel ingots were uncovered in the process of the works, and this led to the concept of Steel Henge. This and other ideas, for example, leaving the concrete boulders in the channel, are aesthetic aspects that sounded slightly strange at first, but now they are in place and 'embedded' in the developing landscape they seem to work really well. Sheffield Wildlife Trust brought*

*more of an artistic eye to the design with the 'quirky' features, but did not
interfere with the engineering side of the design."* (Project Manager, Jacobs)

These links to the history of the site tended to be appreciated by stakeholders who
did not have connections to the history, showing the way that the aspects of
memory and emotions develop in an interactive way:

*"And actually now they're an interesting feature, it's an interesting looking
site now because of that. At the time I was a bit sceptical about leaving
those in, but you look at the site now and the actual link to the industrial
heritage of the site is actually there for you to see, which is great really."*
(James, Environment Agency)

This recognition of the history of the sites was important to some stakeholders, and
reflected the importance of political memory in their own memories and emotions
towards the site. One stakeholder at the Malin Bridge site described the way that
the changes to the site had raised the profile of its past:

*"The other advantage from my point of view, is that you can now see the
lovely outline of the Burgon and Ball pond, the overflow system, the shuttle
system where the water used to come in, the fact that they used to be able
to board off the end of the Rivelin, and divert the Rivelin across in bottom
end of Stannington Road Bridge, so that it came across the entrance and into
Burgon and Ball's pond. There are a stack of things that you can now see.
How it all used to work. ... and that is as important a part of the history in
this neck of the woods as the natural history."* (local volunteer 1)

The way in which change to the sites and collective memory were discussed in the
interviews strongly suggests that there is a relationship between collective memory
and knowledge. Frequently the local or lay knowledge that stakeholders offered to
the governance processes in relation to the sites made use of aspects of collective

memory. One stakeholder described the use of old drawings (a form of cultural memory) in the development of the Centenary Riverside site:

> *"But there was a lot of old – when you get the old drawings out you can see the old Bradmarsh Dyke, and we had to mention it to them because basically it was capped here. And our concern was that we didn't want anything to have gone into the dyke, and then we break the cap and let it into the river. Because what it did, it went around here and came back in the river and the wetland area. It's never been opened, but you can see it on the old drawings, because it was marsh I think and they drained it if you go back far enough."*
> (Darren, Firth Rixson)

People's knowledge, experience and emotions about place are developed not only from their own experiences of these places, but also through the way that they come to know these places through others. The way that others have experienced that place, both in contemporary periods and in the past, works alongside personal experience to create a more complex pattern of experience and emotion informed by collective memory. The concept of collective memory has implications for identity and place at a variety of scales, but is particularly relevant at local scales, as the proliferation of local history books and books of localities in old photographs attest. The industrial heritage of both sites was notable in the decisions made about the changes to the site. In the case of Centenary Riverside, the industrial history of the site was utilised in the design and landscaping of the site, and materials from the previous uses of the site were incorporated. At Malin Bridge the industrial history of the site generated conflicting ideas of the way that the site 'should' look.

9.3.3 Collective Memory as a Source of Knowledge

As discussed in earlier chapters, stakeholders brought many different forms of knowledge to the decision-making process, and through my interviews it emerged

that some of these forms of knowledge were informed by collective memory. Stakeholders frequently referred to things they knew about the site through studying old photographs, or stories passed on from older generations. Knowledge of how the site was used or appeared in the past was brought by many of the stakeholders to the decision-making process.

The past appearance of the site was used by stakeholders to suggest the way that the site 'should' be made to appear. The previously 'managed' nature of the Malin Bridge site justified further management of the landscape by some stakeholders:

> *"This situation here, it's not natural. The position of the river isn't natural. The river walls aren't natural. It's running through an urban environment, it's not been natural for 100 plus years. The very fact that the declining industry relied on the rivers meant that the river channels were managed, and the fact that the trees weren't managed and the debris in the river wasn't managed meant that nature took over here. The plants took advantage of the situation and grew in the fertile soil and grew on the fertile ground, but the situation that existed here with all those trees was no more than fifty years old. Which in the scheme of things is absolutely no time at all. And you think that, I certainly think that in Sheffield a lot of ecologists see it as this is a normal landscape, it's a natural landscape, but it isn't. And it will come back, but in these situations where you've got people and rivers in an urban environment, trees need managing."* (David, Anderson Tree Care)

Other stakeholders referred to past use of the site to explain how they felt the site should be made accessible, such as the comments made by this interviewee which referred to old photographs she had seen of the site:

> *"That work that they've done down there this time was a perfect opportunity to open that riverbank up to people. They could have seeded that bank that they've created, given access to local people, so it's another spot close to*

*homes and close to businesses and thing where people could go and have a
sit down, irrespective of the fact that you've got traffic running round every
single side. It doesn't matter, people aren't bothered. But if they could go
and sit on that riverbank and have a cup of tea or take a picnic, because it's
so shallow kids could paddle. Put it back to exactly how it was fifty years ago
when people had free and easy access to it."* (Wendy, Hillsborough Forum)

Another stakeholder made reference to past use of the site in explaining why he
felt the access to the site should be increased, describing how things had changed
in such a way as to make the original reasoning behind decisions no longer
applicable:

*"… I'm digressing now but it's a similar, it does, I think it does at least
illustrate the kind of the social and oral history sort of side of things but
some of the main reasons that there are some very, very high conservation
value flora on the River Don, wood anemones and various other kind of… a
lot of the reason for that is that the, they were protected from grazing by
fencing but not for any kind of environment reasons but because the
livestock would be poisoned if they drank from the river…"* (local resident 2)

These examples are arguments that stakeholders brought, or wanted to bring, to
the decision-making process, and demonstrate the way that collective memory can
play a role in informing the types of knowledge that stakeholders bring to the
decision-making process.

9.3.4 Manipulation of the Governance Process using Collective Memory

Cultural archives, and particularly photographs, were valued highly by stakeholders,
and seem to form an important part of the collective memory of a place, and the

relationships that stakeholders have to that place. Many stakeholders alluded to photographs in the interviews in reference to both sites. The use of photographs at Malin Bridge in particular was a significant element in the governance process, as old photographs of the site were used on the notice boards at the site which discussed the works being conducted. This led many stakeholders to believe that these images were what the Environment Agency intended the site to look like once the work was complete, and created confusion about the intentions of the work. The Environment Agency representatives were aware of this confusion:

> *"But one of the first things that we put on the was the old pictures, and to be honest I think they were put up there really as something of a contrast, to say look how different this site used to be, and it's not so long ago. And a bit of a tool to justify changing the site so drastically. Ultimately what we are going to put back there is not what's on those pictures, so it is a bit confusing. That was how we is when there were different considerations and different reasons for having it like that. The area was more industrialised, and there wasn't the Environment Agency, and they didn't have the statutory powers. Where it is now the area is not as industrial, its urbanised, but it's used by lots of people and it's heavily populated, and a lot of people take pride in the local aspects that are there, and the natural aspects of being a river. ... So that's a confusing and conflicting sort of argument, to say that it did look like this and we have to use some of those principles in terms of getting the water through and not increasing flood risk, but at the same time we want to make it more natural than what it looked like back then as well. And he I don't think really got that message across properly."*
> (Operations Manager, Environment Agency)

This unfortunately led many stakeholders who had little involvement with the governance process to have very different understandings of what the Environment Agency hoped to achieve. A number of interviewees mentioned that they assumed the Environment Agency were trying to recreate the past appearance of the site, or to 'put the site back' to how it once was. The person who provided the photographs

felt that the Environment Agency had been misleading in their use of the photographs, as they were using them to justify the way in which they wanted to alter the site:

> *"yes, they had already decided what they were going to do, they'd got it all planned out. Basically all he was coming for was [photographs] to try and find evidence of what it used to look like previously."* (Malcolm, Bradfield Parish Archivist)

Another interviewee felt the Environment Agency had been manipulative in the way they had used the old photographs to justify the changes they made to the site, saying:

> *"Impact on fish is significant because one of the major impediments to fish is weirs. And what they've done is they've actually uncovered a new weir. Or an old weir that had silted up to such an extent that there was no longer a barrier, well it now is a barrier again. So that's entirely counterproductive for fish, most Environment Agency's policy currently is to put fish passes on weirs. So they're no longer barriers rather than making them bigger barriers but never mind. … And it would have been better if they hadn't uncovered the weir. There's historic arguments that they've used for why they did that but that's a bit flimsy or they could have put in a fish pass I suppose but that would have cost them thousands. So there's various things they could have done, it's quite interesting the way they've tried to justify it with all the historic photos of over 100 years ago. … They could have picked any year of the past for photos but no they happened to choose the year when it looked like it does now to justify it."* (Jim, local resident and ecologist)

As with emotions, memory is not something that is considered in conventional analysis of governance. However, it is also something which I feel should be taken into account to give a greater understanding of the context of environmental governance and the way in which decisions are made, as my fieldwork shows that memory has a significant impact on the way stakeholders engage with the site and

the process of change. Through discussion with stakeholders, it was clear that emotions evolve through experience with regard to place, and memory is therefore a key element in the production of place-based emotions, fitting with Jones' concept of emotional geographies of the self (Jones, 2005).

From the way that interviewees made use of collective memory throughout the interviews and in their involvement with the governance of the two sites, it seems that collective memory is important in the formulation of relationships to place and emotions about a site. Collective memory is also a source of local or lay knowledge for stakeholders with regard to a site, and this can be a source of knowledge that is fed into governance processes. This therefore suggests that the way in which the site appears and has been used in the past will have a significant impact on the way that stakeholders will perceive the site in the future and any changes to that site, and affect the aspirations that individuals have for the site.

9.5   Conclusion

This chapter shows that in both case studies many of the stakeholders brought emotional relationships to the governance process, and this influenced the way in which they engaged with governance. Many stakeholders, both lay and professional, pushed to have greater involvement with the decision-making process because of the emotional ties they had to the sites. Without these motivations to engage further many interviewees felt they would not have been invited to be involved (at least to the extent they wished) in the decision-making process. The relationships to place were clearly influenced by a range of personal experiences and other ways of knowing the place, and the concept of collective memory is helpful in understanding where these influences might originate. Relationships to place are not confined to those who live close to a site, but are demonstrated by many stakeholders, and can influence the behaviour of supposedly 'rational'

professionals as well as 'emotional' lay stakeholders. It is clear that, working at the site scale, the relationships to place of stakeholders have a great impact on the governance process and its outcomes. This relationship is much less clear when considering larger scales of working, and would merit further investigation.

Chapter 10: Conclusions

10.1 Introduction

Currently environmental issues, and issues around water management and flooding
in particular, are high on the political agenda in the UK. Following on from concerns
about climate change, extreme weather events are a regular topic of concern in
newspapers, current affairs programmes and documentaries, and as a result these
issues are frequently drawn to the attention of the public. In the UK water
management and flood risk are particular issues that attract interest, with much
attention drawn to dramatic flooding and drought events in recent years. This
concern appears to be one that will be on the political agenda for some time to
come.

Related to this environmental concern is the matter of governance of such
concerns. The structures of governance that exist at present, whilst in many ways
diverse in their nature, have many features in common, particularly the emphasis
on participation in policy-making of a range of stakeholder groups and a keen
interest in public participation. These modes of governance appear to be supported
by legislation as working practices that will be further emphasised in the future,
through documents such as the Localism Act (2011), which also places emphasis on
decentralising governance and encouraging decision-making at the local level. As
such, I would argue that this thesis addresses an issue that is both of current
political concern, and one that will remain to be a concern in the future.

The findings from this research suggest that it may be advantageous to rethink the
way in which environmental governance processes are approached theoretically, to
offer a more rounded understanding of what is happening within these processes.
This conceptualisation is based on interpretive policy analysis, and the approach
used narrative analysis, which Fischer says "is seen to provide an approach for
bringing emotion back into the analysis of political reason and public deliberation"

(Fischer, 2009:276). It is perhaps for this reason that my analysis has drawn on not just theory of expertise, but also emotions and collective memory to broaden the scope and increase the understanding of the nature of place and the way in which relationship to place has relevance to processes and outcomes of governance.

My research found that power is the driving force behind decisions within its three dimensions (Lukes, 2005), not only in the decisions themselves (first dimension), but in forming the structures that are the context in which the governance process occurs (second dimension). Power supports the way that decisions are justified as rational and scientific (third dimension) and conforming to the expectations of how governance processes are considered to operate. A distinction is made between 'expert' and 'lay' knowledge, and this is used to inform the way in which the two are incorporated into governance processes, although my analysis shows that this distinction is not fixed, but constructed and open to interpretation in different ways, meaning that those with power are able to determine who are 'experts' and who is in possession of 'expertise'.

However, my findings also showed that there are also other factors that influence the way that experts and expertise are constructed in the governance process. An understanding of power alone does not tell us about the motivations of those involved. Underlying motivations, and the responses to these through the policy process, are directed by emotions. In environmental policy, emotions are a part of place attachment, alongside collective memory. It is not just 'lay' stakeholders who bring emotions to the governance processes, as is often assumed in the literature, but also the professionals. Stakeholders have place relationships, informed by their emotions and by the collective memory to the site. Collective memory informs the way that each stakeholder perceives the site, and so what they feel is appropriate to happen at the site. Powerful stakeholders are able to utilise their position within the governance process to shape the definitions of 'knowledge' and 'expertise' to

support their own interpretation. Those with perspectives different to their own can then be defined as possessing only 'local knowledge' and being 'irrational' in their approach, and perhaps even 'emotional' in the way that they are involved with the governance process. Power constrains the way that stakeholders without power are able to act, but even so they may be able to manipulate other resources to pursue their own interests.

10.2 Addressing the Aim of the Research

This research set out to **investigate the factors that impact on stakeholder involvement in environmental decision-making at the site level, with particular reference to the dynamics of knowledge and power,** focussing on the following objectives:

- **To develop a theoretical framework for understanding the relationship between knowledge and power in environmental decision-making; To undertake a programme of empirical research that applies that theoretical framework;**

Having explored a number of methods for the analysis of environmental policy, this piece of research made use of the interpretive policy analysis approach to explore the issues in question. The interpretive policy analysis approach has been shown to offer an understanding of the way policy processes happen and how the actions and motivations of individuals lead to the particular outcomes. As such, this approach was particularly appropriate for the aim of my research, to give a qualitative understanding of the roles of knowledge and power, and to offer insights to the other factors that may affect policy outcomes. Through applying this approach, my research uncovered factors (emotions and collective memory) that impact on the outcomes of environmental policy processes in ways that have not previously been discussed in the literature.

- **To examine the factors that define stakeholder roles and influence in
  decision-making, including the role of emotions;** (How is the site of
  intervention defined in environmental policy making, and how does that
  impact on the process? How are the roles of different stakeholders
  constructed in environmental decision-making processes?)

The definition of a site is problematic. Sites are often spoken of as fixed and clear
spaces, but this is not the case in practice, particularly in relation to river sites. The
way in which a site is defined is likely to vary between stakeholders, with
boundaries being located differently and rarely clearly articulated because of an
implicit assumption that the site is 'known'. Where river sites are concerned, this is
exacerbated by the fluid nature of the river itself, which is not bounded by any
interpretations of sites and flows through one site to another regardless (and more
widely beyond its banks in a flood situation). Because of the way in which rivers act
as natural boundaries themselves, they are often used as political and
administrative boundaries, meaning that the responsibility for them becomes less
clear. The location of river sites on boundaries can lead to less clarity regarding
where the site 'belongs to', and how it therefore relates to other surrounding
places. These factors of identifying the site have clear and significant consequences
for who are considered to be stakeholders.

Much of the theory around participation fails to engage with the physical nature of
the sites encountered in environmental policy work, and therefore does not
consider the issues raised by site boundaries. The absence of boundaries from
theory means that they are often taken to be a straightforward construct (see
Edwards-Jones, 1997; Carter and Howe, 2006). However, my findings would suggest
that the boundaries of a site in terms of environmental policy cannot be considered
impermeable, as suggested by the work of Newson and Chalk (2004) and White and
Howe (2002). An environmental site is part of a wider landscape with which it
interacts, and therefore the site functions at a much larger scale than its physical
size may imply. As such, stakeholders beyond the boundaries of a site may be

equally concerned about the site, and may have valid reasons to be engaged with governance processes relating to that site. This suggests that a fluid understanding of the boundaries of a site gives a more realistic real-world context.

An acknowledgement of the blurred boundaries of environmental sites may also help to address some of the other boundary issues that arose in my case studies. One problem is that the understandings of the boundaries of a site, particularly when referred to by a name, may vary from person to person. Political or ownership boundaries are often different to the boundaries as they are interpreted in practice by users of a site. Medd and Marvin (2008:285) refer to the way that different organisations frequently define boundaries differently, resulting in 'nested' multiple spaces in practise. My case studies suggest that individuals also consider the boundaries of sites to be located differently, and so notices or signs referring to a site (e.g. 'Malin Bridge') may mean different spaces to different people.

Another issue highlighted in my case studies was the relationship of the case study site to its surroundings and other sites in the vicinity. The location of a site geographically does not necessarily tell the full story of its location. Local knowledge of the way that the site interacts with other sites and locations, such as how it is used as a pathway from one place to another, can make a significant difference to where we see that site as located politically and functionally. Clearly therefore, this kind of relationship between sites can draw in stakeholders and groups who may otherwise be seen as having no relationship to the site whatsoever, drawing us back to the way that relationships to place serve to formulate stakeholder relationships.

My findings suggest that mapping of stakeholders in relation to a site is a process that will necessarily be incomplete and partial. The definition of stakeholder groups

is not consistent between different individuals, as each will see different features as important. Those identified as stakeholders may not consider themselves to be stakeholders. Another difficulty experienced in relation to stakeholders is the extent to which individuals are able to represent a wider group to which they belong. Some of those who were felt to be representing certain groups or values in the governance process did not feel themselves able to represent others. All of these factors mean that it is not possible to accurately predict who may see themselves to be stakeholders, and who may not, and the perspectives they will be able to bring to the governance process.

Relationships to place therefore play a key role in the identification of stakeholders in the policy process. The existence of emotional relationships to place can be seen to indicate a stakeholder for a particular site – the fact of the relationship to that place is their 'interest'. What must be taken into account is the way that the selection of appropriate stakeholders by those organisations with power in the governance process is affected by their emotional relationships to that place. It is possible that the exclusion of certain groups of stakeholders (and if not their physical exclusion from the governance process, then certainly the practical exclusion of their contributions) is the result of decisions made by those in possession of power on the basis of their own emotional responses.

- **To investigate the factors that influence the ways in which knowledge and power interact in the governance process;** (How is power distributed in the practice of environmental decision-making processes, and why is that the case? What knowledge or expertise do different stakeholders bring to the decision-making process and how are the two constructed? How do the differently characterised types of knowledge impact on decision-making? Are there other factors that determine the ways that stakeholders are able to engage in the decision-making process?)

Power in the decision-making processes appears to be most often related to those who undertake the process of change, and this may frequently be those in possession of statutory power, given that statutory power gives its holders the ability to override others. Those who hold power are therefore able to determine the power of others, through the way in which they identify stakeholders and what is considered to be expertise or knowledge and what is rational or irrational. Those with power are also able to dictate the timescales, which further acts on the ability of those with less power to engage with the decision-making process. Undertaking a process of change therefore gives stakeholders power by enabling them to frame the decision-making process itself.

The types of knowledge stakeholders bring to the decision-making process of varied and complex, as is to be expected in a process involving diverse groups of stakeholders. The governance processes examined both attributed more validity to 'expert' knowledge than to 'lay' knowledge, and this appears to be a common outcome. However, there is no clear and unequivocal distinction between knowledge and expertise given the range of ways in which knowledge is generated (including through collective memory), and my findings suggest that the label of expertise is a way in which certain types of knowledge are elevated above others within the governance process. Therefore outcomes of the governance processes can be expected to more satisfactorily reflect the expert contributions, and particularly conventional accepted expertise, to the process than those lay contributions.

However, this distinction between lay and expert knowledge is a false construction; both types of knowledge may (and equally may not) offer useful contributions to the policy process. My case studies showed that the lay knowledge of many stakeholders was given less consideration in the policy process, and therefore support the use of Collins and Evans (2002) second wave definition of knowledge

and expertise, treating both as equally valid ways of knowing. This is further corroborated by the way in which less popular forms of expertise were also considered to be less reliable. Healey argues that expertise is mobilised by professionals to achieve certain outcomes (Healey, 2006), and it is possible that the use of expertise is in fact less about the professional nature of the knowledge generated, and more about the justification of decisions already taken (Owens, 2005). This supports my findings that in fact professionals as well as lay stakeholders bring emotions to the policy process, because in these cases the key powerful professionals are able to frame those whose knowledge they chose to use as also professional, and therefore possessing expertise. As such, my research suggests that knowledge/expertise and emotions are fundamentally interlinked in policy processes.

Emotions are not generally apparent in theories of governance, and it can appear that they are felt to hinder governance. Collaborative planning for example aspires to address conflict (which emotions are often perceived to be the cause of) within governance processes. More recent work in the field of interpretive policy analysis has increased attention on the role that emotions may play in governance (for example Fischer, 2009; Gottweis, 2012), but only from the perspective of lay stakeholders. My case studies also attribute emotions to the stakeholders perceived in governance processes to be professionals, who are typically theorised as rational and logical.

In my research the presence of emotions in the governance process was very clear, and emotions can act as motivators both in provoking positive engagement and negative objection, and this was the case with both lay and professional stakeholders. Emotional connections appear to be formed in a range of ways that do not conform to conventional understandings of 'interests'. Emotions are motivators for stakeholders, and they are the reasons behind decisions made and

actions taken. Emotions affect the way that stakeholders engage with the governance process and with others within the process, and they use emotional arguments to influence the governance process. Powerful actors are able to frame the governance process in such a way that their emotional relationships to place are taken to be 'rational', and less powerful actors can therefore be dismissed as 'irrational' and 'emotional'. It is clear therefore that an acknowledgement of emotions in the policy process would minimise the way in which they can be manipulated to dismiss lay or less powerful stakeholders. These emotions may be intricately intertwined with knowledge and expertise in complicated ways. There is still a perception that emotions are not appropriate in the processes of governance, and as a result, those stakeholders who are not able to support their position in the decision-making process as 'rational' may struggle to participate effectively in governance processes.

Emotions are a significant feature of relationships to place, which have been discussed relatively extensively in the literature. However, the source of these emotions has not been significantly theorised. My findings suggest that the development of these emotional relationships is more complicated than a simple personal association, and the concept of collective memory can be helpful in understanding the development of these relationships. Collective memory can be broken down into four factors – personal memory, social memory, political memory and cultural memory (Assmann, 2006). Together these factors encompass a range of ways of relating to a place, and these formulate the basis for the ways that the stakeholders interviewed created emotional relationships to the sites. Collective memory is at the basis of normative ideas about the site and what is felt to be appropriate to a site.

Memory has a significant relationship with both the concepts of knowledge and expertise, and with emotions. As such, it is significant to the way we understand

policy processes. Memory is a powerful part of the way in which individuals form emotions in relation to sites. Personal memories and collective memory influence the way in which stakeholders perceive a site and act on their experience of that site. As such memory has a strong influence on the way a site 'should' be in the eyes of stakeholders, even if these perceptions vary between individuals. Memory also has a considerable role in the formation of types of knowledge, most evident in relation to 'lay' knowledge, but by no means limited to this.

Both memory and emotions are important in the formation of relationships to place, and place is a significant factor in the two policy processes studied here. Place is the environment in which the policy is enacted, and the particularities of that place have a distinct influence on the way the process happens. It can therefore be anticipated that emotions and collective memory would also expert an influence on the power and knowledge relationships within other examples of environmental governance where place was of consequence to the outcomes.

- **To contribute empirical and theoretical insights to the debates in interpretive policy analysis** (What are the implications of the research for interpretive policy analysis more broadly?)

Interpretive policy analysis prioritises the understanding of power in governance processes. It is power which determines the definition of site, stakeholders and expertise. However, this is not the full story. Actors and individuals have other underlying motivations, and these are driven by emotions. In environmental policy work they are often manifest as relationships to place. These emotions influence the ways that stakeholders engage with the policy process. They affect how individuals perceive the site in question – how they see the site as being constructed in relation to other features in the landscape, where they perceive the boundaries to lie, and how they interpret the sites relationship to other features. These emotions and the resulting place relationships are sensitised by collective,

rather than just individual memory, and the complex experience of place informs the emotional responses of all stakeholders. This leads to particular perceptions of the appropriateness of particular forms of knowledge and particular stakeholders in any given governance process. The result of this is that those actors who have power within the governance process are able to exercise this power to define the scope of the site itself, the inclusion or exclusion of stakeholders, the distinction between lay knowledge and expertise, and therefore manage the process in favour of their own emotional positions. Those operating from different emotional positions (and from less powerful positions) can be defined as 'irrational' through this process, and indeed dismissed as 'emotional' if they do not behave within the parameters of the governance process. It is the possession or lack of power in the governance process that determines the ability to influence the agenda, but it is not simply power which determines the nature of involvement.

Stakeholders are constructed by those in powerful positions in the governance process in line with what they determine to be the important factors to be taken into consideration in the process. This in turn is influenced by their emotional relationships to place and the way in which they interpret collective memory to determine what is the appropriate nature of the site, which is again influenced by emotions. In much the same way the boundaries and wider relationships of the site are determined, resulting in a site and stakeholder group determined by the emotional relationships as they are played out. As the process takes place, knowledge is brought forward by stakeholders, and this is legitimated as expertise where it falls in line with the arguments constructed on the basis of the emotional responses of those who hold power. Stakeholders are able to conceal their own emotions towards a place behind 'expert' and 'rational' arguments, and place emphasis on the professional role they hold in the process rather than acknowledge the emotional connections. Knowledge falling outside of these parameters is defined as lay knowledge or non-expert knowledge, and therefore given lesser

consideration. As a result stakeholders feel unable to express emotions when they participate because they are concerned that this will undermine their arguments.

My findings suggest that the distinction between expertise and knowledge as they are framed within governance processes is grounded in convention. The understandings of governance as rational and unemotional processes that have been upheld by centuries of this understanding support this distinction and act to stifle change to the accepted expertise brought into processes. This tradition is unhelpful to the processes of governance, as it prevents some of the extremely useful and valid contributions of 'lay' stakeholders and less conventional forms of recognised 'expertise' from being incorporated into the decision-making process.

The relationships to place held by stakeholders are emotional relationships, and the way that emotional relationships to place impact on governance processes has been explored to some degree (Collins and Kearns 2010, Fischer 2009). However, there has been little exploration of how these emotions are developed and what is at the foundation of such relationships to place. My research showed that it was not only those stakeholders who had longstanding relationships to a place that had emotional ties to that place. Stakeholders had a variety of different ways in which they engaged with the sites, and these were not simply based on proximity to the site, as is often supposed to be the case when identifying stakeholders; many studies target only local stakeholders to explore views of change (see for instance Tunstall *et al*, 1999). Relationships to the sites and the emotions that these engendered appear to be founded in a broad collective memory, that is held within and beyond individual memories, and offers a shared knowledge of that place to stakeholders who may or may not have personal involvement in the formation of those memories. Collective memory had a strong influence on the emotions of stakeholders at both sites, and had a direct influence on what was felt to be appropriate to the site. It was clear in the interviews conducted that collective

memory influenced the way that a site was perceived and the normative
expectations for the site when subject to a process of governance. These normative
understandings affected the emotional responses of stakeholders to the processes
of change and had bearing on the way in which knowledge and expertise were
deployed in the governance process by different stakeholders.

From this, we need to revise the theoretical framework within which to approach
the understanding of environmental policy and governance. It is not sufficient to
isolate aspects of governance, such as power, agency or process, without
incorporating an understanding of the underlying motivations which encompass
emotions, relationship to place and collective memory. Power and emotions appear
to come from contrasting places in much of the theory around governance, but in
fact both play significant roles in the performance and outcomes of policy, and
must be understood in the ways that they interact to achieve this. Rather than
separate the two as 'rational' and 'irrational' they must be seen as working
together in the governance process. Emotions underlie the way in which power is
mobilised to define the construction of expertise, of stakeholders, and of the site
itself.

10.3   Implications for Practice

My findings suggest that there may be ways the practice of decision-making in
cases such as this could be improved. If we consider emotional relationships to
place to be important to stakeholders and the way that we identify stakeholders in
practice, then this needs to be taken into account in the ways that stakeholders are
targeted within the governance process. It is not possible to accurately predict who
may see themselves to be stakeholders, and who may not, and the perspectives
they will be able to bring to the governance process, meaning that any attempts to
map stakeholders must be acknowledged as partial and incomplete, and should

remain open to adaptation throughout the governance process. A less rigid framework for stakeholder mapping could be taken to allow greater flexibility in who becomes involved in the decision-making process, and allowing much larger groups to be involved at different stages to reduce the expectation that different views can be represented by organised groups. A process such as this could make use of the place in itself to invite stakeholders who care about that place to participate (through notices, for example). By seeking stakeholders who 'care' about a site, rather than those who 'have an interest' in a site, it may allow for those stakeholders who would not feel the process open to them under other circumstances to participate.

My case studies suggest that the style of decision-making influences the distribution of power amongst stakeholders, as is clearly supported by the literature. Those who undertake decision-making processes often have statutory power, and a decision-making process can either allow the power to be shared or serve to maintain the control of those in charge. Models based around the public education model or public debate model tend to retain power within those who manage the process, whilst coproduction of knowledge leads to less hierarchical arrangements. As a result, coproduction of knowledge models will share power more widely, and therefore engage with broader understandings of knowledge. By taking the approach suggested by Lane et al's (2011) study to adopt styles that work towards the coproduction of knowledge would offer greater opportunities for all stakeholders to participate in decisions made. This approach reduces the hierarchical nature of decision-making, and therefore reduces the exclusion of what can be considered to be 'lay' stakeholders and 'lay' knowledges. Whatmore's 'slowing down' of reasoning (2009) can also contribute to this.

My case studies showed collective memory to be important to both the creation of emotions and knowledge, and so the incorporation of forms of collective memory

to the decision-making process may be a way to engage with both of these aspects.
This could then lead to increased adoption of lay and local knowledge to decision-
making as it makes the formation and relevance of the knowledge more visible
within the process. By making use of collective memory (through photographs,
videos and sharing of stories) avenues to access alternative ways of 'knowing' about
a site may be opened up. This would also create a space for stakeholders to share
their emotions about the site and the potential changes to be made, thereby
bringing emotions into the decision-making process rather than attempting to keep
these at separate.

Emotions were demonstrated by both lay and professional stakeholders, so it
follows that finding some mechanism to engage with these throughout the
decision-making process would be useful, to make clear that they play an important
role. Professional stakeholders leading the decision-making process need to
demonstrate their own emotional relationships to place from the outset, and bring
emotional language into the decision-making process ('I like this', 'this is important
to me'). Clearly engaging with emotions in these settings will require a change in
mindset for all participants, and so seeking ways to embed the value of emotions
alongside other priorities and concerns will necessitate a formal recognition of
emotions, and the reasons for incorporating emotions, in the framework and
associated documentation.

10.4   Reflections on the Research

At the closing stages of this research, it is possible to look back at the process and
consider the ways that the research process might have been differently handled.
The overall approach is interpretive, and sees governance as constructed by those
participating in the processes and the context within which the process exists. To
study subjective (as understood in this research) issues such as emotions and

expertise, this approach is appropriate. My approach in this research is to seek to understand the process of governance through a conceptual framework utilising a number of different theories that have not previously been brought together, rather than one overarching theory. This decision has allowed an understanding that is more nuanced in its approach and less prescriptive, addressing the uniqueness of different sites and situations. Clearly there are a wide range of theories which could have been selected for this purpose. The reason for the decision to focus on emotions and expertise was due to the way that these emerged from the interview data as factors which had a significant impact on stakeholders participation and therefore on the outcomes.

An early consideration was the scale at which to examine these issues of governance. Given that river governance occurs at a range of intersecting and interacting scales, there is scope to explore the issues of river governance at all scales from the international to the very local, and all of these choices would be valid and offer interesting insights. My association with the URSULA project placed the emphasis for the research to be conducted within South Yorkshire and with a focus on urban regions, which narrowed down the available selection initially. One early idea was to study two intersecting scales to offer comparison between the two. Whilst this could be expected to offer some interesting insights into the way these issues interacted across scales, there were also a number of concerns raised by such a study. Given that the concepts of emotions and expertise have not previously been brought together in this way in a study of environmental governance, it seemed that a comparative study of two similarly scaled cases would provide the opportunity to verify the validity of findings at that scale. Another concern was that a study at the city scale would have significant overlap with fieldwork undertaken by the wider URSULA project, with many of the same stakeholders. This may have led to some confusion around research purposes and participation, and perhaps also to research fatigue, with stakeholders being asked to participate more than they felt able to. A key interest in the research was those

stakeholders who did not participate, and the reasons for this. As such I felt it would be most appropriate to choose a scale at which it would be relatively straightforward to identify stakeholders whether engaged or not in the process, and therefore the site scale seemed to be the most appropriate for this particular interest.

The choice of case studies for this piece of research was a matter that required a significant amount of consideration. The selection was in some ways constrained by a number of factors, including the costs of conducting fieldwork, time constraints, the preferences of the URSULA project for case studies local to Sheffield and the requirement for case studies to be of an urban nature. Despite these criteria, it was possible to select two case studies that were significantly different in nature, but which led to the same findings. The location of the sites led to some considerations of positionality and the way in which my different relationships to the two sites may impact on the research. This has been explored at length in the methodology, and addressed in my approach to the analysis and understanding of the cases. Whilst qualitative case studies such as this will all provide unique data, the way in which the two very different sites led to the same set of findings suggests to me that the selection of different sites would have supported these findings.

The decision to choose flood alleviation projects as the central issue of concern for the case study sites was a difficult decision to make. A number of different types of case study were initially considered, and one option explored through a pilot study was to examine a site managed as a dam for fishing. This site offered some interesting issues, and would have made an interesting study on the issues of river governance. However, I had concerns that the site did not raise significant concern for stakeholders; the proposed changes were not significant enough for many stakeholders to have considered their reactions to them; a pilot interview generated a number of 'I don't know' and 'I haven't thought about it' types of

responses. As a result I felt that, whilst this may indeed be an interesting case study and the data produced informative, I was not confident that I would be able to generate sufficient data within the time available to produce worthwhile findings of a high enough standard. As such, I felt that in the circumstances the case studies to be pursued must be relatively high-profile, to ensure availability of data. With the benefit of hindsight, I suspect that the concerns I had about this potential case study lacking interest may have been unfounded.

The relationship of my research to a large research project was initially a concern, and particularly the underlying normative values of the URSULA project. The emphasis in the initial URSULA funding application was that "there are significant social, economic and environmental gains to be made by integrated and innovative interventions in urban river corridors", and the desire to seek 'win-win-win' scenarios was a particular concern. In the early stages it appeared that these concerns may be well-founded, with concerns expressed by the URSULA project management in relation to my case study selection and access to stakeholders. There was also interest in my data being made available to the wider project in the same way that data from the engineering and physical sciences was shared across the project. However, as my research progressed and developed, the relationship between my own research and the wider project became more clearly defined, and the need for my potentially sensitive data to be handled more carefully than, for example, ecological datasets became more evident. With a research plan in place, the relationship between my research and URSULA became less confused. The progress of my research also provided reassurance to the URSULA project management that the research I was conducting was worthwhile and useful, and so presumably alleviated the concerns that invited earlier involvement.

10.5   Future Directions

This research suggests some clear areas that need to be addressed by further research in the future. There is scope to explore the role of emotions and expertise across the breadth of environmental policy making more widely, to verify the appropriateness of these findings in other areas. Of particular interest would be policy fields with similar issues of scale where policymaking and governance are concerned, such as the development of roads and motorways or the recently planned high speed rail networks. Given the nature of the findings in this thesis, it is reasonable to suggest that the relationship between emotions and expertise can be theorised as described in this thesis, and that we can generalise these findings to the wider field of environmental policy. Nevertheless, there is presently a gap in the literature around the understanding of emotions and expertise in environmental policy analysis which this research begins to explore but which also opens up a number of further related areas of interest.

This research also generates a number of questions about the nature of emotions and expertise in environmental policy at different scales of working. This study shows how the interplay of emotions and expertise affects the policy outcomes at the site scale, and it is clear that these factors have affects at other scales of working. Some of those stakeholders involved in the research inferred that they saw these factors as playing a very different role in governance at other scales, but this is clearly something which requires further investigation.

10.6   Conclusions and Implications from the Research

This thesis offers a revised understanding of the processes of environmental governance that provide a new way of exploring the issues and seeking more effective ways of working. The findings suggest that the present understandings of environmental governance are inadequate, as they fail to take account of

significant factors which affect the processes and outcomes. This thesis calls for a reassessment of the way we understand environmental governance and the way in which different stakeholders contribute to this.

Expertise is constructed within the governance process in ways that validate the use of those arguments constructed as 'objective' rather than those that are visibly 'emotional'. These processes maintain the hegemonic notions of rationality as separate from emotion, whereas my research suggests that this is not the case; that in fact the two are not even separable because emotions underlie the motivations of stakeholders in their engagement with governance processes. While this relationship between emotions and the governance process remains unacknowledged, the repression of stakeholder views that are explicitly emotional will inevitably continue. It is this problem that is at the root of the dismissal of these views as NIMBYism.

My findings draw attention to the need for a reassessment of the way we conceptualise environmental governance and stakeholder motivations. The inclusion of the concepts of relationship to place, emotions and collective memory assist in generating a clearer understanding of the motivations that bring all stakeholders to engage actively with environmental governance. It becomes clear that processes ignoring these motivations can be a contributory factor in the apathetic attitudes often attributed to stakeholders when they choose not to engage with governance. In a process that can straightforwardly dismiss 'irrational' arguments, those without the ability to mask these motivations with expertise may simply choose to withdraw their participation.

By introducing an understanding of the way that relationships to place are developed, I hope to enhance the understanding of the way that emotions are developed by stakeholders, which should assist the understanding of the way that

they affect the governance process. If we can see how these emotions come into existence, we can better understand the way they affect people and how they may develop and change over time.

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