

Belonging in a Peri-urban
Village: contesting social, spatial
and symbolic boundaries

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Abstract

This thesis presents a sociological case study of Menston (West Yorkshire, England), a pre-dominantly white, middle-class peri-urban village north of the cities Bradford and Leeds. The project examines questions of belonging, community and place as social, spatial and symbolic practices of affinity and exclusion in this peri-urban site (Sibley, 1995; Savage et al., 2005; Watt, 2009; Vallance, 2014; Miles & Ebrey, 2017). Rural and urban sociological literature concerned with longstanding classed and racialised positioning of the urban/rural, including processes of counter-urbanisation and rural gentrification that account for the reification of the rural, is drawn upon throughout (Askins, 2009; Tyler, 2012; Smith, 2011).

The research explores accounts and practices of belonging, community and place at a village-scale, locating these within wider spatial planning processes for the Bradford metropolitan region, processes in which activist-residents from Menston were active. The central body of data comprises observational fieldwork, nineteen semi-structured interviews with twenty-five residents, and a small-scale survey. As a former resident of Menston, this is a 'backyard ethnography' (Heley, 2011), with illustrative statistics and documentary evidence drawn on in a secondary role to contextualise this qualitative data.

Analytically, the thesis approaches informal understandings of belonging, community and place in Menston, and formal planning processes as within a 'field' of social struggles (Bourdieu, 1990 [1980]; Bourdieu, 1983; Thomson, 2012; Savage, 2011). This field theory approach is a key contribution of the thesis, as it draws out the power dynamics that are generative of the peri-urban position of Menston. This locates belonging, community and place within wider structures of neoliberal governance (Hall, 2011; Peck, 2013), such as those of the Localism Agenda of the 2010-15 Coalition government that reified small-scale community life as cohesive and inclusive, whilst enacting austerity-retrenchment that reproduced existing inequities (Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Matthews, et al., 2014; Jacobs & Manzi, 2013b).

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

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1. Introduction

This project develops a sociological case study of Menston; a periphery-urban village on the outskirts of Bradford and Leeds in West Yorkshire. It explores expressions and practices of community, and belonging by Menston residents, both in relation to the village itself and to other sites within the wider metropolitan region (Day, 2006; Delanty, 2010; Blokland, 2017; Vallance, 2014). Questions of social, spatial and symbolic boundary drawing and maintenance that arise from these expressions and practices therefore play a key role here (Benson & Jackson, 2013; Cohen, 1982; Sibley, 1995; Moore, 2013a). These are considered in relation to the wider discursive mobilisation of Menston, and neighbouring sites in Wharfedale, in regional spatial planning processes as the sort of rural area that is an attractive site for potential housing development and so under a form of 'threat' (Phillips, 2014; Smith, 2011; Harrison & Clifford, 2016; Wallwork & Dixon, 2004).

Alongside qualitative interviews and survey data this backyard ethnography (Heley, 2011) draws on observational and documentary work on the development of Bradford Metropolitan District Council's (BMDC) 'Core Strategy', in particular the March 2015 'Examination in Public' in which a number of Menston residents actively participated alongside a range of development industry representatives. The tensions that emerge between micro social constructions of place and the meso level regulatory production of space are drawn out questions of 'position-taking' within a field of power (Bourdieu, 2012 [2005]; Thomson, 2012; Low, 2016). Relations, for the residents whose accounts are central to this work, are at times expressed as feeding into anxieties on anticipated urbanisation and suburban sprawl (Filion, 2015; Harvey, 1996). Spatial change is anticipated as precipitating *social* change, and the potential of an altered symbolic position for Menston in relation to surrounding areas. In doing so, the thesis contributes to the sociological literature, by drawing out the peculiar position of a peri-urban disposition, as distinct from that of counter-urbanising or rural gentrifying disposition (Miles & Ebrey, 2017; Vallance, 2014). With the peri-urban drawn out as a space embedded within the urban region that – for now at least - retains the socially privileged qualities of rurality (see Shucksmith, 2016).

The following sections of this introduction set out the sociological problem addressed, reflecting in part on the background to this project; the overarching research aims and sub-questions for this work; an outline of Menston as a research site and population, addressing Menston as a peri-urban village and the broad demographic qualities of Menston's residents; the theoretical and empirical contributions of the work; and a chapter-by-chapter overview of the thesis structure.

The sociological problem

The sociological significance of Menston and its residents is in its peri-urban qualities, between the rural and the urban, as a site of distinct differences in population from the metropolitan area it is within. The germ of this project sprang from following, as a resident of the village, a set of planning disputes between a local activist group 'MAG' and Bradford Council that have run since 2007-2008. (This background is discussed below under 'Menston residents'.) As Menston is the village in which I grew up and continues to be a site that I have broad affective connection to, the project is one of 'backyard ethnography' (Heley, 2011), a research project into a site with which you are familiar, but one that focuses on aspects that you may not have been previously deeply engaged or even aware of. In terms of my own familiarity with the site, I was a resident from pre-school to attending university, going to a local pre-school then the same primary school in Menston, then secondary school in Guiseley, as both my older siblings (plus Beavers and Cubs groups with school friends within Menston). As a teenager I worked for a sandwich shop/catering company in Menston most weekends and holidays for six years, then also at a village pub before leaving for university. My MA dissertation (on the localism agenda) drew on a group interview with members of the Menston Action Group. I believe it is safe to say that I know the geography of the village well at the very least and, until recent years, had a relatively broad set of relationships.

The multi-faceted, and ultimately socially constructed, idea(s) of Menston that residents articulate are of sociological interest as these ideas demonstrate of the ways in which place is not a universally shared 'static' or 'fixed' perspective but rather subject to processes (Massey, 1991b, p. 155). Processes

are generative of, and generated by, the power dynamics and common-sense claims that inform and structure neoliberal governance (Hall, 2011; Peck, 2013) and that draw on wider imaginaries of the city, country and nation (Lowenthal, 1991; Anderson, 1991; Billig, 1995). These imaginaries are in turn fundamentally wrapped up classed and racialized processes of social and spatial exclusion/disaffiliation (Watt, 2009; Pinkster, 2013; Lawler, 2005; Askins, 2009; Tyler, 2012). These imaginaries were present in The Localism Agenda of the Coalition government, which is taken here as demonstrative of neoliberal 'common sense' governance in action as it draws on a reification of 'community' as an idealised scale of social life (Westwood, 2011; Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Matthews, et al., 2014). At the time of the fieldwork (2015), these reforms to spatial planning had located new decision-making powers at the 'neighbourhood' scale, a scale of governance external to, but feeding into, local government structures. This was trumpeted as a delegation of power to the people and to their neighbourhoods, though in practice has operated as 'an example of an imposed centralized agenda' (Tewdwr-Jones, 2012, p. 101), an imposition that is argued to privilege the anti-development activism(s) of middle-class communities such as Menston's (Matthews, et al., 2014). These do so whilst also embracing austerity-retrenchment as, neoliberal, common sense (Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Hall, 2011; Matthews et al, 2014). This is a 'common sense' project which by 2017 had produced a net average reduction of 22% for local authority budgets since 2010 (The Economist, 2017), with Bradford Council anticipating being reduced to 'half the size by 2020' (The Guardian, 2016; BMDC, 2017b).

These 'localist' reforms and narratives of rural/urban imaginaries are sociologically significant in relation to Menston, firstly, as they are informative of the discourses that underpin place discussions of change in spaces such as this (e.g. Jacobs & Manzi, 2013a; Harrison & Clifford, 2016). With anxieties around social and spatial change in Menston interpreted through the prism of a housing crisis, that compels development, and a wider romanticised rurality that privileges non-urban development (Billig, 1995; Lowenthal, 1991; Shucksmith, 2016; Smith, 2011). Secondly, this context is significant in that the discourses of localism, and the Localism Act (2011) specifically, were directly

co-opted by community activists in opposition to BMDC. With the 'mission statement' of the Menston Action Group's outlining a goal to;

'Protect our residents from the Council [Bradford] which, in MAG's opinion, has failed to recognise the spirit of Localism and which seems to view Menston as a 'soft target' (Menston Action Group, n.d.).

Analytically, the village-scale and the planning-scale are treated as entailing two approaches to place in tension and that exist within and are subject to the wider machinations of the field of power (Bourdieu, 1983; Thomson, 2012), with, on the one hand, socially *constructed* projects of place and community (Day, 2006) and, on the other hand, institutional pressures that seek to *produce* particular forms of space (Low, 2016; Peck & Tickell, 2002; Merrifield, 2014). These are the features of the sociological problem addressed in this thesis, in that it seeks to illuminate the ways in which Menston is made socially, spatially and symbolically meaningful and enacted by residents. Meaning and action that feeds into the ways in which plans for space might be contested (successfully or unsuccessfully).

Research aims and questions

The thesis addresses the overall research aim:

To critically examine accounts of place, community and belonging to a peri-urban village and the metropolitan region by its residents, in relation to wider processes of urban/rural change.

This critical examination draws out the social and the symbolic ('localised accounts of place, community and belonging to a peri-urban village') as in dialogue with the spatial ('processes of urban/rural change'). Taking accounts, experiences, expectations, and anxieties to do with place as existing in the light of, and at times in tension with, wider processes of urbanisation and rural change. This overarching research aim is approached through three sub-questions, which inform the empirical chapters. They are;

1. How are the social, spatial and symbolic qualities of place integrated into, and taken for granted in, discussions of local belonging and community?

2. What are the ways in which practices of boundary-making and maintenance in the peri-urban draw upon and contribute to accounts of affinity and belonging regarding the urban and rural?
3. In what ways do position-taking strategies and practices, made visible by planning and development processes for the metropolitan region, structure the field of power in which the peri-urban is located?

The thesis works to draw upon a broadly 'relational' approach (Heley & Jones, 2012) to investigating the peri-urban as a field with a focus upon the informal processes and discourses that construct and contribute to constructing (van Dijk, 1993) the taken for granted – *doxa* – and the stakes – *illusio* – associated with place (Bourdieu, 1983; Thomson, 2012). Discourses and practices of belonging, place and community are approached as demonstrating the *doxa* present in Menston and therefore exposing what is felt to be the *illusio* – what may be gained or lost. These are constituted by a range of factors, including the wider discursive (van Dijk, 1993) and cultural positioning of rural and urban change, with their classed/racialized qualities (see Murdoch, 1995; Neal & Agyeman, 2006; Harrison & Clifford, 2016; Jacobs & Manzi, 2013a), financial/corporate interests that render spaces as conduits for the flows of capitals (see Harvey, 1996; 2006), and the tensions between national/local government undergoing reform and retrenchment (see Painter et al., 2011; Jacobs & Manzi, 2013b).

The thesis establishes the ways in which these discourses and practices are supported and contested at a mundane level and in formalised social spaces of spatial governance. The thesis therefore locates the peri-urban as positioned *within* and *against* wider regional and national fields of power (Bourdieu, 1983; Bourdieu, 2012 [2005]). An approach that leads into a discussion of how position-taking strategies imported from informal social spaces to those structured by the logic of neoliberal governance may be a product of misrecognition, revealing the limits of *habitus* as it is arrayed against institutional power. The wider operationalisation of these questions is discussed in chapter 4 and addressed within the introduction each of the relevant empirical chapter. They are returned to again in chapter 8 as the conclusion of the thesis is drawn out.

Menston as a research site

A peri-urban village

Menston is located to the north-west of Leeds and north-east Bradford (see figures 21-23 in appendix A for further variously scaled maps depicting Menston and surrounding settlements). The majority of the village's housing is boxed in between the A65 to the east and north and beyond that the Chevin hill range, Reva Hill/Hawksworth Moor to the west, and Bingley Road to the south (see figure 1, the A65 largely bisects the map top to bottom). It is overlooked by moorland and farmland, which leads into the wider Yorkshire countryside, such that, if you were to walk up either Reva Hill or the Chevin on a clear day, this would afford a view of the rest of the Wharfe valley down to Ilkley and towards the edges of Nidderdale, an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB) and a reminder of the ways in which seemingly remote places are embedded in the wider flows of state-military power (Massey, 1991a). In this instance, by the 'golf balls' of the American listening post/early warning station Memwith Hill located in this moorland (Spinardi, 2007).

The site of the former High Royds Hospital, now a private housing estate (the built-up area to the left of Kelcliffe in figure 1 and beneath the majority of the village, see also figure 5) has acted historically as a spatial buffer between Menston and the neighbouring town of Guiseley. Road and rail links connect Menston to both the urban and the rural, with the A65 (the north-south running road bisecting figure 1) leading access to Leeds and Bradford city centres if heading south or to the towns of Ilkley and Otley if heading north (see appendix A, figures 22 and 23). Following the A65, and the road it leads into, north for less than thirty minutes will take you to the Yorkshire Dale National Park, before eventually merging into the M6 at the Southern edge of the Lake District. Through the A65 – and other closely located trunk roads – Menston residents have ready access to the east-west connections of the M62 and the north-south connections of the A1 (M) and M1. For public transport Menston has a well-used train station (noted on figure 21) on the electrified Wharfedale line (electrification of rail lines being something of a rarity in West Yorkshire and the north of England), with twice hourly trains running from Ilkley to Leeds and a

further two from Ilkley to Bradford taking you to either city centre within 20 minutes. It is a site well-within the flows of contemporary mobilities that shape processes of counter-urbanisation and rural gentrification (Urry, 2007; Phillips, 2010; Smith, 2011).

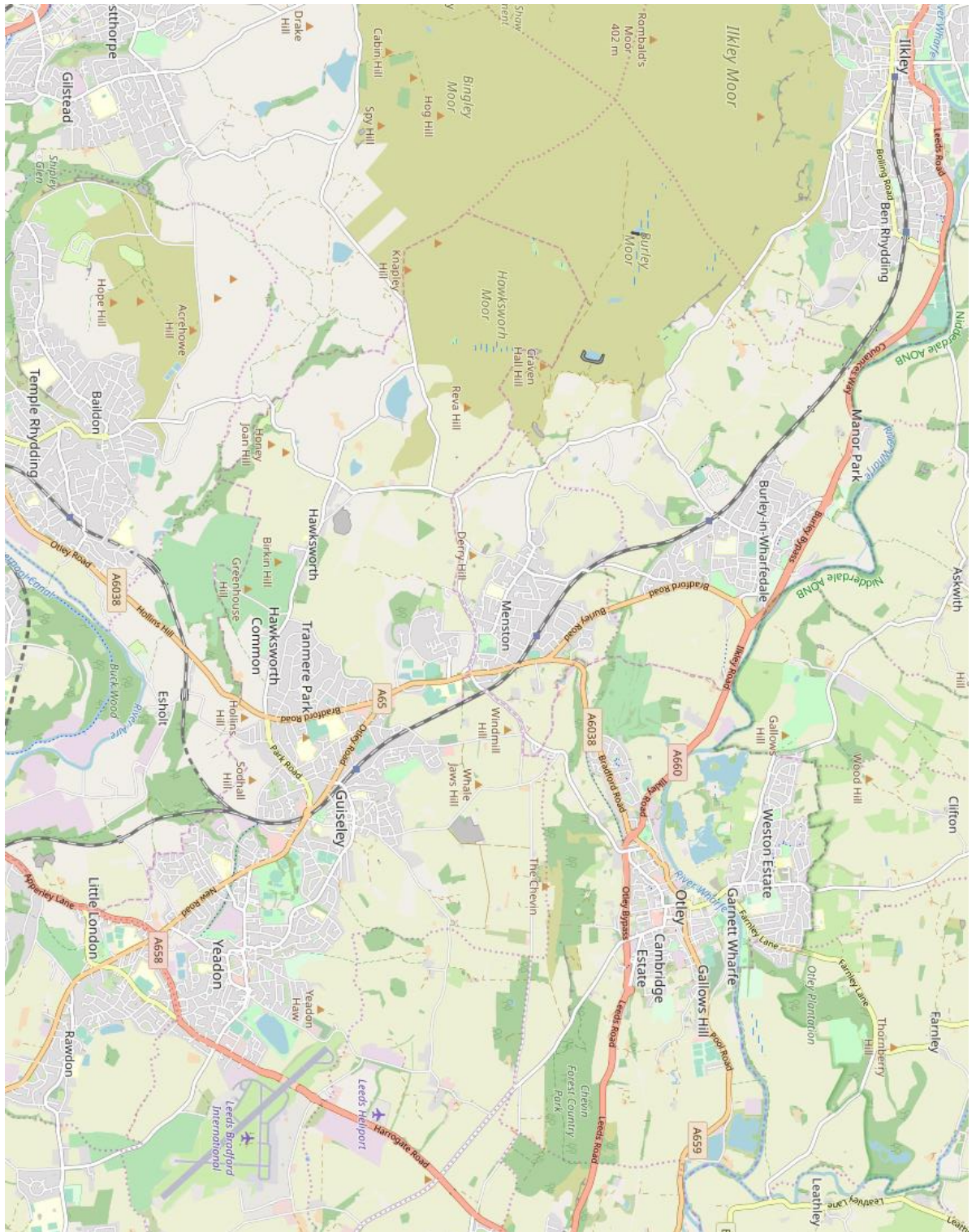


Figure 1. Menston and the surrounding area (via www.openstreetmap.com)

In governance, Menston is on the boundary of two local authority areas, with the bulk of the village part of the 'Wharfedale' ward of BMDC, along with neighbouring Burley in Wharfedale (see figures 24 and 25 in appendix A). As a ward Wharfedale, along with neighbouring the adjacent Ilkley ward (figures 24 and 25), typically returns Conservative councillors in a district dominated by the Labour party. To the south High Royds, as an effective appendage to Menston as much as a spatial buffer from Guiseley, is in the Leeds City Council (LCC) ward of Guiseley & Rawdon and to the east Menston adjoins the Otley & Yeadon ward, which covers much of the Chevin hills (see figure 26 in appendix A for a Leeds City Council ward map). If you live in Menston, Burley or Ilkley you will have a Leeds postcode. Menston Primary School has historically been under Bradford Local Education Authority (LEA) control, with most pupils (of which I was one) then attending Guiseley School under Leeds LEA for secondary education. Landline phone numbers – though of diminishing relevance – in Menston use a 'Wharfedale' area code that covers neighbouring settlements in Leeds and Bradford, including the towns of Otley, Guiseley and Ilkley. This broad description of place, including in terms of governance, is intended to give a sense of common frames of reference (e.g. rurality, transport, governance, education, nearby towns and villages) that Menston residents are quoted as drawing upon below with.

From this, we might therefore see Menston as an uncomplicatedly rural place, as it is relatively spatially separate from the cities of Leeds and Bradford and their surrounding suburbs (see contour lines noting moorland and hills in figure 1 that act as a spatial barrier). However, it would not be the rurality of agriculture and farming but consumption practices and conservationism at play here, these in turn underpin and feed into issues of rural gentrification (Marsden, et al. 1993; Murdoch, 1995; Smith, 2011). To only account for the more rural 'aesthetic', i.e. hills, would be to take a singular aspect of place as the defining characteristic and give rise to the possibility of the sort of reductive definition that Pahl (1965, p. 265) terms a form of 'vulgar Tönniesism'. An approach in which people are understood as passive cyphers or expressions of their spatial origins or location. That is not to say that residents do not have grounds on which to claim rural residence and that they do not do so (rather the opposite), but that, as the empirical chapters explore, it is more likely to be

rooted in 'consumption' of public footpaths across agricultural land, including a spur of the Dalesway walking route, than it is in the fact of the continued operation of a handful of working farms in the area (c.f. Moore, 2013a).

As a periphery urban or peri-urban site Menston is distinctly subject to and influenced by urbanisation, along with the geography and contexts for contemporary rurality named above. Though without the continuous urban form, Menston is within the flows between the centre and periphery of the urban, whether of capital or the day-to-day mobilities of commuting (Harvey, 1996; 2006; Lefebvre, 2003 [1970]; Merrifield, 2014; Urry, 2007). As a peri-urban site somewhere on, or beyond, the periphery of the 'city' it is highly structured by the urban in economic terms but retains a cultural and social distinction from more straightforwardly urban spaces for some of the reasons noted above (Vallance, 2014; Miles & Ebrey, 2017). Menston's peri-urban position is bound up in the city and in the countryside. This is best understood by drawing on Lefebvre's distinction between thinking about the 'city' and 'urbanized society' (Lefebvre, 2003 [1970]; Merrifield, 2014), as to focus on the 'city' or 'country' as neatly defined and bounded spatial phenomena would be to neglect the implications that accompany contemporary social relationships and structures. These relationships 'result from industrialisation, [a] process of domination that absorbs agricultural production' (Lefebvre, 2003 [1970], p. 2). Mace, reflecting on the position of the suburbs relative to the contemporary city, offers a summary of this view that is productive here, that;

'A focus on the city as a bounded entity is almost meaningless as the capitalist relations that drive the city spill over into, and reach across, space' (Mace, 2013, pp. 13-14).

Menston then, as with anywhere else, is caught up in and subject to the spillage and projection of capitalist relations, so to characterise Menston as exclusively 'rural' because of its geography would be to reify spatial location and landscape in such a way as to deny the permeable character of city boundaries and wider processes of urbanisation (Hoggart, 1990; Soja, 2003). However, neglecting the ways in which residents exert their own understandings, routines and experiences of place as *non-urban*, would be to deny the daily work that goes into constructing a sense of belonging, place and of community – with all the potential for the inclusive and exclusionary

(Low, 2016; Blokland, 2017; Savage et al., 2005; Watt, 2009). Positioning Menston as a peri-urban place allows an emphasis on relative proximity and embeddedness in the urban region, whilst drawing on the privileged position of rural spaces in social and cultural life (Vallance, 2014; Miles & Ebrey, 2017).

Menston residents

Following on from the above, on the spatial location of Menston, and leading into the discussions of the 'symbolic' as it relates to Menston that is a key concern of the empirical chapters, this section addresses some of the demographic and *social* characteristics of Menston's residents. The characterisation of villages and non-urban places being relatively homogenous social spaces in terms of class that has been noted in the rural studies literature more widely (e.g. Murdoch, 1995; Hoggart, 2007; Shucksmith, 2012; Hillyard, 2015) is one that is borne out here.

Table 1. Age brackets of Menston residents at 2011 Census (NOMIS, n.d.)

	% Menston	% Bradford MDC	% Leeds CC	% England & Wales
Age bracket of usual residents¹				
0-15	17.5	21.8	18.3	18.8
16-24	8.0	16.0	15.5	11.9
25-29	3.5	11.9	8.0	6.8
30-44	17.2	23.0	20.7	20.5
45-59	22.9	14.6	17.7	19.4
60-64	7.4	3.8	5.3	6.0
65-74	11.1	5.4	7.5	8.7
75-84	9.0	2.7	5.1	5.6
85+	3.5	0.9	2.0	2.3
Mean age	44.8	36.2	37.6	39.3

¹ Data provided by the ONS/NOMIS service uses the age brackets of 30-44 and 45-59 already in place. This makes for some limited comparability with the age brackets deployed in the survey (see chapter 4)

Table 1 presents the broad age profile of Menston's population of 4,498, with a mean age of 44.8 which is nearly 9 years older than the BMDC average (which, I should note, includes Menston). The largest section of Menston's population is between the ages of 45-59 (22.9%), compared to 30-44 across all other scales used (14.6-19.4%). In total, over 50% of Menston's population is over 45, compared to around 25% of the total population of BMDC and 40% for England & Wales. What is significant here is the comparative absence of those 16-24 and 25-29 years of age, with the proportion of these groups' half and a quarter respectively of that of Bradford. Taken together, this shows the overall 'older' age bracket of Menston's usual residents – a feature that is reflected in particular in by the survey respondents discussed below (see chapter 4). The next table presents the descriptive statistics of the self-identified ethnic make-up of Menston as of 2011.

Table 2. Populations of Menston, Bradford MDC, Leeds CC and England & Wales by ethnic group at 2011 Census

Ethnic group	% Menston	% Bradford MDC	% Leeds CC	% England & Wales
White	98.1	67.4	85.1	86.0
Mixed / Multiple ethnic group	0.7	2.5	2.6	2.2
Asian/Asian British ²	0.8	26.8	7.7	7.5
Black/African/Caribbean/ Black British	0.2	1.8	3.4	3.3
Other Ethnic Group	0.1	1.5	1.1	1.0
<i>Total population</i>	100.0	100	100	100

In table 2 I have used the 'simplified' categories here due to the overwhelmingly white character of Menston. The population of Menston is 98.1% 'white', just over 30% higher than the total for the BMDC area as a whole,

² Including; Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese and Other Asian.

and 12% higher than the national population. Menston is emerging here as a site of 'Whiteness' (Bonnett, 2000; Neal & Agyeman, 2006) of the sort that Askins (2009) notes is put in contrast with the urban as a site of 'diversity', something that is drawn out as a feature of place in chapter 5.

Whilst the use of NS-SeC data is not unproblematic, as NS-SeC measures draw on Goldthorpe's (Chen & Goldthorpe, 2007) 'occupational' approach to class rather than the more 'relational' approach that is primarily taken here³, these figures are used illustratively here and as a point of reference to return to. (chapter 4). This is as they sketch out the distinctive position that many Menston residents occupy in relation to regional and national figures drawn from the 2011 Census.⁴ Table 3 shows that Menston residents occupy notably higher proportions of NS-SeC 1 and 2 occupations than are present in Bradford as a whole, Leeds or England & Wales. The proportion of those in NS-SeC 1 is nearly twice the national average, and two and half times the figure for Bradford as a whole. In total, just over half of Menston residents report occupations in either NS-SeC 1 or 2 ('Higher' or 'Lower managerial, administrative and professional occupations').

Table 3. Simplified NS-SeC distribution for Menston, Bradford MDC, Leeds CC and England & Wales at 2011 Census.

	% Menston	% Bradford MDC	% Leeds CC	% England and Wales
NS-SeC Classification				
1. Higher managerial, administrative and professional occupations	19.5	7.5	10.4	10.3
1.1 Large employers and higher managerial and administrative occupations	3.9	1.8	2.1	2.4
1.2 Higher professional occupations	15.6	5.7	8.4	7.9
2. Lower managerial, administrative and professional occupations	31.1	17.1	19.4	20.8

³ See Phillips (2007) on this in rural sociology as well as wider efforts to reconceptualise class by drawing on Bourdieu's work such as Savage et al. (2013) and Atkinson (2015).

⁴All data quoted here are from the UK Key Statistics for the 2011 Census, accessible via www.nomis.co.uk

3. Intermediate occupations	14.2	12.3	12.9	12.7
4. Small employers and own account workers	10.5	8.9	7.4	9.4
5. Lower supervisory and technical occupations	3.8	6.6	6.4	6.9
6. Semi-routine occupations	8.5	14.0	13.3	14.1
7. Routine occupations	4.6	12.9	10.8	11.1
8. Never worked and long-term unemployed	1.3	11.1	6.0	5.6
L14.1 Never worked	0.8	8.8	4.1	3.9
L14.2 Long-term unemployed	0.5	2.3	1.9	1.7
L15 Full-time students	6.5	9.5	13.3	9.0
<i>Not classified</i>	6.5	9.5	13.3	9.0

This weighting towards the professional occupations continues as we move down table 3, with those occupation groups that have long-standing connections to more 'traditional' middle class categorisations disproportionately present in Menston. Menston residents remain more likely to occupy NS-SeC 3 or 4, including as self-employed people or small business owners, than at a regional or national scale. However, from NS-SeC 5 the pattern reverses, with Menston residents represented at lower levels in classifications 6 through 8 and in various forms of not in work figures (L14 and L15).

Menston residents then are observably older, whiter and more likely to be in a 'professional occupation' than is typical both for the metropolitan area and at a national scale. The distinctiveness of the site within Bradford is further shown by approaching Menston from a more directly material angle, with table 4 showing residents of Menston (as part of the Wharfedale ward) living in some of the most expensive housing in the Bradford District.

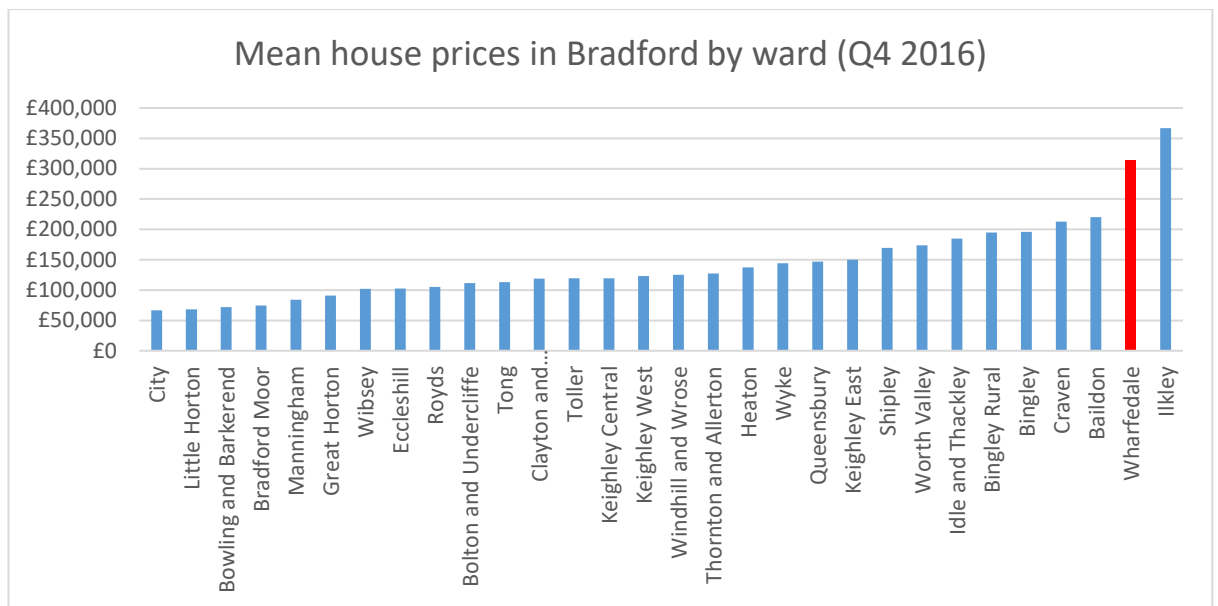


Table 4. Mean house prices in Bradford by ward. (From House Price Statistics for Small Areas Dataset 38 [ONS]. Mean price paid by ward)

As of the final three months of 2016 house prices in Wharfedale were on average over £50,000 higher than in Baildon (noted in figure 22, to the bottom left – a ten to fifteen-minute drive away). However, in the other direction they are around £50,000 lower than in the Ilkley ward (again around a fifteen-minute drive away). This suggests Menston's position as a location that has, and attracts, notable private wealth, but one that neighbours an even wealthier area. A position that is alternatively expressed by Index of Multiple Deprivation data, in which the Wharfedale and Ilkley are the only two wards in the Bradford District to be among the 10% *least* deprived locales in England. This is in contrast to twelve wards of Bradford MDC's thirty wards that are in the 10% *most* deprived in England (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council, 4 January 2017).

Following on from the spatial characteristics of Menston as a peri-urban site, the above tables illustrate that this is a social space occupied by a relatively (in national and regional terms) narrow social group that is typically older, whiter and more likely to be in a 'professional' occupation. With the exception of ethnicity, in which white people make up the majority at a local, regional and national scale (though at a much higher proportion in Menston), the largest groups within Menston are typically amongst the smallest in the Bradford metropolitan area. In material terms, as a predominantly 'professional'

and service sector orientated class-fraction they occupy an advantageous position within social and economic structures as well as living in a culturally valued more 'rural' and 'green' spaces that are increasingly occupied by the middle-classes (Smith & Phillips, 2001; Heley, 2010) as well as being the object of pressures from housing development that seeks to capitalise on these social and spatial features (Halfacree, 2012; Smith, 2011). The following section summarises some the activities of the Menston Action Group, a resident's organisation that is opposed to large-scale development in the area.

Local activism – The Menston Action Group

The Menston Action Group (MAG) was initially formed in opposition to the proposed building of around 300 houses on the southern edge of Menston along Derry Hill and Bingley Road⁵ (see figure 24 in Appendix A for a BMDC map detailing major street and road names). Whilst also engaging in other disputes and activities, MAG have worked to keep the on Derry Hill and Bingley Road locally visible, with regular reporting to Community Association and Parish Council meetings (with active members of MAG increasingly prominent in these other organisations) and by maintaining a visible presence around the village. The latter is achieved primarily by supportive residents and shop owners displaying – increasingly weathered – 'SAVE Bingley Rd & Derry Hill Green fields' signage (see figure 2). An online presence in the form of a regularly updated website (www.menstonactiongroup.wordpress.com) is used to provide news of public meetings and to encourage attendance by residents, updates on legal decisions in favour or against the campaign, the distribution of supportive statements from local politicians, or editorial-style comment on recent events that have a bearing on the campaign. Following this activism, I interviewed members of MAG in August 2013 as part of an MA dissertation project looking at the localism agenda (this interview data is not drawn on in this thesis).

MAG have enjoyed fairly regular coverage in the local press, and the support of the local Conservative MP for Shipley Philip Davies who has raised

⁵ As of 2017, one development of 11 houses (with four, five and six-bedroom properties) has been built by Chartford homes adjacent to the originally contested sites, to be sold at prices ranging from £500,000 to £835,000. See <http://www.chartfordhomes.com/developments/our-developments/wharfedale/>

the dispute in Parliament in 2012, asking about the benefits of 'localism' for Menston residents involved in this dispute. Then Planning Minister Nick Bowles replied, encouraging Menston residents to;

'Explore the possibility of a neighbourhood plan, as such a plan would enable them, rather than people from elsewhere, to determine the future shape of their community' (Hansard, 2012, col. 10).

This phrase 'rather than people from *elsewhere*' evokes view of social life that emphasises fixity and rootedness, rather than acknowledging contemporary mobilities and connectedness (Milbourne & Kitchen, 2014; Urry, 2007). It also chimes with a diagnosis of social ills that focuses on a narrative of an excessively centralised state that interferes, stymies and suppresses civil society (chapter 2 provides a more detailed discussion of such themes in the 'localism agenda'). Davies has also raised the dispute alongside other planning disputes within his Shipley constituency against Labour-run BMDC (Hansard, 2014). In short, MAG's work to challenge and critique the decision-making practices of local government appears, on the face of it, to be a clear example of a localist mentality taken up with gusto as a way of challenging the local-state.



Figure 2. Menston Action Groups "Save our Greenfields" signposts and posters (August 2015 by author).

MAG have challenged BMDC directly as well as through their MP with a range of legal mechanisms. This has included; appealing to the council's own oversight processes, an advisory local referendum on the proposals in 2011 (BBC News, 2011), instigating a (unsuccessful) village green inquiry in an attempt to have the land in question removed from the list of potential sites for development (The Telegraph & Argus, 2012), and applying for judicial reviews into council decision making (Menston Action Group v Bradford Metropolitan District Council, 2015; Menston Action Group v Bradford Metropolitan District Council, 2016). A judicial review in early 2016 was successful in halting a significant portion of the planning permission, however the Chartford homes site (footnote 4) has gone ahead and further applications to build on the wider site

have followed, with Bellway Homes lodging one such application in July 2017, so dispute rumbles on (Menston Action Group, n.d.; BMDC, 2017a).

As noted above, this campaign forms much of the immediate background for this thesis, pushing forward an interest in how it is people understand and relate to where they live more broadly than in oppositional statements to local government, and how these views on place come up against wider regional and national power relations that seek to shape social and physical space (Bourdieu, 1983; Bourdieu, 1996 [1989]; Bourdieu, 2012 [2005]). That Menston comprises a relatively distinctive socio-economic position in terms of class, ethnicity and age adds to this interest. As is introduced with Philip Davies contributions in Parliament, this interest in opposition to a *specific* housing development is contextualised by the policies of the 2010-15 Coalition Government. This government, alongside a more immediately tangible austerity spending programme, stressed a Burkeian significance on the 'local' as the primary site of and scale for legitimate decision making, with the Conservative led 'localism agenda' positioned as a response to an overly centralised state (McKee 2014; Lowndes & Pratchett 2012). Such, that a commitment to localism as a political project became an insistence upon the curative effects of 'localism', or its corollary the 'Big Society', for all the ills of political, economic and civic life in British cities, towns and villages. That decisions should be made 'locally' and not by people from 'elsewhere', in Bowles' terms, is an idea that MAG has taken to heart. The consequences of these changes to the spatial planning regime are continuing to unfold (Parker, et al., 2017; Parker & Street, 2015), though relevant critiques of the principle and the practice are explored in chapter 2.

This relatively private and parochial trouble of opposition to housing development is therefore deeply embedded within wider political discourses and policies of localism. More significantly for this work, it is also expressive of and a way into the wider question of how one maintains a sense of place, belonging or affiliation within a political economic context that undermines such fixing such identities in place and denies opportunities to assert them. The urbanising processes discussed above as characterising the peri-urban shape what Hanson (2014) describes as a 'deracinated localism', where assertions of belonging and affinity to place are subverted and denied by structural

pressures. Another expression of this is identified by Savage et al. (2005; Savage, 2010) as the more positive notion of 'elective belonging', in which in the context of globalisation belonging is claimed on the basis of an alignment between *habitus* (see chapter 2 on *habitus*) and place in Greater Manchester. Watt (2009) meanwhile emphasises the *selective* character of belonging as a classed process playing out in the non-London 'oasis suburbs' of the ROSE or the 'Rest of The South-East' (see chapter 3 '(s)elective belonging' on these differing focuses).

In this way questions as to who exactly the self-proclaimed community activists were are overtaken by questions about the wider notions of community and affiliation held by Menston residents who are *not* necessarily directly engaged with such activism(s). The project can be summarised as seeking to explore the accounts of place outside of that put forward in images such as figure 2 of a village under threat, with the call to 'SAVE' the two sites. Through primarily qualitative interviews, surveys and observational field work I work to explore how residents of Menston more widely articulated a sense of community, of place and of belonging in the context of social and spatial change. These questions can be found in planning processes as well as the day to day conversations as both feed into the construction/production of place. In exploring how Menston, as a peri-urban location, is understood by residents, understandings which are then *structurally* located and explored, wider cultural, social, political and economic context is instructive. In particular, the longstanding symbolic associations of rural landscapes with ideas of a residential 'good life' (see Pahl, 1965 to Shucksmith, 2016) and the part played by the 'rustic' in British and English national identity more widely (Billig, 1995; Bermingham, 1986; Wallwork & Dixon, 2004) and heritage projects⁶ (Lowenthal, 1991; Bowden, 2012). These are viewpoints that have reciprocally drawn on and succoured critical theorisations of urbanisation and by extension urban life as an alienated and isolated experience (Wellman & Leighton 1979, pp.368–370).

⁶ The assumed 'whiteness' and homogeneity of the national identity linked to rurality is discussed in the literature review, drawing on work such as Neal & Agyeman (2006) and Askins (2009).

I have outlined above the argument that Menston is best understood as a *peri-urban* location, rather than neatly 'rural', with affective meanings and construction of place and belonging (e.g. Savage et al., 2005) taken as operating alongside broader regional regulatory structures (e.g. Bentley, et al., 2010) and a wider national political policy (e.g. Jacobs & Manzi, 2013b), all within a shifting landscape of public issues and private troubles (Mills, 2000). The Coalition Government's insistence on localism is bound up with an insistence upon austerity and state retrenchment as a curative (Haughton & Allmendinger, 2014), one that continues to structure a broader housing crisis (Dorling, 2014). (One in which the effects of the EU referendum are yet to be made clear.) This *peri-urban* positioning also complicates a seemingly straightforward, though not unfounded, view of Menston as a place of 'middle-class NIMBYs' (The Yorkshire Post, 2012). Though disproportionately middle-class (see table 3) in positioning accounts of belonging, community and place in relation to the regional, an understanding some of the power structures that shape this localised rejection of development/change is developed. One that draws out the connections to and locates this within wider sociological themes that shape the *peri-urban*. Here these connections began to emerge in interviews through discussions of life course narratives, physical location in the village, reflections on changing social networks, and occasional comment on discourses of the rural and the urban more widely as they are made relevant to an affective connection to a landscape (see chapters 5 and 6). This produces an at times contradictory set of symbolic imaginaries of people and place (Cohen, 1982), which nevertheless as a process of place coalesce and congeal to shape claims of belonging in the *peri-urban* (Massey, 1990; Savage et al., 2005).

Theoretical and empirical contributions

The thesis makes four empirical and theoretical contributions. First is an empirical contribution, with the thesis taking forward conceptual work from the literature on belonging and community in rural and urban places to a comparatively under-researched (c.f. Miles & Ebrey, 2017; Featherstone, 2013; Vallance, 2014) social space and population; a middle-class fraction of a *peri-*

urban village in a metropolitan city region. Whilst significant bodies of sociological work have worked fruitfully to address questions change in the urban and the rural (e.g. Phillips, 2010; Smith, 2011; Halfacree, 2012; Lees et al., 2016), much of which is drawn on here, there appears to be an absence of work on the negotiation and establishment of belonging in spaces where the urban and the rural meet. This leads to the second contribution of the work.

Second is empirical and methodological contribution, to build a sociological case-study of spatial planning process as a site of research (relevant existing work is typically from planning perspectives and on Neighbourhood Plans, e.g. Parker & Street, 2015; Parker, et al., 2017; Wills, 2016; Mace, 2015). Thus the thesis draws out practicalities in neoliberal spatial planning regimes as sites of position-taking (Bourdieu, 1983; Thomson, 2012) located within the restructuring pressures of planetary urbanisation (Soja, 1989; Merrifield, 2014), a process that produces idealised forms of citizenship that can struggle to have more than aspirational goals attached to them. This draws out the metropolitan region as a structured space in which capital interests, the local state and middle-class activism meet.

Third is an analytic contribution, which builds on the above methodological focus to support the view that field theory is an advantageous way to bring the experiential and the theoretical into dialogue (see Savage, 2011). Field theory is used to support an analysis that approaches the symbolic, spatial and the social, such as in drawing a wider commodification of rurality into dialogue with lived experiences of rural change

Finally, the thesis closes by outlining a 'peri-urban disposition' as a minor form of belonging, aspects and stages of which are drawn out as this work progressed. A peri-urban disposition refers to expressions of belonging that locate local landscapes as the focus of affinity which is supported by more 'traditional' practice ideas about and reported experiences of belonging and community in place, including exclusionary and boundary-maintenance processes.

Structure of thesis

The thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter 2 is the first of two literature review chapters. It provides an outline of field theory and a set of related conceptual definitions that the thesis draws upon. Following this, the second half of this chapter address the context of the localism reforms under the 2010-2015 Coalition Government, identifying the wider themes of neoliberal policy that these fed into.

Chapter 3 is the second literature review chapter. It provides an overview of the theoretical and empirical literature on community, urban and rural change, the ideological and cultural status of the urban and the rural, and literature addressing forms of symbolic belonging. A gap in the literature concerning the peri-urban is outlined here in relation to this work.

Chapter 4 sets out the methodological approach to this project. It outlines the forms of data collection drawn on to operationalise each research question and the over-arching research design of the project, with the process of ethical review undertaken outlined. Considerations of 'being local' (Heley, 2011) are drawn out. A summary of the observational, survey and interview work conducted is provided, leading to a discussion of the use of discourse analysis here.

Chapter 5 addresses research question 1. It draws on interview and survey data to do so. It draws out questions of Menston's location as it was understood by participants, following by a discussion of various aspects of community, with narratives of community, differentiation, aesthetics of place, and the stated focal points of community identified.

Chapter 6 addresses research question 2. Continuing to draw on interview and survey data, some field notes and observational data is added here. The changing positioning of periphery estates is discussed, in particular that of High

Royds. The role of 'the moors' in a sense of place is highlighted, followed by a discussion of belonging in relation to the urban, suburban and wider rural areas. Forms of differentiation and affinity to each of these scales are drawn out.

Chapter 7 addresses research question 3. It draws on observational research from a series of spatial planning meetings and associated documentary research. The purpose of the 'Examination' and policy document are discussed, followed by an outline of Bradford MDC's stated goals. Questions of access to the site as a 'field' (Bourdieu, 1983; Savage, 2011) are examined, as are questions of effective position-taking practices. Examples of contested topics are discussed. Proposed changes to this spatial planning document arising from the Examination are outlined. An argument is developed here that strategic planning serves as an exemplar of neoliberal governance in the contemporary UK.

Chapter 8 forms the thesis conclusion. The initial justifications for the research are re-stated alongside the research aim. Answers to the three research questions are summarised, as are the key research contributions made by the project. The limitations of the project are reviewed, with possible future work identified.

2. Field theory and the localism agenda

This chapter sets out the relevance of and use of 'field theory' for this thesis in locating everyday talk about community, belonging and place, and activism within planning structures in relation to informal and formal power structures (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Thomson, 2012). In doing so, Savage's (2011) argument that field theory has been an under-explored and under-developed aspect of Bourdieu's work for urban (and by extension, peri-urban) sociological research is set out. Following this, the forms of governance identified in commentaries on the 2010-2015 Coalition Government's 'localism' and 'Big Society' projects, are set out (Clarke & Cochrane, 2013; Evans, et al., 2013). Relevant changes to the planning regime, such as an increased emphasis on the 'neighbourhood' scale as a site of sub-local planning, are outlined here (e.g. Pugalís & Townsend, 2013; Matthews, et al., 2014).

Two strands to localism are identified, of democratising language of accountability and control at a small scale, alongside a neo-liberal political economy of 'common sense' austerity-retrenchment that positions a small-scale focus as an impediment to economic growth (e.g. Haughton & Allmendinger, 2014; Hall & O'Shea, 2013). These are aspects of governance that should be considered in the light of the discussion of fields as sites of defined by the stakes that are contested. How these are often classed and racialised stakes, such as in the framing of the city and countryside, is explored in relation to literature on community and belonging in the following chapter.

In Low's terms (2016), this chapter draws structural forces that shape the *production* of space, whilst the following chapter sets out perspectives on the *social construction* of space in everyday interaction (alongside some wider commentaries on the structural and its restructuring). This tension between structure and agency is returned to in the empirical chapters, as a tension between forms of informal and formal patterns of 'position-taking' in the field reliant upon cultural and social understandings of place. These understandings inform empirical discussions of Menston and its residents, and accounts of Menston relative to nearby cities, towns and villages as seen by those residents interviewed and surveyed. The final empirical chapter explores these accounts

in the localised field of power, in which the rationales of a localism governance regime and of wider discourses of belonging play out. In drawing on and across these broad areas of literature, I set out the empirical gap the thesis addresses and conceptual development it offers. Namely, the ways in which understandings and experiences of belonging, community and place contribute both to informal processes of boundary making, and to formal contestation of the vision(s) of place sought to be *produced* by planning and governance⁷ processes.

Field theory

As a methodological and conceptual approach field theory is used here to provide a way of thinking about practices in the interaction between the macro, meso and micro scales. Reay (2004, p. 432) argues that Bourdieu's methodology should be seen as a form of 'structural constructivism [which is] an attempt to transcend dualisms of agency-structure, objective-subjective and the micro-macro.' Bourdieu's work on the symbolic, social and cultural foundations of the structural, draws out how actions/practices in formal and informal areas of life, such as the French housing market and state policy (Bourdieu, 2012 [2005]) or cultural taste (1984) are interweaved with the (re)production of the French class system and so shape power structures. This is social construction within social structures, and as an analysis of stratification it therefore draws on the statistical *and* the experiential, the qualitative and the quantitative to explore the interplay and inter-dependance of the 'cognitive and the social' (Bourdieu, 1996 [1989], pp. 1-6).

This is a body of work and methodological approach that has had a significant impact upon British social science. For Atkinson, this linking of the internal to the institutional informs a wider a shift in class analysis to a perspective that retains the structural whilst taking seriously the symbolic,

⁷'Governance' is taken here to refer to the involvement of a variety of actors, occupying and drawing on a variety of power bases, in the 'structure, format and regulatory activities' of government (Tewdwr-Jones, 2012, p.156). The 'Examination in Public' and associated representations made by various participants in this process discussed in chapter 4 is taken to be a clear example of *governance* processes, rather than government action. To speak of 'governance' then is to consider 'process', a qualification useful when considering 'place' as process (Massey,1991a).

exploring 'the way class is *lived* and *experienced* in everyday life' (Atkinson, 2015, p. 60, emphasis in original). As such the significance is in the alternative to Marxist and Weberian traditions of class analysis (with attendant debates/focus upon statistical operationalisation divorced from the every day) that is provided (Reay, 2004). Focusing upon *field*, within this analysis, is to focus on power structures and power relations applied to a population and generated by a population.

Here, the structures generated and lived within are characterised by claims over and about place, i.e. racialised claims about who does and does not belong (Askins, 2009; Tyler, 2012; Moore, 2013a; 2013b). These are claims that may be made on informally organised (or not) basis by residents and/or by formally organised institutions that are illustrative of and potentially (re)productive of wider tensions in the governance of the contemporary urban region (see Tewdwr-Jones, 2012 on such tensions). Tensions are relational and map onto wider forms of power relations and processes, including those that (re)structure the peri-urban and broader social imaginary of community (e.g. Bauman, 2001), of the urban (e.g. Shildrick, 2018), and of the rural (e.g. Shucksmith, 2016). As such, an outline of the multifaceted nature of a 'field' follows that draws on three analogies from Thomson (2012), with the associated language of 'stake' and 'misrecognition' drawn out (see Deer, 2012; Bourdieu, 1996 [1989]). This is succeeded by a section providing a brief overview of 'habitus' and 'capitals' as linked concepts within Bourdieu's work. In this section, the wider body of literature that draws on Bourdieu's work, including Savage's (2011) argument that field as a concept has significant potential for use in urban sociology, is drawn on as is illustrative. How (and where) to best enter into the relational processes that construct a field for analytic work is explored in practical terms in the methodology.

Defining 'field'

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, pp. 229-230) outline fields as where 'struggles over the monopoly of power' occur; fields are the;

'Space of positions [which], is nothing other than the structure of the distribution of the capital of specific properties which governs success in the field and the winning of the external or

specific profits (such as literary prestige) which are at stake in the field' (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 312).

As sites of competition, or struggle, fields are therefore structured spaces of interaction with distinctive qualities and forms of engagement shaped by the capital (a term explored below) that field-members possess and deploy in competition, whether within the field or together in competition with the composite capitals of opposing fields. Fields are inherently competitive social spaces, with those occupying different positions within a field contesting the given stake of the field. In *The Social Structures of the Economy* (Bourdieu, 2012 [2005]) the role of the French state in defining the economic relations of the housing market in which the stakes are structured around property rights is worked through as one such an example of a field, its members groups and the stake. While the state is a powerful actor (or collection of actors) in this field it is but one *participant* contending with others, whether in the form of economic/development interests or the population as voters. Bourdieu highlights the embattled and subordinate position of the *local* state in this field to show the need to navigate between differing forms of power relations (Bourdieu, 2012 [2005], pp. 126-141). As such, the state engages in 'position-taking', decisions that serve to (re)structure the housing market-as-field and therefore influence the future position taking possibilities of other participants. Put another way, the nature of position-taking is that even if one was to take *no* action the relational nature of fields (structured as they are by their participants capitals) may nonetheless lead to a change in field-position (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 313).

As such the informal and formal practices of individuals and institutions are explicable by and contributory to structures of power relations. The overlap of the seemingly informal and formal as embedded within power structures is explored in *Distinction* (1984), in which Bourdieu maps out differentiations of cultural taste as embedded within, and generative of, wider class divisions. Social class is taken to be expressed in the clustering of tastes/dispositions rather than consumption practices differing according to economic means, such as in forms of 'conspicuous consumption', or as discretely linked to ownership of the means of production (see Olin Wright, 2015). Bourdieu works to show how the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion of 'good taste' are drawn out and

consequential in and of themselves, showing how demonstration of an awareness of the *doxa* of the field is in turn a demonstration of seemingly intangible 'taste'. These are boundaries Bourdieu argues to be reflective of, and generative of, wider forms of power relations, taking the example of 'activities like the visual arts, or playing a musical instrument, [...] the correlation with social class [...] is established through social trajectory'⁸ (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 6). Social stratification does not emerge solely from the symbolic and the cultural here, economic privilege and power is vital, but it is supported and reproduced through the symbolic and the social domains.

Thomson (2012) offers three analogies for field that illustrate the different ways in which 'fields' as phenomena can be encountered as demarcated yet amorphous. Thomson takes field first as a sporting 'football field' with rules and capabilities, second, as a science-fiction 'force-field' that contains and protects, and third as a 'force field', such as gravity, the influence of which is felt even when unseen. Thomson outlines how a given field of social relations may operate in these forms simultaneously, with fields governed by broad generative sets of rules, which as they are generative, are therefore liable to change and evolve in response to wider developments in the field of power (Thomson, 2012, p. 76). This returns to the *relational* qualities of field theory with the multiple outcomes and influences that practices/actions may have. Formal and informal social institutions, conventions and ways of being, which we might consider as fields, do not offer a level playing surface to all participants (the pitch); they may be highly exclusionary and/or insulated from wider contexts (the force-field); yet they are responsive to the influence of one another, with (un)acknowledged influences so that each exists within the orbit of others (the force field).

There is therefore a double meaning to 'field'. It stands as a term for both an object of study (e.g. 19th century literature, the housing system, elite education, etc.) and as a 'field of power' to denote the wider structure within

⁸Bracketed ellipsis (e.g. [...]) inserted into quotations are used to elide the qualifications, examples, call backs, etc. in the original text that Bourdieu is fond of providing but may serve to distract or obscure a given point. In the edition of *Distinction* worked with, the translator Richard Nice notes the multi-layered use of sub-clauses and other features of Bourdieu's prose as a "'very French'" way of working. One that in the course of making a point seeks to 'mobilize all the resources of traditional modes of expression, literary philosophical, or scientific' (1984, p. xv).

which all fields belong take place within. A given field is subject to and partially influential over the wider field of power relations, just as an individual actor 'position-taking' influences the structure of the fields they inhabit (1996 [1989]). So that whilst we might take the rules of interaction in given social spaces for granted (the *doxa* of a field), these rules are nonetheless rules which govern the 'games' of the field, including determining the object(s) of the field and one's stake (or *illusio*) in the competition (Bourdieu, 1996 [1989]), whilst being responsive to the wider 'force field' of the field of power (Thomson, 2012). As actors successfully and unsuccessfully seek to move from one field to another, the *doxa* and *illusio* of the new field may in turn be subject to 'misrecognition'. Such misrecognition might range from experiences of alienation, to mis-placed confidence in one's ability to interpret and respond to a field (Deer, 2012). Deer highlights Bourdieu's work on the challenge of returning to a locale and to the ways of life that pertain to it after an absence, unaware or unprepared for been changes to the structure and conventions of social life that may have played out during an absence. Changes which mean anticipated forms of participation, or otherwise accumulated capitals (cultural, social and economic resources) are irrelevant and/or outmoded. When the *doxa*, the taken for granted, changes 'hysteresis', or the 'dislocation of habitus', is produced (Deer, 2012).

Fields as analytic categories are therefore adaptable, they need not be a large-scale economic/policy sector or distinctly esoteric and culturally specific but can be the mundane and routinised (i.e. taken-for-granted) aspects of our lives. On this basis Atkinson (2013) argues that field theory productively contributes to the sociology of the family, outlining that 'field' can be considered;

'A term for a relatively autonomous system of relations between agents who are united by interest in a particular mode of recognition and a cluster of taken-for-granted assumptions about 'what one does' revolving around it (or *doxa*), yet dispersed by unequal possession of the powers (or capitals) necessary to garner that recognition and spurred to engage in various struggles and strategies to gain them' (Atkinson, 2013, p. 224.)

For Atkinson, engaging with the family as a field supports a riposte to common sensical claims that see social categories, such as the family, as having 'a

timeless essence and natural basis [...] with which agents carve up the social universe and organise experience' (2013, p. 225). This eye to the 'taken-for-granted', actions, the equitable (or not) distribution of assets, and the tensions that surrounding these for the study of the family, speaks to the discussions that follow on what is 'taken-for-granted' when discussing community and rural or urban places. The relevance of this theoretical approach for looking at locales such as Menston is further outlined by Savage, who highlights 'a striking lack of dialogue between popular theoretical frameworks on the one hand, and empirical urban studies on the other' (2011, p. 511). For Savage, field theory constitutes Bourdieu's 'lost urban sociology' in that it has the potential to productively bring theoretical and empirical work into closer dialogue.

Such is the link between the spatial and the social that 'physical space is the concretisation of social space' for Savage (2011, p. 515), with one's access to changing physical landscapes symptomatic of one's social position in more general terms, access that is facilitated through the machinations in local fields. In this way Bourdieu's analysis allows for a reading of the tensions between the 'mobility of the powerful and fixedness of the disadvantaged' (Savage, 2011, p. 515). The over-arching point here being that spatial and social position are conjoined in the theoretical frame; with Savage noting that Bourdieu 'spatialises his conception of field through seeing space itself as an object of contestation rather than as a given' (2011, p. 516). In the empirical chapters position-taking within a localised expression of the field of power is emphasised over the more commonly cited deployed concepts of capitals and habitus (discussed below). This is to pay attention to the ways in which spatial locations (i.e. where one lives) are discursively linked to social positions (Wacquant, et al., 2014), as part of the wider spatialisation of class (Parker, et al., 2007).

Habitus

At its core habitus can be considered a 'feel for the game', in which 'the game' is the field being engaged in, whilst 'the feel' is the product of a web of capitals that have developed into a governing set of dispositions and practices (Bourdieu, 1990 [1980]). Habitus described the broad way of engaging with the world that arises from what an actor has knowingly, and unknowingly, learnt

through the fields they inhabit and/or are influenced by, from the capitals deliberately and/or thoughtlessly acquired. Habitus describes the ways in which we engage with the wider world and with others, both unconsciously and consciously, in the possibilities we accept and that we reject. It 'embodies history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten by history – is the active presence of whole past of which it is the product' (Bourdieu, 1990 [1980], p. 56). This internalised history and set of experiences is not a deterministic framework that seeks to prescribe actions as arising from structural constraints, but rather, following Thomson's (2012) sporting metaphor, habitus is an embodied and internalised history expressed as a 'feel for the game' that shapes understanding and engagement with the *doxa* and *illusio* of a field. Reay outlines how habitus shapes decision making so that;

'The most improbable practices are rejected as *unthinkable*, but, concomitantly, only a limited range of practices are [accepted as] possible' (Reay, 2004, p. 433, emphasis added).

To speak of habitus then is to speak of a 'durably installed generative principle of regulative improvisations' (Bourdieu, 1990 [1980], p. 57) in which the preferences, desires and ambitions of a person go on to structure their interactions and actions; such as what is and is not thinkable in a given situation.

Habitus is therefore an embodied prism through which objective and subjective conditions and experiences are filtered. For Reay the utility of recognising the embodied character of habitus is that this returns our attention to the 'the ways in which not only is the body in the social world, but also the ways in which the social world is in the body' (2004, p. 432). In seeing habitus as embodied, or as 'internalised second nature', we can consider turn to questions of ease or of familiarity in wider discussions of differentiation. Bourdieu (1984) in *Distinction* illustrates the socially constructed and exclusionary basis of aesthetic taste, in contrast to claims of taste as rooted in forms of Kantian aesthetics therefore in the objective. In a comparable vein, Skeggs outlines the ways in which 'respectability' has 'always been a marker and burden of class, a standing to which to aspire' (1997, p. 3) in that it serves as both a goal to strive for and as a measure to be sanctioned against. Tracing the long history of respectability as wrapped up forms of national and class identity, Skeggs

highlights the continuity from the historical to the contemporary in the differentiation of the 'massified' working class from the 'individuals' of the middle class (Skeggs, 1997, pp. 2-4). The working-class women Skeggs works with recognise these processes and recognise their own positions within them – recognition of being 'positioned' within class hierarchies of judgement that in turn shape subjective experience (Skeggs, 1997, p. 4).

The role of habitus can be drawn out at the level of *representation* as well as at the psychological. McRobbie (2004) draws attention to the symbolic violence inherent in judgements of others that rely on the socially contrived rules of taste. Taking the phenomena of 'make over reality television' McRobbie identifies how the habitus of a participant comes under the scrutiny of a distinctly classed forms of 'expertise', with 'victims present[ing] his or her class habitus (including home, family, friends and neighbours, and social milieu) for analysis and critique' (2004, p. 103). Middle-class experts then proceed to offer remedies for the apparently deficient aspects of the working-class subject's habitus – all of which is presented as humorous and entertaining. Such impositions of understanding we can consider as forms of 'symbolic violence', a form of violence centred on the discomfort/shame/alienation felt on entering a social context and becoming aware that you do not possess the same shared knowledge and dispositions as others present (Schubert, 2012). This feeds into a wiser issue raised by Sayer (2002) as to the emotive challenges in discussing class, as class position is so often entangled with assumptions of moral worth as individuals. Assumptions are produced and internalised with the support of representative processes and structures (Hall, 1997). Class as embodied practices – as habitus – so becomes a discussion of the *individual* rather than of the structural.

Whilst my primary focus here is upon locating Menston and its residents as operating within a field, the role of habitus as a 'structuring structure' for social engagement and interaction within this will not (and should not) be mute where it is analytically relevant. The entanglement of habitus with questions of symbolic violence, such as the comfort/ease contrasted with discomfort and dis-location, are centrally questions of the policing of symbolic boundaries. Themes of boundary making and policing, including in the references to class below, that occur in the later sections of this literature but should be read in

light of these discussions. Savage's (2011) highlighting that there is a slippage between the symbolic, the spatial and the social in working with fields is similarly worth reflecting on here. The last item to consider in working with field theory is 'capitals', which have been loosely defined in use up to this point.

Capitals

'Capitals' is a term that encompasses that which shapes and informs habitus and in accumulation shapes the fields in which one moves and lives. They exist in a range of forms in Bourdieu's work (Moore, 2012), in this work cultural and symbolic forms of capital, drawing in as necessary the social and the economic, are emphasised. As a term 'capital' resonates with an implied sense of something to be spent, to be invested, to be bequeathed. As a more generic frame to speak of 'capitals' is to describe;

'Accumulated labour, which when appropriated on a private basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour. It is a *vis insita*, a force inscribed in objective or subjective structures, but is also a *lex insita*, the principle underlying immanent regularities of the social world' (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 441).

Capitals are sedimentary, the 'accumulated labour' of a lifetime, an accumulation of carefully hoarded resources that an individual or group deploys to access privileged forms of social life (i.e. reified forms of labour). Yet, capitals also operate as the common currency of social exchange, the 'underlying immanent regularities' of social life (ibid.). Those with access to capitals in the broadest sense have access to the *foundational* aspects of social exchange, occupying positions of distinct advantage within wider social relations (or *fields*) with the reproduction of capitals central to the reproduction of field position and social advantage. As such rather than being a fixed or static resource capital is 'a social relation' (Bourdieu, 1984, p.107).

This emphasises the dynamic, symbolic and *relational* qualities of capitals deployed within fields, rather than focusing on the activities associated with the acquisition of a capital (e.g. formal/informal education, form of occupation). As social relations with symbolic dimensions, capitals are thoroughly contextual

in use and operation, with each form of capital 'produc[ing] specific effects only in specific conditions' (Bourdieu, 1990 [1980], p. 122). They are more than simply a means of monetary exchange or a cypher for prior investment/accumulation, though they are 'subject to strict laws of equivalence' which make them 'therefore mutually convertible' (ibid.). In emphasising this specificity Bourdieu highlights that inequalities do not exclusively arise from the economic, nor can economic advantage (necessarily) be translated into symbolically privileged forms of cultural advantage. Rather these are intertwined and contingent across interlocking social and cultural (so political) contexts and relations.

As is discussed above regarding fields and habitus, the linking of culture to power is a theme of Bourdieu's wider body of work (Bourdieu, 1983; Bourdieu, 2016 [1999]; Bourdieu, 1990 [1980]; Bourdieu, 2012 [2005]). The ways in which cultural forms are privileged ('objectified') or dismissed is, for Bourdieu, an expression of the aesthetic dispositions of elite groups as a form of structurally determining factor. In *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1984, pp. 3-89) the class relations outlined include a 'cultural aristocracy' with dispositions (internalised and normalised from a young age by members) that are claimed as 'natural', so, dismissing any and all forms of acquired and/or learned cultural taste as inferior, as 'scholastic' in acquisition (ibid.). The difference between the 'cultural aristocrat' and 'scholastic' might be termed the difference between the natural and the affected. In Bourdieu's view it is a question of differential access to and forms of cultural capital. Bourdieu argues that the 'capitals' that are privileged in a given 'field', such as taste in art, help us to;

'Understand why the same system of properties (which determines and is determined by the position occupied in the field of class struggle) always has the greatest explanatory power, whatever the area in question – eating habits, use of credit, fertility, political opinion, religion, etc. – and why, simultaneously, the relative weight of the factors which constitute it varies from one field to another – educational capital being most important in one area, economic capital in another, and so on – one only has to see that, because capital is a social relation, i.e., an energy which only exists and only produces its effects in the field in which it is produced and reproduced, each of the properties attached to class is given its value and efficacy by the specific laws of each field' (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 107).

To speak of capitals is therefore to consider otherwise seemingly peripheral judgements of cultural taste as potentially structurally meaningful in aggregation (e.g. the boundary of high versus low art or in McRobbie's discussion of make-over reality television noted above).

Capitals, habitus and field are concepts embedded within one another and a shared framework of the 'theory of practice' (Bourdieu, 1990 [1980]), with the 'structuring structure' *habitus* as a set of internalised norms and forms of common sense that are symbolically expressive of *capitals* (social, cultural and economic) all located within fields of relations. Which capitals in turn enable the movement into more advantageous positions within, or the translation across into alternate fields, but are accumulated and cultivated in accordance with one's habitus. The paragraphs below outline varying forms of cultural and social capital that shape the possible position-taking in a field.

Cultural capitals

Cultural capitals exist in three forms; the embodied, the objectified and the institutionalised (Bourdieu, 1984; Moore, 2012). *Embodied* cultural capital refers to those physical and internalised tastes, manners and preferences that a person accumulates over a lifetime and externalises in their vocabulary, gait, 'instinctive' response to a given field of culture, or the mental and physical resources at their disposal. These are not passively acquired, rather embodied cultural capital is 'like the acquisition of a muscular physique or a suntan, it cannot be done at second hand (so that all effects of delegation are ruled out)' (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 245). Embodied cultural capital is acquired through training and immersion; it becomes the capabilities that may function as a signifier of wider economic advantage from a young age – the distinction between the 'scholastic' and the 'natural' noted above. This distinction is partially one of embodied cultural capital carrying out a social and symbolic function.

The second form of cultural capital to consider is '*objectified* cultural capital' which if the embodied is the uncodified and strictly informal, then the objectified is distinct for its status as 'transmissible in its materiality' (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 247). A transmission may be of cultural objects, such as works of art. This

is the materiality of social reproduction – of inheritance. The embodied aspects of cultural capital remind us that simple possession may not translate through habitus to the recognition of peers – it may contribute to forms of hysteresis (Hardy, 2012), to *mis*-recognition where the structure or *doxa* of a given field are mis-read and position-taking is unsuccessful.

The third form of cultural capital is *institutionalised* cultural capital; those formal recognitions and qualifications that demonstrate the bearer has laboured to achieve a position in a given field, labour which has been recognised and certified as valid. The typical example is that of the academic qualification, which Bourdieu describes as;

‘A certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture [...] It institutes cultural capital by collective magic’ (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 249).

The ‘collective magic’ of institutionalised cultural capital that it is an abstraction of collective beliefs, such as in the value of qualifications awarded by cultural (i.e. educational) institutions. Crucially, institutionalised cultural capital draws upon both objectified and embodied cultural capital, and is directly able to influence and improve one's *financial* capital (Bourdieu, 1990 [1980]). The accumulation of socially constituted cultural capital (tastes, norms, preferences, dispositions, qualifications, etc.) exposes the ways in which culture operates as one such field of power relations. With taste (be it ‘good’ or ‘lacking’) something that ‘classifies [and] classifies the classifier’ (1984, p. xxix) in that to consume communicates something about us, whilst the interpretation and reactions of others to these choices betrays something of the cultural (dis)position and resources of others.

Social capital

The second over-arching category of capital addressed here are *social* capitals. Created and maintained through group memberships, in particular those within which a shared sense of obligation between members of a given group, social capital helps to create bonds of solidarity and shared access to the collective capitals of the group. These are shared bonds which then go onto inform the symbolic status of members thanks to association of the group

(Bourdieu, 1990 [1980], pp. 108-110). In this way social capitals impact upon the form of 'position-taking' possible as relationships may be 'more or less institutionalised' (ibid.), with obligations between group members founded on an understanding that assistance is reciprocal. Exchange backed up by practices of gift-giving, with specific forms of acknowledgement that 'produc[e] mutual knowledge and recognition' amongst members (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 250). As with cultural capitals, social capitals rely on forms of 'investment' (e.g. time and effort) and have the potential to be converted into alternate forms of capitals, not least economic advantage. How people exploit their existing ties and relationships to create new associations and contest the meanings associated with place is of interest to the questions of community and belonging considered in later chapters.

It is worth noting that alternate conceptions of social capital, present in localist rhetoric, exist. Drawing on wider narratives of choice, responsibility and empowerment this framing of social capitals draws on Robert Putnam's work on social relations (1996; 2000). Where Bourdieu's work is centred upon placing social capitals as one form of capital related to habitus and to field, Putnam draws on a tradition of social theory that emphasise a community versus association dichotomy to account for changes in the organisation of public and social life. Putnam's work emphasises social capital primarily as a resource and method for social integration into associations and civil society more widely (Putnam, 2000). This approach to social capitals has appealed to policy makers, as it feeds neatly into self-improvement narratives of the individual, rather than the examination of the state of power relations more widely (Siisiäinen, 2000). This use of a capital feeds into a wider discourse in which skills and qualifications are re-cast as 'human capitals' to be invested in personal career paths, as such at later stages it is occasionally necessary to draw attention to this division between a governance approach that is orientated to Putnam, and an analysis that draws on Bourdieu.

Working with field theory

For Grenfell (2012b) this framework provides a method of working to reconcile everyday expressions of taste with structural inequalities; as seeking to

reconcile subjective experience with objective location. For Grenfell (2012b), the concepts of habitus and field represent the operationalisation of the subjective and objective respectively. As a 'structuralist constructivism' this provides a conceptual approach that accounts for the processes at work in the reproduction of advantage and status across generations, whilst retaining a view on the agency of the individual within wider fields of culture, economics and the social (Grenfell, 2012b, pp. 265-267). This view of Bourdieu's work highlights the opportunity to draw linkages between cultural snobbery and entitlement – forms of symbolic violence that operate through 'distinction' (1984) – with those processes discussed in the following chapter of boundary making and maintenance found in community life (Cohen, 1982; Sibley, 1995), the urban (e.g. Benson & Jackson, 2013) and the rural (e.g. Moore, 2013a; 2013b). This is a line of analysis that explores individual agency but does so *within* contexts that are structured at a macro level (field) and structuring (habitus) on a personal level (Bourdieu, 1984). This interplay is drawn out below and in later chapters, with 'place' examined as understood not in a single or unified manner, but as imbued with a range of meanings – of which some originate from more privileged symbolic positions. The 'field' of concern in this thesis is two-fold, it is highly spatialised and it is symbolic or discursive, with ideas of community, rurality, anxieties on the future of place and urban development running through.

Localism and localist policy

A good example of where the multifaceted forms of power identified in field can be found are in 'local' as a project of spatial control. As a political and policy agenda it can at first be difficult to disentangle localism from informally organised symbolic practices, such as 'NIMBYims' ('Not in My Back Yard'), that seek to maintain symbolic, relation and physical boundaries around a location (Abraham & Maney, 2012). As a policy agenda, localism under the 2010-2015 Coalition government saw the introduction of policies such as Neighbourhood Plans, policies that have been critiqued as open to co-option by campaigning groups due to their *participatory*, rather than *representative*, forms of decision making (Tewdwr-Jones, 2012, pp. 100-124; Matthews, et al.,

2014). Political statements promoting this agenda muddy the distinction between state functions and the actions of private citizens. For example, responding to a question in parliament about proposed housing development in Menston from Philip Davies the MP for Shipley (which Menston is within) then Planning Minister Nick Bowles suggested that Menston residents 'rather than people from elsewhere' should 'determine the shape of their community', and so by embracing the then newly introduced Neighbourhood Planning processes (Hansard, 2012, p. col.10). This is suggestive of the ways in which political decisions seek to alter the 'stake', or at least our perception of the stake, and basis for participation in a given field (Bourdieu, 1983). In this instance, the stake being how land and development are shaped and participation in this is a managed process that Parker & Street (2017) link to questions of 'agonism and collaboration'.

Questions over the location of political power and authority over physical space, i.e. the governance of such spaces, go largely unresolved however as localism as a discourse retains a set of largely 'overlapping and contradictory political meanings' (Clarke & Cochrane, 2013, p. 10). For example, the ways in which localism deploys a language of rights and responsibilities that appears to emulate deliberative democracy (Ercan & Hendricks, 2013). Yet do so whilst serving to reinforce the advantages of middle-class communities through policy structures, such as Bowles' recommended Neighbourhood Planning (Matthews, et al., 2014). Therefore, the following section provides an overview of models of localist policy so as to lay out the issues explored in relation to the specifics of localism as enacted by, and still in large parts in force, the 2010-2015 Coalition Government. Critiques of the Coalition's Localism Agenda as in practice a guise for austerity-retrenchment are a key theme here. The section closes with a discussion of localism as an expression of neoliberal territorial governance.

Models of localism: managerial, representative and community

Decentralisation, devolution, community empowerment and autonomy all featured as political narratives from the start of the Coalition government (DCLG, HM Govt, 2010; Cabinet Office, HM Govt, 2010; HM Govt, 2010; Painter,

et al., 2011). Narratives that were also central to the rhetoric of the Leave campaign in the 2016 EU referendum as it promised to 'reclaim' and 'take back' sovereignty apparently ceded to Brussels. Two terms central to early Coalition policy were localism/localism agenda (e.g. Localism Act, 2011) and the 'Big Society' (Cabinet Office, HM Govt, 2010; Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Westwood, 2011; Jacobs & Manzi, 2013a). Though much criticised for a range of reasons, not least the apparent incoherency of the projects (Barker, 2012; Ishkanian & Szeleter, 2012), these policy ideas did not exist in isolation. Rather, they drew on discourses of governance used in policy from the turn of the century by the Blair and Brown governments in relation to devolution for Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland (Lowndes, 2002; Milliband, 2006; ODPM, HM Govt, 1998; Pratchett, 2004). The primary focus here is upon the context in which the localism agenda and the ideological roots it shares or has in contrast to other localist political projects. (The idea of the 'Big Society' is largely put to one side here, though Dowling & Harvie (2014, p. 870) note that this narrative 'flop' nonetheless underpinned social and public policy reforms by the Cameron Government.) This context is initially introduced through the following discussion of 'models' of localism that Evans et al (2013) identify in 'Westminster-style democracies; the managerial, the representative, and the community orientated. In each of these models' localism is rooted in the reform of *already existing* institutions, primarily relying on adapting existing local authority structures (Evans, et al., 2013).

The managerial model characterised by New Labour's period in power (1997-2010) saw autonomy granted to local government bodies upon a conditional/reward basis, so that political and bureaucratic centres of Westminster and Whitehall choose the powers or competencies to be devolved to the local level and upon condition of local authorities attaining centrally defined and audited targets (Painter, et al., 2011; Evans, et al., 2013, p. 402). The key point of managerial localism is that policy formation remains fundamentally centralised, only implementation is, conditionally, localised (White, 2005). In managerial localism, good governance is understood as the capacity to meet these centrally administered targets, rather than solving locally identified problem or generated goals. Common criticism of such target-driven governance highlights that with the minimal tailoring to a specific local

community's needs, centrally devised targets may not bear *practical* relevance to the needs of the varying localities they are applied to (Pugalis & Townsend, 2013; Hickson, 2013). Clarke & Cochrane (2013) highlight how key to New Labour's approach to spatial planning was the institution of new layers of territorial governance and concurrent forms of expertise, a process they characterise as *anti-political* in its use of these new technologies of 'knowledge' to displace prior uses of discussion and negotiation (ibid., p.16). The capture of spatial planning by the domain of 'evidence based policy' further underpins the centre-periphery dynamic, given that the use of evidence based targets reinforces associated forms of expertise (Clarke & Cochrane, 2013; Jacobs & Manzi, 2013a). (The Coalition's own 'anti-politics' is discussed below).

This critique of target led government was a familiar refrain to anyone who followed the 2014 Scottish referendum campaign, with Westminster politicians and Whitehall civil servants seen as being oblivious to the *realities* of life in Scotland or desires of the electorate (Davidson, 2014)⁹. Painter et al (2011) argue that this managerial approach had the consequence of re-casting local-centre relations as ultimately *bilateral*, devoid of meaningful regional association or co-operation relations became effectively non-spatial as local authorities were increasingly isolated and insulated from one another. Isolation and insulation that is exacerbated through competition between authorities to gain autonomy over policy implementation, that could dissolve historic relationships of cooperation/collaboration between authorities, while also impeding the development of regionally specific partnerships (ibid.).

In contrast to this 'managerial' approach are representative approaches to localist policy (Evans et al, 2013), which see local government as tasked with responsibility for all aspects of a service. From shaping overarching policy, to implementation, and revision for future projects. This is in many ways a more 'traditional' view of the operation of government, and (although a simplification of prior forms of government that engaged with

⁹ A rhetorical position that is similarly present in the 2016 EU referendum, such as in the Leave campaign's slogan calling on people to 'Take Back Control', that position EU Governance as centralised, domineering and institutionally incapable of responding to the UK's interests.

interest groups beyond that of the electorate to shape policy) is the model from which managerial localism builds. Under representative local areas of responsibility remain centrally defined with Westminster providing a broad regulative framework (such as national minimum standards) for their implementation as part of the day-to-day responsibility of local government. Policy formulation therefore is largely left to local authorities to develop. In representative localism, it is anticipated that 'success' of policy delivery is measured, tacitly, through the ballot box rather than compliance with centrally defined targets (Evans et al., 2013, pp. 402-403). Whilst this may potentially improve direct accountability to populations, this raises issues as to how electorates are constituted and how policy is shaped with an eye to re-election rather than outcome (Hildreth, 2011, cited in Evans et al., 2012, p. 402).

The above models largely draw on shared understandings of the role of central and local government, with this understanding drawn on to put forward differing degrees of autonomy and forms of accountability through regular elections. Evans et al (2013, p. 403) final model, 'community localism', outlines a form of governance that devolves 'rights and support directly to citizens in communities to allow them to engage [directly] in decisions and action' rather than relying upon the intermediary bodies of local or national government or expertise of sub-regional bodies (i.e. Labour's Regional Development Agencies). Under a *community* localism regime government does not mediate between private citizens and public policy, rather it ensures the direct involvement of citizens in shaping policy through 'ongoing engagement' instead of the periodic consultation and ballots (ibid.). This continuous involvement is meant to bypass the problems of accountability in government by directly (and presumably endlessly) addressing the interests and demands of citizens-in-government.

Deliberative democracy might act as an example of political projects that emphasise community localism, as an approach that seeks to enhance and promote ongoing citizen participation in politics and public life, rather than periodic engagement through elections or 'one-off participatory forums [which] do not equate to local democracy' (Ercan & Hendricks, 2013, pp. 430-431). Ercan & Hendrick cite the use of long-term on-going forms of engagement, such as citizens panels, to shape medium and long-term

strategic decisions. Community localism is therefore positioned as a *potential* model for enhancing engagement with governance, a model that would begin to overcome the inadequacies of existing models. However, Doering (2014) highlights the difficulties inherent to such a project of participation, where understandings of *what* the consultative processes purpose is, and the community's role within it, can diverge and lead to antagonisms and alienation from the project. As is explored below, part of the issue in pinning down what 'community' localism entails, is in the use of 'community' here. Here the invocation of community is politically ambiguous, in that it can evoke ideas from the political left and right (see Sennett, 2012, pp. 250-253) – such ambiguity is addressed below under 'community and belonging'. The wider meanings of 'community' in relation to nostalgia, the contemporary and rural/urban spaces are similarly explored below.

An example of such political ambiguity in practice can be found in the relationship between the London Mayor's office and the conservative-voting suburban Borough Council's following Boris Johnson's 2008 election (Holman & Thornley, 2015). Holman & Thornley argue that the period following Johnson's election saw 'an awakening of the usually politically dormant suburbs' (2015, p. 496). This reshaped the periphery/centre relationship between the Mayor's office and London Borough Councils as Johnson sought to 'turn suburban votes in suburban policy' (ibid., pp. 505-506). In London's outlying areas at this time, localism became framed as suburban 'self-determination' and brought about an;

'Ideational and representational shift [which] helped to create the space for a new type of governing arrangement in London' (Holman & Rydin, 2013, p. 505)

This was a shift that reinvented the 'centre-periphery' relationship as that present in managerial models of localism, for example through inter-borough competition for centrally allocated investment by the Mayor's office (Holman & Rydin, 2013, p. 508). Holman & Thornley suggest that this approach to localism might be considered as an instructive precursor to the wider localism of the Conservative party ahead of the 2010 election. The self-determination narrative undertaken in this context is resolutely *not* intended to achieve metropolitan

integration but enhance the relative autonomy of individual boroughs on a case by case basis (ibid., p. 509).

The above models of localism are not only ways of *doing* government, rather they are in that they outline broad paradigms of government (and governance) that underpin the views and experiences of Menston residents interviewed (see primarily chapter 6) and those participating as community activists in the Examination in Public (chapter 4). As such these models of localist thought are instructive in that they provide a yard stick for interpreting the outcomes of the localism agenda, as well as the rhetoric accompanying the project. This gives a structure to thinking through the gap between how people see government (both local and national) functioning, and how they believe it *should* function. What counts as legitimate consultation and participation may vary dramatically depending upon what it is an individual anticipates, experiences, or perceives a policy as involving. Holman & Thornley's (2015) work, for example, prefigures discussions related to themes of community and belonging, in which disaffiliation and estrangement of residents in one locale from another is a common theme. This model of localism suggests the political consequences of a political-activation of these selective and partial identification with the wider metropolitan region. The following section draws out some more of the specifics of the Coalitions localism policy and places these within currents of wider social and political thought.

Localism and the Coalition

'The localism of the Coalition Government [...] denies even the preconditions for politics. **It imagines a nation of autonomous and internally homogeneous localities.** Then it replaces the content of politics – canvassing of majority but also minority opinions, listening and discussing, conciliating and compromising etc. – with two things: markets, through which localities are thought to get the services they deserve – the services a critical mass of local people are prepared to support by user-fees or volunteer-hours [...] – and, secondly, technologies of direct democracy such as referenda, through which majorities, however slight, might control council tax levels or housing development' (Clarke & Cochrane, 2013, pp. 16-17, emphasis added).

The Localism Act (2011) was promoted as a piece of legislation that would re-shape governance and economic development (Bentley & Pugalis, 2013). Before the Act's passage into law the then Communities Secretary Eric Pickles MP (later Lord Pickles) stated his priorities in government would be 'localism, localism and localism' (DCLG, HM Govt, 2010). After receiving Royal Assent, the Act brought about the abolition of regulatory structures claimed to have 'blocked economic and social development' (Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012, p. 26) including the abolition of Regional Development Agencies set up by the previous Labour government, and partial replacement of this meso-level layer of government with Local Enterprise Partnerships (Bentley, et al., 2010). Further relevant reforms include the revocation of Regional Spatial Strategies and their gradual replacement with Local Plans¹⁰. In this way the Localism Act, and localism agenda more widely, marked an emphatic shift away from established ways of doing and talking about the relationship between the political centre and periphery of Westminster and Town Halls (Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012). It embedded in wider Government initiatives to alter the role of the state, with a 'rash' of re-organisations across the public sector in healthcare, welfare provision, housing, education, crime and policing, planning, and regional government that challenged existing governance technologies and expertise (Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Pugalis & Townsend, 2013; Jacobs & Manzi, 2013a).

Painter et al (2011) contrast disordered localism with the development of devolution to/within well-defined national boundaries, where devolution is an explicitly top-down managerial programme of governance by *government*. The Localism Agenda had a less clear-cut set of boundaries and definitions to work within. Where decentralisation shifts decision making from pre-existing national to regional scales, localism is reliant upon the 'empowerment' of vaguely defined communities (Painter et al, 2011). The ill-defined nature of 'community', despite the ways in which the 'local' is reified here, is one of its key features as a project of restructuring state/citizen relations (Hickson, 2013; Sennett, 2012). This project draws on lines of argument that over-bearing state

¹⁰ The development of Bradford's Local Plan being the focal point of the consultations observed and commented on in empirical chapters

institutions had served to undermine civic society and so the capacity of voluntary and entrepreneurial groups to engage in (and ultimately solve) social and economic problems (Evans, et al., 2013).

Although engaging in 'anti-political' policy design, New Labour had explored similar lines of policy (ODPM, HM Govt, 1998; Pratchett, 2004; Painter, et al., 2011), rhetoric (Brown, 2003; Milliband, 2006; National Archives, n.d.), and reform, the last for local government (Lyons Inquiry, 2007). The Coalition's localism was framed with narratives of efficiency, an approach that has been critiqued as seeking to legitimise austerity politics and the associated broader re-shaping of the state (Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Jacobs & Manzi, 2013a). With hostility to centralised government one of the binding aspects of the Coalition agreement, with the stated shared objectives of the Conservative and Liberal Democrat parties being to reshape power dynamics within the British state, a policy with little space for decentralisation that instead delegates powers to sub-national government structures emerges. The Localism Agenda was explicitly promoted as a re-shaping of government that would re-assert the role of individuals and of communities in decision making, especially in the control of space (Westwood, 2011; Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Jacobs & Manzi, 2013a).

This is emphasised clearly in the *Programme for Government* outlined by then Prime Minister David Cameron and Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg;

'We share a conviction that the days of big government are over; that centralisation and top-down control have proved a failure. We believe that the time has come to disperse power more widely in Britain today; to recognise that we will only make progress if we help people to come together to make life better. In short, it is our ambition to distribute power and opportunity to people rather than hoarding authority within government. That way, we can build the free, fair and responsible society we want to see' (HM Govt, 2010).

Hickson (2013) argues that this shared conviction was crucial to the Conservative's and Liberal Democrat's ability to form a Coalition, with the sympathies of the Orange Bookers¹¹ aligning with those of many Conservative

¹¹ The term 'Orange Booker' refers to liberal democrat MPs who emphasised *economic* liberalism in policy making over the Social Democratic tradition of the party. The name derives from 'The Orange Book' (2004) which drew contributions from a number of

party front-bench MPs. Lowndes & Pratchett similarly argue that, although the Coalition pursued 'short term political expediency' through austerity and financial retrenchment (see below), there does appear to have been an underlying ideological commitment to localism on both sides (2012, p. 22). A commitment in which localism does indeed appear to be sincerely intended as a positive programme for change, rather than solely as an attempt to reign in the state.

However, Lowndes & Pratchett go on to argue that despite the Liberal Democrats tradition of advocating localist politics and policy from their significant local government roots, this did not translate into influence over Coalition policy (2012, pp. 35-36). Instead, the Coalition government policy programme appeared to be ultimately dominated by the Conservative party (Quinn, et al., 2011; Hickson, 2013, pp. 413-414). This was a domination that, when combined with austerity politics meant that the localism agenda was largely comprised from the start by austerity as a project of retrenchment. Clarke & Cochran outline the limited potential for localism under the conditions of austerity, when;

'[Localism] is understood to mean decentralisation and is presented as a solution to perceived deficits of efficiency, fairness, and democracy in the British state [...] complicating this picture, there have been moves to reduce local government funding. These latter developments may support the devolution of power beyond local government, but they compromise any potential autonomy for local government' (Clarke & Cochran, 2013, p. 13).

This line of argument highlights the gap between localism rhetoric and the outcome of austerity so is worth emphasising. For example, Bradford MDC's spending power in 2020 is anticipated to be 'about half of what was in 2010' (BMDC, 2017b). Such impacts of austerity for local government, and centrally funded community projects, is well documented with the DCLG's local government budget cut by 27% and the community's budget cut by 51% over four years (Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012, p. 23).

Liberal Democrat MPs who went on to serve in the Coalition government, including David Laws (editor), Paul Marshall (editor), Nick Clegg, Vince Cable, Ed Davey, Chris Huhne, Susan Kramer and Steve Webb. The focus on economic liberalism in party policy is viewed as being a factor that enabled (to varying degrees) the Coalition (Hickson, 2013, pp. 413-415; Quinn, et al., 2011).

In this context of austerity, localism's apparent capacity to 'free' the voluntary and private sectors to address societal problems that the de-funded state is no longer in a position to address is underscored (Sennett, 2012). Illustrative of this line of reasoning is Conservative MP Jacob Rees Mogg's description of food banks as 'rather uplifting' (BBC News, 2017), in this logic there is a shift to a language of 'empowerment', 'social capitals' and 'social contribution', a language that casts crisis for the state as opportunity for citizens and, of course, for enterprise (Cabinet Office, HM Govt, 2010). In this narrative the individualised ideological basis of localism is made reasonably clear, with the potential intervention by businesses and charities into civil society and to take over the provision of services highlighted as a net-positive (Westwood, 2011; Garthwaite, 2011). Austerity and retrenchment therefore become framed as socially *curative* policies in response to the apparent excesses of New Labour managerialism and centralisation. This view necessitates an account of the population as ultimately divided between 'deserving' and 'undeserving' communities, an attitude exemplified by Ministerial accounts of 'strivers and the shirkers' in the economy and welfare systems (The Guardian, 2013; Garthwaite, 2011). As such austerity fuels wider social problems that stigmatise access to welfare support for those in and out of work (Patrick, 2014) as well as whole locales (Hancock & Mooney, 2013; Shildrick, 2018).

The Coalition's Localism Agenda in combination with austerity, therefore, develops a view of the social as individualised and atomised into a *method* of government (DCLG, HM Govt, 2010; Westwood, 2011). This intention was expressed in numerous ways under the Coalition; with reform of the welfare system so that local government became responsible for Council Tax benefit payments (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2013), introduction of the 'universal credit' system alongside a system of sanction in welfare¹² (HM Govt, 2013; Jeffery, et al., 2018) and the tuition fees increases, three early examples of this individualising process that shifts financial burdens from the collective, in the form of taxation and the state, to individuals.

Changes in the provision of health care have seen individualisation expressed as localism, such as the creation of 'Health and Wellbeing boards'

¹² For a detailed discussion of the various harms imposed by universal credit see

(see the Health and Social Care Act, 2012, Part 5, Chapter 1), to broader changes in the legal powers of local authorities through the Localism Act 2011 and the 'assumption of competence' for local authorities as decision makers. This reform to the legal status of councils allowed and encouraged local authorities to undertake any action that was not explicitly prohibited in law, rather undertaking activities solely for which they were empowered. This legislative shift was framed by Communities Secretary Eric Pickles as;

'A ground-breaking shift in power to councils and communities, overturning decades of central government control and starting a new era of people power' (DCLG, HM Govt, 2010).

What form this shift in power takes in the long term, such in constituting communities (Holman & Rydin, 2013, pp. 76-78; Jacobs & Manzi, 2013b, pp. 38-39), remains to be seen as local government sees ongoing cuts alongside the gradual agreement of City Deals, the ambiguity of the Northern Powerhouses and divergent capacities of differing Local Enterprise Partnerships. The policy and legislative landscape was further complicated by the June 2016 referendum vote to leave the EU and the lack of clarity as to what precisely this will mean for any given section of national or local government – beyond a likely 'accelerated austerity localism' (Ferry & Eckersley, 2018, p. 165). However, as the following section discusses, what is clear is that policies of austerity-retrenchment and localism that build up from ideas of property rights as a route to democratic engagement, fit into the wider neoliberal governance programme.

Localism and neoliberalism

The Liberal Democrat 'Orange Booker' critique of the centralised state noted above, in which market freedoms are advocated as part of the process to redefine scales of governance (Hall, 2011; Hickson, 2013), is a good example of a deliberate framing of localism as a mechanism for endowing individuals and businesses with (further) economic freedoms. This is the sort of 'empowerment' of citizens and communities that localism is anticipated to deliver (Hickson, 2013). A dual emphasis on market freedoms and individual in community primacy that broadly replicates the principles of neoliberal political thought, in which the role of the state and national government is limited to

judicial arbiter and the creation of new markets (Harvey, 2007; Hall, 2011). In this way, localism manifests as an expression of wider neoliberal policy agendas where the state shifts from being a site, or means, of intervention into social and economic issues¹³, to an instrumental tool in the creation of private wealth. Peck traces this re-purposing of the state to being in service of capital interests to the privatisation policies of the 1980s, however he notes that neoliberalism is a mutating apparatus in which;

'The strategy of outright privatisation has blurred into a myriad of murky arrangements like public-private partnerships; strict monetarism was succeeded by inflation targeting and fiscal vigilance; bootstrapping exhortations to the poor, the unemployed and other blamed victims gave way to a feel-good emphasis on human and social capital building, even community empowerment; Thatcher's infamously blunt 'there's no such thing as society' mutated into the smoke-and-mirrors rhetoric of David Cameron's Big Society' (Peck, 2013, pp. 147-148).

Whilst previous incarnations of localism were paired to the rise of the command-and-control British state in the post-war era (White, 2005), Peck underscores that the localism of the 2010s paired to the withdrawal of the state is in turn paired to an older political programme. It reflects the wider ascendancy of neoliberal political-economy from the 1980s onwards – a period discussed below as one of 'restructuring' (Marsden, et al., 1993).

Harvey's (2007) work on the origins of neoliberal thought help to position this wider political economy, in which the deregulatory and anti-state narratives of the Coalition government are positioned. He argues that economic elites have a political outlook centred upon the primacy of (their own) property rights, which leads to choices that seek to mitigate the risk to this property. Harvey highlights how this perceived threat from the ballot box, or other forms of communal action, results support for undemocratic regimes favourable to the preservation of a narrowly defined set of property rights over communal expressions of rights (Harvey, 2007, pp. 66-67). The functioning of the state as primarily a judicial body is one of the themes addressed when considering the

¹³ Such as, offering a set of policy proposals that address the *structural* underpinnings of the ongoing housing crisis rooted in the commodification of housing (Madden & Marcuse, 2016). A crisis as shortage that in turn adds further legitimacy to development proposals that further escalate a range of place-based anxieties around social and spatial change for community activists and residents.

development of Bradford MDC's local plan as taking place within a contested field of power. The following chapter picks up on shared themes of neoliberal logic as they are traced in research and theory on the rural and the urban, and community and belonging.

Conclusion

Austerity-localism as a set of policy decisions has served as a force that has re-shaped national government, local government, and communities. The ways in which this policy agenda is anti-political, in the sense that it is antagonistic to structures of government, is worth underlining (Clarke & Cochrane, 2013), building from this view of localism as anti-political, localism as a neoliberal logic of governance emerges, with the role of the state as primarily organised around a narrow interpretation of property rights and as a form of judicial arbiter, rather than a platform for social or economic intervention (Harvey, 2006; Peck, 2013). This framing of neoliberalism and localism is informative for the following analytic chapters, in that it has re-structured the structure of opportunities for individuals, communities and businesses to influence social life and spatial location. Drawing on field theory, we can consider this a change in the positions held, and available to be taken, within the broader field of power that these institutions and actors operate within, as well as a change in what is at *stake* in more localised fields of control (Bourdieu, 1983; Thomson, 2012). Whilst the economic and political aspects of power are significant for this project as structural factors, it is the negotiation and comparative engagement with wider cultural and social factors, such as in the boundaries of belonging, that the following chapter explores. This sets out the ways in which the social, political, ideological and economic respond and so draws out the strengths of a focus on position-taking in fields (Savage, 2011). As discussed above, the significance of the term 'capitals' in Bourdieusian sociology is in their convertible and locally developed nature. With this in mind, the following chapter develops the ways in which the analytic language around community and belonging have developed in response to changes in the organisation of the rural and the urban. The apparent ideological stasis of the 'rural idyll' despite broad changes is also drawn out.

3. Community and belonging in rural and urban sociology

'One of the problems here has been a persistent identification of place with 'community'. Yet this is a misidentification. On the one hand communities can exist without being in the same place – from networks of friends with like interests, to major religious, ethnic or political communities. On the other hand, the instances of places housing single 'communities' in the sense of coherent social groups are probably – and, I would argue, have for long been – quite rare. Moreover, even where they do exist this in no way implies a single sense of place. For people occupy different positions within any community.' (Massey, 1991a, p. 28)

Debates on the conceptual meanings and empirical use of community, rurality and belonging are well-rehearsed, with substantial bodies of work seeking to apply, clarify, adjust and update these ideas to different contexts (see Day, 2006; Delanty, 2010; Blokland, 2017). The chapter sets out the development of these arguments as they are relevant to this work, by first examining foundational approaches to 'community' that position the rural and urban as contrasting social spaces, with distinctive forms of social relations arising out of contrasting spatial conditions. The broad symbolic uses of community as a term to describe that which is lost, conversely yet to be established and a matter of cultural practices, are set out as a response to this. Post-productivist arguments, that structural change has rendered any distinction between rural and urban analytically meaningless are outlined, with the counter-arguments advanced that engaging with the symbolic and imaginary qualities of space has continuing analytic power and – additionally – aligns with the relational aspects of the field theoretical approach outlined above.

A discussion of key work on the consumption of rural and urban spaces follows, introducing 'gentrification' as a process that highlights the ongoing role of the local state in re-shaping the social qualities of locales. The classless, classed and racialised symbolic dimensions of rural space that underpin these processes are drawn out, followed by a review of recent research into expressions of these changes. Returning to a wider conceptual scale, processes of rural gentrification, suburbanisation and counter-urbanisation are

summarised, and the use of the peri-urban for this project established. This leads into the final section of the chapter, which outlines the symbolic operation of 'belonging', and its use in the thesis as a concept for approaching the peri-urban that draws connections between questions of community, the rural/urban, class, and race.

Rural/urban or community/society

Two essential ideas for discussing places and community, and more widely of associative life, are Tönnies terms *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* (cited in Harper, 1989). These describe differing forms of association emerging in the context of industrialisation and urbanisation over the 19th century (Newby, 1979, p. 95). *Gemeinschaft* can be broadly understood as referring to 'community', and *gesellschaft* as 'society'; with community characterised by 'an understanding shared by all its members', and society by issue to issue negotiation and compromise (Bauman, 2001b, pp. 9-10). Those living in *gemeinschaft* conditions are expected to draw upon 'affective' ties rooted in the 'traditional' and pre-existing inter-personal bonds that are typically claimed to be found in rural locales (Harper, 1989, pp. 162-163), which are at times expected to be inherited bonds, tinged with 'the feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations' (Marx & Engels, 1992 [1848], p. 5).

Relationships in *gesellschaft* conditions meanwhile are rooted in 'rational' and impersonal instrumental forms of interaction, such as one's legal/contractual position within the state or with an employer (Newby, 1979, p. 95). As a form of associative life *gesellschaft* is positioned as typical of urban life and it's presumed anonymity, contrasted to rural relations characterised by familiarity and neighbourliness (Harper, 1989, pp. 162-163). Engel's (1969 [1845]) account of the 'filth, ruin and un-inhabitableness' found in cities across the British Isles, builds a view of cities as sites of new and distinctive forms of social relations, a view which Harper argues 'firmly position[ed] *gemeinschaft/gesellschaft* within a strict rural-urban continuum' (1989, p.163). Delanty (2010, pp. 24-31) and Day (2006) identify this view as a theme present in the foundational sociology of Durkheim, Marx and Weber more widely than Tönnies as concerned with connecting changing structural conditions to

changing aspects of social life.

Frankenberg's (1969) overview of British sociological and anthropological work on hamlets, villages, towns, neighbourhoods and cities is a productive illustration of the vestiges of this view of social relations and the rural/urban. In developing a 'morphological continuum' of forms of associational life Frankenberg (1969) places settlements upon a scale from the 'truly rural' to 'urban housing estates'. Rural life is characterised by individuals holding multiple social roles – or layers of 'redundancy' – in their relations with one another; so that your child's school teacher may also be a fellow member of your choir, your sports team, or embedded in your wider network of relations through kinship or labour. Frankenberg contrasts the dense web of social life in the 'truly rural' with that of relationships in 'urban housing estates' as typified by one-dimensionality, with fewer layers of redundancy leading to clearer, instrumental social relations. In this continuum we see Tönnies' (in Harper, 1989) distinction between the rural community and urban association buttressed by Parson's theory of roles, role-sets and the management of conflict within/between roles. A Durkheimian concern with the organisation of the division of labour and the local economy is matched with a view on differences in solidarity as mechanical or organic.

An example of a Frankenbergian rural social world can be found in Berger & Mohr's (2016 [1967]) *A Fortunate Man*, conducted outside the auspices of the academy and, as with Berger and Mohr's other collaborations, e.g. *A Seventh Man* (Berger & Mohr, 2010 [1975]), for more artistic and broadly political purposes than other work discussed here. This photo-essay meets biography meets social study, sketches the working life of a country doctor in the Forest of Dean in the 1966. Through Mohr's photos and Berger's prose the reader gains a glimpse of the routines and choices involved in the apparently vocational way of life of rural doctoring, with a continuous goal of serving a remote, rural community to the best of one's ability. Yet, in the seemingly isolated and remote Forest of Dean, well beyond the immediate influence of any given city, social life is depicted as nonetheless subject to changes wrought by in the urban centres. Whilst at first blush work such as *A Fortunate Man* might seem to reify a particularly moment in the rural, what is ever present

is the sense of structural change playing out through individual biography. Changes that might displace a rural way of life for the 'Foresters', and the role of a rural GP but that also (for some Foresters) offers a way to escape the constraints of rural life, which can be overlooked in accounts of the rural community under threat.

Community as a scale of study is not limited solely to physically isolated rural spaces however, with Young & Willmott's (1957) study of working-class families as an 'occupational community' in Bethnal Green taking community as a scale of analysis. As with the 'truly rural' they draw out a dense and overlapping set of familial, social and professional ties, within a relatively 'closed' way of life. A problematic aspect emerges here also, with Crow & Allen (1994, p. 26) outlining how the 'Bethnal Green Mum' has become a cypher for a suite of social relations and so 'needs to be treated with a great deal of caution.' Caution that is needed so that class/employment relations do not become romanticised or oversimplified, neglecting structural factors, such as employment and housing policy, or division and exploitation within the community.

The propensity to not recognise the social in city neighbourhoods is drawn out Jacobs (2000 [1961]) argument that urban theory and planning up to the mid-twentieth century had taken an essentially anti-urban view. In her account of social life and relations cities on the Eastern-seaboard of the USA, she argued that the complexity of social relations in the urban, and forms of community present, are too often neglect. The contrast for Jacobs is not British community studies (e.g. Frankenberg or Young & Wilmot) but Chicago School of sociology (e.g. Wirth, 1938) that characterises city areas in functional terms, such as sites of transitional populations, so dismissing the possibility that people have meaningful connection to place or to fellow residents. Wirth's (1938, p. 16) characterisation of the 'heterogeneity' of social life in cities, as entailing 'individuals acquir[ing] membership in widely divergent groups, each of which function only with reference to a single segment of his personality' is emblematic of this in that this urban form is directly contrasted with rural social life.

Over instrumental relations Jacobs (2000 [1961], pp. 39-65) emphasises the presence of informal surveillance – ‘the eyes on the street’ – as a form of social regulation in urban neighbourhoods dependent upon social networks. This runs counter to views, such as Simmel's (1964), on the city as a site of disinterest and individualisation, which gives rise to a ‘blasé attitude’. (Though Simmel (1964) also argues that cities present previously unprecedented levels of autonomy and freedom for urban residents when compared to rural places.) That social harms come with the informal regulation of the ‘eyes on the street’ in the contemporary city is drawn out by Andersson (2015), in relation to wider moral panics, such as over ‘wilding’ (Welch, et al., 2002). Forms of control and social regulation of marginalised populations are aided and boosted by wider gentrification processes, producing exclusive and exclusionary space, so that the ‘eyes on the street’ lends ‘lends itself to racial profiling and confusing mis-readings of transgender identities’ (Andersson, 2015, p. 269).

Though it continues to be socially and politically influential (Crow & Allan, 1994; Evans et al. 2013), the rural-urban or continuum is a broadly essentialist-descriptive approach to the social and spatial – for Crow & Allan (1994, pp. 13-18) it is one that obscures the theoretical position of the author whilst naturalising their value system. This is visible in the positioning (or comparative absence) of women in community research, with Delamont (cited in Crow & Allan, 1994, p. 16) highlighting that the framing of conversations between men as ‘discussions’ and between women as ‘gossip’ show how these value systems are imported, shaping analysis and eventual knowledge produced. The result, for Crow & Allan (1994), is that social life in the historical community can be seen as organised around men's working and social lives, homogenous, harmonious and with conflict/divisions (i.e. gender and class dynamics) obscured. This view of the past matters as it shapes our view of, and attitude toward, the present, with;

‘Perceptions of contemporary community are frequently distorted by misperceptions of the patterns of social relationships that made up community life in the past’ (Crow & Allan, 1994, p. 22).

The ways in which these ‘misperceptions’ and misperceptions are tied into discursive positioning of the rural and urban are explored later in this chapter.

For Bauman (2001b) such narratives of community as in decline serve to (re)produce Tönnies' *gesellschaft-gemeinschaft* duality, in which forms of civic and social association are increasingly in demand, both as comforting narratives of community and as something to be reclaimed/re-established. They are comforting because under 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2000) insecurity and transience in employment are fostered and are in turn positioned as virtues of choice and *flexibility* for individuals and employers (Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 2013; Brinkley, 2013; New Policy Institute & Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2013). In the optimistic narrative, these are structural changes to the organisation of careers and consumption that liberate, rather than oppress. What is distinct for Bauman (2000) about social relations under liquid modernity is that ideas of freedom and security are re-positioned as economic freedoms and securities only – choice and flexibility. Freedom becomes the freedom from the constraints of others; an escape from (formal and informal) regulatory bonds.

Such freedom is advantageous to economic elites that may wish to secede from the state and demonstrate a comparable mobility to their assets managed (see Urry, 2014), such that Bauman argues that under 'liquid' modernity economic elites have moved from being the managerial class of industrialism (or modernity) with a stake in specific locales to 'no longer being interested in regulating others' and that the task of implementing and enforcing regulation is seen to be a 'poisonous gift' that is gladly passed on to those unable to refuse it (Bauman, 2001b, pp.41-42). The regulation of bodily and spiritual morality undertaken by some Victorian factory owners comes into contrast here as a form of engagement and interest, compared to the apparent absence of such interest for contemporary economic elites¹⁴. Community (Bauman, 2001b) under liquid modernity, therefore, becomes an imaginary that retains emotive power, a persistent 'common sense' idea in politics and culture (see 'localism and localist policy' for a wider discussion). The problem of community in this paradigm of 'choice' and 'flexibility' is that

¹⁴It is worth noting here, that the logical extension of this view is the sort of prescriptive analysis that sees the 'local' under siege by the 'cosmopolitan', a view that Savage et al (2005) argue does not reflect actual relationships to place and claims of belonging. Savage et al. also note that Bauman's view here appears to both dismiss class analysis and 'appeal to a crude form of class determinism' (2005, p. 205).

communal life provides a craved for security (both physical and ontological) to its members but comes at the price of individual autonomy. Community as a political project of recovery therefore becomes a snare that demands security be prioritised over individual freedoms.

However, community also appears in culture as 'utopia', not as a way of life lost, to be mourned or to be possibly regained or reinvented, but as something yet to be achieved or imagined, potentially through new forms of social co-operation and reciprocity (Sennett, 2012), or through works of literature and fiction (Kumar, 2003). A persistent feature of social and political projects from the enlightenment is that the attainment of community is held to be an achievable reality, as much as it is an ideal to be strived for (Kumar, 2003). Sennett (2012) highlights the 19th century Owenites workshop as a space of such utopian projects. For Bauman (2007, p. 98) such 'utopianism' is a cultural and political ideal that arises alongside modernity more widely, requiring both the confidence in human capacity to enact change and an 'overwhelming feeling that the world was not functioning properly'; community therefore can become a locus of aspiration for an alternative present and future.

A final perspective comes from Blokland (2017), who emphasises community not as a unit of investigation (c.f. Frankenberg, 1969) or as an idealised past state, regarded as lost or with some possibility of future utopia (c.f. Bauman, 2001b; 2007; Sennett, 2012) but as based in cultural practices of identity as a 'form of social imagination' (Blokland, 2017, p. 161). This is an imagination that may originate from 'roots' in an area to having 'routes' in common with others, or in terms of shared mobilities (ibid., pp. 81-83). Community need not be spatially bounded here, as in approaches that conflate place and community (c.f. Massey, 1991b), nor is it about simple neighbourhood attachment 'in the form of frequency and intensity of local ties' (Blokland, 2017, p. 53) but is made coherent through a view of culture as a set of shared symbolic meanings which need not be static nor understood in precisely the same manner by all those in a community (Blokland, 2017, pp. 44-45). (A point returned to below in relation to Cohen's, 1982, work).

Of significance here is that Blokland (2017, p. 144-145) highlights the role

of *doxa*, as Bourdieu uses the term to describe that which is present and goes unquestioned, as a basis of cultural practices including exclusionary practices within and between communities. More widely, Blokland (2017, pp. 166-167) takes forward the arguments discussed above, that community is often politically and popularly understood in essentialist terms and as under threat from sources of ontological insecurity that is implied under Bauman's (2000) view of 'liquid modernity.' In drawing explicit connection between community and identity through symbolic practices (Blokland, 2017, pp. 56-64), Blokland is showing the ongoing mundane reality of community as something that is worked at each day and that adapts to a changing social world.

To engage with community therefore means to engage with the changing ways of life, values, and social, economic and political conditions as they are felt and experienced (Blokland, 2017), rather than seeking objectivist status of the category (i.e. in Frankenberg's, 1969, continuum). This means to maintain an awareness of how social life 'now' and 'then' are drawn out as having essential differences which are traced back to forms of settlement (Harper, 1989; Crow & Allan, 1994) as well as holding comforting possibilities for recovery and possibility (Bauman, 2007; Sennett, 2012). Blokland (2017) summarises these issues by drawing attention to the need to consider community in terms not only of 'ideas' but social practices rooted in culture as a common source of attachment (and of exclusion as is discussed in relation to belonging). A productive set of distinctions that offer a way into this, and that are referred to throughout, are the three levels on which neighbourhoods exist identified by Watt & Smets of the '[1] spatial – it is a locally bounded place, [2] Social – it involves sets of social relations between neighbours. [and 3] Symbolic – it has an imaginative, symbolic component' (Watt & Smets, 2014, pp. 7-9). The following section addresses the ways in which the 'rural' as an idea has been similarly critiqued and challenged, as no longer describing a set of 'essential differences' from the urban, drawing in the role of the 'symbolic' as a fruitful area of analysis.

Dispensing with the rural?

Hillyard (2015, p. 3.1) outlines that the 'rural-urban dualism is long dismissed', with the relative social isolation of villages and their residents ended by 'the gradual absorption of rural life into the mainstream of English society as a whole' (Newby in Hillyard, 2015, p. 3.1). This absorption is not *necessarily* spatial, social or symbolic, but it is economic and underpins 'critical realist' (Halfacree, 1995, p. 2) calls for alternate analytic conceptualisations of rurality – or to abandon the idea entirely (Hoggart, 1990). The persistence of social and symbolic differentiation between the rural and urban more widely despite this dismissed 'dualism' is drawn out in the following section. Here, I set out aspects of what Heley & Jones (2012, pp. 210-212) describe as 'post-rural geographies' that seek to account for this structural change and identify the role of the symbolic in re-examining the rural.

Hoggart's (1990) calls to 'do away with rural' as a conceptual/analytic category, arguing that Pahl's (1965; 2008) work in Hertfordshire (discussed below), and more widely, 'sank a wooden stake deep into the heart of the phantom that afforded rural areas peculiar causal properties' (1990, p. 246). As such he takes the view that in the final decade of the 20th century;

'The broad category 'rural' is obfuscatory, whether the aim is description or theoretical evaluation, since intra-rural differences can be enormous and rural-urban similarities can be sharp' (Hoggart, 1990, p. 245).

The rural as an analytic category is taken to no longer have as coherent basis in social reality, as it was supposed for Tönnies (Harper, 1989) or Frankenberg (1969). Hoggart's (1990) proposition is that if we do not know what we mean by the 'rural' then we cannot identify, control for, or hypothesise about its influence over social processes and outcomes. An illustration of this difficulty is in emergent similarities between populations in urban neighbourhoods and rural locales (Newby's point to which Hillyard, 2015, is referring to above). For Hoggart (1990) this means the naming of the 'rural' and 'urban' becomes a matter of researcher 'convenience', arguing that;

'It behoves us to abandon the category of 'rural' as an analytic concept. Failure to do so is like putting together a football team whose players are drawn from Australian rules, gridiron, rugby

and soccer, and not telling any of them which set of rules apply on the field' (Hoggart, 1990, p. 246).

Hoggart's metaphor of various forms of football shows his orientation to a 'realist' ontological basis, requiring research into a concept to define the term in an empirically measurable and testable manner, allowing clear causality in differences to be identified.

Cooke (1989) strikes a similar note on structural change, highlighting the limits of local government policy and activism to respond to wider patterns of restructuring and the associated departure/arrival of industry from a locality. Reviewing the success and failures of local authorities to respond to such contexts Cooke states;

'Though there is plenty of evidence of the emergence of pro-local activity, ranging from local boosterism to local chauvinism, it is also clear that the pay-off in terms of the ultimate criterion by which such activity demands to be measured – job creation – is rather small.' (Cooke, 1989, p. 299).

Cooke does highlight a range of policy options available to the central state or held at arms-length from local democratic structures, though in both cases notes the distinctly diminished capacity to respond to increasingly mobile capital is combined with diminished democratic accountability (Cooke, 1989, pp. 300-305). These are processes of structural change that form part of the 'neoliberal' turn through the 1980s to the present day discussed in chapter 2 in relation to localist policies.

Hoggart (1990) and Cooke (1989) are responding here to the same concerns with structural change that shape Bauman's notion of 'liquid modernity' and Beck's (1992; 1997) 'risk society' thesis. In the latter Beck argues that dominant approaches to 'risk' apply analytic 'zombie categories', 'living dead' notions that govern our thinking but are not really able to capture the contemporary milieu' (Beck, 2001, p. 262). Social class is taken to be one such zombie category (Beck, 1992; 2001; 2007; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) on the basis it describes labour relations structured around manufacturing industries in the global north that are in decline. Inequality and social stratification are taken to still exist, but as no longer productively analysed in such terms. In addition, Beck argues that 'second modernity' has 'strip[ped] away the nation-state' (2001, pp. 262-267) as a regulatory/controlling influence in social and

economic life, with the result that risk becomes a matter of individual exposure and safety becomes an exercise in consumption practices. Beck's (1992) view – particularly on the explanatory and analytic power of class – is not uncontested, with criticisms including those from Atkinson (2007, pp. 356-357) who notes inconsistencies on atomization, a lack of clarity in what Beck understands 'class' to be, and a caricatured vision of class analysis more widely. Nonetheless, it is instructive in identifying the sort of structural change that effects individuals that can be lost when we speak generically of 'neoliberalism' as a shift in governance or common sense (see Peck, 2013; Hall, 2011).

Returning to the problem of the rural, Marsden et al.'s (1993) work suggests a response to Hoggart (1990) is to recognise the need to revisit the relationship between the rural and urban, but not to dispense with a distinction. Marsden et al. (1993, p. 1) locate the restructuring of the economic more widely, and for the British rural context especially, as following the 'peter[ing] out' in the 1970s of the post-war boom, with change wrought to the post-war settlement by the oil shocks of the 1970s. These are processes and changes that precede and move in tandem with the wider 'neoliberal' turn in economics and politics that emerges in Cold War politics and policy (Marsden et al., 1993, p. 8; Harvey, 2007; Hall, 2011). For the rural it manifests as a de-regulatory regime that it feeds into a movement away from a largely agricultural productivist base to the rural economy, though this increasing diversity between amongst post-agricultural rural spaces does not preclude a continued distinction from *urban* spaces Marsden et al., 1993, pp. 176-177). In this context it is not just the rural that restructured but there are paradigmatic implications for governance, economics, social theory, and academic disciplinary boundaries that follow. Structural change compels new theoretical frameworks to understand the contemporary world (Marsden et al, 1993, pp. 17-19), with Marsden et al. taking the view that following the decline of agriculture 'no one process is dominant' in rural spaces, with the requirement that rural sociologists;

'Redefine some of their political-economy assumptions. As the structural dominance of a productivist agriculture has receded, the moulding of local conditions by local actors and agencies has become more diverse and subject to different forms of conflict and negotiation.' (Marsden, et al., 1993, p. 175)

This does not mean an abandonment of the 'rural' as Hoggart (1990) contends, but ask if this implies a more active role for the local-rural in 'the emergent social and economic relations of modern societies' (1993, pp. 1-2) than is found in, for example, Pahl's (1965) work discussed in the following section in which the rural is *subject* to developments in the urban (see also Harper, 1989). These are developments that foreshadow Blokland (2017) on *routes* alongside roots and the literature explored below in relation to counter-urbanisation, rural gentrification (Philips, 2010; Smith 2011), and peri-urbanisation (Vallance, 2014).

Heley & Jones (2012, p. 210) argue that Marsden et al.'s (1993) work represents a 'burgeoning relational perspective' in studying the post-productivist countryside. A perspective that means a re-focusing of analysis from the economic to the 'social, political and ideological spheres' present in the countryside (Marsden et al., 1993, p. 6). Of distinct relevance to this work is that Marsden et al. (1993, pp. 112-127) highlight local planning processes as a meeting point for local and national interests over land. Chapter 7 here address such a process of competition between institutional capital interests, the local state and loose associations of residents over spatial planning as a question of position-taking in a field (Bourdieu, 1983; Thomson, 2012). A position in this field is prefaced here in Marsden et al.'s (1993, p. 125) noting that the Home Builders Federation's is known to express 'unwillingness to accept needs-based projections' for housing developments rather than being 'market' (or supply) led; a view replicated in 2015.

In engaging with these the countryside as subject to the processes of re-structuring that come with neoliberalism, an approach that draws on 'structural constructivism', as Reay (2004) frames Bourdieu's work, is useful in that it allows engagement with the structural without losing sight of how people co-construct meaningful experience and interaction. The mundane processes that support the positioning of non-urban locations as coveted spaces for housing development can be drawn out as related to the shifts of economic power (see Smith, 2011). An engagement which requires a more social constructivist view point (Heley & Jones, 2012), as such, the use of the concept of field – as it is structured/constructed by the pressure of the wider field of power, and the capitals held, and positions taken by participants in a specific site (Bourdieu, 1983; Bourdieu, 2012 [2005]) – offers a route out of the problem of

'convenience' categorisation of the rural (Hoggart, 1990). In that it has shared qualities with Halfacree's (1995) argument that social psychological methods and concepts allow the 'rural' to be retained as an analytic category, not due to convenience or objectivist demonstration, but rather due to its status as a meaningful *symbolic* category in social and cultural life, one that it is held together as an object for analysis through rhetorical and discursive meaning for people (see Billig, 1995; van Dijk, 1993; Hajer, 2006). The notion of 'consuming' rural and urban places explored below draws out such symbolic investments in place – with the rural and urban taken forward here as symbolic and cultural categories rather than strictly spatial descriptors.

Consuming and producing rural and urban places

Pahl's (1965) monograph *Urbs in Rure* on urbanisation as a force of change in social relations in the 'metropolitan fringe' of Hertfordshire has already been briefly introduced above. This work focusses upon three rural parishes in Hertfordshire in relative proximity to London, an area that has a longstanding history of planned and un-planned in-migration, seeking the status of land ownership, and the opportunity to work the land and sell to London (Pahl, 1965, pp. 19-20). What distinguishes social relations in the rural-urban fringe of Hertfordshire in the post-war period is a combination of 'segregation, selective immigration, commuting, and the collapse of geographical and social hierarchies' (1965, p. 72). Pahl argues that in urbanising Hertfordshire, there are *gemeinschaft* relations within *gesellschaft* social relations, and *gesellschaft* within *gemeinschaft*, so that the actual geographic location of a population becomes more or less secondary to its social characteristics (Pahl, 1970 in Harper, 1989, p. 169). This is the 'stake' that Hoggart (1990, p. 246) refers to and Pahl makes the case that in the post-war period 'it is class rather than length of residence which divides communities' (1965, p. 77).

This departs from a perspective centred on spatial characteristics (i.e. community as a small scale site and rural as a distinctive category), with Pahl identifying how class is present across a variety of areas, including; area of residence within the parish, family consumption practices (from buying shoes for work, to destinations of family holidays), commuting distances and methods

of transport, and social relations within and connections outside the parish (1965, pp. 41-71). Taken together these factors show middle-class residents as more isolated *within* parishes, yet as having a greater range of connections beyond the local area than working-class residents (both to London and across the country more widely). Working-class residents in comparison report far more limited mobility for work, leisure, consumption and social relations, and more relationships locally. As such, Pahl argues that 'the spread of population is not random, and segregation according to social criterion (a particularly urban characteristic) appears to be increasing' (1965, p. 13). This, for Halfacree (2012), forms an early challenge to 'sedentarist' view of place and migration, with the assumption that any move will be *either* temporary or permanent, involving the dismissal of former social ties in favour of new social networks.

As such, it is instructive that Pahl opens *Urbs in Rure* by drawing on Park's (of the Chicago School) view that the city is 'a state of mind' (Park, 1916 in Pahl, 1965, p. 13). For Pahl this helps to establish a psychological perspective on those moving to the metropolitan fringe bring with them an urban class system that serves to displace the remnants of a rural social hierarchies (1965; 2008). We might also consider what the role is for the symbolic meanings of place here as, in a piece reflecting on his transition from geography to sociology, Pahl (2008) outlines his work as an attempt to account for social characteristics within wider structural contexts, but without prioritising the spatial. Giving the example;

'What is the meaning of class culture for people who have the idea in their minds that they can lead a different lifestyle by moving out of London to live in a 'community'?' (Pahl, 2008, p. 106).

Such questions are clear in the 1965 work, with a focus not on the question of the existence or otherwise of 'exurban personality syndrome' but rather on social and cultural questions, where we might see racially motivated 'white flight' within wider claims that a 'search for community [as] a tactic revolt against industrial society' (Pahl, 1965, p. 75). This has a two-fold significance for this thesis, first in Pahl's emphasis on the importance of addressing the 'planned and unplanned forces' that structure the rural-urban fringe, and second for opening up with wider questions of affective belonging in the peripheries of the

urban region. Narratives of residential mobility and trajectories informed by such cultural ideas, as much as by economic processes, are drawn out below.

Whilst Pahl was working on social relations in the metropolitan fringe, Glass (2013 [1964]) was identifying changing patterns of residence and consumption *in* the metropolitan city. Arguing that whilst some of the middle-classes may have moved to the peripheries and beyond, 'many of the working-class quarters of London [had] been invaded by the middle-classes' (Glass, 2013 [1964], p. 22), terming this process 'gentrification'. With the direct outcome of the middle-classes buying houses in formerly working-class areas being a switch in use from lodging houses to private residence being that prices increase for purchase and rental as supply of rooms and houses is reduced. Glass outlines that;

'Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district, it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed' (Glass, 1964, pp. 22-23).

The significance of this in the city is that it leads to a 'reconstruction' of working-class districts, with some 'increasingly hemmed in [so] remaining pockets of blight become denser [...] left to decay', such that the change is not simply economic but a wider change to social and cultural life (*ibid.*). Glass locates this in a wider homogenisation of urban life, partially associated with increasing affluence and shared consumption practices (Goldthorpe, et al., 1968), that flattens out the class structure of London's neighbourhoods whilst fostering 'new kinds of diversification' (*ibid.*, p.24). Such diversification pre-figures the mobilities paradigm at the close of the century (Urry, 2007), as policy structures favouring suburbanisation combine with increasing land prices to push people into new suburban commuter lives¹⁵ (Mace, 2013). New forms of homogeneity of social relations partially echo those identified by Pahl (1965) in Hertfordshire.

¹⁵ The wider debate and conceptualisation of suburbanisation is beyond the purview of this thesis and therefore is not an item I explore in detail here but is discussed below in relation to counter-urbanisation and rural gentrification. However, Vaughan (2015) provides an instructive overview of suburbanisation as a historical process that draws order from the 'undefined mass within a chaotic peri-urban landscape at the city's edge.' Looking to the future, Mace (2013) explores the question of 'what next' for the suburbs in a seemingly 'post-suburban world'.

Gentrification has gone on to become a central area of research and discussion, with Schafran stating;

'Gentrification, and its myriad causes, impacts, forms, contestations and interpretations, is arguably the most vibrant and constant source of debate in writing about cities over the past three decades' (Schafran, 2014, p. 321).

Benson & Jackson (2014), for example, use gentrification to explore how we might contrast with claims of 'proper' forms of taste by the middle-class in the city are deployed as they seek to carve out a differentiated cultural and social landscape from working class residence. By way of contrast, Watt (2013a) in London and Paton (2014) in Glasgow explore the experiential consequences for working-class people of state-led gentrification processes that accompany sporting 'mega-projects.' Paton (2014) highlights the struggle to retain a sense of belonging and affinity to place as it is re-cast under neoliberal mechanisms of consumer citizenship, and Watt (2013a, p. 114) emphasises the 'direct' and 'indirect' forms of displacement that precede and accompany gentrification. Indirect forms of displacement resonate with Le Grand's work on experiences of living within 'an imagined geography of class' (2010, p. 58). Le Grand (2010) explores the ways in which young people in 'Satellite Town' find themselves defined by spatialised ideas of *improper* forms of cultural consumption and taste, which exist in contrast to the 'proper' forms of taste asserted by Benson & Jackson (2014) interviewees. In Le Grand's (2010) work, processes of stigmatisation (with sites becoming wrapped up in moral panics over 'chav space') are found to go hand in hand with those of gentrification more widely.

Running through from Pahl's (1965; 2008) work in Hertfordshire to Le Grand's (2010) in 'Satellite Town,' are questions of classed residential choices and how they are made. These are pertinent for the peri-urban locations as the movement of the middle-classes is clearly not simply into or out of the city but variegated (see Lees et al, 2016, on planetary gentrification). These movements are clearly located within the structural changes and practices of governance that concern Marsden et al. (1993) and Heley & Jones (2012). The follow section takes the broad issue of social homogenisation that runs through the gentrification literature and considers how this is structurally and symbolically operative in rural spaces through this period of restructuring. This entails an

account of the 'rural imaginary' in relations to questions of class, race, national identity, processes of suburbanisation, counter-urbanisation, and rural gentrification, and peri-urban space.

A classless and white rural imaginary

Newby's (1979) work on agricultural labour relations and rural community in East Anglia is a productive point of departure here as it addresses key themes in discussions of rurality and community. Where Pahl (1969) accounts for 'incomers' and Marsden et al. (1993) for structural change in the countryside, Newby (1979) addresses the shifting social relations between land-owners, farm-labourers and rural 'incomers' in the context of a 'romanticised' rurality increasingly subject pressures of commodification. Newby (1979) specifically sets out the need to disabuse readers of a notion of the 'rural idyll' with harmonious social relations and a bucolic setting, identifying this idealised notion of place as masking actual social conditions. The romanticisation of the rural that obscures inequality, poverty and social tensions is a process, one that involves a 'lengthy and thorough course of indoctrination' (Glass in Newby, 1979, p. 14). A rural idyll that continues to inform popular and political imaginaries of rurality (Wallwork & Dixon, 2004; Harrison & Clifford, 2016; Blokland, 2017), and with the potential to shape processes of analysis and knowledge production in the manner that Crow & Allan (1994) identify for earlier community studies as a form of *doxa* (see also Heley & Jones, 2012).

This romanticised imaginary is one that obscures any recognition of deprivation or material concern in contemporary rural areas, so that 'the repressions and privations of Old England were forgotten in a welter of nostalgia for the mythical, lost paternalistic community' (Newby, 1979, p. 14)¹⁶. Newby illustrates that where rural poverty *is* recognised in the present it is a 'rustic', 'happy poverty' and in any case, as it is assumed to involve physical labour in farming, so fitting given the 'metaphysical' rewards of rural life (*ibid.*,

¹⁶ Hobsbawm & Rudé (2014 [1969]) give a thorough account of these 'repressions and privations of old England' (Newby, 1979, p. 14) as industrialisation advanced, feudal property rights held strong and the Poor Laws limited capacity to move for work in their analysis of the Swing Riots, largely in South-East England, during the first half of the 19th century.

p. 15). A romanticised view of the countryside that renders that which does not fit expectations, of people and of landscapes, as invisible or unrecognisable as belonging to anticipated idyll, with;

‘A belief that an environment that meets with our aesthetic approval must be capable of supporting a socially beneficial way of life for all its members, just as an aesthetically devalued appearance must accompany social deprivation’ (Newby, 1979, p. 16).

Here the rural and urban binary is re-asserted through symbolic and cultural means, so the rural is understood in terms of ‘tradition’ and not considered a possible site of modern forms of labour relations or of production – which Newby (ibid.) notes conveniently ignores the substantial use of chemical and mechanical technologies in agriculture. Whilst also drawing attention to the positioning of the ‘aesthetically devalued’ as anticipated sites of deprivation (see also Butler et al., 2018). Thus, the rural becomes short-hand for traditional labour and idealised social relations, with this configuration available to be drawn on in critiques of devalued urban and industrial spaces and social relations (Newby, 1979, pp. 13-15). Newby (1979, pp. 414-417) argues that any ‘quiescence’ of farm workers, where they are recognised, should not be mistaken as deference, but seen as a product of dependence upon land-holding farmers for employment *and* for housing. Though ‘quiescence’ may be as an ‘expression of affective identification of the agricultural worker with those who hold power’ (Newby, 1979, p. 416). For Newby, such identification is a result of the increasing mechanisation of agriculture alongside the arrival of urban incomers to the countryside, presaging changing economic structures and relative positions within local labour relations.

For Murdoch (1995, p. 1213) such classed dynamics in the countryside have too often been neglected, such that a ‘rural ideology’ emerges that emphasises the ‘invisibility’. Murdoch (1995) argues that in the intervening period the classless view has entered academic work the countryside, which is compounded by the erasure of ‘rurality’ more widely in mainstream sociology. With Murdoch setting this out in the context of mutual critiques between ‘descriptive’ and ‘production’ accounts of class through the post-war period to early 1990s, summarising these tensions as meaning that rural sociology must;

'Shift our focus to how this [class] structure arises from social action, then we need to consider the variety of forms in which actors come together and act collectively' (Murdoch, 1995, p. 1216).

What is of key relevance for this thesis, is to draw out class formation and rural ideology that obscures class in the countryside, with Murdoch (1995, pp. 1216-17) drawing attention to the ways in which the English countryside is taken to be socially homogenous space. It is a space that is subject to 'classed in-migration' which in turn;

'Serves to re-produce not only class but wider social divisions, so that "particular forms of gender, ethnic, racial, and sexual identities are also reconstituted; the rural becomes a context in which 'traditional' sets of sexual, familial, and ethnic relations are (re)asserted (Lowe et al, 1995)' (Murdoch, 1995, pp. 1217-1218).

Rural residency under this ideology, in which homogeneity is assumed, therefore becomes a site for the conservation and reproduction of social divisions, including class. This complicates our understanding of how class comes into existence, so that rather than seeing it as a straightforward matter of 'reading class off the economic', the position of the 'rural' in class formation is emphasised (Murdoch, 1995, p. 1225).

In addition to raising the erasure of social divisions in the countryside, this perspective reclaims the rural from being treated as of no analytic difference to the urban (c.f. Hoggart, 1990), as it re-emphasises the countryside as a lived space with interactional qualities, which are themselves significant in the wider social divisions as practices of taste and boundary keeping exclusion (Bourdieu, 1984; Sibley, 1995; Blokland, 2017). Place is 'moulded to reflect and perpetuate class, gender and other forms of identity and difference' (Murdoch, 1995, p. 1216) following such active decision making. Today, this active participation in moulding place occurs informally and formally through political and planning processes, such as those encouraged by the Localism Act and discussed above (e.g. Painter et al., 2011 Matthews, et al., 2014), or through exercise of market/capital power as part of wider rural gentrification, counter-urbanisation or peri-urbanisation processes (Philips, 2010; Smith, 2011, Hillyard, 2015).

Emphasising classed *action* brings in the 'performative' aspects of daily life that can be lost where the rural and urban are treated as analytically

interchangeable sites, with Featherstone's (2013, p. 195) work on Bransholme outside Hull, a 'crap estate on the edge of the crap town', drawing out the ways in which the rural and urban sites and populations are connected through regeneration processes. Namely, a focus in policy on forms of regeneration that support and encourage shopping and leisure consumption practices in the urban centre, with 'rurban spaces' and populations neglected (Featherstone, 2013, p. 185). Such that the peri-urban council estate of Bransholme becomes repurposed as a social and spatial 'dumping ground' – a site in which residents experience of policy that has quite literally put them on the margins, speak of place in a 'dystopian vernacular' with 'truncated language or gallows humour' (Featherstone, 2013, p. 192). Featherstone's work here brings us back to Watt (2013a) and Paton (2014) above on underlining the active role of the local state in (re)shaping the spatial, including via neglect and active displacement. (See also, Wallace, 2015, on where such council-led processes of gentrification were 'interrupted' in Salford by the 2007-9 recession.)

Returning to the wider ideological level, cultural and political idealisation of the rural is traceable more widely, with Bermingham (1989) outlining the ways in which rural landscape has long operated as a signifier of broader ideologies, that legitimise and reproduce processes of social exclusion and homogeneity. Lowenthal (1991) links this to the ways in which British national identity more widely is wrapped up in representations of specifically *English* landscapes. The essayist Rebecca Solnit (2014) traces this investment of political meaning and national identity in rural landscapes – especially 'wild' or 'natural' landscapes – as emerging from the romantic movement alongside industrialisation, and to later urban movements that claimed a right to the rural. This sense of who holds a stake in the countryside is drawn out by Harrison & Clifford (2016), discussed further below under 'change in the countryside', as a position adopted in opposing urban expansion which sees the 'rural idyll' as threatened by encroaching 'urban dystopia' and the 'natural' and 'heritage' aspects of the countryside emphasised. Such an emphasis is present in Smith's (1998) identification of 'moving to the country' as a long-stranding normative trajectory in the UK, something that is similarly noted by Pahl, 1965, on migration to Hertfordshire (see also Smith, 2011).

An issue not yet addressed here is in the assumed 'whiteness' of rurality

and how this feeds into a homogeneous vision of national identity (Neal & Agyeman, 2006; Askins, 2009; Moore, 2013a; 2013b; Tyler, 2012). Drawing on Cohen's (1988) work on belonging as a *symbolic* process, Marsden et al. argue that the rural is;

'Most effectively understood today as an active set of "representations" based on competing and often conflicting principles linked to certain styles of living, working and recreation' (Marsden et al., 1993, p. 9).

Through this status as an 'active set of 'representations' the cultural role of the countryside as a rural idyll is as a repository for ideological projects of exclusionary national/regional identity (Ledy-Owen, 2014; Spracklen, 2016), or as a desirable space for consumption and class reproduction, as somewhere to move to and to raise a family (Smith, 1998; Murdoch, 1995; Hillyard, 2015; Hillyard & Bagley, 2015). These are intertwined sets of representations that draw on an idealised pastoral landscape so that it is a space for 'heritage' and as adaptable to the demands of contemporary social life. However, as Askins (2009) examines, this is also expressed as questioning the rights of 'diverse urban others' who do not fit the 'homogeneous rural white' image of the countryside to be present within it at all.

The combination of representations that position the rural as mono-racial and mono-class are the product of normative practices and positions. Neal & Agyeman (2006) outline the persistence of racialised boundary policing in the apparently 'new countryside', orientated to apparently egalitarian leisure practices and an aesthetic consumption of the landscape, with a wider disassociation between the countryside and black-British and British-Asian people. For example, Tyler (2012) examines how some white, middle-class residents of 'Greenville' in Leicestershire negotiate and articulate a distinction and 'otherness' from their British Asian neighbours and fellow village residents. Tyler's contention;

'Is that white residents' discourses on BrAsians [British Asians] make white middle-class values, norms and notions of respectability apparent in relation to what they are considered to be distinct from' (Tyler, 2012, p. 433).

This social distancing is a discriminatory, normative process that relies on the enforcement and use of essentialised dichotomies of them/us. Dichotomies

that both deny recognition and erase the legacies of colonial and post-colonial histories in the area, histories which show long-standing presence and associations of British Asian people with the area (see also Hanson, 2014, on 'tracing' such largely unacknowledged colonial legacies in the Pennines town of Todmorden).

Tyler (2012) draws out how whiteness and class are brought together to construct a 'particular image' of a village and of social life within it, an image that is inherently exclusionary and derived from an 'amnesia of the consequences of the colonial past for interpreting the present' (Tyler, 2012, p. 428). The part played by shifting 'white identities' is worth reflecting on here, with the strictly policed character of whiteness moving from an imperial-racial matrix to a looser form of discrimination and social exclusion based on the principles of consumption where images of 'success' are heavily racialised with whiteness retaining a cultural cache (Bonnet, 2000, pp. 46-77). This leads us to Moore's (2013b) work on evolving discriminatory practices around 'shades of whiteness' and classed positions that examines the role of 'whiteness' and class in the development of a 'place image' of a rural village Midlands village as a *working* village. A working village here is differentiated from a village that is simply a site of residence that other rural villages have been rendered by the processes of restructuring and re-population through counter-urbanisation and/or rural gentrification. Moore (2013b) outlines how the white-English residents construct 'whiteness' as a category that Eastern European seasonal agricultural labourers are excluded from. Moore identifies that;

'Villagers' construction of migrants as 'not quite white' was entwined with class markers of distinction, rendering the migrants 'racially' white but not culturally white' (Moore, 2013b, p. 3).

The relevance of culture here for Moore is in terms of Bourdieu's is in cultural knowledge (or a lack thereof) embodied through *habitus* acts to 'mark out cultural and ethnic 'others'' (Moore, 2013b, p.3). In this instance, such boundary marking of the self and of others – exclusionary practices of community (Blokland, 2017) – ensure that a productivist place-image is enjoyed and emphasised whilst social distance is maintained between the white-English-residents and Eastern European labourers.

Hegemonic understandings of rurality are therefore intertwined with class, with whiteness and race(isms), and with national identity, in contrast to views of the urban as a space of deprivation, diversity and dystopia (Askins, 2004, p. 23; Harrison & Clifford, 2016). An alternate example of the cultural fetishized sense of the rural comes from Lacour & Piusant, who highlight an expression of such readings of the rural in identity projects in France as meaning that despite;

'The small size of the agricultural working population [this] does not prevent many urban people from keeping a rural attachment and a tolerance for the demonstrations of farmers, some-thing that astonishes or irritates the German and British populations' (Lacour & Piusant, 2007, p. 731).

Such entanglements of the spatial and cultural inform the ways in which rural locations are reified, whilst populations within the countryside deemed not 'fit' (including those who shape and maintain the landscape) may be marginalised and positioned as culturally invisible. Bell et al. (2010, p. 209) argue that there is a long 'oscillat[ion] between two conceptions of the rural, one materialist and one idealist.' Such oscillations mean that meanings are not set in stone, with Shucksmith's (2016) work on the 'good countryside' presenting an explicitly utopian project that seeks to challenge the 'rural idyll' as the dominant way of positioning the countryside. In doing so drawing on a sense of moral engagement to make visible and resolve with the contemporary 'evils' present in the countryside (Shucksmith 2016), though a contended category, not least that of social exclusion (Shucksmith, 2016; 2012).

The above literature underscores the analytic movement away from a spatially deterministic 'rural-as-community' and 'urban-as-association' view point, illustrating the position of a commodified rurality as drawing on symbolic understandings community and rural/urban spaces (Blokland, 2017; Shucksmith, 2016; Smith, 2011). While 'no one economic process' may be dominant (Marsden et al. 1993), what can be traced through the above is a strong cultural association between the social and spatial that is consequential for shaping space. Tyler (2012) and Moore (2013b) draw out the role of 'place-images' and who is recognised as a 'fit' with a broad classed landscape. As symbolic understandings, these are not only rooted in personal biography and experience but in the wider cultural positioning of space and social change.

This runs through from Pahl's (1965) metropolitan arrivals in Hertfordshire, through Murdoch (1995) on a 'rural ideology' treating class as invisible in the countryside, to Tyler (2012) on the white middle-class notions of respectability that draw on *not* being British Asian. Through these the symbolic positioning of rural space as an exclusive space or specific forms of social relations is continuous. The following section turns the focus more narrowly to research on interconnected social, spatial and symbolic change in the British countryside.

Social and symbolic change in the countryside

Turning to a wider media level to consider the shaping of symbolic meanings around rurality, Phillips, Fish & Agg's (2001) look to television dramas about rural life as an instructive for considering how the 'rural idyll' is constructed and responded to. They highlight that viewers of these dramas researched do not simply passively absorb the 'rural idyll' presented, but that 'many people who happily watch these programmes appear to be as equally critical of their value as truthful representations as do the academic critics' (Phillips et al., 2001, p. 24). However, they argue that whilst the vision of the rural in these programmes is not a purely middle-class space, it is a context in which middle-class identities are *centred*, whilst 'other class identities are, however, commonly positioned in a manner which acts to reinforce the status and power of the middle-class characters' (ibid.). Such symbolic positioning prefigures the issues raised by Moore (2013a; 2013b) in relation to the maintenance of a 'working village' place-image enjoyed by middle-class residents due to the labour of unrecognised seasonal labourers.

Wallwork & Dixon's (2004) work draws out how place and national identity are based upon discursive and rhetorical constructions, highlighting that ideas of the nation 'may appeal to a notion of locatedness [...] be it the homeland as a whole, the rural idyll of the British countryside, or another of the multiplicity of geographic referents of the nation' (Wallwork & Dixon, 2004, p. 35). Such rootedness of national identity in landscape and places leave it open to varying approaches and strategic uses as a rhetorical (Billig, 1995) and discursive position (van Dijk, 1993). Addressing, specifically, supportive newspaper coverage of the Countryside Alliance's campaign to preserve fox-

hunting with dogs in the early 2000s, Wallwork & Dixon (2004) highlight how these practices are rhetorically and discursively linked in such coverage to the 'locatedness' of national identity in the 'rural idyll'. They state that;

'the rhetorical 'location' of events may help to invest them with 'national' significance. By associating hunting with the 'British countryside', for example, representatives of the Countryside Alliance have been able to depict events that bear no intrinsic relation to national identity as a threat to what 'most British people hold dear'' (Wallwork & Dixon, 2004, p. 34).

Actual practices associated with hunting – in all its forms – in the rural are elided in these accounts, instead there is an emphasis on how a proposed regulation of hunting is in itself a threat to wider questions and structures of identity. (Blokland, 2017, speaks to smaller scale questions of community and identity as regulated through practices.) The actualities of hunting and shooting as leisure preserves of a 'new squirearchy' who are held together by the 'vital social glue' of shared middle-class identities (Heley, 2010, pp. 327-328) go largely unaddressed in such coverage. Heley's (2010) meanwhile draws attention back to the importance of the symbolic in mutual recognition amongst this new squirearchy as drawing on forms of post-modern *habitus* that exists within wider processes of rural gentrification.

The role of place-image and ideas of identity reappears in Harrison & Clifford's (2016) work on discourses present in public campaigns from the 2010s and 1920s that opposed projects of urban expansion in England. The identification of discourses which is significant in that it helps to uncover 'certain hegemonic ways of thinking and talking about how things should be done that serve certain vested interests' (Lees, 2004, p. 102). Harrison & Clifford draw out that in both periods, the discourse of essentialised differences between town and country, city and village, have moved on 'surprisingly little' (2016, p. 601) in the intervening hundred years, such that 'development' – regardless of form – is taken to be a threat to a 'natural' rural landscape. Harrison & Clifford (2016, pp. 593-595) draw out the ways in which aesthetic qualities of rurality are also taken to stand in for positive moral claims about place and people which are suggestive of a wider underpinning of the 'desirability' of moving to the countryside (Smith, 1998; 2011) and leisure practices more widely that replace and displace the productivist base (Marsden et al., 1993; Heley, 2010).

Significantly, Harrison & Clifford (2016) also highlight that these are moral and aesthetic qualities which *urban* locations and populations are framed as not having and being incapable of (Harrison & Clifford, 2016). Alongside the positioning of urban populations that Neal & Agyeman (2006) and Askin's (2009) highlight as racialised spaces, this suggests the ways *doxic* questions of morality and 'worth' (see Sayer, 2002; Lawler, 2005) appear in discussions of residential patterns.

The sites of former Victorian asylums are a productive illustration of changing symbolic meanings at a micro-scale (one of which, High Royds, is adjacent to Menston). These sites emerged as a part of process to supplant 'Poor Law' provisions (Ellis, 2008), with the 1845 Lunacy Act obliging county level provision of an asylum. Those located in rural spaces are now taken to be a 'unique building type', reflected in the 'listed' status of many sites (Franklin, 2002, p. 24) with many sites bought and redeveloped by housing developers following their closure as hospitals. Yet, as sites of marginalised and stigmatised identities, developers have needed to 're-define [these sites] as an opportunity rather than a liability' (Franklin, 2002, p. 25). Bowden (2012) explores one such re-definition of the former Devon County Pauper Lunatic Asylum as a process of *gentrification*, with symbolic meanings moving from a panoptic regime producing 'docile bodies' (Bowden, 2012, p. 115) to one of classed identity production and consumption (see also Murdoch, 1995). The site is subject to different symbolic meanings and readings by former employees, and organisations interested in 'institutional gentrification' to open rural locales to 'incoming populations' (Bowden, 2012, pp. 126-127).

Symbolic readings are in tension given that these are about different readings of a 'located' identity (Wallwork & Dixon, 2004), with some of Bowden's interviewees subsequently arguing that new residents at the gentrified site are 'failing' to sign up to a 'village ethos', with interviewees invoking a wider 'moral landscape of the rural idyll, [as] a 'hegemonic social representation'' to secure such claims (Bowden, 2012, p. 130). A comparable site of changing social relations here that speaks to the exclusions by Bowden's interviewees of the new residents is in Hillyard's (2015, 5.3-5) accounts of a 'putsch' in a Norfolk Parish Council as 'newcomers' come to displace an 'Old

Guard' as the dominant social grouping in a village (the wider effects of second-home ownership as gentrification '*in abstentia*' are also drawn out).

The symbolic meanings of rurality more widely are located by Goodwin-Hawkins (2015) ethnographic work on rurality in the north of England, as bound up with personal, local mobilities. Taking a more experiential stance, Goodwin-Hawkins (2015) draws out how place becomes felt and known by residents, not solely as a collection of visual sights, but a lived site of local mobility and affect. Elsewhere, Goodwin-Hawkins (2016) shows how the romanticisation of the rural as a set of expectation, ensures that the rural when encountered – such as through that arch-rural activity of Morris dancing – is seen as comfortingly and cheerfully surreal and entirely suited to the space it is in.

A response to this tangle between the representational and the experiential is found in Shucksmith's work on rurality that draws on traditions in urban theory that theorise the attainment of a 'good city' Shucksmith (2016) argues that there is potential for re-imagining from the 'rural idyll' to the 'Good Countryside.' Identifying that the rural idyll that is mono-ethnic and blind to social divisions does still form a *type* of 'utopian thinking' that is a 'small c conservative project' (Shucksmith, 2016, p. 2) that focuses upon a retreat into the past to (re)gain utopia rather than urging to move forward. It is a view that approaches community as something that is 'lost' and where it is not, as under threat of modernity and subsequently of globalisation (Blokland, 2017, pp. 15-30). This is an orientation to the future and to the past that informs the different cultural and moral framings of the urban and the rural for Shucksmith. As such the 'Good Countryside' is a hoped-for moral space that;

'Should be socially sustainable and resilient, as much as environmentally and economically, and this should be recognized as a shared responsibility between citizens and state, not just a matter for self-help or an invisible hand' (Shucksmith, 2016, pp. 6-7).

To achieve this, Shucksmith draws out the various focal points or 'evils' that must be addressed, with the utopian vision of the 'Good Countryside' treated not as a goal but as a 'method' (see also Bauman, 2007; Kumar, 2003). As with Newby's (1979) work, inequality is key here and rural social exclusion (Shucksmith, 2012) is identified as one such key site of intervention.

The relevance of this view is in the significance of contesting contemporary depictions and understandings of rurality. The recent popularity of shepherds, turned social media and TV personalities, turned authors James Rebanks (2015) and Amanda Owen (2016) suggests that the agricultural base has in turn shifted towards a more romanticised basis. That both authors construct their best-selling narratives around family life and position the rural more widely as a space for successful child-rearing (as well as sheep rearing) suggests the ongoing resonance of the rural with at least of the wider public – though such an analysis is beyond the remit of this thesis. Through the work discussed thus far, the ways in which rurality has shifted from an economic basis that is productivist to a conservationist basis (Marsden et al., 1993), while retaining a close connection to anticipated life styles, populations and wider ideological processes is set out. Ideological processes that Askins (2009), Moore (2013b) and Tyler (2012) show as embedded in persistent of symbolic exclusion and differentiation are based on class and race, whilst Shucksmith's (2016) work does suggest that such exclusionary forms of rurality – and, for Leddy-Owen (2014), national identity – are not immutable but can be re-shaped by drawing on the more utopian traditions of community as an ideal.

Suburbanisation, counter-urbanisation and rural gentrification

In locating the above symbolic development, wider social and spatial developments in the countryside are instructive, I have already introduced the terms discussed in this section above, but here I expand on some of the differences present between the processes of suburbanisation, counter-urbanisation, and rural gentrification, leading into a discussion of why the term peri-urban is used to locate Menston.

Suburbanisation generally describes the development and growth of city suburbs, a process that Vaughan (2015, p. 24) traces a having variety of reactions to and perspectives on, beginning with 'suburban dystopian theorists [who] are likely to be urban-rural idealists.' The early sociological theory discussed above on community can be taken in such 'dystopian' terms with the privileging of narrow and deterministic ideas of the rural and the urban, including idealised mis-perceptions of the past that Crow & Allen (1994) caution

against. Similarly, the campaigns against 'urban expansion' that Harrison & Clifford (2016) discuss might similarly be taken as seeing suburban growth as threat. Whilst these are reactions to and critiques of suburbanisation as a process and the suburbs as a space, Vallance offers this succinct summary of suburbanisation as both an idea and process that stems from;

'A reaction to the ghastly conditions found in those industrial cities [one that is] usually associated with dispersal, in such definitions 'the city' as an entity remains intact, albeit as a low-density sprawling one' (2014, p. 1956).

Suburbia then has a positive feature in this broad imaginary then, in that it is a route of 'escape' from the urban. Vaughan traces a more negative view of the suburbs in the academic literature more widely, identifying Young and Wilmott (1957) as setting 'the tone for criticism of suburban life' (Vaughan, 2015, p. 25). In Vaughan's view, Young & Wilmott's account of the dispersal of the Bethnal Green community to London's suburbs set out a template in which suburbanisation was 'destructive of traditional communal structures' (ibid.). Such a view of the suburbs as destructive is echoed in Harvey's work (2006) on the political-economy of suburbia, with suburbanisation a process of market creation which is supportive and generative of new forms of competitive individualisation (Vaughan, 2015, p. 25).

What distinguishes rural gentrification from suburbanisation is, for Smith (2011), bound up in not simply a rejection of the urban or a process of market expansion, but in wider processes of social homogenisation in rural places that stem from the sort of valorised view of the rural explored above (Pahl, 1965; Murdoch, 1995; Shucksmith, 2012; 2016). Rural gentrifiers, like their urban counterparts (Glass, 2013 [1964]), drive up housing costs and so contribute to the displacement of low-income households – a process of market valorisation (Smith, 2011, pp. 596-597). Valorisation and displacement is intensified as the development of new housing is focussed on 'high-cost and prestigious developments' (of the sort that MAG oppose in Menston outlined in chapter 1), Smith (2011) goes on to highlight that this production of exclusivity is not simply a market trend, but rather a product of 'powerful, well-organised groups of affluent in-migrant households.'

This resonates with Hillyard's (2015) findings in Norfolk, the boundary drawing taking place in Devon (Bowden, 2012) and the cautions that the likely beneficiaries of localism will be the middle-classes (Matthews, et al., 2014). Smith also draws on his prior work (1998) on lesbian migrants to Hebden Bridge in West Yorkshire (see Appendix A for the comparative location of Hebden Bridge to Menston) to emphasise that 'homogenisation' does not *only* produce hetero-sexual family units. An alternative expression of rural gentrification that draws on 'romanticisation' of the rural is identified by Phillips (2014) as a 'baroque rurality.' This is a view that emphasises, amongst other features, the 'particular rather than the abstraction, [and] a concern with the relational rather than the individual' (Phillips, 2014, p. 58). This baroque view of the living in rural places is a distinctive point of focus in rural gentrification in that, for Phillips (2014), it engages with affective relationships of existing residents in a gentrifying village with nature, not as an abstracted symbolic, discursive or representational feature but as a phenomenological one. One that, I would add, is embodied and expressed through *habitus* (Reay, 2004).

Lastly, counter-urbanisation represents a body of work similarly interested in departures from the city and the urban, but not in terms of spatial growth/suburban expansion, or with a focus upon changing class structures in rural places. For Vallance;

'Counter-urbanization is somewhat different because it represents a process whereby the 'rural' is being repopulated and **the urbanizing forces of the industrial revolution reversed**' (Vallance, 2014, p. 1956, emphasis added).

Therefore, whilst it may be seen as encompassing questions raised by rural gentrification research it also entails a withdrawal from urban life more widely (something that Heley (2010) notes is not a feature of the new rural 'squirearchy' and its post-modern *habitus* adapted to rural and urban pursuits but centred on middle-class sensibilities). For Halfacree (2012, pp. 209-210) counter-urbanisation can be approached in three broad ways. First is the dominant strand of a 'purified' perspective, which he describes as a general but not complete withdrawal from the city and urban. Second is where people seek a 'more total and intensive 'back-to-the-land' lifestyle' (ibid.), and third is

those who head to the rural for work, an 'international labour migrant dimension' (ibid.) of the form that Moore's (2013a; 2013b) work considers.

Counter-urbanisation can therefore be thought of as part of a series of theorisations of longstanding attempts to escape or otherwise negate ways of life that are associated with the urban, for Halfacree (2012) counter-urbanisation includes not only those who move permanently, a designation he suggests is out-moded under a mobilities paradigm, but also those who own rural second homes and what he terms 'rural sojourners'. This second group are described as comprising those 'who stop[s] for varying lengths of time but ultimately pass (and typically frequently repass) through the rural' (Halfacree, 2012, p. 218) and might include some of the *in absentia* gentrifiers in Norfolk that Hillyard draws attention to (2015, 5.5).

The question of mobility adds to the troubles of a meaningful rural/urban distinction discussed above (Hoggart, 1990). As for Halfacree (2012, p. 220) the normalised/normative expectations of mobility in the 2010s, which may well serve to destabilise distinctions between leisure and migration and potentially of the urban and the rural, does not displace the rural as a 'goal' but rather suggests it may increasingly shift from the 'sphere of 'heritage' to that of an 'exclusive commodity'' (Halfacree, 2012, p. 221). Hanson (2014) highlights the difficulties of maintaining a sense of belonging to place in Todmorden (a Pennines town) when these claims over place are subject to undermining processes of 'deracination' by structural pressures – processes that make it harder and more complex to effectively live in a site if one is not in a position to access such 'exclusive commodities' more widely. This emphasis on mobility and instability brings us back to Blokland (2017) on 'roots' and 'routes' in the spatial and social world.

The peri-urban and peri-urbanisation

Building on the above issue of mobility as a retained set of connections between the rural and the urban, the peri-urban and peri-urbanisation are productive terms for exploring the actions and narratives of people in Menston. As a process, peri-urbanisation can be understood as 'quite different because residents, empowered by mobility options, are seen to have *'left' the city,*

usually by jumping an administrative or jurisdictional boundary' (Vallance, 2014, p. 1956, emphasis added). Vallance sets out that these mobilities are, however, bound up with claims of belonging, the difference here is that they are as much regional as bounded to the city or village scale that we might anticipate under counter-urbanisation or more 'baroque rurality' (Halfacree, 2012; Phillips, 2014). Taking two peri-urban villages close to Christchurch in New Zealand, after a 2011 earthquake significantly damaged the city, Vallance explores the importance of distinguishing between 'edgy' living in the urban, as a cultural experience or phenomena in the heart of the city, and 'edge living' on the spatial boundaries of a conurbation. In doing so, Vallance draws attention to peri-urban spaces which may host a variety of types of engagement with the 'edgy' qualities of urban life yet are more significantly seen as desirable, not only for their aesthetic appeal as 'natural' spaces but, for the anticipated forms of 'community' associated with the rural (2014, p. 1965).

Vallance (2014) establishes the range of motivations cited in moving to and living in peri-urban spaces and how residents perceive life in these periphery spaces. Such as (1) degrees of engagement with wider social aspects of life in the form of community groups/associations, and/or developing relationships with neighbours, etc. and (2) the environmental aspects of 'edge living.' This second dimension allows for an emphasis on the respondents references to the sensory qualities of the space, so that accounts of edge-living extends the focus to the experiential qualities of life, with the smell, sounds, sights of a locale and the importance of developing long-term acquaintances and 'weak ties' rooted in place (Vallance, 2014, pp. 1961-1962). This is near to the approach taken to 'baroque rurality' by Phillips (2014) in the emphasis on the sensual alongside the representational.

There are considerations of the regional that are worth unpacking here, that if place is thought of as a process (Massey, 1991b), the significance of the 'peri-urban' as a spatial category within this context is in the definition of the 'urban.' Lacour & Puissant (2007, p. 728) highlight the apparent 'irremediable collapse of what made the city and the countryside, that is, industry and agriculture' as a sign of the influence of the urban over the rural. Arguing that this collapse gives rise to a consideration of 're-urbanity', or in more economically orientated literature to a more general issue of 'metropolitanisation.' A context in which

the rural is not functionally distinguished from the urban (i.e. agriculture from industry) with an 'urbanised countryside' following from this (Lacour & Puissant, 2007, p. 729). There is an affinity here to Lefebvre's (2003 [1970]) characterisation of the urban region as structured by centres of 'wealth and information' that dominate (not necessarily spatial) periphery areas. This orientation to the instruments of power in social, economic and cultural life shifts the sense of what definitionally 'counts' as urban away from reproducing a one-dimensional aesthetic question of opposing landscape in the rural/urban imaginaries to a question of spatial power dynamics (Soja, 1989). In Lefebvre's account the;

'Boundary line does not divide city and country but cuts across the urban phenomenon, between a dominated periphery and a dominating centre' (2003 [1970], p. 113).

This is a relational account of power relations, that Heley & Jones (2012) observe can be – and has been - inverted by rural scholars to illustrate how the rural also influences the *urban*, rather than simply receiving change and imposition from a 'centre.' We can see this in the mid-twentieth century at an ideological level being translated into policy, in Jacobs (2000 [1961]) argument against the influence of 'anti-urban' social theory and city planning. Hillyard draws on Krause (in Hillyard, 2015, 3.2) as someone who takes this argument further to arrive at the position that 'explanatory power is not just to be found in a locale, but the wider situation of that locale.' I would argue that this wider situation includes the ongoing symbolic associations of whiteness with rurality (Neal & Agyeman, 2006), rurality with an obscured or at least harmonious class structure (Murdoch, 1995; Shucksmith, 2016), and rurality with national identity (Wallwork & Dixon, 2004; Pitcher, 2016). And not least, that as a social space often occupied by the middle-classes in the twenty-first century, a space that features significant social, economic and cultural capitals to be brought to bear (Bourdieu, 1983; 2012 [2005]).

Miles & Ebrey's (2017) work, as part of the Understanding Everyday Participation project, on a peri-urban village outside of Aberdeen bears witness to the ways in which mundane cultural practices in a place reflect wider processes of social and economic change. Taking the context of cultural policy, Miles & Ebrey trace policy dynamics that have a distinctly urban bias, in

doing so, they draw our attention back to the ways in which cities form key focal points for the distribution of resources and power. With cultural policy programmes drawing upon 'grand narratives of modernity' as processes that play out in cities, and so neglect small-scale aspects of cultural life found outside of the urban core (Miles & Ebrey, 2017, p. 59). The broader spatialisation of power can be traced more widely than this, however, such as in the ways in which places become bound up with geo-demographic projects of mapping and knowledge creation (Parker, et al., 2007; Uprichard, et al., 2009; Burrows & Elison, 2004) or the spatial/territorial stigma and with ghettoization that is inextricably bound up with themes of authenticity in place, 'whiteness' and the racialised other (Garbin & Millington, 2012; Hancock & Mooney, 2013; Wacquant, et al., 2014; Rhodes, 2012). For Miles & Ebrey it is in the significance of the oil economy for Aberdeen and its environs in shaping population structures, with processes of generating meanings in place are fed by and feeding into projects of belonging. Projects of the sort that Delanty notes result in a sense that 'belonging is never established as a final once and for all; there are always more and different interpretations of it, leading to contestation over claims of community' (2010, p. 151).

To summarise, in the peri-urban there is a differentiation in style of life and attitude which Vallance (2014, p. 1966) positions as distinctive counter-urbanisation, as rather than a constituting a withdrawal from the urban (see Halfacree, 2012) into 'some bucolic ideal and a corresponding repopulation of the rural', peri-urbanisation entails a 'more ambivalent' attitude towards the urban. Ambivalence that sees some anticipate that life in a village will feature a 'sense of community' whilst also retaining a sense that they 'had not 'left' the city but were simply keeping it at a literal and figurative distance, taking the best of both rural and city and avoiding the worst' (ibid.). We might therefore see 'peri-urbanisation' as a term that describes attempts to capitalise both on mobility and on a culturally valorised rurality, in the context of a larger urban conurbation of metropolitan area; what we might term an attempt to socially, spatially and symbolically have your cake and eat it. In this way, Hillyard's (2015) observation that the ways in which the *rural* shapes the urban is being enacted as such edge living is resolutely non-urban in residence but retains connections and influence on the urban.

Symbolic belonging and boundaries

To explore the cultural valorisation of rurality more widely, Cohen's (1982) work on 'belonging' as a cultural phenomenon is significant as running through the above has been a connection between 'community' and 'belonging' (Delanty, 2010, p. 33). Whereas Tönnies positioned identity and mutual understanding as largely spatially tethered, the more symbolically orientated work above draws on Cohen's (1982) notion of belonging which shifts the focus from the spatial to more diffuse social processes. In parallel to Massey's position on *place* and community as not 'co-terminus' concepts (1991a), belonging needs to be understood not only as a matter of physical spaces and boundaries, but as social and mental boundaries. This gives rise to the sorts of classed and racialised practices, including amnesia (Tyler, 2012), discussed above.

Distinguishing and creating 'insiders' from 'outsiders' requires socially constructed understandings of reality (Berger & Luckman, 1966), rather than necessarily objective differences and divisions (Heley & Jones, 2012). Symbolic relations draw on affective bonds, rather than shared occupational status or the organisation of the local/global mode of production, therefore, where we might see community as a total form of identity, allowing no variation (e.g. Bauman, 2001b, on freedom and security), a symbolic approach to belonging draws in agency and the capacity to construct divergent meaning in relation to shared practices/traditions (Delanty, 2010, p. 34). Specific meanings that may differ considerably from one person to the next, despite shared membership of a community and participation in the same activities. Blokland (2017) and Delanty (2010) draw out religion as a site in which such divergent and changing meanings exist, as rituals, practices and 'symbols may be long lasting [but] meanings always change' (Blokland, 2017, p. 45). However, that personal understandings can come into conflict with the official doctrine in the community, again in religious communities, demonstrates Schmalenbach's (in Delanty, 2010, pp. 30-31) argument that belonging to a community can also be a site of *repression* as much of inclusion and understanding.

Expressions of symbolic belonging also entail the establishment and

maintenance of social and spatial boundaries, such as in the marking out of 'Strangers' or wider processes of 'Othering' that mark an 'in' from an 'out' group (Simmel, 1964; Hall, 1997). Drawing on Mary Douglas's work on 'purity and defilement' in normative social relations, Sibley (1995, p. 36) outlines how symbolic 'pollution' is responded to existentially given the right (or wrong) conditions;

'In gemeinschaft-like groups, that is tightly knit communities with something approaching a conscious collective, it may be that adherence to the rules is more likely in times of crisis, when the identity of the community is threatened.' (Sibley, 1995, p. 38)

Further, Sibley highlights how concerns about symbolic 'pollutants' are present in the social policing of the boundaries of spaces of affluence, as social and spatial boundaries exist in the context of wider power structures and processes, the discussions of race, whiteness and rurality above gives an indication of how these processes operate to exclude and elide people in rural spaces (Moore, 2013b; Tyler, 2012). These are questions of who is seen to belong where, with Sibley drawing on the theory of 'moral panics' to account for the blurred zones on the edges of communities, social and spatial zones which 'hostile communities are intent on eliminating by *appropriating such spaces for themselves*' (1995, p. 39, emphasis added). This elimination of ambiguity and the associated intensification of boundaries denies 'polluting' and dangerous 'Others' from accessing liminal and proximate spaces (social, spatial or symbolic). It is not about the enforcement or maintenance of a uniform set of perceptions on common practices *within* the boundaries of a group (see Blokland, 2017, on communion) but rather about knowing where 'we' stop, and 'they' start. As such, Sibley sums up the role of moral panics on boundary policing as articulating 'beliefs about belonging and not belonging, about the sanctity of territory and the fear of transgression' (1995, p. 43).

I introduced above Andersson's (2015) work on the ways in which young, black queer people in and around New York's West Village are marked out by residents with 'eyes on the street' as dangerous potential folk devils in relation to Jacobs' (2000 [1961]) argument for recognising social life in the city. Returning to this, we have a productive example of how the re-enforcement of boundaries at liminal spaces draw upon wider power structures, with the right of

people, and the businesses they frequent, to exist in a physical space heavily contested and policed by other citizens and the civic authorities as mayoral political power is drawn on to formalise prejudices about LGBT people and black people (Andersson, 2015, pp. 276-278). The intensification of boundaries here is in their enforcement, this is not a solely an urban American phenomenon, as Askins (2009), Tyler (2012) and Moore's (2013b) work illustrates about the rural/urban. This draws attention to where such symbolic boundaries of who does/does not belong, such as in the English countryside when it is a 'rural idyll', can be internalised when sufficiently broadly present in the culture. Work such as Cohen's (1982) and Sibley's (1995) highlights the reactive and fluid character of identity projects of belonging to a community based upon shared notions of the symbolic. This also moves us toward seeing belonging as potentially re-negotiable and contested, so further moves away from a romanticised view of loss where community needs to be preserved in aspic, to a view of something that may be claimed, contested and worked towards (Bauman, 2007; Sennett, 2012). The remainder of this chapter takes explores the ideas of elective belonging, selective belonging, and disaffiliation.

(S)elective belonging and disaffiliation

Savage et al (2005) propose that the defining characteristic of belonging, for many people living under the mobilities paradigm in the 21st century, is not that of status ascription, but the development of identity as a 'project' of consumption and politics. Belonging here is approached in relation to claims of an attachment to place through *habitus* rather than through ideas of membership of a community. It describes a process in which social actors claim;

'Moral rights over place, through their capacity to move to, and put down roots in, a specific place which was not just functionally important to them, but which also matter symbolically' (Savage, 2010, p. 116).

Elective belonging then, is a form of belonging in which the wider symbolic qualities of an area are considered, so as to ensure residential location matches one's broader sense of self – specifically in Savage et al. (2005) matches with *habitus*. Savage et al.'s (2005) work is focused around Greater

Manchester, with interviewees whose identities are claimed as linked to broadly northern English landscapes, a 'northern middle-class' that are largely disinterested in;

'The symbols and icons of southern England and [have] considerable attachment to the countryside and urban spaces of the North' (Savage et al., 2005, pp. 104-105).

Whilst centred on Greater Manchester, rather than strictly focused to a particular city or town, these are a group 'which challenges the traditional dichotomy of between local and cosmopolitan' (Savage, et al., 2005, p. 203). A dichotomy that sees 'cosmopolitan' identities springing from globalised economic contexts, contrasted with locally based identities that exist consistently in a place that is subject to changing economic contexts and patterns (ibid.). Elective belonging, as enacted by Savage et al.'s (2005) respondents, troubles this dichotomy, as without aligning entirely to a monolithic spatially based identity (be that a dominant local city or the central power of London in the UK) they instead draw out 'highly selective and partial global ties that create distinctive kinds of imaginary belongings' (Savage et al., 2005, p. 203). Imaginaries that Watt & Smets (2014, pp. 12-13) describe as prioritising the 'aesthetics of place [as] more important than traditional community, neighbourly interaction.'

As a project of identity responsive to broader processes of globalisation, the significance of elective belonging is that it allows for a discussion of how spaces that are linked to historical forms of association and community, become re-purposed and re-interpreted, by those with access to the recourses to do so (Savage, 2010, p. 116). This emphasis upon the ways in which spaces are (re)shaped on an unequal basis speaks to belonging as a project existing within wider processes of place, such as gentrification at the rural, city or planetary scale (Smith, 2011; Wallace, 2015; Lees, et al., 2016). For Watt (2013b, p. 227) the significant contribution of elective belonging is that 'place attachment is potentially decoupled from community and patterns of co-resident interaction.' Elective belonging is largely positioned, by those engaging in it, as a positive process in which the perceived positive qualities of a place are emphasised and claimed as aligned with habitus (Savage, et al., 2005; Savage, 2010). The coda to this is for long-term residents of a place that is

valorised whose senses of belonging are attuned to different contexts and symbolic values, so that whilst the changing character of a place that is seen as 'desirable' by arriving/departing populations, is tinged with nostalgia for a past way of life and sociability (Savage, et al., 2005, pp. 49-50). There is an expression of hysteresis, of finding oneself in a social world that has changed around you (Hardy, 2012).

Watt (2009, p. 2876; 2013b) takes forward this emphasis on the socio-spatial, highlighting that 'elective' belonging is constructed around differentiation between middle-class spaces, whilst fails to recognise key relational differences are found in '*inter*-class relations' rather than intra-class locations. With its emphasis on the 'voluntary' nature of belonging (Watt & Smets, 2014, p.12) elective belonging is noted as describing a specifically middle-class phenomenon, in that agency and choice in where you live depends significantly on your class position (Savage, 2010, pp. 118-119). Watt (2009) draws this out when exploring middle-class disaffiliation *within* an area of suburban London emphasising instead '*selective*' belonging. This identifies the strong tendencies to negatively position or elide classed spaces within a locale, drawing on Sibley's (1995) emphasis on the role of symbolic exclusion (Watt, 2009, p. 2877). The difference here then between the *selective* and the *elective* is that;

'Affluent newcomers might *electively* belong to their new neighbourhood, but they may also *selectively* adopt that fraction of the neighbourhood which reflects their own elevated position in the socio-spatial pecking order' (Watt & Smets, 2014, p. 13, emphasis in original).

In spatial terms this can be found in the dismissal of adjoining populations and places as comparable to, or indeed within, the same residential location (Watt, 2009, pp. 2875-2877). This is shown by Watt (2013b, p. 239) with middle-class 'Woodlanders' responding to the 'presence of a nearby council estate [as] a recurrent symbol of disorder' – disorder here taking us back to 'matter out of place' as pollutants in the socio-spatial order (Sibley, 1995). The contribution of *selective* belonging is therefore to reassert the importance of classed practices of boundary maintenance in projects of spatial and social belonging – though

such belonging may no longer be necessarily tethered to a distinct sense of 'community' (Watt, 2009; 2013b).

The positioning of place and residential choice in moral and aesthetic terms leads back to questions of taste and distinction (Bourdieu, 1983; 1984), in particular, the role of disgust (Lawler, 2005) as an important classed psycho-social process in identity formation, alongside processes of stigmatisation and moral condemnation more widely (Tyler, 2008). Such frameworks of classed differentiation are deployed by Watt's respondents, with descriptions of neighbouring estates, and the communities contained, couched in terms of inferiority, disorder and moral worth (2009, pp. 2883-2886) or as spaces to 'avoid rather than valorise' (2013b, p. 237). This is in similar terms to the terminology found in official policing raised by Andersson (2015) and noted by Watt (2009, p. 2876) as the 'insulation' in Atkinson's (2006) framework of middle-class spatial and social disaffiliation. 'Insulation' is one manifestation of the practical work of disaffiliation that Atkinson (2006) identifies in the strategies of one sub-set of high-income households. With other sub-sets making use of strategies of 'incubation' and 'incarceration', contributing to a general outcome of 'socio-spatial segregation' in cities as wealthier groups have sought to gain and secure an anticipated form of 'safety' in the city (Atkinson 2006, p. 830). Blokland (2017, p. 140) therefore summarises 'elective and selective belonging [as] essentially concepts that point to what individual agents opt or chose to do.'

How people describe what they do or do not do, where they do or do not move, and how they live in a given area are central to disaffiliation as a wider social process – with disaffiliation made physically clear through the growth of gated communities (Atkinson, 2006) as well as processes of gentrification (Lees et al. 2016) and 'selective' belonging (Watt, 2009; 2013b). Gated communities are an exemplar of the convergence of symbolic, social and spatial boundary making and exclusionary practices, because as 'gated' sites they offer ways to opt out of spaces and associated communities deemed as insecure or otherwise incompatible with one's sense of self (Atkinson, 2006). The problematic nature of such segregation through wealth is explored by Minton (2009) as reshaping housing and public space as based upon fear and

(mis)trust. Examples of such communities premised upon fear of outsiders may include gated communities (Coy, 2006; Lemanski, 2006). An alternate expression of such rejection and intensive boundary maintenance is found amongst middle-class residents of Dutch neighbourhoods undergoing restructuring who must negotiate the 'potential problem of a 'spoiled identity'' (Pinkster, 2013, p. 14) that comes with living too close to *undesirable* locations/people. In contrast to Watt's (2009; 2013b) residents of London's suburbs and Savage et al.'s (2005) in Greater Manchester, Pinkster's residents emphasise 'value-for-money' aspects of housing or the 'temporary' nature of their residence first;

'These respondents consume the favourable housing prices in disadvantaged neighbourhoods and their convenient locations and otherwise claim indifference to the neighbourhood' (Pinkster, 2013, p. 15).

This is an indifference that is 'actively maintained' (ibid.) with the result of an emphasis on symbolic and social distance from nearby people and spaces that are known to have spoiled identities in the wider social context. Through this we can therefore see how narratives of instrumentalism allow a careful distancing of the self from nearby people and places, with locations subjected to a form of what is termed elsewhere 'territorial stigmatisation' (Garbin & Millington, 2012; Hancock & Mooney, 2013; Wacquant, et al., 2014).

These three broad approaches to residency (elective, selective, instrumentally distanced) show how symbolic boundary making/enforcement as *classed* processes of consumption and differentiation play out in the context of ongoing 'restructuring' processes in rural spaces (Murdoch, 1995; Smith, 2011). As a wider period, restructuring has seen social relations and potential sites of individual agency re-worked, Cooke (1989, p. 1) cites this as propelling social movements to coalesce in response to 'global political and economic forces.' Forces that have led to many localities in the UK losing 'their economic rationale while many others find they have a new one' (Cooke, 1989, p. 4). As Savage et al. (2005, pp. 202-204) identify, such restructuring does not spell a neat process of spatial and social homogenisation, nor the creation of globally minded 'mobile elites' without senses of belonging to place, rather places are re-cast as part of wider identity projects in which differentiation is sought whilst

pressures of homogenisation play out. A focus on belonging then, is to focus on a set of individualised practices within globalised power dynamics that serve to re-structure locales, but it is not by default also a discussion of community (Savage et al. 2005; Watt, 2013b).

For Blokland (2017, pp. 107-110), contemporary concerns with homogeneity as a threat echo those raised about industrialisation and urbanisation as homogenising economic forces, which leaves unaddressed persistent forms of community and belonging based on shared cultural and social practices. Social practices which are more than Putman's (Blokland, 2017, pp. 51-57) view of social capitals, as strong/weak ties or bridging/bonding capitals (Siisiäinen, 2000), but as discussed above they are symbolic in that they are commonly held but open to differential interpretation (see Cohen, 1982; Delanty, 2010). Drawing directly on Cohen (1982), Atkinson (2006) and Bauman (2001b) Blokland argues that practices of boundary making, enforcement and exclusion are all best understood first as symbolic practices, but second as not necessarily tied to spatial location. Practices that play out through;

'Community as culture [is a] process of symbolic identity making through practices – a process in which the same thing may have different meanings' (Blokland, 2017, pp. 60).

For Blokland (2017, p. 62) social identity is based upon such cultural constructions of community as a collective experience, but also upon processes of categorisation. For example, the way in which the state seeks to classify, categorise and make knowledge about people produces 'categorisation' as a site of governance and also as sites of potentially shared experiences and practices (ibid.), such as in Featherstone's (2013) work on Bransholme and Hull. Blokland (2017, p. 62-63) argues that awareness of such informal collectives and formal categorisations become a *doxa*, a set of unquestioned and commonly accepted set of differentiations between here and there, between us and them. In this way belonging as a set of imaginings, decisions, and practices that draw on socially informed values can facilitate the re-insertion of community as an analytic term.

Processes of external categorisation are manifest in the city and country through gentrification processes, in particular those in which the state so often takes a lead in defining a place – and by implication people living there – as in

need of 'redevelopment' (Paton, 2014; Wallace, 2015) or those in which the market 'valorises' rural spaces (Smith, 2011). Whilst restructuring more widely has re-positioned the countryside from a solely agricultural *productivist* landscape to a site also of *conservation* and leisure pursuits (Marsden et al., 1993, pp. 83-98; Heley, 2010). An illustration of this restructuring is drawn out by Tewdwr-Jones (2012, p. 32) who observes that agriculture at time of publication around 70% of the UK was under agriculture, yet the density of crops and housing had both increased. This shift is not only about use of space, but speaks to a wider view of what the countryside is for, a re-imagining that demotes the single economic use-value of agriculture and agricultural labour (Newby, 1979; Marsden, et al., 1993) but retains its idealised and exclusive dimensions as a space for life-styles and consumption practice (Halfacree, 2012; Phillips, 2014). These are practices that Savage et al. (2005, pp. 99-103) and Hillyard (2015) note inform the expectations of those moving to or near to the countryside. Such consumption and 'project of the self' orientated uses of the rural show the ideological dimensions of rurality in action. Restructuring therefore encompasses the symbolic meanings of rurality as a site for the consumption of heritage, leisure, or national identity (Bermingham, 1989; Lowenthal, 1991; Halfacree, 2012) and as a bounded and racially exclusionary/exclusive space (Askins, 2009; Neal & Agyeman, 2006; Sibley, 1995; Tyler, 2012). These symbolic meanings of rurality/countryside more widely inform the discussion of belonging, community and place.

Conclusion

From the above work we can see that to engage with 'community' is to consider how community might be deployed, whether as interchangeable with place serving as a catch all term for residence (Massey, 1991a) or in broader *symbolic* terms (Cohen, 1982) as related to boundary management techniques (Sibley, 1995). Community is shown to be often tied up with origins and destinations (loss/recovery) but also with ways of marking out 'here and us', from 'there and them'. The ways in which symbolic meaning has played out in the countryside alongside processes of social change are helpful for considering the 'common sense' positioning of the rural in public discourse

(Wallwork & Dixon, 2004; Harrison & Clifford, 2016), and the potential for approaching a peri-urban space through a 'relational' framework (Heley, 2011) such as in Bourdieu's field theory (Thomson, 2012). With questions of what is taken for granted in a social space – and what is rejected, unacknowledged and avoided – drawn out by 'elective' and 'selective' belonging (Savage, et al., 2005; Savage, 2010; Watt, 2009; Watt, 2013b). With the latter drawing on wider essentialised views of place and people, as recent work on how places and residents gain the moniker 'shithole' illustrates (Butler, et al., 2018). Whilst the 'elective' and 'selective' may disassociate from community as a site of identity, Blokland's (2017) suggestion that social practices are at the core of community suggest how it might be claimed in peri-urban spaces where the rural and the city are retained (Vallance, 2014).

The above literature therefore, draws out a productive conceptual connection between questions raised when discussing community, rurality as place and belonging with those raised in relation to field, with fields site of social struggles in which mundane practices that shape cultural influence/competition/exclusionary zones (Thomson, 2012). Miles & Ebrey's (2017) discussion of changes in everyday cultural participation (practices) and the (symbolic) 'village social imaginary' being one such example of this. From the above we can also draw out tension between claims that rural and urban as no longer meaningfully distinct from one another in an objectivist analytic frame (Hoggart, 1990; Lefebvre, 2003 [1970]), with the cultural and symbolic level where a persistent distinction between the rural/urban can be found and are enacted (Harrison & Clifford, 2016; Shucksmith, 2016). The peri-urban, rather than counter-urban or rurally gentrified, is thus taken to be a productive lens of analysis, although an under-researched site, given that it is rooted in both the valorisation of the rural and in the continuing use of the urban, suggesting some of the ways in which non-urban spaces structure the urban (Vallance, 2014). This is informative for the following chapters, with experiences and reflections on community and belonging within Menston and the wider metropolitan area are drawn out as connected to ideas of 'safety' and differentiation between places. Discussions of the ways in which social, spatial and symbolic boundaries are made and crossed in everyday life draw the normative qualities of rural landscapes follow, with the final empirical chapter approaching spatial

planning processes as a field subject to pressures from above and below.

4. Methodology

This chapter sets out the research methods and analytic approach adopted to address the research aim and questions introduced in chapter 1;

To critically examine accounts of place, community and belonging to a peri-urban village and the metropolitan region by its residents, in relation to wider processes of urban/rural change.

As has been discussed, to address this aim an overall analytic approach rooted in field theory is taken as it draws mundane expressions of taste into dialogue with the structural (Bourdieu, 1983; Savage, 2011; Thomson, 2012; Grenfell, 2012b). Structures of power that are drawn out here using a broadly discursive approach (van Dijk, 1993) to accounts of place, community and belonging drawn from observational, interview and survey data gathered over the course of this 'backyard ethnography' (Heley, 2011). Following a discussion of the research questions, the process of ethical review is summarised, followed by the over-arching research design, the processes of data collection, and the analysis deployed.

Research questions

This section expands upon chapter one by drawing on the literature discussed on field theory, and community and belonging in chapters 2 and 3. The overall aims raise questions of belonging in a variety of ways, in particular experiences of place and how one may be marked, or mark oneself, as part of or *apart* from places or groups of people (e.g. Askins, 2009; Tyer, 2012; Vallance, 2014; Bowden, 2012; Blokland, 2017). Belonging is therefore treated as potentially both inclusive and exclusive, and as potentially orientated to the aesthetic (Savage et al., 2005) and to the communal (Blokland, 2017), with place making and place maintenance, disaffiliation and symbolic boundaries that expresses classed and racialised power dynamics potentially expressed in both modes (Benson & Jackson, 2013; Watt, 2009; Pinkster, 2013; Moore, 2013b). These are important contexts for this work as expressions of wider fields of power that can be drawn upon to contest, neglect and enforce competing claims over place, community and belonging in a peri-urban space (Moore, 2013b;

Savage, et al., 2005; Sibley, 1995). The three questions for this project that follow on from the overall research aim are;

1. How are the social, spatial and symbolic qualities of place integrated into, and taken for granted in, discussions of local belonging and community?

The intention underpinning this research question is to draw out the mundane and everyday accounts of place, community and belonging as illustrative of aspects of the forms of *doxa* that Menston residents reside within – what Deer (2012, p. 114) refers to as the 'misrecognition of forms of social arbitrariness'. The question is intended to illuminate the ways in which accounts of people and place are made knowingly with regards to wider discourses of rural and urban life (e.g. the 'rural idyll' in Shucksmith, 2016) and so drawing, not uncritically, on these ideas in outlining a sense of belonging (see Savage et al., 2005). These are qualitative accounts which go into constructing a sense of place as bounded spatially and socially, and symbolically understood, therefore data from semi-structured interviews with a range of Menston residents was identified as an appropriate form of research here. This is supported in the analysis with a limited use of 'open text' comments from the postal survey conducted of Menston residents.

2. What are the ways in which practices of boundary-making and maintenance in the peri-urban draw upon and contribute to accounts of affinity and belonging regarding the urban and rural?

This question is intended to develop ideas introduced under research question on belonging, place and community; developing further the role of *doxa* beyond that which is 'taken for granted' and largely unstated to an element of position-taking that marks out and structures symbolic boundaries between spaces and populations (Bourdieu, 1996 [1989]). In this way, the 'symbolic' is begun to be drawn into expressions of power (Blokland, 2017, p. 164). This research question is therefore approached through the use of semi-structured interviews, and limited use of numeric data (on expressions of belonging to the local, regional and national scales) along with open comments from a postal survey of Menston residents. The third research question is:

3. In what ways do position-taking strategies and practices, made visible by planning and development processes for the metropolitan region, structure the field of power in which the peri-urban is located?

This final research question is intended to draw how entering into and engaging with planning processes can be read as position-taking, with the comparative success of groups of residents and developers sketching out the characteristics of a bureaucratic field in which Menston is one contested site (Bourdieu, 2012 [2005]; Thomson, 2012). Rather than seeking to account for *all* the fields that Menston is located within or subject to, this focus consider allows for an exploration of discourses that, though mundane and at times deliberately emotive, produce forms of knowledge and subject positions within this field (Blokland, 2017, p. 62). To elucidate this question, non-participant observational and documentary research connected to a series of public meetings on planning and development for Bradford MDC was drawn on.

Research ethics

Prior to undertaking fieldwork, in spring 2014 ethical permission for this project was sought and subsequently obtained from the Education, Law, Management, Politics and Sociology (ELMPS) Ethics Committee at the University of York (see Appendix H for approval letter). No financial inducements were offered for participation in this research and all data gathered was stored in accordance with University of York protocols. More widely, the project has worked to adhere to the principles and guidelines as variously set out by the British Sociological Association (BSA, 2017), the University of York (University of York, 2017) and the ESRC (ESRC, n.d.). Given the forms of data collection drawn upon here, the principles of informed consent and anonymity that guidelines discuss are particularly relevant for this project as sources of the potential harms of a lack of informed consent, and an invasion of privacy (Bryman, 2012, p. 135).

The specifics of navigating these considerations in the course of the research are discussed in further detail in relation to the relevant aspects of the research design, by drawing on my own relative position and knowledge as a

'village boy' (Heley, 2011). This discussion draws on Becker's (1967) question of how one takes 'sides' in research and ideas about 'third-stage monitoring' as part of the research design process (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Robbins, 2012).

Research design

In order to address the research questions a mutually supportive 'triangulation' (Bryman, 2012, pp. 635-636) approach was taken to the data collection through the process of this 'local' study (Heley, 2011). The rationale for this approach drew on common approaches to researching questions of community and belonging in the sociological literature, in which survey research (as interviews and postal questionnaires) routinely precedes and supports qualitative interviewing, including acting as a method of interviewee recruitment (Savage et al., 2005; Watt, 2009). This work was further supported by wider observational work and site visits that were undertaken, with the latter including 'door-knocking' recruitment of interviewees (Davies, 2011; Featherstone, 2013; Vallance, 2014). On this basis Creswell & Miller (2000, p. 127) describes triangulation as an approach that works to provide 'corroborating evidence collected through multiple methods [and to] locate major and minor themes'.

Whilst not without criticism in mixed-methods research (Brannen, 2005) and the rural literature (Heley & Jones, 2012) triangulation is consistent with, and complimentary to, a field theoretical approach as a relational approach in that, field theory draws a connection between the structural, e.g. policies of retrenchment and austerity, localist rhetoric of empowerment and responsibility for the citizen or community, narratives of rurality and countryside, to the discursive, e.g. those in expressions and practices of place, community and belonging (Painter, et al., 2011; Hickson, 2013; Doering, 2014). Triangulation as a method of data collection therefore provides a fruitful way to engage with on the one hand state and capital power, particularly through planning regimes, and on the other mundane social and symbolic practices of community, belonging and place as 'relational' factors (Heley & Jones, 2012). With symbolic boundaries and centres are created, maintained and reshaped as part of

practices within this field of power (Blokland, 2017), bringing us back to the Reay's (2004, p. 432) argument that a field theory is a 'structural constructivist' approach. The aspects of this research design are discussed in the order in which they were carried out (observational work, surveys, interviews) following a review of four issues that arise in 'local' research that Heley (2011) identifies.

Considerations in conducting a 'local' study

As a 'local' study – in the sense that I can be construed as 'local' to the area having been raised in Menston – the four issues that Heley (2011) raises as encountered in the course of his research are a productive touchstone. These are lessons learnt from ethnographic research into the 'new rural squirearchy' (Heley, 2010), but have broader relevance here in relation to how I both attempted to position myself in designing this project and how I was read by others. The first issue is that 'being local [...] can aid the identification of people and places to study' in a way that broader abstract knowledge about an unfamiliar locale cannot (Heley, 2011, p. 230). This is taken forward here in my identification of Menston as a potential research site for understanding contemporary belonging and community, with its recent history of anti-development activisms and broader embeddedness in the metropolitan region understood within both a longer-term spatial and symbolic context of rural and urban change. The specific identification of the Examination in Public as a site of observational work arose from this longer-term engagement with site both in person and through following their activities online.

The second area Heley (2011, p. 231) draws out is that 'being local in the sense of being known can be critical for gaining access to people and place' whilst Heley makes this point in terms of accessing local elites, it is relevant here as a prompt for thinking about my own positionality in the research site and in the wider field of power – part of the 'third-stage monitoring' that Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992) argue for. My position as a white, middle-class man, who had grown up in the area undoubtedly shaped the degree to which I was able to access social spaces and groups over the course of the research unhindered and rarely challenged (e.g. public meetings, pubs, cafes, or simply walking up and down residential roads knocking on doors during the working day, at

evenings, and at weeks). This also shaped the degree to which mutual recognition was possible between myself and interviewees, in that – considering the findings that Tyler (2012) and Askins (2009) draw out – my white, middle-class face and relatively non-descript northern English accent ‘fit’ into the wider imaginary of countryside generally, and to a village in West Yorkshire that is 98% white as of 2011. A ‘visual’ fit which is boosted by having a conversational familiarity with places and people brought up in the course of conversations above.

The third relevant issue in being local for Heley (2011, p. 231) is that it helps to establish trust with respondents as his partial insider status as a ‘known quantity [provided] a firm foundation on which to build’ research relationships. In designing and carrying out this research I was not aiming to cultivate the same sorts of shared networks as Heley (2011) sets out to. However, this point is relevant to my relationship with members of MAG, other attendees at the Examination in Public and for a small number of interviewees.

The final issue Heley notes (2011, p. 231) is that of exiting the field as ‘local researchers are distinctly less able to disentangle themselves from the field [than outsiders]’ – for this study this question of being entangled in social relations that have become research relationships is relatively minimised for this work by two predominant and practical factors. The first being the structure and nature of the research strategy, as is set out below I worked to develop a purposive sample of Menston residents through surveys and interview recruitment in addition to the observational work. This meant that I was not reliant upon my own networks in place, nor upon a ‘snowball’ method of recruitment through members of activist groups. This meant that I was able to explain and discuss my ‘local’ status to interviewees – with some immediately obvious benefits in terms of trust and forthrightness – but that these remained relatively isolated social encounters. The second predominant factor in simplifying exiting the site is that my social ties and connections there have been gradually diminishing in scope, meaning that by the projects close my only reason to be in Menston was for research purposes, during early site visits and through much of the first quarter and summer of 2015 I had stayed at my parent’s home, however by the end of the fieldwork period (late 2015) they had moved out of the village.

Of these specific considerations from Heley (2011, pp. 230-231), that which was most significant for this research as something that could be actively engaged throughout design and execution is the first item, of being local as a source of wider contextual knowledge of people and place. This was anticipated – and proved to be – useful as it allowed me to seek clarification during interviews where comments were made obliquely or in a circular fashion. However, it was also productive in that it enabled interviewees to seek clarification from me about *my* status and experience within the area. That I had attended Guiseley secondary school as a teenager came up as a repeated touchstone in conversation. For example, James used this to work out whether I was likely to know his Grandson (who was a few years too young to be in my cohort as it turned out) and therefore what forms of change I would have been likely to have seen in Menston. This in some instances supported the establishment of rapport (Bryman, 2012, p. 218) and the general trust that Heley (2011, p. 231) outlines as the third possible outcome of such partial insider status.

The Examination in Public: hanging around at public meetings

The first key area of data collection undertaken as part of this triangulation approach was a period of non-participant observational fieldwork across ten days in March 2015 at the 'Examination in Public' of Bradford MDC's draft Core Strategy document (City of Bradford MDC, 2014). Prior to attending the EIP I had not intended to document or report this process in any great detail, nor to use the fieldnotes and observational data gathered as a central part of this thesis. Research questions and theoretical concerns are not what prompted my decision to sit in a large, hot, airless room in Saltaire (see Appendix A, figure 22 – to the bottom left of the map Saltaire is marked out); listening to a rotating cast of participants argue, with varying degrees of hostility to one another, for why *their* view on Bradford Metropolitan District Council's engagement with a myriad of acronyms and phrases (SHLAAs, HRAs, NPPFs, NPPGs, WYCAAs, SCIs, and the Duty to Co-operate, the Presumption In Favour of Sustainable Development, the district's Objectively Assessed Need, the defunct RSS, the RUPD, etc. etc.) was right and others in the room were wrong.

Rather there was an initial motivation to 'check' my own knowledge and comprehension of the bureaucratic field that governs spatial planning, this was anticipated as of potential use when carrying out interviews and surveys of the site in that it would buttress the wider local knowledge base already held (Heley, 2011). This was added to by the potential opportunity to re-establish a connection with members of the Menston Action Group, some of whom I had interviewed for an MA project, that had stated publicly that there were planning to attend. This potential re-connection was more widely motivated by the possibility to gauge interest and willingness to act as sounding boards for the planned survey of Menston residents. This can be considered as both a form of 'completeness' check (Bryman, 2012, p. 637) and a form of self-audit (Robbins, 2012) to ensure that the language use and questions asked were appropriate – in short, that I had not been reading too much planning policy for my own good. This was a request which three action group members enthusiastically agreed to, on the proviso it was in a pub and towards the end of the examination process.

On arrival at the EIP it became rapidly clear that in addition to these motivations the ways in which claims were made and contested in this social space would be of significance for the understanding the nature of the 'field' in which Menston is sited. With the ways in which local, regional and national interests jockeyed for position of influence and to dominant the social space, contrasting with issues of who was *not* present or otherwise unrepresented in the field (Thomson, 2012). (Who claims to speak on behalf of the physically but not symbolically absent is discussed in chapter 7).

Fieldnotes from the exam were made by hand throughout the day in one colour pen or pencil, on journeys back to either Menston or York these were then added to and reflected on in a different colour pen so as to try and capture or draw out as 'rich' a set of detail about proceedings as possible, with my own thoughts, questions and reflections clearly differentiated from the record¹⁷. These notes were then consolidated as 'memos' for each day on NVivo 10 either that evening, or if not possible the following day. Bazeley &

¹⁷ Alongside a more 'standard' use of Bryman (2012), I found Pat Thomson's (2014) general summary of approaches to writing field notes a useful source in regimenting the making of field notes.

Jackson's (2013) *Qualitative Data Analysis with NVivo* was an instructive aid in this process of navigating NVivo throughout this process. The resulting memo files were then structurally coded by the topic discussed at the EIP and the various groups of participants identified, with broad discursive codes developed and in relation to the forms of position-taking as either knowledge construction identified and named – what we can term processes of categorisation (Blokland, 2017, pp. 62-63) – or forms of discursive practice in the space such as 'credential performance' by both professional and residents participating. The utility of NVivo here was in allowing these fieldnotes to be directly drawn into dialogue with the range of key documentation, from the main draft document under consideration, supporting policy documents and published correspondence related to the exam. Similarly, by structurally coding by participant type key tactics and forms of contribution could be identified across a series of days, with a focus on apparently tangential 'technical' items by some developer's representatives emergent here.

Minimal participation and non-participant observation

Addressing the EIP as a research site in practice meant that from 10am to 6pm across various days between 4th and 20th March 2015; I observed, took notes, read documents, looked up terminology, held whispered conversations, and went to find a sandwich with other audience members of members of resident's groups. More specifically than the 'hot, airless room' noted above, the EIP took place in Victoria Hall, a council owned and managed building in Saltaire outside Bradford (see Appendix A, figure 22).

My presence at the EIP was as a member of the public sat at the back of the room, signing in each morning with my name, contact details and organisational affiliation ('University of York'), with attendance structured around the published agenda for each day. This was so as to prioritise attending discussions of policies pertaining to Menston and the surrounding area, given my interest in resident's expressions belonging and senses of place (see appendix E). As MAG had posted on their website a call for supporters to attend the EIP if possible, I in no doubt appeared in the form of a vaguely supportive, though in practical terms for the work MAG members put into the

EIP, passive observer to proceedings. For these reasons, I would term my participation in this site as somewhere between the two modes of 'minimally participating observer' and 'non-participating observer with interaction' Bryman (2012, pp. 443-444).

Throughout this process I sought to be as transparent as possible about my purposes as a researcher in this site, openly taking notes of proceedings and discussing the project more widely as relevant with, this and my minimal to non-participation in the formalities of the EIP is in contrast to more 'covert' work undertaken on the 'implementation gap' in planning policy (Gilg & Kelly, 1997). Gilg & Kelly (1997) draw established roles within local government to develop a covert participant observational approach, meaning that their attendance and detailed note-taking at planning meetings was anticipated, and therefore unremarkable. In contrast to this, with my note pads and regular (if not uniform) attendance I was something of a suspect presence for some attendees in the space, such a being grilled by another audience member as to my purposes. After explaining myself and stating that I did *not* work for a house building firm, a form of rapport and informal reciprocal exchange developed, in which 'John' would keep me updated with any events I had missed during my absences and I did my best to do the same for him (though I suspect my notes and observations were not what John had in mind as useful commentary pertaining to his interests around Keighley). In this way my participation gradually increased, even if only on the margins of the space.

Beyond this I produced further mis-readings by other attendees, as given my lack of substantial interaction with most participating groups I was mistaken for a journalist from a local newspaper by one Parish councillor; who then promptly ignored me for the remainder of the Exam after I explained I was not, so, unfortunately would not be writing up their attack on a particular proposed policy or group of developers for next week's edition. The main other way in which I was 'mis-read' was a temporary misidentification as a minute/note taker for one of the legal teams present on behalf of developer's groups by members of a participating resident's group. This assumed role – presumably due to my being one of the youngest people present – resulted in low-level suspicion, that was eventually cleared up during a break and partially by aiding in helping to return a lost mobile phone to its owner.

Another way I was recognised as a form of participant in the event was by the Programme Officer of the EIP identified me as a regular attendee after the first few days and began to offer me a copy of the revised agenda given to participants on days where an issue was re-visited or to be delayed (a favour was not necessarily granted to everyone, as small numbers of people came and went having provided lifts). What distinguished the Programme Officer's action was that he did so without vocalizing a guess or asking as to the motivation for my attendance. Council staff present were entirely indifferent to my presence, presumably as they had more significant things to worry about than who was sat in the public viewing area not submitting questions or directly participating in the Examination process. Not least, whether the proposed document would be allowed to progress at the conclusion of the Exam. Of the developer representatives present, none directly asked about my frequent attendance, nor do I think they gave it any thought. However, some did stop nodding a greeting to me on arrival from the train station the day after I had gone for lunch with some members of a residents' group.

Postal survey

The second strand of this triangulation was a postal survey based upon a purposive sample of Menston residents present on the electoral roll in 2015 (sampling strategy detailed below). The decision to employ a survey method drew upon examples identified within the community and belonging literature, notably, Savage et al. (2005), Watt (2009; 2013b) and Vallance's (2014) work. Since undertaking this research further literature from a more 'planning' orientation has followed which draws upon a similar research strategy of survey research deployed in-part to recruit interviewees (Parker & Street, 2015). At the point of design, the survey was intended to contribute to research questions 1 and 2, around expressions of belonging and community relating to Menston and the wider area. More widely, it was planned as complimenting the observational research and associated documentary research arising from this and acting as a tool for the recruitment of interviewees within Menston as part of a 'completeness' approach to data collection (Bryman, 2012, p. 637). The poor conversion rate from survey to interview is discussed below, with the

following section on interviews explaining the supplementary recruitment approach taken.

Survey design

A postal method of delivery for this survey was used for largely pragmatic reasons, in that it could be distributed more or less simultaneously across the sample area, so would be less time-intensive than using a questionnaire administered through interviews (e.g. Watt, 2009). Though the possibility of partial or non-completion and potential to mis-read questions are risks with a postal survey, steps were taken to try to mitigate this in the formatting and presentation of the survey (Bryman, 2012, pp. 534-535). Drawing from the electoral roll, each survey was address to a named person with a cover letter explaining the project and a stamped-addressed-envelop was enclosed in order to facilitate responses. One methodological implication that emerged from the interviews pertains to the use of a web-survey, as one set of interviewees casually stated their use of a Menston focussed Facebook page as a common source of information – something that had apparently come into existence since I had initially left Menston for university. Whilst distribution of an electronic version of future surveys would be possible, such a move towards online methods of research and recruitment come with an alternate set of risks and challenges, not least around what is and is not public and private data (Zimmer, 2010; Nissenbaum, 2011).

Questions used in the survey were a combination of questions designed with Menston specifically in mind and questions adapted or reproduced from the 2008 Place Survey (DCLG, 2008). Whilst the focus of this project is qualitative, the collective of statistical data was anticipated as opening a potential further avenue of enquiry such as some limited comparison to the 2008 Place Survey, should the response rate allow. The combination of survey questions deployed addressed; a sense of belonging to Menston; a sense of belonging to Bradford/Leeds/West Yorkshire/England/Britain/Other; use of services/facilities in Menston; open-ended of qualitative reflections on the experiences; open-ended comments on understandings of community; perception of capacity to engage in local decision-making.

Sampling strategy

The research interest here was in speaking to a range of residents *not* necessarily involved in formal associations or planning processes, therefore although a very kind offer was made by members of MAG to distribute the survey electronically through their mailing list, this was declined for two sets of reasons. Firstly, this mailing list was likely a self-selecting population who, given they had opted-into MAG's mailing list, would likely have had an involvement in some form with the formal residence associations or planning processes. Secondly, I wished to avoid adding a further layer of gatekeeper to my relatively productive existing relationship with MAG members (Bryman, 2012, p. 151). A related concern to which was to ensure the project also did not move toward becoming a more 'activist form'¹⁸ of research, supporting a predominantly middle-class group whose aims I cannot say I was entirely on the same 'side' as (Becker, 1967).

A copy of the electoral roll for the Wharfedale ward was purchased from Bradford MDC, from this original file the information for Menston residents was extracted, as the Wharfedale ward encompasses Burley-in-Wharfedale. A purposive sampling approach was then taken, in which seven areas of Menston (see table 5 below) were selected. These seven areas were deliberately selected at a relatively geographical distance to one another and as they represented different forms of housing within the village. This was partially informed by Savage et al.'s (2005) approach to different areas of residence in Great Manchester, and Watt's (2009) emphasis on further socio-spatial sub-divisions operative within sites.

Of the sites selected the key features might be considered as consisting of housing on roads and cul-de-sacs adjacent to proposed developments sites on Menston's southern edge (A and B), an enclosed periphery estate to the north of Menston (E), streets around the historic centre of the village (G and C) (which is now at the south-western edge of the village in maps shown in Appendix A), housing near to the train station (D) and housing and flats located

¹⁸ See for example, for example O'Neill et al.'s (2005) use of Participatory Action Research with recently arrived asylum-seekers of research that seeks to support a marginalised group's interests.

along and in courts off the A65 (F). These different sites are also characterised by broadly different periods of development in Menston and therefore forms of housing. Primarily this covered, mid-20th century semi-detached houses (A), mid-20th century bungalows in cul-de-sacs (B), late 19th to early 20th century semi-detached 'villas' (C and G) and terraced houses (D), a 1990s housing development (E), and a mix of housing, including flats and semi-detached housing (F). This was in an attempt to avoid homogenising the representation of the village to that put forward by residents in one area of the village and potentially allow some small scale-comparison between these sites. I have also provided the ACORN classifications for these areas, which indicate that though relatively diverse within Menston, at a national geo-demographic level they remain a narrow population cohort.

In late-June 2015, 200 surveys, each marked with a-letter code to indicate the relevant sub-area, were posted to a random sample of residents in each of these seven sub-areas. As most roads in the village are relatively short, the random sample took the 'top' 50% of the names on the register for each sub-area after they had been re-ordered using Excel's random sort function.

Table 5: Survey responses by area

Area code and name:	ACORN classification	Surveys posted	Surveys returned
A Derry Hill	3G 'Comfortable Communities: successful suburbs'	15	5
B Hawksworth Drive	1B 'Affluent Achievers: executive wealth'	15	3
C Fairfax Road area	1A 'Affluent Achievers: Lavish lifestyles'	15	2
D Farnley Road	3G 'Comfortable Communities: successful suburbs'	30	1
E Ellar Gardens estate	1B Affluent Achievers: executive wealth'	41	5
F Bradford Road	1C 'Mature Money: Upmarket downsizers'	30	3
G Main Street (near to park)	3G 'Comfortable Communities: successful suburbs'	54	7
<i>Totals</i>		200	26

Survey respondents

A total of 26 surveys (~25% response rate) were returned using the stamped addressed envelopes provided, with nine respondents expressing a willingness to be interviewed, of which three interviews were successfully conducted (incomplete or inaccurate contact details and changes of heart prevented 6 interviews taking place). The 26 surveys were added to the NVivo project, that held the memo-data from the Examination in Public, as scanned entries and as transcribed forms. Open-ended comments made by respondents provided an opportunity to reflect on and refine the proposed questions for the semi-structured interviews, as well as suggesting possible initial codes on the topics of community and belonging (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). Rather than run a second round of surveys and risk a similarly low response rate and near absent conversion to interview, the decision was made to employ a canvassing or 'door knocking' strategy to recruit further participants with the aim of researching a broad point of 'saturation' in the data (detailed below).

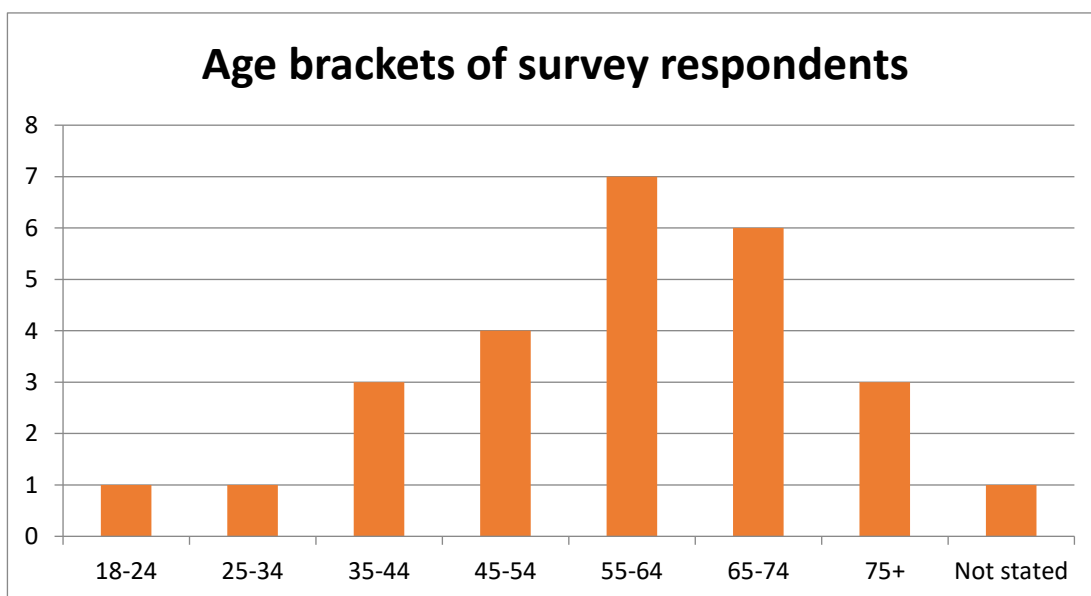


Figure 3: Age cohort of survey respondents

Of those that did respond the survey, respondents were twice as likely to be female than male (17 to 8, with 1 person not giving an answer), a dozen respondents described themselves as 'wholly retired' and a further ten as in some form of full or part time work. Twenty-three stated that they owned their home, two that they lived with parents and one non-response. The largest age group of respondents were those aged 55 to 64, with the second and third

largest groups 65-74 and 45-54, compared to one person in the 16-24 group and one in the 25-34 grouping. This is an exaggeration of Menston's age profile, however it does reflect Menston's population is older than regional or national averages – it may well also be an artefact of the method here in that it is reflective of who fills in postal surveys. Figure 3 visualises the age distribution in the sample. This dominance of older survey participants should not obscure the younger profile of the interviewees recruited through door-knocking discussed below.

Semi-structured interviewing

As the third and final part of this triangulation approach, the use of semi-structured interviews with Menston residents was intended to draw out in more depth themes identified in the observational and survey research, whilst also speaking to the interests of research questions 1 and 2 regarding accounts of belonging and boundary-making as social, spatial and symbolic processes. The purposive sampling approach initially taken (as set out above for the surveys) produced a near-null conversion rate to from posting the survey to completing an interview. Rather than invest further time in additional rounds of postal surveys, which ran the risk of only becoming more exaggerated in their focus whilst potentially also failing to recruit interviewees, the decision was made to focus energies on a strategy of canvassing and door knocking alongside ongoing site visits and observational work at public meetings.

Door-knocking and recruiting interviewees

This use of 'door-knocking' to recruit interviews broadly followed the approach set out by Davies (2011), with canvassing taking place in September and October 2015¹⁹. A target of around 20 individuals from across Menston to be interviewed was identified. This was on two grounds, firstly that the project was not exclusively dependent upon the production of interviews. The intention

¹⁹ In this summer period, the observational data from the Examination in Public was drawn on to form the core of chapter 7. The writing of an early draft of this chapter and draft of the literature review content for the 'confirmation' or 'upgrade' process meant that further fieldwork had to be put on a temporary hiatus during August and September.

from the initial research design phase was for these to play a central role in the eventual reportage of the analysis as is common-place in sociological work on these themes. However, the wider field theoretical approach taken here (Grenfell, 2012b) as a 'relational' analysis (Heley & Jones, 2012) placed the data gathered as in dialogue with one another in constructing a sense of the social, spatial and symbolic as they are operative in and around the peri-urban region.

Secondly, the relatively narrow class fraction that makes up much of the population of Menston (98% white, >50% NS-SeC 1 and 2, rising to nearly two-thirds at NS-SeC 1-3) significantly limits the capacity to develop a comparative analysis around traditional social divisions within the site. This combination of reasons meant that as the preliminary analysis was undertaken alongside the interview process, I was alive to the potential that 'theoretical saturation' (Bryman, 2012, p. 421) may be reached before a proscriptive target for a volume of interviews was satisfied. Subsequent to the completion of the fieldwork, Hagaman & Wuitch's (2017) have illustrated that in their qualitative cross-cultural study on water issues, themes and meta-themes in their data were identified at lower numbers of interviews in more socially homogenous locations – with as few 16 for themes within localised site.

Canvassing for interviewees followed a relatively simple strategy (Davies, 2011); start at one end of a road with a stack of information sheets, then proceed to call on each house along the road, chatting with residents in doing so and offer information sheets in the process, with interviews generally scheduled for a later time though in a small minority of cases – where residents were quite clear about it – the interview was conducted more or less immediately. The roads selected for canvassing followed the same purposive strategy as the survey, working to visit a number of different sub-areas of the village identifiable in terms of the differing phases of development. For example, rows of Victorian terraces near to the train station, a small council built estate to the southern edge of the village, cul-de-sacs 'in-filled' amongst existent housing, and periphery housing. Davies (2011, p. 290) highlights the nerves and slight anxiety that can be felt when first starting a round of door knocking (my field notes reflect some related displacement activities on this, including checking the opening times of Church-group run cafes that required

slight detours or getting more copies of the information sheet photocopied just in case).

On reflection, I suspect it is not unrelated to these nerves that my notes also reflect that when I did start canvassing properly, it was around areas that I had relatively long-standing memories of roaming as a child, walking the dog or running to work having slept in. Two partial features of 'door-knocking' emerged in this way, the first was in the role of memory and affect wrapped in up paths (Goodwin-Hawkins, 2015) and the second was in the fact that through these encounters on door-stops, my identity as a 'local' was a frequent point of reference and inquiry (Heley, 2011). Once my initial concerns had dissipated, the potential trap of simply building a convenience sample based upon my prior connections in place was identified and avoided by the simple measure of starting at the opposite end of the village to where my parents' house had been.

To this end my status as a 'village boy' (Heley, 2011) re-appears here, as when encountering a person on the road or on the door step (Davies, 2011; Hazel & Clark, 2013) the topic of the research was often the first item discussed (my stack of information sheets usually giving me away). Field notes reflect people expressing surprise at the idea of being asked their opinion about where they live and seeking justification as to why *I* was looking at *here*. Alongside this notes record a minor 'recurring theme [on the doorstep] of "oh I went to school/cubs/etc. with..."' being stated as broad mutual connections were recognised. The majority of these encounters – such as with someone who turned out to be a school friends aunt – did not produce formal interviews, so whilst generally a useful position to draw on, Heley's (2011) sense of 'being local' has its limitations as a research strength when applied to canvassing for interviews.

In the course of completing these interviews informed consent was approached as an ongoing conversation rather than a 'ritualistic' event that takes place at a singular point in the research (Sin, 2005). This was intended to ensure that any possible participants were aware of the research before a more specific conversation could be had about potential participation. At this stage, which applies to most people who did engage on the door-step,

potential interviewees were provided with an information sheet (appendix D) outlining the projects purposes, the role of the interview within that and how their data would be handled. If an interview was scheduled, this was generally arranged for a later time/date at a site of the interviewees own choosing (most often their home). For the small number of interviewees who opted into the research by email, usually after having had a fellow member of the household pass on an information sheet and using my email address, a copy of the informed consent form was sent to them to review ahead of the interview. The majority of interviewees opted to be interviewed at home, with one interviewee suggesting a volunteer run Church-cafe, and two interviewees were interviewed together at their place of work at a local business.

Over the course of a series of site visits, conducted on a mix of week days and evenings, and weekends, a further sixteen interviews were conducted with an additional 22 interviewees recruited. This mix of timings was intended to generate a broader mix of people than if I had only called during the working day. Interviews generally lasted for 45 minutes to an hour, with my questions guided by interview prompts (Appendix G). Prior to beginning any interview, interviewees were provided with two copies of an informed consent form (see Appendix F) and asked to read this document carefully to see if they had any questions. If they agreed to continue with the interview (though at this stage no interviewees did withdraw), interviewees were asked to sign a copy of the consent form which I countersigned and retained. The second copy was left with the interviewee. As outlined in the informed consent form, interviewees had a further 3 months following the data of interview in which they could change their mind and withdraw from the project by simply contacting me (no interviewees took this option). Additionally, interviewees were invited to review the transcript of their interview in order to identify any further information they would prefer to be anonymised. (One pair of interviewees did so.) Interviews were recorded on my mobile phone, as a secure device, then transferred onto the University of York server at the earliest opportunity. After transcription (the longest were transcribed professionally by a University approved company), transcripts were added to the NVivo project and initial structural coding around the interview prompts was under taken. The following section discusses broad characteristics of the interviewees.

Interviewees

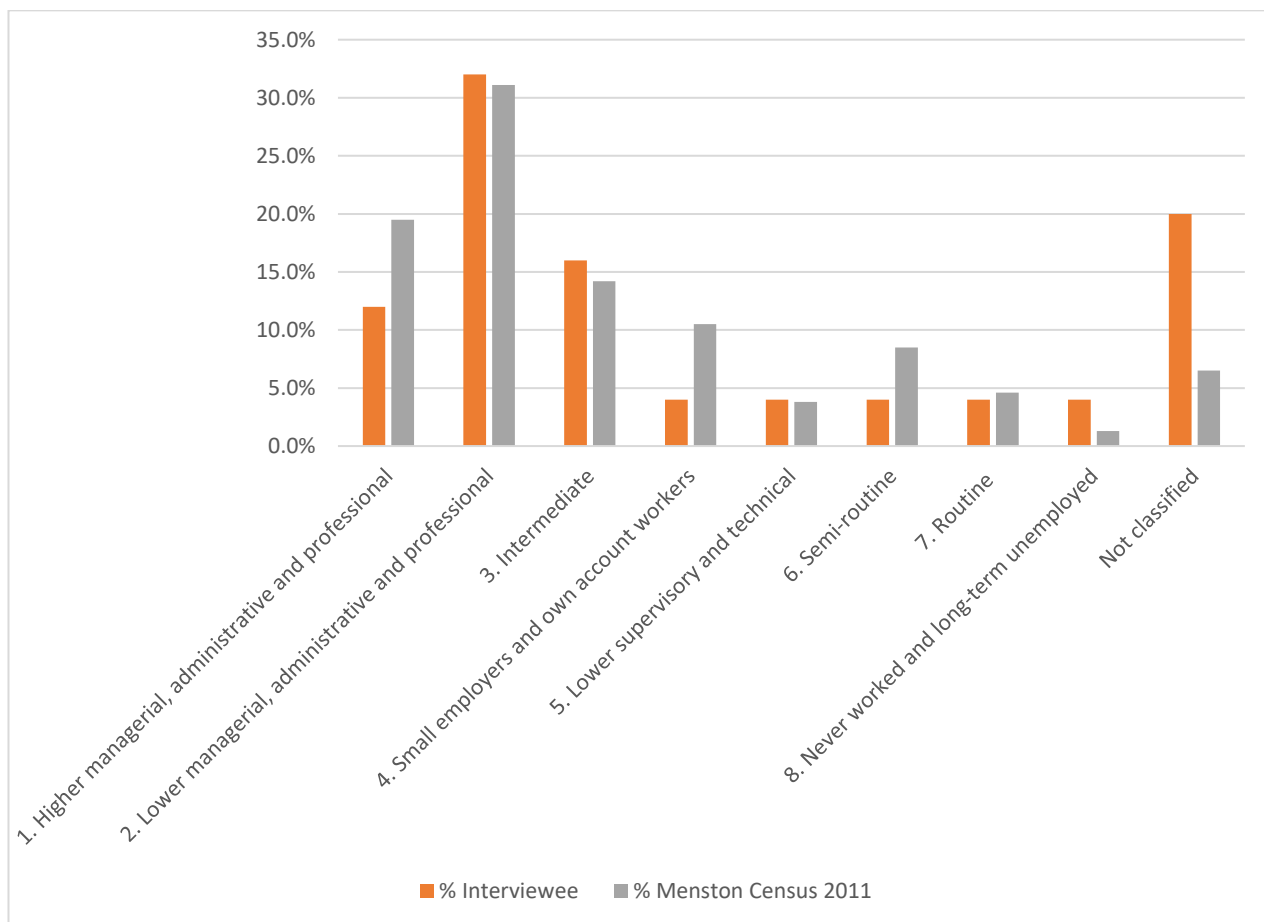


Figure 4. Side by side comparison of NS-SeC class of interviewees to Menston 2011 Census data

Amongst all interviewees (those recruited by door-knocking and surveys) two broad groups appeared to be present, the first and smaller group were often in the age groups of 25-34 or 35-44 and almost uniformly parents of pre-school or reception-aged children as well as being relatively recent arrivals to Menston. As noted in table 6, they were generally from the surrounding area (with former residents of Guiseley – see figures 1 and 22 – particularly well represented). These were also frequently joint interviews, with an occasional toddler or two present also or in an adjoining room. These younger families were often residents directly on or very close to a main road in the village, rather than a periphery estate or a cul-de-sac. The second and larger broad category of interviewees were older long-term residents (generally 50+) living either with their partners or alone. These couples and individuals were typically evenly split between male and female respondents, living in homes that they owned, in

one or two instances since they had been built, and where this was the case in which they had raised their now adult children in. These older residents were particularly over-represented in the residential estates on the peripheries of the village and cul-de-sacs within it.

Excluded from both these groupings is any account of the various individuals who made time for an interview in between the patterns of their working life or whilst carrying out chores at the weekend. These respondents were split relatively evenly between male and female and were typically more middle aged than either of the groups above and discussed their current full or part time employment in the course of the interview. The majority of all interviewees described themselves as homeowners and as shown in figure 4 in comparison to overall census data on Menston, and in table 6 more widely, interviewees were broadly similarly over-represented in higher NS-SeC groups. NS-SeC classes were coded at the broadest level on the basis of stated occupations using the ONS Occupation Coding Tool, the use here is meant to be indicative of wider social relation and not central to them (see Phillips, 2007, on NS-SeC data in rural research). Therefore caution is needed in reading this column for these reasons in addition to the number of interviewees who could not be classified as a result of an occupation not being stated or being unable to be specified.

Table 6: Interviewee pseudonyms and demographic details

Name(s)	NS-SeC class	Age Group	Dependent children in household?	Approx. years in Menston	Previously lived
Andy & Laura	-	Both 30-40	Yes	1	Suburb north of Bradford
Anne & Christopher	1 and not stated	Both 60+	Yes†	30+	South of England
Ben	2	50-60	No†	20+	South-East England
Catherine	3	30-40	Yes	2	Greater Manchester suburbs
David	1	60-65	No	10+	Guiseley for 20+ years
Emily	-	30-40	Yes	1	South-West, from Menston
Hazel	2	70+	No†	50	South Yorkshire
Ian	7	50-60	No	1	From town outside north Leeds

James	1	60-65	No†	30+	South-East
Jim	2	40-50	Yes	5+	From Wharfedale
John	5	80+	No†	55+	From Wharfedale
Kate & Ruth	3 and 2	40-50 and 80+	No and no	5+ and 55+	Leeds suburb and Wharfedale
Lucy & Mike	2 and 3	Both 20-30	Yes	1	From Wharfedale
Lynn	-	70+	No	20+	Wharfedale for 30+ years
Pat & Graham	2 and 8	Both 70+	Yes†	40+	Huddersfield
Peter & Steph	4 and 6	Both 30-40	Yes and yes	5+ and 5	Suburbs north of Bradford and Leeds
Rachel	2	65-70	No*†	25+	South Yorkshire
Stephen	3	50-60	No†	25+	From Wharfedale
Susan	3	50-60	Yes†	30+	South-East England

*These interviewees reported a caring role for other family members, such as grandchildren or spouses.

†Is used to denote households in which adult children had moved out, or they had moved within the village after their children had left home.

A useful feature of using the NS-SeC classifications is in that it obscures more specific occupational roles, thus assisting in preserving the anonymity of participants. Similarly, household formation has been genericised here and broad statements about the areas that respondents reported previously living have been used. 'Wharfedale' is used here to refer to places such as Otley, Burley and Ilkley, along with some smaller villages and settlements between these towns (see figure 22 in Appendix A).

Data analysis

The analysis in this thesis was primarily conducted using – or at least primarily mediated by – NVivo 10 and subsequently NVivo 11, the rationale for which was that as a qualitative data analysis software package it had capacity to store numerous forms of data which once coded could be 'read across' analytically without substantially differentiation between forms of text worked with, with the full context for each item easily brought into (Benson &

Jackson, 2013, p. 3; Bryman, 2012, pp. 591-609). The theoretical justification for this is in the relational qualities of fields as they are comprised of formal and informal actors and various forms of social practice (Thomson, 2012). In practice, this allowed survey data to be read directly alongside observational work, or reflective field notes from interviews directly re-considered in the light of emerging documentary evidence. Through this processes, which was often trial and error as I began to establish which tools were and were not appropriate to this project, I drew on Bazeley & Jackson's (2013) and Bryman's (2012) introductory guides to using NVivo at a technical level. As an analytic tool I focussed upon a narrow span of NVivo's features, in structuring 'nodes', future work would fruitful drawn on its functionality to assist with alternate presentations of findings – such as those models, diagrams and 'maps' of codes.

The creation of codes was a gradual, trial and error process (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). Whilst observational, survey and interview data were all initially structurally coded by topic, question, or prompt, in the course of reading and re-reading this material various potential discursive positions within each of these structural codes emerged, with some more esoteric codes discarded and numerous others converged under broad groupings. For example, the different 'registers' of participation in the EIP, and differing orientations to the urban/rural emerged in initially separate ways. My approach here is best described as deductively informed (Bryman, 2012), in that it the conceptual ideas from field theory underpinned the work so I was attuned to identifying forms of 'position-taking' and expressions of 'taste' within the data (Bourdieu, 1983; 1984; Thomson, 2012; Savage, 2011). More widely, traditions of discourse analysis present in the sociological literature informed my approach to this analysis, in particular that more closely aligned to questions of knowledge production as in critical discourse analysis models (van Dijk, 1997).

These dovetail as common to them is a linguistic basis of power within a field, with Grenfell (2012b, p. 268) highlighting that in Bourdieu's work "“discourse” itself became an analytic metaphor for social systems'. In this way the agendas and processes of formal categorisation and informal classification (Blokland, 2017, pp. 62-63) identified through the observational, survey and interview data can be located within a discursive context of hegemonic

ideologies that shape the ways in which the normal is expressed (Lees, 2004). Whilst the hegemonic and *doxa* are not interchangeable terms, and I favour the latter below for conceptual consistency, the notion of *illusio* as that which is at stake in a field is helpful in highlighting a mutual concern when speaking of the 'hegemonic' and of the *doxa* with the function and enforcement of the normative in social relations. Hall's (2011, p. 708) identification of hegemonic qualities of neoliberalism as a 'long term tendency and not about a teleological destination' shows the sort of argument that can be taken forwards with this attention to the discursive.

More widely than this, a discursive approach allows texts from within a relatively narrow population (see Hagaman & Wuitch, 2017 on saturation through small samples) to be engaged with as embedded directly within the social, political, physical and economic contexts that gave rise to them. For Fairclough & Wodak (1997, p. 258) a critical discourse analytic approach takes discourse as 'as a form of 'social practice'' that is situated within wider relationships and events, which are mutually constructive. There is a strong resonance here to definitions of 'habitus' as an internalised 'structuring structure' and position-taking as shaped by and shaping a given field (Bourdieu, 1983; Thomson, 2012; Moore, 2012). With Fairclough & Wodak's (1997) outline of a critical stance of discourse as something that helps to;

'Produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people.' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258)

Such production of knowledge and power has been drawn out in the literature review, with Jacobs & Manzi's (2013b) work evidence-based policy as a 'rationality discourse' pursued through a critical engagement with the idea that evidence-based policy is a non-ideological and impartial viewpoint. Through this work they (Jacobs & Manzi, 2013b) highlight a broad turn towards, and embedding of, instrumentalism as the key feature policy decision-making from 1980s, under New Labour and into Coalition government. This is a project that supports objectivist claims about 'evidence-base' that are partial and rooted in a broader ideational support of the 'market' as an information processing tool,

and illustrative of Hall's (2011) point that neoliberal hegemony is direction of travel, not only a destination.

From Jacobs & Manzi's (2013b) analysis we get a sense of how discourse constructs social knowledge and therefore concretely influences social relations. This is also suggestive of how the *illusio* of a site are contested and thus hegemony challenged, with Blokland (2017, pp. 143-145), drawing on Foucault, to highlight that 'only an awareness of the possibility of alternatives makes the *doxa* less hegemonic and opens up the possibility of a crisis of legitimacy.' In a small way, drawing out and naming the social, symbolic and spatial boundary work in the peri-urban as they relate to wider questions of rural and urban change may add to this possibility of critiquing power.

This discursive and field standpoint builds on the triangulation and 'local' approaches outlined above (Bryman, 2012; Heley, 2011), with Hajer's (2006) broad framework for researching and analysing discourse an instructive guide. Taking discourse analysis as an 'examination of the argumentative structures' in which actions, or practices, take place Hajer's (2006, p. 66) draws out similar concerns as those underpinning field theory as an examination of the 'objective structures' and positions within the wider field of power (Bourdieu, 1983). Hajer (2006, pp. 73-74) identifies ten stages for such projects, these provide a reference points to describe the general progression of this project but have not been proscriptively followed;

- 1) Desk research,
- 2) Helicopter interviews,
- 3) Document analysis,
- 4) Interviews with key players,
- 5) Sites of argumentation,
- 6) Analyse for positioning effect,
- 7) Identification of key incidents,
- 8) Analysis of practices in particular cases of argumentation,
- 9) Interpretation,
- 10) Second visit to key actors.

Hajer's stages are useful in that they help to frame how the research has been conducted as a *process* of investigation. From (1) examining texts and documents at the EIP, to (2) tentative conversations with action group member that prompted a return to (3) documentation, 'interviews with key players' (4) in this research were with residents that inform chapter 5 & 6 along with observational work reported in chapter 4 in the field. Each of which were followed by critical reflections (5 & 6), which drew out (7) key moments of position taking and discursive constructions of place, community and belonging. How position-taking/discourses compete (8) is strongly rooted in the apparent perceptions of 'key incidents' in the area, with my reading of this (9) as institutional actors orientating toward external key incidents, such as changes in government policy, and resident's groups typically more orientated towards localised incidents. A second visit (10) to the Exam in chapter 7 was achieved through the 'main modifications' interviewees were not contacted for follow up discussions.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methods used to respond to the research aim and research questions regarding accounts of place, community and belonging in the peri-urban in the context of wider rural/urban change. The ethical processes followed have been outlined, with reflections on specific ethical considerations (such as around informed consent and anonymity in interviewing) discussed. The research design as drawing on a triangulation of observational, survey and interview data has been summarised as an approach that allows a wider view of accounts and practices as within a field is outlined. The approach taken to purposive sampling for the survey is outlined, with the poor conversion rate to interviews noted the supplementary use of 'door-knocking' to recruit interviewees is outlined. The role of discourse analysis as it aligns conceptually with a field theory approach is outlined and used to summarise the approach taken to analysing the data.

5. Assembling Menston

Introduction

'Attachment to place remains remarkably obdurate' (Savage, Bagnall & Longhurst, 2005, p.1).

This chapter focuses upon the accounts of place emerging primarily in interviews with residents of Menston. The research question that informs this chapter is;

How are the social, spatial and symbolic qualities of place integrated into, and taken for granted in, discussions of local belonging and community?

Drawing on the above literature, this chapter draws on a more traditional community studies approach interested in a *specific* location and the wider literature on rural and peri-urban belonging (see for example Frankenberg's (1969) review of community studies research, Hillyard (2015) on rural schools, Miles & Ebrey (2016) on cultural life in a peri-urban village, and Vallance (2014) on living 'on the edge' of the urban). Discussions of community, belonging and place-images loom large here (Watt, 2009; Delanty, 2010; Hillyard, 2015; Savage, et al., 2005; Benson & Jackson, 2013; Moore, 2013b) alongside accounts of a romanticised rurality (Harrison & Clifford, 2016; Shucksmith, 2016). The chapter is organised around how people living in Menston talk about where they live, with key areas of discussion being experiences of belonging and community in Menston (Delanty, 2010; Blokland, 2017), and a discussion of the, sometimes divergent, understandings of Menston's social, spatial and symbolic centre(s).

This approach draws out the connections between the spatial, the social and the symbolic characteristics that are assigned to where people live, in doing so outlining forms of social and cultural capitals that inform the *doxa* within which Menston residents operate and reside. The data used here is primarily from the semi-structured interviews, though where appropriate, such as to flesh out a description of the village or particular details or accounts of place, I have drawn from knowledge of place as a 'village boy' (Heley, 2011) growing up in the area and from my field notes. This approach brings into the data a range of voices from exchanges on the doorstep with residents happy

to chat informally about the issues raised by the research, but with no interest in participating in a formal interview process, as well as noted down fragments of conversations in pubs or cafes.

With the interest here in talk about 'place' questions of what, where and who is *within* a place and what, where and who is *excluded* from a place arise; with the emerging picture one of place as 'assembled' through such talk (Goffman in Hillyard, 2015, 1.1). Assemblage raises the potential for divergence and differential conclusions to be drawn by different residents in that there is room for disagreement whilst remaining on the same fundamental topic. This is useful as I do not wish to iron out the contradictions presented but rather to explore some of these as differences in views that emerged during the fieldwork. As Cohen (1982) identifies, these differences can be unproblematic in that the same site/object/process may be consistently valued, but subject to differences in symbolic interpretation. Differences are also illustrative of the view of place as process (Massey, 1991b), with the ways in which notions of 'place' act as ciphers for wider issues of power, both in the form of power politics and in classed inequalities, one point of cleavage that a number of residents demonstrate an awareness of. Shucksmith's (2012) emphasis on 'places' as structured by their inequalities is a view that translates productively to the account of field developed in later chapters. What comes to the fore in this chapter are entangled ideas of place and community, as they are talked about by residents in relation to their day-to-day lives. The following chapter then locates these issues within the context of neighbouring settlements and proximate cities.

Locating Menston

The position of Menston as a peri-urban village in a liminal site where boundaries a significant role in shaping place, as explored in the introduction, was a recurrent theme in both surveys and subsequently interviews. The role of the turn to viewing the 'urban' as a *regional* phenomenon, exemplified by Lefebvre's legacy for urban studies (Lefebvre, 2003 [1970]; Soja, 1989), alongside an economic paradigm of mobility, is significant for Menston as a settlement. This is due to a position that is deeply embedded within wider

regional infrastructures (see train lines, roads and the nearby airport in figure 1, for wider regional context see figure 27 also), yet also ambiguously experienced by residents as a possible blurring of where was within and without their mental maps of the village. This is an ambiguity most obvious in transportation and employment, due to the flows of a commuter population to and from the city centres (complaints about being able to get a seat on rush hour trains were not uncommon). Residents reflected upon the relationship between spatial boundaries and social/symbolic liminality in different ways. Some, such as Susan, reflected on Menston's spatial liminality between suburbs and countryside as a strength, not least as it meant ease of access to both the city and the country. Susan spoke for numerous interviewees and survey respondents quite succulently in saying that she felt Menston was;

Susan: Brilliantly placed because we can go the same distance to Bradford, the same distance to Leeds and a little bit further and you're in Harrogate. Or you're in the countryside, you're in the Dales.

This position of easy-access to the wider region, albeit with an implicit assumption that one travels by car, and broadly outward facing framing of Menston is slightly differently reflected upon by residents such as James and Andy below. Both separately discussed Menston as not necessarily as a site to access *elsewhere*, as a point of departure, but rather as a site to be understood as distinct from other nearby places regardless of urban, suburban or rural characteristics in its comparative remove.

James' account of geography shares commonalities with the idea of Menston as an inward-facing *social* 'bubble' introduced by Steph and discussed below, whilst similarly underlining both social ('aspects of village life') and spatial ('separate from everywhere') separation;

WP: Could you tell me where Menston is?

James: Geographically [it is] north of Bradford and Leeds... West Yorkshire, North of England.

WP: How would you describe Menston to someone who didn't know the area? Who didn't know Leeds, Bradford, West Yorkshire?

James: Well, I think it's separate from north Leeds, for example, and very much separate from Bradford. Even separate from

Guiseley, which I really think is now a suburb of Leeds. I think Menston has managed to retain its individuality as a village. And I think in describing Menston there are aspects of village life. There are aspects of Menston that help it retain a village. I think it's just about geographically separate from everywhere around it. Away from Guiseley, away from Burley.

For Andy, who like James lived within the main built up area of the village rather than a periphery development and whose home was set back from a main road, talking about Menston meant a consideration of position in relation to the ebb and flow of mobility around the wider area. Again, rather than being directly intertwined with locations, Menston for Andy is somewhere you had to deliberately access, not somewhere that you could accidentally pass through or use primarily as a point of departure to elsewhere (see maps in Appendix A that illustrate the absence of any major roads through the village);

Andy: [The] fact, for me, that it's slightly off the beaten track. There's no road, there's nowhere to get to through Menston, so you have to be – if you're in the village, you're in the village because you want to be in the village. You're not carrying on to Burley in Wharfedale or Otley or anything like that, it's sort of set to onside. There's only two main roads and that's the one that goes down to Otley and the one that goes over the top [of the moors] to Bingley, neither of them go through the centre of the village. So, it's just – because it's just that little off shot, if you like, of a quiet little area.

The third and final set of responses to the questions of describing and locating Menston came in the form of those residents who, instead of giving an implicit or outright rejection of a connection between Menston and the urban (such as in Andy's 'off the beaten track' or James' 'separate' status), emphasised neighbouring towns and villages as well as a wider rural position. This rural positioning was notable if nothing else for its status as a common thread to interviews, though what precisely rurality meant to a given interviewee varied (Cohen, 1982) – see below on 'aesthetics'. The questions of affinity/disaffiliation to/from locations other than cities, especially Leeds and Bradford, raised here are explored in the following chapter, as is the question of how Menston's boundaries were commonly outlined. With the ambiguity over four periphery sites focused upon. The remainder of this chapter will first address

the framing of 'community' in Menston, in its practices (Blokland, 2017) and in the various focal points that emerge (Miles & Ebrej, 2016; Hanson, 2014).

Community in Menston

WP: If you had to describe Menston to someone who didn't know the area at all how would you describe it?

Kate: I would say it's a big village, it's not a small village. It's a big village. I love the buildings in the village because they're old. [...] I don't know how I'd describe it actually. It's just nice. I can't think of a better word. A sense of community I suppose.

As with James' statement above about Menston 'retaining its individuality', Kate's comment here is illustrative of the ways in which that discussions of place lapse into discussions of *community* and especially the idea of there being a 'sense of community' to Menston. As a term *community* was a common reference point for an array of topics (Massey, 1991b). In reporting these descriptions Day's (2006) caution to avoid romanticising or demonising population or place is relevant, as is Newby's against avoiding falling into 'vulgar Tönniesism' in mistaking context for determining structures (Newby in Hillyard, 2007). As such *community*, and an individual's sense of it, is not a neat line of enquiry; rather the descriptive work done by people on these topics range considerably. We hear of Menston the 'traditional village', understood in terms of the size of the place and types of social interaction, with echoes of Putnam (2000) and the social capitals literature in the emphasis on a static and known population. Alongside this are echoes of Bauman's (2000) identification of 'community' as a balancing act between freedom and security. A final common theme here is the significance of practice in shaping *community* (Blokland, 2017). Practices which covered a range of areas and activities from social media use, especially of a village specific Facebook group, mundane greetings and pleasantries on the street, to shared experiences of child-rearing through primary school and pre-school (see Hillyard, 2015), or in intervening and challenging the behaviour of others in public places in a manner of Jacob's (Andersson, 2015) 'eyes on the street' or

the censorious potential of community identified by Schmalenbach (in Delanty, 2010, pp. 30-31).

From this range of voices and experiences three broad ways in which a 'sense of community' was described – what we might term the 'hegemonic ways of thinking and talking' about Menston that serve to obscure some of the power dynamics at play (Lees, 2004, p. 102). The first is an emphasis on Menston as a community and place that is 'friendly', 'safe' and 'quiet'. Second is Menston's apparent difference from nearby settlements. The third area is the descriptions of the aesthetic qualities of the village. Across these accounts there are echoes of a rudimentary Tönnies-functionalist view on the rural, urban and size of settlement. These are discussions connected to and aware of wider processes of counter-urbanisation, rural gentrification and peri-urbanisation (Philips, 2010; Vallance, 2014) that map onto questions of differentiation and social boundaries that operate along classed and racialised lines (Watt, 2009; Askins, 2009; Moore, 2013b). As such overlaps between ideas and expectations from the spatial and the role of visible boundaries in understanding place in relation to idealised versions of the rural emerge (see Shucksmith, 2016). Although there were dissenting voices on this, these three areas shaped much of what 'Menston' as a social and symbolic site, with the three strands drawn together under the theme of 'sense of community' to then move to the final section of the chapter. This considers how these social ideas are explicitly re-spatialised in relation to multiple symbolic centres of community life and parallel communities, suggesting that experiences and sense of community in Menston are best described as multipolar.

Safety

Lucy and Mike, as a couple with young children who had recently moved to the village from within the local area, rehearsed for the interview a conversation that they had when deciding where to move to *within* Menston. The visual and use qualities of the moors were less significant for them as a factor in attempting to buy a house, rather than a concern to be distanced from urban infrastructure. For example, describing a decision not to buy a house to the west of the A65 (i.e. separated from the bulk of the village) as being rooted in future concerns about the potential for their children to play

outside beyond the garden. This was a concern that in turn drew on a desire to replicate aspects of the safety and mobility they remembered from growing up as children in nearby settlements. The quote below shows that the understanding here is not only orientated towards the present, but draws on personal histories and anticipated futures, stating, with emphasis added;

Lucy: We looked at one there. I liked the house, to be fair, it was the first house we looked at and I didn't like every house that we looked at but when we were talking about it properly afterwards you went through it and you were like it's not in the village that we want. **That's not what we came here for.** The boys, when they're older, would still have to cross a main road to get anywhere, to a shop. We'd still be quite out of the village whereas at least now I would trust them quite happily to go down to the Coop at a much earlier age than I probably would have done [...]

Mike: Yeah. And I think, again, going back to the whole point, like living in Burley **we always did have that freedom.**

For Lucy and Mike, the idea of coming to specifically Menston was to access a certain kind of idealised space, one that afforded a greater degree of both security and freedom than other possible sites (Bauman, 2000). This general attitude was pronounced amongst parents of young children as a form of peri-urban escape from the suburban and entry - or return for Mike - to a form of safe and predictable community (Vallance, 2014).

Menston was not however uniformly emphasised as the intended place to move to. Emily, for example, stated a similarly comparative appeal of Menston compared to her last home in the UNESCO site of Saltaire that is part of the continuous urban area of Bradford (see bottom left of figure 20 in Appendix A). This appeal was one that Emily saw as equally applying to alternative sites, including Burley, Guiseley and Otley. Her reasoning was that;

Emily: It was far too busy [in Saltaire], far too much traffic on the roads. Saltaire itself is a brilliant place [...] But... we felt it would be better for us to move with a young child to move to here.

These discussions of anticipation, experience and decision marking pervade the accounts respondents give of community life in Menston and are observable in the political action taken at the level of regional governance in the later chapters. Such comments and statements that emphasised as central

to their description of Menston feelings of safety, of quietness, and of friendliness were commonplace. I want to return to Mike and Lucy for a moment as their comments on this were indicative of the position taken by most interviewees;

Mike [...] How would I describe it as a village? Lovely really. Just lovely, quiet.

Lucy: Apart from some residents.

Mike: Yeah, just quiet and nice, safe. Safe is definitely a key word actually I would say, for me.

Lucy: Yeah

Mike: I never feel unsafe. Never felt unsafe anywhere really whether it be Burley, Menston or even Otley, kind of.

Like Emily, Mike and Lucy emphasise a feeling of safety in Menston that is anticipated as being similarly present in other nearby places. Lucy's caveat of 'apart from some residents' gives a clue that this is a 'quiet' that can be broken or threatened by a minority of neighbours so for these parents of young children, life was not entirely without friction. However, a view that Menston as a site is one where these tensions might be resolved through practices of civility emerged later here and in other interviews (Blokland, 2017).

Remaining with 'safety' and intertwined terms, Ian (another recent arrival, but as a single-person household) similarly joined the question of describing Menston as a place to describing his experience of people and population, terming it as having 'the benefits without all the hubbub.' Hubbub here was cast in contrast to Menston as 'a nice quiet area,' one characterised by;

Ian: Oh, friendliness yeah. Absolutely safety. But I can't say a huge community involvement. Obviously, the streets of Menston aren't thronged like the streets of Leeds. It's a nice place to go.

Ian provides an example of a routine slippage, to position the 'quiet' of Menston, commonly positioned as rural and bounded by moorland (see chapter 6), in contrast to the anticipated noise/bustle of 'other' places in various guises but, crucially, still near enough to access the benefits (see Vallance, 2014, p. 1966). For Ian safety, friendliness and access to benefits were closely linked to Menston's roads not being 'thronged' as a city street is

expected to be. For residents like Ian, Menston as a site of 'absolute safety' is positioned by a negation of the urban in broad socio-spatial terms (Sibley, 1995). With the connotations of noise and street life in the city suggesting a differing form of cultural capitals here to the urban gentrifiers who claim to be at ease with multiculturalism (Jackson & Benson, 2014, pp. 1203-1204). Such direct contrasting between social life in Menston and the city centres was relatively rare however, with difference usually explored more euphemistically or distanced manner with reference to a more 'idealised' sense of rurality – one that might then feed into ideas and discourses of national identity (Lowenthal, 1991; Wallwork & Dixon, 2004). That Ian did so may speak to his background in policing (discussed below in relation to High Royds) and so might be taken as a minority viewpoint.

Rachael's account of however, suggests that Ian is not isolated in this view. As having discussed the physical location of Menston, in which she also took description of place as a cue to move to people and community, in such a way as to show the 'socio-spatial' as overlapping (Sibley, 1995);

WP: It's a very broad question, how would you describe Menston?

Rachael: It's a very friendly place, very friendly. And it's, it's quite a close place [but] you need to make the effort to be part of it. So, you could live here and take no part in Menston, just enjoy that it's a really nice, peaceful place to live. It's clean, everybody respects each other. **There's no, there's no badness here.** It's safe, it's a safe place as far as our residents are concerned. Crime is the lowest in the whole area – we do suffer a little bit of car theft and fancy bikes from unlocked shed and posh lawnmowers, but... **The police will tell you, they can almost warn you when the gangs are coming.** The train station is very helpful to them and cars just waiting on the moor road are also very helpful to them and these charming people tend to work in tandem with Burley and then us...

Here 'quiet' is directly linked to 'peaceful' as distinct from 'badness.' The origin or possibility of social tensions, risks or dangers (such as from the unspecified 'gangs') are firmly located as not emerging from one's neighbours, as in the tensions in place for Lucy, but as entering Menston from the *outside*. This appears to be an of the sort of rural/urban dichotomy explored above and summarised clearly in Harrison & Clifford's (2016) work examining continuity in representations of the rural as under threat from the urban. More widely,

Rachael is expressing the sort of differentiation that one would associate with a counter-urbanisation perspective (Halfacree, 2012), in which the rural becomes an escape from the urban in its entirety, not simply a residential sanctuary to be departed from/returned to each working day (Pahl, 1965).

One couple for whom Menston represented a distinct, and recent, break from suburban residence was Andy and Laura. Unlike in assertions of 'belonging' (be that selective or elective) they were quite explicit that their movement to Menston was linked to moving to a social space of comparatively dense set of weak social ties (Blokland, 2017), the sort of civility Vallance's (2014) peri-urban residents prioritised. Directly contrasting their experience of social connections in Menston with their previous home in a suburb of Bradford, Andy put it as;

Andy: It's not a place where everybody knows everybody, but everybody knows somebody who knows the other person who you don't know [...]

Laura: Yeah, it is a bit [laughs]

I would suggest that the apparent divisions between Ian's account of hubbub and quiet alongside Rachael's view that 'badness' as originating from outside of Menston, from Mike's emphasis on safety (along with Lucy's allusion to disputes with neighbours), and Andy and Laura's account of step-remove social ties are not as deep as would first appear. Running through these conversations are notions of unity and essential familiarity of people and of place, of a socio-spatial locale in which the 'matter out of place' (especially, people who are deemed to be out of place) is identifiable (see Sibley, 1995), with claims that common cause is quick to be established where there may be an anticipated threat to the closely held notions of the rural that make the peri-urban appealing (Shucksmith, 2016; Vallance, 2014). However, these were claims that generically positioned Menston as a unitary space, rather than one of variegated claims of selective belonging (c.f. Watt, 2009; 2013b).

Once established as an aspect of the taken for granted on people and place; quietness, friendliness and safety become relatively interchangeable, with friendliness bound up with ideas of *active* engagement in constructing this state of affairs through a combination of one's practices, disposition and

demeanour (Blokland, 2017; Savage et al., 2005). How and when this *doxic* view of quiet-as-safety might be disrupted are drawn out by David, in particular the notion of Menston as both physically ('off the beaten track') and socially slightly different to other places. This was reflected on in terms highly resonate of a more anti-urban hostility that draws on a reified sense of the rural idyll as a site of community one sees in more 'counter-urbanisation' narratives (Philips, 2010);

David: [...] Okay. I, I think, Menston sees itself as being distinct, I think it sees itself as being slightly detached and I think it sees itself as an island of relative tranquillity amidst the chaos of commercial and urban society! [laughs] [...] If you get a relatively elderly population who are, who feel that rightly or wrongly that they're rights and their options are being eroded by these people who live in urban communities and just don't understand, then you get that defensive mechanism and what people do is they consolidate and they cling together... but I don't see that as being detrimental, yet I just think if there was any large scale development there would be a 'them and us' situation [...]

After moving on from this idea of 'defence mechanisms' to discuss the challenge of recruiting younger and relatively new residents to the sorts of formalised village societies and committees that David valued and saw as at the heart of his experience of community (David was active across a range of groups, including an involvement in the planning processes that shape chapter 7). David clearly stated how he thought *other* residents perceived the urban;

David: [...] And you know if you're not that mobile or you're a bit worried about being in a busy urban environment, I know lots of people who wouldn't dare go into Leeds, they wouldn't dare go into Bradford because *they think* it's full of thugs, pick pockets and potential rapists(!) just waiting to prowl around and jump on you - and I think that's why I'd like to see a younger demographic in Menston, I just don't know how to achieve it.

Considering the discussion in preceding chapters on the ways in which the urban is associated with the visibility of class and race (see Neal & Agyeman, 2006; Askins, 2009) whilst the rural takes on an ideologically and culturally privileged position (Lowenthal, 1991; Phillips, 2014; Harrison & Clifford, 2016). One that plays into processes of the commodification of space as part of the wider reproduction of class reproduction distinction (see Murdoch, 1995; Smith, 2011). As a site on the periphery of the urban and the rural, Menston is deeply

emmeshed in these processes. 'Safety', as the broad grouping discussed here, therefore becomes one of the key ways in which active symbolic boundary drawing along classed and racialised lines plays out (Sibley, 1995). Boundary drawing that is claimed as rooted in the tangible but relatively non-committal, levels of noise and friendliness in street interactions, alongside the intangible but keenly felt as a potential experience. In the notion that 'badness' and sources of threat enter communities and places such as Menston from the *outside*, as forms of pollutant, with extreme danger anticipated as inherent to the urban.

Naming differences and negotiating change

With these *doxic* aspects of the local field this in mind, I want to turn to where interviews began to address differences and changes *within* Menston as experienced over time. The language of homogeneity and predictability that social life in Menston is framed within are factors that are defined in contrast to anticipated social life of other locales (Goodwin-Hawkins, 2016). Whilst the above is primarily social in emphasis, this section explores one of the ways in which Menston as a space is marked out as 'different' from other locations in claimed differences between Menston and other settlements in relation to wider notions of the rural and the urban (Shucksmith, 2016). A range of ideas about place are articulated in these discussions, such as where residents perceived Menston as being similar to or as different from, alongside expressions of concern about changes or developments as impacting on these perceptions of similarity and difference. Such matters of re-structuring (Marsden, 1993) as lived experience are exemplified in David's account of moving to Menston from neighbouring Guiseley;

David: Guiseley grew so rapidly in the period between 1979 and 2002 that we began to feel uncomfortable [...] Instead of it being a place where you would walk down Otley Road and know and greet and be greeted by nearly everyone. That just ceased – because there was so much new development and so much input had taken place you weren't recognising people and it lost its community feel.

David is placing at the centre of his argument here ideas about place-based personal experience and expectations. Experiences and expectations about social life that evoke an anticipation of differences at different settlement

scales in a way that evokes the narratives of Vallance's (2014) peri-urban villagers and Savage et al.'s (2005) elective belongers. Whilst stopping short of citing the change in some sort of urban/suburban mentality, David does locate a change in his experiences to the changing environment. The size of settlement and speed with which a settlement is expected (or feared) to grow were a routinely paired set of comments, with quite explicit comments made about the kinds of ideas and experiences of community that come to the fore in 'larger' settlements. The central point for interviewees here is one of size of population rather than *necessarily* of the settlement footprint. (Although the two are deeply linked and the latter is on occasion substituted for the former just as place can stand in for people.) With larger settlements understood by many residents as somehow incapable of supporting forms of street level civility as a practice that was emphasised by many residents, with the implication that this also means they are inherently insecure (c.f. Blokland, 2017 on urban practices of community). Menston as village, meanwhile, is positioned as enabling this, with the following quote emblematic of this attitude.

This is a view that draws on claimed personal experience of settlement and population growth as in proximate locations, such as the immediately neighbouring towns of Guiseley and Otley;

Ian: [...] A higher population I think would destroy Menston, destroy it completely. There would just be this curiosity in the centre. I've seen it in Otley. Otley is going the same way. The temptation to build and build and build along the valley floor.

An increased population is positioned as an existential threat to the ideal of Menston as a site of 'safety' and a particular form of rurality. For Stephen this can be understood as about the idea of Menston's size and comparable spatial isolation as making is possible to;

Stephen: [...] describe it as the first village out of Leeds or Bradford. It's the first proper village out of Leeds or Bradford, this way, on the railway line, if you want to call it that way. But Baildon is too big now, you know, there aren't other sort of identifiable villages. Everything else is either a suburb or, you know, or almost become a town in its... Guiseley is massive, well, rather large, isn't it, and it just sort of melts into Leeds really. Whereas Menston seems to have its own identity.

Part of what matters for Stephen here, and in a similar way for Ian and David, is how Menston is recognised as a locally distinctive place, as not a suburb, as not a town, but as a village *and therefore* as having a distinctive identity (Sibley, 1995). I come back to this sense of differences from suburbia more substantively in the following chapter, however he picks up clearly on the notion of suburbia as undifferentiated mass that Vaughan (2015) identifies. Focussing on what characterised community and the village scale, Catherine took the time to unpack and examine this type of claim in relation to her own biography and understanding of what it means to live in and describe a place as a village;

Catherine: I grew up in a village in Kent. So, yeah, I'd describe it as a village. Because I think that has got certain connotations for people. How to describe it? I think I wouldn't actually describe it as a village where there is a lot going on, after actually living here and in comparison, say, with Burley. Burley is this place where there's always something going on and it's very active and there's lots of very organised people who do lots of events and festivals and things like that. So, I think in comparison to that it's much quieter. There are lots of things. I think there are a lot of people with children so there's definitely a lot of young families but there's a lot of older people who live here as well. How would I describe it? I think what I said before, I always talk about how it is, you know, you are on the edge of the Moors and near to the countryside, but you are still very connected with Leeds and Bradford because of the train line. So, yeah, I can't think of much else to describe it. I'm probably not painting a very good picture but it's generally a nice place to live.

We can see then that 'village' is a highly loaded term here, one that residents engage with to frame their experience of place, in an echo of Goodwin-Hawkins (2016) point that researchers must consider the imagined alongside the actual. It is a term that is clearly about 'safety' as a form of quietness and low-key sociability, typified as around parenting young children and having older neighbours, that makes Menston a 'nice place to live.' As discussed above, it is in the contrast with other spaces but also for some with other times, including an anticipated future. A thread ran through the interviews of anticipated change to the area that required careful negotiation if the present state of social life was to go relatively unchallenged. Change here is also implied as bringing with it a changing population structure and changing class relations, with the sort of in-place tensions between 'newcomers' and established

residents that Hillyard (2015) draws out in Norfolk anticipated as an inevitable outcome of spatial growth.

Talk about change and the implicit threat to what makes Menston a distinctive site often centred upon the two sites on the southern edge of the village, off Derry Hill and Bingley Lane, that have been the focus of the activities of the Menston Action Group for much of the 2010s (discussed in chapter 1). In this instance, change in the footprint of Menston is not so much something to be negotiated as something to be opposed, to be challenged and resisted. Lynn for example, reflected on the likely changed experience of living in Menston with her house near to Derry Hill with its narrow and steep lane, as liable to be a negative change in her quality of life as;

Lynn: It would definitely [change], because there would be so much more traffic. They would be coming down and you'd get people who weren't – this sounds terrible doesn't it – but weren't of this area. It sounds dreadful when I say that. Because put it like this, when you walk round High Royds estate, which when I was on my fitness kick I used to do every morning, you don't get nearly the same feeling in there as you do in the village. People are more transient there it seems, and you get – I don't know – no, I shouldn't say things like that, it's terrible.

For Lynn the prospect of development is the prospect of gaining 'people who weren't of this area' – there is a distinct echo of the above from Rachael on 'badness' as externally located and David's account of the views of *other people* regarding Leeds and Bradford city centres as inherently dangerous and threatening spaces. That Lynn knows that this is a contentious statement ('it's terrible') but that she says it makes anyway is telling in that she is showing that she is aware that there may be egalitarian cultural norms about who is and is not permitted to live in the rural, such as the possible 'good countryside' Shucksmith (2016) outlines as a goal, but nonetheless lapses into a hope that 'transient' classed others do not come to *her* bit of rurality. Who is seen as such an 'out of place' person is in practice likely to be closely tied up to classed and racialised representations and social expectations of rurality that is homogenously white (Sibley, 1995; Askins, 2009; Neal & Agyeman, 2006) and middle-class (Murdoch, 1995; Tyler, 2012).

Reflecting on this in terms of her own biography as someone who spent their childhood in Menston before moving away then returning with their own

family, Emily outlined a slightly different position on change than Lynn. Pointing out that population change in Menston over the years had a lot to do with commuting to/from Leeds and therefore the professional classes Emily noted the question of affording to live in Menston may lead to greater homogeneity on the one hand (as in Phillips, 2014), whilst also facilitating some further growth of diversity;

Emily: Well, house prices I think determine to a large extent who moves in the village; professional people, commuting from Leeds I would say – or Bradford, more likely to be Leeds. So, you have to have a certain income to move into Menston. I don't think years ago it used to be like that, I'm sure it wasn't. I think perhaps you've got more of a mix of people years ago, rather than now.

WP: Does it feel somewhat more homogenous now then [then]?

Emily: Yeah – it's, it's... Yeah. You could say that it's a bit snobby in parts, to be honest... maybe with the newer people, mind you I'm a newer person moving in! [laughs] I'm not a snob, erm. Yeah, I would say yeah, it's got a certain... Perhaps, yeah it has got a certain snobbery perhaps, of the people moving in not the long-term residents. But I think there used to be more of a mix of people when I was younger – but it's house prices really, it's like everywhere isn't it?

What marks the experience of change, and anticipated future change, for Emily then is the homogenising force of wealth (Smith, 2011), the pressures of rural gentrification and counter-urbanisation processes that draw on a view of a rural 'good life' (Phillips, 2010). It is not the possibility of a more 'transient' population that matters for Emily but a possibility of social and cultural differentiation by incomers with 'a certain snobbery' that is inextricably linked to house prices. There is a link here in perceived affectations and displays of wealth that are then used in claims to place (i.e. Savage et al., 2005, on elective belonging) to the argument that class is an embarrassing subject due the suggestion it is a discussion of one's *moral* worth as much as financial position (Sayer, 2002). Emily's concern to distinguish herself from the perceived elitism of others is examined in the next chapter in the context of the careful social and symbolic boundary drawing common to interviewees as they drew a moral distance between themselves and those who choose to live in places such as Ilkley.

Aesthetics – a ‘traditional Yorkshire village’?

A third area that emerged a set of descriptions of the aesthetics of Menston as a built environment – what Phillips (2014) refers to as the ‘ocular’ approach to place. I deal below with the question of moors and rurality, here I am concerned with descriptions that in many ways brought together the issues of safety as a form of social and symbolic cleanliness, in the sense of Sibley’s (1995) use of ‘matter out of place’ and of difference as to do with the size of settlement and population that are suggestive of a classed and racialised place image (Murdoch, 1995; Tyler, 2012). What Menston looks like, including what its buildings look like featured in a significant minority of interviews accounts of place. With conscious citation made of how the built environment mapped onto a particular idea of the ‘traditional village’ or more specifically a ‘traditional Yorkshire village’ – giving it some distance from ideas of the ‘rustic’ (Bermingham, 1989) though well within notions of the ‘good countryside’ (Shucksmith, 2016). This refrain similarly featured in survey responses, though my focus here is upon interviewees, respondent 10’s description of Menston as ‘a traditional Yorkshire village in a semi-rural location with a strong sense of community, pleasant surroundings and good transport links’ is apposite in highlighting this balancing of ‘tradition’ and connections. There is a connection between identity and belonging running through this section that has more to do with *elective* approaches than the selective or community as such, in that it is about this alignment of self and space (Savage et al., 2005; Watt, 2009; Blokland, 2017).

Catherine’s comments above on Menston as a village, in the same vein as that of her Kent childhood, are suggestive of a dialogue between a ‘real’ experience/location of and an ‘imagined’ sense of rurality (Goodwin-Hawkins, 2015; 2016). This discussion has on one side, scrutiny of the meaningfulness of the rural/urban divide in the context of labour and leisure practices that access town and country as in Hoggart (1990) and Halfacree (2012). The imagined meanwhile comes in through an emphasis on Menston as a ‘rural village’ with a ‘traditional’ character (Phillips, 2014). Imagined in that it is taken for granted as a type of common sense to discuss Menston as at the least ‘semi-rural’ (not semi-urban) village. For those interviewees who underscored a sense of belonging to place as tied up with the ‘traditional’ the appearance and

aesthetics of the village were key rather than its economic functions (c.f. Newby, 1979; Marsden et al., 1993; Savage et al., 2005). Taken together, this expresses something of the *doxa* and *illusio* (Deer, 2012) that residents operate within and orient to. A periphery urban position that has both access to the urban and the sort of built environment that evokes a culturally valued rural landscape. A *doxa* that combines practices and visuals which is encountered again at the regional level in chapter 7, as part of a wider strategy of rejecting proposed future changes in the area through the Examination in Public process. My focus here is on the built environment, such as in;

Susan: Traditional! Yeah. Oldie fashion [...] It's a little bit bigger than a teeny-weeny Dales village [...] so it's bigger than you'd think a rural village would be – but it's not as big as Guiseley which is the next place isn't it?

As Susan shows here, size and form of community are expected to merge and blur into one another, with place reduced ultimately to not-quite a set of well understood catechisms and frames of reference (e.g. Spracklen, 2016, on 'northernness'). Considering that the bulk of the village's housing was developed in the inter-war and post-war periods, with older Edwardian and Victorian terraces and semi-detached housing predominate, Menston is transparently too big to be 'teeny-weeny.' Rather, the insistence on 'traditional' qualities is interesting as it is not a case here of thatched roofs, heritage housing or listed statuses as in the visions of 'baroque rurality' Phillips (2014) identifies amongst rural gentrifiers, instead something more functional yet idealised is insisted as existing here amongst the various generations of village infill.

The significance of the time and experience in place is worth highlighting here. For Susan, it's about 'oldie fashioned' whilst for Catherine it is in comparison to her own childhood sense of place and an apparent fit identified between her sense of self and Menston that appears to be 'elective'. The idealised sense of Menston that holds onto the past is found in Jack Kell's (2014) book on Menston, *Menston Remembered: Memories of a Yorkshire Village*, in which Kell gives a broad descriptive account of his experiences growing up in Menston, furnishing pictures of and anecdotes about long since built over

pastures and lanes.²⁰ What marks out the qualities of tradition or for that matter 'Yorkshireness' is not always clear across the interviews. However, the role of a partial-grid system of Victorian and Edwardian streets of semi-detached and terraced housing (see Appendix A for a roadmap view), along with the presence of a historical hall/manor house to the south-west side of the village is key to accounts such as this. As David put it:

David: It's, it's not a twee, little... It's *not* a pretty village [...] I would say it's a functional village [...] It's also relatively middle class, because there is no, there is no source of employment locally. But I would describe it as a real community village, where if you've been here for any length of time, you know and are known and there's enough shops to meet most of your requirements. There isn't a butchers [sic] but you can get some meat at the co-op, but there are only fifteen shops when you look at it, you know there's a, apart from a post office, two newspaper shops and a co-op. [...] So it's not completely self-contained, but it's not introspective either... I like it as a place where you can feel comfortable and where if you, if you felt you needed to call for help, you could.

WP: Um, so it's not somewhere that's, you said not twee so it's not a self-sustained-

David: - no, it's like. It's not Grassington where you can go, and everything is there in Grassington, because it has to be for the tourists, Menston isn't really a touristy place, we get people who use it to walk through, cycle through, but generally they're either on their way to or from Ilkley or Otley or somewhere else. It's an area that's quite pleasant, it's got some nice little walks, but it's not somewhere that anyone would come to as a tourist venue, unless you were particularly interested in... Err... Lord Fairfax and meeting Oliver Cromwell before the battle of Marston Moor.

What marked out the aesthetic of Menston that is put forward, at length, by David is not 'twee' or touristic or heritage but *functionality*. A site of classed residence certainly, so that the emphasis is not in terms of the place image of the 'working village' explored by Moore (2013a), but in the low profile the village has with regards to being a tourist destination or central focus of rural gentrification pressures in contrast to the sense of a 'greentified' Pennine village (Smith, 1998) or more 'baroque' rurality (Phillips, 2014).

²⁰Kell's book is mentioned here primarily as illustrative of wider narratives around place and memory that were put forward by some long-standing residents.

The significance of this becomes clearer looking back to the importance of articulating *difference* of scale from surrounding locations (wider symbolic and social differences are explored again in chapter 6 with a view to specific points of contrast). For David the aesthetic importance of Menston was in how it differed from the tourist destination that are in the Yorkshire Dales (e.g. Grassington) or nearer by, with Ilkley as a historical spa town and to a lesser extent Otley as a historical market town (see Hanson, 2014, on attempts to negotiate 'heritage' in Todmorden on the boundary of Lancashire and Yorkshire). The extended quotation from David explores how the issue of a *lack* of a romanticised rural aesthetic can be grasped as a virtue when staking a claim to place (Savage et al., 2005), in that it allows a personal and spatial distinction from proximate towns, and those in them, that better fit the image of 'tradition' to be developed, whilst also acknowledging that Menston is thoroughly embedded within the wider urban region. David's accompanying emphasis on the same forms of active community participation and practice (Blokland, 2017) that are central to the understandings of safety, explored above, shows how the social, spatial and symbolic come together through talk about place.

The issue of aesthetic and wider disposition amongst residents were drawn as linked more widely in interviews, in particularly in accounts of moving to Menston from elsewhere, such as those given by Emily and Catherine and discussed above. Kate's narrative of moving to/within Menston a few years previously is of interest here in the detail she provides for seeking out an opportunity to live in Menston as someone that was felt to strongly match her sense of self ;

Kate: When I first moved to the village I wasn't sure where I wanted to live. I knew I wanted to live in Wharfedale and I liked the idea, because I travel a lot by train for work. So, I wanted Burley-in-Wharfedale, Guiseley or Ilkley. And I rented on [road that leads to farm and moor land], which is part of the Dales Way, the footpath, and I loved it. I loved the village. I thought people were really friendly. And the more I stayed, and I rented another house on [same road] and then I just saw these rows and I just thought I'll start looking for a house now. I got chatting to the person who was selling the house, just walked by one morning, and he said come in and have a look. I said I'll have it

and within six weeks I'd bought it. I had a big renovation job to do but I wouldn't want to live anywhere else [...]

Ruth: I haven't even managed to put her off.

That two properties were rented and the third home which was bought required a 'big renovation job' speaks to the cost of housing in Menston (see chapter 1). It also shows Kate bringing a financial commitment to living in Menston not only as a site of aesthetics value but as a site of social practices, as she clearly values her social life here in a way that is not typically 'elective'. Noting that if it was simply a matter of commuting to Leeds on the train, numerous other places in the surrounding area allow equally quick access to the city centre, with a lower housing cost. Partially reflecting on this a few minutes later in the interview, Kate drew out the sociability of her life in Menston;

WP: So, if you were describing Menston to someone who didn't know the area would that be something you'd say?

Kate: Yeah, beautiful. You can go in any direction and end up in the countryside. You don't have to walk far. There's Otley, Chevin. Good markets as well. Otley Market.

Ruth: Otley Market is good. Blackberries.

Kate: Oh, blackberrying. We're very keen on blackberrying.

Ruth: There aren't many more I'm afraid.

Kate: No, she's had them all. I've got a friend who is going through a divorce at the moment and lives the other side, I call it, towards Wetherby way and she's come over once and she doesn't really know this side, but she likes Yorkshire.²¹ And I took her round, I'm taking her round again next week, to show her different areas, Baildon because it's a bit cheaper housing, and we go out for lunch and we went to Ilkley. And she was gobsmacked. She said I can't believe it. She said it's absolutely stunningly beautiful. You've got lovely pubs, because we went up to the Hermit [on the moor at Burley Woodhead] which you can walk to in 40 minutes. She was completely blown away. So, she's actually thinking now that she might come here. Shame I'm not on commission isn't it really.

Sociability might be typified by Ruth's joke that she hasn't 'managed to put her [Kate] off, rather sociability (the sort of 'friendliness' that informs the category of 'safety') finds itself put alongside discourses of an appealing vision of rurality

²¹ It should be noted, that Wetherby is also in Yorkshire, to the west of Menston it is in fact further from being out, by any definition, of the county than Menston.

(e.g. 'beautiful' and 'blackberrying') and wider notions that living in Yorkshire more generally is a distinctive and unambiguously positive experience. One that is enthusiastically promoted to friends and family. In combining an aesthetic vision of place and region with a commentary on people and amenities – or at least pubs – Kate is outlining the appeal of a form of counter-urbanisation and rural gentrification lifestyles (Phillips, 2010) whilst also suggesting the limits of applicability of the 'elective' to peri-urban belonging.

The valued aesthetic qualities of Menston similarly emerged in Christopher and Anne's discussion of their move to Menston nearly 30 years previously, yet the prior social world comes out quite differently to Kate's view:

Anne: And we chose to live here.

Christopher: And we chose to live here but obviously we're not either Yorkshire or Menston born and bred.

Anne: I'd add something to that too. Perhaps because we're not Yorkshire born and bred when we came up here we were very struck by the landscape. It takes a bit of getting used to actually. But some things are quite remarkable. When you're driving down Main Street and you've got a red sky at night and you've got the Yorkshire stone it is very beautiful [...] part of the village is very beautiful. And I think a lot of people who live here, and certainly those of us who came from outside, do appreciate that. The stone, the buildings, the way the street tumbles down. It's very attractive. That's important. [...]

Anne sets out here an account of a form of the picturesque (the baroque potentially, Phillips, 2014) that is framed as distinctively Yorkshire, from the stones of older houses to the incline of roads, which echoes those the section began with. However, how this is related to a wider sense of acceptance in place and community, the sociability so important to Kate, and assertions of Yorkshire identity has been experienced as both more exclusionary and generally perplexing;

Anne: A sense of ownership and a deep sense of belonging, which has taken us a while [...] It takes a long while to belong when you don't belong.

Christopher: And I think that is something that's changing dramatically [...] And the sense of belonging here is very, very strong. I think it's a Yorkshire thing too that there is... It's the biggest county after all. There is a strong sense and it is historic [...] But we don't have that. We don't feel any strong affiliation

where we were brought up, because it's not like that in other counties. I think that is a very Yorkshire thing. And I think it takes a long time to just feel that people... I mean, I don't know if [other] people think we belong [...] But that's a very odd feeling [...] I understand that that happens in other villages elsewhere. We know for a fact someone who went to live in a village in Devon and was not accepted and couldn't cope with it and left. I think that's a village thing. It's not necessarily a Menston thing it's a village thing. And I think that did impact a lot, but I don't believe it does anymore. I really don't, when you see all these people coming in. I don't think they feel it at all, do they? Because there's so many people who've come to live round here. It's a very desirable area.

In Anne and Christopher's experience then there is again the temporal to consider, more widely the role of wider social and structural change that has re-cast both what villages are for and who it is that lives in them (i.e. Pahl, 1968; Marsden, 1993; Moore, 2013a). Arriving in a place and encountering an unexpectedly strong sense of affiliation to a specifically regional identity, that was combined with a wider hostility to 'incomers' (see Hillyard, 2015 also on this), that is understood as a more typically rural phenomenon, marks out some of the limits that an over focus on a form of elective belonging that is rooted in size of settlement and aesthetics can have (Savage, et al., 2005). There is also a degree of the disorientation of hysteresis present in their accounts of first arriving in a place with a 'strong' regional identity (Hardy, 2012). With this, I want to return to the 'symbolic' and seek to draw out some earlier conclusions on community in Menston that go into 'assembling' a place-image (Hillyard, 2015).

Senses of community

All three of these areas of emphasis contribute to the ways in which place attachment, affiliation and/or senses of belonging are expressed by residents as a combination of the social and the spatial, the conflation and contradictions of community and place. This can be summed by the fact that when asked to describe Menston in general terms it was invariably described specifically as a *village*, though what this meant now and in future diverged. The next chapter opens with a discussion of various forms of spatial-imaginaries as boundary making practices (Blokland, 2017). Showing how inclusion in the 'village' was something to be regulated and protected for many, with positions

on the size of Menston as a place often overlapping with where in the village a particular person lived, with those in periphery locations typically suggesting a more expansive definition of Menston in contrast to more narrowly selective views of place and self (Watt, 2009; 2013b). These issues of scale overlap and adjoin with more emotional and almost moral descriptions of place, with sense of safety and friendliness put alongside potential changes in scale as a source of threat above. Susan put it as 'real sort of cosiness about it I suppose.'

Cosiness was reflected in the accounts given in survey replies, with the single words and phrases running throughout these answers that echo the three themes identified in interviews. The overwhelming view is one of positivity, where Menston is framed as variously 'friendly', 'pleasant', 'small closely linked village', 'a delightful community of friendly, caring people', 'a lovely village with a sense of community' and, as above, 'safe'. Contra to the embeddedness in the wider region that Menston presented for some was a sort of social and spatial exceptionalism for some interviewees, with Steph describing Menston repeatedly as 'a bubble.' It is a bubble that is isolated socially, physically and emotionally from the wider world, as an almost idealised space a world unto its own without any threat contained within it nor, for Steph, significant connection to the wider region. The village is a sanctuary here, as a space to opt-out of the urban regional context (Phillips, 2010). Steph sought to position her experience of Menston and valuing of it as a place in that it allowed her to opt out of regional/urban mobilities. Within the interview, this account was persistently disputed by Steph's co-interviewee Peter, who pointed out that this was the way in which the first person lived; doing as many day-to-day activities (including shopping, working and taking a child to school) within the village and not a specific quality of Menston. Steph's account might be thought of as the place-image and experience merging, more widely it is significant as it is the exception to accounts of experiences of place in my work and in the wider literature (Milbourne & Kitchen, 2014; Halfacree, 2012).

Yet, the 'bubble' view was not an isolated way of describing Menston in abundantly positive terms, as we can see from the views on 'safety' or survey quotations in the preceding paragraph. Other interviewees expanded on this familiar theme to link the nature of the 'bubble' to mundane everyday street civility of greetings and familiarity of faces as contributing to a sense, or at least

a suspicion for the below quotation, of wider community that is based activities (Blokland, 2017), beyond the immediate familiarity of faces;

Catherine: I think you always, as a mum, get to meet people quite easily that way at playgrounds and things like that. Just more of a sense that people recognise you and there's a smaller area. You could be walking along Main Street to the one or two shops in the village, so you'd see the same faces. I don't think there was anything actually specific that I was looking for but just sort of felt like there might be either, I don't know, just community-based groups or social groups to get involved with.

Invocations of language that echoes the social capitals literature (e.g. Putnam, 2000), with its pre-occupation with particular forms of social trust, as well as Frankenberg's (1969) argument that a 'truly rural' community is defined by actors having a multiplicity of informal and formal ties between them formed important common-sense understandings of community. Rachael emphasised the same point on weak ties, that many people she encountered in routine day-to-day life in the village were either known faces or names to her and her family was central to her experience of community (Blokland, 2017). This is part of the idealised weak ties of that Vallance (2014) finds amongst her peri-urban New Zealanders. Rachael went on to say that should she encounter a stranger, she would deliberately acknowledge them. Whilst 'badness' may be external in origin for Rachael, the description of Menston as a place rooted in a sense of security and safety is nonetheless heavily linked to her own routine, everyday forms of interaction with others. For example:

Rachael: It's so... I can still walk around Menston at night and feel totally safe. It's a safe place, it's a friendly place. **I just love it that if I walk out of this house and even smile at somebody I've never seen before they'll smile back.** It's a very trusting place you know. My Dad's just come to live here recently and he already kinda knows people and everybody knows he's my Dad! And he's probably told everybody, but you know people say, 'oh how's your Dad getting on?' 'We've seen your Dad, watching out for him' and all that kind of thing. And yet that kind of Northern community care is often associated more with the traditional mining village, or where people live so close to each other – like the back-to-back or the through terraces – you've got that kind of feel in this, in this kind of village and it's probably cause it's quite self-contained and people meet each other in more than one walk of life. Even if it's just through shopping in the same place, or going to the same school, or going to the same church because they haven't got any children.

Here Rachael draws on similar notions of 'northernness' (which I am going to treat as discursively adjacent to, if not interchangeable with the Yorkshireness discussed above) to articulate what kind of village and community Menston is (Spracklen, 2016).

I am not seeking to over emphasise accounts of 'the bubble', given that the majority of people discussed Menston as situated well within the wider region and processes of mobility. However the term demonstrates the very real practices of place-making that people put into a lived experience of place, in addition to abstract discursive labour that describes the social and spatial boundaries of a location (Benson & Jackson, 2013; Moore, 2013b). For a number of these respondents 'community' was expressed as a sedimentary idea, in that it is about the multiple ways in which they had experienced the village over the years and the range of social connections that they built up in the area through work, children's education and recreation. It was about the maintenance of relationships through placed based practices, over and above any idealised sense of the landscape (Blokland, 2017). Community for these interviewees was often as significant as broader sense of elective belonging 'de-coupled' (Watt, 2013b), which comes out of an accumulation of experiences and the density of social ties amongst users of this space that, at the small scale, allow for mutual recognition when walking down the road. Recognising this view of slow, sedimentary creation of community we can see how the prospect of population increase – in particular sharp increases – can come to be treated as a pending calamity for community. Though accounts such as Christopher and Anne's, suggest that these changes might in fact serve to lessen claims to place that can be restrictive to those arriving.

When narrating such ideas of people and place as forming community, interviewees typically sought to place Menston with villages *further* into the Wharfe valley rather than the urban and suburban. In making such a point, Hazel produced an OS map to show the geological terrain that surrounds Menston and emphasised the 'Guiseley gap' between the moorland of the Chevin and Rombalds moors respectively as between the urban and the rural, and where one finds Menston (see Appendix A). Occupancy of the 'gap' was, for Hazel what defined Menston in geographical and social terms, with a position on the edge of a large stretch of rural land stretching northwest

through the Yorkshire Dales and continuing into the Pennines before reaching Northumberland. This chimes with Stephen quoted above positioning Menston on the edge of an urban context and as a gateway to a more rural landscape, with Menston 'the first proper village out of Bradford and Leeds.' The implicit claims to authenticity around 'proper' bring me back to 'the bubble', with the emphasis upon Menston's rural credentials as rooted in a particular landscape but one that allows a more self-contained life than that expected to be found in more 'touristic' sites such as Grassington (see David above under 'naming differences') are imaged to have for other residents. This claim of rurality is however highly limited, for example residents rarely made any reference or acknowledgement to the rhythms of a form of economic and social life determined by the farming calendar, let alone as something experienced as a rural community. Clearly, this stands in contrast to the type of rurality explored by Newby (1979) and goes toward illustrating the long restructuring of the rural under the dominating role of the urban metropolitan region (Marsden, et al., 1993; Lacour & Puissant, 2007).

Place attachment was also strongly expressed through various social networks and ideas of 'community' as set of loose informal ties and practices, typified by qualities of friendliness and 'cosiness' outlined above that defined living in 'the bubble' for some and visual proximity to a particular form of 'Yorkshire' landscape interlinked. Various issues of proximity can be cited here, not only in terms of instrumental access to mobility and the wider countryside (Milbourne & Kitchen, 2014), but to various forms of social proximity that are spatially and organisationally structured. In Frankenberg's (1969) account of both the 'truly rural' and 'fully urban' a common theme emerges of the complex web of overlapping interpersonal relationships that are specifically *spatially* located. People know their neighbours as individuals *and also* as members of a wider social network of family ties, work colleagues, sporting teammates and fellow church/chapel goers. These kinds of experiential factors are central to understanding the layered and varied nature of the communities at play in any village.

In Menston, though a long way from having a pattern of dense social ties comparable with the border villages of 1950's Wales or East-end of 1960s central London, the rule of thumb that communities exist through different

contexts holds true. For older residents either retired to near to it, for example, David, Hazel, Graham who all live in periphery estates, all discussed working lives shaped by driving out of and into their estate each day, by-passing the bulk of village and having little routine interaction with it or other people. In the centre of the village Ben and Rachael gave much the same account of a working life of commuting which inhibited particularly strong social networks being built first-hand for many years in place. These were not the active distancing of selective belonging but reflections on the structural limitations of making a claim to place (Watt, 2009; 2013b). That Steph both lived and worked in the village might suggest her view of Menston as 'bubble'. Further exceptions would include Hazel, who talked about developing a highly specific friendship circle based upon practices membership of a community choir, and Ben, Rachael and John who discussed the role of their grandchildren in rooting them into a sense of place. These senses of belonging were not based on the actual physical content or context of place (e.g. *walking* around the village or use of facilities such as pubs, day care centres, shops, churches, the library, etc.) rather it was a deliberate opting into an activity as a hobby in previous decades or growth of the family – that crucially who stay in the area – that resulted in developing a particular experience of community that had little to do with any of the spatial qualities of Menston (Blokland, 2017).

I raise this as a caution as against over-simplifying and romanticising rural life, as simply being *near* people in space is clearly not sufficient to cultivate connectedness with the wider population, in a sort of simplified Tönnies ecological determinism (Hillyard, 2015). Rather shared interests and disposition, such as music, were important to shaping a sense community in place. Interests one necessarily see as present from the purely aesthetic level and the sorts of cultural and social bonds that are expressed through *habitus* (Maton, 2012). This point about the overlap between the social and the spatial in talk leads to the next section of the chapter on the *multiple* centres for *multiple* forms, experiences and practices of community in Menston (Blokland, 2017). That is might be symbolically discussed in terms of a safe, distinct and notably Yorkshire village does not mean that it is experienced in a unified manner. Instead, use of space and experience of community that instead of underscoring Menston's rural characteristics, has more than an echo of the ways in which urban spaces

are described as having *varied* users and communities unknown to one another (see Jacobs, 2000 [1961] on the various users of public spaces for example).

John put his view succinctly that an over emphasis on a rural idyll misses an actual engagement with people as when asked about a sense of community in Menston, he responded that there were 'a few clubs and what have you. Been involved in 'em all at some time [but it] doesn't strike me as being a community place.' Similarly, Hazel voiced pessimism and jadedness in response to the same question saying:

Hazel: I was disappointed in so many people having no interest in the community... That came out in if people happened to be there and rather than you putting it through the letter box you'd say, 'I've just brought your newsletter' and they'd say 'ah, waste of time' that was the attitude from a fair number of people.

Before going on to say that she felt that:

Hazel: Oh, there's different communities, there's different groups of people who are interested in different things - I think that is community rather than the village. You can have the thespians, you can have the choirs, those are the communities that people feel closer to rather than the village.

WP: So, it's all the activities, more of an activities base?

Hazel: That's what I've felt among people as I've grown older here – of course it's very different to when I was working, I didn't have time for the village. I had a career as well as my husband and we had two children and that was it. Until the boys were grown up and then of course, then we retired and then my husband died, and each section of life is eh... you want different things, you look for different things. And now I'm much more part of the things that go on in the village than I was when I was working because I've more time.

It is this notion of 'different communities' and the role of the life course more widely in this that the chapter now turns to before the closing discussion.

Menston's multiple centres

A partial introduction to the discussion of boundaries is productive here, as in addition to the routine slippage into discussions of community, discussions of boundaries in interviews would often be answered with reference to the

various *centres* of the village and village life. Interviews underlined how these issues were entangled and complicated one another significantly. For example, in response to the question 'where does Menston stop and other places start?' Rachael, who lived in the main part of the village rather than a periphery estate, stated;

Rachael: Right. So, I live on the edge of Menston but it's immediately behind the primary school so it's although it's the edge [...] there's the school and obviously that's a hubbub of activity. I also live two minutes' walk from the biggest store in the village which is the Co-op, again that's a hub, and [...] St Peter's Way which has got quite an elderly community and so those people make it... well busy in a different kind of way really because they're around during the day [...]

Here Rachael identified three centres of community, as seen by someone who professes to be on the edge of the village; the school, the Co-Op, and a number of retiree's flats and houses. What we can see here is the way in which spatial location translates to experience of the social, in how such spaces of interaction and points of reference facilitate the kinds of mundane practices of community, all those 'hellos' when out the house, that are central to the account of a place-image of Menston as a safe and distinctive site explored above. These are the everyday cultural practices of place identified in Culter by Miles and Ebrey (2016) as much as Blokland's (2017) emphasis on community as a set of practices.

To summarise, the multi-polar nature of community as it featured in the interviews was largely centred firstly on informal, habitual use of shops and services, in particular of the Co-op for regular contact with people known through other contexts, or for a sizeable minority of resident's the village's pubs. Secondly, experiences of community linked to the Primary School and pre-school were discussed as rites of passage for new parents (and some grandparents with caring roles). This was in contrast to the leisure orientated given that associations around education are, largely, involuntary and give a shared set of experiences and frames of reference for interviewees (see Hillyard, 2015 for when this commonality becomes a focus of competing tensions). Other more minor centres of community were raised by interviewees, such as the role of religion and religious communities or membership of clubs and teams (such as bowling or bridge), however these were a smaller number

of responses. When such associative life was raised, it was often done so to be explicitly discussed as illustrative of how the person was embedded in wider processes and groupings beyond Menston, so being a route out of the specifics of experiences of place and community in Menston. My focus here is therefore to provide a brief overview of how schooling, shops and services, and pubs and clubs were invoked as three focal points of community in the interviews.

Schooling

The centrality of the primary school as a site of participation in and knowledge of the wider community for interviewees resonates strongly with Hillyard's (2015) argument that one of the centres of interaction in the contemporary village is education. Parents' common experiences of the bureaucracies of local authorities, routine greetings and conversations at school gates (and via children) provided important localised frames of reference that anchor people's experiences of place and community. Hillyard's (2015) research does draw on this to outline how this common frame of experience can develop into a point of competition and conflict between 'incomer' and 'established' populations. For Andy and Laura, encounters around the school gates were discussed as initially being approached with trepidation as likely to be felt to be highly classed encounters, so filled with the potential for embarrassment (Sayer, 2002):

Laura: Yeah – I suppose going back to your question before, I thought – being a mum – I thought everyone had a nanny and it'd be like you'd go to rock up at the school gates and they'd all have 4x4s and be blingey and it's not like that, everyone's down to earth. Pretty much.

Andy: Yeah, you get a good mixture of people. It does seem to be predominantly white, which is very different from where we used to live.

Laura: Yeah, yeah

Andy: But... Yeah, I don't know why that is – cause I don't think it's a massively affluent area, I mean there are some houses around here that are worth a mint [aside to child]. There are some big houses, where people are affluent... Erm, but yeah. But we don't qualify for millionaire status – quite – but yeah, maybe that's got something to do with the demographics of it [...]
There's a mixture of people from, anybody from people who

need council assistance housing to former footballers – apparently so.

We can see here that for Andy and Laura moving to Menston was anticipated to involve crossing a wealth divide and having to negotiate 'nannies and 4x4s' as much as the regular demands of the school run. Whilst said in humour, this is revealing of a concern with classed – and as Andy goes on to identify – racialised differences about who 'fits' into village life (Hoggart, 2007; Murdoch, 1995; Tyler, 2012).

For other parents of school age children Peter and Steph, schooling represented a clear bridge into experiences of community and facilitated a deeper sense of belonging. Stating:

Steph: You've gotta put in something, you can't just hope you know?

Peter: I think having the kids helps round here [...] Massively, like you get speaking to a lot more people with the kids and you feel more part of the community with the kids.

Steph: Yeah, and then you get the kids invited to parties – I was at two parties on Saturday with [child] just cause she was invited and then they'll say 'oh she can come to dinner' so the parents are obviously there as well or... not.

Peter: You know a lot more people through the kids [inaudible]

Steph: So yeah you do, you get chatting to people. I mean I chat to quite a few of the mums and I don't generally, I wouldn't think I'd be chatting to mums if it hadn't of been for [child] – not in a sensible way anyway!

Whilst reporting less overall concern about the possibility of obvious classed differences, Peter and Steph clearly valued the potential of both school-gate encounters and also of building relationships through their children. In a contrasting but complimentary vein, Emily described the challenges of developing a sense of belonging and affinity to place that came with her pre-school aged son's attendance at a nursery in Otley instead of Menston. Having recently moved to Menston, Emily commented that:

Emily: I probably have less knowledge about the village than we used to have about Saltaire, which our sort of nearest... That didn't have a, well it did have Facebook sites but there was a lot of information around about it. I suppose because it was a tourist destination. And it's widely publicised when events are on, but

without [a Menston-based Facebook group] we probably wouldn't know much about anything happening in the village. But that's because, I suppose, my son goes to nursery in Otley he doesn't go to the pre-school here.

WP: Okay

Emily: So, you're not exactly integrating into village life perhaps as much as you would be. Although if you both worked, you'd still probably have no idea what was going on if there was nothing on the Facebook group...

Across these three accounts a common theme of schooling – and pre-school – are presented of the central role in meeting people and of gaining information about social events of children. It is somewhat trite observation, but this is illustrative of the central role to the development of any place-based identity of having the potential for interaction.

Although concerns about the potential of shortages of school places did arise in interviews, such in Emily's, this was not typically framed as a problem with arriving populations but linked to local and national governance practices, for which CBMDC in particular was held to be culpable. It was then secondly linked to the expansion of the village as pushed for by development interests. The development of High Royds as a housing estate discussed in chapter 6 as overseen by Leeds City Council, without the provision of further primary education was pointed to as one such example. Nonetheless, the priority for interviewees with children in school or approaching school age was typically around the practical goal of ensuring that their child accessed a 'good' school. Doing so in combination with citing the appeal of a 'more rural' type of environment as a place to raise children in safety and idyllically (Valentine, 1997; Shucksmith, 2016). Milbourne & Kitchen (2014) have identified clearly where such twin motivations can encounter the challenges of mobilities and investment, such that the *withdrawal* of services in rural spaces undermines such projects. This is where Menston as a peri-urban site embedded within the metropolitan region is worth re-emphasising – in that since in recent years Menston Primary School has expanded, rather than being threatened with closure.

The twin motivations of good education and the apparent safety of the rural came up repeatedly in the motivations for moving to Menston. In the

inverse of Laura and Andy's account of moving to Menston and meeting classed difference, when asked to explain the move to Menston Peter explicitly cited the opportunity to move his child out of a multi-ethnic school, and so away from the perceived cultural challenges that this brought with it:

Peter: Yeah, schooling... Mainly schooling for us at the time. Because, yeah. We were getting taught Polish gherkin songs where we were before.

WP: Polish gherkin songs?

Peter: Yeah... And [child] was getting told off for spelling samosa and pakora wrong [laughs] Which is actually true! The two spelling mistakes she got wrong, she was like 'I don't even know what they are, I don't like Indian food!'

Menston clearly provides a place of 'retreat' from racialised multi-culturalism for some residents, note that in saying this Peter draws on migration from Eastern European and the Indian sub-continent here. This combination of forms of cultural difference is framed by Peter as an especially powerful motivator to move home, as multicultural education gets cast as a challenge or impediment to his child's education. The racialized tone of this position is reflective of wider cultural understandings of rural space outlined in chapter 2. In this way Menston is fundamentally understood as a normative space of whiteness (Moore, 2013a; 2013b; Tyler, 2012). Askins (2009, pp, 365-366) work is similarly relevant here, in that it highlights the ways in which ethnic minorities have historically been excluded from the 'national imagery of rural space' that is in turn crucial to the normative imagery of 'Englishness' and 'natural' status of the countryside (Leddy-Owen, 2014). We can see in this extract the same work of elision and exclusion at play in Peter's account of moving home.

This becomes especially significant when we consider also the combination of the homogeneity of Menston's population and the emphasis by some residents on Menston as part of a rural landscape that is apart from the urban. This has distinct echoes of the view Askins (2013) identifies which locate diversity as specifically urban. This theme of othering and distinction, along distinctly racialised lines, is a long-standing issue in rural research (Neal & Agyeman, 2006; Moore, 2013a). The themes of 'safety' and civility emphasised by other residents take on a more nuanced position in the context of these expressions of a normatively White education. As Hillyard's (2015) research

shows, schooling presents an opportunity for reflection on wider social and economic inequalities that construct place (Shucksmith, 2016). Part of the process that shapes Menston as a place is evidently wider normative ideas of rurality and whiteness (Bonnett, 2000; Moore, 2013a). This status is understood to communicate 'safety', with visibly distinct space defined by clear visual boundaries (if you are to look for them), as opposed to stigmatised urban locales (Hancock & Mooney, 2013; Wacquant, et al., 2014). The broad taken-for-granted aspects of the *doxa* within which Menston is located by residents is thus one closely connected to wider discursive imaginings of the rural as a form of 'idyll', as space that allows a retreat from the urban and suburban (Deer, 2012; Shucksmith, 2016; Philips, 2010).

The significance of schooling as a focal point of community was closely linked to the fact that it is effectively an obligatory experience for many parents. In that whilst private education is in theory accessible, the majority of children in the village will attend Menston Primary School therefore education becomes an unavoidable shared reference point for the majority of residents. None of the interviewees spoken to here reported either attending or sending their children to private schools. Rather concerns were voiced about how to ensure their children could access local secondary schools. Though Menston children are technically under Bradford Local Education Authority, many attend schools in the Leeds area (Guiselley and Otley) with some going to Ilkley and a smaller number still attending a Catholic secondary school opposite High Royds. Clearly, this is not a particularly creative point to make but there is more nuance to this than first appears when we consider the significance of a long-term residency in the village and how this experience of children's schooling serves as a point of reference after children have left education. Rachael reflected on this, highlighting three general stages of their experience of community in Menston that reflected the interplay between their own career and children's education;

Rachael: When my children were young [...] I was on all sorts of committees. So, I knew a lot of people, but then when your children tend to go to secondary school, they do all that kind of stuff themselves and they go off to university and I was just working. In the five years of retirement I just know hundreds of people around this village. Rekindled old friendships and the kids have changed, we haven't – well we have

with age, we've changed – so it's great!

Shops and services

Where experiences of children's education – and more significantly of their social lives – have at one stage or another been unavoidable for many interviewees, the role of shops and services was somewhat more varied, with a number of residents specifically seeing the role of particular facilities as informal centres of community, whilst for others they did not feature at all. The significant point here is that different interviewees would raise different shops or services as central to their experience of community, with some emphasised as sites to be avoided entirely. Rachael, for example, reported remaining registered at a doctor's surgery outside Menston so as to maintain a greater level of privacy about her health – something that was felt to be unsustainable if she used the surgery in Menston. Alongside this sits a valorisation of the Post Office as a site of community, which at time of interviews had recently closed due to the Postmaster's retirement. Christopher and Anne described their use of the Post Office well beyond the functionality of buying cards and stationary, sending/receiving post, but instead drew on figurative and emotional language to narrative the social functions of the now-closed Post Office²²:

Christopher: [...] Now, there's a thing, you do wonder without the Post Office, to us, a little bit of the heart of the village has gone.

Anne: Oh, very much so in terms of a meeting place. Not a formal meeting place but you go in there to buy your stamps or post your letters and you have a chat [...] about village affairs and how is the planning going or this or that.

Christopher: Or you meet people you haven't seen.

Anne: There [might have been] one of our rare burglaries, you know, did they catch anybody, who knows what? Whatever. Certainly, in that respect part of the village has gone.

Christopher: Yes, it really has.

The informality of interaction in a fixed and at least semi-regularly used location is clearly a significant part of community for Christopher and Anne, and the loss of it is described mournfully. What is interesting is that this closure was barely remarked upon by other residents, despite it being a contemporary event at

²² That a new Post Office franchise had also been opened by a British-Asian family run corner shop further down Main Street and away from their home went unmentioned.

the time of interviewees. If shops and services were mentioned by other interviewees it was in their acquaintance with the staff of the Co-Op, and regular bumping into other people there which was important. Time and change appear again here and are further reflected by Susan's in relation to her own changes in everyday mobilities. Changes which have more widely been linked to re-shaped consumption habits and organisation of day-to-day life. Re-structuring which has therefore, in Susan's view, diminished opportunities to encounter other people informally and relatively spontaneously:

Susan: When the boys were little, when they were babies and until I started working a lot more, for about 10 years we had one car. And [spouse] needed it. So, I walked everywhere with a pram and a seat on top. It was vital. It made an enormous difference. But there's nobody like me left now, nobody would walk up and down the village to do all their shopping in the village because everybody has two cars or waits until hubby comes home and goes to the supermarket. But everyone was walking around, when I went up the village to do the shopping with the boys as babies, we would talk to, we would bump into elderly people and talk to them all the way bum-bum-bum-bum-bum and all the shop people. Everything was here, we went to the supermarket [in Guiseley or Otley] once a month – so that was really important. Then.

WP: So, would you say that's been the big change on a day to day living here? So not just physical change

Susan: I can see that people don't do their shopping locally, much. But nor do I, because I'm zooming about and I'm working.

There is an implicit contrast here between Susan's emphasis walking along and bumping into people as something in decline with the implication that sociability is also – including in her own 'zooming about – and the earlier comments noted about the significance for younger interviewees (e.g. Lucy and Mike or Emily's accounts) of place-based Facebook groups as key to structuring their sense of place and belonging in Menston.

This is not to say that online interaction has supplanted in-person interaction around shops and services, so whilst the Co-Op may not have been a site all residents used most interviewees referenced at least one shop or service that they used in the village. For example, there were expressions of concern around a change in ownership at a bakery on Main Street with worries

expressed as to whether a habit of stopping for a coffee and gossiping would be able to continue under new owners. (To the best of my knowledge, it remains possible to buy a take away drink and take a seat whilst passing the time of day with staff and other costumers). Whilst others, such as James, discussed the absence or decline in shops and services in Menston compared to developments in Ilkley and their own attempts to support local enterprise:

James: Ilkley is getting a new tiny cinema. I go to the Auction Rooms beside it, so I've been watching the progress of their building. It's going to be a 56-seater, which is fantastic. It's the smallest cinema in Europe. But going back to Menston, Menston has got nothing like that. Not a thing like that. When I came to Menston there were three butchers and no butchers now and that's a great loss. You try desperately to support local shops and the like but there are very few local shops to support.

WP: [referring to early part of interview] You can go to the deli and get cured meats.²³

James: Yeah, I do use it. It's very, very interesting that there are, as far as I know, I think there are seven hair and beauty salons in Menston. It's amazing that. Other than the Co-Op. One baker, the deli, Dysons shop and a printer at the far end. The old newsagent has closed [...] It's been closed for years I think. Though the windows were active in putting up... Somebody puts up houses for sale in the windows, but I think the shop [is closed]. After Simon Lax went a young Asian family had it, really nice. I used to buy my Guardian there. They were struggling and then they disappeared quite quickly [...] I mean, I use local plumber, local handyman and that's on principle that I use these. And I use the local, it's not exactly a gym, the Studio [...] It used to be the vet before it moved to White Cross and what was, it looks like a huge garage, is now... it used to be where the veterinary practice was. She's [the owner] converted it into a small studio with mirrors, an office where they do all the administration and a resting area and a loo and stuff. And she runs Pilates and other classes, yoga classes and so on, from there and has done so for years. I use them. I go to Pilates and stuff there. So, there are things like that going on. She is chair of the Menston local business thing. It's a very informal thing but they do meet to try and work out ways that people would use local facilities rather than go outside of Menston.

²³ As an instance of my own experience in place a disclosure is necessary, I worked for this business throughout my late teens and early twenties – which though at a remove of around four years at the point of interviewing, this may have made my face familiar to some interviewees such as James.

What is clear here is that community in each of these cases is not an abstract general idea of freedom and security, but actual long-term relationships and friendships with people specifically anchored to Menston through their work and through their practices.

Rather than being solely a case of discursive position-taking in the field – of picking sides and drawing socio-spatial boundaries – community emerges here, and above on schooling, as a much more active process of encounter and social practices which seek to sustain a sense of belonging (Blokland, 2017). James' account of trying to support local businesses is largely a list of lost business, from butchers to newsagents, however there may also be something revealing about contemporary consumption practices more widely, in the fact that those beauty-orientated businesses/services with which James does *not* engage have generally maintained a medium-long term presence. The core point to take here is that, each of these examples were cited emotively as a source of trepidation, yet by no means was any one of these sites a universal point of reference for interviewees, suggesting that the linkages between an experience of community and consumption habits are subject to changes in what is available as wider patterns adjust, but also over the life course as one's own rhythms and opportunities for interaction ebb and flow.

Pubs and clubs

We see a similar state of affairs in discussions of specifically social spaces, i.e. the village pubs and a village snooker club that had recently had a new clubhouse built after selling off most of a field the club owned for an infill development project of around 20 houses. For Stephen the role of the 'village pub' was central to facilitating a wider sense of community and social bonds,²⁴ with your use of pubs being seen as effectively as a measure of the sincerity of your community spirit and claims of belonging to Menston. Responding to a question about his views on the work of actions groups in the area working to

²⁴ The specific pub referred to here is somewhere else that I had worked at between school and university, in addition to socialising there with friends, so I was highly aware on beginning the interview that Stephen was something of a regular in the pub. A connection that came up in the course of the conversation.

oppose the development on Bingley Road and Derry Hill specifically, Stephen stated that:

Stephen: [...] Just on the subject of the action groups, on the biggest meeting we had, which was nearly 300 people in Kirklands, after that I went up to the local pub and made a point of just seeing how many of those 300 people went for a pint. There was six and all those were the usual suspects, you know, who I knew anyway from the pub. So, all these other people who are so bothered about the village, you know, they don't actually frequent the community spaces, which are the pubs. If you're that bothered why don't you try and support some of the local businesses?

While this statement elides the possibility that people went to one of the other four pubs in Menston, two of which are separated by less than 50 metres, Stephen's view that pubs constitute 'community spaces' is illustrative of a different way in which community might be thought to operate – one that is partially suggested by James' shop local efforts. Here community is very strongly positioned as a set of activities, whilst much of the prior emphasis around weak occasional ties has been around *civility* more widely (Blokland, 2017). Again, this was *one* resident who emphasised the role of pubs (c.f. Heley, 2010) but taken alongside the emphasis above on shops and services from Christopher and Anne through to James there is an emerging sense of community as something structured around and orientated towards specific and enduring spaces for encounter. The school-gates and formality of reciprocal invitations for play-dates appear to form another such space for encounter.

An understanding of the importance of such spaces of encounter is provided in the negative by Ian, who stated repeatedly his intent, having recently moved to the village, to make use of the newly re-housed snooker club as a way of expanding his social circle and gaining a more secure sense of belonging. Making clear a desire to join and participate in a particular form of social space that is anticipated to be present in order to correct an apparent deficit in the experience of community – or less formally put, to make friends. An experience, it is worth re-stating, that is clearly about inter-personal relationships and the demands of one's career *outside* of the village as much as it is about any particular conception of place-image. We can see here echoes of Rachael's reflections on their own varied engagement with community as

structured around schooling and career and anticipation of the kind of informal, casual social life emphasised as a feature of frequenting the village pub (emphasis added);

WP: What's your experience been of the people? People talk about a sense of community and things.

Ian: On this one I've got to say I'm quite deficient. I joined the local club because it's got three snooker tables and it's a nice place. I haven't really intermixed a lot. Even with some of my neighbours I haven't had a really long conversation. I know [X & Y] next door. Very nice people. But I've got to say after that I don't know a lot of people. And I think it is tricky sometimes. Perhaps if I went to the club though I would meet more people. They also have a writing club but that's where my job gets in the way of things unfortunately. I'd love to pack in the Saturday morning thing and then I could go to the writing club. I could call in and watch some television with other people and have a chat. So, I know there are some other people in this village I do know from years ago when I used to work with them. They're just round the corner but I don't know exactly the house. I just found that out recently. So, I've got to say I haven't really mixed with the local population a lot through various reasons.

That the snooker club is positioned here in the same frame of reference as long conversations with neighbours or the potential of joining a writing club speaks to Ian's comparative isolation on the one hand, but his willingness to find sites of sociability and friendship on the other.

This recognition of pubs and clubs as potential sites of social life was similarly discussed by Lynn who lived in-sight of one pub. Reflecting on her own social relations and view of Menston she said that:

Lynn: It's a very friendly place and I've got lovely neighbours. Not that I know that many because it's funny because my house is flat-fronted, and I spend most of my time in the back of the house. I don't see everything that's going on. But my next-door neighbour always tells me, and she knows everything that goes on, so she tells me what's going on. And they go to the pub as well, which we don't do, and I think you learn an awful lot from people who are in the pub. They're regular pub goers so they find out all sorts of things, which [she] passes on to me if I need to know them.

So, whilst Lynn may not go to the pub, it remains a source of information for her, though filtered through her neighbours' perspective. Graham and Pat took this

commentary in a slightly different direction, to comment instead on what had replaced their visiting of pub in the village on a Friday evening – the TV:

Graham: I think a matter which has changed is pubs. We used to go for, we'd go to the pub every Friday night and we never go in there now, but all pubs are having that problem, aren't they?

WP: Is that the [pub]? The handy one?

Graham: I'm talking about in the village.

Pat: The Menston Arms.

WP: Oh okay

Graham: it's just it's... people won't go, don't go to pubs now do they? They watch the telly [...]

Pat: Of course, this is nice and convenient, the [pub] is convenient.

Graham: But we never go.

Pat: No, we don't.

Graham: I think that's the main thing, not just in Menston, the old traditional pubs; they're disappearing, well we know they're disappearing. It's just people's attitude now, they don't – they just don't go to the pub

As an aside from the wider point here about how people cultivate a sense of community and belonging in place, I came away from this interview with the distinct impression that Pat would like to go to the pub and experience a little more social life more regularly. Whether it is the Menston Arms or the other pub nearer to their home I have redacted, whilst it is her husband who wants to stay in and 'watch the telly' instead.

Conclusion

In exploring the first research question, as to how Menston residents talk about the spatial, social and symbolic qualities of place and the ways in which these qualities are linked to one another, three key discursive areas that contribute to the 'assembling' of Menston as a place have emerged (Hillyard, 2015). In broad terms these are; the ways in which Menston is 'located' as embedded/distinct from a wider regional context; the various expectations of community around safety, difference and a village aesthetic (its status as

Yorkshire village notwithstanding), and finally; the various experiences of community as centred upon differing activities and practices.

In practical terms there are themes of the peri-urban emergent here, in Vallance's (2014) sense of the term, in that for *many* (though by no means all) residents Menston occupies a 'best of both' position of rural domesticity and urban employment. This combination pushes against the logic of strategies of counter-urbanisation as an escape from or disavowal of the urban yet exists alongside an articulated sense of place and community that is positioned as distinctively northern. Spracklen's (2016) commentary on the 'sympathetic magic' of northernness in popular cultural discourse and imaginaries is worth considering here. In this view the 'north' sits out as a distinctive and somewhat oppositional site, especially in comparison to the south. There are echoes here of Savage et al.'s (2005) 'elective belongers' who claimed a greater affinity to an idea of the northern landscapes (albeit, often in Lancashire) than they do to the pursuit of a particular set of practices (i.e. Blokland, 2017). However, the *doxic* elements of Menston as a northern village denote ideas of friendliness and safety for some – but as raised above, these are not unproblematic in marking out exclusion (Sibley, 1995). There is a suggestion here of an alternate disposition on belonging here to the selective or elective, that might be characterised as more widely peri-urban. This leads into the discussions on safety, difference and schooling which raise the classed and racialised spectres of 'Others' that may externally threaten this site of identity or make it an appealing space of retreat from the anticipated 'diversity' of the urban (Askins, 2009). Shucksmith's (2016) work on the 'good countryside' is helpful here – with a place-image of Menston developed across the diverging narratives of place and people that positions community here as something of a defensible social and physical space.

As a caveat to these conclusions and a partial introduction to the next chapter, when residents talk about Menston the spatial locations that are emphasised appear to cleave to particular person's location in relation to the centre of the village, so that for some it appears to pre-figure the experience/expectations of community reported. Think of the discussion of shops and services above, with Christopher and Anne's mourning for a now closed Post Office a largely isolated set of comments. What is drawn out here is

a view of multiple communities related to where and how one lives, rather than a monolithic 'community' at large. The importance of certain spaces within the village operating as centres for these experiences of community is key to understanding how these multiple communities overlap with one another to various degrees, or not at all. Of relevance here is Miles & Ebrey's (2017) work drawing out how 'everyday culture' is experienced and produced by users of a village social club. The gap between those interviewees citing the importance of casual encounters and 'hello' with those prioritising a given pub or shop/service in village life as a symbolic centre of social life, is demonstrative of this highly differentiated experience of community and place. Particularly relevant to this gap is the life-stages that are also being reported here. With those newer arrival residents with younger children emphasising the general sociability (footpath hellos) and a gradual building of links through childcare and education, contrasting with more middle-aged residents with adult children who were more likely to report part-time or early retirement status. The opportunity of the former, who were predominantly couples in which both parents worked, to have the time to make use of such social spaces is clearly significantly more limited than for the latter.

So how is place attachment, along with different senses of entitlement to have that place attachment, expressed in Menston if not through a homogenous community or a dense web of communities? A theme I have not explored in much detail here is that of the expense of the village as somewhere to buy or to rent. When reflecting on this, residents drew sophisticated links between Menston's status as a village and the ways in which it is embedded within the wider urban region – personal biography played a substantial role here, as interviewees explored their own relative mobilities in context. This returns us to Menston's peri-urban liminality which emerges as central to the assembled image of Menston for many interviewees, a status that is about being *both* urban and rural, rather than being *neither* (c.f. Milbourne & Kitchen, 2014). The connection into regional flows of mobility was a practical day-to-day feature of life for these residents, so considering Menston as a 'large commuter village', as a number of survey respondents put it, well placed to access other forms of community and social life is hardly surprising. Yet, this mobility was used as a foundation for claims to place attachment and place-based identity – as

experience of the wider urban region would be drawn on *in contrast* to the experience of place within Menston (see Halfacree, 2012). This brings us back to educational choices and the desire to remove one's child from a 'multicultural' context. This kind of retreat into a perceived rurality was manifest in a number of ways as people made claims over space, in particularly in the emphasis on size and the threat of settlement growth. The lessons of prior developments in Guiseley and Otley as eroding 'community', as well as the perceived failures of the High Royds development, loomed large for these residents (discussed in chapter 6). These would often be cited in the same breath and show an alternative way that the spatial, social and symbolic intermingle in a variety of ways to construct the taken for granted in Menston.

Travel infrastructure is, therefore, one physical example of something that evokes both a positive and negative views of community and place. The existence of a train station and major local road become sources of threat, as they are drawn into ideas of 'desirable' place so provide further viability for new large-scale housing developments. Yet these linkages are also crucial for residents to continue their own employment given that the need to access the wider region for work. Considering again the significance of life-stages, it can hardly be a coincidence that those older, generally retired residents, provided the most vocal accounts of Menston as a location under threat. Whilst younger residents, many of whom fitted in interviews with me around their working lives and childcare commitments, were typically more phlegmatic, and by no means universally positive, about the potential for change to the built environment and the potential consequences of this for the sense of community in Menston.

The intensity of affiliation to place is further examined in the following chapter. The central point to these questions of affinity and dis-affinity is that simplistic one-dimensional language of 'community' is misleading when attempting to engage with lived experience of place. Rather, recognising the significance of life-stages as something of a personalised set of structural determinants allows us a longer curve in the range of experiences of place that people report. A range of experiences that is in no small way shapes the ways in which places can be difficult to reconcile with a wider context of urban mobility. As such the formulations of 'place-in-field' and 'belonging-in-field' can

be considered as alternate ways to emphasise reflexive positions within the wider urban region, so underlining how it is that ideas of place differently engage with the wider metropolitan region(s). These regional categories, which may be experienced and perceived economically, politically or through various physical infrastructures or institutions, are drawn on by residents to develop the understanding Menston as an assemblage begun here but explored below in relation to other settlements and residents in the surrounding area. These experiences and perceptions are in turn bound up with issues of belonging and affinity to places and communities across this wider urban region, not only within Menston. Drawing on and exploring how individual experience as something assumed to be shared with others, but also an understanding of this wider context that is in dialogue understandings of Menston as a place and as a community, is central for this thesis.

6. Belonging to the Peri-urban?

Introduction

Having set out some of the ways in which 'community' exists within Menston for interviewees my focus here is on more outward facing aspects of place and belonging. The overall focus is upon 'position' and 'affinity and belonging' in accounts of place within the wider landscape of the metropolitan urban region as bound up with senses of home and rootedness²⁵ (see Blokland, 2017 on 'routes' versus 'roots'). 'Field' is an idea that is brought centre-stage in chapter 7 as regarding planning policy processes as a judicial-bureaucratic 'field' in which Menston sits as one field amongst numerous others. Chapter 2 has set out how 'field' can be conceived of as a site of social interaction, of social struggle (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 229). This chapter is concerned with further establishing the taken for granted elements of the field, the *doxa*, that taken together shape the non-governmental, informal processes of staking a claim to belonging or community through which people articulate a sense of place. I want to lead 'up' to the metropolitan and the formal scale of chapter 7 having set out some of the complexity of the multiple formal and informal fields within which Menston's residents operate and reside. This builds on chapter 5 by outlining further the ways in which these social, spatial and symbolic frames of reference are drawn into dialogue. Part of this is to outline the estrangement, or gap that develops, between a lived and affective experience of place from a view of space and place (see chapter 5) which is seemingly threatened by the legal-rational process of the EIP which emphasises place as potential commodity (see chapter 7). This is the key implication of 'field theory' for this chapter; that *multiple* sets of fields, and the associated dynamics and consequences, can be identified as operating within and over Menston.

Place and field are therefore mutually significant concepts here, with place as a 'process' (Massey, 1991b) that is expressive of the dialogue between the 'visual infrastructure' of the city (Savage, et al., 2005) and the

²⁵ Hanson (2014) explore the tensions between a contemporary paradigm of mobility and transience and the project of 'putting down routes' that people undertake, with the consequence of continuous uprooting and denial of these attempts that is met by the repeated work to assert and maintain these connections.

exclusive/exclusionary characteristics of the rural as ideological space of classed and racialised homogeneity (Murdoch, 1995; Shucksmith, 2012; 2016). Between this dialogue the structure of the *doxa*, can be drawn out, aspects which can then draw on as a repertoire of common sense made claims by residents and as a potential source of hysteresis as the taken for granted fails to keep up with changes to the social/economic world (Deer, 2012; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The literature in chapter 3 on rural and urban belonging more widely guides my thinking here on the 'city' and the 'rural' as discursive frames of reference for people in Menston (van Dijk, 1997; Harrison & Clifford, 2016), as well as lived categories of experience in the metropolitan area more widely (Vallance, 2014). The focus therefore is on place as *within* (rather than *relative to*) the 'urban' context; experiences which for the majority of interviewees spanned decades and in some cases their lives. The discussion of such contexts raises questions linked to classed counter-urbanisation and rural gentrification (Philips, 2010; 2014; Smith, 2011) and to a degree 'NIMBYism' (Abraham & Maney, 2012; Devine-Wright, 2009) with the changing use of physical and tangible sites, such as the former mental hospital turned housing estate High Royds re-developed as housing, wrapped up personal, biographical, affective narratives of a sense of place (e.g. Bowden, 2012).

This approach draws on the various accounts of boundaries, borders and conceptions of community, including as a retreat, present in the chapter 5. The use of place draws on the idea of 'place' as a 'commonly agreed principle' that evokes the emotive and relational, as well functioning as a geographical container. Devine-Wright's articulation of place is useful here, with 'place' as differing;

'From related concepts such as 'space' or 'environment' in describing physical aspects of a specific location as well as the variety of meanings and emotions associated with that location by individuals or groups' (Devine-Wright, 2009, p. 429).

Beginning with how Menston's boundaries were commonly outlined by interviewees this chapter develops the lines of argument and analysis presented in chapter 5 on the social, spatial and symbolic, such as the wider *doxa* of Menston as a classed and racialised locale. I then move on to address the ways in which belonging and affiliation with Menston, nearby towns and

cities are articulated and negotiated. Including the careful exclusions and silences around Bradford. These concerns are also in dialogue with the research question that primarily shapes this chapter of;

What are the ways in which practices of boundary-making and maintenance in the peri-urban draw upon and contribute to accounts of affinity and belonging regarding the urban and rural?

In answering this question survey responses are introduced and considered in the light of interview data (and vice versa). Observational data though centred on the Examination in Public (see chapter 7) is used to inform the more general observations that go with a longer-term knowledge of place – what Heley (2011) terms the advantage of being a 'village boy' in the longer-term and broader knowledge one builds up of a place and the events occurring in it. This chapter therefore explores in more detail some accounts of everyday rurality and urbanity, as well as to a lesser extent mobility such as in the experience of moving through the landscape. How it is people might relate to the locations they pass through, or see signposted, and what their sense of place within this wider regional landscape is necessitates a return to the trio of the spatial, the social and the symbolic.

Menston's boundaries

Interviewees were asked to talk through their understandings of boundaries of Menston; which road, group of houses, field, buildings, sites, etc. marked the point where they felt Menston stopped and somewhere else began (or the inverse). Given that much of the preoccupation of the community activists participating in the Examination in Public was to prevent the threat of 'settlement coalescence' asking at what point Menston stops seemed a reasonable starting point to then explore if these concerns resonated. Questions of where boundaries are for different people emphasised place as socially constructed as a form of social regulation imposed on space (Sibley, 1995), with specific 'place-images' drawn on in terms of personal relationships to place as totemic points of reference as part of a set of claims of individualised selective/elective belonging (Savage, et al., 2005; Watt, 2009). In discussing the spatial boundaries of Menston with residents an opportunity

arose to explore what counts as part of the village for different people, along with why that is the case, what kind of sites might be permitted and what should be excluded. The point here was initially to ask people to work in from the edges of the site, rather than to ask residents to identify a centre²⁶ and work out, however, in practice the focus became *where* Menston stopped for different residents and why. Catherine reflected that such a process of location and boundary identification is an everyday part of entry and arrival, commenting that 'I often think about that [boundaries] as I'm going between the two [Menston and Burley-in-Wharfedale].' Reflections which influence the ways in which Catherine thought about where she lived and who she lived alongside, therefore of claims of representation and inclusion. How it is boundaries are subjectively thought of and related to by residents, and the role (if any) that these boundaries play in the discursive construction of a wider sense of place (Lamont, 1992, in Harcir, 2014) is potentially significant, though this was a slightly peculiar place to start for many residents.

For Catherine being asked to describe Menston and its location meant an emphasis on an outward-facing, place near to – or on the edge of – both city and country;

Catherine: I always talk about how it is, you know, you are on the edge of the Moors and near to the countryside, but you are still very connected with Leeds and Bradford because of the train line. So, yeah, I can't think of much else to describe it. I'm probably not painting a very good picture but it's generally a nice place to live.

Here Catherine draws together the two main ideas of where Menston is located that are outlined above, a sense of place that is near to, or 'on the edge' in Vallance's (2014) terms, of a rural landscape within an urban structure (Merrifield, 2014). It is a liminal, peri-urban, position that is between the rural and the urban. Appendix A contains a map of Menston's boundaries as defined by Bradford Metropolitan District Council which preserves some of named features while obscuring details such as the topography of the village and its surroundings. This map has a functional-governance use in defining the boundaries of Menston. (See also the Ordnance Survey maps in Appendix A

²⁶ Although 'centres' did feature, as discussed in 'multiple centres' above.

that show topographical features and locate Menston in a wider regional context.) BMDC's map is not meant as an emotional artefact or a product of a place being marketed as is explored by Harley (1989), yet the boundaries it marks out were also clearly understood by residents even if not universally operationalised. As such this map does not have a monopoly on defining Menston with the differing perspectives of residents producing different ideas of where is and is not part of the village.

Therefore, my first focus here is on these discussions, with the section below focusing on four sets of housing developments adjoining or near to Menston to the north and south along the A65 and A660 and views on the moorland more widely. The section first looks to the varying self-contained developments broadly to the north side of Menston are Homestead, Brooklands and Ellar Ghyll, then to the more complicated set of attitudes towards the High Royds site to the south of the main village and closing with the 'moors'. These estates are highlighted in the annotated map of Menston shown below in figure 4 (an unannotated version is presented in Appendix A). The focus then follows this out to the wider metropolitan region (see maps presented in Appendix A).

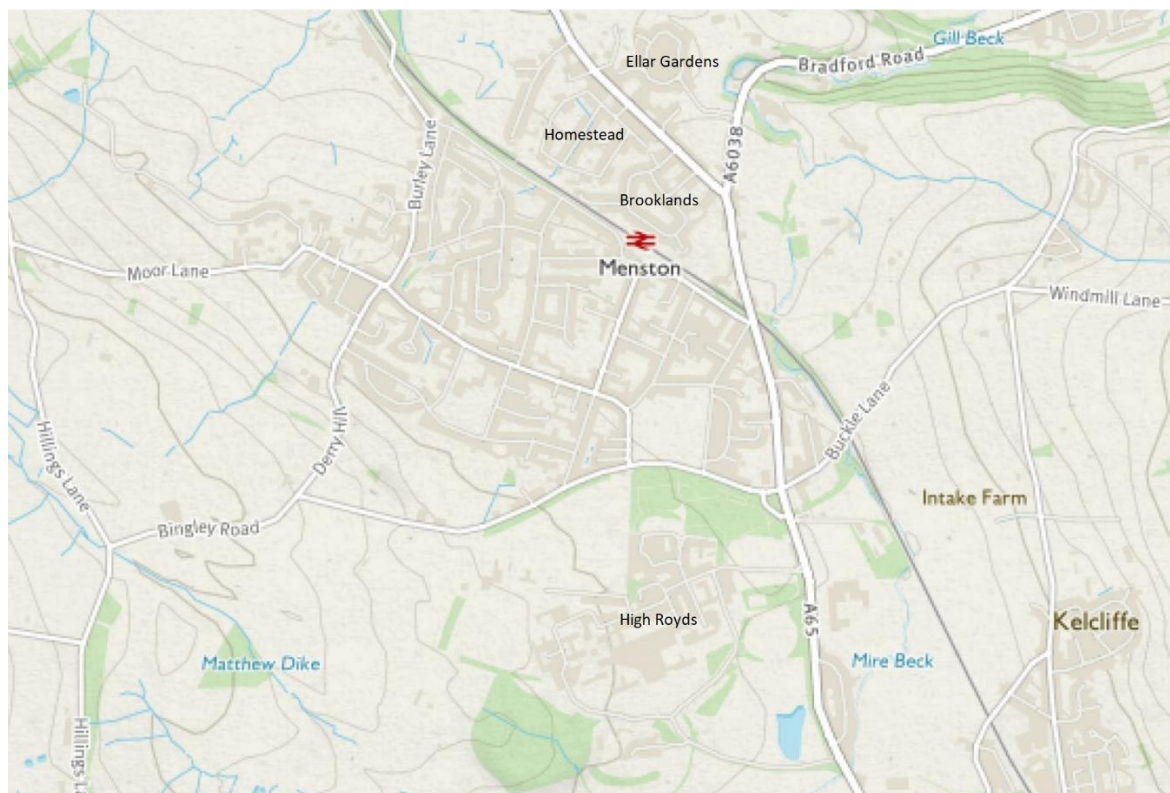


Figure 5. Annotated OS map of Menston, with periphery estates locations noted.

Homestead, Brooklands and Ellar Gardens estates: it's who you know...

To the north of Menston (the top of figure 5) are three privately developed housing estates. There are no shops or facilities within any of these three estates and each is set back from main roads with varying lengths of access road. The first of these is the Homestead estate on the northern edge of the village, between the railway line and A65. A single-entry road of around 50m leads to a large loop road, which is bisected by one road neither of which have a footpath, from which most of the detached houses are then set well back from behind high fencing. The estate has no meaningful thoroughfare for foot or vehicle traffic, the only footpath leading towards the main body of the village and the train station is an informal cut-through, with a sign warning against trespassing and that the gate across it at the Homestead end will be locked at various times. Whilst not strictly speaking a gated community, the footpath gate notwithstanding, the majority of the large detached homes here are individually gated with buzzer access. Given the site's separation this serves to make it a rather 'insulated' space rather than fully 'incarcerated' location in Atkinson's typology (2006).

To the south-east of Homestead is the Brooklands estate (N.B. *not* the area 'Brooklands' to the right of the BMDC map in Appendix A), a 1960s housing development that pre-existed and adjoins the Homestead with two similarly short entry/exit roads, leading to single loop with four short cul-de-sacs branching off this. Housing here is primarily semi-detached, with a small number of detached houses and bungalows, each set back from the road by a garden and short drive for parking cars. Residents of Brooklands have footpath access to the train station (without any foreboding signs as in Homestead), through which a footbridge links to the main body of the village. Additional footpaths lead to the adjoining cricket club, pub and a relatively new Mormon church (built in the early 2000s).

The third estate is Ellar Gardens, located north of Brooklands and north-west of Homestead, built in the 1990s on the site of a former children's hospital. It is named for an adjacent watercourse Gill Beck (see figure 5) and accessed primarily from the A660 by a winding 200m drive. As with Brooklands, the estate

is on a loop with various detached and semi-detached houses readily accessed from the road, without the sort of common securitisation seen in Homestead. Footpath access leads on/off the site to the A6038 and to the A65. It is worth noting that to the east of Ellar Gardens off the A6038 is the entrance to the 'Imperial Works' site ('Works' on the BMDC map in figure 23 in Appendix A), a former tool making factory that closed in the early 2000s and which, along with High Royds, attracts photographers and 'urban explorers' with an interest in derelict locations due to its distinctive chimney stack²⁷. Leeds City Council-run Ellar Ghyll refuse site is 100m to the north of Imperial works and marks the clearest point at which local authority control changes over.

These three periphery estates were subject to a range of interpretations, with a significant minority of interviewees viewing the two most isolated and furthest away from the main body of Menston, Homestead and Ellar Ghyll, as *not* in Menston. James summed up the view as;

James: The only bit that I would have a doubt about would be the bits around between the Homestead Estate or thereabouts, off the Main Road [A65]. I suppose they are, but I would have thought they would be psychologically much more Burley. Anyway, that's how I would define mine [boundaries].

WP: So, places such as Homestead or Ellar Gardens?

James: No. Ellar Gardens I'd regard as part of Otley. I think once I turn right at the Fox roundabout that's Otley for me. I would have thought... I don't know how they view it. I suppose Ellar Gardens is Menston isn't it? [...] Well, I wouldn't. Psychologically I'd drop it off. It's just gone past my boundary.

The idea of 'psychologically dropping it off' or where, and therefore who, was acknowledged as 'in' the village varied for different residents interviewed. What was consistent, especially for those who included any or all of these sites as in Menston, was whether they knew anyone who lived there (this is not to say that those who excluded them did not know anyone in these estates, but rather than they did not actively cite such connections as a rationale for inclusion in in conversation). Susan, for example, responding to the follow-up question 'do you think of High Royds and the Homestead as part of Menston?' laughed and dismissed the idea of High Royds as part of Menston, then argued that the

²⁷ See entries under 'High Royds, Leeds', 'Murphy's Mill, Menston' or 'Imperial Works, Menston' on <http://www.derelictplaces.co.uk/> for examples of this photography.

Homestead estate is part of Menston explicitly on the basis of her personal connections. Saying 'ever since we've lived here I've known people [there]'.

In a similar vein, Anne and Christopher differed over whether to see Brooklands as within Menston, with uncertainty linked not actively knowing anyone who lived there making it something of an unknown space;

Christopher: I'd be surprised if people in Brooklands thought they were actually part of Menston really.

Anne: They do though. If I'm not mistaken aren't they, for example, younger families than for example people in the bungalows up the top?

Peter and Steph, similarly debated with one another where they felt Menston stopped, with Peter, a small business owner, drawing on personal connections ('nice friends') in combination with a more commercial point of view ('good customers') to set out the boundaries as he saw them, albeit with some sarcasm about the apparent exclusivity of 'Homestead' as a local form of Monaco. This sarcasm suggested a keen awareness of classed consumption practices linked to residence (i.e. Savage et al., 2005; Watt, 2009; Benson & Jackson, 2013), given the 'insulated' and securitised character (Atkinson, 2006) of the Homestead's large detached housing, as well as the sort of disposable income that made Peter's business viable. Steph meanwhile, broadly echoed James and Christopher's views, and questioned whether any site *beyond* the train line (see figure 5) could count as properly part of Menston;

Steph: Now, is Brooklands classed as Menston?

Peter: It is for me, because it's just the other side of the train station, you're on Brooklands and I've got some nice friends in Brooklands so they're in Menston.

Steph: No, I'm just asking is it or isn't it.

WP: Because you like them, they're in [Menston]?

Peter: Yes.

Steph: I'm always like this with Brooklands, I don't know if it is or it isn't because it's the other side of the train station...

WP: What about Homestead?

Peter: Homestead is, I've got some good customers in Homestead [...] I think Homesteaders think they're on their own,

they're almost like Monaco [laughter] Homestead think they're Monaco, what's the other one down the bottom? I class them in [Menston] as well.

WP: Ellar Gardens?

Peter: No, not Ellar Gardens I don't say they're Menston. There's another one further down, go up that hill, got some customers on there...

What emerged over the course of the interviews was a broad sense of Brooklands as an accepted appendage to Menston, with little sense of explicit social difference between people living here and in the rest of the village, even if you did not know anyone personally.

Hazel, a resident of Brooklands since the decade of its building, highlighted that this broad sense of acceptance was a marked change from when the site was originally built. Reflecting on the follow-up question of 'do you see yourself as in the village?' that;

Hazel: No, I... when we came all those years ago, people would say 'oh, you're not in Menston' or 'you're the other side of the tracks' which has of course several connotations [laughs]. But that was the feeling about this development on this side, that we were not part of the village. Of course, that's totally different now because everybody uses the train, the station and we're as near as you can possibly get to it.

Hazel taps into a key issue around *how* places and their boundaries change with use – how they are made familiar. Echoing Goodwin-Hawkins (2016) on habitual local mobilities as shaping a sense of place, as where is within and without the village was structured for Hazel by where she went and the relationship these spaces had to her everyday life and prior working life. The inverse of this gradual process of inclusion and acceptance of Brooklands as the commuter-used train line has become more and more important is drawn out in relation to High Royds below.

For Homestead and Ellar Ghyll, particularly the former, however anticipated social and symbolic differences were much more likely to be emphasised and taken for granted as inscribed into space (Sibley, 1995). Even in terms of the partial, pragmatic inclusion of the sort that Peter articulates above, it is prefaced with an emphasis on a sense of difference rooted in apparent affluence (represented in the form of large, detached and

securitised housing). James' notion of a psychological 'dropping off point' and Christopher's 'surprise' speak to the physiological boundary drawing of 'with us' and 'external to us' that goes on both explicitly and by omission in talking about place in selective terms (e.g. Watt, 2009; 2013b). Such gathering together of the 'us' and the 'them' reflects a small way that rural homogeneity is sought and to a degree is taken for granted as *doxa*, suggesting that one of the features of Menston, that longer term residents in particular will claim, is a broad invisibility of class (Bourdieu, 1983; Murdoch, 1995). That there is 'no badness' in Menston (see 'safety' above) is one expression of this, omissions and distancing alongside discomfort expressed through disarming humour at apparent wealth and separation, when it is recognised (Sayer, 2002), is another. The caveat on longer-term residents is used to recognise that experiencing classed difference as snobberies was directly anticipated by Laura as a newer resident, quoted above on anticipating 4x4s at the school gates. This is also in contrast to the accounts of amongst these older residents who reflected that they had been marked as clear 'incomers' in regional identity terms on first arriving in Menston, which is suggestive of longer-term patterns of social tensions and homogenisation around class (Hillyard, 2015).

What emerges for these three housing estates to the north are processes of boundary making/maintenance that are not silently conducted internal dialogues (as opposed to monologues, see Billig, 1991) that go unchallenged and without reference to others (Blokland, 2017). Rather they are subject to moving socio-spatial boundaries that, as with processes of selective belonging, can partially recognise, elide or ignore such sites as troubling or confirming one's sense of belonging and place (Watt, 2009). Hazel's experience of belonging to Menston as something initially denied to her, though changing over the decades, contrasts with Peter's ambivalent acceptance of Homestead as in Menston, due to personal connections. An acceptance however that is tinged with a perception that 'Homesteaders' may see themselves as an enclave of affluence with the elite language of 'Monaco' evoking Heley's (2010) work on the new squirearchy, contrasted with Hazel's prior experience as being cast as living on the 'other side of the tracks.' Distinctions which speak to the ways in which social difference is understood to be inscribed into space, with the inverse conclusion seemingly drawn that those

located nearby in place must be similarly located in social hierarchies. This is a theme that Miles & Ebrey (2017) identify as a feature of community in the peri-urban and that Moore (2013a) identifies as sought-after in claiming the place-image of a 'working village'.

David, as a resident of Ellar Gardens, did much to summarise these changes, reflecting that as Ellar Gardens was 'built in 1994 and 1995, [...] so to some extent you're not a villager.' The responses to the invitation to reflect on boundaries can be seen as people working out what this extent was for different sites. Whether to claim affinity (e.g. Savage et al. 2005), assert differences (e.g. Watt, 2009) or simply disaffiliate and ignore (e.g. Pinkster, 2013) is to address the stakes of place. Differentiation was routinely expressed when the focus moved beyond one's immediate environs and it was often expressed in broadly hierarchical terms. This is a feature of negotiating the stakes of the field, i.e. one's sense of self rooted in place, that becomes all the more pronounced as we move to a wider regional view below. Within Menston, Brooklands was a generally accepted site, with little comment about the 'type' of people who lived there, Ellar Gardens residents attracted little specific comment, whilst Homestead residents gained at best qualified acceptance, usually on the basis of personal connections. That the latter two sites are physically further away and relatively separate from adjoining sites drew comparatively little comment, rather the emphasis was on the presumed social characteristics of the people and how these were understood showing the ways in which the symbolic and the social are inscribed into the spatial (Sibley, 1995).

From High Royds to Chevin Park

These issues of social connections – what we might see as a simplistic expression of social capital – and the anticipated qualities and psychologies of others were applied to High Royds (bottom middle of figure 5). The focus here moves to the ways in which distancing, exclusion, and affinity were worked through. Built as 'the West Ryder Pauper Lunatic Asylum' in the late 1800s as part of a wider regime of late Victorian asylum building (Ellis, 2008) High Royds was subsequently run by Leeds NHS as High Royds Hospital, also known as

Menston Hospital. Partially, then completely, closed in the early 2000s, the estate has gothic-style central buildings that have been used as film locations and former wards that attract the same 'urban explorers' as the Imperial Works site to the north. Alongside which the grounds are used on more day to day basis by dog walkers and ramblers.

After closure, the site was sold for re-development as a housing estate, with the site sub-divided with companies such as David Wilson homes taking on large building and conversion projects. The most recent project has seen apartments built in the re-purposed Victorian central buildings branded as 'Chevin Park' (Avant Homes, n.d.). Advent make no mention of the site as a former mental hospital in their advertising material, framing it as a 'magnificent example of Victorian architecture. Respectfully restored to its Victorian glory.' A site that is sold as 'just a stone's throw from the Yorkshire Dales [it] is ideally located in the village of Menston, with excellent links to Leeds' (Avant Homes, n.d.), simultaneously claiming rurality and access to the urban that is central to the sort of 'outward' facing peri-urban narrative (Miles & Ebrey, 2017; Vallance, 2014).²⁸ (That Bradford goes unmentioned in sales material foreshadows the prevailing attitude towards the city present in surveys, interviews and noted in the observational work.)

Occupying largely flat land featuring a mix of landscaped gardens and pastoral land used for sheep and cattle grazing, the estate is formally in Leeds City Council district. Accessed by car from the A65 opposite St Mary's school ('school' on figure 24) there is no vehicle access directly into Menston. There is a road closed to traffic and two main footpaths through a copse of trees and a reclaimed marsh area respectively that walkers, cyclists and children with scooters use. At the time of the fieldwork, a hopper bus service to/from Menston train station was scheduled to coincide with the busiest commuter trains. It is worth noting that the site is often locally regarded as having been subject to a number of broken promises, primarily round the provision of new facilities, services and improvements to infrastructure by developers. A relatively

²⁸ See also Bowden, 2012, on the re-development of a similar former hospital site in Devon and Franklin, 2002, on the broader rehabilitation of such former asylums from stigmatised to heritage status.)

basic example of this being around claims that street lighting has not been properly supplied (Ilkley Gazette, 2017).

In addition, flooding problems in Menston are routinely claimed to have been exacerbated by the development. An odd example of my own experience as a former resident of Menston comes in here, as these flooding complaints cover my parent's house, along with a number of neighbours at the northern end of the village (near to where the A65 crosses the trainline on figure 5), who were downhill of High Royds and claimed increased ground water flooding following the development. One set of neighbours marginally downhill from us had raw sewage flood their cellar and street level garage, leading to Yorkshire Water installing relief tanks under the road. A consistent claim made by residents more widely in recent years has been that such flooding problems followed the redevelopment of High Royds, with the outcome for some being considerable ill will toward proposed projects of a similar scale. Such concerns about flooding formed a central part of the campaign run by MAG against developments to the south of the village near to High Royds (Menston Action Group, n.d.; Menston Action Group v Bradford Metropolitan District Council, 2015).

Beyond such practical concerns and experiences, for interviewees who had long standing connections to Menston and the surrounding area their sense of how High Royds related Menston was complex, in that for many there had been a gradual disaffiliation and distancing from the site. As a former asylum, it was unambiguously understood to have been a site of significant social stigma and institutional harm (Franklin, 2002; Goffman, 1990 [1963]). For residents such as Graham and Pat, this was manifest in the macabre fact of a small and innocuous chapel and cemetery for patients at the junction of the A65 and Buckle Lane (Buckle Lane is named on figure 5 and site marked as 'cemetery' on figure 24). Separated from the main site by A65, behind an ambulance station and opposite a car dealership and a small number of houses, this small site with its minimal markings holds the remains of 2861 patients buried between the late 1800s and 1969 (The Telegraph & Argus, 2011)²⁹.

²⁹ Since 2009 the cemetery site has since been the focus a gradual project to be renovated and turned into a 'memorial garden' the details of which can be found: <http://www.highroydshospital.com/memorial-garden-menston/>

Beyond discomfort at this scale, this focus point became a way into questions of the *doxa* of place and the *illusio* of maintaining one's identity in the context of territorial stigma here, with the potent potential of stigma to be attached to and transferred between people and place (Wacquant et al., 2014; Garbin & Millington, 2012).

Graham in drawing out this potential for his own 'spoiled identity' was emphatic in stating that 'I mean it's terrible the things that used to happen years ago, it's awful now when you read about it.' This implication that one reads about it *now*, but did not at 'the time', is worth highlighting alongside his unambiguous relief that it is now *years ago* and something to be looked back on. We can take for granted that mental health regimes have changed for the better, yet for Graham this minimally marked cemetery which had closed barely a decade before his and Pat's move to Menston, stood in for wider concerns about what it said about *then* that they lived near to such a site. One that continued to operate for most of the next 30 years. High Royds had clearly been a long-standing site of concern for what it said about *him* as a person in the eyes of others. This was somewhat minimally presented by Graham as seeing High Royds today as a simply a 'funny little place.'

The concern about stigma was more explicitly focussed on by Pat, as when reflecting on the move to Menston more than forty years previously, as she and then Graham emphasised that they had not known about the proximity their new home had to High Royds, nor did they know the name prior to moving to the area, so had no sense of possible associations. Finding out about their soon to be proximity to High Royds was an unwelcome revelation for Pat. A shock that came with being the butt of a joke at the time, and appeared to be a continuing source of concern for making a claim to belonging in Menston;

Pat: [...] I didn't settle easily... I didn't want to come to Huddersfield and I didn't particularly want to come here, but after all this time – you settle down.

Graham: But what we didn't know until we got here of course, was the asylum was here – if you know what I mean?

WP: Yes.

Graham: People take the mickey out of you. Didn't they?

Pat: Oh, yes.

Graham: We didn't know until we came here, cause we had to move quickly.

Pat: Yes – the window cleaner came, while we were in Huddersfield, and we said, 'oh we're moving' so he said, 'where are you going?' so I said 'Menston' and he began to laugh he said, 'what do you mean Menston?' because of course I didn't know anything about it!

Graham: Back in Leicester we knew someone who years ago back in the war made some remark about Menston and I can't remember now what...

We can see hear Pat's concern that the stigma attached to High Royds might have been contagious, that it might transfer – or have already transferred - from the site to her (see Wacquant, et al., 2014). That Pat and Graham lived in the Brooklands estate at some distance from High Royds, rather than near to it is worth emphasising (figure 5 or maps in Appendix A). High Royds had been a continuous near, but largely unknown, presence for their life in Menston. A place understood symbolically by reputation, expectation and connotations, but not through a significant amount of direct or social connection.

In contrast to this, Rachael, who on the southern end of the village (to the south of 'school' in the middle of Menston shown on figure 25) lived relatively near to High Royds and discussed it not as a site to be distanced from, but as a place that had been 'alienated from us [Menston residents]' since its closure as a hospital. For Rachael, the closure had introduced symbolic and social distance between her sense of Menston and High Royds, a theme which emerged amongst those interviewees whose work or life had taken them close to, or even into, the hospital (see Bowden, 2012). A slightly odd dynamic emerged when reflecting on this change, with interviewees frequently referring to the experience of *other* people associating Menston with stigmatised mental illness, but did not typically go on to explicitly use this as a basis to argue the site had been distinctly separated or treated in a 'selective' or disaffiliative manner by people living in Menston whilst the hospital operated (Watt, 2009; Pinkster, 2013). For people such as Rachael the opposite line was taken. Rather than straightforwardly emphasising distancing and rejecting the conflation of Menston and High Royds a rather more ambivalent position in terms of the

doxa was developed as something presently undergoing change imposed from without (see Bowden, 2012 on place-images and gentrified asylums).

Jim states it most clearly as 'I suppose if you asked someone 20 years ago then they'd say Menston was where all the mental people were – cause it was.' Ben, Graham, Pat and James all similarly reflected that on first moving to Menston the place-image was experience through the associations others held;

Ben: When I moved up from London, when we said where we were going to live, they knew Menston by High Royds, by the hospital. That has like a national name. So, people in London knew about High Royds. [people would say] "Oh, isn't that where the...?". Yes, it is. And then coming up here, professionally I went there anyway as a social worker now and again. So that was interesting.

This point of the interchangeable names is further made by Ian and I quote his interview variously here as Ian's first-hand experience of High Royds neatly encapsulates a number of different themes in the interviews that capture this changing and ambivalent position.

Ian had lived and worked in the wider area all his life and had moved to Menston around a year before our interview, so was fully aware of the potential for slippage between High Royds and Menston and the stigmatised associations of both. He reflected on the changes and contradictions over time in the relative positioning and entanglement of Menston and High Royds. For Ian, Menston and High Royds were, and continue to be, deeply intertwined;

Ian: I always think of Menston starting [at] the building project where the old mental hospital used to be, High Royds. I always think of that as Menston. As a young kid, all the stupid kids, we used to say you're in Menston, which meant you were a lunatic. It had quite a bad reputation, the word Menston, then amongst children, who of course are the most vicious creatures on Earth.

I should highlight that Ian is careful to include himself as one of the 'stupid kids' here ('we used to say'), which prefigures his account of his own changing attitude. When expanding on the theme of Menston-as-High-Royds and High-Royds-as-dangerous later in the interview, having been asked about any anticipated future change in and around Menston, Ian returned to High Royds as a site of past danger and threat, commenting that;

Ian: I think Menston has [now] a positive aspect in lots of people's minds, and I think we've seen it in the old mental hospital where they've not only changed, tried to change, the nicer bits of it and I've walked those corridors – believe it or not I did a short attachment there as a police cadet – so I saw it at its... At its *frightening* stage. There's nothing about... Sometimes people with mental illness, there is something very frightening. You shouldn't [say this] I know, but sometimes there is, and I was a young 17-year-old... But I saw the *beautiful* aspect of it. It had been built, as Victorians did, not just with a function but with sort of like a decorative feel and they tried to incorporate that.

In drawing out the contemporary positives, the past fear and the beauty of the site's buildings Ian is drawing out the ambivalences of the site that are built in to it. He is echoing the sort of heritage making rationale and processes that Franklin (2002) identifies – see also Halfacree (2012) on the shift of 'heritage' to 'exclusive commodity – but locating these clearly in his own relationship to the site, one that is not sanitised but is clearly discussed and understood as shaped by wider cultures of fear and social stigma.

Kate and Ruth similarly identified a duality of the 'frightening' and the 'beautiful' in regard to High Royds. Whereas for Ian it was about the building's exterior grandeur, Kate and Ruth emphasised pastoral landscape, the privileged sense of rurality that made High Royds a familiar and accepted site in more romanticised visions of the countryside (e.g. Phillips, 2014). But a site that was also closely linked for Ruth to her past working life;

Kate: Historically there was a huge mental hospital here and that separated us from anywhere else. People who were here probably worked there. But otherwise people are frightened of mental hospitals.

Ruth: I used to work... I did six months working at High Royds when I worked in the hospitals in Leeds and it was coming out here, when I used to come out here and I did some training at a student, to High Royds and all those beautiful grounds and driving through Menston I always loved coming. Because I thought it's like coming to a different world it's so peaceful. You wouldn't believe you were just on the outskirts of Leeds. It's lovely.

Through the above, it is plain that High Royds was a distinctly stigmatised site ('frightened'), but one that was also strongly located in a sense of the rural aesthetic, a pairing of the symbolically privileged and the disdained. (For more on this as part of the built design of High Royds, see Ellis, 2008.) The overall past

status of Menston being that it was understood as nearly interchangeable with High Royds for small children, social workers and window cleaners alike.

Yet, it is not simply a stigmatised site that people uniformly wished to be 'alienated from' but rather, as a longstanding site of work and care (albeit not care as necessarily recognised as such today), it is also a site that for longer term residents contributes to a lingering place-image of Menston as a site of labour (Moore, 2013b; Bowden, 2012). Susan described High Royds as 'like another planet. Totally. It doesn't have any identity, it's just a tragedy' – the tragic element here being a *lost* identity as a site of employment. One that is distinctive and socially uncomfortable form of labour subject to marginalisation and hardly the sought of productivist agriculture Marsden et al. (1993) discuss. But nonetheless a form of labour supportive of a place-image of a working village, an image which is distinct from that which Moore (2013b) draws out for Mayfield with agriculture's reliance on migrant labour and Bowden (2012) on the perspectives on gentrification of former workers at Devon hospital. Parallels emerged here that losing High Royds function as a working hospital was felt as an 'alienation' is imposed, one that repurposed the site as a space of residence and so stopped being possible to make sense of in terms of routinised labour. Even if that work was wrapped up in the stigmas of institutionalisation this routine access had made it a part of Menston, the end of which came with a sense of separation and new distancing – exaggerated by the absence of any shops or services based on the site that might have drawn people in.

The other side to this separation and distancing was some relief that High Royds closure gave an opportunity to put a little more symbolic distance between oneself and the site (see Sibley, 1995). The closure of the hospital and its redevelopment as housing allows a disavowal of a connection between Menston and High Royds in general terms, with Pat emphasising its *past* status, that it 'was regarded as part of the village' and therefore *is no more*. The selective is at play here, not in terms of using the site – Graham and Pat were clear they never had – but in the strong disavowal that where they lived was in the same category as *there* (Watt, 2009; 2013b; Blokland, 2017, pp.62-63). Ian's commentary on the combination of the decorative and functional in the building is suggestive of the ways in which such sites can be recast in terms of a de-politicised heritage-as-commodity (Halfacree, 2012), which is evocative of

Hanson (2014) on the 'trace' of past economic and social regimes in Todmorden and suggests the limits of the value of a 'working-village' (Moore, 2013a) place-image. Illustrating that deeply stigmatised spaces can be 'reclaimed', provided the stigma and its bearers can be appropriately distanced by time and space, so that the site is re-framed in terms of architectural and/or rural merits, rather than as about the social practices such as work that may sustain a sense of community (Bowden, 2012; Franklin, 2002; Blokland, 2017). That High Royds is in a pastoral landscape of gardens and fields, with views onto moorland confirms closely to some of the expectations of rurality explored in chapter 2 and allows a form of common-sense rurality to be claimed. The not 'twee' image of Menston discussed in chapter 5 is further buttressed here. Place-image is, of course, not a zero-sum game, as is evident in this rural image being accompanied by forms of territorial stigma. Albeit fading forms as time presses forward and the past becomes heritage. The third strand of boundary-talk I turn to now regards the moorland on the east and west of the village, introducing some of the ways in which residents located Menston in a wider rural context.

The moors

When discussing with residents the boundaries of Menston the comparative spatial isolation of the above periphery sites was an important justification for suggesting exclusion (see Watt, 2009, on drawing out a middle-class 'oasis' in a London suburb). We see this most obviously with Ellar Ghyll as a site bracketed off by two A roads from the rest of Menston, and with newer residents who emphasise social and spatial distance between Menston and High Royds (see figure 5 and items in Appendix A). The ambivalence toward, including in narratives that recognised High Royds proximity such as Ian's, these sites is in stark contrast to accounts of the western and eastern edges where Menston adjoins fields and moorland. A landscape which fairly straightforwardly fulfils an aesthetic of Yorkshire or northern countryside in that it is hilly, dry stone walled and occasionally populated with sheep (Spracklen, 2016). Such that when asked to describe Menston Lynn's statement started 'Well, we've got the Moors of course, obviously.' The moors to the east and west in this way fulfil the

second of two anticipated landscapes of the north of England that Spracklen (2016, p. 10) identifies, 'a place of mills, mines and factories, or a place of sheep and hills.' These edges of the village were routinely invoked as highly visible markers of Menston's boundaries, a common visual frame of reference and anchor point for a sense of home.

For Graham, living in Brooklands estate, looking out onto the foothills of Ilkley moor, was deeply bound up with a sense of Menston as a place when saying that 'if you look here from our house – especially from upstairs – you've got the hills there you see, that's Menston as far as I'm concerned.' This is place in the 'ocular' (Phillips, 2014) rather than the experiential, with Pat meanwhile framing her view of place as in the memories of micro-mobilities (Goodwin-Hawkins, 2016) walking on the lanes and paths, and former mill site now a farm, that skirt the moors to the eastern side of Menston:

Pat: I remember many years ago going [...] we used to have a ramble every summer – and the Vicar's wife took us to the Bleach Mill, which was quite interesting – over the hills and far away.

On the western edge of the main village, in what had been built as a council estate, John was emphatic that what he liked about living in Menston was two-fold;

John: Peace and quiet [laughs] it is honest. It is, look at that up there – well you can't see it now [through fog], but it's a lovely view is that [...] A field full of lambs in the early spring, wonderful.

This emphasis on the importance of visual rural space that overlaps with a sense of 'peace and quiet' was for other interviewees acknowledged explicitly in terms of Menston as a site that was 'off the beaten track', to use Andy's phrasing quoted in chapter 5, yet also embedded within the wider urban region. The comments from Catherine this sub-section began with addressed precisely this, so that whilst nearly all interviewees commented upon or emphasised hills and rurality, it was typically commented on in terms of its visual/ocular qualities and as distinct from the visual qualities of the urban (Savage et al., 2005, Phillips, 2014). Menston was positioned as nearer to the appreciated of landscape that Bermingham (1989) identifies in art than the

idea of the countryside as somewhere to be accessed and enjoyed that underpins work such as Askins (2004).

Ben, however, spoken for a vocal minority of interviewees, such as Susan, Stephen, Kate, Ruth, James and Rachael, in emphasising that the moors are a space that can (and should) be accessed promptly and on foot. (This is in contrast to what Phillips (2014, p. 68) identifies as a more 'ocular' disposition amongst rural gentrifiers in his research.) Underlining that this space as one that is actively and physically 'used' rather than considered as a series of visual markers;

Ben: So, you can you walk out the door and within quarter of an hour you're right into the countryside. That's important. So, as I say, you've got the benefits of being in an urban setting but, again, you can fall out into the countryside.

This does not dispense with a continued emphasis on the *visual* role of the rural, not necessarily as a site of frequent access but as taking a visual role that contributes to a wider place-image and self-image of rurality that in turn shapes what forms of community are imagined as possible in such a space (Halfacree, 1995; Smith, 1998). The idea of a 'proper' community was invoked at times (discussed below) as being somehow psychologically linked to the proximity of hills and green space, even if it was not habitually accessed any longer (Vallance, 2014; Harper, 1989). The hills were in some ways also an anticipated as providing a form of 'protection' from suburban sprawl/urban capture, with Kate putting it as:

Kate: I think it would be very difficult for it to change massively because it's surrounded by Moors and protected countryside so hopefully it will always stay relatively the same. Hopefully they can't build above the Moor line or the tree line.

As well as being pragmatic and visual boundaries the moors were for Stephen and Hazel mapped onto a wider cartography of place, one shaped by experience and knowledge of walking routes, such as Pat discusses above, but also official knowledge. With Hazel emphasising 'going onto the Moor' and Stephen walking on paths around the formal boundaries of Menston Parish Council area in an intertwining of perceptual and experience boundaries was communicated. Such localised mobility as part of an embodied sense of being

in-place is not my own focus here (though see Goodwin-Hawkins, 2015, for an ethnographic approach to this elsewhere in the Pennines) but it is worth underlining the social and spatial understandings of Menston as a location which are tightly inter-locked here. Not as barriers, necessarily, but as sites of memory and the experiential, a social-spatial axis that contrasts with the majority of interviewees who framed Menston's boundaries as a series of largely *visual* phenomena, (fields, moorland, former industrial sites, housing estates, High Royds, etc.) or in their experience of organisational structures, in particular education and healthcare (see also chapter 5 on 'centres').

Boundaries and boundary making appear as visual cues, part of daily routine, official documentation, as personally defined by relationships with other residents and with place are suggestive of the *doxa* that Menston residents operate within when discussing their village and relationship to it. They also illuminate how the *doxa* as the taken for granted shifts and changes (Deer, 2012). The moors as a rural space are illustrative of the gaps and possibility of multi-layered and mutually exclusive claims to place that can co-existing without substantial tensions. In this sense the moors, and to a lesser extent the periphery estates to the north and High Royds, are the *symbolic* in action, as commonly recognised features that remain open to differing interpretations (Cohen, 1982) – High Royds in particular. However, the possibility of one group coalescing and promoting, so as to enforcing, its view here and making the symbolic 'real' in that sense is highlighted by Hillyard (2015), Matthews et al. (2014) and Parker & Street (2015) where the financial value attached to living in forms of idealised rural, or at least *non-urban*, space, and the changes to population that this can engender, can culminate in relatively rapid shifts within localised power dynamics. Whether around schooling or spatial planning. Shifts which develop as those who have invested financially in place begin to assert moral claims over community, such as through projects of renewal and heritage-preservation that are wrapped up in class homogenisation processes (Halfacree, 2012; Hanson, 2014). Residents, long or short term, are not the only people capable of defining the boundaries of Menston, as we have seen with Chevin Park, housing developers and other institutional bodies are more than capable of working to develop definitions of place (Harley, 1989; Smith, 2011; Tewdwr-Jones, 2012). These questions of position-taking in the field are

examined in following chapters. The remainder of this chapter moves onto questions of belonging and affiliation in the wider metropolitan area.

Belonging and affiliation to the metropolitan area

Belonging to a village, belonging to a city

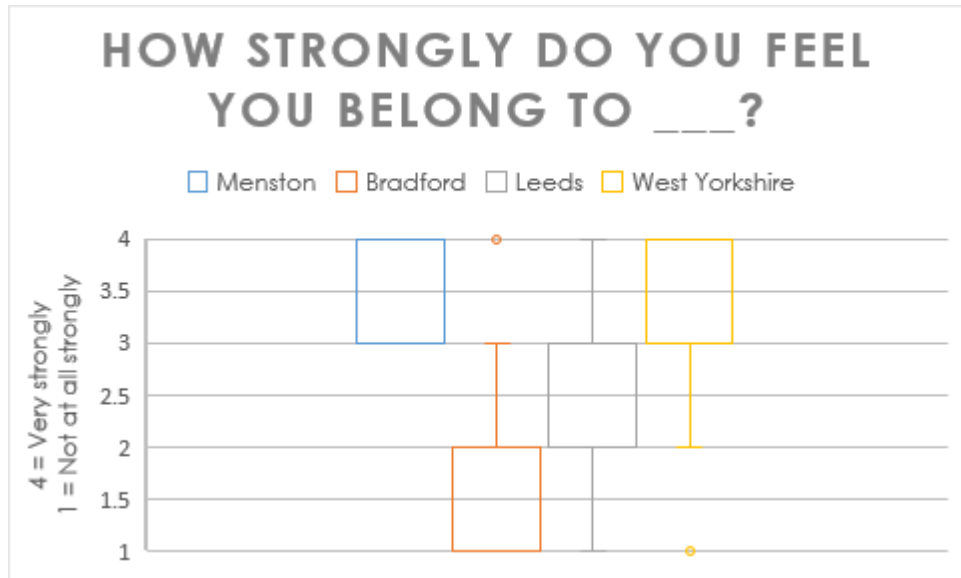


Figure 6: Survey question 5: How strongly do you feel you belong to [blank]?

As a starting point for considering the different ways in which belonging was expressed, specifically different emphases in accounts of belonging, responses to the survey are illustrative of trends in interviews and in observational work at the EIP and in Menston. Whilst the caveats discussed in the methodology apply as ever, the general trends present in the closed questions and the opinions expressed in the open-ended questions have more than a passing similarity to the positions and views expressed in interviews and are a useful pathway into these accounts. Taking question 5 of the survey³⁰, this first asked "how strongly do you feel you belong to each of the following" with a series of locations presented to state belonging as "Very strongly/Fairly strongly/Not very strongly/Not at all strongly/Don't know." Following this a supplementary open-

³⁰ See appendix for full version of the survey. Question 5 also asked about the sense of belonging to England, Britain and provided an 'other' column for respondents to complete, with one respondent filling in Scotland and a second 'United Kingdom'. Answers to this part of question 5 have been excluded given my focus in this section of the chapter on the local-regional, however future work in this vein could examine the relationship between local and *national* identity. For example, by pursuing themes such as the intriguing statement by respondent 14 that "I always think of myself as English or British, never European."

ended question (5a) asked; “in your own words, what makes you feel like you ‘belong’ in a place? For example, why might you answer, ‘very strongly’ or ‘not at all strongly’ to the above question?” After excluding the ‘don’t know’ answers, a clear hierarchy emerges in reported feelings of belonging, with place-based affiliation in a clear pecking order. Figure 4 uses a box plot to sketch the broad pattern of responses.

The primary trend in figure 6 is the closeness of the plot for strength of feeling of belonging to Menston. This strength of feeling is suggestive of a focus around the positive values of 3 (‘strong’) or 4 (‘very strong’) and an absence of either tail or outlier values reported. Such consistently strong statements of belonging become more noteworthy when contrasted with the low feeling of belonging to Bradford. However, the uniformity of responses to Menston becomes more clearly an exception rather than the rule here, with tails and outliers appearing for Bradford, Leeds and West Yorkshire. For Bradford the bulk of respondents place themselves in values 1 or 2 (‘not at all strongly’ or ‘not very strongly’), it seems safe to read the survey respondents as *generally* not staking strong feelings of belonging Bradford, although with notable exceptions which we will come to below. The contrast between Bradford and Menston is striking and has distinct echoes of the narratives of place discussed in chapter 5 that distinguish Menston as a ‘rural’ or ‘countryside’ location in contrast to a generalised sense of the ‘urban.’ It is also worth remembering that the division here is not solely of city and village, but of local authority as centre and village as periphery. Bradford Metropolitan District Council is the relevant local authority for Menston, so will feature at the least as an experience of local government for all residents interviewed, even if the *city* itself is not habitually visited or otherwise accessed.

These minimal and maximal accounts of belonging contrast with the varied positions expressed regarding feelings of belonging to Leeds. Rather than seeing common expressions of strong or weak belonging, Leeds occupied a mixed position with some, like Bradford, expressing strong(er) affinity and some the opposite. This mixed picture re-occurred through-out interviews as Leeds, like Bradford, was not understood uniformly and was approached with some ambivalence. To discuss Leeds was for some interviewees to consider specifically the *city centre*, a site of work, leisure (shops, restaurants and

entertainment primarily) and transport to other places. (In a partial reversal of the account of the rural and urban in relation to leisure and mobility practices Halfacree (2012) identifies.) For others Leeds meant the city's *suburbs* and surrounding towns, including the anticipated threat of capture through suburban sprawl (Filion, 2015) which is discussed below under 'sprawl and suburbia.

A rather singular unambiguously attitude to Leeds came from survey respondent 13, who highlighted that he held a strong sense of belonging to Leeds and Menston, as the sites were evocative of family, friends and also sporting loyalties;

'Having grown up in Menston over 20 years I feel I have a real sense of belonging here. Also having the majority of my friends and family living in Leeds and West Yorkshire give me a sense of belonging there. Being a Leeds Rhinos fan gives an extra feeling of belonging in Leeds.'

The overlap in this account of personal experience and biography, social networks of friends and family, as well as an affective connection as a fan to a rugby team, together imply a sense of belonging, community and identity that is partially akin to that summarised by Frankenberg (1969) as specific to 'traditional' rural and non-urban communities. Spracklen's research (2016) on cultural narratives of the contemporary north as closely linked to rugby league is worth remembering here, as this draws out the wider regional imaginary that sporting loyalties and preferences exist within. There is also more than a passing similarity in this emphasis on sport as a source of belonging to the section in chapter 5 on the role of pubs as hubs of community (see Heley, 2010; 2011 on the significance of pubs in ethnographic research), with an emphasis on habitual use of them as an essential part of any authentic claim to community membership or belonging (see Blokland, 2017 on sport as a site of belonging and community). Each of these (male) respondents is something of an isolated voice in articulating forms of belonging that draw on traditionally male and classed pursuits of alcohol and dedication to a sports team.

The relative isolation of this sporting account of belonging, compared to wider discussions that are rooted in working live and consumption/leisure practices that take people into the city centre, is suggestive of a generally

instrumental attitude to the city and a minimal sense of belonging to the city in emotive terms. An exemplar of a more casual attitude to sporting loyalties was outlined by residents spoken to during the EIP fieldwork about Bradford City FC. Over the course of a post-EIP conversation, these residents talked about their attendance at occasional matches the previous season as novelty outings motivated by possible entertainment³¹ rather than a sense of club loyalty. The comment made when discussing this is illustrative of this more consumptive and casual relationship, as it focused on their shock at the 'swamp like' conditions of Valley Parade (BCFC's ground) – taking great lengths to explain their surprise at the apparently poor conditions of the pitch and that they had sought the comment and explanations of committed supporters of the team. The point to take away from this is the scarcity of voices asserting activities within the broader region that might be thought of as 'traditional' pillars of belonging (i.e. Frankenberg, 1969; Blokland, 2017). But also, that the partial and elective character of belonging in relation to the wider urban region comes into view when unpicking the distinct emphasis between affinity to a club, on the one hand, and regionally sourced entertainment of the, on the other. There are echoes here of the sort of qualified and casual basis that Savage et al. (2005) draw out as a key aspect of their respondent's attitude to Manchester – with many quite happy to take it or leave it. To leave matters here however would be to neglect the main way in which the cities, especially Bradford, were positioned in terms of belonging far more selectively, through omissions, silences and explicit disaffiliation.

Accounting for (and ignoring) Bradford

These occasional match attendees demonstrate a view of Bradford as location of occasional use, rather than as a focal point for feelings of belonging that emerged throughout this research. For example, the view of survey respondents toward Bradford³² outlined in figure 5 is anticipated by Stephen who commented that he felt that 'it's horses for courses, isn't it? But I think everybody pretends Bradford doesn't exist.' This view seems to have been

³¹ Not following football, myself, I was assured at the time that Bradford were having a good 2015-16 season so warranted a trip to Valley Parade (Bradford City's ground).

³² See also figure 27 in Appendix A which reports a mapping of various degrees of population density in the Bradford and Leeds area.

demonstrated by the survey respondent's general refutation of a feeling of belonging to Bradford yet mix of positivity and ambivalence towards Leeds (this is explored further below). By contrasting Menston-Bradford, Menston-Leeds, Bradford-Leeds in this way some of the tensions in expressions of belonging emerge – for instance in the discussion of supporting football and rugby teams above. This neglect of Bradford, with its implications of ethnic diversity, is also evocative of the discussion of Menston as a *white* space in chapter 5, a site of rural uniformity, homogeneity and normative Whiteness that exists in contrast to the anticipated diversity of stigmatised urban spaces (Neal & Agyeman, 2006; Tyler, 2012; Askins, 2009).

The way belonging, and the tensions contained within claims to belong, is variously negotiated and articulated was relatively baldly stated in the survey respondents replies to question 5a ('What makes you feel like you belong in a place?') and for interviewees when asked about the 'regional fit' of Menston (e.g. 'how does Menston fit into the surrounding area? What's its relationship to say Leeds and Bradford?'). For instance, survey respondent 5 took the opportunity to reflect on what it is that informed their sense of belonging to Menston, Bradford and Leeds in broad terms. The themes of the life-course, including of their own childhood and upbringing in the wider area, share a view point with that of respondent 13 quoted above and those expressed by interviewees who discussed the multi-centred nature of community in Menston in the last chapter. Developing this position, and providing a further temporal dimension to place that has been introduced in relation to High Royds, survey respondent 5 also took the time to reflect on the *contemporary* status of Bradford rather than exclusively their own narrative in relation to place, stating that they had;

'Always lived in Yorkshire, England. After childhood lived in Leeds, Bradford, Menston. Very sadly Bradford is not a place a lot of people would want to belong to'

This use of the biographical view to draw out their affective connection to place and to emphasise the changing status of the city, as now somewhere you would not anticipate people wanting to belong to, brings us back again to the symbolic concerns with what place can say about the self. This is giving a concise way into accounts of wider processes of disaffiliation and social

distancing relating to Bradford, processes which echo discussions of wider discursive knowledge around place and what this says about the self (Sibley, 1995), whether that is through territorial stigmatisation (Wacquant, et al., 2014) or projects of the self that seek to approach and maintain particular places and place-images as part of an identity project (Benson & Jackson, 2013). A stark example of such deliberate boundary-making and exclusionary arguments came in two survey respondents who both invoked the view of Menston as an exploited site, with survey respondent 9 stating 'my wife and I think that the council thinks that Menston is a cash cow that supplements the poorer areas of Bradford.' While respondent 18 argued that the council;

'Is 'deaf' to Menston, and see it only as a cash cow, to support its inner-city residents (who are typically low-paid industrial workers). Menston doesn't fit in Bradford it would better fit in North Yorkshire.'

Given the emphasis on Menston as a 'community' above and elsewhere that was common to many interviewees, Shucksmith's (2016) point that rurality is so often tangled up in small-c conservatism is worth re-citing. An idea of non-urban spaces as socially homogeneous – or at least distinct from the 'poorer area' or 'inner cities' with their labouring classes also seems to be at play here (Murdoch, 1995). We can see in these two comments this small-c conservatism and an aversion to classed encounter and difference as an encounter with the urban, drawn upon in the language of 'localist' Burkeian self-interest right down at the ward level (Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; McKee, 2014) – in that BMDC using council funding to support the poorest communities is taken as an affront.

The role of life-course narratives, including the implied connections between social and spatial mobility, in setting out and maintaining distance between Bradford and oneself (usually less forcefully expressed than in the two survey responses above) is typified by a contribution to the Examination in Public. A resident, on the topic of the regenerative/generative economic goals and ambitions of the plan, drew on their status as a 'Bradford lad' as an authoritative position from which to attack BMDC's plans (see following chapter). Being a Bradford lad here was used to contrast his own experience with that of his adult children, who were framed as having had to depart the

city and area to find appropriate work. Aside from seeming to hold BMDC accountability for wider patterns of restructuring that link employment, housing and mobility (e.g. Urry, 2007; Savage et al. 2007; Watt, 2009; Watt & Smets, 2014), we see here how the outcome of this process becomes localised experience. The changing status of Bradford in recent decades, with its various decades of economic decline and 'restructuring' contrasted with relative economic growth in Leeds, was reflected upon and social distance, regrettably, established and emphasised between one's social origins and current location.

Such emphasis on the contemporary marginal status of Bradford was often contrasted with a strong sense of past pride, with accounts of increasingly distant glory days for the city. Lynn explicitly drew on this changing status, and a broad memory of place when asked about the 'fit' of Menston in relation to Bradford;

'It's a shame because I know people who've lived here all their life and they said they always went to Bradford. It used to be 'the' place to go and then they've let it get where it's so rundown and so many places are closed and everything that they don't go anymore now. But at one time apparently it was 'the' place to go. But not since I've lived here.'

This account manages to convey a sense of decline over time ('always went', 'it used to be'), this distance is added to as not as one's own experience, but as reported knowledge of place garnered from others ('I know people'). That this 'at one time' status has never been a feature of their experience of place as a resident of 23 years is not insignificant when considering how the ways in which Bradford takes on these various meanings of decline and lost prestige.

A further illustration of this came in the interviews with Anne reflecting on the change over time to attitudes towards Bradford amongst what she termed as 'locals' and 'new people.' 'Local' it emerged was considered by Anne to largely apply to anyone who had lived in area for longer than her and Christopher's 20+ years, and/or who had broader family connections to the area, and, finally, who were felt to point this out in conversation in a manner to imply not having such connections was a deficit. Anne and Christopher were more or less isolated in discussing such 'qualification' policing in making a claim of belonging, but this does nonetheless remind us of the more restrictive forms of community can be experienced or imposed upon place (Delanty, 2010).

There may also be something in the fact that residents of similar long-standing who had arrived from outside the Leeds-Bradford area were generally in periphery estates, with Hazel's comment on being seen as 'beyond the tracks' apposite. Anne and Christopher meanwhile in one of the oldest parts of the village, near to various churches and pubs. Reflecting specifically on the role of Bradford in the processes of place, Anne reflected that;

Anne: When we came here we were a bit struck by how people appeared to be [somehow] more loyal to Bradford, as if part of Bradford. Without going into reasons why but people did seem to go on about Bradford more. But I don't think that's the case anymore and I think it might just be that you've got a critical mass of people working in Leeds, new people [rather than] locals. Because when we came here it was a very local place. Everybody seemed to belong and had been here for decades and knew everybody else and were all relations and everything else. They appeared to be very Bradford, you know, for example, if people were sending their children to private school it would be Bradford not Leeds. And I don't think that's the case anymore. I think people really look at a bigger area and feel part of something bigger. Maybe I'm wrong but that's what I thought.

Whilst highly careful to qualify and moderate her views here, Anne is in many ways making a similar set of links to those outlined by James quoted at the start of chapter 5, where he described Menston as 'very much separate from Bradford.' To thinking through such accounts of 'the wider urban region' and 'expressions of affinity and belonging' bound up in these accounts these views specifically on Bradford are instructive and invite parallels with Watt's (2009) argument that affiliation and belonging at a local-scale are exclusionary and *selective* rather than affirmative and *elective* across an area (Savage et al., 2005). The marginal status of Bradford for these residents also invites reflection on the notion of a spoiled civic identity in addition to views of the urban as sites of 'diversity' or perhaps more pertinently – not whiteness – as when considering the implications of 'spoil' as something that has to have *declined*, resulting in claims of belonging to such a place carrying the risk of territorialised stigma. That the above survey respondents drew specifically on classed language in doing so speak to this issue. (See Hancock & Mooney, 2013, for a discussion of the role of territorial stigma in classed discourses preceding and responding to

the 2011 UK riots, or Garbin & Millington, 2012, on territorial stigmatisation and resistance in Paris' *Banlieues*).

The significance of this spatial form of stigma seemingly attached to Bradford here is that Menston, as a peri-urban settlement on the border with Leeds complete with a Leeds postcode and developing residential projects such as Chevin Park in the High Royds estate as 'Menston, Leeds' offers residents an opportunity for distancing and disaffiliation from Bradford and its melancholic connotations of specific decline. This is in addition to the wider cultural reification of the rural that is discussed in chapter 3 and running through the discussion of 'the moors' above. To think about who one does, or does not, identify with Bradford is an opportunity to negotiate social and symbolic distances and differences that are classed and racialised. Such categorisations bring us back to Atkinson's argument that field theory facilitates a view of 'the way class is *lived* and *experienced* in everyday life' (2015, p. 60) a tool for identifying the structural in the symbolic and experiential. To name, reinforce and strengthen these distances and differences as forms of common-sense feeds into the *doxa* and *illusio* of the field as a *rural* site and by implication a white and middle-class site (or at least, 'non-urban') in that it maintains the differentiation between the rural and the urban as the classless and classed (Murdoch, 1995) as well as the racialised and normative (Neal & Agyeman, 2006). This is alongside broader questions of an alignment between habitus and place where the stakes – the *illusio* – of maintaining social and symbolic distance requires active position-taking strategies, of the sort found in practices of *selective* belonging and symbolic work to maintain place-images (Watt, 2009; Benson & Jackson, 2013). The most effective of which will come from already existent advantaged positions in the wider field of power. (Bourdieu, 1983)

In practical terms, advantage here might be as straightforward as material wealth allowing access to housing or to support the sustained opposition to further housing developments in the area (e.g. the activities of the Menston Action Group that this project began with and that we return to in chapter 7). Such opposition feeds into a wider context of the social reproduction of class, whether through orchestrations of 'household incubation' in the city (Atkinson, 2006, p. 822) or in an emphasis on education over housing

(Watt, 2009, p. 2890). Disaffiliation and distancing from Bradford that serves to perpetuate classed differences in the local field of power. This is deeply reliant upon the position of relational advantage typically held by and Menston's residents in terms of wider field positions. (Consider the NS-SeC groupings discussed in chapters 1 and 4 here.) When asked to reflect on Menston's 'fit' within the wider region, including the cities one interviewee offered a succinct summary of the stakes and outcome of such distancing of Menston from its environs in saying that Menston is 'like coming to a different world.' The next section considers the question of 'fit' further.

Centre, suburbia, sprawl, countryside

This differentiation from neighbouring places – a sort of quasi-demonstration of taste in residential location turned to again below – was not limited only to Bradford but also applied to other nearby places in the metropolitan area. Returning to figure 4, the range of views on Leeds and on West Yorkshire in the surveys again echoes those of interviewees when considering belonging more broadly than the strictly 'village' scale. For instance, Leeds stood in to mean both city centre and (sub)urban sprawl for many interviewees, with the ultimate capture of Menston in the continuous suburbs of the two cities understood as ultimately inevitable for some residents. John put it the present situation as 'comfortable at the moment' [but] 'it'll get worse, I'm sure it will' – a fatalistic view which cropped up to various degrees across a number of interviews. Ben tempered this broad fatalism as something that could be slowed down through organised opposition and activism to development, though he was also of a view that this would not prevent change forever;

Ben: There is a need for housing, of whatever type. The fields round here will get built on ultimately. Even if the campaign [MAG] has won this time round, like 10 years ago or whatever, next time it will be more difficult to win those sorts of arguments. And also, certainly the person who is funding the campaign now may not be around then so will there be people who (a) have the money and (b) the energy to run a campaign like that? We don't know. Probably not. So, I think it's inevitable that some bits will get built on [...] Menston will become an urban sprawl, if you like, just an extension of Leeds or Bradford.

This anticipated future of being 'just an extension' to the urban is evocative of how a rural/urban binary is felt and lived – and how it is maintained through cash and campaigning. A combination of advantages distinctive to the middle-class that the localism agenda has in some ways served to further entrench through planning and spatial control (Jacobs & Manzi, 2013b; Matthews, et al., 2014; Parker & Street, 2015). That Ben does not offer a view as to which city Menston will become an extension of is suggestive of an indifference to differentiation between the two cities – with being part of one metropolitan district, much the same as another.

Ben is commenting here on how spatial differentiation and social differentiation have been practically maintained in conjunction. How this is maintained more widely, outside of practical action, is however more various, ambiguous and somewhat contested than simply staving off inevitable urbanisation. The range of views given on the question of Menston's 'fit' into the region by interviewees was uniform only in the sense that Bradford was elided. For some, the premise of the question needed to be rejected;

WP: Where would you say it's orientated towards now? [...] Or is it orientated towards any one place?

Pat: I don't think it is.

WP: To Bradford?

Pat: To either... Bradford or Leeds

Graham: No, I don't think it is – I think you're [Pat] right.

Such rejection of an 'orientation' to the city was not uncommon and has a similar strain to Ben's 'Leeds or Bradford' comment with other interviewees similarly underlining separation. Stephan put it as a purely spatial question as 'geographically it [Menston] is completely separate. I don't regard it as 'part of'. I just don't regard it as part of Leeds or Bradford.' Such categorical rejection of the urban in its entirety was a significant minority voice, as a view in which cities were rejected as a possible focus of affective belonging or as an appropriate point of reference when describing place. The rather broad ideas of 'northernness' and Yorkshire as the acceptable regional scale have already

been discussed in chapter 5, what this shows is how these scales were not directly partnered with specific locations.

Yet, accompanying views such as Stephen's was a frequent tacit acceptance of city centres as possible spaces of leisure and of recreation, the three extended quotes below are emblematic of this affective refusal of affiliation given in tandem with an acceptance of *instrumental* use for specific, qualified purposes;

David: Well [exhales]... What do I want to say about that? ... They don't have a place in my life really. **I would only go to Leeds and Bradford if I have to.** So, I'll go to Bradford if I want to go to the theatre, occasionally if there's something on in Centenary Square, otherwise I wouldn't bother to go to Bradford [except for] St Georges Hall, so **I just go for entertainment really.** Leeds I would go to two or three times a year, though I tend to be honest to go to an out of town retail park. So, I'm more likely to go York, one of the York retail parks and make a day out of it. **Leeds doesn't have an attraction for me and neither does Bradford, but then I'm 65 I'm not like a teenager, I'm not... I like to go to Ilkley!** And as I say, I would choose Alcoate's/White Rose but mostly I would say 'oh, let's go to York' because, you know...

Lynn paints a similar picture of occasional visits for specific forms of entertainment and leisure that are unrelated to being in the specific city;

Lynn: [...] At Christmas time I go to Leeds **and if we go to the theatre in Leeds we obviously go. But I never choose.** I mean, a lot of my friends do, and they go on the train to Leeds and they go shopping there all the time. So that's only me not them. **I don't like big places, you see. I don't like big cities.** [...] Normally it's [Bradford] irrelevant. It's irrelevant. Because we don't... I suppose if I wanted planning permission I'd have to go to them and then it would be relevant.

Hazel was clear that this disregard for cities as a broad category of experience was core to her original motivation to moving to Menston. Where David and Lynn comment on their own use of city centres (and out of town shopping centres for David), Hazel was emphatic that neither had appeal to her. Instead she put it as a practical consideration;

Hazel: [...] I like hills, **I like countryside, I don't like cities.** I know they're essential but... So here where we live, where we came to live was – we had to come where there was work, for me husband he was with the [employer], so we had to live someone

near there and **I wanted to be near as possible yet away from industry**. And Bradford and Leeds are there, south of that you've got the old coal field and the old industry, north of that you've got wonderful countryside of the Dales and that – and that's why Menston was a great place to come to, for me. **You could get both. You've industry for work, you've got the city for people who like cities, you've got the countryside for [others], so Menston was a good place to come.**

A polarised account of the urban and the rural is central here, with the city centre as a site of potential leisure through cultural consumption (theatre) and socialisation with friends, who do happen to like cities. But as with Ben above, there is no claim a form of metropolitan citizenship here, rather these are occasional visits rather than habitual access, such as in the way that Bradford becomes solely as a source of theatre-entertainment, and Leeds as a site in which friends go shopping. There is a parallel is here, particular for Bradford, to treatment of Valley Parade as an occasional site of watching football discussed in the prior section. That rather than being articulated as within a broader affective landscape, the stadium and the theatres exist as sites of occasional recreation and entertainment. The metropolitan as the urban is positioned ultimately as distanced, as somewhere to be used and explored by other people with other tastes, that these interviewees were typically either indifferent to or saw as oppositional to their sense of a rural way of life.

This distancing from the urban, especially as city centre, emphasised specific uses rather than affective bonds was something that spilled over into attitudes toward neighbouring towns and suburbs. Hazel's view above of wanting to be as 'near as possible yet away from' what she termed 'industry' speaks to the more selective and discerning ways in which place in the wider region was understood in terms of encroaching suburbia (Filion, 2015). As well as the cities, interviewees were asked to consider the relationship of Menston to proximate settlements, such as the adjoining town of Guiseley, the large village/small town of Baildon separated by moorland or nearby (but not yet coalescent) village Burley-in-Wharfedale (see Appendix A, figures 22 and 23). Ruth and Kate outlined their views here about familiarity and a sense of 'the urban' as sprawl;

Ruth: I don't know Baildon at all, nor really Guiseley

Kate: I think it's separate. I mean, Burley-in-Wharfedale is quite a big village and Guiseley is a bit of a, I mean I go to Guiseley, it's more urban sprawl

Ruth: It's much more urban is Guiseley.

James similarly expressed a view of Guiseley as characterised by urban sprawl but reflected, as with those three interviewees above discussing the city centres, on his own use of the town as a space of shopping and consumption. In his case Guiseley is a preferred alternative to city centres, but one that is carefully couched as his individual use of place and not about a sense of affinity or affiliation between places;

James: I don't know. From my perspective I guess being close to **Guiseley is actually useful** because Guiseley has got supermarket [...] But they're [Guiseley's 2 retail parks] quite useful [...] the bigger one, [...] I use quite a lot. **I mean, I use them more now rather than going to Leeds. Often, it's the same kind of shops that I want that are there.** So, there's that kind of connection. **That's a connection I have with Guiseley, which is a purely commercial one.**

This sense of a purely mercantile relationship with neighbouring places was a common frame of reference for both the centre and Guiseley in particular. This is in contrast to the already noted above stated preference of people such as Stephen and David for Ilkley as a place to identify with, a town at best 15 minutes further away by car or train than Guiseley, but importantly one that was also far more easily discussed in terms of rurality and countryside. There is a distinct parallel to the 'selective' aspects of belonging Watt (2013b) identifies in the consumption and educational preferences of the middle-classes in a London suburb here, in that the near site is accepted as somewhere to be ignored in favour of somewhere further afield that is felt to match one's identity.

When looking to account for Menston's position within the wider area the towns and villages further into the Wharfe valley were routinely invoked as being most alike in character and population. Rather than simply saying this was expressive of her tastes, Lynn put it as a matter of practices (Blokland, 2017) through family connections and the formal organisation of local government that together shaped her view of a localised grouping of places;

Lynn: Yeah, well we're under the same. With Ilkley we're all under the same council of course. And Addingham, my son lives in Addingham, so I go there quite a lot. Yeah, **I always think of**

Addingham, Burley, Ilkley and Menston as a group. But that way [Guiseley] is not.

Here the alignment of Menston as a totality is considered in contrast to individual consumption practices (Savage et al., 2005). As is drawn out in the discussion of community in Menston in chapter 5, this is sense of place as explicitly non-urban and as within a wider chain of smaller scale settlements beyond the boundaries of the suburban and the urban with their uneasy implications of class and ethnic diversity. For Lynn, this position is easily explained by drawing on family ties and a shared position within the Bradford MDC area, yet such combinations of the practical and affective exist alongside views such as Hazel's when she says 'I like the countryside, I don't like cities' or Rachael's emphasis on the use of cities purely for entertainment. Belonging in relation to the urban is thoroughly contingent for these residents, here any alignment to Bradford is about primarily local government, which as shared with other periphery settlements along the Wharfe valley acted as a form of sub-regional identification *against* the centre as Bradford. A shared sub-region of selective belonging that was similarly explored by James when reflecting on his frequent visits to Ilkley by train and car;

James: I go into Ilkley and Ilkley is really quite important, either drive or by train, less by train these days. I'm just driving and parking there. I go into Ilkley quite a lot and I like it. **And I like it because you can walk around and see people and there are things happening, which is not the case in Menston, you know, there's nothing there.** One baker and no butcher and all the rest of it. Burley, I hardly ever go into. Not so much now but **when I used to run being close to the Moor was a fantastic asset.** I mean, I do walk but not as frequently as I used to.

For James the significance of Ilkley emerges not in family or shared position within local government but in his enjoyment of place – in the sense that 'there are things happening', that they are accessible and that 'there's nothing' in Menston (Watt, 2009; 2013b).

This sense of a distinction between suburban places that are simply unknown (e.g. Ruth on Baildon) or even as undesirable examples of sprawl (e.g. Guiseley) and those that are known as pleasant places to be or to visit (e.g. Burley, Ilkley) is relatively stark. The careful discursive work of differentiation between Menston and the suburbs along with broad claims to commonality

with Ilkley begin to outline how belonging in the peri-urban is dependent, amongst other factors, upon a rejection of the *identifiably* suburban (even where this is an adjoining site). The sense of alignment between places is therefore understood as being partially rooted in what they are *not* (Cohen, 1982) and in terms of an affinity to the wider region that draws on Menston as a base for mobility (Milbourne & Kitchen, 2014; Halfacree, 2012). As somewhere that can be ventured *out* from and returned to.

This is an emphasis on a connected village, whilst remaining set apart from the urban and suburban, that runs through the survey responses. With descriptions of Menston often in this language of a quiet place with minimal resources but good connections. Three examples of this being respondent 2 putting it as;

'A pleasant commuter village, good basic retail services, good rail links, close to fine, open country, threatened by car parking issues, good public services.'

Respondent 10 as;

'Traditional Yorkshire village in a semi-rural location [...] pleasant surroundings and good transport links.'

And respondent 18 as;

'A small, compact environment – semi-rural set on the fringe of a busy multi-cultural, predominantly industrial city. An extended village trying to preserve those of its features which formed its character. Not a 'typical' English village, nor a tourist venue, but still comfortable.'

This sets out significant features of the peri-urban, in that it is simultaneously a site in which an emphasis on rurality can be given, whilst also emphasising the capacity to get elsewhere. This is a sense of the peri-urban that draws on wider notions of the urban and rural as a dichotomy (Wallwork & Dixon, 2004), with the rural as a 'goal' in and of itself that feeds into wider patterns of commodification (Halfacree, 2012, p. 221; Smith, 2011).

The consequences of these patterns of commodification for the make-up of the population *within* Menston come in for partial recognition by a small minority of residents and survey respondents. Survey respondent 23 reflected on the question of taste and distinction within Menston, as when describing

Menston they reported that there are 'more health/beauty shops than food shops [which] speaks volumes about the residents.' The volumes here being also commented on in interviews, with consumption habits used as a shorthand to sketch a sense of a highly affluent space. For example, in Laura's concerns noted in chapter 5 (on schooling) that at the school gates other parents would 'all have 4x4s and be blingey.' The significance of consumption practices and questions of taste as speaking 'volumes' brings us back to *habitus* and the ways in which questions of taste – and judgements on it – communicate social position (Bourdieu, 1984). Further to this, Savage et al.'s (2005) work on elective belonging and Jackson & Benson (2014) on Peckham's gentrifying middle-classes illustrates the ways in which an alignment between place and taste through *habitus* is sought.

Sayer's (2000) point on the potential embarrassment of discussing class is apt here, given that such comments on conspicuous consumption were made left the implications to be worked out for yourself. This draws attention to the role of the peri-urban as a site embedded in the social reproduction of class (Atkinson, 2013). With an awareness amongst interviewees of Menston as occupying distinctive place in local, regional and national hierarchies. A sense of social location which was drawn on to show the limits of affinity with other places in Wharfedale. So that in addition to the symbolic distancing from the classed and racialised urban Other, linked to Bradford in particular, that speaks of process of selective belonging (Watt, 2009), Menston was also distinguished from places and people assumed to be in a more advantageous social position (Miles & Ebrey, 2017). So that whilst a sense of alignment was articulated with the towns and villages along the Wharfe valley when considering the urban (whether generically or in relation to a specific city), a sense of differentiation from these sites was also maintained. One that was most often expressed in relation to consumption narratives and practices as an issue of 'taste' rather than direct citation of class (Bourdieu, 1984). The following section outlines some of ways in which this difference was named and articulated especially in relation to the town of Ilkley.

Differentiation and not being a 'classic incomer' area or 'Ilkley people'

Christopher and Anne reflected on and worked to draw out some of their ideas about the ways in which people decide to move to a given place, and how this might be connected to their sense of identity. In this they brought forward ideas about place as something to be 'consumed', i.e. where is seen as a desirable place to live, and how one would relate to it. For these interviewees moving to a new house was a simplified version of elective belonging, in that it required a matching between habitus and place (Savage et al., 2005; Savage, 2010). Obliquely following on from the point the previous section closed with, this entailed some positioning of Menston within and relative to their expectations at a regional scale. Discussing the place of Menston in the local-regional housing market, they highlighted the prominence of Harrogate and Ilkley in national discourses of desirable residence and reflected upon the relative fit of Menston within this (Smith, 2011). The following exchange sees them working out Menston's position as a point in the housing market:

Christopher: This is not the classical part of Yorkshire for incomers. There is a triangle between Harrogate, Wetherby, Leeds or somewhere and we are outside it.

Anne: The golden triangle [...]

Christopher: I don't know whether it's Harrogate...

Anne: It is. It's Wetherby, Leeds. We're on the periphery of it, aren't we?

Christopher: It's where people who move to the area tend to live which doesn't include Menston or Ilkley, although Ilkley is actually quite popular with people who move to the area. All my peer group, when we moved here, lived in Ilkley.

Anne: This area, particularly Ilkley, has a very high profile nationally. You're getting articles in the press about one of the best places to live is Ilkley. [...]

Christopher: I think it's mainly Harrogate is number 10 in the best places in the UK to live.

Anne: At the moment. But Ilkley has been written up as well.

Christopher: But it's not in the top ten, Harrogate is.

Anne: Yeah, I'd rather live in Ilkley. But all of that probably has an impact on how people see themselves and their role here and, again, makes them more outward looking.

There is a connection here between Christopher's initial statement that Menston is not in a 'classical part of Yorkshire for incomers' and the ideas of Menston as *not* 'twee' and 'not pretty' previously outlined (see chapter 5 on aesthetics). Though not a picturesque or romantic place (c.f. Phillips, 2014 on 'baroque rurality') it was emphasised as a distinctly 'Yorkshire village' for many, the connection here being that Menston is effectively positioned as distinct from, yet near to, those places that have relatively greater prominence as desirable places to live. The notion of 'popularity' in the housing market is linked here by Anne to a sense of what people this attracts and how it is they 'see themselves.' What is being communicated where Anne states she would rather live in Ilkley than Menston is not the focus here – but what is drawn out is what differences and distinctions are drawn by other residents about 'Ilkley people'.

As with the more fatalistic view of place as doomed to greater development and eventual suburbanisation (Filion, 2015), the predictable consequence of this high profile is that whilst Ilkley acts as a focal point for arrival narratives, including Christopher and Anne's, this was also understood as ratcheting up the demand for housing, which then adds to a 'threatened' sense of community and place. Those who move to and live in Ilkley were more widely discussed as doing so as part of an anticipated lifestyle (e.g. Halfacree, 2012 on 'heterolocal identities and Benson & Jackson, 2013 on such anticipation amongst urban gentrifies). An example of this consideration of the housing market and an inverse example of this lifestyle concern came from Jim, who when considering his sense of regional 'fit' of Menston commented on his family's move *out* of Ilkley 11 years earlier;

Jim: [Menston's] a bit out on a limb [...] As far as Bradford is concerned – we're Wharfedale. Whereas Ilkley is Ilkley.

WP: Right, okay.

Jim: But Burley sort of gets away with being Ilkley [...]

WP: Okay and was the reason for moving from Ilkley to Menston was?

Jim: Better value – better value [laughs] [...] When I first moved here I thought I might miss out, I was right in the centre of Ilkley before for 11 years, so I thought I might miss it, but I don't so [shrugs].

This sense of being 'right in the centre' features in Anne's comments on wanting to move to Ilkley and is evocative of the *elective* form of belonging in the anticipated fit between one's habitus as dispositions and space (Savage et al. 2005; Savage, 2010). Yet for other residents, Menston as a site of safety (and quiet) was positioned as far preferable, though one that was framed as in an orbital position in the housing field, a place that is a step up or down the housing ladder to/from the desirability and exclusivity of Ilkley.

This sense of how place was positioned externally as a commonly 'desirable' site was firmly outlined by those who were emphatic that they had no interest in moving to Ilkley, in doing so they set out to differentiate themselves from being entangled with any 'aspirational' discourses. Where Anne and Jim commented on living in Ilkley as about being 'in amongst things', for Catherine, not living in Ilkley was framed primarily as not becoming or being seen as an 'Ilkley person';

Catherine: Yeah. Maybe it's [Menston] where people live if they kind of would quite like to live in Ilkley but haven't quite been able to make it to Ilkley. **We didn't want to live in Ilkley because I could never see myself as a person who lived in Ilkley [...]**

WP: So, the type of person that you'd get in Ilkley, do you think it's peculiar to Ilkley of attracting a particular lifestyle type?

Catherine: Yeah. I don't know. The first experience of Ilkley I had was sort of trying to drive through Ilkley and sort of having to do a slalom around lots of four-by-fours. It's a very nice place and I don't mind visiting it, but **it just seems like it's very well-off and it sort of wears its wealth quite obviously. It's quite aspirational I suppose, and I didn't think I'd ever fit in or quite want to fit in there.** [...] Menston just felt, yeah, more of a comfortable place to be really.

Whilst Catherine notes that other Menston residents might 'quite like to live in Ilkley' though be unable to, for her Ilkley's high national profile comes at the cost of living amongst a particular 'Ilkley person'. With again, 4x4 cars featuring here as a signifier which conjures up an anticipated different classed lifestyle and set of consumption choices that bring suggest broad understandings of processes of rural gentrification as class homogenisation through the housing

market (Murdoch, 1995; Smith, 2011). Whereas for Laura (chapter 5 on schooling) the anticipated 4x4s failed to materialise in Menston, for Catherine they were visible and required practically working around.

The perception that to live in Ilkley meant operating with and engaging in a set of heightened material aspirations and consumption practices was similarly put by Peter and Steph. For them, Menston could not be seen as particularly closely aligned to Ilkley given a perceived sense of distinction and cultivated separation that was seen as 'pretentious';

Steph: I feel like Ilkley's separate...

Peter: I dunno what Ilkley is.

Steph: I think they put themselves separate...

Peter: It is a bit pretentious Ilkley, I wouldn't want to live in Ilkley.

Steph: No, I wouldn't want to live in Ilkley. Don't think they'd accept us in Ilkley! [...] I think we'd be run out, I don't think they'd accept us.

Steph's joke, that people such as her and Peter would be rejected and 'run out' of Ilkley, brings us back to the ways in which people are recognised and recognise themselves in terms of classed taste (Bourdieu, 1984). Whilst anticipating not being accepted the potential for the humiliation of rejection is mitigated by being dismissed, here for Peter and Steph this is by positioning Ilkley as somewhere they would not want to live in any case. Peter, it is worth noting, was one of those residents who drew on a racialised rationale for moving to Menston (chapter 5, schooling) and had made the argument that the Homestead formed part of Menston, albeit it as an enclave of affluence he termed 'Monaco'. Here he appears to also be drawing on class as a hierarchy of difference within which locates his sense of belonging, in a manner similar to that highlighted by Miles & Ebrey (2017, pp. 61-62) where residents of positioned themselves as 'down to earth' in contrast to the 'well-healed' neighbouring towns.

A slightly subtler expression of this view on the differences between Menston and Ilkley as primarily classed, as about distancing oneself from an 'aspirational' consumer strand of the middle-class, came from James. When

reflecting on the constructed and mutable character of administrative boundaries he commented that;

James: [...] With having worked in Bradford for a very, very long time and lived in Bradford I have to say I was astonished to find that [Menston] was Bradford [MDC]. I was astonished at that. Right out to Ilkley. I just find it interesting and I often wonder why that came about [...] I mean, I know at one stage Ilkley, when it was mooted that there was a change to local government, Ilkley was very much trying to get themselves drawn into a map that included Harrogate and North Yorkshire rather than be part of Bradford. That just struck me as typical of bloody Ilkley and, you know, snobbery. It doesn't bother me in the least.

James neatly summarises the ways in which Menston's formal inclusion in Bradford MDC is treated as unexpected or discussed earlier in this chapter, though he is at pains to show his own indifference to this inclusion – even if he is surprised by it. What he adds to an understanding of regional position is a sense that his, as someone living in Menston, being unfazed at formally living in the Bradford metropolitan area is distinct from the 'snobbery' he expects from 'bloody Ilkley'. The snobbery here being expressed in memories of prior discussions of attempts to re-designate Ilkley as part of North Yorkshire County Council or Harrogate District Council (both of which it borders). For James, his proclaimed ease at being in Bradford and general comfort with the label is an important point of contrast with the anticipated attitudes of those who live – or would desire to live – in Ilkley.

There are parallels throughout here with the accounts of place identified by Savage et al. (2005) that reflect on the 'aura' of the suburbs and the ways in which spaces are objectified by residents as inherently linked to lifestyles. In this case, this section has set out some of the ways in which Menston residents saw the village as fitting into the wider region partially in terms of negation. That is *not* a typical destination for 'incomers' outside of the Leeds and Bradford areas. At the same time, whilst happy to discuss Ilkley as a pleasant place to visit and access, and perhaps even see some alignment with, residents also saw this as a space for the more aspirational middle-classes (see Benson & Jackson, 2013). To my reading, there is a hint, in such careful positioning of Menston in relation to Ilkley, of seeing Ilkley as a site subject to and changed by the commodification processes of rural gentrification (Smith, 2011). That the

language of aspiration goes unapplied to Menston, whilst framing it as a 'traditional Yorkshire village' (chapter 4, aesthetics) is near ubiquitous is not insignificant in drawing out a claim to authenticity of place, in contrast to the implied vacuity of commodified lifestyle rurality found in Ilkley or dismissed and marginalised sense of the urban in Bradford and Leeds.

Conclusion

These various expressions of place, boundaries and belonging, as aligned with or distanced from neighbouring towns and villages and/or in opposition to or affinity with the urban centres of Leeds and Bradford, are situated within competing visions of the wider urban (and non-urban) metropolitan region. For those of the more fatalistic view, development and spatial change are understood to inevitably mean the 'urbanisation of suburbia' (Soja, 2003, p. 279), or the peri-urban village in this case. With anticipated changes flowing from this for the symbolic qualities of place as it is connected to people (Sibley, 1995). Change which is explicitly and implicitly drawn upon as about a convergence between the qualities of place and of the people who are *expected* to be living there (e.g. James' 'Ilkley snobs').

We see this in drawing of symbolic boundaries around the which periphery sites are recognised as within Menston, with the exclusivity of the Homestead in particular causing some minor ructions and the accounts of the gradual recognition of Brooklands over the decades as the ways has increased in use. It is visible again in the positioning of High Royds as subject to a gradual distancing over time, from a place of uncomfortable proximity for some residences (albeit one that supported a sense of a working village) to somewhere more easily ignored and when considered at all thought of broadly in terms of a defanged or sanitised 'heritage' (Bowden, 2012). The ways in which a position in relation to Bradford and to Leeds is worked out – or at least minimised as one that is purely work based or around consumption and leisure – sees a further set of symbolic boundaries drawn. The strongest claims of affiliation come in the discussion of 'Wharfedale' but even then, when turning to Ilkley specifically as a key town in Wharfedale, this comes alignment comes under scrutiny and criticism in terms of expected classed prejudices and

dispositions. Here to is quite strongly rejected as a site of affinity, though not as strongly rejected as the urban and suburban.

This exposes some of the broader cultural, social, economic and political field dynamics within which Menston is understood to be positioned by residents. This is to emphasise the ways in which residents see their peri-urban position as likely subject to ongoing urbanisation as part of the wider growth of the 'edge city' (Soja, 2003). Within which quasi-strategic accounts of belonging are made, strategic in that they must be deliberate and discriminating taste (in the sense of discriminatory and carefully done), that for Savage et al. might include evoking of the 'aura of the suburbs' in 'elective belonging' (2005). However, notions of 'selective belonging' as Watt (2009) puts it resonate strongly with these differentiated accounts of place and belonging. Bringing these various ideas and residents' accounts of place, belonging and community into dialogue with field theory is productive in order to return to belonging as ultimately variegated in composition. By which I mean that belonging can be best understood as 'formed in an intersectional context, along with *multiple mutually constitutive axes of difference*, of which geography is only one' (Tomaney, 2015, p. 508, emphasis added).

An analytic account of belonging and place needs to therefore avoid falling into the trap of accounting for belonging through a single axis of difference/similarity or associated mono-dimensional application of a favoured analytic framework, for example explaining residential patterns exclusively in terms of Bourdieusian 'taste'. Doing so would serve to erase the nuanced positions articulated by residents, rather in considering the role of field the multiple axes can be fleshed out further. Axes of difference that might be thought of as sources of inclusive discourses (as in 'these people, like us, are distinguished by X subject position') given the view of Menston as somewhere from which to depart and engage with the wider peri-urban region (Vallance, 2014; Miles & Ebrey, 2017). What is often seen instead are accounts of exclusion and difference within initially claimed groupings, as we saw in chapter 4 as to where constituted recognisable centres of community life.

Such an 'intersectional context' (Tomaney, 2015, p. 508) to belonging does not preclude a field theoretical approach, what it does suggest however

is a degree of caution about emphasising one social space of struggle above all others. As Thomson (2012) draws out, fields as sites of social struggles are also centres of gravity, in that they influence those beyond the immediate participants and feed into the shaping of other fields. In the EIP an economic-rationality discourse (Jacobs & Manzi, 2013b) is seeking to shape the social, yet a strong yet of symbolic attachments to place motivate and are utilised to push back. This may be a misrecognition of the *doxa* (Hardy, 2012), but it remains an engagement with the structures at play across multiple social/symbolic/spatial contexts that shape one's sense of belonging.

For residents living within and subject to this polarisation and wider field dynamics an ongoing negotiation of place ensues, though it is not a process that is necessarily antagonistic between differing claims over place. Rather the majority of the views given above are relatively mundane and circumspect, and liable to respond to wider changes. So that place is differently invoked and cultivated by residents as they can move between different contexts. This might be the differing demands of working and family life, or it may be in response to changes wrought by regional and national actors (e.g. the closure of High Royds as a hospital or the proposed housing) that work to cultivate alternate place-images. Avant Homes, mentioned above, have worked to position its High Royds development as unambiguously in Menston and in Leeds, a relatively minor example of a developer working to establish a narrative of the rural-idyll that is firmly embedded in the urban. An account that in many ways echoes the accounts of place and belonging above, although in this instance through mapping of the 'local area' (Avant Homes, n.d.);

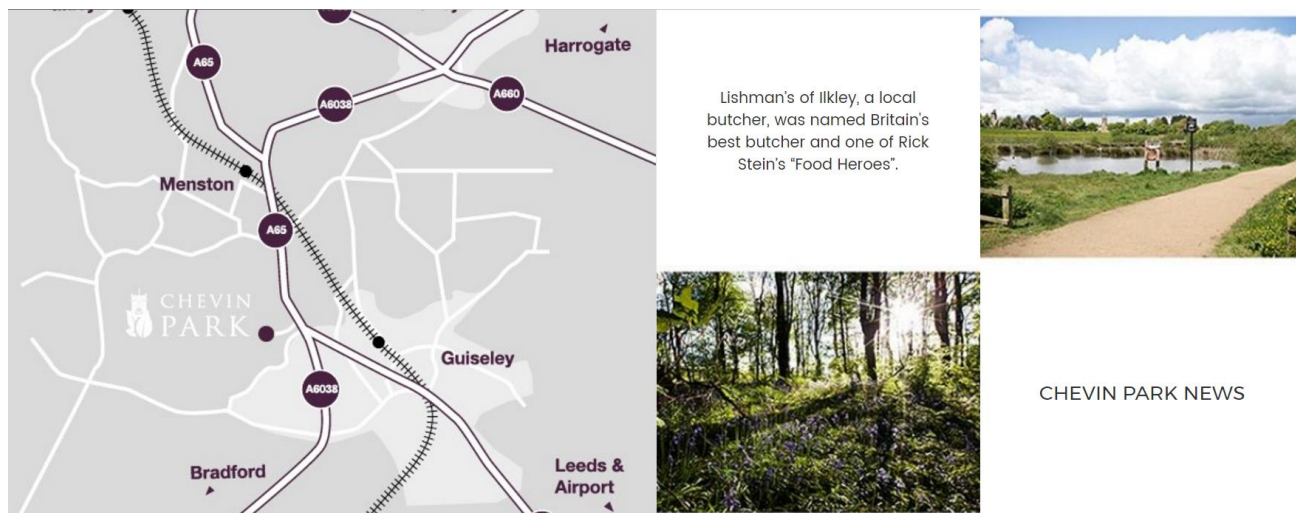


Figure 7: Avant Homes, 'Local Area', <https://www.avanthomes.co.uk/find-your-new-home/chevin-park/local-area/>

Talking about belonging-in-field (even where not in such terms) by residents, community groups and institutional actors in government and the private sector is clearly something that is relational, reflective and reactive. In unpacking such discussions of place and of belonging in the wider context, some of the ways in which the formal and informal local 'field' is understood by residents emerges, as do glimpses of habitus as a 'structuring structure' that is informed by, and subsequently informs the emergent narratives of place that contribute to the composition of the field (Bourdieu, 1983; Thomson, 2012). Ilkley's influence as a focal point for spreading 'aspirational lifestyles' across the wider area might be one such way that the field is recomposed. Including where there is resistance to reinventions of place as orientated towards Ilkley, so that alongside affirmative expressions of place sit accounts of spatial disaffiliation echoing both Pinkster's (2013) and Watt's (2009) work on boundary drawing through elision. The theme of distancing oneself from both the aspirational connotations of being an 'Ilkley' person and also from the urban (Bradford in particular as the survey respondents rather starkly demonstrate in figure 5) constitute axes of exclusion that a one-dimensional account of only positive affiliation, presumed spatial/organisational proximity as translating to social/cultural affinity would neglect. A wider sense of affinity with other locales is subject to experience of the inflationary pressure on housing that comes with Ilkley's high national profile on top of a wider culturally fetishized image of

homogenous rurality (Murdoch, 1995; Neal & Agyeman, 2006; Shucksmith, 2016). The following chapter takes these questions about alignment and distancing to a practical expression of the field of power and considers the ways in which this translates as forms of 'position-taking' within the convened space.

7. City Region Planning as a Field of Power

Introduction

The context in British politics of relatively recent devolution, localist and Parliamentary reform programmes under Labour, Coalition and Conservative governments, and critiques of these programmes, are a partial underpinning of this chapter. Ideas of place, community and belonging discussed above in terms of the urban and the rural are brought into relation with wider questions of neoliberal governance here. The policy context here is shaped by the obligations arising from the Localism Act (2011) and decisions made by the DCLG in the early days of the Coalition Government, such as the scrapping of Regional Development Agencies and partial replacement with Local Enterprise Partnerships (Bentley, et al., 2010). The imperative for Local Authorities from this point has been to create 'Local Plans' that are informed by the 2012 National Planning Policy Framework. These are local policy documents that are meant to guide local planning decisions and strategy over the short to medium term. As discussed in chapter 2, a number of concerns and critiques can be raised about how these policies have been enacted and with what consequence. Of main relevance here is the argument that it comprises a neoliberal form of governance, one that emphasises participation structured on property rights of corporations and individuals, and a consensus politics that leaves the status quo of common sense unthreatened (Bentley, et al., 2010; Holman & Rydin, 2013; Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Jacobs & Manzi, 2013b).

In exploring these research question 3 asks;

In what ways do position-taking strategies and practices, made visible by planning and development processes for the metropolitan region, structure the field of power in which the peri-urban is located?

In addressing this I am interested in exploring what strategic planning looks like in practice and addressing the notions of 'social and spatial change' in the over-arching research aim of the project. This raises questions of what the process of planning looks like and how this can be sociologically read. By drawing on Bourdieu's (2005 [2000]) theory of practice, a framework for understanding planning processes as a specific 'field' emerges where planning

as a field occupies a specific position within the wider field of power. It is therefore subject to the internal power relations and dynamics between individuals or organisations in the field with emerging positions of strength in the field arising from not only the capitals held but how they are brought to bear here on the stakes of the field, with habitus taking a mediating role in such position-taking. Thomson's (2012) three analogies for field are worth re-stating; with fields as uneven and unfair 'playing fields' favouring one group over another. As prohibiting/controlling access to and exit from a context, as in science fiction 'force-field'. And as a *force* in itself, such as gravity, the influence of which can be identified well beyond the immediately observed context as the ramifications of position-taking spill out beyond the immediate context. Therefore, whilst the spatial connotations of 'field' might suggest an isolated or insulated set of events, I argue that the Examination in Public is demonstrative of both the legal-rational and judicial basis of the contemporary neoliberal state (Harvey, 2006; Clarke & Cochrane, 2013) and of the classed access to forms of meaningful engagement with this. This localised and constrained example feeds into wider studies on the rationales of governance whilst also drawing 'up' from the more mundane and everyday talk about place and people that shapes chapter 5 and 6.³³

The chapter therefore works to demonstrate how public meetings, in this case on strategic planning for the Metropolitan District of Bradford, can be productively read as a field of power. A field of power that is symbolic in construction, relational in operation and with explicitly spatial and social consequences. This is not to see *Bradford* and all that it contains as a field of power, rather it is to emphasise the 'social space' of interaction as an object of analysis (Bourdieu, 2005[2000]). A social space, demarked by clear bureaucratic boundaries, in which wider issues of power are read and recognised. The chapter primarily focuses on observational and documentary

³³ A more detailed discussion of the character of the neoliberal state and field theory can be found in pre-ceding chapters; here it is enough to note, first, the orientation to the defence of property rights over any other democratic or civic responsibilities or qualities (Harvey, 2006; Peck, 2013). Second is Hall & O'Shea's (2013) comment on the contradictions and incoherencies central to neoliberal 'common sense', which given that contradictions and incoherencies, alongside claims of common sense and evidence-based governance, are abound in planning processes makes 'neoliberal governance' a useful point to depart from.

research relating to the March 2015 Examination in Public of Bradford MDC's Core Strategy for the Local Plan. (Which I termed as 'the EIP' for sake of brevity below). Specific policies as points of conflict and contention are focussed on below, with the subsequent Main Modifications to the Core Strategy published in November 2015 drawn on to comment on the efficacy of such participation.

Structure of the chapter

As I am shifting from accounting for interview data here, I want to outline the overall structure of the chapter when making the case for the EIP as a field of power. The chapter is organised into three parts, this approach broadly follows the practical steps outlined by Hajer (2006) on conducting discourse analytic work. Part 1 focusses on documentary evidence from *before* the Examination as well as some illustrative content drawn from observational notes, what Hajer (2006) calls the 'desk research'. This section is structured around three descriptive questions to establish context;

- (1) What is a Local Plan?
- (2) What does Bradford MDC want from their local plan?
- (3) What are the pre-conditions for participation in the Examination in Public?

These questions serve to ground sections 2 and 3, by sketching out the bureaucratic structures and processes that make up the field. The 'Bradford citizen', as the idealised beneficiary of the eventual Local Plan, also emerges here as do some of the exclusionary processes that insulate the field and position-taking within it.

Section 2 sets out who was present either directly at the Examination or represented at it, the field participants. At the centre of this is a sketch of the groups of participants in the EIP, with the relations between participants used to draw out broad clusters of association. The contrast here is with the idealised Bradford citizen for whom the Core Strategy is claimed to be speaking on behalf of. This section shows how the structuring of participation around largely opaque bureaucratic language has implications which are consequential and long lasting with positions in the field of power at large demonstrated or otherwise made visible. Discussions on specific policies, as they developed over

the course of the examination, are set out, with attention paid to the interventions made *in* the room and trace the activities that took place *outside* the room. The question of what effective participation looks like, as opposed to mere presence in the room, is addressed here and in doing so, the chapter returns to the role of the wider field of power and how it is drawn on in 'position-taking' (Bourdieu, 1983). The nested and overlapping nature of fields, especially of wider political and economic fields, and the deployment of field specific practices, in Bourdieu's sense of field specific habitus and capitals, is ever present. In Hajer's terms this is to identify a set of 'key incidents', ones 'essential to understand the [...] chosen case' (2006, pp.73).

Section 3 draws out the initial conclusions on research question 3, this final section notes the 'modifications' made to the proposed policies as a consequence of the March 2015 EIP. I argue that the Main Modifications published in November 2015 expose the efficacy and necessity of engaging in position-taking during the EIP, highlighting exemplar insertions and deletions to policies in the Core Strategy to do so³⁴. Where section 1 sets out accessing the field and section 2 the key characteristics of position-taking, section 3 emphasises the 'return' to be gained from a position of strength in the field. By doing so it demonstrates how field theory facilitates a productive form of analysis of this expression of neoliberal governance. An analysis that is underscored by attention paid to the continuity between the populations the Core Strategy was claimed to speak on the behalf of in February 2014, and the emphasis provided in the closing stages of 2015.

Part 1 – From Consultation to Core Strategy

What is a Local Plan?

The various positioning of local government outlined in the literature review, from the managerialism of New Labour to claims of a new empowered

³⁴ A further round of hearing and representations was scheduled for May 2016 in order for the argument and objections around the November 2015 Main Modification to be addressed. For the sake of coherence, it is necessary to provide an arbitrary cut off point for when I stop discussing new developments in the creation of a Core Strategy. The date I am working from is the 25th November and publication of the proposed modifications, these are not *implemented* or approved modifications but serve as a cut-off point to show how competition in this field operates.

localist politics under the Coalition (Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012), and the consequences these have had for planning policy and decision making in Local Authorities is not explicitly acknowledged in Bradford MDC's Core Strategy. The consequences for local government of austerity politics go largely unmentioned when outlining the new responsibilities incumbent on Local Authorities in designing a 'Local Plan'. The effect is one of presenting change as continuity, which is understandable as the existence of *planning* itself as a core function of local government persists despite changes to the political context. Jacobs & Manzi's (2013a) argument that such evidence-based forms of decision making are fundamentally a discourse of rationality, of 'dispassionate' positioning as opposed to an implied problematic 'passionate' is highly relevant in this. The changes imposed upon local government since 2010 are therefore not substantively represented in the draft Core Strategy, with the changed parameters of planning largely unacknowledged. Instead an image of a coherent and rational process of public consultation, policy planning, debate and development is presented. In Bradford MDC's terms 'Local Plan' is simply the successor term to 'Local Development Framework', rather than a requiring any significant change in planning practices by the MDC Planning Officers:

All Council's are required by law to produce a statutory development plan for their area. The last plan that the Council produced – the Replacement Unitary Development Plan (RUDP) – is still in force but will be gradually replaced by a suite of new plans over the next few years which will together be known as the Local Plan. Bradford's Local Plan will cover the period up 2030. National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF, March 2012) replaced the term Local Development Framework (LDF) with Local Plan to describe the development plan and also moved away from a series of development plan documents towards a single Local Plan. The NPPF states that additional development plan documents (DPDs) should only be used where clearly justified.

Figure 8. What is a Core Strategy? CS DPD, 2014, p. xx

Prior to being submitted for an Examination in Public, Bradford MDC's 'Core Strategy DPD Publication Draft' was submitted to the 'relevant Secretary of State' in December 2014 (a role that has moved between the Communities and Local Government Secretary and a designated Planning Minister at various times since 2010). This document was the product of the consultations instituted under previous spatial planning regimes and the regional planning data provided by now defunct Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) in the form of the Regional Spatial Strategy (RSS). These consultation periods are described

as running in 2007 for a six week 'Issues and Options Consultation', 2008 for a six week 'Further Issues and Options Consultation' and in 2012 for a twelve week 'Further Engagement Draft Consultation'. The resulting document was presented to the Council in November 2013 and approved, with the full document then in February 2014 published for a further consultation period ahead of submission to the Secretary of State at the end of 2014.

A brief overview of the complex and somewhat circular timeline of events surrounding the Core Strategies submission are provided for potential participants in the EIP process, with simplified timelines and guides with titles such as 'Key stages in formulating the Core Strategy' (2014, p.6, 1.12-20) and documents on the EIP website³⁵. The effect of which is to reinforce the idea that there is greater continuity than change to this process. The relevant facts here are that the document went through numerous iterations and consultations with various 'stakeholders' with the resulting document having to transition from a context of the managerialism of New Labour to austerity-localism of the Coalition and subsequent Conservative government (Evans, et al., 2013; Jacobs & Manzi, 2013b), doing so whilst maintaining an appearance of competency and continuous regulation of planning and development. The efficacy of the various consultation policies deployed by Planning Officers throughout this process, such as the Statement of Community Involvement, in encouraging members of the public to meaningfully engage in planning processes are outside the purview of this thesis, but this question does form part of a background in which public participation is asserted as part of the rationality discourse of governance. Issues of what representative role(s) the plan fulfils are addressed specifically in relation to the examination process itself. When considering how engaged the population at large was with this process, a comment by a cafe owner during a lunch break from the Examination asking, 'what was going on?' in Victoria Hall directly opposite her business does suggest some limitations in successfully engaging local residents in this process.

³⁵ See: <https://www.bradford.gov.uk/planning-and-building-control/planning-policy/core-strategy-dpd/>

Once submitted to the relevant Secretary of State, a public examination led by a Planning Inspector from the Planning Inspectorate, is scheduled. Although headquartered in Bristol these Inspectors function as a form of travelling magistrate, including presiding over Examinations around the country at various times. By way of demonstrating his qualification, the Inspector for Bradford cited personal experience and knowledge of the outcomes of (and precedents set by) other examinations. The Inspector's central role is to assess the 'soundness' and 'legal compliance' of the proposed plan, for instance whether it fulfils the 'presumption in favour of sustainable development' from the NPPF or whether the Council has fulfilled a broader 'Duty to Co-operate' as stipulated under the Localism Act. The process of arriving at a conclusion on these obligations requires public feedback and discussion with the MDC, resulting in 'minor' or 'main' modifications being made to the proposed document. These required changes are framed as ensuring legal, methodological and bureaucratic 'soundness' and compliance with the national planning regulations. A main modification would require the Council to undergo a second six-week round of representations and the possibility of a subsequent public examination. Not a desirable outcome for the Council officers in personal terms, the Labour administration in political terms nor the city more widely as this leaves a weakened local planning regime.

In late November 2015 Bradford MDC released the 'Main Modifications' to their Core Strategy, launching a further eight-week consultation period covering December 2015 and January 2016 (eight weeks rather than six due to the Christmas and New Year period featuring in the period). The release of the Inspector's final report (August 2016) was dependent upon the outcome of this round of consultations. A statement on the examination website hosted by the MDC summarises the process as follows;

When finalised the Main modifications will be issued for 6 weeks in order for the public and other interests to make formal representations. These will then be passed to the Inspector together with a summary of issue raised and the Council's response. The Inspector will then consider the need for any further hearings before writing up his report.

(Bradford MDC, 2014, emphasis added)

Although I do not seek to account for the full chronology of this process, it is worth emphasising that this is a somewhat open-ended process, typified by the announcement in April 2016 of a further round of hearings in May 2016 to consider the proposed main modifications and the subsequent representations made in response to them. With a 'holding direction' from October 2016 to March 2017 preventing the adoption of the Core Strategy following a request from local Conservative MP Philip Davies to the Minister of State for Housing and Planning Gavin Barlow. (Davies' request was framed as about the protection of Greenbelt in and around the Wharfedale area, including Menston – an issue returned to below.)

The eventual Core Strategy is one document within a wider 'suite' of documents that make up the Local Plan. The diagram below is how Bradford MDC positioned this suite of documents as interconnecting;

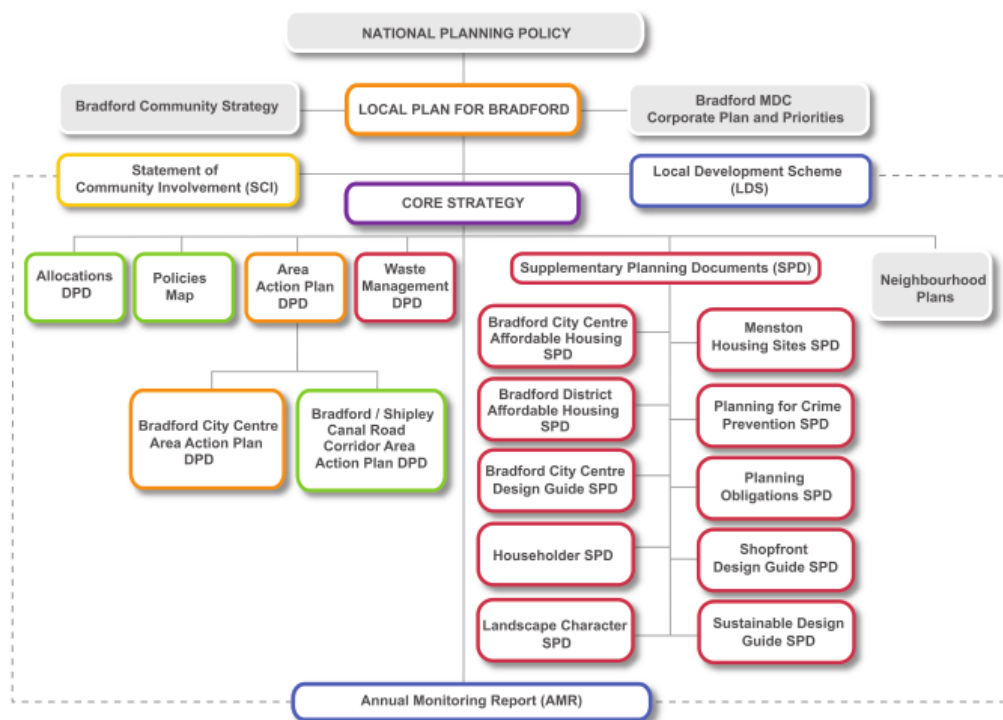


Figure 9. Bradford Local Plan - Family Tree, (Local Plan for the Bradford District: Core Strategy Development - Plan Document Publication Draft, 2014, p.3)

Figure 9 shows the various documents that make up the Local Plan with a range of issues covered (house building targets, management of the green belt, re-development of brown field sites, economic development, sustainability

and environmental issues, waste management and transport policy). These documents provide the evidence and procedural basis for the resulting Local Plan, with much of the plan made up of relatively well-established documentation (e.g. the Statement of Community Involvement or various SPD documents) alongside, what were at the time, a yet to be established web of Neighbourhood Plans covering the district.

The difficulties surrounding the creation of such micro level plans within meso-level regional planning are numerous and well discussed. Two strands of problems are noted in the literature review, firstly the potential for entrenching and exacerbating already existing social and economic inequalities personified by 'NIMBY' political activism in opposing new housing (Matthews, et al., 2014). Secondly, the problems of satisfying raised and distorted expectations for local autonomy, more precisely suburban autonomy (Holman & Thornley, 2015). Whilst the experience of the Greater London Authority and its elected Mayors that Holman & Thornley focus on, with the tensions between 'the local' and 'the strategic', is not an exact comparison there is a shared underlying question of at what level planning decisions are seen as being legitimately taken. Notwithstanding a reversal of central government policy for city regions, with 'City Deals' bringing in new layers of regional government (e.g. 'Devo-Manc' in Greater Manchester or West Yorkshire's movement toward a Combined-Authority-with-elected-Mayor model), these questions of authority and legitimacy will continue to be relevant. There is a commonality here with the position of local government outlined by Bourdieu (2012 [2005], pp. 126-141) in France as one field participant amongst numerous others and not in a hegemonic position to enact positions. These themes around negotiating place-identity, legitimacy and position-taking that appears at various points in the prior empirical chapters. Ideas of belonging and community as ways of drawing symbolic lines of exclusion and inclusion around place and between people are more informal expressions of this.

Staying with the meso-level context for this chapter; until the implementation of the Core Strategy BMDC are obliged to negotiate the gap between a defunct RUDP with housing targets from an equally defunct RSS (targets which were in turn created prior to the 2008 crash, so describing a

different economic landscape from that which exists) and central government guidance, in the guise of the Localism Act and NPPF 2012. BMDC has to do this without a coherent policy position or process of their own that responds to contemporary legislative requirements with the outcome that development is primarily shaped by the inertia of previous regimes, rather than a deliberate set of policies. The following section outlines what the Core Strategy is and what the key aims of this set of policies were.

What is a Core Strategy?

BMDC summarise a Core Strategy as having two key components, the 'Spatial Vision' and 'Strategic Objectives' of the plan. They provide a set of principles and the framework for the local authority until 2030. These two components therefore also shaped many of the contributions made in the EIP process and the proposed modifications. In Bradford MDC's guidance a Core Strategy is described as:

What is a Core Strategy?

The Core Strategy is the most important development plan document contained within the Local Plan. This is because it sets the strategy and framework within which all subsequent development plan documents are formulated.

Having assessed the issues facing the district, the Core Strategy includes a spatial vision for how different parts of the district will change. It determines the scale of development required to meet objectively assessed needs and the broad pattern of development to be accommodated and how this growth will be distributed between different areas so that the needs of the community are met in the most sustainable way possible. It also shapes where new employment, retail development, leisure and recreational facilities, transport infrastructure and supporting other community infrastructure are needed. In doing all of this the Core Strategy will work to deliver the priorities of Bradford's Community Strategy.

Figure 10. What is a Core Strategy? (Local Plan for the Bradford District: Core Strategy Development - Plan Document Publication Draft, 2014, p.3, 1.5-6)

What the Core Strategy and the examination meant was also differently understood differently in practice by different participants, with participation by some groups specifically grounded in location, for example with resident action groups or individuals claiming a representative role for their area or by elected councillors around issues such as locally specific house building targets. Whilst

representatives from companies and third sector groups were often more concerned with the potential of the plan as precedent setting, or on one specific issue such as ecological concerns. Representatives from national chains of house builders, commercial land management groups, along with industry solicitors and industrial bodies that can be summed up as 'developers' meanwhile took the focus of the plan as on housing, not on education, leisure, recreation, or on an equitable distribution of growth or supporting community infrastructure. For these actors, the strategy was understood as an opportunity to influence the proposed house building targets for Bradford up to 2030, how they were operationalised (i.e. whether yearly numbers were to be front-loaded or equally distributed over the planned period, and whether they constituted a cap or a minimum volume of development). Chapter 4 notes the longstanding aim of the Home Builders Federation to see house building targets as *minimum* thresholds rather than ceilings (Marsden et al., 1993, p. 125), an approach that was echoed here suggesting what the 'stakes' were for some developers.

The Core Strategy then might be seen as setting and defining the 'stakes' of the field more widely, with participants contesting and working to shape what would be the structure of planning in future through position-taking (Bourdieu, 1983). For example, seeking to shape how areas in the city region classified as more than 50% rural would have housing targets applied to them, the conditions for building in the greenbelt more widely, what, if any, obligations to develop brownfield land over greenbelt land. These are some of issues that arose during the examination, they also give introduce how regional planning is mapped onto economic interests within the city region and nationally.

Spatial, symbolic and social boundaries and borders permeate the Core Strategy and played a recurring practical role in the EIP. For instance, while resident's groups were generally identified with specific city wards in their reason for attending the exam; they may have cited the inadequacies of such bureaucratic definitions of place and space for explaining their experience of place and thus their contributions to the examination. Third sector actors focused on scientific sites of interest addressed practical rather than experiential flaws of in the legal-rational boundaries of different zones for development. Developers' representatives frequently positioned the district as

a whole as a consisting of a variety of actual and potential housing markets, with building houses framed as a positive spatial outcome in and of itself. In this way the mutually recognised stakes of influencing spatial planning come out, but as focused on and applied to differing spaces. The following sections sets out what BMDC appears to see as at stake in the Core Strategy.

What does Bradford MDC want from their Core Strategy?

Bradford MDC's explicitly outlined a set of 'aims and aspirations' for the Core Strategy (planning as somehow upbeat and aspirational whilst also being distinctly technocratic reared its head at various stages during the Examinations and was greeted with various levels of indifference and scepticism). These were a range of social, cultural and material outcomes, with three as playing central roles;

1. Achieving a 'key' role in the regional economy, a status founded on;
 - o House building outside the historic urban centre, and
 - o 'Existing demographics'.
2. The (re)positioning of Bradford as a desirable and accomodating location for businesses to operate and for consumer lifestyles,
3. Ongoing environmental sustainability that is rooted in a 'unique landscapes' but that fully exploits potential cultural 'heritage' (linked to 2).

These themes are discussed in more detail below, however it is useful to see this in the MDC's own words;

By 2030 the Bradford District:

Has become a key driver of the Leeds City Region's economy and a much sought after and desirable location where people want to live, do business, shop and spend their leisure and recreation time. The district has demonstrated that it is a place that encourages sustainable lifestyle choices and responds positively to the challenge of climate change.

The growth of the City of Bradford and the towns along Airedale and Wharfedale has been supported by a significant increase in the delivery of new houses, both market and affordable. This growth has driven the economic and social transformation of the district. Sustainable development and management has been at heart of this growth and prosperity. The District's unique landscapes, heritage and biodiversity assets have played a vital role in making great places that encapsulates what makes Bradford so special.

Economic transformation of the district has been achieved based on Bradford's key strengths of its unique young, growing and international workforce as well as its culture of entrepreneurship, high quality places where businesses can thrive and its rich historic and cultural identity and wealth of environmental assets.

Figure 11. Core Strategy Goals, CS DPD, 2014, p.xx

The primary emphasis here is on economic success, as in becoming a 'key driver' of the Leeds City Region Bradford will (re)gain economic power but also civic confidence with economic success closely linked to the hoped-for qualities of place as a 'sought after and desirable location'. A form of economic determinism is combined with shades of demographic determinism, so that economic outcomes are rooted in the already existing characteristics of the region and population, which in the final paragraph of figure 9 locating Bradford's revived fortunes in the 'unique, growing and international workforce' (discussed below).

Little time was given over within the Examination to consider this agenda. In reaching for lifestyle choices in terms of cause/consequence, BMDC set out an implicit understanding of how Bradford is currently viewed. In becoming a 'sought after and desirable location where people want to live' an awareness that Bradford will have to be culturally repositioned and an alternate place-image cultivated is shown. This is an outcome subject to a process of 'becoming' (which will presumably eventually mean that at some point it will shift to a discourse of *continuing*). In *becoming* central to the region's economy, 2030 Bradford will have left behind an implied contemporary

obsolescence and need to displace the sort of racialised and stigmatised discourses outlined in chapters 5 and 6. A further layer to the economic then is the identity and reputational work to distance the city and region from the realities and image of poverty and relative deprivation, contemporary issues cited by BMDC Officers as part of the set of challenges during the planned period.

Bradford's challenges around health, education and employment are problems that the Planning Officers charged with shepherding the Core Strategy through the Examination would be well acquainted with.³⁶ (Not to mention, a political environment that fostered George Galloway and the Respect Party up to 2015.) All of this makes the emphasis on *becoming* and movement away from a present state of affairs all the more important, so that the economically and demographically led transformation becomes an issue of necessity. That the spatial and population qualities of the region are framed here as a resource to be draw on is not surprising but is significant when considering this is a city of notable deprivation, underemployment and relatively low educational attainment. Circumstances in which the individualised responsibilities to cultivate forms of *objectified* cultural capital are limited and closed off (Bourdieu, 1986; Moore, 2012) but the role of the local government in cultivating a more neoliberal form of citizenship are emphasised (Peck, 2013; Hall & O'Shea, 2013).

Despite these goals and social policy problems, overall house building targets and the logic of their distribution across the district dominated much of the Examination. In particular, the proposed growth of housing *outside* the City of Bradford in the Airedale and Wharfedale sub-areas in the 'settlement hierarchies'. Figure 12 shows the district sub-areas and gives a clearer sense of where is being discussed and how the 'city' is distinguished from the wider district. Part 2 of this chapter goes into further detail of who was present to push

³⁶ Public Health England's 'Health Profile' for Bradford (<https://fingertips.phe.org.uk/profile/health-profiles> 'Bradford') which puts the life expectancy in Bradford as 9.3 years lower than average for men and 7.3 for women, over 40% of the population as in the 'most deprived' quintile, and amongst the lowest levels of GCSE attainment in the Yorkshire & Humber area at 48.1% attaining A*-C against 57.8% nationally. Employment rates are similarly below national and regional averages.

these discussions and how field positions were brought to bear on the examination. Taking forward how housing was discussed in the EIP as the intended route to securing the 'aspirations' of the Core Strategy to bring wider economic and social transformation. Policies on housing and development that discussed the distribution of houses by 'settlement hierarchies and phasing' and the allocation of land are discussed, as are policies on the distribution of housing over the time scale of the planned period and the evidence base on which this is based.

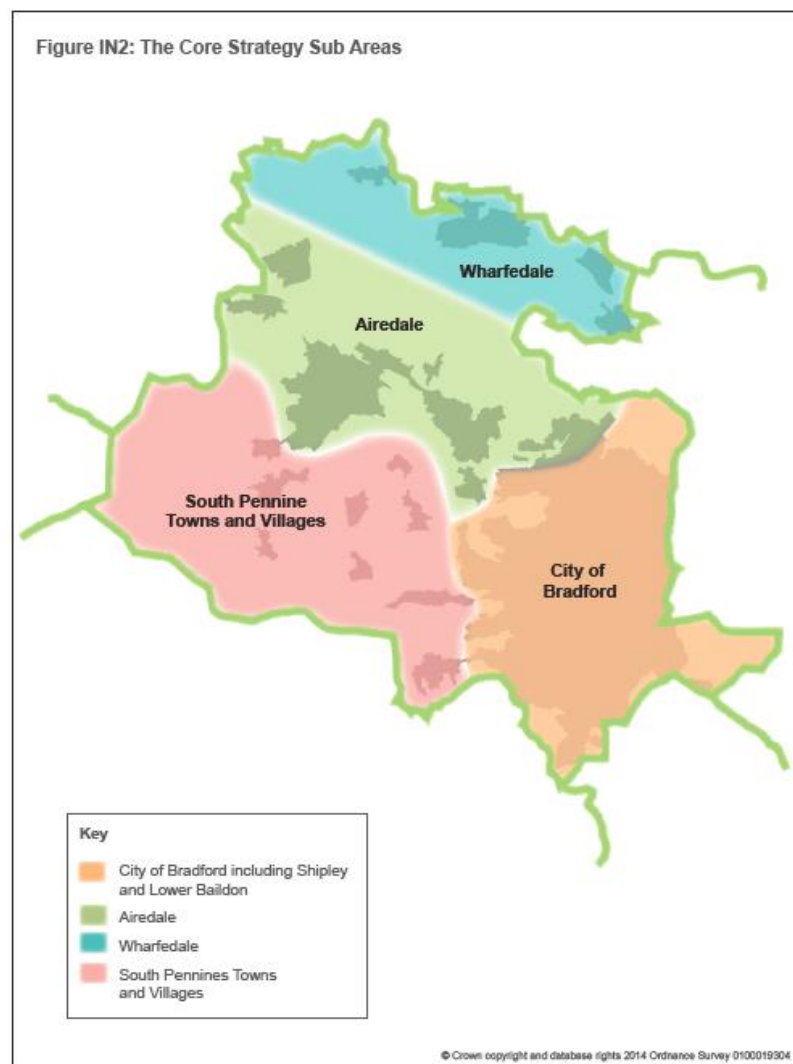


Figure 12. The Core Strategy Sub Areas. (City of Bradford MDC, 2014, p.5)

Figure 12 is useful in showing how Bradford is sub-divided and comprised of sub-fields and zones, so that returning to the image of a field as a pitch (Thomson, 2012) and the question of recognising the stakes (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Deer, 2012), the areas outside of the City of Bradford formed

the focus of competition, dispute and resistance in the EIP. So, to return to the stated aims, the aspirations for 2030 Bradford are rooted in contemporary economic 'common sense' (Hall & O'Shea, 2013). There are tensions between the economic ambition of the document, which is primarily about the City of Bradford in consumption-led growth and housing-led growth dominant in Airedale and Wharfedale, and the 'challenge of climate change' with the associated need for 'sustainable development'. The implied questions of finite resources and need to configure the economic and social in response to this cannot be resolved in this document. Instead, the Core Strategy illustrates how spatial planning under localism acts as an illustration of wider economic and political orthodoxies. Central government policy obliges a 'presumption in favour of sustainable development', limiting the capacity to challenge some of these tensions in the default assumption of sustainability. More widely, the Core Strategy's overall aims do not advocate a 'dirty' economy of manufacturing, production and labour/resource exploitation, including late colonial labour networks that sustained the wool trade. Economic transformation is instead rooted in the existing population that is 'unique young, growing and international' with a consumption, leisure and recreation focus here alongside supporting growth of housing. BMDC are pursuing the few policy areas the local authority has clearly open to it, which sets out the 'stakes' of the field for BMDC (Bourdieu, 1983; Deer, 2012).

The Bradford Citizen

This set of stakes resonates with literature on the 'creative class' as leading of 'urban renewal' and the Putnam-derived social capitals literature on civic relationships. These ideas are central to contemporary common-sense planning policy in the UK (which in its ubiquity bears similarities to the role identified of 19th century anti-urban texts influencing mid-20th century city planning that Jacobs (2000 [1961]) attacked). Rather than garden cities, it is Florida's (2002) 'creative class' as a drivers of city regeneration that is key, with the attraction/cultivation of a 'creative class' to a city/district/neighbourhood becoming a common economic strategy. This is now routinely linked to

gentrification, as in deliberately setting out to recruit 'new' population to a place, the local state must take an active role in displacing and re-shaping the characteristics of the local population (Paton, 2014; Wallace, 2015). This question of re-shaping people as much as displacing them is where the capitals literature enters. Following Putman (2000) on civic society and the importance of 'social capitals' (a different formulation of the concept to Bourdieu's work) is a body of policy that follows a sense of 'capitals' as directly cultivated and managed. This is identifiable in the approach taken to localism policy under the Coalition, with the framing of the qualities of people, communities, institutions, or physical environment as potentially cashable resources or assets (Siisiäinen, 2000; Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; 2013). This forms part of the wider shift that Skeggs (2014) argues reduces all forms of value, to that of a one-dimensional financial 'capital'.

These are the ideas that permeate the understanding of what 'development' is for and how it should take in and work with people, so that we have on the one hand Bradford as a place possessing 'unique landscapes, heritage and biodiversity assets' that are then cited to support the building of housing. This housing expansion is in turn there to make viable an economic context which has a 'rich historical and cultural identity and wealth of environmental assets' (City of Bradford MDC, 2014). These assets constitute a crude set of capitals in the financial sense (Skeggs, 2014), such as that adopted by the processes of heritage-isation. This governing set of assumptions and logics underpins the goals attached to 2030 Bradford and are justified through the narrative of 'challenges' and obstacles, with the Examination process demonstrating how these aims respond to these challenges. The BMDC Officers opening statement on day one of the EIP described the district as facing 'challenges of a wholly different magnitude' than those seen or planned for under prior planning periods, with the 'regeneration of the city region and centre, homes, connectivity, environment and heritage' specifically name checked alongside the previously noted existing crises being rehearsed for the gathered audience.

From the ambitions of Core Strategy and the naming of challenges to be overcome, a picture of the 'Bradford Citizen' in their present and desired

material situations emerges. The emphasis on lifestyle practices, youth, diversity, population growth, and a 'culture of entrepreneurship' speak to various elements of the creative class as critiqued by Peck (2005). MDC Officers cited evidence of overcrowding and poor housing conditions in the city region, combined with higher than average levels of unemployment as problems to be solved partially through the Core Strategy and its aims. The 'Bradford Citizen' is therefore, the currently relatively deprived citizen who is younger than the regional and national averages, poorer, more likely to be unemployed, more likely to be from a non-White British background and all too often living in poor physical conditions.³⁷The Bradford Citizen is not framed as wealthy, middle aged, white or living in the sort of 'low density accommodation' that characterises the rural parts of the BMDC, but they are an agent of economic and social change that does not trouble the established order (Peck, 2005).

Pre-conditions for participating in the EIP?

How then does the Bradford Citizen, a third sector body obliged to provide comment or a housing developer looking to capitalise on the planned economic transformation of a Metropolitan area take part in the EIP? To participate in the examination formal written representation(s) on specific items/policies covered by the Core Strategy or make a procedural representation in relation to the way in which the document was drafted, must be made. (A full index of representations is available on the Examination website.) As the Inspector's role was to assess the 'soundness and legal compliance' of the Core Strategy representations that featured in the EIP needed to engage with these measures. The extract (figure 13) below from the 'Guidance Notes for Participants in the EIP' covers the purpose of the examination and the role of the Inspector within it, from this a sense of the examination as a field that expresses wider neoliberal preoccupations with judicial and legal-rational logic emerges (Harvey, 2007):

³⁷ See discussion in chapter 1 of tables 1 and 2 for the comparative age and ethnicity statistics for Bradford, Menston and England & Wales.

3 Purpose of the Examination and Inspector's role

- 3.1 The purpose of the Examination is to examine the **soundness** and **legal compliance** of the Bradford Local Plan Core Strategy. The "Examination" starts when the Plan is submitted to the Secretary of State and ends when the Inspector's report is sent to the Council. The Inspector has already begun his initial examination of the Plan and has asked the Council for information on various matters (see the Examination web-site¹).
- 3.2 The Inspector's role is to assess whether the Plan has been prepared in line with the relevant legal and procedural requirements set out in Sections 19-20 of the 2004 Act (as amended) and associated regulations, including the Duty to Co-operate, and whether it is sound in terms of the guidance in the NPPF (March 2012)². **The Examination will focus on these requirements.** The Council should rely on evidence collected while preparing the Plan to demonstrate that it is sound. Those seeking to change the Plan need to specifically demonstrate why the submitted Plan is unsound and/or not legally compliant.

Figure 13. Purpose of the Examination and Inspector's role; Guidance for Participants, 2014, p.xx

Residents who had spotted notification of the consultation in local newspapers, the council website/newsletters or elsewhere and who were interested in submitting a representation did so either via the Local Plan website or in person at a location with reference copies of the Core Strategy (libraries around the district). This process is structured by the 'Statement of Community Involvement' (SCI) which directs which 'stakeholders' are to be contacted. This covers individual residents, formal community groups, churches, statutory bodies, neighbouring local authorities, businesses, charities and more. The labour and expertise necessary to engage with this process requires some sort of engagement with details of planning processes – such as how and why one might object to particular outcomes by challenging their evidential base rather than a quality of life outcome. This can be viewed as a question of the habitus brought to bear on proceedings, as not all participants are equally experienced or as likely to have their representations accepted as valid so need to know how to navigate this. There is a privileging here of formalised 'expertise' in the minutiae of planning processes, which gives the confidence to know how to read (or *learn* how to read) the legalistic requirements of the Inspector to make your own case, with the risk of being read as 'scholastic' (Bourdieu, 1984).

An attendance list for each day of the EIP was published in advance; this list, alongside a formal agenda, regulated participation in and the progress of the examination. Contributions were linked to specific policy items and a system of name plates used to ensure that only those invited to speak by the Inspector participated on a given item. As topics changed, so did the

nameplates, which were added or taken away (an example session is sketched in part 2). Participants were required to speak only on the *specific* details of the Core Strategy policy item under discussion, meaning that dissatisfaction with or a sense of alienation from the planning process more widely, for example, were not adequate grounds for critique. Rather, all participants who wished to influence the Inspector's conclusions – and so influence the stakes of the field – must engage with the process on these own terms. It was not enough to anecdotally state that a particular site had been used for play and recreation, or that it held an emotional significance for nearby residents therefore should not be built on. The claim must be made and evidenced in terms of the decision-making process and evidence base that selected the site. These strictures resulted in considerable work done from various participants to critique the evidence base(s) used by Bradford MDC for the Core Strategy as 'unsound'.

The Examination as an *exclusionary* force-field (Thomson, 2012) is evident from these preliminary stages. Those residents who wish to influence the planning process, first required to be aware of the existence of the consultation. If you are involved in one of the formal groups notified of the consultation through the SCI, you are past the first stage, which we might think of here as social capitals at play in the transfer of information (Moore, 2012). We then move onto having the habitus to know how to engage with this process and the cultural capitals as a knowledge base on which to draw in doing so. Of course, if this fails there is always hired help available should you have the economic capitals or cash to do so. Should these come together, and you or your group are in a position where you can get to attend a series of meetings between 10am and 5pm during the working week and get *into* the room, it is by no means a guarantee that your participation will be effective. For one thing, the unequal positions of corporate versus individual participants in terms of resources and wider field positions available to be drawn on remains (Bourdieu, 1983).

When considering the position of Menston and its residents in this field, the fact that the village's residents are in one of the most prosperous areas of the city region and that they possess far more socio-economic advantages on

average than fellow Bradfordians in Manningham is significant. (See introduction.) Add to this a recent history of considerable activism around planning policy, including a long running campaign culminating in judicial reviews of Bradford MDC's planning decisions, for the village and deliberate collaboration with other communities Menston, as compared to other settlements, is in a position of relative strength within this field going into the Examination. How they negotiate and (mis)recognise the stakes of the field, showing a 'feel for the game' as they engage in position-taking is explored in the next sections.

Part 2 – The Examination in Public

After all the consultative work was complete, the Examination in Public was organised for March 2015. Held at a Victoria Hall, a council owned and managed building, in Saltaire, an early Victorian industrial model village with two huge former mills (Salt's Mill and Victoria Mill) that worked with wool from Peruvian alpacas alongside the Leeds-Liverpool canal. Saltaire is in itself of interest here as a town founded by Titus Salt a local politician and businessman who, as with other patrician Victorians, blurred the distinction between the two serving as Mayor of Bradford. Today, Saltaire is a UNESCO world heritage site and is thoroughly embedded in the exurbs of the city. The huge Victoria Mill has been converted into apartments, complete with gym, dining facilities. (Tenants, along with much of the north of England, discovered in late 2015 that former mills next to rivers and canals are a high flood risk.) Salt's Mill was the largest mill in the world at time of building, as every school child in the Bradford district has drilled into them through repeated school trips. Today it hosts an art gallery exhibiting Bradfordian David Hockney's work, along with a gift shop, cafe and office space for some small businesses (a bicycle sales and repair shop and a musical instrument shop are most prominent).

Despite seeming coalescence with the adjoining and surrounding town of Shipley, Saltaire retains a distinctive built aesthetic distinguishable from other parts of Bradford or villages into the Yorkshire Dales as a highly designed place.

With its simultaneous development made visually clear in residential and industrial buildings, road design, road layout and road names (true to Victorian patrician form, named for Salt's children and the royal family). It's foundation as a 'dry' village adds to the parallels with other model villages of the time in the dominance of religious non-conformism associated with paternalistic Victorian industrialism (Minnery, 2012; Rees, 2012). Victoria Hall was originally a building dedicated to 'improving' the condition of workers through lifelong education and self-improvement. In 2015 it was primarily used for sports classes and clubs, with karate lessons, fitness classes, and squash courts, alongside the less athletic use as a wedding venue.



Figure 14. Map of Saltaire by illustrator Tom Woolley (see www.tomwoolley.com for further details on this and other prints and maps)

Signifying changing times on exiting Saltaire train station, which adjoins mills, the canal and a main road, there is a restaurant and bar named 'Don't Tell Titus' – the joke being it was built as a dry-village. The volume of parked cars suggests it is unlikely any significant number of people walk to work at either mill now or that the canal plays much of a role beyond providing a pleasant tow path to walk down. A canal boat tethered near to the bridge and road serves teas, coffees and sandwiches instead. The contemporary drive to preserve

'heritage' spaces as partially detached from the contemporary world is visible in tourist maps produced by illustrators such as Tom Woolley's in figure 14. It elides a sense of Saltaire as within Bradford or having continuity of housing to the city centre with a smiling and benevolent representation of Titus Salt. Peculiarly, any indication of industry is also absent, instead of canal boats or trains moving Alpaca worsted or freight we have waterfowl.

Who was in the room?

That the EIP was located in a space so defined by capital, labour and planning was not lost on participants; with references to this holistic and deterministic approach to employment, housing, education and leisure sewn into various participants contributions, as well as appearing in the opening statement of the Inspector who presided over the examination. Though there was no discussion of planning as providing religious or moral education of the population of Bradford in the style of the Victorian non-conformists, so the comparison has its practical limits.

My presence at the EIP was as an interested member of the public, sat at the back of the room with my attendance initially structured around the published agenda and speakers list to prioritise discussions of policies pertaining to Menston and the surrounding areas. This was given my interest in residents' expressions of belonging and a sense of place. Chapter 4 has a lengthier discussion of how my observational work involved the negotiation of trust and position relative to other members of the public watching proceedings, suffice to say here that I was a liminal-participant. In that I was occasionally asked my purposes, but by and large left to my own devices other than where I initiated a conversation (such as on conferring about a statement made or on the management of the agenda).

Figure 13 shows two sketches from my field notes, illustrating the layout of the room and the attendees on the third day of the EIP. The incomplete square outlines the tables at which participants sat and from which they were called upon to speak. The right to take a seat was shown by the presence of a nameplate, which were to be up-ended to show you wished to comment and

were whisked away and replaced at the end of a particular item of the discussion by the ever-busy Programme Officer. The council officers responsible for the plan and subject to the majority of questions are noted as 'MDC' or 'BMDC' in the top left corner of both images. This role was almost exclusively taken by a pair of planning officers, who called on occasional item-specific support from a rolling cast of BMDC staff and external consultants. When explaining the EIP process to others I have previously described it as how I imagine as a form of test, but one in which numerous people deliberately setting out to undermine and attack your argument and evidence base. The basis of this comment came from the first day, having watched the MDC Officers listen to two hours of continuous representations as the Inspector worked his way around the tables for comment. At the end of this the MDC Officers were prompted by the Inspector to give a detailed response/rebuttal to each point made, so that the BMDC reply to the cumulative representations could last anywhere from 10 minutes to an hour, depending upon whether they were responding to a singular point or providing an omnibus answer to all the representations made on a policy.

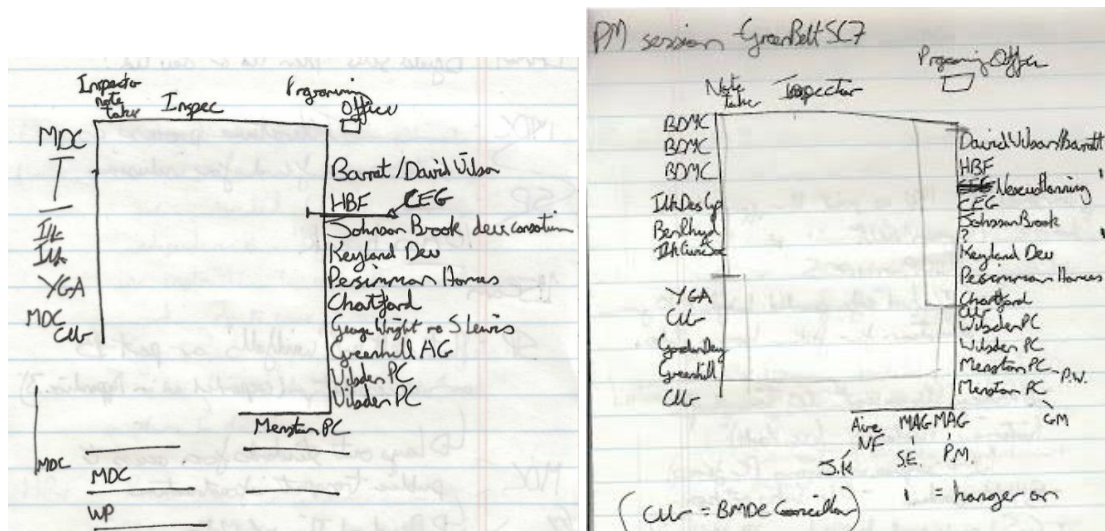


Figure 15. Sketches of room from field notes Day 3 of EIP, 6th March 2015.

(The sketch on left is of the morning session and the sketch on right is of the afternoon session.)

The people making these representations are noted down the right of both images in figure 13, this is a list of names of development firms and planning consultants; Barratt/David Wilson, Home Builders Federation (HBF),

Commercial Estates Group (CEG), Johnson Brook (a Leeds based planning consultant), through to Chartford Homes and George Wright (a planning consultant). As with the MDC notation, a single name does not denote an individual, as some groups were identified by pairs or teams of staff (the sketch on the right uses a single dash to signify support staffs and other 'hangers on'). When referring to the 'developers' here, it is this collection of large house building companies and property developers both national (Barratt and David Wilson) and regional (Chartford and CEG), industry consortium's (HBF), and the consultants, lawyers and QC's hired by these organisations I am referring to. In the room this group were relatively easily identifiable due to a roughly coherent age bracket of men and a small number of women (generally 30s to early 50s), frequent out of area accents (though usually still from the north of England), a uniform of suits, ties, laptops, binders and very full briefcases. A generally younger cohort of still largely men, though with some more women present (30s to 40s) of support staff sat directly behind members of this group passing notes, laptop chargers, generally keeping track of comments made by others and maintaining a flow of information.

The significant costs in bringing this level of staffing to the EIP are immediately obvious to the casual observer and audience members, given that commercial land management groups, such as CEG, deployed the financial resources to simply hire expertise and knowledge in the form of planning consultancies. Industry bodies, in particularly the HBF, operating on behalf of the house building industry as a whole similarly had their own professional staff in attendance. The HBF representatives pushed for higher volumes of housing and lower levels of regulation in general terms, rather than focusing on a given site. In watching this group, it was clear that the EIP was to an extent also an opportunity for professional networking with colleagues working for different developers, networking which included a co-ordination of approach to a particular item, with informal discussions routinely held in the queue for lunch, coffee (for which receipts to claim back on expenses were usually requested), or at the urinals during a break.

Moving clockwise past this group around the bottom of both images in figure 13, this hired expertise with support staff is in contrast to the lone or

occasionally paired residents' representatives from various organisations across the District. Here, the average age goes up by a decade or two, the hair thins, and greys, suits and ties gave way to jumpers and corduroy overcoats, with women becoming far more visible – though still not 50% of those participating. Comprised of various AGs (action groups) and PCs (Parish Councils) these 'residents groups' (as I refer to them from here) typically attended the EIP to comment on aspects of the plan that obviously connected to the areas and did so at their own time and expense. Similarly, to the developer's representatives, these participants in Community Associations, Parish Councils, Action Groups and Civic Societies displayed strong social capitals in that they were often known to one another directly or had mutual acquaintances. Connections made in prior consultations, or cross-area collaborations to lobby BMDC, or simply from living in the Bradford area for a long time. These informal networks appeared as sites of broad co-operation, keeping one another posted of events after an absence, or suggesting co-ordinated strategies/lines of response or critique to be taken on a particular item (an example of co-ordination is discussion below).

Perched on the bottom edge of the left side of the table in both sketches are two individuals, 'MDC Cllr'/'Cllr' and 'YGA', or District Councillor – one of the only elected representatives present – and a representative from Yorkshire Greenspace Alliance, an affiliate of the Campaign to Protect Rural England (www.yga.org.uk) and regional pressure group who, it became clear, attend as many EIPs as possible to argue for preventing development in the greenbelt generally. The lines at the bottom of the figure 13 are the public seating area by the entrance and sign-in desk. This area of 30 or so seats was generally less than half full, with on day 3 (the time of sketching) only myself (WP) and staff from the Metropolitan District Council (MDC) sat here. Participants for a late running session would sometimes wait here, as would support staff from various developer representatives or the spouses of members of residents groups who were not contributing but were providing lifts. Sitting in what was in effect the far corner from proceedings, gave a clear view of the majority of participants and easy access to reference copies of the Core Strategy documentation stored diagonally behind when I failed to follow a particular discussion or comprehend a given acronym or piece of jargon. It was at a far enough

distance that whispered conversations with spectators could be had. Put another way, participants were overwhelming male, often older than 40 though various developer's representatives appeared to be nearer their early 30s, with retired men making up the majority of resident's groups ranks. Attendees and participants were almost uniformly white, with the exception of occasional members of BMDC staff. Towns and villages on the edges of Bradford, especially the Airedale and Wharfedale areas (see figure 10), were well represented, by both resident home owners and businesses looking to build and sell houses in these areas.

The groups in the room can be summarised as;

1. The Inspector and support staff
2. MDC Officers and support staff/consultants,
3. 'The Developers',
4. 'Community representatives',
5. Opposition MDC Councillors,
6. Statutory Bodies and recognised third sector (e.g. The Coal Authority, RSPB, Natural England)

These were the core participants in the EIP, however although they played a recurring role in specific discussions, I do not examine the statutory and third sector groups as a distinct field positions here, but rather as operating in relation to others. Local politicians and their interventions were meanwhile frequently aligned to and folded into the positions adopted by residents groups, so for this reason their contributions are broadly treated as continuous with these groups, especially where originating from the same ward.

Two themes introduced in the previous section are worth returning to momentarily, firstly of who the Core Strategy is framed as working in the interests of, the young, diverse, urban, consumerist, BAME 'Bradford Citizen' and, secondly, of seeing the room itself and interactions here as a field. This means to consider who is *not* present, as well as what effective participation in the room actually looks like, while fleshing out the rough demographic sketch of the room already provided. Not in the room in significant or representative numbers were women, although substantially better represented amongst community

groups than any other group. Nor were there younger people in significant numbers whether as a physical presence or as a topic (e.g. the needs of school children for educational facilities and recreational spaces, and/or higher and further education institutions and their students). The generation anticipated to deliver the economic transformed of 2030 Bradford were absent from proceedings. Further to this, the absence of visible minority communities as private residents or members of community groups was mildly alarming, given Bradford's substantial BAME population. Local businesses that would presumably be central to revived fortunes of the city were similarly absent in name and body. Few individual residents not affiliated to some sort of formalised residents or community group attended; presumably reflecting the necessity of pooling time and energy as well as knowledge and experience to get into the room to begin with. Finally, we see little of non-home owners, housing associations, private renters (or landlords), the socially housed, or homeless charities. I do want to speculate as to *why* these groups were not present but note the composition of the EIP as an event in and of itself. An event that can be related to the wider field of power in which white, male middle aged to retired professionals debate and argue about planning strategy for a district that is emphasised as having a young and ethnically population. The Bradford Citizen is therefore the *context* of, not *participant* in, the Examination process.

An alternative view of this process is to address the question of where are those participating in the EIP from? And how can these spatial origins help to understand the process as a field situated within a wider context of practices, fields and dispositions brought to bear? Looking specifically at the self-declared 'community representatives' and the ward structure of the district's governance, there are 30 wards in the city each with a population of roughly 1500, with the approximately two thirds of the district that is classified as rural land containing around 30% of total population. Of these 30 wards a handful were explicitly represented in the EIP, with no direct representation of most. A sense of the spatial distribution of ward-representation is in figure 14, which broadly maps participation by resident's groups on day 1 of the EIP.

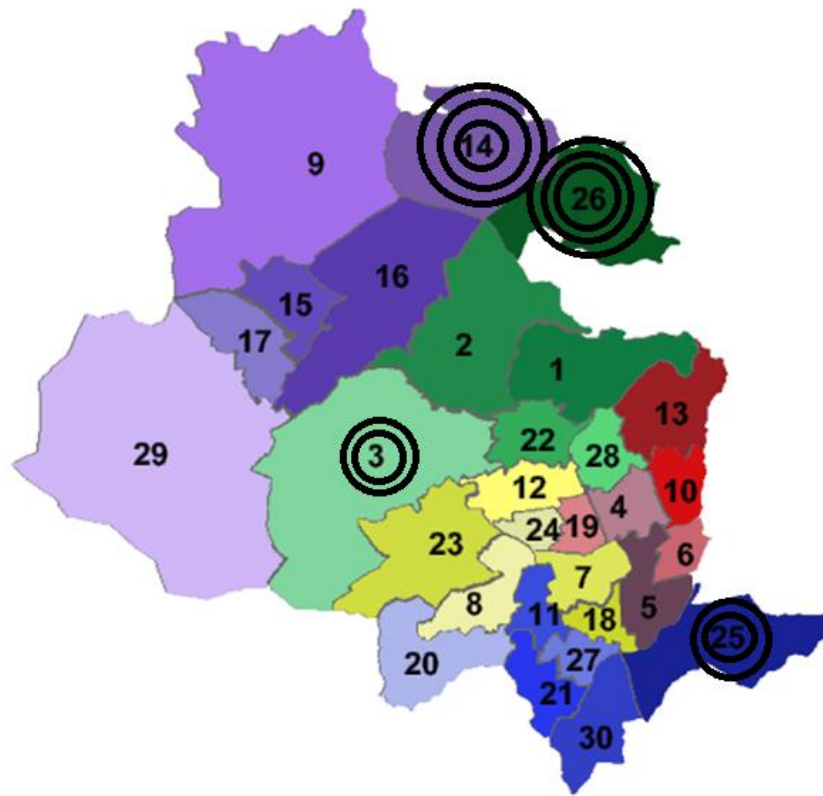


Figure 16. Ward map of Bradford with participant rings

Each black ring around a ward number represents one person in attendance at the EIP from that ward as a named speaker in the programme; this demarcation covers various action group members taking a shift approach in which different members covered different days of the Exam, MDC councillors from the opposition Tory group, Parish councillors and other voluntary community groups. That attendees are not necessarily from one settlement within a ward is important, wards should not be read as coherent or homogenous units just as the city as a whole should not be read as such. Rather, the map gives a sense of the spatial sub-divides within the Bradford region and the disproportionate role played by some periphery sites in the shaping of strategic planning. Ward 7 here is Bradford city centre, 14 is Ilkley, 26 is Wharfedale (containing Menston), 25 is Tong and 3 is Bingley Rural. (When the Tour de France passed through the district in 2014 it travelled through Ilkley and Wharfedale before continuing into Leeds, an event featured heavily in BMDC's tourism strategy and routinely alluded to by residents here as part of the wards identities – though more or less absent from descriptions of place and community in interviews and surveys). Figure 14 is best seen as a snapshot of

participation *within* another snapshot of the EIP process in general, with that caveat it nonetheless shows where the main planning-activist participants lived. The four represented wards contrast with the remaining 26 in that they are not directly reliant upon the labours of BMDC Officers in their defence of the Core Strategy to represent them in this process. The demographic characteristics of these four wards also stand in contrast to the Bradford Citizen of 2030; they are often older, whiter, wealthy and living in non-urban contexts than the aims of the plan outline (see chapter 1). These are areas that might be best described as rural or semi-rural, that politically are long-standing Conservative voting areas in a Labour-run city, with Bingley Rural providing the leader of the Tory group of Councillors.

These four wards are broadly describable occupying the kind of structurally advantaged position often associated with the middle-class, including those outlined by Savage et al. (2013) in terms of social, cultural and economic capitals. The time to participate in the EIP is combined here with familiarity with the particular set of 'evidence' rationalities that make up neoliberal governance that stem from classed experience, expertise and institutional background (Jacobs & Manzi, 2013a). Material forms of advantage, such as lived environment, health and access to amenities or services, are significant in the rhetorical emphasis of these participants (the ideas of 'safety' or 'difference' in chapters 5 and 6 that are linked to space for example). Within the EIP a situation where positions of relative advantage in wider socio-economic contexts, combines with a comparative high-proportion of participation from these wards.

Menston, with its three representatives on day 1, is distinctly over-represented given the actual population in the ward though the representatives are thoroughly well motivated by prior and ongoing planning disputes with BMDC (e.g. Menston Action Group v Bradford Metropolitan District Council, 2015). Nonetheless, residents groups were a minority in the EIP process. A minority of participants that would routinely adopt the position of David contesting the twin Goliaths of the Metropolitan District Council (or at least it's Planning Officers) and the Developers. Given the ways in which taste and culture structure and perpetuating classed inequalities, and the classed

dynamics of housing market more widely (Bourdieu, 1984; 2012 [2005]), this is a seemingly curious position to claim by structurally advantaged people.

What topics were focussed on?

Sessions and items would be introduced by the Inspector inviting BMDC representatives to summarise the relevant policy (from 5 to 20 minutes depending upon the policy proposed), before then asking a series of questions which (re)asserted the Inspector's own role in the room as judge and jury, whilst probing the Council's adherence to the principles of 'soundness' and 'legal compliance'. After this, all other participants were invited to put verbal questions to the Council or direct comments to the Inspector as to the 'unsound' nature of the plan in a particular area. As noted above, on some days this would take up to two hours. While eliciting these contributions the Inspector would query and/or challenge participants to demonstrate the relevance of a statement, so screening contributions that the Council needed to respond to.

In the session where this process of gathering statements took over two hours, during a break one developer complained to a colleague that 'another inspector would have told him to shut up' after a prolonged objection by a member of a residents group as to overall 'unsound nature of the plan'. This complaint is suggestive of how some developer's representatives saw their roles as subject-experts, in comparison to the amateur status of the resident's groups – with a clear difference in value of contributions assigned to these positions for this consultant. The MDC answers to these collated questions had then to assert the soundness or otherwise compliance of the plan, explaining methods used or the rationale behind decisions and avoiding a dogmatic defence. Though it was uniformly a defence with little criticism accepted as valid, except for that given by the Inspector. The 'rules of the game' emerged in this sense of who could say what and to whom, with the Inspector occupying a cardinal reference point, which other participants had to work around or orientate to – this is another way in which the field can be seen as a 'pitch' of competition (Bourdieu, 1983; Thomson, 2012).

The three aims of the Core Strategy discussed above were, for BMDC, at the centre of the policies focused on in the EIP discussions. This was responded to primarily as, despite the broad scope of the document, with a focus upon housing, especially housing numbers and allocations outside of City of Bradford, with city centre regeneration and proposed economic policy acknowledged only through this prism. In this way housing, especially that in the periphery areas of the district, acted as the lens through which almost every aspect of the plan was considered. Figure 14, as well as showing where in the district residents came from, also shows the wards in the city that the housing developers were most interested in. Persimmon and Barrett Homes, along with Johnson Brook development consultants all had interests in housing development specifically in Menston or adjoining settlements. The result of this focus in topics and spatial area was that limited attention or scrutiny was given to some topics, on day 1 the 'gypsy and traveller' and 'minerals and waste management' policies were displaced by the discussions around housing targets. Instead, on day 1 considerable time and energy was expended on critiquing and defending the use of green triangles to illustrate potential releases of greenbelt land to achieve housing targets. With a BMDC Officer responding to the wary representations of residents and opposition Councillors that these were 'in principle triangles' and not certainties a suggestion which was poorly received in the room (see figures 15 and 16).

The ambition of economic transformation was transformed into a housing discussion by statements in the Core Strategy that set the documents purpose out to be partially about assessing 'scale of development needed to meet objectively assessed need [...] and how this growth will be distributed between different areas' (see figure 8). This statement opens up three sets of issues that together form a significant volume of discussions within the EIP;

1. The scale of district wide house building targets over the planned period,
2. The role of the evidence base drawn on to set these targets (e.g. what defines the 'objectively assessed need' for the district), and
3. The method that underlines the proposed differential application of these targets to the various parts of the district.

These three topics (scale, evidence base and method), were central to the EIP. How figures were arrived at for a site was a recurrent theme, despite the breadth of Core Strategy on paper around economic policy, regeneration policy in the city centre, the alleviation of overcrowding in the City of Bradford, the interdependence of 'heritage' preservation and tourism policy, anticipated population increases, transport infrastructure and housing allocations. As stated above, it was the last of these issues that would dominate the sessions that I was an audience member for or that generated additional documentation. The following areas of the Core Strategy received minimal response, supportive or critical, in the room at Victoria Hall;

- The rationale of a 'strategic approach' to engage with economic issues at a district level, (c.f. a *strategic* housing policy),
- Policies relating to 'gypsy and traveller sites', these appeared on the agenda for day 1 but were displaced by other topics or actively moved so as to facilitate a longer discussion related to housing issues, and
- Similarly, policies on 'minerals and waste management' were postponed from day 1.

Key Diagram - Location Strategy



Figure 17: Map of Settlement Hierarchies, (City of Bradford MDC, 2014, p. 66)

A policy that was a focal point (as it addressed all three issues of scale, evidence and method) was the 'settlement hierarchy' (see figures 15 and 16). This was the policy that designated settlements and areas into one of three categories which reflected the planned volume of additional housing in the planned period. BMDC Officers explained this policy as emerging from a process that reflected the current size of the settlement and the perceived level of housing need in that area. How precisely 'need' was defined was hotly contested. With a broad division between whether this was strictly *local* need based on predicted population growth or over-crowding/population density metrics within the district, from a view that prioritised *market* pressures and

predictions, that shape patterns of arrival into the area, such as those Christopher and Anne discuss in chapter 6.

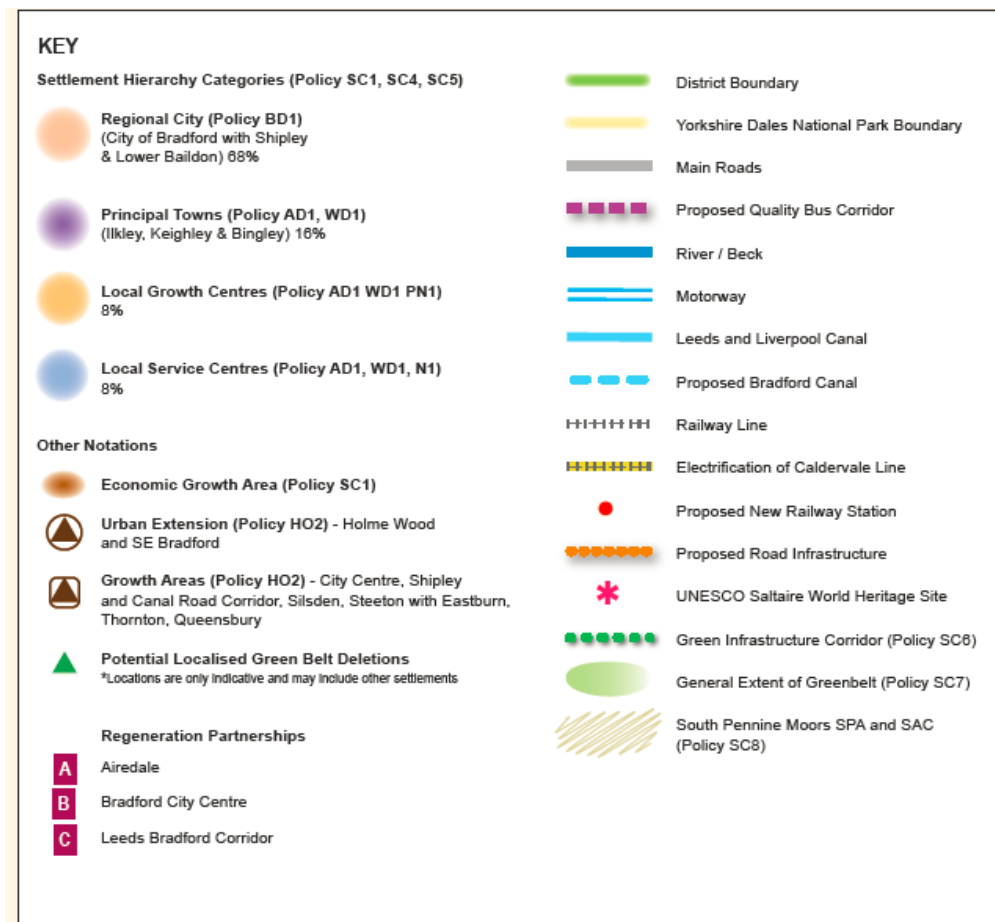


Figure 18: Key for map of settlement hierarchy (City of Bradford MDC, 2014, p. 67)

The factors that position a settlement in one or another of these categories were central points of contention in the EIP, with substantial efforts exerted by those community groups from the periphery present to see their town or village downgraded to 'local service centre' from 'local growth centre'. Field notes contain continuous references back to these discussions, as a re-designation could greatly increase the allocation for a settlement over the planned period. Discussions on this policy showed the difference in approaches between the developers and resident's groups, with developers typically taking a more pragmatic approach focused on achieving outcomes. As opposed to critiquing the logic/representative legitimacy of a policy, they took the opportunity to turn the logic of a policy on its head to undermine its purpose.

This was a central motif of the approach taken by the Developers present, one that was routinely unanticipated by resident's groups.

An example of this is that during the EIP, Menston and neighbouring settlements were re-designated from 'local service centres' to 'local growth centres'. The result was that the numbers specifically for Menston increased from 400 to 600 houses, with similar increases for neighbouring Burley in Wharfedale (Ilkley Gazette, 2015; City of Bradford MDC, 2014, p. 90). These were changes pushed for heavily by various developers with explicit interest's in house building in the Wharfedale ward in their representations before and during the EIP. However, as they were changes that effectively took place *during* the EIP in March 2015, the capacity of residents' groups to react to this and challenge the change is significant. It is largely rooted in the capacity to, first, be continuously present in some way. Second, to recognise when an aspect of the evidence base, on which a settlements position in the settlement hierarchy, was threatened. And third, to respond to this appropriately. The responses to such developments inform the following section on 'effective participation' as this is where a 'feel for the game', or its absence in terms of the unthinkable (Reay, 2004), was most prominent.

What did effective participation look like?

The contrast between the participation of residents from Burley in Wharfedale's Parish Council, who attended a variety of topics that were explicitly about Burley, and the participation of developers interested in large potential house building sites on the edge of Burley emerges in the Settlement Hierarchy discussions. Where residents had focussed on policies *directly* impacting Burley (such as on policy 'WD1 – Wharfedale Sub-area') they did not provide written representations on a range number of issues that were more 'strategic' in focus. For example, the second topic on day 1 the 'Habitat's Regulation Assessment' (HRA) which was critiqued by developers in both written and verbal representations. Effective representations as they went on to

be broadly accepted and so altered Burley and Menston's position in the Settlement Hierarchy, re-designating them as 'local growth centres'.

The HRA is, on the face of it, about protecting land from development around the 'South Pennines Special Protection Area' and not about any one settlement. The influence of HRA is not easily represented through the neat district/ward maps, but it is indicated by the hatching across figure 15 (see also figure 16 for key reference). If nothing else, this underlines Harley's (1989) critique of cartographic knowledge as prone to obscuring and concealing processes of knowledge production as the HRA is, on the face of it, not an issue that explicitly relates to Burley or Menston's housing allocation or their positions in the Settlement Hierarchy. However, the proximity of both villages to the SPA can be partially read as underpinning their original categorisation 'Local Service Centres' with minimal housing allocations. The HRA positioned proximity to the SPA as having a tiered restraint on development, with;

- Zone A designation prohibiting most forms of development within 400m of the SPA,
- Zone Bi encompassing land 400m to 2.5km from the SPA and required a 'precautionary approach to the review and identification of potential greenfield sites for development' be applied,
- Zone Bii covered land 2.5km to 7km from the SPA and allowed development on condition of 'appropriate avoidance or mitigation measures' (Bradford MDC, 2014, pp.59-60).

Initially ignored by resident's groups, for the developers the HRA occupied a central role as limiting the housing in Burley. In challenging the HRA, the importance of habitus and capitals in the form of professional expertise of the developers is significant, especially as the approach taken of undermining the evidence base of this methodological policy appeared to be unexpected by residents groups from across the Wharfedale and Ilkley wards. The knowledge base, expertise and experience of other Core Strategy meetings takes on greater consequences as a result. As with the Inspector, a refrain from some developer's representatives was to refer to personal experience of other EIPs and the decisions made. Both demonstrating experience as qualification

and suggesting precedent for a proposed policy change. This was recognised by resident's as an advantage, as such professional fluency facilitated challenges to the terms of a given discussion. In this way, the division appeared between amateur, or *scholastic* (Bourdieu, 1984), participation on the part of the residents and a 'naturalised' participation drawing on professional experience and resources brought to bear by developer's representatives. A more practically effective form of participation as this aligned with the rules of the field set out by the Inspector initially. The *doxa* as taken-for-granted here emerge as a weakness for resident's representatives and a strength for developer's representative in their respective position-taking (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Savage, 2011).

For the HRA this difference in position-taking meant rather than critiquing the base assumptions of the SPA and HRA – that birds breeding sites required protection to begin with – developers critiqued the method and evidence used by Natural England in the identification of sites for protection and the consultation processes used. One developer's representative offered a euphemistic observation that it was 'very surprising' the HRA consultation and data had not been publicly carried out as in other plans (citing here his first-hand experience of other EIPs). However, the approach taken by the developers was not purely a legal-rational critique of procedure; rather there was the peculiar spectacle of assertions of ecological and environmental knowledge that claimed to surpass that of Natural England (when framed in a planning context at least). For example, land categorised as requiring the zonal protection of the SPA was claimed by one developer as to be the result of a Natural England surveyor noting 'a pair of birds flying over a field'. This, and similar claims, was used by developers to argue the categorisation of Burley as within the influence of the HRA was 'unfounded in the evidence' and so required revision – with similar consequences for Menston, given its proximity.

Attacking the procedural basis of the HRA paid off as the first 'homework item' set by the Inspector was for BMDC, Natural England and the developers who had put forward this critique to meet and 'sort out your differences'. Here, we see the ways in which approaching a goal relatively indirectly, by addressing evidence and procedure, pays off where it is pursued in the name

of soundness and legal compliance, so careful to embrace the rules of the field. The absence from EIP of representatives from Burley meant they were uninformed of these potential (and eventual) changes to the volume of housing for their area that would be made mid-EIP. That is, until other resident's representatives (including those from Menston) worked out who they knew at third hand that could get a message to someone from the Burley group.

Central to success in furthering an agenda in the EIP was such willingness to work within the Inspector's rules, to frame contributions in the language of 'common sense' and bureaucratic-legal rationality (Jacobs & Manzi, 2013a). To perform and so provide a clear set of credentials and reasonable demeanour, to not prioritise emotive appeals to a sense of place or community imagined to be outside the formal authority of the MDC, to not cite folk histories with their own different ideas of common sense. To not be qualitative, in effect. An example of an overlapping of emotive appeal and folk history as ineffective participation came during an extended intervention on day 1 by a Menston representative. Pointing to the example of his adult sons who had left the region to find work appropriate to their qualifications, he invoked the 'spirit' of Titus Salt in building Saltaire to call for an employment-first approach to development policy as an answer to his sons' desire to live and work in the city they were from. This was in opposition to the consumption and housing-led agenda set out in the Core Strategy. This, and similar statements, was met with a relatively gentle but final dismissal from the Inspector, on the basis that he was 'not hearing any specific proposed amendments to the policy'.

Effective participation then is about knowing what the *illusio* or stakes of the field are, and what they are not (Bourdieu, 1996 [1989]; Deer, 2012). Recognising the *doxa*, conforming to the expectations laid out by the Inspector whilst being alive to changes or possible misrecognitions or dislocation (Hardy, 2012) and capitalising on experiences of other such Examinations to recognise what a key policy or aspect of evidence base will be. Effective practice came in the form of anticipating the critiques of other participants, because in the format of an EIP you can find out broadly what they will say because *they have already said it* in their written representations accessible via the Exam website.

Following the thread of the HRA begun above, I turn now to how residents groups attempted to regain the initiative, primarily by drawing on their own sets of social capitals in co-ordinating a letter from various 'community representatives' objecting to the tactics of the developers representatives. Below is an extract from this letter to the Inspector, the highlighting/emphasis is my own;

A joint letter from community representatives regarding proposed modifications to the settlement hierarchy

None of the community representatives in the Bradford Core Strategy foresaw what we consider to be **the hostile takeover, by one or more of the developer representatives,** of the proposed settlement hierarchy and its ramifications for the housing distribution in the District. In light of this, we kindly request that you accept this letter as a further, joint representation, by way of our response to the proposed main modification tabled at the Examination last week.

It is important to state at the outset that, in preparing our individual representations, **we had taken the Habitats Regulations Assessment in good faith and did not anticipate that it would be so undermined in the opening session of the Examination.** We are also disappointed that the neither the Council nor Natural England anticipated the problem and, as a result, had little choice at the time but to take the action they did. We have neither the time nor the expertise to scrutinise or challenge the HRA or its specific implications for the draft CS. **We also fully acknowledge the developers' rights to challenge aspects of the draft CS that impact on their commercial interests. However, you will appreciate that it is impossible for community representatives and members of the public participating in the Examination to deploy the kind of resources to influence the CS that the developers have at their disposal.** In any case, the impact of the CS on any party's commercial interests is immaterial and the soundness of the CS

Figure 19: Letter to Inspector from resident's representatives, 16th March 2015

This letter shows a distinct contrast to the approach taken by the developers; deliberately lawyerly and neutral language of 'very surprising' is met with explicitly emotive, yet corporate language of a 'hostile takeover'. With an implied 'bad faith' (contra. 'good faith') approach by developers to the EIP as not about the soundness of the Core Strategy, but material gain. Yet, this is followed with a concession that the developers are within their rights to operate as such. My reading of this letter suggests what is in effect a misreading of the rules of the field, as these residents are *not* objecting to the character of the overarching context of neoliberal common sense or marketisation as a form of rationality (Hall & O'Shea, 2013; Jacobs & Manzi, 2013a). Rather, where the developers had framed their contributions from the first in terms of 'soundness' and legal compliance, the residents behind this letter go for much more non-

field specific invocations of 'good faith' and ideas of fairness. Instead, the character of the Exam as a distinctly unequal space is emphasised, characterised by the distinction between amateur and professional participation. With the Inspector, as arbiter, urged to use this as a rationale for intervention.

While these residents demonstrate a clear awareness that this is an asset driven process, they in effect misinterpret the role and remit of the Inspector in this appeal so mis-read the legitimate position-taking open to them. The differences in resources and expertise is stark in the time needed to co-ordinate a joint response from different community groups. With the discussion on the HRA beginning in the EIP on March 4th, a proposed amendment then published on March 11th, the letter in figure 17 produced on March 16th, and a reply on March 17th from the developers involved in the homework sessions. An extended extract from this reply letter is below (figure 18, again, with my own emphasis). This letter, in contrast to the resident's groups, immediately engages with questions of 'soundness' and legality, as well as being framed in decidedly lawyerly language.

After claiming surprise that their actions had been read as 'hostile takeover' by other participants in the EIP, the developers defend their approach as 'clearly set out in the NPPF' and as appropriate given guidance which is 'widely available', with the presumed message that this should all have been perfectly obvious to any appropriately rational and informed person or group. (Specific forms of common sense appear again here.) The reply continues in this vein, moving onto motivation for participation as a legal firm's client wishing to see a sound plan and so merely exercising their right to seek an amendment to a policy that they saw to be unsound. The naturalised language of the 'inevitable' and 'natural consequences' of an EIP as involving 'very normal' main modifications stands in sharp contrast to the emotive language of the resident's groups. (An inevitability, it is implied, once the evidence base has been 'properly examined' by a competent, private company.) The authors instead speak of the 'unfortunate and inappropriate' framing of their activities on behalf of their client, returning time and again to the issues of soundness to reassert the validity of their participation in this process and work to re-shape the HRA.

By way of introduction we note that the purpose of the Examination is to test the soundness of the Plan, by examining the evidence that underpins its content and testing its credibility. This is clearly set out in the NPPF and the widely available guidance that is provided on examination of development plans. We are therefore surprised by any suggestion that it was not anticipated that the evidence and the soundness of the plan based on it would be tested in this way.

This is the approach that our client has taken from the outset, specifically in relation to the Habitats Regulations Assessment (HRA). In addition, our approach in challenging the methodology used for the HRA has been set out fully and clearly in our client's publicly available representations on the Plan (at both Publication and Submission stages) which were available for all to read.

For the reasons set out in those representations and reiterated at the examination (which can have come as no surprise), in light of the flaws in approach in the HRA that have been established, our client has made the point that it is inevitable that in order to make the plan sound, main modifications will be required (as we explain below).

It is the purpose of the examination to test the Plan properly and, indeed, very normal for main modifications to be the outcome of such a process in order to make the Plan sound and lawful.

We note the acceptance in the letter that the Council had little alternative but to shift its position on the reliability of the HRA, particularly in the light of the position (once it had properly examined the material underpinning the HRA) of Natural England on that document. This was because the Council were correctly (if belatedly) accepting the validity of the points that had been made about the HRA by our client, as did Natural England.

We also note the letter's acceptance that our clients were quite within their rights to seek to challenge the HRA and the consequences of the flaws in it, through their case presented to the Examination. The main modifications now suggested are the natural consequence of that process.

Figure 20: Extract from developer's reply to resident's letter, 17th March 2015

What the HRA episode shows is that effective participation in the EIP to further an agenda requires substantial application of capitals and cultivation of field specific habitus, this is particularly clearly expressed through the centrality of prior preparation to successful participation in the EIP. As with any field, the requirement for particular reified sets of knowledge, describable as field-specific cultural capitals, is about the long-term investment of time and effort by individuals and organisations. This is not some sort of meritocratic arrangement (side stepping for a moment the problems of that term) that sees effort and intellect reaping the rewards. If you are a development firm effective participation is fundamentally about having the capacity to recruit or commission expertise, for example via a third-party such as the authors of the March 17th letter, who can translate your goals into a language and approach appropriate for the field – such as the desire to impart a 'sound plan' for the district emphasised in figure 17.

The HRA also shows that being present in the room does not equate to effective participation. It still leaves one open to misreading proceedings and their normative underpinnings (Deer, 2012). The failure of the joint letter from residents is two-fold, it does not mention the issues of soundness in the opening paragraphs, nor does it go out of its way to demonstrate to the Inspector that it is aimed at a clear embrace of the rules of the field. Instead it focuses on an objection to the structural inequalities of the EIP, an issue which the stated remit of the Inspector has no mandate to address (which if nothing else shows the field's subordinate position within the wider fields of bureaucratic power). Crudely put, the long form process of written representation and public examination shows that decisions are shaped (if not made) by those who turn up – it is the different capacities of formal and informal sets of actors to effectively participate in this process that is a defining characteristic of the field. Part 3 below looks at what the consequence of these interactions in Saltaire were for the draft Core Strategy.

Part 3 – Main Modifications

During the EIP it was possible to watch how different groups participated in the planning process and as a site of competition and interaction orientated to the inquisitorial role of the Inspector. The assignment of 'homework' to work with the council and its consultants to resolve differences and modify policies (for example on the HRA above) underlines the importance of how this competition and interaction had to extend to practices outside the examination room. After the first day, the bulk of representations made in Victoria Hall were on the basis of 'soundness' and 'legal compliance' (the Inspector having enforced this). In turning to the 'Main Modifications' to the Core Strategy published in November 2015, some of the consequences of the competition and interaction on this basis during the March 2015 Examination can be identified. With the Main Modifications formatted as a summary of insertions and deletions (extracts below), allowing the reader to see precisely what has been removed from a given statement and what has been added. BMDC then provided a rationale/explanation for changes made to the wording of a particular policy, whether a spelling mistake or explaining the

reasoning/evidence base behind a substantive policy change (i.e. those for the HRA). This before and after perspective helps to recognise the power dynamics at play in the field throughout this process, specially the relative positions of strength/influence occupied by participants as this leaves us with a sense of how 'effective participation' as a form of position-taking in the Examination led to tangible outcomes of influencing alteration of details to the document and therefore potentially the composition of the field of planning in Bradford up to 2030 (see chapter 2 on field theory).

Alongside releasing the main modifications in November 2015 BMDC opened a further six-week round of public consultations/contributions, with a further public hearing in May 2016 on the main modifications to the Core Strategy. As with parts 1 and 2, I will not try to provide an account of the entirety of this content, but instead focus on changes to policies discussed above. An important theme to these changes came in the framing of how the 'need' for development would be defined, with policies such as the HRA meant to provide a set of objective figures of how many houses a settlement can support, based on ecological and material limitations. This is in alongside and sometimes in contrast to the social and economic forces that also contribute to the construction of an 'Objectively Assessed Need' for housing (an idea referred to in BMDC's aims for the Core Strategy).

For example, when defining the Objective Assessed Need for a settlement such as Menston, the Core Strategy presented in March 2015 used the language of 'local need' to define housing allocations. This emphasis on local was objected to at various stages by various developers as an invalid evidence base for implying that a settlement-by-settlement approach to housing need had been used, which was not the case. Developers proposed alternative approach, centred on 'market signals' to (re)define need as '*market need*' rather than local need. This was supported by framing this as a methodological question, which supported a wider critique of BMDC's approach to housing allocations as flawed and misleading. This line of argument demonstrated a clear understanding of the *doxa* of the field in that is 'reasonable' and rational in bureaucratic and economic terms (Jacobs & Manzi, 2013a). The assertion that developers only wish to see a 'sound plan', as features above, relies on this

'evidence based' approach, whilst also happening to serve material interests. The developer's goal here is to influence the control of space, with an at least partially success through the November Modifications thanks to a two-pronged approach.

From 'local' need to 'market' need

The first of these prongs emerged, visible during the March EIP, was a concerted push for a higher total scale of development in the district from various developer's representatives. With particular focus on arguing for higher proposed levels of development for settlements in Airedale and Wharfedale (see figure 10), the sites identified as providing the new housing that would support the wider economic transformation of 2030 Bradford that was BMDC's stated ambition. The second prong was to argue that housing allocations in the Core Strategy should be seen as a 'minimum not a limit' at both a regional and site-specific scale as one representative put it, in a continuation of the HBF tactics discussed in chapter 4 noted by (Marsden et al., 1993). Taking these allocations as base-line figures for the planned period, developer's representatives then argued that new projects should be front loaded to encourage earlier building and provide a higher likelihood of meeting these allocations by 2030. Frontloading of development was justified by highlighting the past failures to deliver the volumes of housing mandated by strategic plans. This was operationalised in the main modifications with the insertion of 'at least' into a policy on housing allocations throughout the district;

'In accordance with the vision and spatial principles set out in this Plan, the forthcoming Allocations, Bradford City Centre and Shipley & Canal Road DPD's will allocate sufficient land to meet the residual housing requirement of **at least** 42,100 for the district between April 2013 and April 2030' (BMDC, 2015, p.61. Original emphasis)

This shift to 'at least' shows the ways in which proposed changes to the Core Strategy had tangible consequences for the local planning regime. More widely, the explicit rationale for different proposed modifications are also of interest here, with modifications early in the document serving as points of reference for later alterations (such as the 'at least' insertion). Changes which

are positioned as reflecting a changing evidence base (rather than faulty methodology) and correcting mistakes that arise from this. For example, this statement on an emphatic distancing from a 'local needs' basis to a market needs basis;

'Council statement PS/F032. In that statement changes were advocated to remove any mistaken impression that the local housing need assessments would be required when planning applications are submitted and also **to underline the fact that housing distribution targets have not been based on settlement by settlement local needs calculations**' (BMDC, 2015, p.6, emphasis added)

The rationale here of resolving 'mistaken impressions' has distinct echoes of the lawyerly and learned interventions of the developers during the EIP in March and in their responses to interventions by resident's groups, claiming the inevitable and 'natural' consequences of 'testing' the Core Strategy in the examination process.

In this way 'local need' was thoroughly displaced by 'market need' as a determining consideration in working out the overall 'Objectively Assessed Need' for development. This is interesting in the discursive distance this has from the original emphasis of the Core Strategy as framed by BMDC (under part 1) as addressing the specific, peculiar and *local* challenges of Bradford. The use of the 'evidence base' in the modifications is of interest here as challenging the appropriateness of the 'local' and advocating instead 'ambitious' and 'aspirational' housing targets. Yet in contrast to this bullish attitude on development figures, developers also argued for a reduction in the anticipated creation of jobs across the district each year. In the November Main Modifications, the original target is struck-through and the new figure inserted in bold as 'Annual delivery of ~~2897~~ **1600** jobs'' (Bradford MDC, 2015, p.44). Citing the need for caution and prudence, this new figure emerges from the same attention to 'market needs' that sees the supply-side role of the local authority urged to reduce barriers to development when it comes through the local planning regime. At a national level the 'presumption in favour of sustainable development' in the NPPF is not unrelated to this.

The emphasis on *aspirational* numbers and goals, without formal limits for house building but minimums, is an optimistic attitude strongly argued for by

developers in the EIP. This 'at least' optimism contrasts significantly with an insistent pessimism on employment figures and 'projected job growth' for the Bradford Citizen BMDC placed at the centre of their aims for the Core Strategy (see part 1). This is interesting as it shows the success of developers in influencing and re-shaping spatial planning policy. With the Bradford that was to become a 'key driver' of the Leeds City Region economy partially through substantial house building, seeing the anticipated benefits of this reduced. The implication here is being that though developers are all for significant development, they are highly cautionary as to whether this development will actually bring employment to the under-employed workforce of Bradford. In a small way, the value of the plan here is reinterpreted from being about *people*, or the Bradford Citizen, as above to about the reduction of all values to that of capital (Skeggs, 2014). As noted previously in this chapter and elsewhere, such interventions in the field show the pervasiveness of neoliberal 'common sense' (Hall & O'Shea, 2013) at the centre of this process as the taken for granted or *doxa* here (Deer, 2012).

In addition to demonstrating the efficacy of using sustained evidential and methodological critique as an approach to attaining policy change, the main modifications show how the relationship between the state and the private sector operates in the context of austerity-localism and neoliberal governance (Haughton & Allmendinger, 2014; Peck, 2013), with the local state (all too easy to criticise and simultaneously romanticise) charged in the economic sphere with facilitating *development* on behalf of 'stakeholders' in the most optimistic manner. The facilitation of the apparently dynamic private sector by the unproductive and idle public sector being a trope that is at the core of neoliberal policy. The stimulation, creation and incubation of markets – especially *housing* markets – having been a key-stone of state policies of regeneration, encapsulated by the Pathfinder scheme for many northern towns and cities (Wallace, 2015) and gentrification projects more widely (Lees, et al., 2016). Combined with the 'common-sense' mantras of the capitals and creative classes literature, this shows the ways in which Bradford's strategic policy is subject to wider economic and political processes that constitute the field of power.

In Bradford we can see the ongoing impact of this form of national governmentality, combined with the localist strictures and obligations for the local state, such as the nebulous 'duty to co-operate' under the NPPF. These are adjustments that seek to remove barriers to the corporate capture of land, whilst the lived reality of the economy for most people – i.e. actual jobs – are positioned in a more restrained and bureaucratic manner. The areas of the economy that the Core Strategy is being pushed to support are fairly clear here, capital interests and returns on investment over employment and improvement in material conditions. Harvey's (2007) characterisation of neoliberal government as about the defence and expansion of markets and minimal social interaction finds expression here. As does Skeggs (2014) argument noted already, that under neoliberal orthodoxy all values, social, cultural, moral, political all become viewed through the prism of economic value and 'capitals'. Such 'common sense' assumptions are shaped by prior actions and go on to shape the potential approach open to future participants. At a spatial level, there is a strong continuity in the forms of development previously adopted, as part of a wider counter-urbanisation (Philips, 2010), dispersed suburbanism (Filion, 2015) and rural gentrification (Smith, 2011) that shape the imaginations of those involved in planning. There is a question as to what degree Bradford MDC or any local authority is capable of or even adequately empowered to challenge these policy and imaginative paradigms.

To summarise, we learn from the Main Modifications how the Core Strategy's stated purpose of relieving issues in Bradford for the benefit of people in Bradford are adjusted and re-orientated by the position-taking of other actors in the field. With local need subsumed by the 'market' proposed policies on spatial planning take on alternate possibilities, a shift is as much a discursive movement as anything else, in that is about making knowledge about what action and ambition of the local state is deemed possible. The raised allocations to housing arising, the revisions to the HRA and the reduction in planned for job growth together illustrate a movement away from an emphasis on the local (as communities) being served by economic development towards development that responds to the economic basis of the wider field of power. In using their representations to take positions that push for such

alterations, the effective contributions of the developers made plain the comparatively limited and contained position of BMDC in the wider field of power, as well as the limited potential position-taking open. The fuzziness and instability that goes with attempts to establish 'local needs' is not a problem purely for the periphery villages of Menston, Burley or Howarth with, but raises questions as to who growth is for precisely. This brings us back to Savage's (2011, p. 515) assessment that 'physical space is the concretisation of social space' discussed in chapter 2, this resonates here in that the eventual Local Plan will regulate and structure physical space across the district of Bradford up to 2030, with the 'local' subject to sets of market forces orientated to 'capital' that exist outside of the neat lines of the district and ward maps.

Conclusion

In this chapter the focus has moved from the directly experiential (as in accounts of community as practice, belonging as about affinity and the alignment (or differentiation) between places) to a consideration of the wider formal structures that influence the built environment this exists within. How the relatively small scale and rural imaginary so emphasised by interviewees and survey respondents exists within a structure and logic of neoliberal governance. Which this chapter has worked to set out can be found in planning processes that are demonstrative of the wider field of power. Menston as one of the few settlements to have residents in frequent attendance at the EIP as active contributors shows a position of distinct advantage within the *local* field of power, as compared to other settlement – whilst also being viewed as something of a site to be more fully exploited (see the HRA section above).

The position explored in the introduction to this thesis, through aggregate national statistics of wealth, occupation category and housing, of the largely middle-class, older and white make-up of the village's residents is one that is linked to sometimes exclusionary notions of belonging (i.e. on Bradford or the 'suburbia' of Guiseley). This chapter takes forward some of the implications of this position of strength for the regulation of space, with planning as a set of processes definable as a 'field' and the EIP functioning in a manner that is closely aligned to the three-type model of field from Thomson (2012), as an

exclusionary/insulated site, prohibiting and denying entry/exit, and arising not consistently from an *active* exclusion but the structures of the examination. It is a passive result of the sheer mundanity (it has the potential to be tedious and technical to wade through planning documents, trying to make sense of how it applies to where you live, then sitting through a planning meeting to wait your turn to speak) and technical difficulty.

The EIP expresses the logic of neoliberal governance with its particular view on 'evidence-based' policy and a focus on 'soundness' and 'legal compliance' (Jacobs & Manzi, 2013a). This further sets out barriers to comprehension of proceedings and documentation, as well as implications and how to engage with such processes. Consider the failed objection on Day 1 of the EIP from one MAG activist noted above, though having made it past the barriers to participation the field as a pitch showed this resident without an appropriate sense of the code of conduct here – of grasping the taken for granted elements of the field (Bourdieu, 1983; Bourdieu, 1996 [1989]). At the same time, the EIP acts as a field of force, such as gravity, in that it will shape the built environment of the Bradford district up to 2030 – with or without popular participation from the 26 wards minimally represented (e.g. figure 14). The physical space in the room becomes an illustration of social space as much as concrete does (Savage, 2011; Tewdwr-Jones, 2012). The residents of Menston's presence therefore shows a position of comparative advantage to other communities, in that they have habitus and capitals available to facilitate participation.

Once in the room though, as discussed in part 2 and noted above on pitches, it is necessary to conform to the rules of the field, to maintain an awareness that this is a relational set of dynamics – as to be passive is to be subject to the actions of others in the field (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 313). That presence is not the same as *effective* participation. I have returned a number of times here to Jacobs & Manzi's (2013a) emphasis on evidence-based policy making as a rationality discourse, which can be taken further by Clarke & Cochrane's (2013) view such processes are in themselves *anti*-political. To show an appropriate 'feel for the rules of the game', to grasp properly the *doxa* and *illusio* (Deer, 2012) is to *not* mis-recognise how the EIP operates. Not as a space for community-based lobbying, as may be done in a local newspaper or other

forms of quasi-judicial intervention, but through an evidence-based paradigm and rationality discourse of 'soundness' and 'legal compliance', of evidence and of methodology.

A difference in the *doxa* of different participants is exemplified by the different approaches taken in the letters sampled in figures 17 and 18. These show how position-taking underpinned by financial capital supports an approach that fits with that of the Inspector, with the structure of the field and so the possibilities for future position-taking by other participants shaped by this. The letter in figure 17 is a reactive and defence piece of position-taking in response to the actions of developer's groups representations to the EIP. The produced changes in the 'objectivity assessed need' similarly arise from this and become new facts on the ground to be engaged with. It is therefore entirely possible successfully gain entry to the field, through written representations, and then misread the processes and fail to identify the position-taking of other groups. This is a partial form of 'misrecognition' but not an example of *hysteresis* (Hardy, 2012) as such failure to capture the *doxa* still entails some position-taking. The process of 'position-taking' structures fields around the relative positions of its constituent members (Bourdieu, 1983). Where one participant commits to a position, this decision serves to (re)structures the field and possible decisions of others. Stasis or slow responsiveness from resident's groups was a persistent theme of the Examination, one that leads to field positions being lost or otherwise degraded in the competition for the control of space.

As a space of social interaction, rather solely of resource deployment, the overheard muttering noted in part 2 at the end of a lengthy intervention by a Menston resident of one developer to another that 'another Inspector would have told him to shut up' illustrates two things about the power structures of and interactions within this field. First, the relatively emotive intervention and approach taken in the letter in figures 19 and 20 shows the gulf in dispositions and rationalities, or *habitus* as a 'structuring structure' (Bourdieu, 1984), between those participating. Typified by the contrasting language of 'hostile takeovers' and of 'inevitability'. This is an expression of *habitus* rooted in capitals, in that it demonstrates the anticipated and presumed modes of engagement with one another and with the process. A common experience to

numerous residents' representatives was campaigning against the designs and plans of housing developers in their local areas or decisions made by BMDC. Members of the Menston Action Group had been involved in a series of longstanding disputes were not isolated in this (see BBC News, 2011; The Telegraph & Argus, 2012; The Yorkshire Post, 2012; Menston Action Group v Bradford Metropolitan District Council, 2016).

The second thing that emerges about the EIP as a site of social interaction is that this gap between the residents and developers is one that was partially closed by the central figure of the field – the Inspector. That is, with the Inspector being inclined to *hear* seemingly tangential complaints or lines of inquiry made to the BMDC Officers or other participants he was engaging in acts of position-taking of his own. Position-taking which served to re-structure proceedings and required responses from other participants if they were not to be over-taken by the actions of others (Bourdieu, 1983; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), in particular the BMDC Officers subject to representatives and the developer's representatives seeking alternate outcomes. In talking with members of resident's groups during breaks from the Examination, this willingness of the Inspector to listen to politely and carefully, then to ask clarifying questions or to clearly respond (including dismiss a point) was recognised and generally appreciated.

This choice by the Inspector is one that allowed the resident's groups to find their feet in the examination process, producing a partial, though never complete, reorientation to the rules of the field rather than simply learning them through the breach. It allowed them to develop their 'feel for the game' as they were immersed in the field (Bourdieu, 1990 [1980], p. 66) and worked to find an alignment between their activist-habitus, i.e. longstanding experience of public meetings and planning processes, and the peculiarities of the EIP as a field. Residents I spoke to were thoroughly aware that it was not always the robustness of their arguments on soundness and legal compliance of the Core Strategy that ensured their participation, but the disposition of the Inspector, in the active acceptance of their 'scholastic' approach with a level of patience and understanding he need not have necessarily granted. This tolerance gave the residents groups practical space to make comments and query on particularly issues, as well as to figure out how to adapt their practices and

framing of representations to this process. To correct initial misrecognitions and identify their own key strengths, such as existing habitus of co-ordination that supported the joint letter submitted on the HRA.

The internal power structures of the field are clearly visible as hierarchical, with residents group managing to maintain a degree of pressure on BMDC Officers and on occasion Developer interests present (such as by challenging factual claims made). However, they were also in the apparently least strong position and thus routinely engaged in *reactive* position-taking to that of the Developers or of the Council. The referencing of knowledge of prior Examinations as a form of credential performance by some Developer representatives is suggestive of attempts to re-structure the field in their favour as well as of demonstrating their own comparative 'feel for the game'. Tactics which bore fruit at times, such as in the push to re-shape the HRA and to move from 'local' to 'market' needs. The Council meanwhile occupied a broadly comparable position to the Developers, though out-matched on specific procedural items at times, and almost always in a reactive posture as it was their document under scrutiny. The presiding and central power to shape the field here was that of the Inspector as the person setting and running the agenda and taking the meaningful decisions at points of juncture (e.g. setting homework items *outside* the room). Taken together, this demonstrative of the 'governance' paradigm as one of collaborative relationship between the state and stakeholder groups that translates the social into the physical world (Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Tewdwr-Jones, 2012; Savage, 2011).

This chapter has demonstrated that, whilst Menston's position compared to other settlements and populations in Bradford is one of significant, relational class advantage, this position of strength is by no means transferable to all other contexts, especially those of governance in which space is *produced*. Rather than various and ambiguously rooted in socially constructed meanings of place (see chapters 5 and 6), the EIP process exposes the structural pressures framing locales in terms of financial viability and profit margins. An equivalence place and development potential that elides the experiential on the one hand, whilst, on the other, denying the possibility of a cultivation of a new form of local citizen by the local state – the 'Bradford Citizen'. These are processes that bear distinct parallels to the flattening out of meaning and value to purely that

of capital (Skeggs, 2014), the related operation of the 'secondary circuit of capital' that configures homes as property-based assets above all else (Madden & Marcuse, 2016). These are processes that are usefully accessed and assessed through the 'structural constructivism' of field theory (Reay, 2004).

8. Conclusion

Introduction

The overall research aim for this project has been;

To critically examine accounts of place, community and belonging to a peri-urban village and the metropolitan region by its residents, in relation to wider processes of urban/rural change.

This chapter sets out the ways in which this aim has been met. Beginning with an overview of the research context and justification for the selection of Menston as a site of sociological interest, then moving on to address the three research questions answered. The overall contributions of the thesis are then discussed, with the limitations of the present work and potential areas for future research bringing the thesis to a close.

Why Menston?

The village of Menston is located just beyond the edge of the towns that make up the suburbs of Leeds and Bradford, and close to the edge of the wider Yorkshire Dales. It is a periphery site in relation to the rural and the urban, in that it is shaped by the urban as a regional and planetary phenomenon (Lefebvre, 2003 [1970]; Merrifield, 2014; Lees et al., 2016) as well as one of contemporary mobilities (Urry, 2007). Its spatial location also speaks to its symbolic positioning, because as a site in the wider West Yorkshire green belt it is in the sort of a location that 'all politicians shy away from altering [as the green belt] has become something of a political sacred cow' (Tewdwr-Jones, 2012, p. 14). It is consequently the sort of site where developers will agitate to maximise potential house-building, as the cultural cache of rurality will help to maximise potential profit, whilst opposition will draw on well-established tropes of rurality (Marsden, et al., 1993, p. 125; Harrison & Clifford, 2016; Smith, 2011).

This symbolic positioning places Menston within a wider contexts of rural gentrification and counter-urbanisation, terms that seek to understand the movement of previously urban middle-classes to the countryside and non-urban places (Pahl, 1965; Vallance, 2014; Hillyard, 2015; Phillips, 2010). This

movement may be informed by a search for the 'rural idyll' and an idealised form of community (Shucksmith, 2016; Vallance, 2014), or as search of an aesthetic space that reflects one's sense of self (Savage et al., 2005). But such an emphasis on the positive may obscure how people differentiate at quite a granular scale between people like *us* and people like *them* (Sibley, 1995; Watt, 2009; 2013b). These are symbolic factors that also illustrate how the rural can, through changing populations and a continuing ideological integration with broader ideas of regional and national identity, in turn shape the urban (Lowenthal, 1991; Birmingham, 1989; Spracklen, 2016; Hillyard, 2015). There is a close association here between the rural and naturalised 'whiteness' in contrast to the urban as a stigmatised space of 'diversity' (Askins, 2009; Neal & Agyeman, 2006; Tyler, 2016), distinctions that are similarly mapped onto class and space (Murdoch, 1995; Shucksmith, 2012; 2016).

Socially, as a village in the City of Bradford Metropolitan District Menston has a population that is at a marked contrast to that of the district as a whole. Whilst not an entirely socially homogenous group they constitute a privileged class fraction; older than national or regional averages, Menston residents are nearly entirely white (96%) compared two-thirds of Bradford's total population. Amongst those aged 16 and 74 Menston residents are twice as likely (20.7%) than the English average (10.4%), and three times likely as the Bradford average (7.5%), to be in NS-SeC1 employment (see footnote 3). Less than 1.5% are counted as 'never worked and long-term unemployed', compared to 11% for Bradford as a whole and 6% for Leeds. These are residents who have a recent history of concerted and successful anti-development activism, with notable success in delaying and preventing development in fields along Menston's southern edge (Menston Action Group, n.d.).

To see Menston as a peri-urban site is therefore to work to capture both the rural and the urban influences at play, through the field of power, in a particular locale, with the rural strongly operating at the symbolic level such as where is taken for granted as desirable place to live and why (Shucksmith, 2016), and the urban acting at a wider spatial level as a focus point for capital (Merrifield, 2014). This echoes three key studies looking directly to the peri-urban being, Vallance (2014) in New Zealand who discusses the motivations for moving of recent peri-urban arrivals as connected to expectations of a 'community

experience', Miles & Ebrey (2017) in Aberdeenshire who draw out forms of everyday cultural participation in a peri-urban village as they are centred on a factory workers club with no factory, and Featherstone (2013) who draws out the ways in which the peri-urban is experienced as a dystopian space, where an already marginalised working-class population are displaced to and further marginalised whilst 're-development' focuses on city-centre consumption.

The literature on belonging, community and place more widely is productive in thinking through the accounts of Menston residents. Phillips (2014) has drawn out 'baroque' rather than 'romantic' attitudes to landscape as a significant factor amongst arriving rural gentrifiers, whilst Hillyard (2015; Hillyard & Bagley, 2015) has looked to village schools as sites for observing the 'old guard' being displaced by comparative newcomers. Wider research has addressed themes such as the 'mobilities turn' at a broader macro level in terms of patterns of housing consumption (Halfacree, 2012) and as a way to consider experiential senses of place (Goodwin-Hawkins, 2015). From urban and suburban research, Savage et al.'s (2005) work on 'elective' belonging in which affinity to place is a project of personal identity rather than of a community, continues to be of significance as a concept and has been elaborated on (Jackson & Benson, 2014; Paton, 2014; Jeffery, 2018). Watt's (2009; 2013b) critique and elaboration of the 'elective', that draws out the 'selective' processes that are at play amongst members of the middle-class in London's suburbs as they seek to socially and symbolically distance themselves from proximate working-class spaces, seeing them align their identity to 'fractions' of their locale (Watt & Smets, 2014, p. 12) is productively drawn on here. The literature on community more widely is also beneficial here, with Delanty (2010) drawing out traditions of theorising that emphasis loss and possibly recovery, Bauman (2007) and Sennett (2012) on utopian future possibility, and Blokland (2017) emphasising the here and now of contemporary practices that bind people together.

The contemporary sociological literature therefore has significant and instructive insights into these questions of community, belonging and place within the rural and urban, in particular regarding the ways in which belonging and community are positioned and negotiated. However, it also appears to have limited contributions on specifically *peri-urban* spaces, and within that

sub-division a limited amount to say on the ways in which middle-class populations relate to the locale and the regional – and with what consequences for the peri-urban more widely. In drawing together answers to the research questions below, this is the gap in the wider literature that this thesis sets out to address.

Research question 1 – chapter 5

How are the social, spatial and symbolic qualities of place integrated into, and taken for granted in, discussions of local belonging and community?

Chapter 5 examined three broad areas related to the social, spatial and the symbolic as they are integrated in relation to ideas of belonging and community. The doxa of Menston is drawn out as a being built on the first of these, that of a relatively coherent sense of spatial location with a broad acceptance of the village as a 'liminal' site, but varying understandings of what this meant. For some this entailed a sense of separation from all around it ('off the beaten track' as Andy put it), and for others it was expressed in more traditional anti-urban narratives. In this way the spatial is appearing to operate symbolically in the sense that a relatively coherent place-image of relative isolation was cohered around and mutually recognised as important, but it was also divergently understood and engaged with.

The second set of areas identified related to the ideas of 'community' in place, with extensive emphasis made on Menston as a haven of 'safety' and ontological security. At one level, this was claimed in rather traditional terms of community as a site of extensive weak ties (see Delanty, 2010), but at a wider level this was held closely to notions of boundary-making and exclusion around the site. Sibley's (1995) work on the socio-spatial practices of exclusion is instructive here, as is the wider body of literature drawing out normative constructions of rurality. Constructions in which the rural is closely linked to a naturalised sense of 'Whiteness' and homogeneity (see also Moore, 2013b) and put into contrast with the urban. Work such as Harrison & Clifford (2016) outlines the long history of discursive emphasis on a rural-urban binary, between the rural picturesque and implied or explicit urban blight and disorder is significant

here as it draws out the ways in which social and spatial qualities become ciphers for moral judgement.

Connected to this emphasis on safety as a mode of distinction, was a claim to a broadly 'elective' sense of belonging (Savage et al., 2005) linked to commentaries on the aesthetics of the village itself as 'oldie fashioned' but, crucially, 'not twee'. A strong sense of alignment between self and place was put forward here, which for the long-term residents, such as Christopher and Anne, was reported as a partial way into their sense of community (albeit a sense of community that was reported as greatly disrupted by the closure of the village post office). The degree to which residents emphasised the 'Yorkshire' qualities of Menston may have been for my benefit as 'local' researcher (Heley, 2011, p. 231) but nonetheless there remained a strong emphasis on a rural-place image that was prized for not being in the standard mould of an attractive tourist village (c.f. Moore, 2013b; Bowden, 2012). The *illutio* at play also emerges at this point, as the stakes of defending this sense of a place-image that is neatly differentiated from more reified tourist/heritage sites, whilst also firmly separated off from the urban (with the common glaring exceptions for work and leisure).

The third broad area in which the taken for granted emerged was around 'community', with the significance of encountering others through daily routines for many residents emphasised. Evoking the sorts of weak ties to population that Vallance (2014) as motivating her peri-urban citizens and noted above in regard to safety. Here however weak ties were emphasised as centred not on basic neighbourliness and civility, but on specific centres and sites. This is where any sense of a unifying *doxa* existent in place breaks down as it encounters broader structural contexts. However this also shows the stakes that were at play for many residents – in that their sense of affinity to place was more than simply 'ocular' (Phillips, 2014) but tethered to relatively minor practices. Those with primary or pre-school aged children and grandchildren emphasised the key role of the primary school to their sense of place, whilst for others it was use of shops and services (including the closed post office) as sites of social encounter that mattered to them, with comparatively lonely voices emphasising pubs and clubs as hubs of community. In this way, the qualities

assigned to place can be engaged with through a field analytic framework in which the significance of *taste* as a project of differentiation is worked through in relation to shared points of symbolic focus, but with somewhat different interpretations (Bourdieu, 1984; 1983; Blokland, 2017).

Research question 2 – chapter 6

What are the ways in which practices of boundary-making and maintenance in the peri-urban draw upon and contribute to accounts of affinity and belonging regarding the urban and rural?

Practices of boundary-making and maintenance were variously expressed in regard to Menston as a peri-urban site. There was however distancing from any notion of having affinity to the urban, or suburban, as a substantial site of belonging. Bradford, in particular, was positioned in terms of classed and racialised discourses of urban 'disorder' (Watt, 2009; Askins, 2009; Harrison & Clifford, 2016) and the suburban discussed in terms of expansion and potential existential threat (Filion, 2015; Soja, 2003) though rarely in terms of explicit 'disgust' (Jackson & Benson, 2014, p. 1207) which, when present, was preserved either for Bradford or for the notion of the urban in general. The territorial stigma literature offers a productive insight into the ways in Bradford was constructed as a unitary object here, as somewhere to which everyday actions of distancing expressed and furthered processes of marginalisation (Garbin & Millington, 2012; Hancock & Mooney, 2013; Wacquant, et al., 2014).

These differentiations between urban and rural did not produce a corresponding claim to affinity with the 'rural', or in this case the towns of Wharfedale, as a totality on the basis of a broadly shared landscape and visual context. This is interesting if nothing else as a caution again any over-keen application of concepts, such as 'elective belonging' here, on the basis of shared characteristics between sites. Rather, what emerged was that though a sense of 'togetherness' was present across Menston, Burley and Ilkley when discussed in relation to the urban, there were further differentiations between Menston and these sites to be maintained. A form of *doxa* in that the recognisably non-urban spaces of Wharfedale would be treated as a grouping, but only typically when it came to comparison with the urban and suburban. Differentiation that, in the case of Ilkley, drew on morally loaded discourses of

conspicuous consumption as forms of 'improper' taste (Bourdieu, 1984). These were used to distinguish Menston – and oneself by extension – from Ilkley as a site of more aspirational forms of rurality, in terms not too distant from how Heley (2010) reports the 'squirearchy' are discussed. However, unlike Bradford, Ilkley was generally retained as a touristic site to visit and enjoy (even if it was a town containing more 4x4s than you were comfortable with). A version of this boundary-making around forms of visible consumption practices was applied locally in regard to the Homestead estate on the northern edge of Menston. Whilst the estate was generally viewed with qualified acceptance as a part of Menston (based on knowing people there), as a large rather 'insulated' (Atkinson, 2006) estate it had clear associations of affluence, such that Peter could cheerfully mark it out as 'Monaco'; an enclave of wealth certainly, and somewhere that is separate, but also understood to not be.

The final form of boundary-making that chapter 6 draws out is an altogether more ambivalent one as it shows what the *illusio* that managing boundaries around place as a proxy for identity is over (Thomson, 2012; Sibley, 1995). This is regarding the development at High Royds to the south of Menston, this site was distinct in terms of negotiating a sense of boundaries to affinity and belonging, as it did not fit neatly into a sense of rural idyll or urban dystopia (Harrison & Clifford, 2016). Rather, High Royds had longstanding – though fading somewhat – connections to Menston as 'Menston Hospital' as it operated as a large mental hospital until the late twentieth century (Ellis, 2008). It was therefore understood in quite unambiguously stigmatised terms (see Franklin 2002), with numerous residents reporting that 'Menston' as a term had been closely associated with ideas of danger and threat. For example, Ian reflected on childhood insults about being 'taken away to Menston.' As a site shut for nearly 20 years at point of interview, there were differences amongst older residents in how they drew a sense of boundaries. For those with some form of direct experience of the hospital, the gradual insertion of symbolic distance as it was re-badged as a housing estate, was an imposed 'alienation' atop of the social distancing that comes with no longer regularly going there, so to be resisted and objected to (see Bowden, 2012). For others, however, closure had been a relief, with Graham's minimal description of High Royds as 'funny little place' illustrative of how the site was rendered a curio, but one that could be

circumnavigated and distanced from as the association with Menston lessened with time.

What was relatively consistent to chapter 6 however was the attitude to Menston as a 'liminal' site noted under research question 1, a site in which the visuals of the moors acted as a distinct a marker of 'home'. This was a marker which for some was to be walked up as often as possible, and for others was a more aesthetic backdrop to place (see Cohen, 1982). Moreover, as a liminal site Menston was understood as a point of departure for engagement with elsewhere (Vallance, 2014), so also subject to change and requiring a degree of adaptability in how you considered the connection between self and place – so where different boundaries were drawn out. This adaptability was necessary when we consider the accounts of long-term shifts for sites such as Brooklands, that were accounted for as somewhere that had become increasingly accepted as 'part' of Menston in the decades since being built – whilst High Royds was gradually disassociated from. The over-arching strategy for maintaining this adaptability in the longer term appeared to be a broad strategy of selective belonging to the wider region, but one that was contextual and ready to be withdrawn.

Research question 3 – chapter 7

In what ways do position-taking strategies and practices, made visible by planning and development processes for the metropolitan region, structure the field of power in which the peri-urban is located?

This question works to understand the peri-urban in relation to the power to plan, and the power to influence the processes of (re)structuring place. Whereas previously the peri-urban is framed in broadly social and symbolic terms – though within identified spatial boundaries – here the peri-urban shifts to being part of the *illusio* in much more material terms (Thomson, 2012; Deer, 2012). As sites outside of the existing continuous urban area, sites in the peri-urban are seen as potential locations for housing development for developers (Smith, 2011) a designation that comes with forms of existential challenges for the more fatalistically minded residents representatives (Filion, 2015). Chapter 6 introduces a theme of 'fatalism' about potential change to the built environment, this is a wider issue to consider here as it manifested as a broad

disaffiliation from the both Bradford as a specific metropolitan authority, but also the urban more widely (as both Leeds and Bradford) that we see in chapter 6. There was a notable disengagement with the specific potential of urban change, rather a broad indifference reported by interviewees about the origin of any encroaching suburbanisation, the problem was the sprawl the specific city mattered much less for many interviewees. What was instead emphasised was the role of the local/village scale as a site of resistance to the urban and metropolitan, through largely classed based activisms, such as engaging with the EIP process.

Chapter 7 sets out that the EIP is a 'rational' field, in the sense of neoliberal governance (Jacobs & Manzi, 2013a; Tewdwr-Jones, 2012), a field that is clearly hierarchical and centred upon around the Inspector's role in proceedings, with the guiding concepts of 'soundness' and 'legal compliance' the conduit through which representations must be made. As such, the EIP is a site in which mis-recognition of the *doxa* is entirely possible and promptly arrived at (Deer, 2012). How to negotiate and close apparent gap in effective participation between the professional developer's representations and resident's groups was one both of position-taking but also of working to recognise aspects of the *doxa* present. A significant part of which was recognising the key role of the Inspector *and* by the active allowances made by the Inspector for this scholastic (Bourdieu, 1984) status. That representatives of developer's groups were paid to be at the EIP is no small matter, given the time and labour intensive nature of participating in the site full time entailed. However as chapter 7 discusses, the very presence of the residents' groups at the EIP was unusual, with entry into the field itself a piece of position-taking that required a response (Thomson, 2012). A relative strength in comparison to the majority of Bradford's ward not represented. This reflects the broader academic literature on middle-class spatial activism (e.g. Matthews, et al., 2014). The ways in which place is defined by wider structures of inequality is a pertinent point to emphasis here (Shucksmith, 2012; 2016).

The Main Modifications to the EIP published in November 2016 demonstrate the ways in which position-taking practices had served to shape the wider context of the peri-urban. With the apparent success of the Developer's groups in arguing for a shift to a language of 'market' need over

the 'local' a key outcome that effectively undid the housing targets for a range of sites including Menston. The second outcome discussed in the chapter 7 for the peri-urban, was the alterations made to environmental regulations which altered and removed restrictions on the scale of developments, including re-designating sites such as Menston as 'local growth centres' so further increasing the potential housing targets in the area. Finally, there was the status of the Bradford Citizen that BMDC argued was at the heart of the plan, but minimally considered by residents' and developers' groups, with a reduction in projected job growth for the district. The power structures of the Exam as a field guided by the principles of the anti-political (Clarke & Cochrane, 2013) position participating residents in a largely subordinate and reactive role. The primary position-taking that shifts and sets the agenda is that which emanated from the loose coalition of development industry representatives. The chapter illuminates the ways in which institutional capital interests engage in position-taking, notably the assertion of a choric role that speaks the language of evidence and rationality (Jacobs & Manzi, 2013a).

Key contributions of the research

The first contribution of this thesis is empirical, in that the project develops knowledge and analysis on the topics of community and belonging in an under researched context; a predominantly middle-class peri-urban village outside a regional city (c.f. Miles & Ebrey, 2017; Featherstone, 2013; Vallance, 2014). This claim is made on the basis that significant bodies of sociological work addressed questions of rural and urban change, much of which is drawn on here, however there is minimal work on the ways in which belonging is negotiated at points where the urban and the rural meet. Miles & Ebrey's (2017) work gives a rich insight into everyday cultural life of a 'village in the city' whilst taking a different focus, that of cultural policy as it plays out (or fails to) in peri-urban Aberdeenshire. This leads to the second contribution of the work.

The second contribution of the research is an empirical and methodological contribution, in chapter 7's focus upon the Examination in Public meetings and arising documentation as a site of research. By tracing

these proceedings, and participation in them, as a sociological case-study, the project explores the practical process of contemporary spatial governance, whilst much contemporary work on such sites comes from a planning or politics standpoint (Parker & Street, 2015; Parker, et al., 2017; Wills, 2016; Mace, 2015). In doing so it provides an empirically grounded account of neoliberal governance processes as processes of position-taking (Bourdieu, 1983) within, but without the acknowledgement of, broader spatial and social restructuring associated with the development of planetary urbanisation (Soja, 1989). A process in which imagined forms of citizen are conjured (in chapter 7 as the 'Bradford Citizen') that speak to a wider policy zeitgeist that goes with the grain of contemporary neoliberal governance (Hall, 2011), but seem to struggle to retain more than aspirational value (as in the emphasis on *market* need and the reduced job growth targets noted in chapter 7). The contribution here is that this demonstrates power-dynamics over the metropolitan region as premised on capital investment, this outlines the gap between the rhetoric and reality of localism as empowerment, whilst also drawing in the wider structuring processes that mitigate and displace middle-class spatial activism.

The third contribution of the thesis is analytic, in that it supports Savage's (2011) claim as to the potential of Bourdieu's field theory for bringing the experiential and the theoretical into dialogue. By utilising the prism of field theory the project shows how the symbolic implications of space are read into social contexts, whilst also being suggestive of the symbolic implications of the social, which are read as having *spatial* connotations. This second point expands upon the first by exploring the ways in which the dynamics of neoliberal governance frameworks – which as Skeggs (2014) draws our attention to flatten out all values that of *capital* alone – draw upon and work to subjugate cultural frameworks of taste. By which I mean the broader structural support for a cultural commodification of rurality that underpins valorised housing markets (Smith, 2011). Cultural meanings of rurality which are defined as *against* the urban (Shucksmith, 2012; 2016) and often underpin middle-class claims to place, chapters 5 and 6, and wider spatial activism(s), such as those reported in chapter 7. This tautological outcome is one of the key findings here – one that can be drawn into dialogue with case studies such as Hanson's

(2014) work on de-racinated local identities as subject to *dialectal* force in contemporary neoliberalism.

The fourth is the construction of the 'peri-urban disposition' as a minor form of 'belonging' that has been drawn out at various stages in this work. This is a form of belonging that emphasises the role of *local* landscapes as focal points of affective attachment within and in contrast to a rather generic sense of the metropolitan region (as in chapter 6 on 'the moors' and as is raised as possible point for the mis-application of *elective* belonging under research question 2, whilst under question 3 we see the disinterest in *where* sprawl might originate from along with an emphasis on local-action). A landscape emphasis as 'naturalised' and 'normative' space – with many of the racialised and classed connotations that arise from this (see Neal & Agyeman, 2006) – that is then joined to an emphasis on more 'traditional' practices of belonging and community (see chapter 5 and c.f. Blokland, 2017 on *urban* practice) including socio-spatial work of exclusion and boundary-maintenance (chapters 5 and 6). This combination of the 'ocular' (Phillips, 2014) with practices of belonging and exclusion that operate along a rather traditional rural-urban binary, in which the 'ocular' is found as the primary site of emphasis, that is broadly distinct to those existing iterations of belonging in the sociological literature.

Limitations of the present research

This section summarises the key methodological, conceptual and analytic limitations of the research.

First, an apparent methodological limitation of the work was the survey's negligible response rate (~25%) and close to absent conversion to interview, with three completed from survey invitations. As discussed in chapter 4, this does not compromise the data gathered nor the purposive sample of distinctive sub-areas of the village. However, it does suggest a failure in the mitigation procedures followed (see chapter 4) which would make me cautious about using a postal survey in future. The supplementary approach to interviewee recruitment of 'door knocking' (Davies, 2011), though relatively time-intensive, emerged as a worthwhile replacement method for recruitment. As such, if conducting similar work in future I would follow the interview-

questionnaire model (as in Watt, 2009 and Phillips, 2014) as the first stage here. As discussed in chapter 4, alternative methods of administering a survey may have including drawing on an electronic survey which might have been distributed through the MAG mailing list, presuming that the offer to do so was not withdrawn. As noted in chapter 4 this would have added a potentially gatekeeping layer to my relationship with members of MAG (Bryman, 2008), as well as being sample population that is likely to have a particular partisan view on some of the issues raised in this survey – given that MAG's dispute with BMDC had run for around a decade at this stage. If an alternate focus was developed this may have been worthwhile. A broader issue with a web survey, is the degree to which I would have been able to verify that respondents were from Menston, which would have been distinctly limited (Bryman, 2012).

Related to this, is the approach taken to 'Menston' as a unit of research. As discussed in chapter 4 the total number of interviewees recruited was satisfactory for my purposes, as existing alongside other forms of data collection (Bryman, 2012) and as a sample from a comparatively homogenous group (Hagaman & Wutch, 2017). However, an alternative approach to developing the sampling frame may have been productive here. As the survey rested upon use of the Electoral Register for Menston and High Royds is entirely under Leeds City Council, this naturally excluded a potential research site and point of comparative analysis. Similarly High Royds residents would not have been invited to participate in the EIP so their position within a field of power that will certainly influence them is distinctly limited. A revised sampling frame that looked to take in residents from High Royds, and other periphery sites in greater numbers, would have helped to remedy this as well as potentially providing an opportunity for these residents to also reflect on the issues of shifting stigmatisation, place-image and exclusion drawn out in chapter 6 that were associated with where they lived. This may have also helped to underpin or illustrate the lack of utility in the 'peri-urban' disposition identified as a minor form of belonging.

A potential analytic limitation of the thesis in the use of field theory here, this relates partially to the previous issues raised above on sample size, but there are wider potential limitations. The use of NS-SeC data is taken by Atkinson (2013) as an example of incompatible 'convenience' approach to

comparability for example, and I have – deliberately – not sought in this work to build up a full 'capitals profile' of all participants in the field as found in work on quite a different scale such as Savage et al. (2013). My use of field theory rather has been focused upon drawing links between, and making a degree of sense of, the mundane in place and the governance of a planning process (Blokland, 2017; Tewdwr-Jones, 2012). Such an approach runs the risk highlighted in chapter 6 of taking residential patterns too literally as 'choices' as if exercised in an individualistic, free-flowing housing market (where such a thing to exist in practice). More widely on field theory, a potential fruitful area of study, if the focus had been exclusively upon the Examination, this may have offered a more detailed view of the various differing 'developers' groups, with their differing interests and approaches to the EIP. At present, this group is somewhat homogenised in the analysis so the detail of their position-taking as it took place *off-stage* (such as in homework sessions) is necessarily limited.

Potential future research

Drawing on the above limitation and the analytic contribution of the thesis of demonstrating field theory as a useful framework for linking the everyday and the structural (Savage, 2011), further work to develop a full timeline of the 'Bradford plan' would be instructive in showing how residents groups brought themselves to bear on external routes of influence. This could potentially dovetail with a specific study into the development of a Neighbourhood Plan, to examine the issues of 'agonism' (Parker, et al., 2017) that have recently been identified.

Future work that builds on the interview and survey findings may be productively centred on one or more of the 'centres' of community identified in chapter 5, such as by investigating the role of schooling in the construction of this peri-urban place of distinction and monoculture and wider questions of the reproduction of class (see Watt, 2013b). Hillyard's (2015) work on the ways in which school governance acts as a focal point and cypher for wider social and population changes is instructive here. In examining the ways in which schooling features in accounts of place, including in motivations to move or

away from a site, this avenue of enquiry attends to wider questions of classed inequalities and social exclusion (Shucksmith, 2012; 2016).

Finally, drawing on the concerns and anxieties (and fatalism) of Menston residents about settlement coalescence, infill and suburban sprawl, future research may productively address the experiences and perceptions of people moving *into* new housing developments in peri-urban spaces that are the subject of such fears. Developing a resident's study of such a population would allow for the voices of people spoken about and for (e.g. in the assumed motivations of buying a new build home communicated by promotional literature). Questions of how a sense of place is gradually constructed, imported wholesale or generally neglected would be key to such work.

Appendix A: Menston and wider area Maps

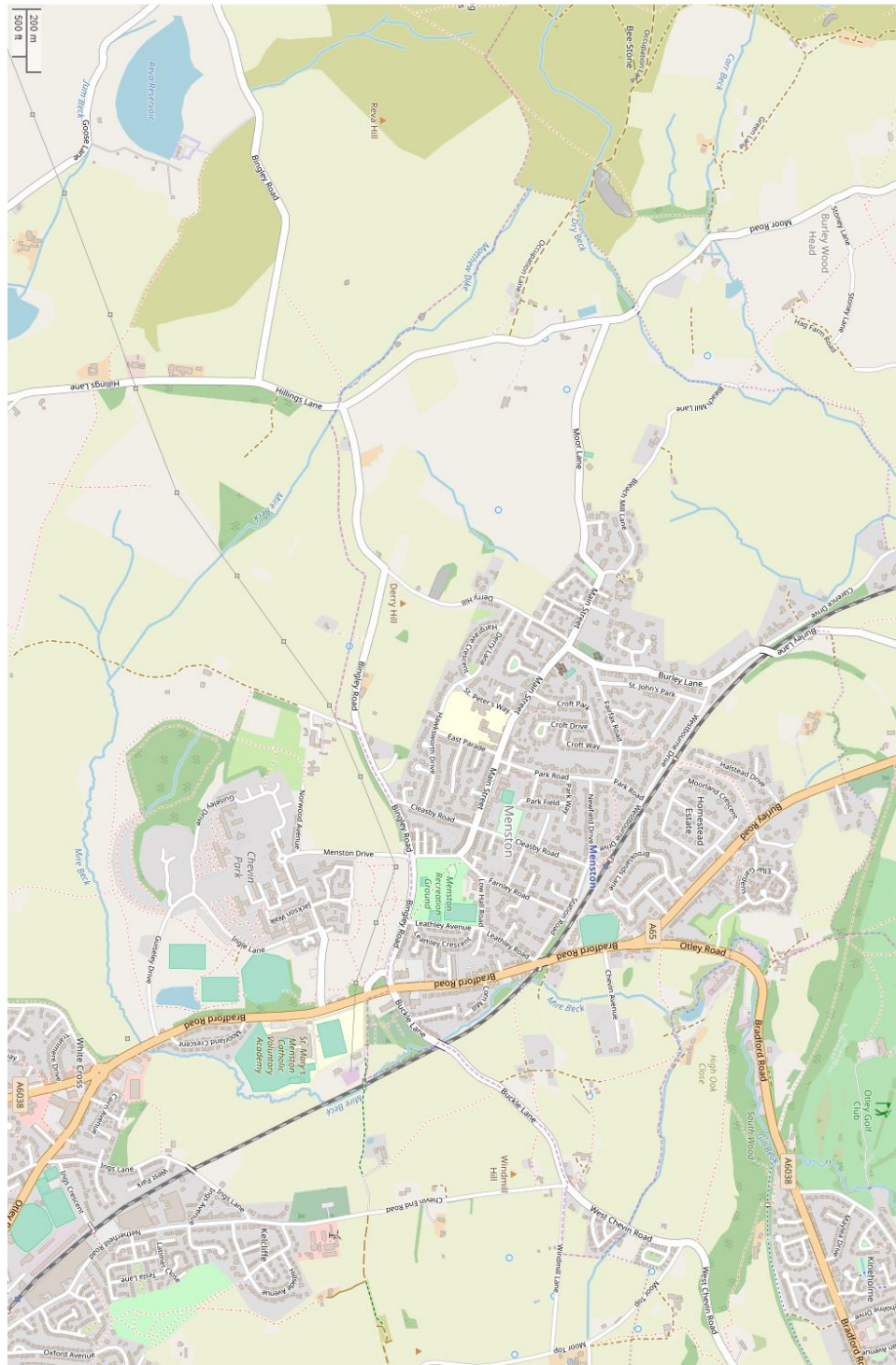


Figure 21: Map of Menston area (via www.openstreetmap.com)



Figure 22: Menston and neighbouring towns (via www.openstreetmap.com)

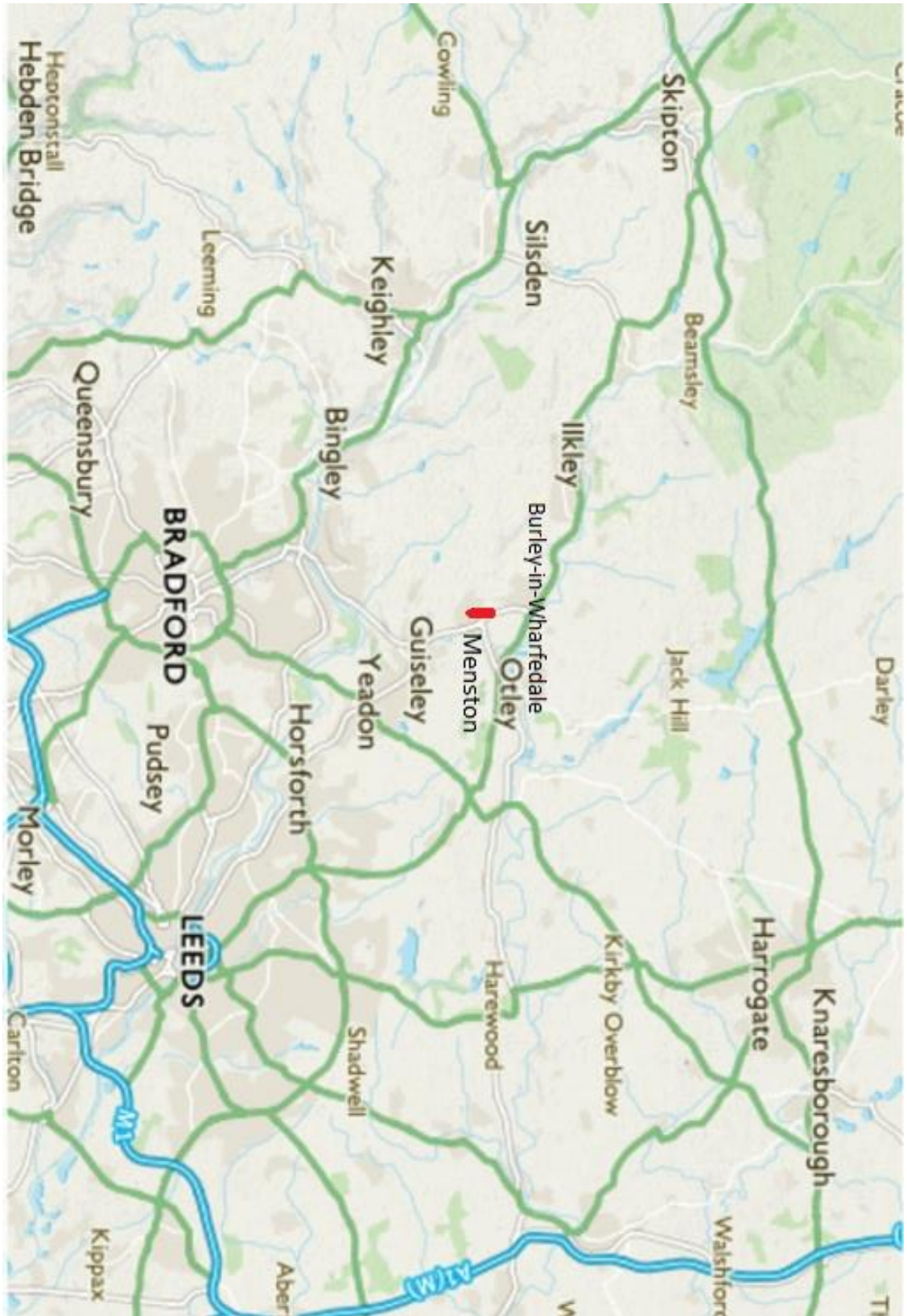
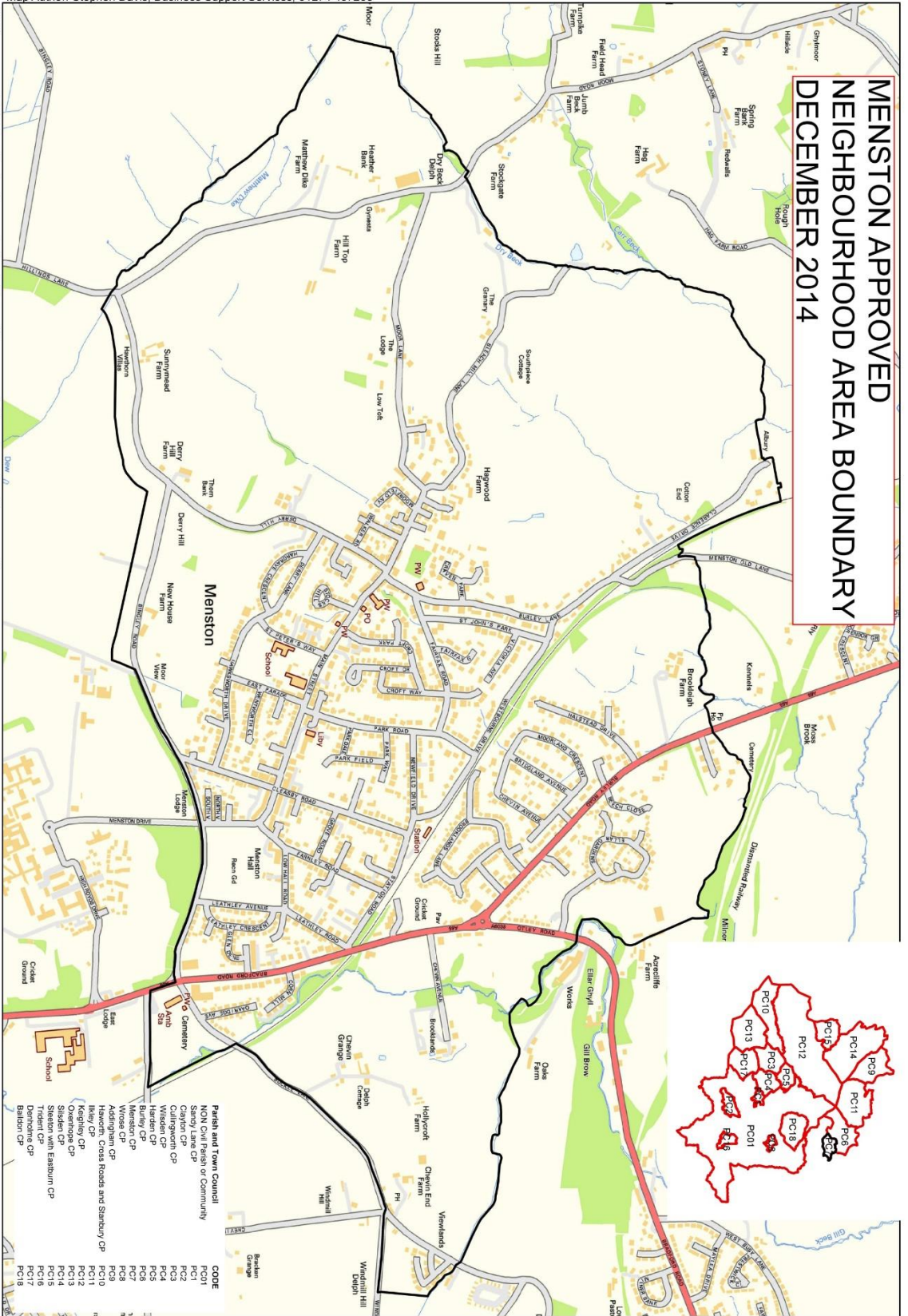


Figure 23: Annotated OS Map showing Bradford, Leeds and Harrogate along with neighbouring towns. Menston and Burley-in-Wharfedale have been added, with Menston highlighted with a red pin.



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Figure 24. Map of 'Menston Neighbourhood Area' (BMD, 2014) with street names and inset map showing location within network of Parish and Town Council's in the Bradford District.

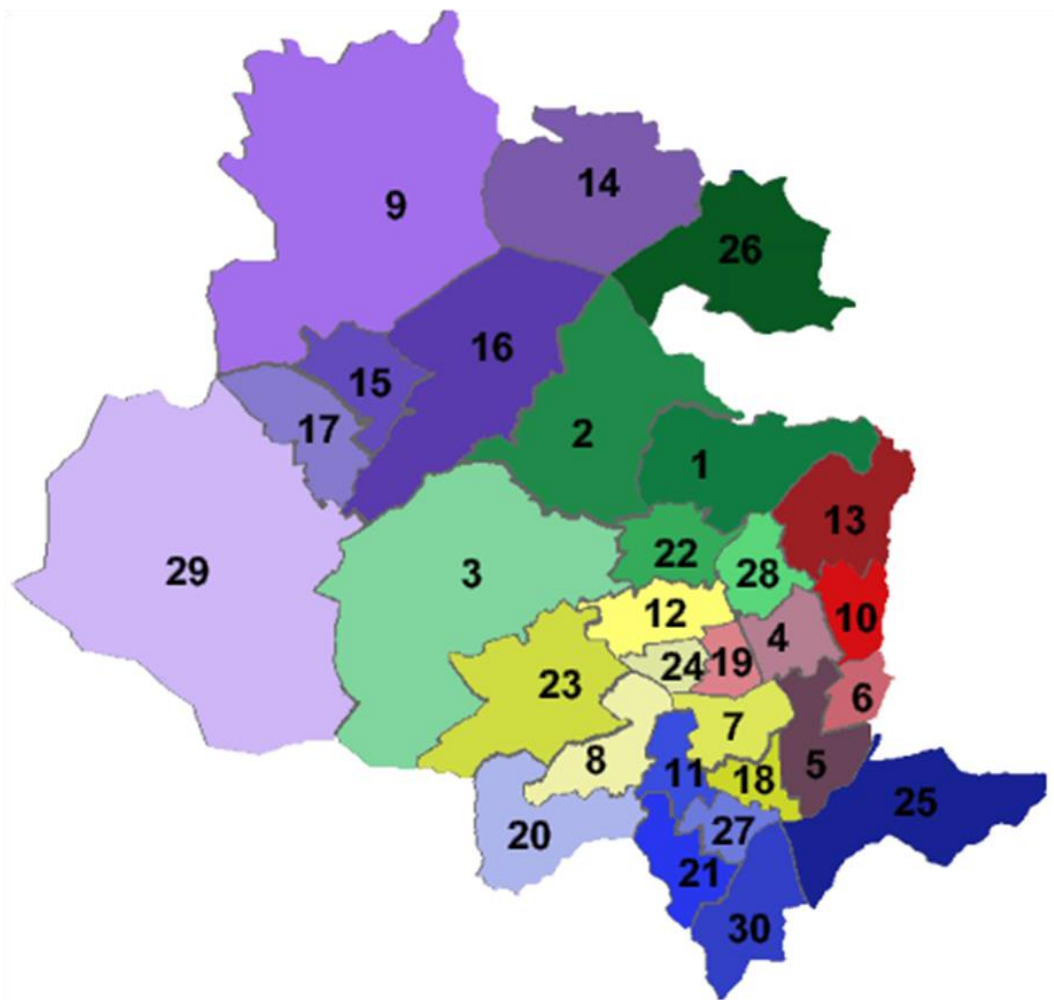


Figure 25. Map of BMDC wards (BMDC, n.d.)

List of Wards in Bradford District (BMDC, n.d.)

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Baildon | 16. Keighley East |
| 2. Bingley | 17. Keighley West |
| 3. Bingley Rural | 18. Little Horton |
| 4. Bolton & Undercliffe | 19. Manningham |
| 5. Bowling & Barkerend | 20. Queensbury |
| 6. Bradford Moor | 21. Royds |
| 7. City | 22. Shipley |
| 8. Clayton & Fairweather Green | 23. Thornton & Allerton |
| 9. Craven | 24. Toller |
| 10. Eccleshill | 25. Tong |
| 11. Great Horton | 26. Wharfedale |
| 12. Heaton | 27. Wibsey |
| 13. Idle & Thackley | 28. Windhill & Wrose |
| 14. Ilkley | 29. Worth Valley |
| 15. Keighley Central | 30. Wyke |

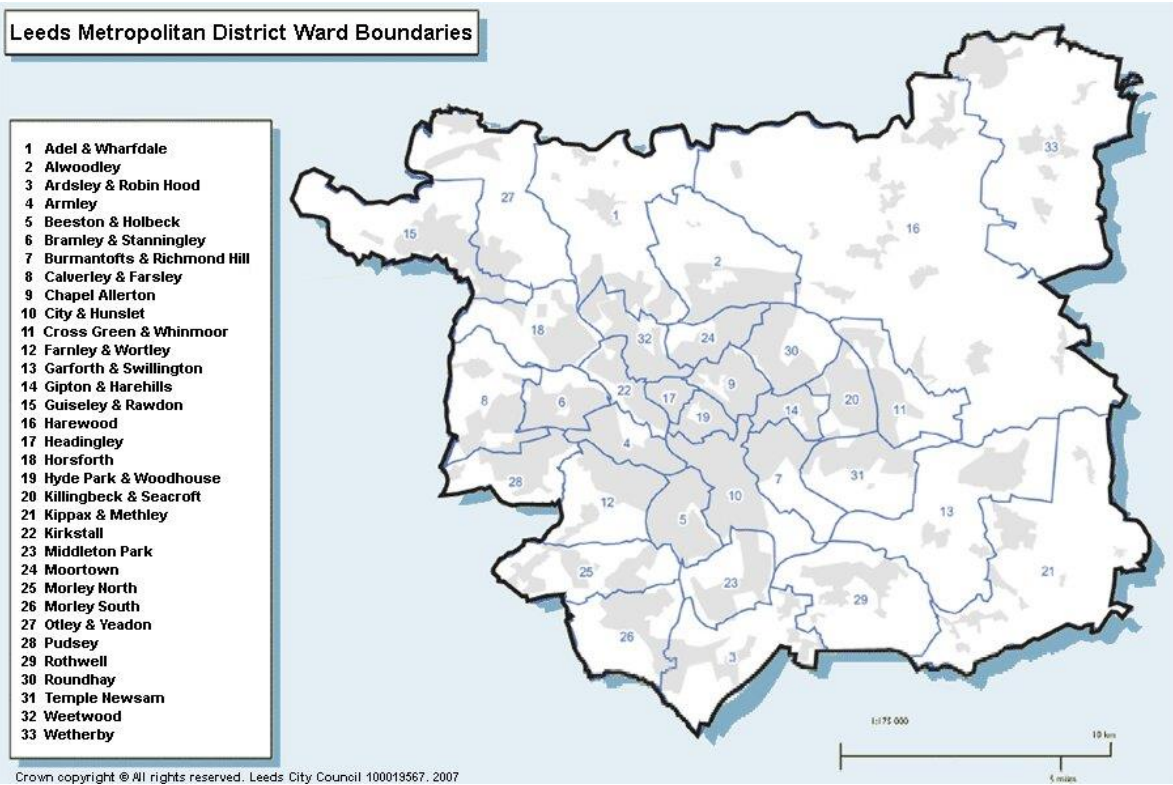


Figure 26. Map and key showing boundaries of Leeds City Council and individual wards.

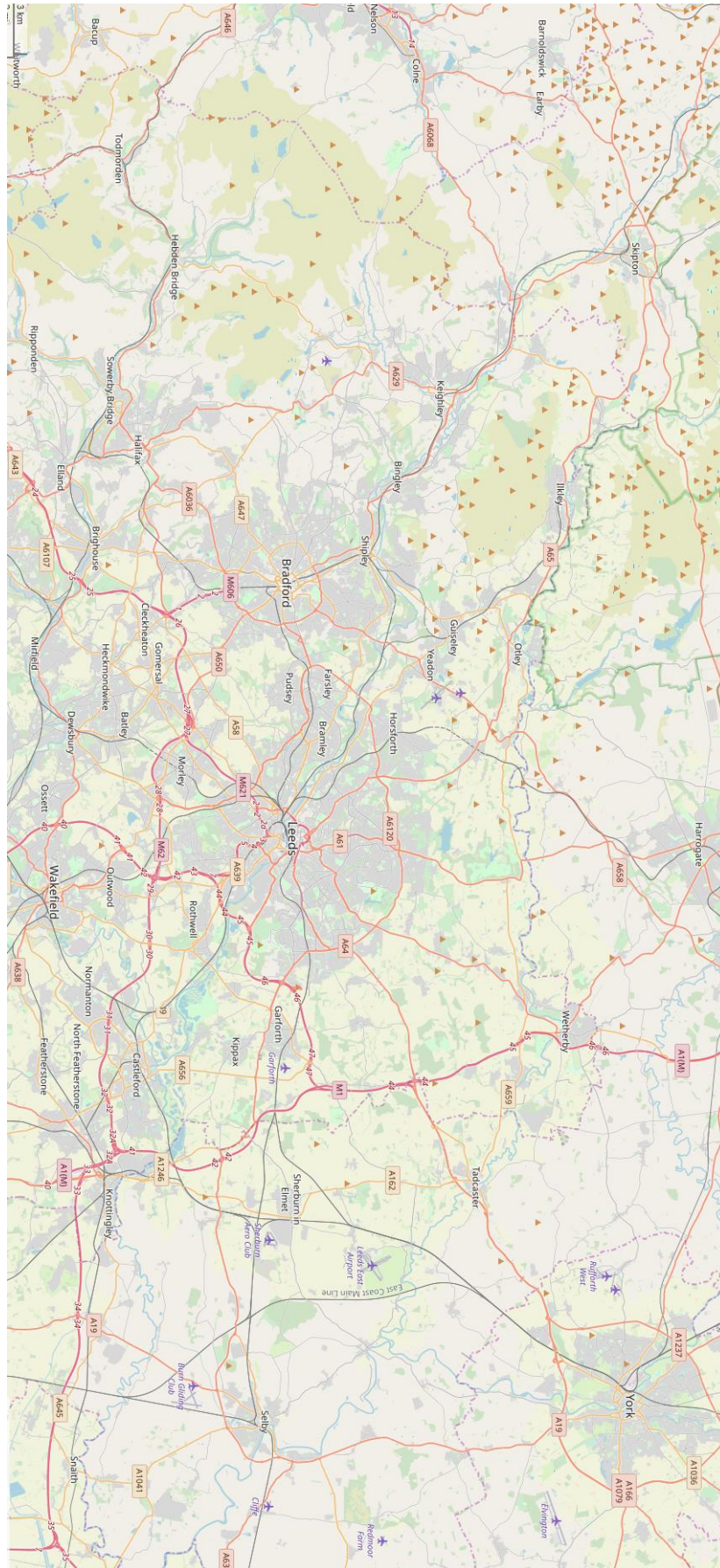


Figure 27. Map of Leeds and Bradford area (via www.openstreetmap.com)

Appendix B: Community Survey Cover letter

THE UNIVERSITY *of York*

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Wentworth College

Heslington

York

YO10 5DD

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wp513@york.ac.uk

Dear ,

My name is Will Paterson, I am writing to invite you to participate in a research project that is interested in how people living in Menston relate to the village, to other residents and to the wider area. In short, what *you* have to say about where you live, and more broadly what it is that people value about the community in which they live. I am a former Menston resident and carrying out this research as part of a PhD project in the Department of Sociology at the University of York.

A short questionnaire is enclosed, which I would ask you to complete and send back to me using the stamped addressed envelope provided. There is also an invitation to participate in an informal interview, which would be organised at a time and place convenient to you. As a resident of Menston your input to this project would be highly appreciated. If you are interested in participating in an interview, but do not wish to complete the questionnaire, please give your contact details in the space provided at the end of the questionnaire. A stamped addressed envelope is enclosed with which to return the questionnaire and/or register interest for an interview.

If you choose to participate in this research all information given will be treated confidentially, and a summary of the project findings made available after the completion of the work. This research is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council through the White Rose Doctoral Training Centre, and is in no way affiliated to any commercial organisation or local government body. If you have any questions or queries about this project please feel free to contact me using the information above.

Yours faithfully,

Appendix C: Menston Community Survey

Menston Community Survey 2015

This survey is about the residents of Menston; answers given here are highly appreciated and will be treated confidentially. If you would like to elaborate on any answers given, or have any questions about the project, please contact me via wp513@york.ac.uk.

1. How long have you lived in Menston?

2. In your own words, how would you describe Menston?

3. In a given week, what facilities and services that are based in Menston do you, or other members of your household, use? (Please tick as many as appropriate).

Local shops or services	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pubs/restaurants/takeaways	<input type="checkbox"/>
Child care facilities	<input type="checkbox"/>	Sports or social clubs	<input type="checkbox"/>
Schools	<input type="checkbox"/>	Place of worship	<input type="checkbox"/>
Community centre	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other:	<input type="checkbox"/>
Doctors surgery/dentists	<input type="checkbox"/>		

4. To what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
"Menston has a distinct sense of community "	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
"I like living in Menston"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
"Menston is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

a. In your own words, what do you think makes somewhere a community?

5. How strongly do you feel you belong to each of the following?

	Very strongly	Fairly strongly	Not very strongly	Not at all strongly	Don't know
Menston	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bradford	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Leeds	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
West Yorkshire	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
England	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Britain	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

a. In your own words, what makes you feel like you 'belong' in a place? For example, why might you answer 'very strongly' or 'not at all strongly' to the above question?

6. Generally speaking, would you like to be more involved in the decisions that affect your local area? (Please tick the appropriate statement).

Yes No Depends on the issue Don't know

- a. If it depends upon the issue, what kind of issues would you like to be more involved with or have you been involved with in the past?

7. Here are some things that people have said in other surveys about their local area and about their local authority (e.g. Bradford Metropolitan District Council). To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
"I can influence decisions that affect the local area"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
"By working together, people in Menston can influence decisions that affect the local area"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
"I feel well represented by community groups" (e.g. <i>Parish Council, Community Association, Action Groups, etc.</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
"I feel well represented by my local authority"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
"The local authority listens to the concerns of local residents"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8. Are there any additional comments you would like to make?



This final set of questions is about you and your household. Please feel free to ignore any questions you do not wish to answer.

I am: **male** **female**

I am aged: **16-24** **25-34** **35-44** **45-54** **55-64** **65-74** **75+**

Which of these terms best describes your accommodation?

I own my home	<input type="checkbox"/>	Rented from a housing association	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rented from a private landlord	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other:	
Rented from council	<input type="checkbox"/>		

How many people are in your household?

One	<input type="checkbox"/>	Four	<input type="checkbox"/>
Two	<input type="checkbox"/>	More than four	<input type="checkbox"/>
Three	<input type="checkbox"/>		

Of which dependents (e.g. children under 18):

Which of these best describes what you're doing at present?

Employee in full-time job	<input type="checkbox"/>
Employee in part-time job	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unemployed and available for work	<input type="checkbox"/>
Permanently sick/disabled	<input type="checkbox"/>
In full-time education	<input type="checkbox"/>
Self-employed (full or part-time)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wholly retired from work	<input type="checkbox"/>
Looking after the home	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other:	<input type="checkbox"/>

Current or former occupation:

I would like to participate in a follow up interview: **Yes** **No**

Name:

Preferred interview location (e.g. home, office, café, etc.):

.....

Contact telephone number:

Contact email address:

*Thank you for taking the time to complete the survey, please return using the envelope provided by
Friday 24th July 2015*

(A)

Appendix D: Menston residents information sheet

Menston residents information sheet

You have been invited to take part in a research project called '*Community and belonging in the peri-urban*', the project is run by Will Paterson of the Department of Sociology at the University of York. Below is some information about why the research is being undertaken, what your participation would involve and how you can contact me at a later date if you are interested in taking part.

What is the purpose of the study?

I am interested in how people who live in places, such as Menston, on the outskirts of large metropolitan areas experience where they live and what they have to say about it. Interviews primarily discuss the characteristics that people assign to where they live, to other residents and to the wider area. Interview data is looked at in comparison to a narrow sample of data from planning and development processes that shape the area, with an interest in the similarities and differences between the two types of discussion.

Do I have to take part?

It is entirely up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are free to withdraw at any time up until 3 months after the interview date when the data will have been analysed.

What will happen if I do take part?

We will set up an interview at a time and location that is convenient to you. Interviews typically last from 30 minutes to an hour.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

All interviews are treated with the utmost confidentiality; I will ask your agreement to digitally record the interview. These recordings and subsequent transcripts will be given a code that can only be linked to an individual by a list kept by myself in a locked filing cabinet at the University of York. Electronic and transcript data will be securely stored and made accessible only to me. If you request anonymity, any excerpts that are used for publication will be anonymised with any identifying information removed.

What will happen to the results of the research?

The research is part of a PhD project and will feature in any publications or conference presentations that result from this work, all interview data will be treated confidentially in these processes. These research outputs are intended to contribute to a better understanding and representation of people and places such as Menston. A summary of the work will be made available online.

Who is organising the study?

The research is being undertaken by Will Paterson, a PhD research student in the

Department of Sociology, University of York. It is overseen by Dr Gareth Millington. It has been approved by the University of York ELMPS ethics committee (see york.ac.uk/about/organisation/governance/sub-committees/ethics/elmps/ for more details). It is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council. It is not affiliated to any commercial bodies.

If you have any concerns about the research and how it has been conducted, please contact Dr Gareth Millington at Gareth.Millington@york.ac.uk.

If you would like to take part, or if you require any further details about the project, please contact me on:

Will Paterson

T: 01904 432632

E: wp513@york.ac.uk

Appendix E: EIP attendance dates and topics

Day 1: - 04.03.15

1. Introduction to the EIP process
2. Key aims of Plan
3. Fulfilling the duty to co-operate
4. Postponed policies
 - a. Gypsy and traveller planning
 - b. Minerals and waste management
5. Spatial vision

Day 3 – 06.03.15

6. SC5 location of developments
7. SC7 green belt

Day 4 – 10.03.15

8. SC8 South Pennine Moors
9. HO1 Scale of housing required

Day 5 – 11.03.15

10. HO2 Strategic Sources of Supply
11. HO3 Housing Distribution (4C)

Day 8 – 17.03.15

12. WD1-WD2 Subareas: Wharfedale

Day 9 – 18.03.15

13. HO4 Housing: Phasing and release of sites

Day 10 – 19.03.15

14. SC2 Climate Change
15. SC3 Working Together
16. SC6 Green Infrastructure
17. SC9 Making Places Great
18. TR1 Travel Reduction and Model Shift

Appendix F: Interview consent form

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS – ‘Community and belonging in the peri-urban’ study

The University of York attaches high priority to the ethical conduct of research. Please read the accompanying information sheet and/or listen to the explanation about the research provided by the person organising the project. If you have any questions regarding the research or the use of the data collected through the study, please do not hesitate to ask the researcher. We therefore ask you to consider the following points before agreeing to take part in this research project by signing below.

- You will be interviewed by the lead researcher, Will Paterson. This interview will be recorded and later transcribed.
- All data will be treated as personal under the 1998 Data Protection Act, and will be stored securely.
- A copy of your interview transcript will be provided to you, free of charge, upon request and completion of transcription.
- Your anonymity will be maintained in any resulting publications or presentations so that it will not be possible to identify you from these outputs.
- The research will be written up as a PhD thesis.
- The data may also be used in further research publications and conference presentations.
- If you decide at any time during the research that you no longer wish to participate in this project, you can withdraw immediately without giving any reason.
 - You can withdraw any data you have supplied up to 3 months after interview date.
- You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep and refer to.

Contact email: wp513@york.ac.uk

I confirm that I have freely agreed to participate in this research project. I have been briefed on what this involves and I agree to the use of the findings as described above. I understand that the material is protected by a code of professional ethics. I hereby assign copyright of my contribution to Will Paterson.

Participant signature:

Name:

Date:

I confirmed, for the project team that the undertakings in this contracts will be strictly adhered to.

Researcher signature:

Name:

Date:

Appendix G: Interview prompts

Interview prompts

[Context/interest: place, talk, localism, politics, identity, etc.]

- 1) Any questions/points to expand on from the survey?
- 2) Could you remind me, how long have you lived in the area?
 - a) What was it that brought you to Menston to begin with? / Why did you stay?
- 3) Could you tell me where Menston is?
 - a) Where are the boundaries of Menston?
- 4) [If not answered already] Could you describe the wider area?
 - a) Distinct/similar to surrounding area?
 - b) Have you moved within the village?
 - c) Do you get a different experience living in different parts of the village?
- 5) How would you describe people in Menston?
 - a) Do you chat to your neighbours much?*
 - b) How would you describe them?
 - c) Is there a 'sense of community' here?*
- 6) Do you like living here?
 - a) What keeps you here?
 - b) Is there anything you dislike?
 - c) Have they changed much?
- 7) How does Menston fit in/What's the relationship between Menston and the cities (Bradford/Leeds)?
 - a) What about down the A65, or into Wharfedale?
- 8) What do you think are the main short, medium and long-term issues facing the area?
 - a) How do you think these should be dealt with?
 - b) If you wanted to get involved in political decision making around these issues, do you know where you'd start?

Appendix H: Ethics approval

N.B.: ELMPS is the Economic, Law, Management, Politics and Sociology research committee.



William Paterson <will.paterson@york.ac.uk>

ELMPS decision

Lucia Quaglia <luca.quaglia@york.ac.uk>

30 April 2014 at 14:50

To: William Paterson <wp513@york.ac.uk>, Debbie Haverstock <debbie.haverstock@york.ac.uk>

Dear William

I am writing in my position as chair of the ELMPS committee, which has met today and has approved your ethics application.

kind regards

Lucia

--

Professor Lucia Quaglia
Department of Politics
University of York
York YO 10 5DD
The UK

Quaglia, L. (2014), *The European Union and Global Financial Regulation*, Oxford: OUP <http://ukcatalogue.oup.com/product/9780199688241.do>

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