

**Social Impact Assessment as a vehicle to better
understand and improve stakeholder participation
within urban development planning**

The Maltese Case

Steven Vella

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Birmingham City University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

November 2017

The Faculty of Computing, Engineering and the Built Environment
School of Engineering and the Built Environment
Birmingham City University

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of other. This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

“Knowledge is of no value unless you put it into practice”

-- (Attributed to) Anton Chekhov

“The Knowledge of the world is only to be acquired in the world, and not in a closet”

-- Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, *Letters to his Son* (1746)

*“Imagination is more important than knowledge.
For Knowledge is limited to all we now know and understand,
While imagination embraces the entire world,
and all there ever will be to know and understand”*

-- Albert Einstein (1931:97)

Abstract

Environmental decision-making situations are typically complex and chaotic, with confused political messages, conflicting agendas and limited account taken of the wider social contexts in which decisions are made and play out. Many different types of knowledges from diverse social actors, sometimes with different epistemological and ontological backgrounds, must be taken into account. In environmental and urban planning, these challenges are increasingly being addressed through the integration of public participation in Social Impact Assessments (SIA) to inform Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA).

Research on environmental governance suggests that direct public participation and integration of stakeholder concerns in the environmental decision-making process could reduce the potential for conflict and lead to “better” decisions. However, the mechanisms through which participation benefits decision-making processes are unclear and contested. Previous attempts to understand “what works” in participation have been confounded by the multifaceted interactions that exist between the different components of social-ecological systems and the often-unacknowledged influence of context. The context of participation includes the social norms of society at large, and of different social units or communities of practice, the political context in which participation is performed and integrated into practice in urban planning, and the environmental context in which decisions will play out. Most of the disciplines that have traditionally sought to understand stakeholder engagement in environmental decisions struggle to recognize or analyse the role of these underlying dynamics and context. However, without a better understanding of these deep dynamics and the contexts in which participation takes places, it becomes very difficult to explain why some processes meet their objectives while others fail, or produce unintended consequences.

This doctoral thesis makes empirical contributions to our understanding of stakeholder participation in urban development in Malta, and uses this case study research to generate methodological insights into best practices in stakeholder and public engagement and inter-professional collaboration in SIAs. Grounded in the analysis of the empirical data produced from the ethnographic experience of an applied anthropologist working as an SIA practitioner on three proposed urban development projects in Malta, the thesis differentiates between descriptive and explanatory factors to develop a typology and a theory of stakeholder and wider public engagement. The typology describes different types of public and stakeholder engagement based on agency (who initiates and leads engagement) and mode of engagement (from communication to co-production), while the theory explains much of the variation in outcomes from different types of engagement. This typology and theory is tested using empirical evidence from three Maltese SIA case studies, and then is further developed based on insights from case study findings and literature. It emphasises the roles of context and scale (especially temporal) in determining the initial choice of engagement type, and moves from an initial linear theoretical framework to one where the factors determining the outcomes of participation are framed as an interdependent, loosely nested set of factors, influencing one another along the planning life-cycle. This stresses the dynamic nature of the planning and decision-making process over time and across changing macro, meso and micro socio-cultural, political and geo-spatial contexts.

Finally, the thesis shows how applied anthropology and its practitioners can effectively combine critical social theory of complex systems with its application and pragmatic engagement with the contemporary problems of the social and physical environment, working and collaborating across disciplinary borders and blurring the lines between theory and practice. Anthropology and its methods can offer an alternative way to look at the world and the range of methodological approaches that anthropologists are trained in, especially qualitative data collection based on participant observation and ethnography provide that extra ‘edge’ to the analysis of the complex systems that urban and environmental conservation projects investigate, while building relationships that help increase positive outcomes of stakeholder involvement within such initiatives and projects.

I dedicate this doctoral thesis and the work that went into it to all those scholars with learning and invisible disabilities, especially those with ADHD or are neuro-atypical, aspiring to pursue research at PhD level. Do not let anybody tell you, directly or otherwise, that you cannot or are unable to undertake or successfully complete doctoral research. Being neuro-atypical is what liberates you to think out of the box and make those connections that would be less apparent from within it!

I also dedicate this thesis to the four people without whom this thesis would probably have never come to fruition:

The late Prof Jeremy Boissevain; mentor and friend. I will always treasure our conversations, his passion and humble disposition. My biggest disappointment is that I did not finish in time for him to see the fruits of his mentoring.

Prof Mark Reed, supervisor and mentor, who has believed in me and my research over the years; whose humility, inquisitive mind, respect and considering me as an equal so that we could challenge each other's ideas, helping us make the interdisciplinary connections to produce the Theory found within this thesis and encouraging me to further refine it.
Mark, without your unfailing support and mentoring, I would have never completed this thesis.

Kevin Morris, who kept pushing me to pursue doctoral research.

Assoc Prof Claudia Carter, who was indispensable during the final hurdles of the Doctoral journey.

And to the most important person in my life

My wife, life partner and my better half, who stood by me even during the darkest of times; You are my alpha and omega; The One Constant in my life; Without the strength of your love, rooted so strongly and deeply in our hearts., I wouldn't have had the strength to get here – I am blessed to have you by my side - I owe you everything.

Sara, this PhD Thesis is as much yours as it is mine.

Acknowledgements

As with all Doctoral theses, the work that goes into producing the final product is fraught with anguish, frustration, difficulties and challenges that seem insurmountable at the time. The moments of clarity, inspiration, discovery and the passion that convinced me to embark on this project become eclipsed by the moments of doubts, dread, anger and despair, most of which are ironically not caused by the research itself but the curveballs that life throws at you, making the project seem more like a long and painful exercise in damage control and trying to retain a semblance of sanity and not losing those closest to you. Maybe the curveballs are also part of the research process because doctoral research is a lengthy process, taking up a chunk of one's life. No wonder it is called a research journey. In my case, because of a number of those curveballs (to continue using the same metaphor) that hit me below the belt so hard that I fell to my knees several times, barely having the strength to make one more step forward.

It was during these moments of complete vulnerability that at least three people were always there to help me get back on my feet. Two of them, I have already highlighted, Sara and Mark, without whom I would not be writing this today. The third is Michael Deguara, whose unfaltering friendship, compassion, inquisitive mind and knowledge of bureaucracies, helped me navigate through some of the nightmares I was plodding through. Even before I got to know Mark's brilliant mind, Mike showed me how to connect themes that at first glance seemed completely alien to each other. Without knowing it, he was teaching me how to use my ADHD (Attention Deficit Hyperactive Disorder) neuro-atypical mind the way it was made to work and not trying to fit it in linear conceptual frameworks.

If it were not for Kathy Camilleri, I would probably have continued in vain to try and fit my research and writing style to that of an anthropology PhD thesis, even when my research proposal was clearly cross disciplinary. She practically forcibly 'shed my anthropological epistemological robe' to help me widen my field of vision to include what I had already been doing for years, both as an applied anthropologist working as an SIA practitioner and while discussing my cross-disciplinary arguments with Mark, during my time at the Aberdeen Centre for Environmental Sustainability (ACES), as we sipped some great Italian coffee!

After I got diagnosed with ADHD, the ADHD Malta Committee was instrumental to give me the strength and energy to continue working on my thesis. They were my *de facto* cheerleaders, cheering me on even when I was all banged up and bleeding on the side of the metaphorical playing field! I also thank them for introducing me to Joanna, whose patience, experience and expertise put me on a journey of self-discovery and was (and still is) instrumental at building self-awareness and growth as a person. With them I include the various therapists and Learning Disability experts both at the University of Aberdeen and Birmingham City University.

There are several other people who were there for me when needed. I cannot possibly mention them all but there are a few who jump out when I think of this chapter of my life.

Roberta, of course, who has been there for me for decades now; Phil offered friendship, pearls of wisdom and advice; interdisciplinary conversations on long walks, and his house nearly every time I went back to Aberdeen. Ditto to Ilse, we shared the pains and pleasures for a few years of the research journey through our friendship and mutual interest in photography. With François Guindon, I shared the pains and frustrations of interdisciplinary research and some lovely memories of the little village and the surrounding seascapes where he had chosen to make his home during his own PhD.

To Doug, may he rest in peace, taken away quite suddenly from his family, friends and his beloved Natalia. Both Doug and Natalia offered me their home when I needed a place to stay and their friendship made life in Aberdeen more sociable.

Shomik, Ruth and Tatiana (and her family), who were both sources of musical inspiration (that helped keep my sanity) and whose friendship, advice and generosity got me through some very difficult moments.

Academically, Dr Jo Vergunst, my very first PhD 1st supervisor at the University of Aberdeen: generous, patient and full of advice; Dr Martin Mills gave me a piece of advice that still resonates to this day – “*As an interdisciplinary project, you need to understand the hinterland of the various disciplines that intersect within your research.*” Prof Tim Ingold gave me a little gem right before leaving for fieldwork – “*Now forget all that we taught you here and start learning from those who you are going to study – they have the most to teach you.*”

Prof Judith Okely and Prof Paul Clough have been mentors and later, friends since my undergraduate days. I owe them much. If it were not for Prof Mark Falzon, who introduced me to SIAs, I would have never ended up here.

Together with Kevin Morris, all the team at ADI Associates, for their support, advice, patience and sharing with me their knowledge, expertise and experience.

At end of the long haul, during the tedious and time-consuming formatting of the thesis, especially the in-citations and bibliography, I must thank a few people who generously gave me their time, patience and expertise.

Without the help of the following four people I would probably not have managed to finalise the references and the thesis’s formatting. Nicole populated most of the reference library; Daniel helped me overcome a major in-citation setback; my mother helped double-check the long list of in-citations so that James, one of the BCU librarians, could help me format all the references, ensuring that the bibliography was complete and properly formatted in BCU Harvard style.

The real heroes of the final push were Elisa ‘Neq Neq’ Abela, my niece; my brother, Chris; my mother and as always, Sara. Without Elisa, the thesis would not have been finalised with the proper formatting by allowing me to work on her Windows laptop to overcome the cross-platform incompatibilities that were the cause of so much grief, frustration and months of waste of time. Thank you for helping your ‘Uncle Piano’ with the in-citations and bibliographic references, but most importantly, helping with the final formatting of the thesis. Your effort and time are even more appreciated given the timing - right before and after your first O’ Level exam! When her exams had to take precedence, my mother’s quick thinking enabled me to borrow another PC, with the help of my brother.

A final mention goes to Anna Sutherland, who helped improve the figures describing the ‘Wheel of Participation’, the Theory of Participation and the use of the framework as an *ex-ante* and *ex-post* analytical and methodological tool.

Without the generosity of the following, I would not have had the space (physical and mental) to concentrate on working on my research, its analysis and writing-up:

I start with Prof Mark Reed again, who, in the absence of a single office for me to work from, he generously offered to share his spacious office at ACES, while I was still at the University of Aberdeen. In Malta, Sandro Mangion, who, with the excuse of letting me house sit for him while he was abroad, gave me that invaluable space I needed to write the first draft of the thesis. The religious

organisation MUSEUM let me use one of their unused premises, which was for sale, as my office, until it was finally sold a year later. It was there that Kathy convinced me to write a more interdisciplinary thesis. My aunties, also members of the MUSEUM, who gave me permission to use their (personal) summer residence during a period when I really needed thinking space.

Finally, I will forever be grateful to Paola and Angelo, my in-laws, who not only accepted me (legally) as part of their family when I married their daughter, but showed it in action throughout the years. They generously made the sacrifice of staying in Malta with Sara while I worked from their home in Italy, so that for more than 6 months I could work undisturbed on my thesis. I would not have been able to do any work during that time if it were not for their generosity and understanding.

Equally, several people from the little Italian village of Acquaviva Picena, especially those working at the supermarket (Dante, Cristina, Franca e Ivana) who did not treat me as just another customer, but as Paola's son in-law, giving me advice on what to buy and how to cook it. Together with Gloria and zia Bettina; they all made sure I ate well and stayed healthy! Talking about health, if it were not for Alessandra, my physiotherapist in Italy, I would not have managed to restore movement to my thumb after two surgeries and type the pages that lay ahead!

I am equally indebted to my family: my parents, who supported me throughout the years, not just the PhD journey, but the way they brought me up, thirsty for knowledge and to look at the world and everything that is in it in different ways and notice the minutiae but with an open mind, starting from when my siblings and I were still young. Thank you for giving me the support I needed during the VIVA, by accompanying me and a special thanks to Michelle, my sister, for organising everything and keeping it together when the travel arrangements went south, so that we (especially me) did not have to stay worrying. To my aunties; Hilda, Mary and Evelyn, with their continued support, love and prayers.

Thanks to all the participants who gave so generously of their time during interviews and workshops for this research, including those, who in anthropology are called *informants*. One person in particular probably put me on the path that led to this body of work... Joe... if it was not for that first unbelievable encounter at your fields all those years ago, we probably would not have embarked on that long journey of mutual discovery!

'He' might not be aware of it, but all those hours my cat *Misu* spent on a chair in my home office keeping me company, helped tremendously at not feeling completely alone. I wish I had taken a photo of the quizzical look on his face as I paced around the room talking to myself, trying to make sense of it all!

Finally, to the beautiful Italian landscape; probably my biggest source of inspiration; as I gazed out of the window from my desk in my in-laws' living room (which I share with you with the photograph below). Those walks in the countryside surrounding Acquaviva Picena helped me remain sane, miss Sara less and get over those horrid moments of writer's block!



© 2016 Steven Vella

Funding

This research was funded by the Aberdeen Centre for Environmental Sustainability (ACES), a Wenner-Gren Fund grant, two CASS Conference funding awards (University of Aberdeen), the Principal's Excellence Fund (University of Aberdeen), the IAIA student programme and Birmingham City University. Fast Track Impact Ltd. provided the funds for the upgrading of IT hardware.

PhD Publications

Parts of this thesis have been published in book chapters and reports, on which I was sole or lead author with minor inputs from co-authors (full list below). I was second author on the journal paper, in recognition of the significance of my input to all stages of the research and writing process, with all co-authors other than the lead author playing a minor role (as disclosed under “author contributions” in the article):

International peer-reviewed journals

Reed, M. S., **Vella, S.**, Challies, E., de Vente, J., Frewer, L., Hohenwallner-Ries, D., Huber, T., Neumann, R. K., Oughton, E. A., Sidoli del Ceno, J., van Delden, H. (2017a) A theory of participation: What makes stakeholder and public engagement in environmental management work? *Restoration Ecology*. Available at: <https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/rec.12541>.

(Author contributions: MSR and SV led the research and writing; SV, JSDC, RKN, JDV, EC, LF, HVD contributed to the literature review; SV, TH, DHR, LO contributed to the theoretical framework)

Book chapters

Vella, S. and Borg, M. (2010) Integrate plurality of landscapes and public involvements into Maltese environmental policy. In: S. Koerner and I. Russell, eds. *Unquiet Pasts: Risk society, lived cultural heritage, re-designing reflexivity*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, pp. 193-208.

(Author contributions: SV led the research and writing; MB contributed to the section on Cultural Heritage Assessments, the discussion section and the general layout of the chapter. MB also reviewed and proof-read the final version of the chapter)

Vella, S. (2017) Contested values and perceptions of urban landscapes in Malta: reconceptualising environmental assessment. In: G. Pungetti, ed. *Island Landscapes: An expression of European culture*. London: Routledge, pp. 257-266.

Other publications

Conference Proceedings Peer Reviewed Publications:

Vella, S., Reed, M.S. and Attlee, A. (2015a) Lessons learnt from SIA in Malta: the influence of local context and disciplinary background on the implementation of SIA in EU Member States. *IAIA / 5 Conference Proceedings: Impact Assessment in the Digital Era*. Florence, Italy, 20-23 April.

(Author contributions: SV and MSR (as 1st supervisor) led the research and writing; AA contributed to the literature review)

Vella, S., Reed, M. S., Sidoli del Ceno, J. and Attlee, A. (2015b) SIA, participation and meditation on the ground. *IAIA15 Conference Proceedings: Impact Assessment in the Digital Era*. Florence, Italy, 20-23 April.

(Author contributions: SV and MSR (as 1st supervisor) led the research and writing; JSDC and AA contributed to the literature review)

Scientific Reports (Used for the case studies in this Doctoral thesis):

Vella, S. (2011) *Social Study for PA 02342/06 (GF 00121/06)*. In: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants Ltd.. *Master Plan for the Magħtab Environmental Complex. Environmental Impact Statement Update prepared in support of development permit Application No. PA 02342/06, Technical Appendices, Appendix 7*. San Gwann, Malta: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants Ltd.

Vella, S. (2012) *Population study for PA 03883/08 & PA 03758/09*. In: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants Ltd.. *Reconstruction and Upgrading of Coast Road from Junction Na11 to Na10 & Widening and Realignment of Coast Road from Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, Naxxar to St Paul's Bay. Environmental Planning Statement prepared in support of development permit Applications PA 03883/08 & PA 03758/09, Technical Appendices, Appendix 7*. San Gwann, Malta: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants Ltd.

Vella, S. (2013) *Population study for PA 04905/10*. In: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants Ltd.. *Development of Coastal Defences Against Wave Incidence on Shore for Marsalforn Bay, Marsalforn, Żebbuġ, Gozo. Environmental Impact Assessment prepared in support of the permit Application PA 04905/10, Technical Appendices, Appendix 6*. San Gwann, Malta: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants Ltd.

Abbreviations

AAA	American Anthropological Association
ACES	Aberdeen Centre for Environmental Sustainability, University of Aberdeen
Aol or A of I	Area of Influence
ASA	Association of Social Anthropologists
B&Bs	Bed and Breakfast (Small lodging establishments, part of the tourism industry)
BMT	Biological-Mechanical Treatment (Plant)
C&SE	Civic & Stakeholder Engagement
CE	Civic Engagement
CH	Chapter
CHA	Cultural Heritage Assessment
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CS	Civil Society
CRU	Coast Road Upgrade
CVA	Citizen Values Assessment
EAA	European Association of Archaeologists
EA or IA	Environmental Assessment; Impact Assessments
EC	European Commission
e.g.	for example
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EIS	Environmental Impact Statement / Study
ELC	European Landscape Convention
EMC	Environmental Management Complex
EPS	Environmental Planning Statement
eNGO	Environmental Non-Governmental Organisation
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
EU	European Union
GIS	Geographic Information System
GTA	Gozo Tourism Association
IA	Impact Assessment
IAIA	Association for Impact Assessment
IAPA	Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal Journal
IAPs	Interested and Affected Parties
ICT	Information and Communication Technology

IDR	Inter-Disciplinary Research
IMT	Independent Mass Tourists / Tourism
IT	Information Technology
LC	Local Council
I/o	Limits of
MBT	Mechanical-Biological Treatment (Plant)
MEPA	Malta Environment and Planning Authority
NEPA	National Environmental Policy Act
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
MOOC	Massive Open Online Course
NTS	Non-Technical Summary
OMT	Organised Mass Tourism or Tourists (if OMTs)
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
par./pars.	paragraph/s
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PDS	Project Description Statement
PPGIS	Public Participatory Geographic Information System
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RG	ResearchGate (Website)
SA	Social Accountability
SBS	Social Baseline Study
SEA	Strategic Environmental Assessment
SEP	Stakeholder Engagement Plan
SfAA	Society for Applied Anthropology
SIA	Social Impact Assessment
SIMP	Social Impact Management Plan
STP	Situational Theory of Publics
STOPS	Situational Theory of Problem Solving
TEN-T	Trans-European Networks- Transport
TM	Transport Malta
TOR / ToR	Terms of Reference (both are used interchangeably depending on who writes the report or which abbreviation is used in the PDS.)
WFD	Water Framework Directive
WoS	Web of Science
WSM	WasteServ Ltd

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 Introducing Public & Stakeholder Participation; Environmental & Social Assessments; and Urban Development	1
1.1 Multi-dimensional approaches to multi-dimensional problems: what role for anthropology?	1
1.2 Challenges for stakeholder participation in urban planning.....	3
1.3 The focus of this thesis.....	8
1.4 Contributions and research questions	18
1.5 The structure of this thesis	20
Chapter 2 Literature Review.....	23
2.1 Introduction.....	23
2.2 SIA in the context of the EU and Malta.....	25
2.2.1 SIA implementation in EU member states	25
2.2.2 The Maltese experience of SIAs	28
2.3 Environmental and Social Impact Assessments (EIAs and SIAs)	31
2.3.1 Defining Strategic, Environmental and Social Impact Assessments	31
2.3.2 Critiques of SIA	38
2.3.3 The messy business of EIA within the planning process	41
2.4 Explaining Participation.....	43
2.4.1 Defining publics, stakeholders and participation.....	43
2.4.2 Participation as design.....	51
2.4.3 Participation as mediation.....	58
2.4.4 Participation as the management of power.....	61
2.4.5 Participation as interdisciplinary and cultural discourse	66
2.4.6 Participation as context.....	79
2.4.7 Participation as democracy	83
2.5 Conclusion: An anthropological approach to the study of participation.....	90

Chapter 3 Methods	95
3.1 Research design	95
3.1.1 Introduction: ethnography, the ethnographic method, applied anthropology and practitioner research.....	95
3.1.2 Positionality and ethics	100
3.1.3 Case study selection.....	103
3.2 Fieldwork methods	110
3.2.1 Introduction to fieldwork methods	110
3.2.2 Phase 1: Scoping, understanding the issues and gaining access.....	121
3.2.3 Phase 2: Understand the social environment within the social AoI	124
3.2.4 Phase 3: Stakeholder participation	126
3.2.5 Phase 4: Analyse and implement.....	127
3.2.6 Phase 5: Participant observation throughout the whole fieldwork period.....	128
3.3 Limitations during the fieldwork for the three Baseline Studies	134
3.3.1 Temporality, logistics and the TOR.....	134
3.3.2 The Role of the fieldworker and issues of trust.....	135
3.4 Conclusion	136
Chapter 4 Case Study Background.....	139
4.1 Introduction.....	139
4.2 Overview of the Localities and Stakeholders found within the Areas of Influence of the Case Studies.....	140
4.2.1 Overview of the Localities of the Magħtab and Coast Road Case Studies	141
4.2.2 The Marsalforn Case Study – Overview of the village of Marsalforn, Gozo.....	159
4.2.3 Overview of Stakeholder groups, populations and social categories for the three case studies	165
4.3 Case Study I: The Magħtab Environmental Complex Case study - A case of ‘tokenism’ or ‘passive participation’; and ‘self-mobilisation’	177
4.3.1 Background to the case study	177
4.3.2 Description of stakeholders for the Magħtab case study	184

4.4	Case study 2: Coast Road Upgrade - a case of participation by consultation and a degree of collaborative consultation and social learning.....	191
4.4.1	Background to the case study	191
4.4.2	Description of stakeholders for the Coast Road case study	198
4.5	Case Study 3: The Marsalforn Breakwater - A case of movement from passive participation and conflict to participation by consultation and a degree of social learning	213
4.5.1	Background to the case study	213
4.5.2	Description of stakeholders for Marsalforn case study	218
4.6	Conclusion	229
Chapter 5 The effect of lifestyles and values on the perceived impacts of three Maltese proposed urban developments: A descriptive analysis taken from the social studies for their environmental assessments		231
5.1	Introduction	231
5.2	The Magħtab Environmental Complex (The Magħtab Case Study)	234
5.2.1	Contestation of place	236
5.2.2	Attitudes, values and the experience of change	237
5.2.3	Perceived effects of the Scheme	249
5.2.4	Recommendations made by users of the Aol	249
5.3	The Coast Road Upgrade (CRU) Case Study	252
5.3.1	The centrality of the Coast Road to lifestyle	256
5.3.2	Values at work: Push and pull factors	257
5.3.3	Present values and attitudes towards the coast road	259
5.3.4	Summary of factors that contribute to lifestyle	260
5.3.5	Perceived effects of the Coast Road Upgrade	261
5.3.6	Recommendations made by stakeholders	262
5.4	The Marsalforn Coastal Defences Case Study	262
5.4.1	Values and lifestyles	266
5.4.2	Perception of community and community values	268
5.4.3	Perception of the Scheme and its effects	277

5.4.4	Recommendations made by interviewees and their perceived (social) effects.....	279
5.4.5	Concluding observations and recommendations made by the researchers.....	282
5.5	Conclusion	283
Chapter 6 A Typology and Theory of Participation		285
6.1	Introduction	285
6.2	The wheel of participation: A new typology to describe stakeholder and public engagement.....	287
6.3	A Theory of Participation	293
6.3.1	Context.....	295
6.3.2	Design	295
6.3.3	Power	296
6.3.4	Scalar fit.....	297
6.4	Evaluating the typology and theory of participation using three Maltese case studies	298
6.4.1	Describing the case studies using the Wheel of Participation	300
6.4.2	Evaluating the Theory of Participation using the three case studies	313
6.5	Conclusion	338
Chapter 7 Moving beyond a linear model of the Theory of Participation		345
7.1	From a linear concept to a life cycle set of nested interdependent factors.....	345
7.2	The pervasive role of context: Context as multi-dimensional.....	346
7.3	A more multi-tiered, dynamic lifecycle approach.....	348
7.4	Analysing the role context at multiple scales.....	353
7.5	Institutionalising and operationalizing the theory.....	357
7.6	Overcoming contextual barriers to engagement	363
7.7	Inter-professional trust	366
7.8	Conclusion: Lessons for inter-professional collaboration and SIA	369
Chapter 8 Conclusions, reflections and further research		373
8.1	Introduction.....	373
8.2	What makes public and stakeholder engagement work in SIAs?.....	374
8.3	How do flows of knowledge between disciplines, professions and stakeholders influence spatial planning decisions?	376

8.4	How is public and stakeholder engagement enacted and perceived in SIAs for urban developments?	378
8.5	Further research	380
8.6	Final Thoughts	385
Bibliography		389
List of Appendices (On Accompanying CD).....		443
Appendix I – Published Papers and Book Chapters that are included in the thesis		
Appendix II – Interview key for baseline study qualitative semi-structured interviews		
Appendix III – The Project Description Statements (PDS) for the 3 Case Studies		
Appendix IV - Limitation sections of the three baseline studies		
Appendix V - Magħtab Case Study Ancillary Documents		
Appendix VI - Coast Road Upgrade (CRU) Case Study Ancillary Documents		
Appendix VII - Marsalforn Case Study Ancillary Documents		
Appendix VIII - Additional Baseline Studies for reference		
Appendix IX - Guiding Tables - Grandvoinnet et al. (2015: 131-145)		

Figures

Figure 1.1: Aerial view of the Maltese urban landscape.....	11
Figure 1.2: The four maps show the position of the Archipelago of Malta in the Mediterranean (bottom map) and following the arrows, maps of the three case studies that will be investigated in this thesis.	16
Figure 2.1: The Phases of Social Impact Assessment.....	35
Figure 2.2: SIA can be applied at all phases of a project cycle.....	37
Figure 2.3: Three models of participation (Arnstein, 1969; Eyben, 2003; Wilcox, 1994) are summarized using the common visual metaphor of the ladder.....	50
Figure 2.4: Citizen Engagement as the interplay of five constitutive elements.	87
Figure 4.1: The Localities skirting the coast road, including Magħtab	143
Figure 4.2: Locality Boundaries for the Magħtab Social Study.....	151
Figure 4.3: Land Use and localities for the Coast Road Social / Population Study	152
Figure 4.4: Overlay of Aol for Magħtab study and the larger Aol for the Coast Road study.....	153
Figure 4.5: Coast Road Social Study land use - Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, Magħtab, Burmarrad and St. Paul's Bay areas	154

Figure 4.6: Coast Road Study Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and Pembroke areas	155
Figure 4.7: The archaeological sites, including the salini	158
Figure 4.8: The Area of Influence for the Marsalforn Coastal Defences Infrastructure Scheme Proposal (The Marsalforn Case Study). Note that the Scheme's boundary, in red, shows the original plan for an underwater breakwater, which was later changed.....	164
Figure 4.9: Magħtab landfill with Magħtab hamlet with farms and villas side by side.....	178
Figure 4.10: One of the proposed projects for the rehabilitation and establishment of a park instead of the Magħtab landfill	178
Figure 4.11: Magħtab and Għallies landfills with Qawra in the background, one of the most frequented tourist areas in Malta.....	180
Figure 4.12: Master Plan for the Area as described in the PDS.....	183
Figure 4.13: Land Use Map within the Social Aol for Magħtab and the surrounding localities	185
Figure 4.14: The Coast Road upgrade - in red.....	192
Figure 4.15. Route 1 of the TEN-T, spanning Malta and Gozo. The Coast Road section of the route to be upgraded is marked in blue.	194
Figure 4.16: The present road network showing Salini Park and Kennedy Drive, together with the proposed realigned road. Notice the agricultural land adjacent to the camping site.	195
Figure 4.17: The proposed road realignment and the linked Salini Park.....	196
Figure 4.18: Photo of the Marsalforn promenade being battered by the waves in 2012.	214
Figure 4.19: Photo showing a wave battering onto the promenade and the restaurants. Photo taken during fieldwork, December 2011.....	214
Figure 4.20: The sea swell at the bay, the morning after the storm. Photo taken during fieldwork, December 2011.....	215
Figure 4.21: The stakeholders and the French consultant discussing the presentation that he had just made, during the 2nd stakeholder meeting in December 2012	217
Figure 4.22: Present and Surrounding Land Uses found at Marsalforn in 2011.	229
Figure 6.1: The wheel of participation (updated version for this thesis from the original that was published in Reed et al., 2017a).....	292
Figure 6.2: A theory of participation that explains how the outcomes of stakeholder and public engagement in environmental management are explained by context, process design, the management of power dynamics and scalar fit.....	294
Figure 6.3: Describing the Magħtab stakeholder groups one-to-one meetings.....	301

Figure 6.4: Describing the stakeholder ‘general public’ ‘town hall’ style meetings during the Maghtab SBS.	303
Figure 6.5: Describing two groups of stakeholder exercises during the CRU SBS.	306
Figure 6.6: Describing the Organised ‘one-to-one’ meetings with particular stakeholder groups during the CRU SBS <i>without</i> the presence of the Project Manager.	307
Figure 6.7: The First Marsalforn ‘town hall’ style meeting as it was designed by the ‘agency’.	309
Figure 6.8: The First Marsalforn ‘town hall’ style meeting after the shift in power dynamics, where the stakeholders made themselves heard.	310
Figure 6.9: The 2 nd Marsalforn Case Study ‘town hall’ style meeting.	311
Figure 6.10: The ‘one-to-one’ meetings with stakeholder groups (official and unofficial organisations), broadly speaking for the three case studies, as described by the Wheel of Participation.	312
Figure 6.11: The Theory and Wheel of Participation used together as an ex-ante and ex-post framework.	338
Figure 6.12: From ex-ante theoretical analysis to ex-post methodological analysis to ex-ante analysis of future participatory episodes taking into account the outcome of the previous participatory episode.	343
Figure 7.1: Citizen Engagement as the interplay of five elements.	349
Figure 7.2: Heterogeneous Categories of the State and Civil Society.	351
Figure 7.3: Overlapping State and Civil Society Institutions.	351
Figure 7.4: Main “Macro” Contextual Factors for Social Accountability Effectiveness.	352
Figure 7.5: Summarizing an Archetypical Institutional Landscape in Countries where Space for Citizen-State Engagement is Formally Constrained.	352
Figure 7.6: The Analytical Framework of Social Accountability and its Contextual Drivers.	353
Figure 7.7: Assessing Drivers of State and Citizen Action.	355
Figure 7.8: Assessing and Supporting Drivers of Information, Interface, and Civic Mobilization.	356
Figure 7.9: ‘Trickling down and evaporating up’, the various relationships between different planning levels, decisions and environmental assessments that can be seen in planning practice, as described by Arts et al. (2005: 4).	359
Figure 7.10: Considering the Macro and Meso contextual factors when using the Theory and Wheel of Participation ex-ante - ex-post evaluation to future ex-ante analysis framework.	361

Tables

Table 2.1: Inclusion of social impacts identified in European Commission Impact Assessment Guidelines in Member State guidelines.....	27
Table 2.2: Public Participation Techniques. (Adapted from Sadler et al., 2002: 186-187)	55
Table 3.1: Case Studies Selection Criteria.....	109
Table 3.2: Methodology table showing main phases and tasks in the research (and how these map onto the phases suggested by Vanclay et al. (2015: 8), in Box 3.1)	113
Table 4.1: Overview of the Localities within the Area of Influence of the Magħtab and the Coast Road Case Studies, organised by Local Councils.....	144
Table 4.2: Overview of Marsalforn Locality for the Marsalforn Case Study	160
Table 4.3: Overview of Stakeholder groups, populations and social categories for the three case studies.....	166
Table 4.4: Description of the Populations constituent stakeholder groups found within the Area of Influence (A of I/AoI) of the Magħtab Case Study	186
Table 4.5: Detailed Description of the Stakeholders, grouped as 'Populations' within the sociospace or social landscape of the A of I of the Coast Road Upgrade	201
Table 4.6: Overlapping social groups of interviewees (total interviewed = 95).....	219
Table 4.7: Overview of the Social Landscape found at Marsalforn	223
Table 5.1: A list of the relevant Sections and subsections of the Magħtab Baseline Study (Technical Appendix 7 of the EIS, found in Appendix IV of this thesis (accompanying CD) with their relative paragraphs and page numbers.	234
Table 5.2: A summary of the lifestyle values and activities described by the stakeholders within the populations found at the localities within the A of I of the Magħtab Case Study and how they interact (positively or negatively, if at all) with the stakeholders.....	241
Table 5.3: A list of the relevant Sections and subsections of the Coast Road Upgrade Social Baseline Study (Technical Appendix 7), found in Appendix VI of this thesis (accompanying CD) with their relative paragraphs and page numbers.	254
Table 5.4: A list of the relevant Sections and subsections of the Marsalforn Social Baseline Study (Technical Appendix 6), found in Appendix VII of this thesis (accompanying CD) with their relative paragraphs and page numbers.....	264
Table 5.5: Lifestyle Values and Activities of the stakeholder groups found within the Populations of Marsalforn (Consisting of different sociopheres found within the various populations).....	273

Chapter 1

Introducing Public & Stakeholder Participation; Environmental & Social Assessments; and Urban Development

This first chapter outlines the key challenges and areas of interest that gave rise to this PhD thesis. The first two sections provide an overview of the dominant themes and thereby offer some explanatory background to the rationale for this dissertation. The specific focus of this PhD thesis is then addressed in Section 1.3 with the key contributions outlined in Section 1.4 and the overall structure of the thesis explained in Section 1.5.

1.1 Multi-dimensional approaches to multi-dimensional problems: what role for anthropology?

Environmental problems and attempts to address them are typically complex and uncertain, spanning and affecting multiple actors and agencies, with linkages and processes operating on different scales of temporality and spatiality or geographies (Abram, 2011; 2014; Abram and Waldren, 1998; Chess et al., 1998; Cornwall, 2008; Dietz and Stern, 2008; Healey, 2003; 2006; 2010; Liu et al., 2007; Liu et al., 2010; 2011; Pollock et al., 2012; Prell et al., 2008; 2009; Whitfield et al., 2011). In Europe, for example, promulgated by EU funding programmes and their agendas, an increasingly audit oriented-culture promotes identifiable decision steps to be rational, structured into objectives, indicators and outputs (Vella et al., 2015a). However, decision-making situations (Abram, 2011), or 'episodes' as Healey (2003; 2006) calls them, are anything but rational or linear; they are complex and chaotic with confused political messages, partial societal conditions and conflicting agendas (Rist, 1998: 150). These are further complicated by the different types of knowledges coming from many social actors, sometimes with different epistemological and ontological backgrounds with ambiguous and/or competing meanings (Raymond et al., 2010). These backgrounds and meanings combine with power structures and dynamics between the various actors to influence equal representation of

stakeholders¹, social justice and equity in decision-making (Davidson, 1998; Dietz and Stern, 2008; Healey, 2006; Scott, 1998; Shore and Wright, 2005).

There is a growing body of literature exploring stakeholder participation² in environmental decision-making processes, both theoretical and empirical, spanning disciplinary boundaries. These include political and economic geography; urban, environmental and spatial planning; urban regeneration; water and resource management. One must appreciate the cross-disciplinarity and overlap that exists between these disciplines. This overlap also stresses the importance to acknowledge epistemological pluralism and recognises the role of interdisciplinary research of complex environmental issues (Miller et al., 2008). Interdisciplinary fields such as the environmental sciences are increasingly including societies as an integral part of ecological systems (rather than societies simply being one of the ‘culprits’ of ecological system change or degradation) (Berkes et al., 2008; Folke, 2006; Folke et al., 2003; Walker et al., 2004). These have shifted their attention to the social component of ecological systems and the relationships of the social actors involved in environmental management. Other disciplines that are contributing to these debates include risk management, alternative dispute resolution and literature on grass-roots justice (e.g. Brandt, 1995; McEvoy and McGregor, 2008), diplomacy and the political sciences (e.g. deliberative democracy).

For example, alternative dispute resolution has drawn on Winston’s (1981) “principles of social ordering” to identify different ways of engaging with stakeholders to tackle conflicts, ranging from adjudication through formal justice systems to more informal, mediated solutions. Fuller (1971) argued that more informal, mediated solutions are usually more appropriate to the sorts of polycentric disputes (where there are multiple parties and multiple

¹ I define stakeholders as individuals or groups within the Area of Influence (A of I / Aol, defined in next section) of a proposed project (in the context of this thesis, projects are usually of an urban nature) who knowingly or unknowingly either will be affected by said proposed project or have an interest in the project for whatever reason. For example, I also include those individuals or groups who wilfully state that they do not want to get involved, such as when asked to be interviewed during the Social Impact Assessment (SIA) during the planning phase of the proposed project (see Section 2.4.1, p. 43 for a discussion of this definition and the distinction between stakeholders and publics).

² As with stakeholders, the term participation can be interpreted in many ways and is often interchanged with words such as involvement or engagement, which are similar but different. For this thesis, I define participation as stakeholders who choose to get involved with the planning and / or decision-making process of proposed development projects, depending on the many factors that allow for such participation, directly or indirectly. The different types of participation, other terms that are usually associated with it and the theoretical frameworks that govern such participation will be discussed in Chapters 2, 6, and 7 while case study material will be described in Chapter 4 and analysed in Chapters 5 and 6.

interests) that typically characterise environmental decision-making processes. Such “justice from below” can empower voices but are often not heard in traditional approaches to conflict resolution, for example women (Alberstein, 2009; Cobb, 1993). This literature draws on anthropological accounts of “traditional” justice systems around the world (Moore, 2000; 2004; Nader and Todd, 1978), including many non-western methods and approaches to conflict resolution (e.g. Pospisil, 1971). These studies significantly enrich Western-dominated discourses about stakeholder participation in the academic literature from other disciplines, providing examples of radically different approaches to stakeholder engagement and conflict resolution (e.g. Goh, 2001).

Anthropology, especially the American tradition of applied anthropology, has long been exploring these issues, especially from a practical standpoint in social appraisals of environmental assessments, advocacy, urban and community assessments; rural appraisals and so forth (Ervin, 2005; Irvin, 2005; Van Willigen, 2002). Many of these connected themes related to the relationship between the environment and culture have been explored in mainstream anthropology, surfacing in ethnographic and theoretical works on identity, space and place, the environment, and the study of policy, governance, power, justice, poverty and equity. Traditionally, these insights have resided in the anthropology of development, previously more in a ‘third world’ context, while more recently, this literature has finally started to focus on the West, including both Europe and America (see Section 2.4.5, p. 66).

1.2 Challenges for stakeholder participation in urban planning

The complexity of environmental problems makes stakeholder and public participation or involvement difficult (see Section 2.4.1, p. 43), be it in conservation projects, resource management, urban and spatial planning, strategic planning or other contexts (Reed et al., 2017a). However, research suggests that “stakeholder participation can enhance the quality of environmental decisions by considering more comprehensive information inputs” (Reed, 2008: 2417) and should be “early substantive, and continuous... during all phases of the environmental assessment and project implementation” (Shepherd and Bowler, 1997: 733–734).

In reality, this may not always happen. Experience in disaster and risk management, together with studies on stakeholder involvement in urban planning, urban regeneration, and environmental sustainability, especially in water management, has shown that grassroots involvement can also be counterproductive, not just at high-level strategic policy making but

at different temporal, spatial and bureaucratic levels of governance and during operationalisation (i.e. implementation) of policies (Abram, 2011; Abram and Waldren, 1998; Berglund, 1998; Dietz and Stern, 2008; Forester, 1989; Healey, 2006; Kelman, 2008; Whitfield et al., 2011). This is because the bottom line of any planning process is a political power 'game' that tries to balance the intricate social relations between the different actors involved, negotiating in both official and unofficial ways and spaces, which can lead to unexpected results, depending on the contexts of the planning 'episodes,' a term Healey (2003; 2006) uses for individual projects to emphasise that they are one planning instance within a broader urban planning process or strategy. I find this concept also very useful in terms of participatory processes, where one participation exercise is just one 'episode' in a process, not a 'stand-alone'.

It will be shown during the course of this thesis that the outcomes of individual participatory episodes can affect future episodes during, for example, the SIA process. Paradoxically, the argument that SIA can be a means to enhance participation has been in the literature since the 1980s (Meidinger and Schnaiberg, 1980), but as Dietz (1987: 55) critically points out, they do not offer any detailed methods to enhance participation. While the two concepts have increasingly been noted in academic research on various types of planning, it is rarely examined in actual projects (Vella and Borg, 2010: 193-194), and if they are, these are case studies mostly written by practitioners or buried in technical reports that are rarely brought to the attention of more mainstream academic enquiry (Dietz and Stern, 2008; Irvin, 2005). As a result, longitudinal studies of environmental assessments or their individual components to empirically evaluate trends to improve methods, scope and processes of such assessments are lacking, with no centralised repository of reports that practitioners and researchers could access (Taylor et al., 1995, cited in Becker and Vanclay, 2003: 13). Until recently, one of the main resources for IA practitioners, the IAIA peer-reviewed International journal, IAPA, was only available to IAIA members, and was not considered as a fully approved academic journal in the applied sciences (IAIA, 2015).³

At the same time, stakeholders rarely, if ever, get involved without an agenda of their own, however well-intentioned they might be. This can have either beneficial or damaging effects on the decision-making process (Conrad et al., 2011a; Dietz and Stern, 2008), which is why

³ The journal has now been included in the Thomson Reuters ISI/Web of Science (WoS) and obtained its first RG Impact Factor of 1.60 in 2016 (ResearchGate, 2018).

many urban planners and decision makers remain reticent, unsure or even against involving stakeholders throughout the decision-making process, except within the confines of the legal duties/frameworks of such processes (Conrad et al., 2011a). Stakeholder and public perceptions can be fraught with biases, anecdotal evidence, false assumptions about resource interactions with the environment, and sensation (Okrent, 1998). This is partly due to the use of information and its distribution among the participating social actors (Forester, 1989; Healey, 2006) which is a source of power in its own right, and a result of the lack of legitimisation of different types of knowledges amongst non-specialist or scientific sources or participants (Dietz and Stern, 2008; Reed et al., 2010; Whitfield et al., 2011). Commentators and theoreticians have tended to either look at the methods used in grass-roots participatory practices or higher-level engagement in the implementation of policies and governance models (Cooke and Kothari, 2002). In contrast to this, Vella and Borg (2010) propose that stakeholder involvement needs to be integrated, beyond current legal consultation duties, in project-level decision-making processes of proposed development schemes, rather than just at strategic or policy-oriented levels, i.e. at large territorial long-term plans to either implement policy or to improve upon them, without properly assessing the effects that such strategies and policies will have at more localised levels (what is usually referred to the 'meso' and the 'micro' as opposed to the 'macro').

Related to this, there is a growing appreciation of the need for more democratic decentralisation and collaborative planning (Chapter 2), especially at regional and local levels, where existing social relations and the ability to perceive the politicised complexities in these processes could facilitate and improve public and stakeholder participation (Healey, 2006; Ioris, 2012; Pares, 2012; Whitfield et al., 2011). Democratic decentralisation or collaborative planning are not always possible to reach or sustain and it depends much on the kind of democracy a country has and how that democracy is enacted both at institutional or governance level and on the ground, within civil society (Abram, 2011; Faguet, 2014; Faguet and Pöschl, 2015).

Nonetheless integrating social, economic and environmental values into spatial, urban and environmental planning decisions requires the input of those stakeholders whose interests and values are affected by the decision options, if they are to be successfully integrated (Dietz and Stern, 2008; Kunreuther, 1996; Reed, 2010). In many instances, these interests and values are considered so obvious that agencies, guided primarily by scientific knowledge, tend to act on the behalf of what they perceive as the 'common good', without taking into consideration

and analysing whether or not their assumptions and action are in accordance with the actual needs and concerns of the communities they serve (Chess, 1998). At the same time, critical analyses of projects that included public or stakeholder involvement have shown that despite drawing on an increasingly diverse knowledge base, there remains a predominant preference for scientific information and knowledge production. Such top-down processes and complex social relations continue to undermine attempts at stakeholder participation, collaborative planning and governance efforts, even when stakeholder involvement has become mandatory through institutionalisation, through EU directives such as the ELC (Council of Europe, 2000); the WFD Directive (European Commission, 2000) and the Aarhus Convention (UNECE, 1998) (Conrad, 2012; Conrad et al., 2011a; 2011b; Vella et al., 2015a). In fact, empirical examples show that public and stakeholder involvement in many planning contexts remain mostly consultative at best (Abram and Waldren, 1998; Cornwall, 2008; Vella and Borg, 2010). However, it is now generally understood in most pluralistic societies that using scientific knowledge alone as a benchmark for the 'common good' is no longer justifiable, as the importance of community interests are increasingly recognised (Abram, 2011; Collins and Ison, 2006; Cornwall, 2008; Dietz and Stern, 2008; Healey, 2006; Raymond et al., 2010). In some planning contexts, this has been underscored by NGOs and other organised or semi-organised groups, who get actively involved in decision-making processes, whether they are invited to participate or not, often using mass media (and increasingly social media) to exert influence over decisions and secure a place at the decision-making table (Abram, 2011; Abram and Waldren, 1998; Berglund, 1998; Healey, 2006). While such interventions do not always influence decisions (or lead to their retraction when such decisions are considered by such groups as being detrimental for society or the environment), debate is at least generated and decisions are subjected to greater public scrutiny than would otherwise have taken place (Abram and Waldren, 1998; Berglund, 1998; Boissevain and Theuma, 1998; Milton, 1993). In fact, Grove-White (1993: 20) stated that "[A]lmost all of the most significant environmental issues, global or domestic, were crystallized first not by governments responding to or using 'science', but by poorly resourced NGOs and sundry individual environmentalists." For example, Boissevain and Theuma (1998: 96), concluded that "[in Malta], the outcomes of

confrontations over actual development projects are not so much determined by rules and arguments as by tactics”, by active citizens and eNGOs.⁴

During the last decade or so many theoreticians and planning practitioners have been experimenting with different models of environmental governance, including democratic decentralisation of power and devolving responsibilities from central government to regional and local ones, such that accountability is both upwards (to Central Government) and downwards (to the citizens of the constituencies of the local and regional governments). In other words, rather than using ‘participation’ as the operative word, ‘social learning’ and the integration of different types of knowledges through deliberation, takes centre-stage to facilitate more deliberative and democratic citizen involvement (Bull et al., 2008; Fazey et al., 2006; 2007; Fraser et al., 2006; Ison et al., 2007a; 2007b; Ison and Watson, 2007; Pares, 2012; Reed et al., 2010; Schusler et al., 2003; Whitfield et al., 2011).

Deliberation typically consists of the following steps or elements (Kenter et al., 2016: 195-196):

- i) the search for and acquisition of information, gaining knowledge (by learning about the information acquired) and forming reasoned opinions;*
- ii) the expression of logical and reasoned opinions (rather than exerting power or coercion), as part of dialogic and civil engagement between participants, respecting different views held by participants, being able to openly express disagreement, providing equal opportunity for all participants to engage in deliberation, and providing opportunities for participants to evaluate and re-evaluate their positions;*
- iii) identification and critical evaluation of options or ‘solutions’ that might address a problem, reflecting on potential consequences and trade-offs associated with different options; and*
- iv) integration of insights from the deliberative process to construct preferences for different options, and determining a preferred option, which is well informed and reasoned.*

As such, deliberation is by definition a process during which participants learn from each other.

⁴ Boissevain and Theuma’s conclusion is particularly relevant here because the case studies for this thesis were conducted in Malta.

Depending on the scales at which learning occurs through participatory processes, deliberation may lead to social learning, which according to Reed et al. (2010) can be described as occurring when:

- 1) there is some change in the relationship between a person and the world (i.e. change in understanding);*
- 2) that this change in understanding occurs through social interaction; and*
- 3) that the learning should occur across more than one person, at the scale of social units or communities of practice.*

Social learning can build and strengthen relationships, enhance participants' understanding of other perspectives, and trigger systemic thinking (Fazey et al., 2010; Johnson et al., 2012) and in contemporary settings can have long lasting effects beyond an initial participatory approach (Bull et al., 2008).

1.3 The focus of this thesis

As will be shown in Chapter 2, the literature on public and stakeholder engagement presents a fractured and often contradictory picture. For every example of a participatory process that has led to tangible environmental and social benefits, there is an example of a process that failed to meet its goals or the expectations of those who participated, or led to unintended negative outcomes (Reed, 2008). The complexity of environmental challenges means it is hard to attribute causes to the many unintended consequences that have arisen from participatory processes in the past. This complexity arises in part from the multifaceted and often poorly understood linkages that exist between the different components of social-ecological systems. Kenter et al. (2015) also include the often unrecorded and unappreciated interactions between different actors with each other and the social and ecological contexts that they find themselves in. Most of the disciplines that have traditionally sought to understand stakeholder engagement in environmental decisions struggle to recognize or analyse the role of these underlying dynamic interactions and plural contexts. However, without a better understanding of these deep dynamics and the contexts in which participation takes place, it becomes very difficult to explain why some processes meet the expectations of those who organise or participate in them while most produce unintended consequences and others fail. In contrast to many of the disciplines that have dominated academic discourses on stakeholder engagement in environmental decisions, anthropology, with its inter-disciplinary approach, can

help provide a theoretical and methodological basis for analysing the deep dynamics of participation, and the role of context on decision-making processes.

This doctoral thesis therefore integrates theory and methods from applied anthropology with insights from other disciplinary approaches to develop, test and refine a new typology of public and stakeholder engagement and develops new theory to help explain why they work for different contexts and purposes. The typology and theory are tested and refined through case study research in Malta, based on the perceptions, experiences and social realities of the various actors involved in the Maltese planning and decision-making processes for urban development projects.

The thesis focuses on the role of public and stakeholder engagement during Social Impact Assessment (SIA), as part of the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) process, when required within the planning process. The choice of focusing on the SIA (or more precisely, the Baseline Study for the SIA (the SBS), is because in the context of where the research has been conducted, i.e. Malta, the SBS is where the investigator or consultant comes in direct contact with those who may be potentially affected by the proposed development (the SBS is carried out before the official public consultation process is organised).

I first noticed the deficiencies within the EIA process while working as an SIA consultant in Malta for several years. My interest in better understanding the underlying constraints and challenges in representing and involving those affected by a proposed project stem from a deeply-held conviction that it is a basic human right to participate in environmental decision-making within a pluralistic democratic governance system⁵. EIAs and SIAs operate at the scale of individual development projects, and are informed by larger scale policies, programmes and plans that are evaluated using Strategic Environmental Assessments (SEA). Further background is provided to understand the relationship between these different forms of assessment in Chapter 2.

There are four reasons why Malta is relevant for a study of public and stakeholder participation in urban planning. These will be discussed in more depth in Section 3.1.3 (p. 103) but are summarised here. First, Malta provides an interesting case study in which to study participation using anthropological methods, due to its colonial history and geo-political

⁵ The Aarhus Convention (UNECE, 1998) formalised this – at least for those countries who adopted this convention. See: <https://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/env/pp/documents/cep43e.pdf> for the text of the Convention and the following links about its role and implementation: <https://www.unece.org/env/pp/introduction.html>, <http://ec.europa.eu/environment/aarhus/>.

position on the fringes of both Europe and North Africa, which influence how its inhabitants view the world around them and operate within it. As Mitchell (2002: 7) observes, Malta has been called ‘the crossroads of the Mediterranean’. The various discourses that drive decisions for the island at the local, national and international levels can on one level be traced to the archipelago’s centuries of colonising authorities, its more recent post-colonial history as an independent state and its accession to the European Union in 2004. On another level, religious discourse and its politicisation, even in today’s much more secular Maltese society, still permeates many aspects of Maltese politics, society and culture.

Second, as the most densely populated country in Europe, conflicts over space are inevitable in Malta, and are amplified by the natural limitations imposed on spaces and resources in a small island state. The surface area of the Maltese archipelago, inclusive of all the islands that fall within the jurisdiction of the Republic of Malta, is only 316 km² with a resident population of over 430,000 people.⁶ This makes the population density around 1,361 people per km², and hence the most densely populated country in Europe. On an island that is heavily populated, landscapes that are generally associated or perceived by Maltese society in general as part of the physical environment, such as the countryside, where interaction with human activity is less apparent,⁷ become more difficult to find as development decreases or obliterates the buffer zone between neighbouring villages (Vella, 2017: 260–261). The aerial photo overleaf (Figure 1.1, overleaf) is just one example of the overlapping urban conurbation complexity found in Malta.

As with other small island states, issues on spatial and environmental planning and management are intensified and magnified (Cassar, 2010; Cassar et al., 2008; Conrad et al., 2011a: 764; Conrad, 2012; Pelling and Uitto, 2001; Pugh, 2005a; 2013; Sheppard and Morris, 2009). Therefore, as Boissevain points out, “awareness of this density and small scale is basic to understanding the environmental problems facing the Maltese” (Boissevain, 2003: 96).

Third, the history of urban and spatial planning in Malta is relatively young, affording opportunities to shape evolving regulation and policy in line with European directives. In 2001, the Malta Environmental and Planning Authority (MEPA) was established, integrating land-use

⁶ This figure is taken from a 2014 demographic review of the Maltese Islands (NSO, 2016).

⁷ This assertion stems from the fieldwork for this thesis, other SIAs conducted by the author in Malta, and conversations with anthropologists in Malta, including Prof Mark-Anthony Falzon and in more detail with the late Prof Jeremy Boissevain, while discussing early findings from the fieldwork for this doctoral research.

planning and environmental regulation, which, since 2008, fell under the direct remit of the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) (Boissevain and Theuma, 1998; Conrad et al., 2011a).



Figure 1.1: Aerial view of the Maltese urban landscape. In the photo, there are at least 5 villages and Manoel Island, highlighting the lack of buffer zones between villages. Photo credit: Leslie Vella.

Since Malta's accession and entering the EU, MEPA also acted as the focal point for the Aarhus Convention (UNECE, 1998) on access to information, public participation in decision-making and access to justice in environmental matters⁸. At the time of writing, Malta's current state of public and stakeholder participation can still be considered as being in its infancy. In 2007, the Office of the Ombudsman reported that the mechanisms that had been employed till then had failed to meet public expectations. Since the publication of the report, even though MEPA has been trying to improve public and stakeholder participation, providing opportunities for research to inform future policy development to enhance participation in the planning process (Baldacchino, 2014; Briguglio, 2012a; 2015), in reality, very little has changed on the ground. This is partly because such changes are considered with suspicion by a civic society that is not

⁸ Malta signed the Aarhus Convention in December 1998 and ratified it in April 2002.

used to stakeholder involvement in decision-making processes other than legally mandated public consultations (Abrams, 2011; Fox, 2015; Grandvoinnet et al., 2015; Reed et al., 2017). Finally, shortcomings in public and stakeholder participation in the Maltese planning system have also been highlighted in the academic literature, further adding to the case that research is needed to better understand these issues in context. The setting-up of local councils in 1993 and the semi-privatisation of agencies, such as the Transport Authority and MEPA, should have theoretically contributed to decentralisation, but in practice the strongly centralised governmental administrative structure seems to have simply been replicated and even reinforced those patterns that characterise the politics of the centralised national government (Pirrotta, 2001, cited in Conrad et al., 2011a: 764). These conditions have affected the involvement by individuals and groups, including official stakeholders such as environmental non-governmental organisations (eNGOs), in public participation exercises, which tends to be low. When there is a large turnout at a public hearing, as Boissevain and Theuma (1998) vividly described, these are often dominated by particular lobby groups or interests, usually in one of two camps - those for the proposed development and those against. Conrad et al. (2011a: 764) highlights that this also results in the marginalization of the lay public (National Commission for Sustainable Development, 2004). Boissevain and Theuma (1998) argue that the setting up of policies to safeguard the environment from the chaotic building situation that had pervaded the country until the 1990s, was a direct response to the pressure made by civil society, rather than an evidence-based response to best practice emerging from research on participation. This will be explored in further depth in Chapter 2. The doctoral thesis will attend to three case studies based on the SIAs of three development projects: ⁹

1. The Magħtab Case Study:

The proposed development Scheme continues to build on an earlier development application made in 2004 to develop a controlled (engineered) landfill and ancillary facilities at Għallis, on the site of a recently decommissioned uncontrolled landfill that

⁹ See Figure 1.2 (p.16, below) for the geographical locations; Section 3.1.3.2 (p. 107) explains why these three projects were chosen as case studies. The section includes the criteria used to choose the three case studies, summarised in Table 3.1 (p. 109). Furthermore, Appendix III (accompanying CD), contains the Project Description Statement (PDS) for the three case studies, offering detailed background information and historical and state of the environment overviews of the case study sites, detailed descriptions of the proposed and related projects, including alternative development sites, where relevant. The introduction of each PDS provide useful overviews of each proposed development project.

had been in operation for around 30 years. This landfill, commonly known as the Magħtab landfill, since it is situated a few hundred meters from the village of Magħtab on the north-eastern coast (and across the bay from one of the most sought after touristic areas in Malta), was the largest waste disposal site in Malta.

The 2004 application was granted full development permission in 2006, after an EIA had been performed. In 2010, WasteServ Ltd (WSM) submitted a PDS (Bezzina and Cole, 2010) that included several changes to the original application, to support its Masterplan for the development of the Magħtab Environmental Complex. Changes included extensions to the controlled/engineered landfill, the construction of a service road, and the most significant additions were the construction and establishment of two recycling plants, a pre-landfilling Mechanical Treatment Plant (MTP), and a Biological Treatment Plant (AD). An EIA was commissioned to update the previous one to incorporate the changes to the original master plan (which already included the installation of a MTP).

These extensions to the original master plan increased the tensions between the users of the surrounding areas, especially those residing and working at Magħtab, the developer (WSM) and the national Government. In terms of stakeholder participation this case study could be described as a case of limited or passive participation and self-mobilisation, particularly by the more invested stakeholders.

2. The Coast Road Upgrade (CRU) Case Study:

The CRU is a component of the Trans-European Networks - Transport (TEN-T) policy and programme of the European Union (EU). The European Commission commissioned a *Transport Infrastructure Needs Assessment* (TINA, 2002), which identified the need of a Malta TEN-T. Based on the recommendations of a *Feasibility and Environmental Impact Studies for Transport Infrastructure Projects in Malta* (Malta Transport Authority, 2004), the TEN-T Malta was designed. The CRU consists of two of the road upgrades within the TEN-T Malta, with two separate planning applications, PA 3758/09, which proposed the widening and alignment of Coast Road from Baħar iċ-Ċaġħaq, Naxxar to St. Paul's Bay, from junction NA08 to NA10; and PA 3883/08, which continues with the upgrading of the coast road from junction NA10 to NA11, and the reconstruction of Triq is-Salini, l/o Naxxar (see the two PDS for the development Schemes in Appendix III including maps showing the geographical

positions of the road upgrades and the TEN-T Malta; also see Chapter 4, Figures 4.13-4.16, pp. 185-195).

The CRU is a seven km stretch of coast road and, like the Magħtab case study, is situated on the north-eastern coast, with the seashore to one side and eight communities (including the village of Magħtab) and agricultural land on the other. In fact, the Aol of the Magħtab case study overlaps with the Aol of the CRU (see Figure 4.4, p. 153).

It should be noted that while seven km do not seem to be a long distance, for the size of Malta, this is considered to be a considerable distance. An indication of this is the fact that these seven km of road pass eight distinct urban settlements.

This case study can be described as a movement from passive participation to participation by consultation, and more collaborative consultation and social learning with a particular stakeholder group (farmers).

3. The Marsalforn Case Study:

Also EU funded, this development project proposed coastal defences at a touristic seaside village on the north-eastern coast of Gozo. Marsalforn has been in desperate need for properly designed coastal defences even before the destruction of the breakwater arm that was located at the bay. Every year, during storms that generate standing waves to around four meters crash onto the promenade, which is only 2.6m above mean sea level, causing significant damage to the properties on the foreshore and the bay. The PDS for this project includes both photos of the storm damage in the main document (Ministry for Resources and Rural Affairs, 2011: 3-5) and an additional 25 photos in the PDS accompanying CD (see Appendix III of this thesis: Case Study 3 - Marsalforn Breakwater PDS// PDS Annex I - Storm Damage - 2010; also see Figures 4.18-4.20, pp. 214-215).

Marsalforn as a village is particularly interesting from a socio-cultural and economic perspective, because it has the cultural 'feel' of a small, quiet and mainly touristic seaside village and many of its residents have multiple roles within the village, not just depending on the season (see sections on the Marsalforn Case Study in Chapter 4, in particular Section 4.5.2, p. 218).

As a development project case study on urban planning and decision-making, the Breakwater highlights issues of temporality that differ from the Magħtab case study,

although stakeholder grievances are long-standing in both cases. As an example of the planning process's temporality, the project's design had to be changed at least once during the EIA process and the planning application was still pending in the first months of 2018.

As a case study of stakeholder participation, because of the need for a change in the project design, there were at least two stakeholder meetings that were organised during the SIA process. The first stakeholder meeting can be described as limited, passive participation leading to conflict between the developers and the stakeholders. The second participatory exercise started as participation by consultation and moved to more collaborative consultation and social learning during the course of the participatory episode. This case study is also interesting because the local population considered the environmental conditions, especially the weather, active agents of social change.

Though I worked on five social studies during the fieldwork period for the doctoral research, which took place between January 2011 and March 2013,¹⁰ I chose the above three case studies for empirical analysis for four main reasons. First, my direct involvement with the proposed development projects as the SIA consultant gave me access to the EIA coordinators, developers and stakeholders. Second, as the consultant, I had some degree of latitude in broadening the scope of the methods to increase the involvement and engagement of stakeholders during the fieldwork process. Third, taken together, these three case studies showcase a progression from near non-existent effort by the developers to involve stakeholders or make use of their local knowledge to much more pro-active two-way communication. Finally, the three case studies also highlight the importance of context within urban planning. While all three case studies would normally not be considered as 'urban' in terms of urban planning, in the context of Malta, considered an 'island city-state' (Mitchell, 1998: 83) due to its population density and size, the sites of the three infrastructural projects are found within the boundaries of urban, populated areas, directly affecting the urban

¹⁰ The fieldwork consisted of two periods of time. The first period consisted of one full year in 2011, during which time I conducted ethnographic participant observation and carried out the three SBS that became the case studies for this thesis. The Marsalforn SBS was divided into two: between November 2011 and January 2012, followed by a second engagement exercise in December of 2012, finalising the updated report in January 2013. I returned to Aberdeen towards mid-January 2012, returning to Malta in June 2012. Between August and mid-November 2012 conducted two additional SBS, finalising both reports in February 2013. For exact timings and techniques used for each case study SBS, see the Methodology Sections of the SBS reports for each case study in Appendix III. Also see Chapter 3 for further details on an explanation of the methods employed.

conurbations that fall within their Areas of Influence (see next paragraph). The proposed Mechanical-Biological Treatment (Plant) (MBT) at the landfill site of Magħtab, which has been part of the Magħtab village landscape for the previous 30 years, for example, lies within the boundary of the village of Magħtab. As will be discussed in chapters 4 through 6, this has a massive social impact on the village of Magħtab.

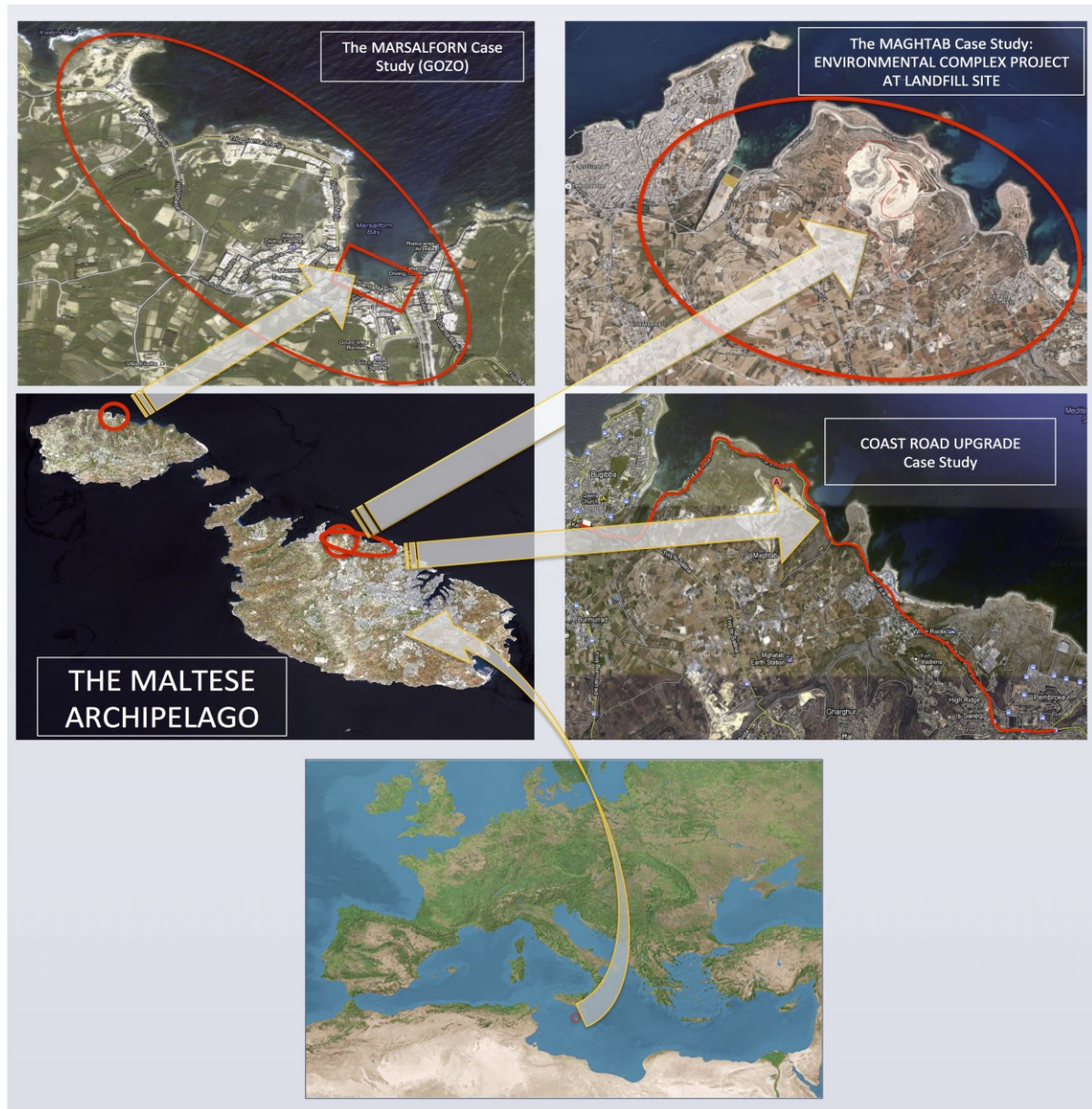


Figure 1.2: The four maps show the position of the Archipelago of Malta in the Mediterranean (bottom map) and following the arrows, maps of the three case studies that will be investigated in this thesis.

The research also focuses on the relationship between the SIA/SBS during the EIA process and the public / stakeholder engagement during this part of the planning process. Section 3.1.3.2 (p. 107) explains the criteria that were used to choose the three case studies,

summarised in Table 3.1 (p. 109). In the Magħtab case study, we see a tokenistic approach from the developers (to use Arnstein's (1969) terminology), actively trying to keep information from both formal and informal stakeholders, leading stakeholders to engage in either passive participation or self-mobilisation, mostly leading to conflict. The Coast Road case study was markedly different in that the project manager in charge of the upgrade of that stretch of road ¹¹ was actively interested in understanding who the users of the road were and the needs of both commuters and other stakeholders within the "Area of Influence" (Aol)¹² of the upgrade. This gave me the opportunity to increase the purview within the methods statement where stakeholder participation was concerned, which led to five public meetings within the various localities affected by the upgrade, moving the approach towards participation by consultation and social learning. Finally, the Marsalforn case study demonstrates a movement from passive to active participation through conflict, leading eventually to more collaborative consultation and social learning. An initial meeting was a failed information-giving exercise. This led the developer to ask the EIA coordinator for a more comprehensive analysis based on a physical to-scale model, which was discussed in a second public meeting that was much more participatory in design and execution. There was an active effort towards dialogue from the EIA team and the French experts who built the model became active participants in the resulting debates that ensued.

While stakeholder participation in Malta is not limited to scenarios similar to the above case studies, and none of them exemplify or are considered as best practice in Malta, they highlight both a number of trends in how stakeholder participation is perceived by the various actors involved on all sides, the service providers (including the developers, the environmental

¹¹ This was only one phase of a much larger EU initiative across Europe called the TEN-T (http://ec.europa.eu/transport/infrastructure/tentec/tentec-portal/site/index_en.htm), and several road upgrades were simultaneously taking place across major roads in Malta and Gozo.

¹² The Area of Influence (abbreviated to Aol or A of I) of a proposed project is usually defined by EIA coordinators as a physical geographical zone that the proposed project is thought of affecting including the social environment within it. Unless the Aol is predetermined by the Terms of Reference (TOR/ToR) for the EIA issued by the competent authorities, the Aol of a project is arbitrarily demarcated by the EIA coordinators and the consultants conducting the various studies (each study has a different Aol, such that the Aol for the Noise Impact Assessment, for example, will differ, though might overlap with the one for the SIA). In the case of the SIA, during the scoping stage of the project, the EIA coordinator and the SIA practitioner will make an informed estimation of the geographical area within which the social environment is believed to be potentially affected by the proposed development Scheme. In reality, a project can have 'micro', 'meso' and even 'macro' affects (see Goldman, 2000 for an explanation on these different effects on society). A major infrastructure project for example, can significantly alter transport patterns at a regional, or 'meso' level, which, in turn, may affect tourism at a national or 'macro' level (The interdependence between these levels is one of the main themes discussed in Chapter 7).

consultants and decision-makers) and civic society, i.e. the stakeholders themselves (see for example Conrad et al., 2011a; 2011c for their research with MEPA officials). These case studies also provide insight to the various relationships and connections between key actors within the process and how these relationships and values can affect how stakeholder participation takes place and their outcomes, which can have positive or negative effects on the project. Finally, through a more reflexive analysis as both researcher and consultant within the SIA process, I try to critically elucidate some of the problems that are inherent in such necessarily bureaucratic processes, partly because of the political contextual nuances that weigh on these processes and the actors enacting them.

1.4 Contributions and research questions

This doctoral thesis seeks to make several contributions. First, to date, there have been few in-depth, empirical evaluation of the actual methods used to facilitate stakeholder engagement in SIAs. This research therefore uses three SIA projects as a platform from which to observe how people get involved with EIAs as part of the planning process, professionally or otherwise. As such, it focuses on understanding the social processes within EIA/SIA rather than focussing on the SIA process itself.

Second, the research explores the extent to which applied anthropology and its practitioners can effectively combine critical social theory of complex systems and its application and pragmatic engagement with the contemporary problems of the social and physical environment (Agar, 2004; Ervin, 2005; Rylko-Bauer et al., 2006: 178; Vanclay et al., 2011; Van Willigen, 2002), working and collaborating across disciplinary boundaries (Baba and Hill, 2006; Hackenberg et al., 2004). This cross-pollination and collaboration between researchers and practitioners have the potential of blurring the lines between theory and practice (Barry and Born, 2013; Cosgrove et al., 2000; Poteete et al., 2010; Strathern, 2004; 2005).

As Abram (1998: 2-3) argues,

[T]he anthropology of development has long suffered from the co-option of development studies as an 'applied' subject, separate from its theoretical academic sibling. The absurdity of this distinction in a discipline which prides itself on its close relationship to the world, in contrast to 'armchair theorists', also belies the wealth of theoretical anthropological approaches to development and policy studies.

She concludes convincingly, after Nelson and Wright (1995: 3), that “the old duality of 'pure' versus 'applied' anthropology has proved itself increasingly inappropriate to contemporary

anthropology". This thesis posits that anthropology and its methods can offer an alternative way to view public and stakeholder participation in spatial planning. The range of methodological approaches that anthropologists are trained in, especially qualitative data collection and ethnography provide that extra 'edge' to the analysis of the complex systems that urban and environmental conservation projects face. Further, because of the nature of ethnographic fieldwork, there is the potential for applied anthropologists working on SIA to build relationships that help increase positive outcomes of stakeholder involvement within such initiatives and projects.

Third, by understanding the dynamics of the social relations that influence environmental governance during the processes of urban and other land use changes, this research will help to develop more flexible and responsive policy tools that are open to the cultural and emotional, not only the rational practices of environmental assessments,¹³ improving stakeholder and public engagement with equitable representation in urban and environmental sustainability.

To achieve these contributions, the doctoral thesis investigates the following research questions, which emerged inductively during fieldwork (based on an ethnographic research process including participant observation and other qualitative methods) and fieldwork data analysis using an anthropological analytical approach:

1. **What makes public and stakeholder engagement work in SIAs?** To what extent is the outcome of engagement in Impact Assessments driven by participatory process design versus the context in which participation occurs? Does the local context and the propensity of individuals to join together as a community of practice to 'fight' a 'common enemy' (as are development projects usually perceived by people living within a locality where the development is proposed, do not always consider themselves part of a heterogeneous local community, or as a community at all, as it is usually defined by social scientists or more generally) make more of a difference in stakeholder involvement than just a well-designed process? Is it possible to develop a theory of participation that could explain why some participatory processes work, while others fail?

¹³ It has already been asserted on p. 1 that planning and decision-making are anything but rational or linear.

2. **How do flows of knowledge between disciplines, professions and stakeholders influence spatial planning decisions?** How do perceptions and understanding of different forms of 'specialised' information and knowledge within urban planning influence the kinds of interactions and the flow of information within the SIA process? How do the different kinds of knowledges brought about by such interactions contribute to the distribution of power and lobbying towards who and what gets taken into account during decision making processes?
3. **How is public and stakeholder engagement enacted and perceived in SIAs for urban developments?** How do the tools used within the planning systems, especially the SIA contribute to information flows and stakeholder representation? Why is it that directly affected communities within the planning system perceive SIA tools as delocalising and disenfranchising and are they really so? How do the development projects within which different actors interact inform or change the actors' perceptions of such landscapes and the changes that are being proposed?

1.5 The structure of this thesis

The next chapter reviews the role of participation in SIAs and seeks to explain the mechanisms through which participation operates in environmental governance generally and SIAs specifically. It does this by reviewing the role that SIAs can play in EIAs and the challenges of taking a more integrated approach to the social and environmental assessment of impacts in development projects. It concludes by reviewing the theoretical basis for public and stakeholder participation in spatial planning.

Chapter 3 describes the methods used to conduct the research reported in this thesis. Given the overarching methodological contribution that is sought in relation to the role of anthropology in understanding the social dynamics of environmental governance, the chapter starts by introducing ethnography, the ethnographic method, applied anthropology and practitioner research. It then considers the positionality of the PhD researcher, along with a discussion of the nuanced ethics associated with conducting PhD research as an SIA practitioner and member of the society affected by the developments being studied. The focus on Malta is then explored in greater depth, before describing the fieldwork methods. The fieldwork comprised mainly of five phases, with participant observation (Phase Five) being the underlying epistemological driving force, running through the fieldwork, concurrently with the

other four phases of the research. The other four phases of the fieldwork followed the SIA process of three case studies.

The data collected in these phases forms the basis for Chapter 4, which describes the stakeholders and localities in each case study area. This data also provides the basis for Chapter 5, which assesses the values, lifestyles and perceived impacts of developments in each case study, which formed the basis of the three SIAs.

The discussion of results presented in Chapters 4 and 5 is split across Chapters 6 and 7. Chapter 6 builds on literature from Chapter 2 to develop a typology and a theory of stakeholder and public engagement. This is placed here, rather than in Chapter 2, because the methods and fieldwork presented in Chapters 3-5 build on a body of research based around typologies and theories that followed hierarchical participatory models stemming from Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation, which is reviewed in the first half of Chapter 2. During the research process, despite the descriptive utility of the "ladder" for the Maltese context, it became apparent that it had limited explanatory power. This insight, combined with similar insights from empirical work reported in the literature, highlighted the need for a theoretical framework that could explain why some highly engaged processes (from the top of the ladder) fail to achieve their objectives and disenfranchise stakeholders, leading to negative unintended consequences, while other less engaged processes (from the bottom of the ladder) are sometimes associated with more benefits for stakeholders. The first half of Chapter 6 therefore develops a new typology and theory to explain what works in stakeholder participation, inspired by fieldwork experience and informed by alternative perspectives on engagement from the literature reviewed in the second half of Chapter 2 (participation as design, mediation, the management of power, interdisciplinary and cultural discourse, context and democracy). The second half of Chapter 6 then uses this new typology and theory to interpret the results from Chapters 4 and 5, testing what is proposed in the first half of this chapter.

Chapter 7 then uses this experience to refine the theory to propose an approach to stakeholder engagement that is theoretically robust and empirically grounded. Finally, the thesis concludes in Chapter 8 with an overview of the key empirical, methodological and theoretical contributions made by the research, final thoughts and future research based on the body of work presented in this thesis.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the role of participation in SIAs and seeks to explain the mechanisms through which participation operates in environmental governance generally and SIAs specifically. While it is important to frame the role of participation in a wider context, especially lessons learnt from International Development, the focus of this thesis will return to urban development and urban planning within democratically stable settings, or what one might refer to as the 'West'. This is primarily because the research for this thesis was conducted in a democratic member state within the European Union, with what can be considered as a multi-level governance system (Baldacchino, 2015). Secondly, EIAs and SIAs were first introduced in the United States because of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969 and consequently further developed in countries such as New Zealand (Taylor et al., 1995:2; Esteves et al., 2012:36), usually for very large extractive operations and planned significant urban development interventions.

EIAs spread throughout the world and were formally adopted in Europe in 1985 through the EIA Directive on the assessment of the effects of certain public and private projects on the environment, 85/337/EEC (European Commission, 1985). The directive has since been amended three times and codified by Directive 2011/92/EU, which was also amended in 2014 by Directive 2014/52/EU (European Commission, 2011; 2014)).¹⁴ Since then, EIAs and in particular, SIAs have become social-environmental assessment tools. In addition to urban development projects, in the EU for example, SIAs are also used as a tool by the EU Commission to meet the social goals of the Lisbon Treaty, with very different criteria to SIAs conducted on EIAs, as predicated by the EU EIA Directive (Vella et al., 2015a). The most recent guidelines for SIA by the IAIA (Vanclay et al., 2015) focus on mega-projects, a clear departure from the previous 2003 guidelines, which had a more general remit. While the IAIA SIA Section Annual Meeting held during the IAIA 2015 conference identified that there is a need for guidelines for SIAs conducted on small-scale development projects, to date, such

¹⁴ See the European Commission's website for further details: <http://ec.europa.eu/environment/eia/eia-legalcontext.htm>

guidelines have yet to be formulated and published. Different countries issue their own guidelines, tailoring the 2003 or 2015 IAIA guidelines (Vanclay et al., 2015) for their specific development and natural resource management needs. Both the 2003 and 2015 best practice guidelines, together with much of the literature on SIA, advocate stakeholder and public participation, pointing the focus of this research to the issue of context. Supra-national agencies and research projects rooted in the environmental social sciences have applied participatory processes across multiple contexts, without always taking into consideration the national and localised socio-political contexts (Summerville et al., 2006; de Vente et al., 2016).

While the primacy of context seems to be de-emphasised in practice because of pressures for standardisation, theoretical debate on the localised variations on social structure and function proliferate and techniques to address these issues have been steadily gaining attention (Becker et al., 2003; Esteves et al., 2015). For example, de Vente et al. (2016) investigated the role of the social, economic, environmental contexts versus process design in delivering beneficial outcomes from participation. They concluded that the majority of factors were process-based, rather than being related to context, but noted that well-designed processes were adapted to local circumstances. This suggests that further investigation is needed into the role that context may play in influencing participatory processes and their outcomes.

This chapter (and the chapters that follow) therefore explores the potential contributions of applied anthropology to assess contexts in depth, and enrich this debate. Acknowledging the role that context plays in participation in any SIA, the aim of this chapter is to critically review how various aspects of context affect the outcomes of participation in SIA, including culture, narratives around development versus environmental sustainability, power and governance, and context-specific production of local and scientific knowledge and how these are operationalised within civic society. To do this, the chapter starts by providing an overview of SIA in the context of EU policy and practice, placing Malta's approach to SIA in this continental context (Section 2.2). Next, the chapter critically reviews the role that SIAs can play in EIAs from the perspective of policy and practice, and the challenges of taking a more integrated approach to the social and environmental assessment of impacts in development projects (Section 2.3). Finally, building on this foundation, Section 2.4 reviews the theoretical basis for public and stakeholder participation in urban planning, drawing on literature from a wide range of disciplines to provide a broad foundation for the development of new theory later in the thesis.

2.2 SIA in the context of the EU and Malta

Despite the existence of an integrated impact assessment system that includes the ex-ante assessment of social impacts across most of Europe, the way that SIA is conceptualized and enacted differs substantially between Member States. This may be due in part to the way that the EU EIA Directive is interpreted and codified into national legislation and then implemented by national environmental agencies through the Terms of Reference (TOR) imposed on proposed development schemes for which EIAs are deemed necessary. The TOR are then further interpreted and applied by practitioners in the field, in relation to the socio-cultural and political contexts of projects. Section 2.2.1 critically assesses differences in the interpretation of European Commission guidelines across EU Member States, before considering in Section 2.2.2 how these are further interpreted by SIA practitioners working in different contexts within Malta. Section 2.3 then builds on this geo-political context, to consider the relationship between SIAs and the EIA process they are embedded within, considering the potential for greater integration between disciplinary and practice-based perspectives.

2.2.1 SIA implementation in EU member states¹⁵

SIA in EU Member States is typically undertaken as part of an integrated impact assessment that considers a full range of potential impacts arising from a decision, including environmental, economic and social impacts, or through targeted social impact assessments (e.g. gender equality or health impacts). Even though the International Principles for SIA provide an exhaustive definition of SIA processes as a field of research and practice (Vanclay, 2003: 6-7), most national guidance documents have no clear definition of “social impact”, which may partly explain the current range of national and local interpretations of SIA. This includes significant differences between Member States in the range of social impacts considered and the rules and procedures that govern the assessment of social impacts (including the extent to which communities and other affected stakeholders are involved in the process) (Vella et al., 2015a).

More significant is that for the European Commission, Impact Assessments (IA) as well as SIA

¹⁵ Sections 2.2.1-2.2.2 are based on a conference paper (Vella et al., 2015a) that was presented at the IAIA 2015 International conference, in Florence, Italy (IAIA, 2015). The paper was peer-reviewed and chosen to be included in IAIA15 Conference Proceedings. See Acknowledgements on author contributions.

have different meanings to those referred to in this chapter and defined by Vanclay. The European Commission's Impact Assessment Guidelines, TEP & CEPS (2010: 3) defines IA as

a tool and process to estimate the likely future impacts of policy proposals. Its ultimate objective is to lead to better informed, more evidence-based political decisions. As far as 'social impacts' are concerned, the study took the definition of social impacts used in the Commission's IA guidance as a starting point,¹⁶ and then developed its own working definition for analytical purposes.

It seems that EU agencies interpret the meaning, role and how SIA should be performed in different ways (Table 2.1). The analysis by TEP and CEPS (2010) emphasized the predominance of impacts that could be easily quantified, such as employment, income, access to services and public health and safety, always in relation to EU policies in reference to the Lisbon Treaty, which is about the acceptance of new policies that the EU creates to match the social goals to abide with the Lisbon Treaty's social agenda.

Vanclay and other SIA experts do specify that SIAs should also be included for the evaluation of policies. The above analysis by TEP and CEPS (2010) indicates that the EC has limited their evaluation of SIAs to policies, leaving out everything else, basing their analysis on the theoretical coverage of social impacts based on guidelines, rather than the actual range of impacts assessed by practitioners in the field. It is also clear that far less attention is afforded to the collective, shared social values held by communities affected by decisions, which are typically more challenging to quantify. These may, for example, include impacts on local culture, shared beliefs, customs, language, dialect and values (Armour, 1990), community cohesion, stability and character (Burdge and Vanclay, 1996; Stolp et al., 2002; Vanclay, 2006a), a sense of place and identity (e.g. Dallimer et al., 2012; Fuller et al., 2007)), and a reduction in aesthetic and spiritual benefits from the natural environment (Kenter et al., 2015). Psycho-social and wellbeing impacts may also be felt, both at the scale of communities (e.g. disruption of social networks and breakdown of local informal institutional structures) and individuals (e.g. linked to health) (Everard et al., 2016; Irvine et al., 2016; Kenter et al., 2015). However, it could be argued that considering this much broader range of potential social impacts is essential to prevent decisions maintaining the easily quantifiable indicators of community wellbeing whilst eroding the very essence of that community's sense of place and identity (Abram and Weszkalnys, 2013; Ekberg, 2007; Everard et al., 2016; Irvine et al., 2016; Kenter et al., 2015).

¹⁶ European Commission: Impact Assessment Guidelines, 15 January 2009, pp. 35-36. URL: http://ec.europa.eu/governance/impact/commission_guidelines/docs/iag_2009_en.pdf

Table 2.1: Inclusion of social impacts identified in European Commission Impact Assessment Guidelines in Member State guidelines (Source: TEP and CEPS, 2010: 19)

Member State	Employment & labour markets	Standards and rights related to job quality	Social inclusion and protection of particular groups	Equality of treatment & opportunities, non-discrimination	Private and family life, personal data	Governance, participation, good administration, access to justice, media and ethics	Public health and safety	Crime, terrorism and security	Access to and effects on social protection, health and educational systems	No breakdown / categorisation provided
AT	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
BE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
BG										
CY										✓
CZ	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	??	✓	✓	
DK			✓	✓		✓				
EE	✓			✓						
FI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
FR							✓		✓	
DE				✓						
EL	✓		✓	✓			✓		✓	
HU										✓
IE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
IT	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
LV	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	
LT	✓		✓	✓	✓					
LU										
MT	✓			✓	✓		✓		✓	
PL	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓	
PT	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
RO										✓
SK	✓		✓	✓					✓	
SI										✓
ES				✓						
SE										✓
NL				✓						
UK			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Total	14/27	9/27	14/27	18/27	11/27	8/27	13/27	7/27	12/27	5/27
% of MS	52%	33%	52%	67%	41%	30%	48%	26%	44%	19%

2.2.2 The Maltese experience of SIAs¹⁷

The EIA Directive was introduced in Malta in 1985, later amended in 1997 and transposed into national legislation in 2007 (Environmental Impact Regulations, 2007, LN 114 of 2007), which was under reform during this doctoral research period and has since been amended by S.L. 549.46, LN 412 of 2017, on the 22nd December 2017. Unlike many other EU countries where EIAs are still very technocratic and lack the social component either entirely or, as evidenced in Table 2.1 (above), lack many facets of an SIA, Malta's EIAs do include SIAs and they are usually completed by social scientists, especially anthropologists. However, many EIAs, unless for EU-funded projects, still lack an in-depth SIA. Even then, the TOR for the social component of the EIA, which are published by the Malta Environment and Planning Authority (MEPA) for individual projects often ask for a "population study" rather than a more extensive SIA. Many times, the social component is only included within the economic component, reducing the holistic breadth of social indicators that an SIA would otherwise consider (Vella et al., 2015a). Using their experience as consultants in Malta, Vella and Borg (2010: 197) made several observations on the discrepancies between best practice and what takes place on the ground in the Maltese context, listing criticisms that interviewees made during a cross-section of SIAs that they had worked on over a five-year period. The consensus was that affected stakeholders felt ignored, silenced or short-changed by the system.

Vella and Borg (2010) found that the largest obstacles for SIA consultants in Malta to be more effective tend to be budgetary and socio-political constraints, and therefore the SIA does not tend to follow the EIA phases and can even be side-lined from the process entirely due to the politics surrounding the proposed project. Such side-lining of SIA is often due to the perceived political risks associated with including SIA consultants in the planning / decision making processes of proposed developments, as these practitioners are most likely to come in direct contact with stakeholders prior to the official public consultation, especially if semi-structured, qualitative methods are being used (i.e. directly interacting with stakeholders via open-ended questions). Furthermore, SIA can be considered very interpretive, especially by "hard" scientists and policy

¹⁷ The observations by Vella and Borg (2010), cited in this Section (2.2.2) are derived from 10 years of the author's experience as an SIA practitioner in Malta, published in collaboration with a Cultural Heritage expert as a book chapter.

makers, depending on the methods used and the disciplines (often social science) involved, representing a range of potentially divergent views that may conflict with the recommendations of the EIA. As a result, Vella and Borg comment on the contrast between generally highly detailed TORs for the more ‘scientific’, number-based components (needing specialized equipment) of EIAs, and the often-scant information presented as part of the SIA, generally consisting of a single paragraph, “leaving it to the coordinator to interpret them and for the SIA practitioner to justify his/her methods” (Vella and Borg, 2010: 197).

Vella and Borg also note that the way an SIA is carried out can be influenced by how the various social actors involved perceive the EIA, the project and the consultants working on the EIA. The fact that it is the developer who pays for the EIA (and therefore the SIA) means that however impartial the consultant is, s/he are generally perceived as having a conflict of interest, despite being required to sign a document that states that s/he has no stake in the project. Almost invariably, stakeholders that will be negatively impacted by the proposed project ask the SIA/EIA consultants “who is paying for the report?”. This legitimate question often stems from previous experience by stakeholders, directly or indirectly, of a history of corruption by MEPA officials and EIA reports biased in favour of past projects (Vella and Borg, 2010: 196). While corruption appears to have decreased, in part due to greater direct public and NGO scrutiny and an increase of a stringent EU auditing culture (Vella et al., 2015a: 4), prompting the EIA reform in Malta, such culturally imbued perceptions are deeply held (Baldacchino, 2012; 2014; Baldacchino and Royle, 2010; Briguglio, 2012a; 2015; Mitchell, 1998a; 1998b; 2002).

SIAs have rarely been included in EIAs in Malta, and when they were, they tended to be afforded significantly less detail in the TORs provided by MEPA than for other parts of the EIA. This lack of detail has given room for interpretation, which in turn has been used to justify narrow, and limited “population studies” rather than the holistic assessment needed to be consistent with IAIA principles. While it is not possible to generalize this experience across EU Member States, Vella and Borg’s findings about affected stakeholders are feeling ignored or side-lined in the decision-making process is likely to resonate beyond Malta. Many of the reasons suggested for these failings are also likely to resonate more widely: budgetary constraints, the perceived risk of mobilizing stakeholder opposition via more participatory approaches to SIA, and the complexities that inevitably arise from listening to the multiple, often conflicting narratives of affected

stakeholders. Even if these obstacles can be overcome, much greater work is required to overcome barriers to stakeholder engagement that have been erected by repeatedly poor experiences of SIAs: perceived by stakeholders to have failed to change planning decisions to more positive outcomes for the stakeholders and therefore leading to a lack of trust in an SIA's efficacy and decision-making influence during the planning process (Vella and Borg, 2010).

Even if such barriers can be broken down, methodological barriers may remain. In Malta, as elsewhere in EU Member States, SIAs are part of an economic assessment. Monetary approaches to the assessment of social impacts may be cost-effective and rapid to implement, and typically fit comfortably with the disciplinary skill-sets and epistemological backgrounds of impact assessment practitioners. However, such methods do not easily capture many social impacts that are less easily quantified or meaningfully converted into monetary values; furthermore, critics of social-cost-benefit analysis, e.g. Schumacher (1973: 37–8), Elzinga (1981), and Shrader-Frechette (1985), argue that it is ethically wrong to attempt to use monetary indicators to measure certain impacts (e.g. on the aesthetic or spiritual benefits that communities derive from the natural environment).

Non-monetary approaches to SIA tend to have their roots in more interpretivist epistemologies that emphasise the role of local context and co-produce and interpret findings in collaboration with affected stakeholders (Vella et al., 2015). Such approaches require different skill sets from SIA practitioners, such as drawing on field methods and analytical techniques used typically in disciplines such as anthropology and sociology and (cultural) geography. Although challenging to implement, there are now a range of deliberative and non-monetary methods that SIA practitioners can use to assess the fullest possible range of social impacts (Dare et al., 2012; Franks and Vanclay, 2013; Vanclay et al., 2015; Vanclay and Esteves, 2011). These approaches go beyond engaging with stakeholders to collect data for SIA practitioners to infer social impacts, or simply giving stakeholders the opportunity to comment on the content of an impact assessment, as recommended in EC guidelines (Vella et al., 2015a: 5). Deliberative approaches to SIA involve the active participation of parties who may be affected by a decision in the joint assessment of potential impacts.

On this basis, the normative argument could be made that SIA across the EU can deliver greater social benefits if it were to adopt a more deliberative and participatory approach. However, the Maltese case clearly illustrates the barriers to enacting this in practice, given the limited time,

resources and disciplinary skills typically available for SIA. Although the interpretation of SIA differs significantly between Member States, the SIA practitioner plays a pivotal role in achieving more comprehensive assessments to effectively inform decision-making. As such, attention should focus on training SIA practitioners in the skills and epistemologies of multiple disciplines. In this way, budgets / funding permitting (and this depends on type of project, Member State, type of development and the predisposition of the EIA Coordinator to ensure collaboration between consultants of the various components of the EIA), future SIAs could be co-produced between practitioners from different disciplines with affected stakeholders.

2.3 Environmental and Social Impact Assessments (EIAs and SIAs)

As this thesis critically assesses the role of participation in the context of SIAs, it is necessary to provide some background to SIAs, and their relationship to EIAs and SEAs, and review the literature on SIAs, presenting both the principles and the critiques of SIA in theory and practice. Much more could be said, but the purpose of this section is to provide a critical understanding of the SIA process that is sufficient to interpret the case study findings.

2.3.1 Defining Strategic, Environmental and Social Impact Assessments

There are numerous publications that describe the roles of SEA, EIA and SIA in greater depth than is possible here. The most notable of these come from authors who have developed best practice guidelines to Impact Assessments and their components (such as SIA), including Bews (2004), Burdge and Vanclay (1995; 1996; 2002; 2003), or have critiqued the methodologies and their interpretation at project or policy levels, such as Becker (1997), Esteves et al. (2012), Dipper (1998), Goldman (2000), Okpoko (1998), Summerville et al. (2006) and Vanclay (2006; 2014).

SEAs address the environmental effects of proposed policies, plans and programmes, informing planners, decision-makers and the affected public on the sustainability of strategic decisions (at policy and programme level).

The term EIA describes a procedure (at project rather than at strategic level, therefore ensuring that the policy or policies that the above-mentioned SEA had addressed, are implemented)¹⁸ that

¹⁸ The relationship between SEA, EIA and the planning cycle, using the concept of tiering (Arts et al., 2011: 415–434) is discussed further in Section 7.5 (p. 356) and represented in Figure 7.9 (p. 358).

must be followed for certain types of projects before they can be given 'development consent'. In theory, the procedure is a means of drawing together, in a systematic way, an assessment of a project's likely significant environmental effects (Taylor et al., 1995; Goldman, 2000; Esteves et al., 2012). This helps to ensure that the public and the relevant competent authorities properly understand the importance of the predicted effects, and the scope for reducing / mitigating negative impacts before decisions are made. EIAs enable environmental factors to be given due weight, along with economic and social factors, when planning applications are being considered. It helps to promote a sustainable pattern of physical development and land and property use in cities, towns and the countryside. If properly carried out, EIA should benefit all those involved in and affected by the planning process.

There is a relationship between the environmental impacts of a proposed project and the social aspects of development (Takyi, 2012). In fact, most stakeholders do not articulate how a given project will affect them as part of society, but will describe how various environmental impacts will adversely affect their lives. In other words, as Taylor et al. (1995) state, all environmental effects are inherently social. The SIA is usually one of the components of the EIA and is the process that predicts the significant social consequences, positive or negative, of a proposed project. SIAs have also started to be used at policy level within SEA, to evaluate the social effects of a proposed policy or governmental strategy, such as a regional development or urban regeneration plan of action or strategy (Colantonio et al., 2009; Esteves et al., 2012; Glasson and Wood, 2009; Sairinen and Kumpulainen, 2006; Yakob et al., 2012). It should be noted that such strategic urban planning proposals would then be responsible for multiple urban projects that would themselves be subject to an EIA, within which there would then be an SIA. Hacking and Guthrie (2008), for example, maintain that the extended coverage of sustainability appraisal (often conducted through the SIA) is being accommodated by 'stretching' EIA or SEA and broadening the definition of 'environment' and therefore the thematic coverage of theme-specific assessment such as SIA.

As the 2012 State of the Art document on SIA issued by the IAIA (Esteves et al., 2012) explains, the origins of SIA started in America alongside EIA in the early 1970s in response to the formal requirements of NEPA, although Esteves et al. (2012: 36) note that several authors "have argued that consideration of social impacts existed long before NEPA". According to Freudenberg

(1986), even though NEPA required assessing the social dimension, those early EIAs recognised social factors largely in subtle and indirect ways, and rarely offered detailed assessments (Taylor et al., 1995: 2). Furthermore, public participation, which was also a requirement under NEPA (and other regulatory and legislative procedures in other national jurisdictions such as in New Zealand), was sometimes confused with the social assessment, thinking that obtaining stakeholder feedback was in fact assessing social impacts (Taylor et al., 1995: 3). They go on to specify that those early efforts at public participation should not be compared or confused with today's consultative processes. However, the same confusion still happens today (Becker and Vanclay, 2003; Burns and Weaver, 2008; Vanclay and Esteves, 2011), especially by EIA coordinators and environmental managers working under pressure of limited time, budgetary constraints, and political interests or power.

In theory, the SIA evaluates alternative sites, techniques and technologies in terms of their social impacts, and proposes the changes and management solutions that will lead to the enhancement of positive effects and a reduction of adverse impacts (Barrow, 2000; 2002; 2010; Becker and Vanclay, 2003; Bews, 2004; Burdge, 2003; Goldman, 2000; Vanclay and Esteves, 2011). Social impacts are usually defined as the effects of an activity on the social fabric of a 'community' and the well-being of the people living within it. In later sections of this chapter, the discussion will focus on critiques of SIAs, such as earlier conceptualisations of 'community' and how disciplines within the social sciences, especially anthropology have deconstructed concepts such as 'community', offering a more holistic interpretation of what social impacts are. In addition, it may only be through public participation that all the issues potentially associated with proposed actions can be identified and that information can be obtained on the fears and hopes that accompany people's own predictions of the likely effects of projects (Becker et al., 2004; Chávez and Bernal, 2008; Lemon et al., 2004; Robinson and Bond, 2003), which are themselves an important component of social impact.

The literature suggests that when utilised, SIA may make developers more accountable, might help integrate diverse disciplines involved in planning, and should assist efforts in achieving sustainable development (Cavaye, 2003; Cox et al., 2000) and conflict resolution (Barrow, 2000; 2002; 2010).

The IAIA, for example, defines SIA as “the processes of analysing, monitoring and managing the intended and unintended social consequences, both positive and negative, of planned interventions (policies, programs, plans, projects) and any social change processes invoked by those interventions. Its primary purpose is to bring about a more sustainable and equitable biophysical and human environment” (Vanclay, 2003: 6), and “by logical extension the social dimensions of development in general” (Esteves et al., 2012: 34).

SIA is usually considered a method or set of tools for analysing what actions may have impacts on the social aspects of the environment, finding out what the current state of the social landscape is and then, using a predominantly social-science mixed methods tool-kit and conceptual frameworks of analysis, the SIA forecasts how the socio-cultural landscape may change due to a given action, such as a high-rise development or a new social policy. The aim of the SIA is not just to identify negative or undesirable outcomes of a project, but also to minimise such impacts through mitigation, assisting decision makers and other stakeholders (Vanclay, 2003).

Esteves et al. (2012) also point out that more recently, and only in its narrowest conceptualisation, SIA is regarded as one of the techniques to predict the social impacts within an EIA. Organisations such as the IAIA advocate that SIA should be integrated more seamlessly with both other sections of the EIA, such as the Economic, Traffic, Hazard, Risk and Heritage Impact Assessments and with other assessments, including Ecosystem Services (Esteves et al., 2012; Gomez et al., 2013; Vanclay and Esteves, 2011).

Esteves et al. (2012: 34) also argue that

"SIA is an interdisciplinary and/or trans-disciplinary social science that incorporates many fields including sociology, anthropology, demography, development studies, gender studies, social and cultural geography, economics, political science and human rights, community and environmental psychology, social research methods and environmental law, among others".¹⁹

Figure 2.1 shows the phases of an SIA, which involves the tasks to be undertaken according to the latest best practice guidelines (Vanclay et al., 2015: 7). The authors emphasise that while the different phases of the SIA are presented in approximately chronological order,

¹⁹ This inter/ trans-disciplinary aspect of SIA will be discussed further in Section 2.4.5 (p. 68) and in Sections 7.7–7.8 (pp.366 -372).

“they inform each other, and as information is accumulated in the SIA, decisions made earlier in the process about the scope, area or influence, and stakeholders may need to be re-assessed as new information becomes discovered. It is thus an iterative process” (Vanclay et al., 2015: 7).

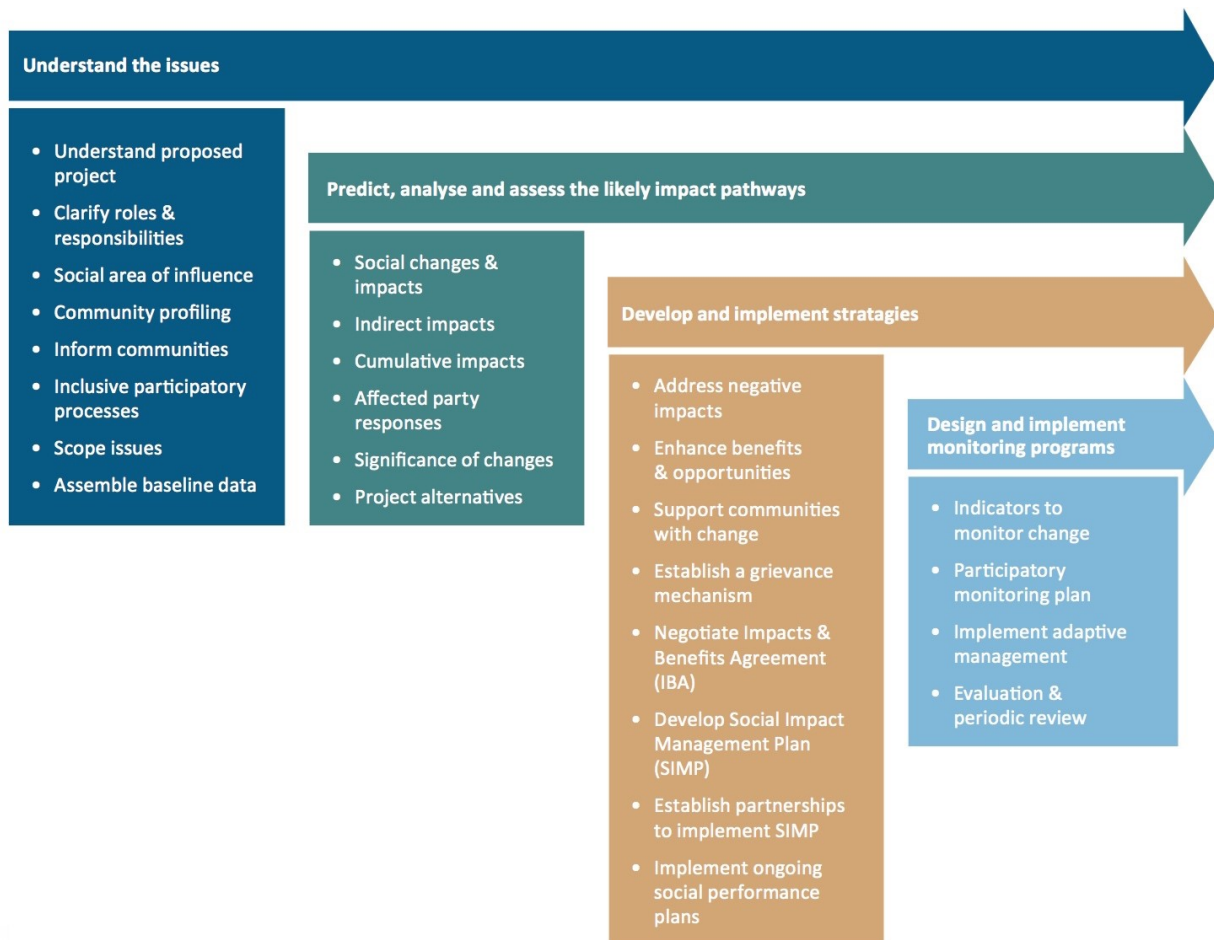


Figure 2.1: The Phases of Social Impact Assessment (Source: Vanclay et al., 2015: 7)

At its simplest then, the SIA identifies who lives, works, 'plays' within the Aol of a proposed project and then once those social categories are identified (or profiling of the communities likely to be affected, as defined by Vanclay and Esteves, 2011: 11), it seeks to understand how the various 'stakeholders', or in more anthropological terms, the social actors interact both with each other and with the physical environment within the Aol. In other words, their interactions with each other and the physical environment are 'mapped out' and then the proposed project is superimposed onto this socio-physical landscape. From here, it is an informed predictive exercise of understanding the interactions of the various potential environmental impacts (carried out by the other studies) and how these impacts could potentially affect the social structure within the

Aol, both positively and negatively. According to good practice, then, depending on the forecasting of the predicted effects and their significance, the SIA should develop, together with the stakeholders, various options that will be beneficial for the stakeholders, such as the Social Impact Management Plan (SIMP) that is produced by the development proponent to help those affected transition through the social changes brought about by the project. Such plans would include mitigation strategies to offset inevitable negative impacts and monitoring plans to ensure that such strategies are adopted effectively (Vanclay and Esteves, 2011: 11-12).

Theoretically SIA is conducted throughout the entire life cycle of a project. It starts from the planning/ policy development stages of the project and moves through implementation / construction, operation/ maintenance and ends with decommissioning / abandonment or closure if it becomes necessary (Figure 2.2, below). Planners can then respond to new demands and challenges as they arise. It is generally believed that those potentially affected by a proposed project should be involved in all stages of impact assessment (Esteves et al., 2012; Goldman, 2000; Taylor et al., 1995; Vanclay, 2003; 2006; Vanclay and Esteves, 2011). This is because these social actors, these 'stakeholders', are in a better position to say how they would be / have been affected and what their priorities are. These priorities can then be matched by scientific positions on the issues. Since, as has been argued above (Esteves et al., 2012: 34), decisions are delineated by these different kinds of knowledges; from scientific expertise drawing from different disciplinary epistemologies (which sometimes can be conflictual), local expertise and experiential knowledge, SIA strives to find a compromise between the subjectivity of value judgements and the perceived objectivity of scientific approach (Okpoko, 1998: 35; Stolp et al., 2002).²⁰

In fact, the IAIA best practice guidelines (Vanclay, 2003) and subsequent state of the art documents note that one of the most important activities of good practice SIA should (since it is not always possible) involve

²⁰ Here it is specified that the scientific approach is often perceived (by decision-makers and politicians) as being objective because this perception is at the root of how different types of knowledges and information are represented within urban / spatial planning and decision-making processes. Studies on decision-making in policy and within bureaucratic institutions (Appleyard, 1979; Shore and Wright, 2005) and even scientific research (Code, 1995; 2012; Scheffler, 1982) have shown how decision-making is subjective and value laden. Recent environmental research has also started to acknowledge and include debates on the uncertainty and precautionary principles inherent within decision-making (Ascough li et al., 2008; Kriebel et al., 2001; Peel, 2005; Sigel et al., 2010).

creating participatory processes and deliberative spaces to facilitate community discussions about desired futures, the acceptability of likely impacts and proposed benefits, and community input into the SIA process, so that there can be a negotiated agreement with a developer based on free, prior and informed consent" (Esteves et al., 2012: 35).

In response, participation within the SIA process has been considered important since the beginning and has over time led to developing and using participatory methods and collaborative practises with stakeholders. This major focus on public participation has not just been reserved to SIA as part of the EIA process, but also in the context of EIA more generally, and this can be traced through the years in the literature (Cooper and Elliott, 2000; Del Furia and Wallace-Jones, 2000; Kapoor, 2001; Lockie, 2001; Diduck and Mitchell, 2003; Hartley and Wood, 2005; Mayoux and Chambers, 2005; Doelle and Sinclair, 2006; Stewart and Sinclair, 2007; Chávez and Bernal, 2008; Devlin and Yap, 2008; Lockie et al., 2008; Morrison-Saunders and Early, 2008; O’Faircheallaigh, 2010).

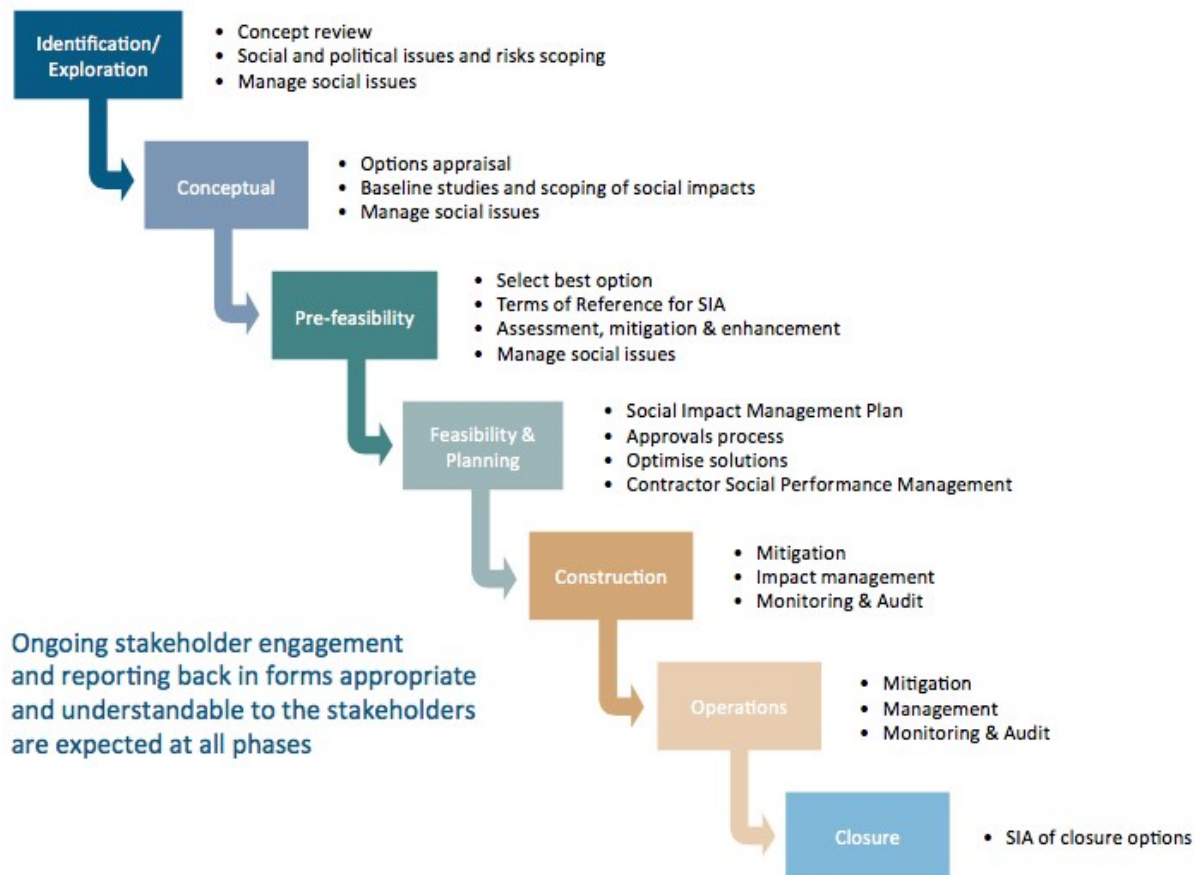


Figure 2.2: SIA can be applied at all phases of a project cycle (Source: Vanclay et al., 2015: 21)

However, there is evidence that poorly managed participation in SIA and EIAs can lead to failure to achieve intended outcomes, or unintended consequences for affected communities (Cooper and Elliott, 2000: 342; Lawrence, 2013: 267–72). Stakeholders may perceive SIA practitioners as biased due to how the SIA process works logistically, i.e. who employs the consultants conducting the SIA and (usually by the developer of a project). As a result, SIA practitioners need to be aware of their role and how their perceived bias might alter the dynamics of conflict. Besides the complexities of environmental challenges to the process (environmental impacts because of the proposed project that affect and become social impacts), logistics can also make such processes difficult to successfully facilitate, manage and mediate, due to budget and time constraints. As a result, the SIA practitioner may exacerbate existing, or even create, conflict, biasing outcomes towards the preferences of a minority of active, vocal stakeholders (Cooke, 2001; Gerrits and Edelenbos, 2004; Scott, 2011).

Vanclay and Esteves, in their introduction to their 2011 edited volume (pp. 11-12) summarise what constitute SIA good practice but warn that while there is consensus that SIA can make an effective contribution to sustainability, this potential is not always achieved, because both proponents commissioning SIAs and many practitioners still have a traditional narrow understanding of SIA. In some cases, as mentioned above, legislative requirements and other bureaucratic hold-ups such as time constraints or budget issues are the stumbling blocks. As Burges and Vanclay argue (1996), because of the complex nature of society and its interaction with the physical environment, the units of analysis, theoretical models and the epistemologies used from the various social sciences can be contradictory, making interdisciplinary communication difficult at best, and at worst, can reduce the credibility of SIA itself. Esteves and Vanclay (2011) admit that the "SIA community has failed to convince all its stakeholders of the full potential of SIA" (p. 3) and that increasing both general understanding of SIA and awareness of its benefits are necessary.

2.3.2 Critiques of SIA

There is a large body of literature criticising SIA and its methodologies, especially where public and stakeholder involvement are concerned. These criticisms range from theory to the methodology and practice of SIA. The most debated among these is the apparent lack of solid theoretical underpinnings because of the 'applied' nature of SIA (Taylor et al., 1995). Criticism is

levied by academics within the social sciences, especially anthropology, who do not consider SIA work as being 'proper' anthropology, with an ongoing debate on the roles of anthropology and applied anthropologists in the environmental and bureaucratic sectors (Milton, 1996; Okpoko, 1998; Sillitoe, 2007). Another source of criticism stems from practitioners themselves trying to unravel the complex relationships within society and between society and the physical environment (Burge and Vanclay, 1996). This inevitably leads to further criticism because the SIA process, including its techniques, methods and reports, need to be 'accessible' to both stakeholders and decision-makers, simplified / expressed in terms that can be understood by all, while still having the rigour and validity for the process outcome to be credible (Takyi, 2012). This is a very difficult balance to achieve, especially when there are many outside pressures and forces at play that emphasise the importance of 'context' and which can undermine the process and rigour of the SIA methods and outcomes (Ervin, 2004; Esteves et al., 2012; Taylor et al., 1995; Vanclay et al., 2011; Vella and Borg, 2010;).

Until relatively recently, legislative contexts around the world have focussed on the biophysical impacts within EIAs (Esteves et al., 2012: 35), while social impacts were often vague and included with, or substituted by, the economic analysis of proposed projects, rather than explicitly factoring in the much wider range of potential social impacts (Freudenberg, 1986; O'Faircheallaigh, 2010; Taylor et al., 1995), since the quantitative nature of economics is perceived as making such analyses more relevant to decision makers (Taylor et al., 1995: 3). This persists in several legislative contexts around the world where EIA legislation has been ratified (partly due to the development of ISO 2600 on Social Responsibility). Stakeholder involvement that was perceived to go beyond legal requirements, made the inclusion of SIA unpopular (Vella et al., 2015).²¹

If this challenge can be overcome, then the next challenge is how to take into consideration all the different ways that a population can be affected by a proposed project. This is an immense task, and the problem here is not the lack of social impact analysis but that there is too much of it. Some SIA reports could become 'encyclopaedic', especially when undertaken by academics, with a lot of analysis that was considered irrelevant (both by EIA coordinators and decision-

²¹ The 2015 conference paper cited here partly draws from the analysis of the empirical data collected during the fieldwork for this thesis.

makers), lacking focus on the issues needed for decision makers (Goldman, 2000; Takyi, 2012; Taylor et al., 1995; Vanclay and Esteves, 2011). In fact, many EIA coordinators, even today, will use academics to conduct baseline studies that include lengthy overviews of the populations within the area in question and then distil that report down to a more focused summary that integrates with the rest of the EIA (Goldman, 2000; Takyi, 2012; Taylor et al., 1995; Vanclay and Esteves, 2011; Vella and Borg, 2010).

SIA is often conducted within the constraints of tight time schedules, budgets and, more importantly, the TOR issued by the governing body (Esteves et al., 2012). This alone, limits both data collection and analysis, which may or may not include local knowledge. The simplistic (though legitimate) argument to criticisms such as the exclusion of power and political dynamics (Morell, 2008) is that such an analysis is not part of the remit or TOR of the SIA consultancy and therefore not desired within such a report by the competent authorities and/or the EIA coordinator. This is especially an issue for large projects due to their size and potential significant impacts on the socio-physical environment (Vella and Borg, 2010: 197). Because of these restrictions, progressive and conscientious EIA coordinators who believe that EIA tools could make a better contribution to the decision-making process do encourage further socio-political analysis, as long as it is pursued elsewhere (for example by writing academic papers or pursuing research action and conducting SIA reviews) and not in the social assessment for the EIA (Vella and Borg, 2010).

There has been wide consensus for decades among practitioners and environmental scientists analysing the EIA process, that there is the need for more thorough social investigation and the integration of different knowledges, including local knowledge (e.g. Okpoko 1998; Devuyust, et al., 2001; Stolp et al., 2002; Becker and Vanclay, 2003; Weston 2003; Milton, 2004; Moran, 2004; 2017; O'Faircheallaigh, 2010; Esteves and Vanclay, 2011). They have been arguing for better integration of the tools themselves and the decision-making process into which they feed and therefore, for more interdisciplinary approaches. It is worth pointing out that due to the many IA techniques and tools that are designed and employed in very different ways, their semantic or substantive integration may not be able to capture, address and suggest solutions for a diverse set of issues that affect stakeholders with different values spanning different spatial and temporal scales (Colantonio et al., 2009; Gasparatos, 2007; Gasparatos et al., 2008). To understand these

calls for change, it is necessary to understand the discrepancies between official guidelines to impact assessments and the messy reality of what actually happens on the ground.

2.3.3 The messy business of EIA within the planning process

EIA and the planning or decision-making process within which it is found are affected by intricate relationships of power delineated by socio-economic politics. These relationships span the 'micro' or local level, the 'meso' or national level and when dealing with large projects, the 'macro' – international bodies such as the EU and foreign agencies.²² The EIA process is in itself part of the political process, with substantial economic considerations, political and power affiliations together with social relations, all affecting the outcome of a development application (e.g. Bews, 2004; Goldman, 2000).

At the centre of this process, there are the perceptions of the various players or stakeholders, directly or indirectly affected by the project in question; towards each other; the project itself and the landscape where the project will be situated if permission is granted. These perceptions will in turn influence the working relationships between them, the approaches they take towards the collection of information and how it is analysed. These will influence the outcome of the planning permit (i.e. the end-result of the decision-making process after the planning authority reviews the EIA, go through the public consultation process and the planning board make the final decision, in line with national legislation and EU directives).

On the ground, the case-by-case impact assessments rarely, if ever, look at the overall picture, the macro-level impacts of projects and the Aol of a project is usually as small as the budget and time constraints allow. Whilst international standards of best practice advocate comparative studies that should also inform decision-makers of individual proposed urban development projects about the efficacy of policies that govern development schemes and environmental change within their country, such studies are not typically included, since such considerations do not usually fall within the TOR of an EIA, even though many times such considerations do impact

²² Relationships of power will be discussed in further in Section 2.4.4 (p. 61). Also see for example Forester, (1999); Abram and Waldren, (1998) and Abram and Weszkalnys, (2013) on the role of power in urban planning.

people's lives even at project level (Abram and Waldren, 1998; Abram and Wieszkalnys, 2013; Forester, 1999; Stolp et al., 2002).

These trade-offs impinge on the assessments' credibility, salience, and legitimacy to particular users (Eckley, 2001:18 quoted in Scrase and Sheate, 2002: 276). Such trade-offs are constituent to both assessments and the whole process of policy-making, when decisions are made about what to include and exclude in the assessments. It comes as no surprise, then, when the public criticizes the structure of the EIA and its various components, including SIA (Vella and Borg, 2010). Stakeholders interviewed as part of EIAs have argued that the EIA studies conducted do not really look for solutions and have limited benefits, because decisions have already been taken, contracts signed and the Impact Assessments are only there to fulfil legal obligations by the proponents (Taylor et al., 1995; Esteves et al., 2012; Lane et al., 2003; Glucker et al., 2013; Vella and Borg, 2010). Often little or no mitigation actions are evident in the 'communities' that are impacted by the project, nor is there monitoring of social impacts or enforcement of recommendations resulting from the EIA. In various countries, due to budgetary and political constraints, SIA does not follow through the full project cycle, and stakeholder participation is kept to the legally required minimum. Sometimes, the SIA is even omitted from the TOR of the EIA (Becker et al., 2004; Becker and Vanclay, 2003; Vella and Borg, 2010; Vella, 2017).

These 'trade-offs' and the resulting attitudes of citizens towards development policy and management have led to growing public distrust in the EIA process in many countries (see for example Goldman, 2000:14; Moran, 2006:121). As a result, there has been a shift towards more NGO participation and the creation of interest (or pressure) groups. Other stakeholders and members of the wider public²³ decide to consciously or actively disengage from 'front-stage' (after Goffman, 1959) involvement as a form of subversive action against the system (Baldacchino, 2015).

Therefore, Eckley (2001: 276) highlights "three ultimate determinants of the effectiveness of an assessment" in terms of the long-term sustainability of a development project: planners should take special consideration of: 1) the focus of the project in social and environmental terms, both

²³ The wider public is only mentioned here as a matter of due diligence, since the thesis focuses on stakeholder participation rather than the wider public. Public participation is used where theoretically relevant, especially in Chapters 6 and 7. See Section 2.4 (p. 43) on a detailed explanation of participation and specifically Section 2.4.7 (p. 83), which distinguishes between public and stakeholder participation.

short and long term; 2) who participates in the urban development process - in other words who is involved, formally and informally, such as partners, clients, stakeholders who have a direct or indirect stake in the project, other users who may be affected by the project and so on; and finally, 3) 'science-governance': how the relationships between the scientific experts and decision-makers or policy-makers are managed and how these roles are limited within the political process of decision-making.

Eckley's determinants emphasise connectivity - through time, between different actors, across social and ecological realms, between science, policy and practice. For EIA this then means the need for more collaboration, social learning and knowledge transfer between participants (including between academics working strictly within academic institutions and researchers in more applied fields of those disciplines) and for Impact Assessment tools to be more interrelated and integrative, to take into consideration in realistic terms, how development can become more socio-environmentally sustainable (Barthel and Seidl, 2017; Popa et al., 2015; Vanclay, 2014; Vella and Borg, 2010).

2.4 Explaining Participation

This section provides a number of complementary explanations for why participation might lead to different outcomes for the environment and those who participate in urban and spatial planning processes. Based on the literature, it is possible to explain how different types of participation work in terms of design (Section 2.4.2), mediation (2.4.3), the management of power (2.4.4), interdisciplinary and cultural discourse (2.4.5), context (2.4.6) and democracy (2.4.7). First however, it is necessary to define publics, stakeholders and participation in the context of SIA.

2.4.1 Defining publics, stakeholders and participation

Publics, stakeholders and participation are all “highly malleable concept(s), used to evoke and signify almost anything that involves people... and can be easily reframed to meet any demands made of them” (Cornwall, 2008: 269), such as in policies, TOR or any EU funding schemes that require participation. Some policies, directives and programmes define more explicitly who the 'public' or the 'stakeholder' is, based on definitions established by international conventions such as the Aarhus Convention (UNECE, 1998).

It should be noted though, that the Aarhus Convention does not use or define the term “stakeholder” in its text but distinguishes between “the public”, and “the public concerned” in Articles 2.4 and 2.5, respectively:

The public is defined as “one or more natural or legal persons, and, in accordance with national legislation or practice, their associations, organizations or groups” (Article 2.4), while

the public concerned” means the public affected or likely to be affected by, or having an interest in, the environmental decision-making; for the purposes of this definition, non-governmental organizations promoting environmental protection and meeting any requirements under national law shall be deemed to have an interest (Article 2.5).

Depending on who is doing the defining (and their disciplinary foundations from e.g. political sciences, communication sciences, history and social sciences), different conceptual frameworks for the definition and use of the terms ‘public’ and ‘stakeholders’ emerge. Dewey (1927) defined the public as all those who would be interested in or affected by a problem or decision, organise themselves to address the problem or decision. Building on this situation dependent or contextual definition, Grunig (1983) developed the situational theory of publics (STP),²⁴ which was further extended and generalised (Kim and Grunig, 2011) into a situational theory of problem solving (STOPS) (Kim and Grunig, 2011). STP and STOPS have been applied or further developed in the fields of crisis, health and organisational communication (see e.g. Aldoory and Grunig, 2012; Kim et al., 2011; Kim and Krishna, 2014; Kim and Lee, 2014; McKeever et al., 2016; Nimrod, 2013; Park et al., 2014; Zheng et al., 2016).

In the context of public participation in EAs and environmental decision-making, Dietz and Stern (2008: 7-8) use the definition by the U.S. National Research Council (1996). Therefore,

"the public" in public participation normally refers to those individuals acting both in their roles as citizens and as formal representatives of collective “interested and affected parties”—people, groups, or organisations that may experience benefit or harm or that otherwise choose to become informed or involved in an environmental decision." (Dietz and Stern, 2008: 7)

²⁴ In its definition of different types of publics, STP includes those who consider themselves as not having a problem (*nonpublics*), those who have a problem but might not be aware that they do (*the latent publics*), those who recognise that they have a problem (*aware publics*), and finally, the *active publics*, who do not just recognise that they have a problem but also mobilise towards solving the problem (Grunig, 1983; 1997; Petty and Cacioppo, 1986; Toth, 2006).

Using Renn and Walker (2008) and the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency Science Advisory Board (2001), Dietz and Stern (2008:15) make further distinctions between the different types of publics:

1. “*Stakeholders*----organized groups that are or will be affected by or that have a strong interest in the outcome of a decision;
2. *Directly affected public*----individuals and non-organized groups that will experience positive or negative effects from the outcome;
3. *Observing public*----the media, cultural elites, and opinion leaders who may comment on the issue or influence public opinion; and
4. The *general public*----all individuals who are not directly affected by the issue but may be part of public opinion on it.”

While these categories are useful, including the STP typologies (Footnote 24, above), I have a slightly different way of understanding who stakeholders are. In my conception of stakeholders, I place '*directly affected public*' as stakeholders, especially if they are users of the Aol. I also include those people who may be *indirectly* affected by the proposed (development) scheme, because they still have a 'stake' in the outcome of decisions taken, as in it will affect his or her life in one way or another. This broadens the definition of who the stakeholder is, bringing it closer to Freeman's original definition, who defines a stakeholder as "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organisation's objectives" (Freeman, 1984: 46). Clearly defining who is and who is not a stakeholder is highly consequential (Mitchell et al., 1997), since urban development and planning contexts usually include contentions over who is considered a stakeholder and how they are chosen. However, for the purposes of the SIA, and in keeping with my epistemological background as an applied anthropologist, there is a normative goal in this research to broaden my definition to include as many representative voices as possible. In fact, as an SIA practitioner I would typically use a form of stakeholder analysis based on snowball sampling, in which the identification and selection (and if necessary categorization) of stakeholders is directed primarily by the stakeholders themselves, rather than the research (Reed et al., 2009).

Therefore, in my conception of 'Stakeholders' I understand them to fall into three main categories or camps:

- **Directly and indirectly affected publics**, especially those in an Aol, who wish to influence a decision that affects their interests and therefore actively participate in the urban development processes and any invited space for participation.
- Those who are directly or indirectly affected, but **who choose not to get involved with the decision-making process**, even when there are active invited spaces for participation and involvement.
- Those who are not directly or indirectly affected, but have an **active interest** in the decision.

Directly and indirectly affected publics are those groups or individuals that are found within the Aol and will probably be affected by the proposed project if given development consent. Some individuals who are interviewed during the SIA would start off by stating that they do not think that they will be affected by the proposal. By the end of the interview, they end up changing their minds because of the type of questions that were asked and how the conversation progressed (Vella and Borg, 2010). This will be discussed further in the methodology chapter (Sections 3.2.2, p. 121; 3.2.4, p. 126 and particularly Section 3.2.6, p. 128 on participant observation).

In this category of stakeholders, I also include those directly involved with the planning process itself – the consultants performing the EIA, the decision-makers and politicians who also have a stake in the results of the planning process. This correlates with the arguments presented earlier on who has or does not have a stake in the project and Eckley's determinants towards the effectiveness of an assessment (see above, p. 42). This thinking is also a reflection of the perceived conflict of interest that those directly, or, more specifically, officially involved in the planning process are believed to have by other stakeholders (Vella and Borg, 2010). How these perceptions may affect stakeholder engagement will be further discussed during the evaluation of the three case studies in Chapter 6 and in Chapter 7 in relation to context.

This category of stakeholders also includes those who are somehow left out of the consultation and/or participatory processes. The literature on public and stakeholder participation, planning and governance give several reasons to why this takes place (e.g. Abram, 2011; Abram and

Waldren, 1998; Abram and Wieszkalnys, 2013; Conrad, 2012; Conrad et al., 2011a; Conrad et al., 2011b; Cornwall, 2008; Forester, 1989; 1999; 2009; Fraser et al., 2006; Healey, 2003; 2006; 2010; Hysing, 2013; Mansuri and Rao, 2013; Pares, 2012; Taylor et al., 1995; Vella et al., 2015a; Vella and Borg, 2010), which notably include power dynamics and lobbying by more influential groups. Those groups that are less organised, who incidentally are usually those who are more vulnerable, may end up not getting involved, even if they try. This is sometimes a political strategy by the government or its agencies, or the developer, who do not want to cause any 'ripples' by involving certain groups (Healey 2006; Forester 2009). Best practice guidelines, commentators and critics of public and stakeholder participation, however, caution practitioners to be vigilant and make sure that such groups are included in participatory practices (e.g. Becker and Vanclay, 2003; de Vente et al., 2016; Esteves et al., 2012; Reed, 2008; Vanclay and Esteves, 2011), especially with increasing acceptance of emerging trends that include a heightened attention to human rights; the evolution of social performance standards and the rise of local content requirements (Esteves et al., 2012: 38). Some go as far as suggesting that these groups should be given the resources necessary for their participation (e.g. Dietz and Stern, 2008). This of course may be difficult when there is no official participatory framework (such as Stakeholder Engagement Plans (SEP), see e.g. Franks and Vanclay, 2013) during the project development cycle, participation is limited to the legally mandated consultation by the environmental authority (Leighninger, 2014), or the temporality and financial constraints of the EIA make it difficult to put such guidance into practice.

The second group of stakeholders, who are also acknowledged in the literature (e.g. Healey, 2006; Abram, 2011; Dietz and Stern, 2008), are **those who choose not to get involved with the decision-making process**, even if they believe that they are affected by the proposed development. Again the literature offers a number of reasons why this takes place but as commentators have pointed out, it depends on the particular context of the case in question, the policies that govern whatever process it is, the underlying socio-political history of both the project itself and the planning agency (and usually also the relationship between agency, developer and the groups in question, including those who do not choose to be left out but are in the end left out of the planning, environmental assessment and/or decision-making processes) and the wider regional or national socio-economic and political contexts and their historicisation (e.g. Abram, 2011; Abram and Waldren, 1998; Healey, 2006; Ioris, 2012; Pares et al., 2012; Pollock

and Sharp, 2012; Porter, 2010; Sandercock, 2000; 2003; 2006; Vella and Borg, 2010). Indeed, a number of these authors (and critical commentators) have argued that just because there is a participatory process in place, even mandated by policy or legislation, does not mean that there will be a fair representation of the affected stakeholders or that social justice, social cohesion and equity will be upheld. As has already been elucidated earlier (see Section 1.3, pp. 8–18), critics such as Collins and Ison (2006: 2) argue that issues are inherently complex, uncertain and with multiple stakeholders, which makes conventional approaches to stakeholder participation messy, with interventions that in the end do not yield the desired democratic and environmentally/socially sustainable results. The research for this thesis therefore tries to elicit, through the case studies, reasons to explain why such individuals choose not to get involved, even if, directly asked to be interviewed/involved.

The third category of stakeholders can either be groups, formal and otherwise and individuals that have an **active interest** in the proposed development project, but unlike the first category, do not have a direct 'stake' towards that particular project, but might have other reasons why they decide to engage with the EIA / decision-making process. The most obvious reason would be an environmental interest, sometimes coupled with a political one. This falls squarely within anthropological discourses of environmentalism (Abram, 2011; Abram and Waldren, 2003; Healey, 2006; Briguglio, 2010; 2015), but also another hegemonic discourse, citizenship and governance (e.g. Abram 2011; Baldacchino 2015; Boissevain, 2013). The differences between the first and third categories are subtle, especially for the purposes of an SIA, where such individuals and groups would usually be associated with Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and eNGOs for example, and considered as having a direct stake within the project, but from an analysis perspective, there are differences that do differentiate one category from the other, in the form of agency, representation or self-representation. These differences become more important when discussing participation and SIA at more conceptual and theoretical levels and also for the SIA fieldworker's involvement, because their reasons for active involvement would be different from those with more apparent direct or indirect stakes within the proposed development scheme. This category of stakeholder becomes particularly interesting when invited spaces for participation are limited or absent and they tend to become enablers for citizen-driven engagement where either the individual or group flies under the radar and sometimes, even the

Engagement itself may not be immediately apparent, though most of the time, the civic engagement is visible (e.g. Hoff and Gausset, 2015; McCabe, 2010).

Participation, together with **engagement** and **involvement** have been mentioned several times in the above paragraphs. As with stakeholders, participation, engagement and involvement may have different meanings depending on the processes that they are embedded in, and who is using the terms. For the purposes of this discussion I make a deliberate distinction between the three: Building on the definition provided in the introduction (Footnote 2, p.2), participation, therefore, is when an individual, in one way or another, actively takes part in official participation. Based on the literature consulted in the context of SIA and urban planning, I interpret stakeholder involvement as when an individual decides to take an interest in a project, which may be as passively as following the news updates and nothing more. When that individual decides to get more actively involved, then that person becomes an active participant, actively engaging with the participatory process. This is different from passive participation, where an individual may choose to attend a meeting, for example, but chooses to not participate in discussions or make his or her opinion heard or public knowledge. In this case, the individual is getting involved to stay informed but does not engage more actively with the process. During the fieldwork for this research, for example, there were several people who attended the public meeting for whichever proposed project they had a stake in, but it was noted that these individuals were not active participants, even sitting at the back of the hall. Further, when invited to be interviewed, they declined. While they may be actively engaged within the process informally, formally, they were passive participants.

Before focusing on different aspects of participation that have informed my theoretical positioning and the development of the Wheel and Theory of Participation conceptualised in Chapter 6, it is appropriate at this point to provide a short contextual historical overview of how the literature defines participation. This is because, as will be discussed in Section 3.1.3.1 (p. 103) and later in Chapters 6 and 7, the participation that takes place during the three case studies is first analysed using a more hierarchical predominantly top-down model depicted as ladders (Figure 2.3), based mostly on Arnstein's 1969 ladder of participation. Arnstein's conceptualisation of participatory processes started a trend that depicted participatory typologies as a sequence from non-participation at the bottom rung of the ladder to full citizen control at the top. Over the decades

that followed, mostly fuelled by the confrontational urban politics of 1960s America and subsequent models arising from other socio-political and governance contexts, the nature and number of rungs of the ladder were modified to represent the underlying perceptions of power and relationships between the state and its constituents, from Wilcox's (1994) collaborative 5 rungs to Eyben's (2003) rights-based 6-rung ladder (Aylett, 2010: 101), reproduced in Figure 2.3, below). As Aylett points out, these very different participatory models "carry within them the imprint of the struggles that shaped them" (Aylett, 2010: 101), including debates drawing on Foucault and Habermas on the role of power, struggle and consensus within the modern state (see Sections 2.4.4–2.4.7, pp. 61–83).

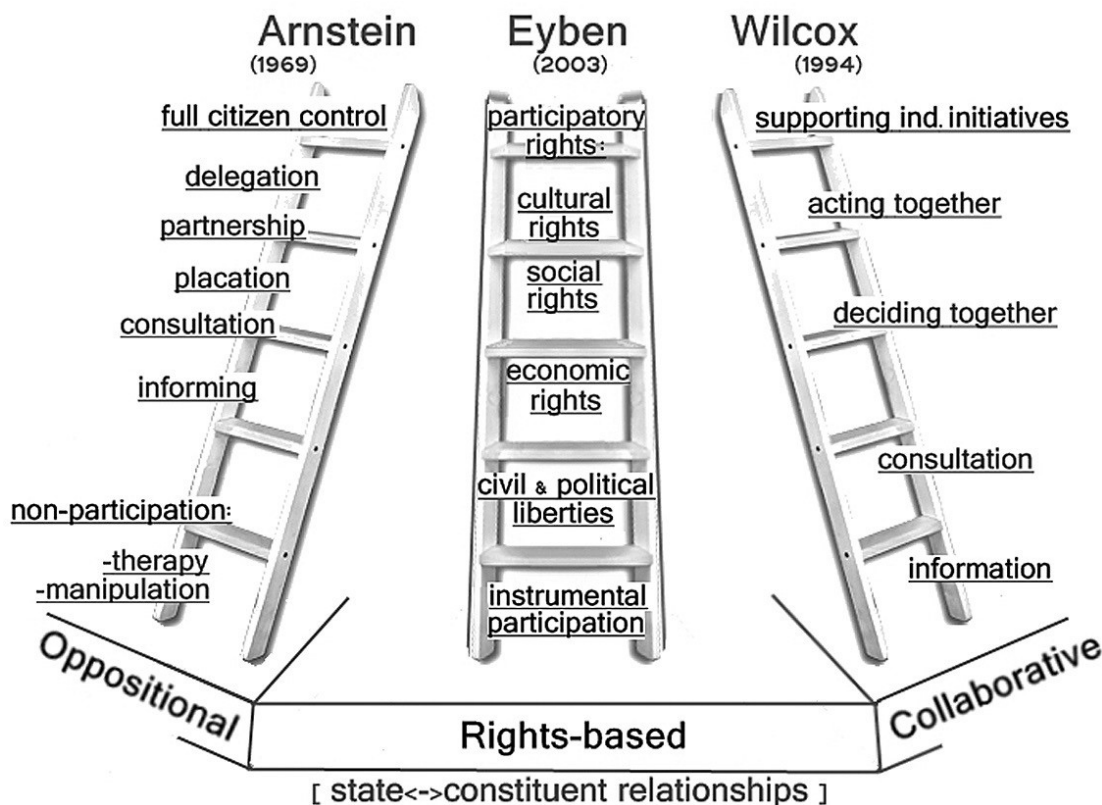


Figure 2.3: Three models of participation (Arnstein, 1969; Eyben, 2003; Wilcox, 1994) are summarized using the common visual metaphor of the ladder. At the base of each ladder is a term denoting the perceived nature of power and state/society relationships implicit in each model. (Source: Aylett, 2010: 101)

Therefore, Cornwall (2008: 270–3) points out that while “Arnstein’s ladder looks at participation from the perspective of those on the receiving end, Jules Pretty’s (1995) typology of participation speaks more to the user of participatory approaches” (Cornwall, 2008: 270), and is equally normative. Sara White’s typology (1996) can be used as a useful tool to identify conflicting ideas

about why or how participation is being used at any particular stage in a process, offering some insights of the different interests in various forms of participation (for tables describing the two typologies, see Cornwall, 2008: 270; 272-273).

2.4.2 Participation as design

There is a growing body of literature that emphasises role of design in participation processes. Perhaps most stark is the claim by de Vente et al. (2016: 12), based on quantitative and qualitative analysis of interviews with facilitators and stakeholders engaged in environmental management in 11 cases from Spain and Portugal and 13 international dryland sites:

The limited amount of variation in outcomes that was observed across national contexts could be explained by a small number of contextual factors. We therefore conclude that well-designed engagement processes that consider the recommendations from this research, can lead to well-informed, durable, and flexible outcomes across a wide range of contexts.

Although de Vente et al. (2016: 12) explicitly state, “this is not to say that context had no effect on outcomes whatsoever”, they emphasise the relative importance of effective process design in determining the outcomes of participation. This is consistent with Brooks et al.’s (2013) statistical analysis of 136 community-based conservation projects, showing project design was critical in delivering attitudinal, behavioural, ecological and economic outcomes. Although “some community characteristics” (e.g. tenure regimes and supportive cultural beliefs) were important for “some aspects of project success” they concluded that “surprisingly, there is less evidence that national context systematically influences project outcomes” (Brooks et al., 2013: 1). Newig et al. (2016) suggest that one of the reasons that process design plays such an important role in determining outcomes, is that stakeholder and public participation provides more comprehensive information inputs that can underpin more robust decisions. Equally, poorly designed and facilitated participation may also lead to biases in the decision-making process, for example if the outcomes reflect the information inputs of over-represented or dominant participants (Ansell and Gash, 2008).

Another reason why well-designed engagement processes are more likely to help tackle environmental challenges may be because they engage those responsible for implementing decisions fully from the outset (e.g. Bulkeley and Mol, 2003; Newig, 2007). By effectively representing key actors who can affect or who are likely to be affected by decisions arising from

the engagement process, the decision is more likely to reflect the views of those who must implement it (Reed et al., 2009; Reed and Curzon, 2015). This literature argues for strategic rather than complete representation of stakeholders based on their relative levels of interest, influence and benefit. There is evidence that engaging large numbers of stakeholders in complex decision-making processes can increase understanding of system complexity among participants, leading to consensus over broad, conceptual points but make it harder for decision-makers to choose between options (Büscher and de Beer, 2011; Gray et al., 2012).

Linked to this, a well-designed engagement process should in theory seek and value all perspectives in a decision-making process (de Vente et al., 2016). By enabling participants to listen to a wider range of perspectives, stakeholder and public participation may enable learning to occur at several levels (Garmendia and Stagl, 2010). This may range from better understanding the conservation challenges on a cognitive level, to deeper learning that can enable participants to re-evaluate underlying assumptions and values, leading to changes in attitudes that may shift their positions, so that they are more in line with their values in relation to the environment (Fazey et al., 2006; de Vente et al., 2016). Sterling et al. (2017) analysed 82 case studies of participatory conservation projects and found a statistically significant correlation between attitudinal change and three design variables: i) integration of stakeholder knowledge and values in the decision-making process; ii) participation with stakeholders throughout the project; and iii) transparency of the decision-making process (there was also a correlation between attitudinal change and trust building in the case studies they analysed).

In order to design an appropriate participatory process, clear objectives need to be agreed among stakeholders at the outset: “It is only by defining clear objectives that it will be possible to determine the appropriate level of engagement, who should be engaged, and how best to engage them” (Reed, 2008: 2424). As introduced above (Section 2.4.1) and further explored in the sections that follow and the discussion chapters (6 and 7), understanding who is a stakeholder and defining them also depends on the socio-cultural and political context within which the participatory process is to be designed and undertaken. It is important to clearly articulate the participatory tools selected and specific objectives to work with the different groups, since “well-formulated questions are more likely to generate robust answers” (Lynam et al., 2007: 3). This is closely linked to stakeholder analysis, which may take place as part of such an analysis, where

system boundaries and issues are identified alongside those who hold a stake in what happens to the system under investigation (Reed et al., 2009). This may require negotiation, and different stakeholders may have irreconcilable objectives (Chess and Purcell, 1999). However, if the goals are developed through dialogue (making trade-offs where necessary) between participants, they are more likely to take ownership of the process, partnership building will be more likely, and the outcomes are more likely to be more relevant to stakeholder needs and priorities, motivating their ongoing active engagement (Johnson et al., 2004; Lynam et al., 2007). This assumes that such engagement is in fact necessary.

Participatory methods can only be chosen once the objectives of the process have been clearly articulated, a level of engagement has been identified that is appropriate to those objectives, and relevant stakeholders have been selected for inclusion in the process. The level of engagement is a major factor determining the methods that are likely to be the most relevant. These range from information dissemination leaflets (discussed above), the use of mass media and hotlines; public meetings; focus groups; a task force; and so forth. Reed (2008) lists the various methods that have been used and authors such as Sadler et al. (2002) (Table 2.2 below), Tippet et al. (2007), Carter (2006), Cornwall (2008), Rowe and Frewer (2004), Cooke and Kothari (2002), Richards et al. (2004), Chambers (2002); Taylor et al. (1995), Cleaver (1999) and others provide useful reviews, comparative and critical analyses of participatory process designs and methods, both generally and in specific fields where they participatory tools are utilised (such as sustainable development; governance; urban, spatial and resource planning and management, and so forth).

Methods used must also be adapted to the decision-making context, including socio-cultural and environmental factors and other limitations (see e.g. Reed, 2008) and will need to be critically evaluated by the 'agency' (those initiating the stakeholder engagement; see Section 6.2, p. 287) accordingly, together with the relevant stage of the process where stakeholder participation will be implemented (Richards et al., 2004).

Table 2.2 illustrates several public participation techniques, their level of public contact achieved; their ability to handle specific interests; the degree of two-way communication and whether they inform/ educate stakeholders; identify problems and values; generate ideas and solve problems; have the capacity of feedback; whether they evaluate the various issues being discussed and finally whether they resolve conflict and achieve consensus.

As the table below indicates, stakeholder participation and the various methods used can be unsuccessful in reaching their goals and, depending on the socio-political context, may even increase conflict without reaching consensus. Experience of disaster and risk management diplomacy, for example, has shown that grassroots involvement can be counterproductive in high-level strategic policy making (Kelman, 2008). This is also because technical planning and environmental decisions are not only value based, but also identity based (Appleyard, 1979: 143), in other words, individuals bring with them socio-cultural and cognitive baggage and this will influence how they make decisions, and may go against scientific data and empirical results (Forester, 1989; Abram, 2011). The testing and evaluation of alternatives in a cooperative and interactive manner can then prove to be more complicated, sometimes resulting in conflict (Golobic, 2005: 202). Public participation has been associated with pre-proposals, to inform EIA and SIA. The integration of such tools should enhance environmental governance but the mechanisms through which this can be done are unclear. What is clear is that there is consensus for social investigation in efforts to address these issues and re-thinking the traditional instruments to assess environmental impacts (e.g. Devuyust et al., 2001; Milton, 2004; Moran, 2017; Okpoko, 1998; Weston, 2003). This doctoral research has similar aims to the ones proposed by Cooke and Kothari (2002) and the contributors of their book *Participation–The New Tyranny?* While they posited their enquiry towards the use of participatory methods in the development industry, my enquiry will focus on impact assessments, especially social assessments within the urban planning decision-making process, "through a conceptual and ideological examination of its theory, methods and practices" (Cooke and Kothari, 2002: 2).

Table 2.2: Public Participation Techniques. (Source: Adapted from Sadler et al., 2002: 186-187)

Level of Public Contact Achieved	Ability to Handle Specific Interest	Degree of 2-way Communication	Public Participation / Communication Technique	Inform/Educate	Identity Problems / Values	Achieve Ideas / Values	Feed-back	Evaluate	Resolve Conflict/ Reach Consensus
2	1	1	Public Hearings		X		X		
2	1	2	Public Meetings	X	X		X		
1	2	3	Informal Small Group Meetings	X	X	X	X	X	X
2	1	2	General Public Information Meetings	X					
1	2	2	Presentations to Community Organisation	X			X		
1	3	3	Information Coordination Seminars	X			X		
1	2	1	Operating Field Offices		X	X	X	X	
1	3	3	Local Planning Visits		X		X	X	
2	2	1	Information Brochures and Pamphlets	X					
1	3	3	Field Trips and Site Visits	X	X				
3	1	2	Public Displays	X		X	X		
2	1	2	Model Demonstration Projects	X			X	X	X

Level of Public Contact Achieved	Ability to Handle Specific Interest	Degree of 2-way Communication	Public Participation / Communication Technique	Inform / Educate	Identify Problems / Values	Achieve Ideas / Values	Feed-back	Evaluate	Resolve Conflict/ Reach Consensus
3	1	1	Material for Mass Media	X					
1	3	2	Response to Public Inquiries	X					
3	1	1	Press Releases Inviting Comments	X			X		
1	3	3	Workshops		X	X	X	X	X
1	3	3	Advisory Committees		X	X	X	X	
1	3	3	Task Forces		X	X		X	
1	3	3	Employment of Community Residents		X	X			X
1	3	3	Community Interest Advocates			X		X	X
1	3	3	Ombudsman or Representative		X	X	X	X	X
2	3	1	Public Review of Initial Assessment Decision Document	X	X	X	X	X	X

KEY: Level of participation: 1= Low; 2= Medium; 3= High

Unfortunately, initiating such change is usually 'fraught with problems', as Goldman (2000) puts it when talking about the passageway from SIA recommendations to project implementation. Increasing use of visualization technologies in spatial planning, and employing the full capabilities of available analytical technologies by interdisciplinary teams for example, could instigate better information transfer and collaboration between the analysts, those actors who have a stake in the project and the participants within the decision-making process, inducing better results (Vella and Borg, 2010). It is therefore important to understand the interactions between communities, environmental agendas and bureaucratic systems of planning before considering a change in methodologies or one risks entering the reflexive loop of "self-critical epistemological awareness" (Chambers, 1997: 32) that practitioners of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) are so accustomed to (Cooke and Kothari, 2002). While such reflexivity is considered by PRA practitioners essential to participatory ideology and practice, Cooke and Kothari also point out how this reflexivity has been critiqued for its lack of productive critique of the methods employed, giving little value to important epistemological and methodological questions. I pose the same question in relation to Environmental and Social Impact studies rather than for PRA: How can environmental and social assessments be conducted without de-localizing or disenfranchising the affected 'communities'?

It could be argued that being epistemologically aware and self-critical are important in SIA and any participatory work, because they link directly to positionality of oneself in relation to the planned development and the social actors (the stakeholders) that SIA practitioners (or other professional) interact with, and possibly identify with. It is then important to move beyond the reflexivity and the professional's role within the SIA and participatory processes and where the practitioners are located within those processes. In short, how do professionals / practitioners interact with these processes and how, then do they influence the process and the decisions that are taken through their work (with their specific disciplinary 'baggage' or 'lens') to decrease de-localising or disenfranchising affected 'communities'? The literature indicates that one approach to this interaction is mediation, also attributed as one of the roles of SIA practitioners (e.g. Chambers, 1989; Ervin, 2005; Karjalainen and Järvikoski, 2010; Miklavcic and LeBlanc, 2014; Rylko-Bauer et al., 2006; Sairinen, 2011; Sairinen et al., 2010; Simpson, 2000; Vella et al., 2015b; Vella and Borg, 2010; Van Willigen, 2002).

2.4.3 Participation as mediation

As discussed in the above section, recent governance models suggest that direct participation and integration of stakeholder concerns in the environmental decision-making process could assist mediation and reduce the potential for conflict and this will be further explored next. Participatory methods may offer an approach to accommodate the issues raised by opponents to certain developments and thus possibly avoid consequent refusals of planning permission (Colby et al., 2009). The literature also suggests that effective involvement of stakeholders in the decision making process can produce better community endorsement that is superior to representations produced solely by expert-centred processes since it allows for stakeholder appreciation and reflection; can capture different perspectives, allows for social, economic and political flexibility, enhances perceived legitimacy of decisions taken and potentially captures alternative options (Swanson et al., 2009; Reed, 2008). In many environmental decisions, multiple stakeholder input is needed to produce a fair and balanced decision that is better accepted (Creighton, 1983). Such input requires direct participation efforts that is nowadays mandated as part of the scope of normal decision-making procedures, and not simply left to majority voting by a representational branch of government (Webler, 1999), especially when it involves projects that are partly funded by the EU.

In recent times, top-down approaches to decision-making have received sustained criticism from a variety of sources. These include the Critical Legal Studies movement in the USA. Kennedy (1997) for example, taking inspiration from Marxist and feminist discourses, has drawn attention to the hidden motivations and power structures of law. This sustained critique of an overbearing and paternalistic approach has led to a re-conceptualisation of justice as something that emerges from the discourse of equals; a more bottom-up account of justice where reasoned argument, synergies (at best) and compromise (at worst) are the hallmarks of a qualitatively distinct form of dialogue between parties. Recent studies in environmental governance show that cooperative approaches, e.g. co-production of knowledge and evidence have longer lasting effects on stakeholder relationships, social learning, and implementation of environmental legislation (Armitage et al., 2015).

When conflicts arise, especially during decision-making processes with polycentric disputes, which feature multiple parties and multiple issues (as is usually the case during stakeholder participation exercises), rather trying to eliminate conflict, it is more productive to create participatory structures that can work productively with conflict (Aylett, 2010; Flyvbjerg,

1998; Holmes and Scoones, 2000; 2001; Owens, 2000). Focusing on participation, one approach would be alternate dispute or conflict resolution that follows the informal route of mediation, rather than the formal route of arbitration (Fuller, 1971). Mediation is considered to be a non-hierarchical approach to conflict resolution (Menkel-Meadow, 1993), enabling the solution to conflict to emerge from the dialogue and interaction of the participants, without the presence of an external authority (e.g. judge) to rule on the matter (Vella et al., 2015b).

The advantages of mediation are doubted by some who argue that mediation cannot successfully deal with power imbalances and that these are inherently private resolutions that lack the authority of public settlements (Fiss, 1984). This viewpoint has been further supported by Neuberger (2010) who argued that more formal conflict resolution has a constitutional and public value that should not be undermined by private resolution.

A relevant response here comes from some critics of alternative dispute resolution and mediation, notably Salem (1993; 1997), who argue that 'Western', often, 'hidden' assumptions about conflict resolution are not universally applicable and are not shared in other parts of the world. The much-discussed wider cultural critiques in the fields of conflict resolution, political science and various sub-disciplines of anthropology (Bear, 2014; Boyer, 2012; Cowan et al., 2001; Meyer, 2011) reiterate the need to re-conceptualise participatory processes as a form of mediation between multiple and often conflicting stakeholder views, needs, agendas and cultural approaches and perspectives.

The practice of mediation can be traced back to Greek and Roman times in the West (Ramsbotham et al., 2011: 52). The intellectual roots of mediation can be attributed to many disparate sources (Menkel-Meadow, 2000). Mitchell and Webb (1988) point out that by 1945, the experiential knowledge acquired in the field by professional diplomats and negotiators had become complemented by critical studies of state-level diplomacy and international mediation. This was followed by the call in Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter for agreed mechanisms for peaceful settlement of disputes, which led to several studies from the 1960s onwards (Ramsbotham et al., 2011: 52). While several scholars ascertained that there still was a deficit in the critical analysis of mediation that lacked systematic analysis during the 1980s (Pruitt and Rubin, 1986: 237), Ramsbotham et al. (2011: 52) maintain that the deficit has since been filled.

The history of formal mediation in environmental decision-making dates back as far as the 1970s (Buckle and Thomas-Buckle, 1986; Newig and Fritsch, 2009). For example, mediation

is often linked to the 'justice from below' movement (Brandt, 1998; McEvoy and McGregor, 2010). In reality, there are a variety of 'grassroots movements' that have sought alternative structures based on differing accounts of justice. These movements have highlighted grassroots norms and localised settings (i.e. specific contextual factors) rather than appealing to universal norms of equity.

For the purpose of this thesis, mediation is broadly defined as a method for intervening in conflicts that enables the parties to reach agreement through the facilitation of a neutral mediator, rather than having a decision imposed on the parties from above or outside. In mediation and engagement processes in general, the emphasis is typically on stakeholder-directed solutions, rather than having a solution imposed by an outside judge. A mediation aims for win-win solutions rather than win-lose as typically results from legal processes. A mediation process takes place in different phases. It starts with an information phase where participants are informed about the process of mediation, clarifying any questions and setting the scene for the following process. In the next step, the participants collect all relevant information pertaining to the mediation. All interests and reasons for the choice of these topics are discussed (Ramsbotham et al., 2016). Based on this background information and further discussion, potential solutions for the selected topics will be gathered and specified in an agreement (Bell et al., 2011; Ramsbotham et al., 2016).

There is increasing evidence that the quality of facilitation in participatory processes is a strong determinant of outcomes (Bojórquez-Tapia et al., 2004; Chess and Purcell, 1999; Richards et al., 2004; de Vente et al., 2016). However, there have been limited attempts to draw on insights from the mediation literature to better understand how participation works (Reed et al., 2017a; Vella et al., 2015b). This literature focuses on the social processes through which decisions are made, including who decides and how, with an explicit focus on understanding and managing power dynamics. One of the difficulties in assessing the outcomes of mediation in environmental decision-making processes is that there are no universally agreed criteria with which to assess mediation success (Bercovitch, 2007). For example, whilst it is possible to measure the number of disputes that are settled, it has been argued that it is the 'quality of the settlement' that matters: is a mediation that narrows a significant range of issues a success, a partial success or a failure (Sidoli del Ceno, 2013)? Is the mediation successful that enables every stakeholder had their right to say in the matter, or only if all stakeholders are satisfied with the decision?

In both mediation and participatory processes, the emphasis is typically on a stakeholder-directed solution, rather than having a solution imposed by an outside 'judge'. This builds on the assumption that the participants themselves have the greatest expertise or insights into the matter of conflict, and take responsibility for including each of their viewpoints during the mediation process and negotiate best possible outcome for all. The mediation process is thus one way of managing power dynamics in decision-making processes. A broader conceptualization of the role of power in participatory processes has emerged based on decades of debates of social theories focusing on power, structure and agency, industrial and deliberative democracy, governance and social movements (following sections); however, in practice, 'power issues' remain a difficult aspect to manage and evaluate.

As such, 'success' will always be a highly subjective concept, whose definition will vary between actors and contexts, and across scales; one person's success in one context at a specific time may be considered a failure by someone else in a different context or at a different time. Shepherd (1984) therefore divides the concept of success in participation into two aspects: process and outcome. The social benefits of the process may be as important as the outcomes for the environment or other stakeholder interests. The perceived legitimacy of a participatory process often hinges on perceptions that the process is successful (based on legitimate inputs and throughputs of representation and knowledge in the process) and output-based perceptions of success (Papadopoulos and Warin, 2007; Schmidt, 2013).

2.4.4 Participation as the management of power

Power has been a central theme on the debates on conflict, consensus, processes of intersubjectivity, dynamics of state institutions, the relation of knowledge to power, discourse and governmentality and how they relate to participation. These debates developed by Habermas on 'communicative rationality' (1983; 1996); Arendt's consensual theory of power (1970) and Lukes's three dimensions of power (1974; 2005), which fuelled debates by social theorists such as Bourdieu and Foucault. Their work has been critically analysed and adopted to build more recent social theories by many social theorists over time (e.g. Archer, 2007; Clegg, 1989; Clegg et al., 2006; Clegg and Haugaard, 2009; Edwards and Collinson, 2002; Flyvbjerg, 1998a, 1998b).²⁵

²⁵Farr (2012: 47–53) provides a useful overview on power and participation. It is beyond the scope of this thesis (and this literature review) to provide a detailed critical analysis of these social theories, although it should

While keeping the above wider literature in mind, the following section will predominantly provide an overview that focuses on the contributions and criticisms made by and of anthropological analysis on power. The final sections of the chapter will become more interdisciplinary in nature, as the discussion moves to participation as cultural discourse (Section 2.4.5), context (2.4.6) and democracy (2.4.7).

Gardner and Lewis (1996: 2) argue that anthropology can contribute to an analysis of development (in a broad sense) providing a dynamic critique and help push thought and practice away from over-systematic models and dualities (traditional as opposed to modern; formal as opposed to informal; developed versus undeveloped). Anthropology can then provide critical approaches of planned and unplanned socio-environmental change. This can be done, for example, by looking at the workings and use of knowledge and relations of power, especially at the local level and the way power relations are negotiated within the locality and also the national level, contributing to the outcome of socio-environmental change and transformation. This is also done by understanding the various discourses and values that are attached to the locality, the way the transformation of the landscape within and surrounding the locality is valued and the extent to which identity (i.e. how an individual or group identifies with that locality as a physical space within the physical environment and also as a social space and the interactions of the relationships of power within that social space) contribute to planned socio-physical change brought about by planned urban change.

Similar criticisms have been made in the past by anthropologists working in both the development field, such as on humanitarian projects with the World Bank, and on EIAs as SIA consultants, where very little attention was given to the relationships of power within project host communities (Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Stone, 2003; Sillitoe, 2007). In fact, Cooke and Kothari's edited volume was the result of a conference that stems from this dissatisfaction,

be noted that the empirical analyses of the data are built on the relevant social theories, used where appropriate within the text of this thesis and in the introductory sections of the results sections of each SBS (Appendices V–VII). The structure of this Chapter and the literature used in Section 2.4 provides the analytical foundations for the conceptualisation of the theory presented in Chapters 6 and 7, focusing on the role that applied anthropology can play in SIA and participatory processes. Therefore, rather than having a detailed section on the precise steps used for the analyses found in the Social Baseline Studies (see CH 5 and the corresponding Appendices), the focus of the empirical analysis in Chapter 6 is on the participation conducted for each case study, which is new material not included in the baseline studies (but based on the social analyses made for the baseline studies). The fact that with the more intuitive and context-sensitive, issue-driven, analytic induction approach taken in applied anthropology (Taylor et al., 1995: 106–114), which cannot be described in a neat linear methodological and analytical recipe-like process, is discussed in Sections 2.4.5 (p. 66); 3.2.1 (p. 110) and 3.2.5–3.2.6 (127–128).

where one of the main questions was "Do group dynamics lead to participatory decisions that reinforce the interests of the already powerful?" (Cooke and Kothari, 2001: 8). This does not only refer to powerful groups within the development world but also those who have power within recipient communities (those with the loudest voice get heard more),²⁶ resulting in making decisions based on what, for example, the village chief decided was in the apparent best interest of the village without involving other members and groups within the village. Such consultation and decision-making approach usually resulted in poor management of resources or the wrong kind of resource being delivered.

There are other arguments around representation that also focus on organisational approaches to participation and the function that groups have within the process. Structural-functional arguments focus around the importance of analysing the functions and the various relationships of and between 'formal' and 'informal' institutions and groups on both sides - the donating institution (such as the World Bank), with their formalized structures of committees, cost-benefit analytical approaches that lead to balance checks and the distribution of power within them; without really empowering recipient parties and local residents involved in such projects to question the projects' objectives (Aylett, 2010; Mohan, 1999; 2002; 2013; Shah, 1997). These would include unofficial power relations within the communities that may not be officially seen or acknowledged but may be present and important (such as women's groups within the village), and other external groups (such as NGOs) working with the locals but which are not necessarily affiliated to the project. These dynamics within participatory structures can also produce new forms of inequality (Aylett, 2010: 100), especially when the service delivery that should be provided by the donating institution or the state is offloaded to NGOs, community groups, or local residents that are in some way affiliated to the projects (Ackerman, 2004; Aylett, 2010: 101; Heller, 2001; Mohan, 2002).

Knowledge, relationships of power and the politics of everyday life at individual level (Ginsborg, 2005), may contribute towards the relation between factors inherent in a 'risk society' (after Beck, 1992; and Giddens, 1984)²⁷ and the planning process (Abram, 1998; Berglund, 1998). Societal shifts towards more awareness of the daily risks have created more coherent arguments when discussing possible negative impacts of proposed projects (Corburn, 2003). At the same time this increased awareness has decreased the amount of

²⁶ See Hailey (2002: 95-100)

²⁷ Also see Ekberg (2007) for a review and exploration of the parameters of the Risk Society.

trust that people have towards the establishment (such as planning authorities) and experts who are supposed to minimise those risks (Włodarczyk and Tennyson, 2003; Vella and Borg, 2010).

Anthropological enquiry can help understand in greater depth, through ethnography (see Section 3.1.1, p. 95 and Section 3.2.6, p. 128 on participant observation), the decisions that are made at local and individual levels to whether or not one decides to move away from a locality because of a proposed development or how their connection to that place will be fundamentally altered. These may be framed in personal assessments of such risks as losing one's livelihood and being unable to provide for one's family; losing one's social standing within the community; the perceived disintegration of what binds the community together through the loss of the social networks accustomed to; the perceived loss of a community that one can identify with and the fear of animosity; the loss of personal space and so forth.

Power, as argued by Foucault (1980) is circular and is not only found, as is popularly portrayed, at institutional levels, but at all levels of society, where all individuals are vehicles of power. This decentralizes the more readily identifiable traditional types of social control and domination and "disrupts the dichotomies of macro/micro, central/ local, powerful/ powerless, where the former are sites and holders of power and the latter the subjects of power" (Kothari, 2002:141). Kothari argues, using this Foucauldian perspective, that power is found in the creation of norms and social and cultural practices at all levels.

In the context of development practices, power is exercised through knowledge and its dissemination, which is culturally, socially and politically produced and continuously reformulated as a powerful normative construct (Aylett, 2010; Kothari, 2002: 141). In other words, using Foucault's critique of how the state produces and disseminates knowledge (Foucault, 1991), power is manifested by the use of information and what is considered as valid knowledge to be included or left out; and therefore, who is included or excluded, how they participate (or in which capacity they are allowed to participate) and how conclusions are reached and by whom (Aylett, 2010; Cleaver, 1999; Hajer, 2005; Mohan, 2013; Pellizzoni, 2001).

It is important to note here, that this happens at all levels of the operationalisation process and one should not simply think of local knowledge and local participation within the environmental planning process. Planners, for example can be as misinformed as local 'stakeholders' about the true intentions of politicians. Within local groups involved in

participatory exercises, there are those who have more prestige (or authority, rank, social standing or even social capital) than others, some voices are heard more and individual gain for some may prevail over what might be best for the community (Cooke and Kothari, 2002). Misinformation, as with the omission of information, is one of the sources of power within the process.²⁸ Abram uses the anthropological themes of ritual and magic to explain how planning and planners are not infallible, nor are they completely responsible for the outcomes of development, that the ritual of preparing plans, going through the planning processes legitimises both the principle of planning and the power of the state to regulate Abram, 2011: 36-37).

The ways in which knowledge then, in its various forms is operationalised depends on the context within which they are produced, how the various actors within the environmental planning process identify with and value the information they are dealing with and the 'ranking' (after Sibley 1995 cited by Kothari 2002:146) they give to such knowledge as they interpret it and use it to make decisions. Decisions here are not simply those taken officially by planners or decision-makers, but also those decisions that reflect actions taken by the various social actors, including whether to participate within the process, or which kind of information to divulge, even during, for example, interviews. This ranking influences what kind of information/evidence gets used or left out, if the knowledge is considered 'expert' and how it is transferred during the decision-making process. These are in turn dependent on the perceptions and direct experience that the various participants have of each other, the disciplines through which they operate (e.g. "hard" versus "soft" sciences) and the perceptions and experiences they have of the environmental planning process itself. In other words, the way knowledge is rationalised and 'embodied' by the multitude of social actors involved within the process (Abram, 2011: 39).

The themes discussed in the above paragraphs delineate the definitions that the various actors within these processes give to both sustainability and development as concepts to work with and in turn how they are used as discourse in their work as planners, decision-makers, developers, NGO workers, and so forth. In short, the techniques of knowledge accumulation and how information is transferred is operationalised in the forms of control and power articulated by the forms of social interactions and decisions that take place within the process as on-the-ground practices. These practices include top-down and bottom-up approaches to

²⁸ See Forrester (1989: 33-47) for a discussion of misinformation in the planning system.

public participation and the use of local knowledge and approaches towards the tools and methodologies used to generate information to assess environmental impacts of proposed development projects.

Anthropologists can therefore study-up (i.e. studying those who are in power, the wealthy, 'the colonisers', to cite Nader, 1972), focusing their gaze to urban planners, decision-makers and politicians, not just those who are at the 'bottom end of the stick', unpacking the various flows of power within planning processes (Brash, 2011; Forester, 1989). Anthropologists have a long history of studying up, down and sideways (Stryker and Gonzales, 2014) since Laura Nader's seminal 1972 paper, "Up the Anthropologist: Perspectives Gained from Studying Up". Ethnographic works by anthropologists working in labs with scientists - such as Latour and Woolgar (1979) working with biochemists, or Sharon Traweek (1988; 1992) working with high energy physicists, have not just moved away from the colonial tradition of studying down, i.e. people with power studying those without it, the so-called 'primitive cultures' or savage society and the 'exotic other' (though one might wonder about the exotic nature of having high energy physicists as one's informants). Such examples of ethnographies also illustrate a "studying up" where the source of the production of knowledge was radically different.

At a more societal level (and closer to the focus of this thesis), anthropologists have been making connections between policy, politics and social life, modes of production, bureaucracy, family, migration, tourism and so on, primarily because of the holistic nature of ethnographic research, particularly participant observation, the broadening of research interests of anthropologists and critical debates about culture and society that transcend disciplinary boundaries (Coleman and Collins, 2006; Heyman, 2004; Okely, 2012; Oughton and Bracken, 2009; also see below, pp. 71-74).

2.4.5 Participation as interdisciplinary and cultural discourse

As with many definitions, as has been amply exemplified in this chapter, the terms multi-, cross-, inter- and trans-disciplinary research have been defined in several ways (Pohl and Hadorn, 2008; Spanner, 2001; Tress et al., 2005; Youngblood, 2007). Various studies and literature reviews (e.g. Tress et al., 2003; 2005; Patton, 2002; Aboelela et al. 2007) indicate that even researchers who claim to be working on an interdisciplinary project, find it difficult to define what they mean by it. Aboelela et al.'s 2007 study, for example, illustrates that even the term 'interdisciplinary research' could be subdivided into categories and sub-types, from the interviews they conducted. Their study concluded that the existing literature from several

disciplines and fields of study did not provide a definition that sufficiently specified the identification of competencies, structure and resources needed to conduct interdisciplinary research.

To clarify (though, as Tress et al., 2005: 179 observe, one must appreciate the artificial nature of disciplinary boundaries and their dynamic nature);

- *Disciplinary studies (or intradisciplinary)* refer to studies confined within the boundaries of one recognised academic discipline;
- *Multidisciplinary* refer to studies involving two or more disciplines, related to one subject or question. While collaborating by sharing knowledge and tools, they have multiple disciplinary goals, individual disciplines will not cross disciplinary boundaries to create new integrative knowledge or theory (Tress et al. 2005: 179), though participants may use their disciplinary tools and knowledge in new ways to consider multifaceted problems that cross disciplinary boundaries (Youngblood, 2007: 2), what some call a “parallel play” research style (Aboelela et al., 2007). Each discipline will write its own separate publications;
- *Crossdisciplinary research* is when one discipline views another discipline from the perspective of the other (Stember, 1990). Researchers engaging with or collaborating with other disciplines, tend to interchange disciplinary types (from inter-disciplinary to cross-disciplinary, for example), using cross-disciplinary research as a catch phrase to mean all types of engagement beyond a single discipline; or are unsure whether they are doing -inter or -trans, or a mix of things (Reed, 2018, personal communication, 20 April);
- *Interdisciplinary studies* integrate knowledge and methods, describing and defining the language of the different fields, using multiple models or intersecting models, crossing disciplinary boundaries; using multiple data sources and varying analysis of the same data, creating new knowledge to solve a common research goal (Aboelela et al., 2007; Tress et al., 2005). Tress et al. (2005) also specify that the collaborating disciplines may have contrasting research paradigms, such as differences between qualitative and quantitative approaches or between analytical and interpretative approaches that

bring together disciplines from the humanities and the natural sciences. For them, true interdisciplinarity takes place when joint theories evolve between disciplines.²⁹

- *Transdisciplinary research or studies:*
 - a) Creates a unity of intellectual frameworks that is beyond each disciplinary perspective, i.e. creating a new theory that is broader than any one discipline, using at least some new language developed for translation across traditional lines. The research style has fully synthesised methods that, according to Aboelela et al. (2007), may result in a new field.
 - b) Tress et al. (2005:179), though define transdisciplinary studies as “studies that both integrate academic researchers from different disciplines with non-academic participants, such as land managers and the public, to create new knowledge and research a common goal.”

The above definitions illustrate the many ways research that crosses disciplinary boundaries can be described, depending on how researchers decide to engage with the knowledge provided by the different disciplines that a research project brings together. As Aboelela et al. (2007) note in their study and literature review, researchers will continue to create various typologies with different components to distinguish between different ways of conducting interdisciplinary research.

Regarding this dissertation, Tress et al.’s definition of transdisciplinary research and how they then put interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary research together to define integrative studies most closely matches how best practice research on stakeholder and public participation is described or interpreted in the literature (as shown throughout this chapter, including how the Typology and Theory of Participation are formulated, presented and discussed in Chapters 6 and 7).

At the same time, Youngblood (2007) also uses and defines the term *bridging disciplines*, which are disciplines that “involve domains that are so broad as to encompass the physical and social

²⁹ Youngblood (2007) uses the term *Integrative Studies* interchangeably with interdisciplinary studies, since researchers from different disciplines will go beyond establishing a common meeting place to developing new method and theory crafted to transcend disciplines in order to solve problems (Newell, 2001; Repko, 2005). Tress et al. (2005: 179), on the other hand, use the term *integrative studies*, following Winder's definition (2003), when both interdisciplinary and their definition of transdisciplinary studies (point ‘b’ above) are used together.

sciences as well as the humanities” (p. 2), specifying that two such disciplines that have particularly interdisciplinary or “bridging” characters are anthropology and geography.

Indeed, anthropologists have a history of working with theoretical frameworks beyond their discipline, including sociology, philosophy, geography, political science and social psychology, to mention a few. In her seminal monograph *‘Environmentalism and cultural theory: Exploring the role of anthropology in environmental discourse’*, Milton (1996) points out that an anthropological analysis uses a breadth of material on which comparisons are drawn, making use of ethnographies from many different cultures and their cultural perspectives (their worldviews) to come up with conclusions (Milton, 1996: 104). It is important for example in relation to the urban planning contexts of EIAs and SIAs, not to leave out the lessons learnt from development anthropology just because they are often talking about ‘third world’ situations and not the so-called ‘developed world’. If we use a model that looks at world views and cultural perspectives to understand sustainable development then we are not limiting ourselves to making sense of the processes involved from an economic or political or environmental stand-point alone but linking them to an understanding based on the various cultural perspectives on which such processes are adopted.

As Abrams (2011: 11) also points out, as a comparative enterprise,

[anthropology] offers the opportunity to challenge even our most taken-for-granted assumptions and beliefs about the world. With the rise in anthropological studies across the world and the increasing accessibility of international texts, the voices of dominated people (sometimes called subaltern voices) have contributed to the debates about culture. They have helped to make visible some of the central paradigms in Western thinking and challenged the traces of colonial thought which persist in different forms.

One of the weaknesses of planning approaches to culture, as Abrams argues, is “the tendency to assume that culture is a descriptive term, where culture is imagined as a set of practices, a way of thinking, or a bounded set of beliefs, traditions and ideologies” (p. 7), stereotyping groups and populations and putting them into categories, imagining them to somehow adhere to the same preferences, habits and ways in which they see the world (p. 4). Unfortunately, in most SIA and population studies, one of the first things that a practitioner will do in the scoping exercise is what is termed as ‘profiling’ (see also Section 2.3.1, p. 31) by utilising tools such as the stakeholder analysis. Stakeholders may pertain to the same group, such as environmentalists or activists, or less broadly, pertain to a particular eNGO or CSO, but even if members of the group may adhere to a particular set of rules and a mission statement, or as with many ad hoc locally organised groups that come together because of a common aim

(or enemy), such as a development within their locality that they do not want, their individual reasons for joining the group or their individual agendas may be very different. Abrams points to what McDonald (1993: 228) calls ‘categorical mismatches’, where even how we identify ourselves depends very much on the social and political maps of the day, that is, “the categories available for the marking of self / other or us / them boundaries.”

Environmental anthropologists have long studied the multiple roles that people have within their cultures, and Appleyard (1979) gives a good example on environmental action, making a distinction between “light” and “heavy” actions (p. 148). He argues that environmental actions range from the smallest events, such as painting a house or even erecting a sign – what he calls, the light environment – to large-scale development projects – the heavy environment. What is interesting here is that he continues his argument by stating that

[T]he light environment is, paradoxically, of critical importance in reading the city, since it is closer to a contemporary expression of social action than the usually obsolescent heavy environment. If one is to tell what is going on in a residential area, it can be much more useful to look at the decoration of the windows, the cleanliness of sidewalks... than at the style and scale of the houses (Appleyard, 1979, p. 148).

Furthermore, he argues that social actors can play different roles at different times, giving the example of a planner who is first at the office reviewing a proposal or monitoring a project or interpreting environmental information. At home, that same person “may resist local development, build a new garage, or cut down a tree” (p. 143).

Another major theme that intersects with the above and has been studied by anthropologists and other social scientists, such as geographers interested in landscape and urban change, is the perceptions of the environment and the perceptions that people have of both those changes and what is causing those changes, including planned interventions (and how they react to them and what role they play towards those changes). Tim Ingold’s seminal book ‘*Perception of the Environment*’ (2000) discusses precisely how cultures perceive the environment, but there is a lot of literature that critically analyse how people perceive their environment, the lived landscape as a space that people may or may not identify with and how those perceptions are operationalised, both in anthropology, and an even longer tradition in geography.³⁰ The way people associate themselves with the lived landscape, as being part of that landscape, brings to the fore phenomenological nuances of landscape representation, of

³⁰ See Wylie (2007) for a comprehensive introduction to a comparative analysis of the various epistemological, ontological and phenomenological traditions in the study of landscape.

being and living within a landscape; of participating in it as a corporeal experience that have been of intersecting interest in anthropology and human geography, historically through to the present (e.g. Meinig, 1979; Duncan, 1990; Bender, 1993; Rose, 1993; Tilley, 1994; 2004; Olwig, 1996; 2002; Cosgrove, 1998; Ingold 2000; 2005; Mels, 2003; 2005; 2016; Mitchell, W. J. T., 2002; Mitchell, 2003; Lee and Ingold, 2007; Moran, 2017; Wylie, 2007; Bell, 2012).

Stakeholder perceptions of their lived environment (be it urban, spatial, physical, social and / or cultural) are main areas of enquiry for SIA practitioners and anthropology can bring to bear the above perspectives on culture and the many themes that demarcate the (changing) perceptions of social actors (as stakeholders would be defined by anthropologists), which the discipline has been grappling with for decades. Many planners and practitioners within urban planning though, seem to fall prey to stereotypical interpretations of culture, even those who are socially conscious, who may

strive to draw minorities into debates about development, to bring together people with conflicting cultural values as well as interests, to create debate and foster communication. There has been a heavy emphasis in planning theory on the potential for planning to build bridges, to open communication or even for planners to be cultural 'therapists', as though cultural differences were equivalent to psychoses that could be talked out through couple counselling. Rarely, though, do planning theorists stop to think about where the concept of 'culture' comes from. (Abram, 2011: 3).

Those involved in stakeholder and public participation can therefore benefit from the accumulated knowledge that anthropology brings with it, conceptualising stakeholders and the ways they will communicate with them, design stakeholder exercises that may better handle conflicting values while using research methodologies (both conceptually and as tools) that take into consideration such complex and diverse values and views, rather than looking at them as outliers within datasets.

Anthropology's main research and analytical method of enquiry has been the ethnographic process, using participant observation and immersion into the host culture (even if it is one's own culture) to collect data, the kind of "thick description" (after Geertz, 1973) that brings out all the various cultural perspectives mentioned above (Okely, 2012).³¹ When stating that descriptions are thick, it does not only suggest the simultaneously limitless but at the same

³¹ Also see Sections 3.1.1, p. 95; 3.2.1, p. 110, and more specifically Sections 3.2.4, p. 126 and 3.2.5, p. 127 for more detail on the ethnographic method, participant observation and explain how fieldnotes were analysed.

time bounded aspects of ethnographic interpretation,³² and paying attention to meaning. For anthropologists, this usually means immersing themselves within the culture they are studying, using all their senses to engage with the socio-physical environment they find themselves in, building relationships with individuals within the ‘communities’ they are carrying research (Bernard, 2017; Okely, 2012). This involves actively participating within a given setting, hence, the term, ‘participant observation’, but also knowing when to observe and listen to people’s stories and their narratives (Bernard, 2017; Okely, 2012). This does not just include situated listening and learning while conducting participant observation but may also involve the recording of life histories and storytelling as part of the evolving relational dynamics of the fieldwork situation and as part of the ethnographic narrative (Maggio, 2014). Storytelling, for example, can help researchers prior to survey development to gain a better understanding of emotions and issues that may otherwise be missed or misunderstood when using more structured methods (Mickelson and Harrington, 2009). Storytelling and their creation within a group setting for example, can also be a conduit for creating common themes between stakeholders who may have conflicting views while depersonalising individual stories by creating a group story that can then become a platform for further discussion and analysis (Wilkins, 2004).

As Mannik and McGarry (2017) point out, there is no “right way” to conduct participant observation, which has evolved “as a variable, flexible qualitative method predicated upon experiential knowledge obtained through intensive engagement with a group of people” (p. 36). Fieldwork methods adopted in an anthropological approach are not ‘limited’ to participant observation, or as Hugh Gusterson (1997:16) calls it, “polymorphous engagement”, due to the advent of new technologies, such as the Internet and social media. Fieldwork methods are not confined to qualitative methods either or the writing of, and the analyses of fieldnotes. Many anthropologists today, especially, applied anthropologists, use mixed methods regularly both during fieldwork and the analysis of their data (Mannik and McGarry, 2017; also discussed further in Section 7.7, p. 366). In fact, the quantitative collection of demographic data, creating a database of land ownership and kinship data to socially map

³² This dichotomy of this description of ‘thick description’ has been much debated and critically analysed in anthropology (see e.g. Carneiro, 1995; Handelman, 1994; Hoffman, 2009; Keesing et al., 1987; Shankman et al., 1984; Valeri and Keesing, 1987; Welsch and Endicott, 2013; Zillinger, 2017). Falzon, in his introduction to his edited volume on multi-sited ethnography (2016), for example, uses Candea’s option for “sensibilities based on self-imposed restriction” (2007: 168) to caution ethnographers of the seductions of ‘limitless narrative possibilities’ (Falzon, 2010: 3).

the area under study has historically been one of the first tasks an anthropologist would do when entering the field. Today, with sophisticated technological tools that can capture and analyse both qualitative and quantitative data (including theory generation using grounded theory), and an increasing choice of tool kits for collecting data, including audio and visual media and the inclusion of survey data, anthropologists have also become more interested in 'big data' (Agar, 2004; Hackenberg and Hackenberg, 2004; Lansing, 2003), which are conducive for research topics such as globalisation issues (Hesse-Biber, 2010).

A number of social sciences have started to adopt ethnography as a research *method*, rather than a research *process* (Forsythe, 1999: 128), and have also started to include participant observation in their repertoire. Nyce and Lowgen (1995) point out that the work by the untrained ethnographer tends to overlook things during the ethnographic fieldwork that anthropologists would have considered important. Influential anthropologists such as Ingold (2007; 2014), Okely (2012; 2018), critically point out that the results have not been very satisfactory, mostly because both ethnography and participant observation are grounded in years of training within anthropology as a discipline (this may also be one of the reasons why applied anthropology and their work, such as SIA have been criticised as not being 'proper' anthropology, (see below, p. 76). Forsythe (1999) provides compelling arguments on the importance of the expertise necessary to conduct ethnographic research. She provides a list of misconceptions used to justify the inclusion of ethnography in research designs by social scientists, and the corrections to these misconceptions and examples of the results of research done by other disciplines attempting to borrow ethnographic research techniques (Forsythe, 1999: 130-139).

I will return to the ethnographic research process in more detail in Chapter 3, especially since this thesis is the product of interdisciplinary research grounded in the ethnographic process. What is important to emphasise for the moment is that

*[I]n general, **ethnographic fieldworkers do not use preformulated research instruments** [emphasis added]. Instead, the fieldworker herself is the research instrument, one which is "calibrated" first through training in theory and methodology and then through experience... field research is by no means straightforward: it takes talent, training, and practice to become a competent field researcher, and careful data-collection and analysis to produce reliable results. As with any kind of skill, what makes ethnography look easy is expertise. (Forsythe, 1999: 129).*

The same can be argued for other specialised qualitative anthropological research methods in anthropology, notably visual ethnography, or more simply, visual methods used as a research tool by a range of other disciplines. Such visual methods draw their roots from ethnographic

filmmaking in visual anthropology. Again, there has been a lot of criticism of the use of such methods without the theoretical background that visual ethnography draws on, especially since one of the major premises of visual anthropology is the capacity of the use of visual media to generate new knowledge (Grimshaw, 2001; Grimshaw and Ravetz, 2005; 2009; 2015; MacDougall, 1998; Ruby, 2000; Pink, 2006;). In some ways, the more practical strand of visual anthropology, the making of anthropological knowledge using visual media, or ethnographic films, has always been a multi-disciplinary endeavour between filmmaking (and therefore a clear and practical knowledge and understanding of filming techniques and mastering the use of audio-visual equipment) and ethnography, fieldwork techniques and anthropological theory, though, like applied anthropology, there are elements of grounded theory, especially during the editing process (Barbash et al., 1997). In other words, most of the criticism made by the above-mentioned authors (and others) is directed towards the lack of the expertise needed to be as unobtrusive as possible, since the act of filming itself will alter the behaviour of those being filmed (Banks, 2007; MacDougall, 1998; Pink, 2006).

Visual anthropology has also been on the forefront of collaborative research and co-production of knowledge (Ruby, 2000; MacDougall, 1998), and like it, other areas of anthropology have been moving towards more collaborative research with other social sciences and beyond, and the current trend of research funding is supporting such initiatives (in the UK for example, the new research agenda revolves around 'impact' both within academia and beyond, in real-world application). Therefore, a new trend is emerging where research teams from different faculties and departments (and hence disciplines) come together to design research agendas, methodologies and analysis.

Anthropological qualitative methods can therefore be successfully conducted by a trained anthropologist in conjunction with other qualitative and quantitative research methods. This has been practiced more widely within applied anthropology, where given the practice-oriented nature of work (i.e. working outside academic institutions), applied anthropologists have been working with researchers from other disciplines for decades. Ervin (2005:11) argues on the pragmatism that is needed by the applied anthropologist to draw upon theories from other social science disciplines and to interdisciplinary collaborations with other experts both within the social and natural sciences. Using agrosystems research as an example, he points out that such research is not "owned" by any one discipline. At the same time, anthropological research in public and collaborative anthropology has generated knowledge

produced both by the researcher and the researched / participants (Field and Fox, 2007; Leach, 2011; 2012; Schwegler and Powell, 2008; Strohm, 2012).

In the same vein, Pezzoli (1997) advocates interdisciplinary research within universities and institutions that engage with research over a broad range of disciplines from both the social and natural sciences, engineering and medical schools. This also links with Milton's argument about the work of anthropology and other analysts within the social sciences, namely that the process of analysing environmentalism, even if the analysts' motives are purely academic, contributes in some way to the development of the object being analysed, in this case environmentalism or environmental sustainability (Milton, 1996: 70). Therefore, the generation and analysis of knowledge is also a form of action.

Pezzoli also calls for more interdisciplinary approaches and constructive criticism of planning issues that look forward and link to knowledge and action, an argument made by Okpoko (1998) and other applied anthropologists working in SIA (Esteves et al., 2012; Vanclay and Esteves, 2011). In fact, on larger SIA projects, the SIA is conducted by a multidisciplinary team of social scientists, including various anthropologists with different specialities, human geographers, economists and statisticians. More recently, these teams started to include computer specialists and other consultants with various technical expertise because of the introduction of more tools for both the collection and analysis of data, and the sharing of information for stakeholder involvement (Vanclay and Esteves, 2011; Vanclay et al., 2015).

It therefore becomes imperative to question the knowledge that is gathered and generated (in response to criticisms of cultural relativism, as noted by Gardner and Lewis, 1996: 23). It is not just validating or refuting an applied hypothesis (for example whether visualisations can be an intermediary for information transfer and understanding between the different social actors within the decision-making process on development projects) but more importantly it is the theoretical frameworks that inhabit such a hypothesis that make the project valid. Whether or not visualizations work, while being important as an applicable endeavour, is not the fulcrum of the project, it is what is learnt in the process that becomes paramount.

Taylor et al. (1995) in fact stress that it is of utmost importance that social assessments are rooted in social theory and particular attention should be given to theories of social transformation, power relations and so forth. They also advocate that social assessments and the methodologies employed should transcend prescribed orientations and move away from a strong adherence to a particular orientation and move towards a middle ground. The middle

ground is seen by Taylor et al. as "providing the dynamic and creative setting for a proactive approach" (1995: 36), but this requires a three-dimensional shift in stance.

First, in the increasingly inter- and trans-disciplinary academic and consultancy spheres (e.g. Barthel and Seidl, 2017; Chou and Wong, 2015; Hadorn et al., 2008; Miller et al., 2008; O'Rourke et al., 2013; Pohl et al., 2011; Pohl and Hadorn, 2008; Spanner, 2001; Tress et al., 2005; 2001; 2003; Weingart and Stehr, 2000; Wernli and Darbellay, 2016; Youngblood, 2007), anthropological fieldwork methods must be adapted to the kind of work the anthropologist is doing, with an urgent need to adapt and negotiate between consultancy experience and academic endeavour (Bernard, 2017; Mannik and McGarry, 2017; Oughton and Bracken, 2009; Strathern, 2004; also discussed further in Sections 7.7-7.8, pp. 366-369). This is because as Taylor et al. (1995) point out when explaining the dimensions of SIA, both consultancy and academic approaches are considered as 'irrelevant', 'illegitimate' or 'unimportant' by SIA practitioners advocating one dimension or the other. SIA is generally criticized as not being 'proper' anthropology, with an ongoing debate on the roles of anthropology and anthropologists in the environmental and bureaucratic sectors (Milton, 1996; Okpoko, 1998; Sillitoe, 2007), since many academics argue that an SIA is just a methodological tool-kit which is not concerned with theory generation as its central process, but this would be an important aspect for academic anthropology. This is usually why an applied research project (such as the research done on an SIA, for example) is frowned upon within academic institutions. Taylor et al. (1995) touch on this when describing the four orientations inherent to SIA and the debates and conflicts that the different orientations bring with them among practitioners. While the most common conflict occurs between a technocratic 'top-down' approach and action in a participatory, 'bottom-up' approach, most relevant for this thesis is the conflict between 'academic' and 'applied' approaches and how knowledge is produced and applied.

Secondly, there should be the propensity of 'merging' expert knowledge with 'local' knowledge (Petts and Brooks, 2006; Raymond et al., 2010; Sillitoe, 2007; Stringer and Reed, 2006), 'enabling' planning practice as suggested by Forester (1999; 2009; 2015); in other words, breaking down top-down elitist practices. These moves across the technocratic-participatory dimension, though, have to be concurrently accompanied by shifts in the action-research dimension. This means that contributions to policy have to be accompanied by 'grass roots' involvement and participation, involving "better conceptualization and analysis, a focus on issues and consultation", and providing "for informed negotiation and the mediation of

conflict" (Taylor et al., 1995: 39), which, is of course, easier said than done, as the literature repeatedly suggests.

Integrating local and scientific knowledges should therefore improve knowledge exchange and two-way learning, decreasing power differences between the social actors within the process (Coburn, 2003). This means that it is not just the stakeholders on the receiving end who should learn what the technical or scientific knowledge means, but the process of learning should go both ways. Local knowledge of the area should be taken as seriously as scientific knowledge. By triangulating different local and scientific knowledge sources, it may be possible to investigate uncertainties and assumptions and develop a more rigorous understanding (Johnson et al., 2004). Following from this, it is argued that decisions based on such knowledge are likely to be more robust (Hansen, 1994; Reed et al., 2006; Reed et al., 2007; Reed et al., 2008; Stringer and Reed, 2006). Local knowledge, of course, just as scientific knowledge, should not be unquestionably accepted. Instead, the "know-why" of scientific knowledge is considered as being more explicit than the "know-how" of local knowledge (Lundvall and Johnson, 1984), or "practical knowledge", which is more tacit, implicit and informal, and which, according to Thrift (1985), can produce more relevant and effective environmental practices and decision. This is even more so in Western societies, as Ingram argues (2008), because of the overlap between these two different types of knowledges. With locals being more exposed to expert knowledge, education and direct assimilation of scientific knowledge by practitioners, mutual understanding of the different types of knowledges make negotiating compromises and trade-offs a less painful process. It must be remembered though that decisions are nearly always based on value judgement and are emotionally laden (Vella and Borg, 2010). Many decisions are based on arguments with a strong emotional bias that are masked by experience and / or scientific data.

As already mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, anthropology is mainly concerned with the production of knowledge and how that knowledge is operationalised within cultures. This is of utmost importance in urban development and planning contexts, one which is rarely included or actively taken into consideration within SIAs, with the oft-rehearsed excuse that such an analysis is not within the remit (or TOR) of the SIA report. Even though it has been recognised by commentators and critics on SIA (Stone, 2003; Vanclay and Esteves, 2011; Vella and Borg, 2010;), the role of power, information and the production of knowledge within these contexts rarely feature within SIA reports. This is also very much in line with what Hackenberg, back in 1997 had called the "high road" versus the "low road," where applied

anthropology and its research designs featuring collaboration, stakeholder participation and empowerment are considered at the *low end* of the spectrum. This is compounded by the fact that applied anthropologists, more often than not, do not usually employ high theory; although they might be informed by them epistemologically, they go into the field with a more open-ended strategy and employ a more teleological grounded theory approach. Yet, applied anthropologists have a long history of dealing with the complexities of the real world, as many articles in the SfAA's journals *Applied Anthropology* and *Human Organization* over the past two decades attest, where anthropologists such as Michael Agar employ theoretical frameworks such as Nonlinear Dynamic Systems (NDS) in their approaches (Agar, 2004; Hackenberg and Hackenberg, 2004; Lansing, 2003) and its ontological counterpart, behavioural geography (Hackenberg and Hackenberg, 2004: 388–389). People across the world have become much more connected and local phenomena are affected by global issues; physical and economic mobility and far-reaching communication through social media have transformed both the way we look at the social landscape and those that inhabit it. The notion of community has lost its centre-stage, even in a small country such as Malta (Mitchell, 1998a, 1998b). Even when disregarding the influx of in and out migration within the country and looking closely at the local level, family structures that once included the extended family living in the same village or, at least in neighbouring ones, have become much rarer. Notable exceptions include farming families where there are certain dynamics which promote such physical virilocal or uxorilocal proximity.³³

In fact, very early on in my work as an SIA consultant, the fieldwork data I was collecting made me come to the same realisation argued by anthropologists such as Appleyard (1979: 148) and Abram (2011: 4–7) on the perils of stereotyping cultures, groups and populations (also refer back to Section 2.4.5, pp. 69-70. The empirical analysis of the perceptions that interviewees had of the concept of community and whether the notion of community within their locality still existed and if they felt that they formed part of that community resulted in the introduction of a different analytical approach in the social baseline reports; namely Albrow's notions of *socioscapes* and *sociospheres* (1997: 45–51) to describe the social landscape within a geographic area designated for development intervention. This departure from traditional concepts of community or communities of practice was still informed by social theories such as Cohen's notion of the symbolic construction of community (2013);

³³ This is mostly evidenced with farming communities within hamlets such as Magħtab, on the Environmental Complex case study.

Durkheim's distinction between mechanical and organic solidarity; Arendt's 'communities of action' (1970), together with concepts derived from environmental anthropology (e.g. Bender, 1993; Berglund, 1998; Gardner and Lewis, 1996; Milton, 1993; 1996), where particular groups may unite together in the face of particular threats even though they might not, under normal circumstances associate with each other or form part of the same social groups within the locality. This is because social groups, their networks, relationships and actions are not homogeneous, even within a relatively small geographical area such as Malta, for example. In fact, within this thesis, as with the three SBS reports (see Appendices V-VII), depending on the findings made during the fieldwork for each case study, the social landscapes and the social groups found within the Aols will be described as sociospheres, social groups, populations and / or stakeholder groups.³⁴

A much more sophisticated understanding of these concepts is therefore necessary than the sweeping statement that knowledge (or information) is power (Forester, 1989). One of the key contributions that anthropology makes to the understanding of context, is its attention to the contexts in which participation takes place.

2.4.6 Participation as context

Marchington et al. (1992) have argued that what participation actually achieves depends upon context. More recently, a number of studies have emphasised the role that local context can play in determining the outcomes of engagement processes (e.g. Blicharska et al., 2011; Ingram, 2013; Stringer et al., 2007). Most of this research has focused on the socio-economic, cultural and institutional contexts within which engagement is needed (Carpini et al., 2004). For example, it is argued that bottom-up processes with significant power asymmetries are more likely to suppress the interests of weaker actors than more formalized, top-down processes in which power dynamics are perceived to be more effectively controlled, especially when these processes are organized by formal institutions who already have decision-making power (Larson and Lach, 2008; Zeitoun et al., 2011). These power dynamics may affect the nature of the decision that is made, as well as its acceptance, since those who feel

³⁴ These concepts of community, sociospheres and socioscapas are addressed in the SBS of the three case studies. See for example the sections 'Community as a concept' and 'Socioscapas and Sociospheres' (Appendix VII, Marsalforn Baseline Study, pp. 6–10) and similarly, a theoretical review of community in the CRU SBS (Appendix VI, EIS Technical Appendix 7, pp. 45–49).

disadvantaged by the process may choose to delay or prevent implementation of the decision, for example by taking legal action (de Vente et al., 2016).

This literature suggests that engagement is not a technical process that can be replicated independently of context. Rather, there is a growing awareness of the interplay between political society, state-society relations and civil society, and the roles that cultural norms, global factors and the prevailing 'political settlement'³⁵ play on civic engagement (Fox, 2015; Grandvoinnet et al., 2015). On the other hand, some studies found little evidence that national context systematically influences project outcomes in participatory processes (Brooks et al., 2012; de Vente et al., 2016). Furthermore there has been a departure from a focus on projects that targeted material well-being to a broad-based "capability" approach of empowerment, led by Nobel laureate Amartya Sen (1985; 1999), with attention being shifted from a focus on participatory projects that target the material wellbeing of participants to a broad-based 'capability' approach to empowerment. For example, while highly successful community-driven development initiatives - such as the self-employed women's association in India, the Orangi slum improvement project in Pakistan and the Iringa nutrition project in Tanzania - important lessons for large donors emerged highlighting the need for engagement to be tailored to the socio-political context (Menocal, 2015). In the context of these research advances and more awareness of the international community at donor level, Menocal cautions that "practitioners still know very little about the types of interventions and wider governance structures and power dynamics that are needed for citizen engagement to have this broader socioeconomic impact" (Menocal, 2015: 4).

Literature from anthropology has also sought to understand the social and cultural contexts in which decisions are made; e.g. anthropologists writing about urban planning, such as Abram (1998: 1-17; 2007a; 2007b; 2008a; 2008b; 2011; 2014); Abram and Waldren (1998); Abram and Weszkalnys (2011); Berglund (1998); Gardner and Lewis (1996); Healey (2006) and Milton (1993). While most are highly site specific and focussed on single issues, since these studies are usually included in edited volumes (such as Boissevain and Theuma's chapter in Abram and Waldren's volume), these ethnographic studies become part of a broader literature that usually includes a comparative analysis of the individual studies by the editors of the volumes.

³⁵ Citing Khan (2010), Grandvoinnet et al. (2015: 86) define political settlement "as a combination of institutions and a distribution of power between organizations (for example, political parties, military, and bureaucracy) that is reproducible over time. Once a political settlement emerges, the relative power of different organizations is relatively stable and evolves along predictable paths."

These edited volumes and ethnographies became the knowledge base for developing critical theory on broader themes at a global level, such as global warming and environmental sustainability; spatial planning and issues on food; development and over-population; international corporations; political behaviour and governance of international politics (e.g. Bear, 2014; Checker, 2009; Escobar, 1992, 2006; Field and Fox, 2007; Gupta and Ferguson, 1997; Inda and Rosaldo, 2007; Kaur, 2007; Lewellen, 2002, 2006; Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003; Molland, 2014; Moran, 2017; Pink, 2005; Sharma and Gupta, 2006; Shore and Wright, 2005).

This growing body of literature has started to incorporate critical theory based on empirical case studies, focusing on themes that intersect with civic participation. Themes include; how direct or representative the governance system is; whether or not there are any types of decentralisation mechanisms within the bureaucratic system and in turn, whether there are platforms for government accountability, officially set up within the governance system or led by civic movements; whether there are any invited spaces of civic participation and what kind of approaches have already taken place (such as tactical or strategic participative approaches and 'thick' or 'thin' participation) and how information is distributed (i.e. whether there is upstream and downstream communication between the State, their front line service providers and citizenry, that fosters more substantive citizen involvement by reducing asymmetries and facilitating recurring interaction throughout the development process), in other words the feedback loop (Gigler and Bailur, 2014; Leighninger, 2014; Levy and Walton, 2013; Menocal, 2011; 2013; 2014; 2015; Menocal and Taxell, 2015).

Context in relation to power relations in governance and local politics had already been a recurrent theme in research on development within disciplines such as anthropology with its cross-cultural focus, which moves from the local focus to a broader analysis (Abram and Waldren, 1997) when its significance was noticed in other disciplines. One such critique of the development literature for example is the simplistic understanding of the term 'community' that conceals power relations, biased interests and needs based on many factors within development projects (Guijt and Shah, 1998) and following an unreflexive discourse of communities that seemed to be unquantifiable, non-specific and homogeneous, such that one individual could represent a whole 'community' (Abram, 2011: 97). This conception left no place for cross-cutting differences, that a member of the same 'community' can have differences from other members of the same sector of the population.

While participatory approaches attempt to give voice/power to the voiceless/powerless, it is now being recognized that participatory methods of enquiry simplify the nature of power and may reinforce the interests of the already powerful (Kothari, 2002: 142). This does not only refer to powerful groups within the world of development (here Kothari is referring to international development though this also holds true for urban development in developed countries) but also those who have power within recipient communities, such as "those with the loudest voice [who] get heard more" (Hailey, 2002: 88). In fact, the research indicates that community participation in development project decision-making, when induced from above, is often captured by local elites (Fox, 2015), where socio-political dynamics such as patronage and corruption interfere with the successful implementation of a project (Boissevain, 2013; Baldacchino, 2015; Menocal et al., 2015).

This is echoed by Mosse (2002) where he argues that while participation should in principle advocate the use of local specialist knowledge through participatory learning, what in reality may happen is that it is the locals who effectively learn about what the project donor / bureaucratic institution (such as the national/regional or local government in charge of a development project) is perceived to consider as a 'local need' (in other words, what the locals perceive as being considered legitimate by the project managers) and in view of short term prospects of possible gains from the development project are then expressed as needs by the local community. This is the difference between 'local knowledge' and 'planning knowledge' and they are linked by local relations of power, the manipulation of the acquired knowledge on how the planning system works and the social construction of what is considered to be a 'need', and by who (Pottier, 1992). Such knowledge manipulation coupled with institutional operational constraints that require formal and informal bureaucratic goals to be met, make participation important as a 'system of representations' to further legitimize the projects and to secure funding and in so doing perpetuating the formulaic methodologies of participation that are perceived to 'work' (Mosse, 2002; Fox, 2015).

There are other arguments around representation that also focus on organisational approaches to participation and the function that groups have within the process. Structural-functional arguments concentrate on the importance of analysing the functions and the various relationships of and between 'formal' and 'informal' institutions and groups, on both sides of the fence. On one side of the fence are the donating institution (such as the World Bank) for international development, the urban developers (including contractors) and other service providers such as the national or local government proposing major infrastructure and other

'mega' projects, with their formalized structures of committees, cost-benefit analytical approaches that lead to balance checks and the distribution of power within them. On the other side of the fence are the 'beneficiaries' of these projects and those groups and organisations that gravitate around the development projects, including CSOs, NGOs, formal and informal groups representing several interests and so forth. In the middle, we find the communities and social groups for whom the projects are supposed to have been conceived – those who should be the actual beneficiaries of the projects.

2.4.7 Participation as democracy

Within the international development world, moves towards better sustainable development meant involving the local populations in the projects to which they were beneficiaries. It is generally believed that local involvement and public participation counters top-down approaches to the way projects are run, is a democratic process which is promoted as reversing roles where "[O]utsiders do not dominate and lecture; they facilitate, sit down, listen and learn... they do not transfer technology; they share methods which local people can use for their own appraisal analysis, planning action, monitoring and evaluation" (Mosse, 2002:16, citing Chambers, 1997: 103). Chambers here was referring to Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) but as Cooke and Kothari (2002) note, this sentiment can be considered true for participatory exercises in general. Just as with 'sustainable development' though, "[p]articipation' no longer has the same radical connotations that it once had" (Mosse, 2002: 17). This has been critiqued on several levels by academics and practitioners alike, as will be discussed in the paragraphs below, and it all starts with how participation relates to democracy and civic engagement; more importantly, how democracy is articulated both by practitioners in the field and what type of democracy is enacted within the political system within which it operates (Leighninger, 2014).

Leighninger, furthermore argues that the lack of clear vision about the relationship between the work of those who engage in citizen participation and the political system produces

rifts and misunderstandings between academic and practitioners, community organizers and deliberative democrats civic technologists and dialogue practitioners, policy advocates and consensus-builders...It helps perpetuate official processes that claim to uphold democratic governance but in fact hamper and discourage it (p. 2).

Since Cooke and Kothari's (2002) edited volume, which heavily criticised that post project analysis and reflections of failed projects focused mainly on the methods that had been

deployed rather than the processes and underlying socio-political contexts surrounding (international) development projects, research - even endorsed and commissioned by International organisations such as the World Bank (e.g. Carothers and Brechenmacher, 2014; Manroth et al., 2014; Mansuri and Rao, 2013; O'Meally, 2013; Peixoto, 2009; 2014; Sjoberg et al., 2017; Spada et al., 2016) - has started to emerge on different forms of civic participation, governance, including eGovernance, and social and government accountability critically analysing civic participation, in particular national and local contexts of local governance and the type of democratic characteristics and processes that exist in those contexts.

The European Union Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access to Justice on Environmental Matters (UNECE, 1998) outlines the basic principles underlying why participation should be considered a right. Indeed, the importance of public engagement in planning is a core element of the Aarhus Convention (UNECE, 1998) and has led to the need to develop protocols for stakeholder involvement. Other international agreements also reflect these rights, such as The European Landscape Convention (ELC) (Council of Europe, 2000), which notes a need “to respond to the public's wish to enjoy high quality landscapes and to play an active part in the development of landscapes” (p.1). The ELC also identifies a need to

... establish procedures for the participation of the general public, local and regional authorities, and other parties with an interest in the definition and implementation of the landscape policies
(p. 3).

There is a correlation here between international development projects and their donors and large supra-national initiatives within the EU, with their structural funds and programmes throughout the member states. EU funding is dispensed to its member states on policy programmes targeting social and environmental issues such as the reduction of CO₂ emissions or environmental sustainability through cross-state projects such as Natura 2000 and the TEN-T. While trying to target issues that affect the whole of Europe, recipient parties would usually include local social groups and their power relations within them, or as defined by Vanclay (2015: 41), Interested and Affected Parties (IAPs), as a replacement for the more problematic term 'community.' These IAPs may not be officially seen or acknowledged by the donor organisations (the EU) or the recipient States, but may very well be present (such as women's groups within a village that will be affected by the EU project), and other external groups such as NGOs working with the locals but which are not necessarily affiliated to the

project (e.g. Boissevain and Theuma 2004; Briguglio, 2010; 2012a; 2015; Gaventa & Barret 2012; Leighninger, 2014; Menocal, 2015).

According to Hailey (2002: 95) NGOs working within the international development field have been big promoters of participatory methods and it has been argued that their community-based projects have a high success rate when using them. This is mostly because of the importance that the NGO workers (and their project managers) give to personally garnered relationships with the local people over time, with a real effort on their parts to learn from the people with whom they are collaborating. This may partially be aided by NGOs not being bound by the same stringent regulatory procedures that other formal institutions may have, facilitating local knowledge acquisition.

On the same lines, Scarse and Sheate (2002) argue that because NGOs and their staff are involved for decades in the political process of specific projects, they can interpret more clearly "the shifting sands of environmental politics" (Scarse and Sheate, 2002: 289), influencing governance and managing to set policy agendas. In other words, one of the reasons why participatory approaches succeed or fail is the amount of time that those involved are willing to take to ensure the best possible results. The question that is most frequently asked by critics is; 'the 'best' results for whom?' (See Chapters 6 and 7 for empirically grounded discussions where this question is an important thematic undercurrent). Politicians spend a lot of time influencing policy agendas as well, and participatory processes can be designed to fail (such as those at the lower rungs of Arnstein's ladder, Figure 2.3, p. 50).

Who participates and why and the level of civic engagement therefore become central themes (and questions), and the answers, as Menocal (2015) suggests, remain partly elusive, though theories abound, especially within political science. This is partly due to the nature of democracy itself, at least in those countries or states where the system of governance purports in being democratic. Democratic systems can be direct or representative, deliberative or liberal,³⁶ decentralised (partially or otherwise) (Faguet, 2014), and/or include multi-level governance (Hooghe and Marks, 2003; Piattoni, 2009). The historical value of the trajectory of a country or state towards democracy will reflect what kind of civic participation

³⁶ For a comprehensive comparison between liberal democracy and deliberative democracy see, e.g. Eckersley (1995). The main difference between classical liberal democracy and deliberative democracy is that in liberal democracy representation is based on political preferences that are formed in an isolationist manner and expressed through voting or opinion polling. In deliberative democracy, on the other hand, deliberative interaction is supposed to substitute representation as far as possible.

will ensue (Gaventa and Cornwall, 2009; Gaventa & Barrett, 2012), what kind of spaces are available for deliberation and participatory democracy (Cornwall, 2002; Mohan, 2007), including, for example, collaborative and more decentralised planning within urban planning contexts (Healey, 2006). In contrast to new democracies, where there is more propensity for citizens to engage with decision-making and enabling democratic social change, those with a long history of democracy can remain stuck in

outdated forms of conventional participation processes that still predominate at every level of government. For most people, most of the time, the only ways to take part in public decision-making are public hearings, advisory committees, and 30-day public comment periods (Leighninger 2014: 3).

Leighninger goes as far as calling this "fake democracy" (Leighninger, 2014: 3). Such conventional processes are not supported by proactive, network-based recruitment and may not allow people to be heard, tending to frustrate both citizens and public officials alike (Pearce and Pearce, 2010), entrenching even more negative perceptions of terms such as "public participation" (Leighninger, 2014: 4). This has the potential of creating tension between public officials, stakeholders and the public (Conrad et al., 2011b) to the point of conflict or making citizens "less receptive towards interacting with public institutions, and erod[ing] their faith in democracy" (Leighninger, 2014: 4), because as Leighninger continues (citing Peixoto, 2014 and Anderson, 1998), "ironically, the 'democracy' they've experienced isn't actually democracy at all."

This is not just true for civic society, but also members/employees of the institutions that should be delivering services that were promised, or should help implement policy, such as, for example, urban planners. Anthropological research and ethnographic accounts exist of how planners feel helpless at not being able to enact the type of democratic governance that they should be practicing, constrained by an institutional bureaucratic machine that is not enabling but being held accountable (and being the first targets of activists, CSOs, eNGOs and even civic society in general, usually through both printed and social media) for hidden political agendas from above that they can do nothing about (Abram, 2011; Abram and Waldren, 1998; Conrad et al., 2011; Hailey, 2005; Leighninger 2014).

As such, there is a dichotomy between what is expected of the engaged participant within a democratic society and the realities of democratic governance. Citizen engagement can be seen as an interplay between state action, information, civic mobilisation, citizen action and the citizen-state interface (Figure 2.4, below, adapted from Grandvoinnet et al., 2015). When

an individual, group or groups mobilise and take action if the democratic citizen-state interface is not robust, the state, feeling the pressure of accountability and perceiving activist actions as threatening, will usually become defensive of those actions. This usually jeopardises the feedback loop and the citizen-state interface (Grandvoinnet et al., 2015).

This is especially the case for local NGOs who take citizen action on planned urban interventions by the State. There is a distinction between NGOs that have international counterparts, and operate from a platform that is perceived as different from those who are local NGOs, usually associated with a 'single issue', and with more radical and activist views (Briguglio, 2015). In political scientific terms, "the move from joining a political party to joining a campaign is thought of as a weakening of general democratic literacy" (Abram, 2011: 93) because such 'single issue' activism, associated with 'environmentalism' or specific local development issues are interpreted as inferior to generalised political party politics (p. 93). However, as Abrams argues, detailed anthropological studies have demonstrated that

environmental activism is no less of a comprehensive ideological standpoint than any established political party (Berglund 1998, Abram and Waldren 1998), reminding us to be careful of making judgements before considering the evidence (Abram, 2011: 93).

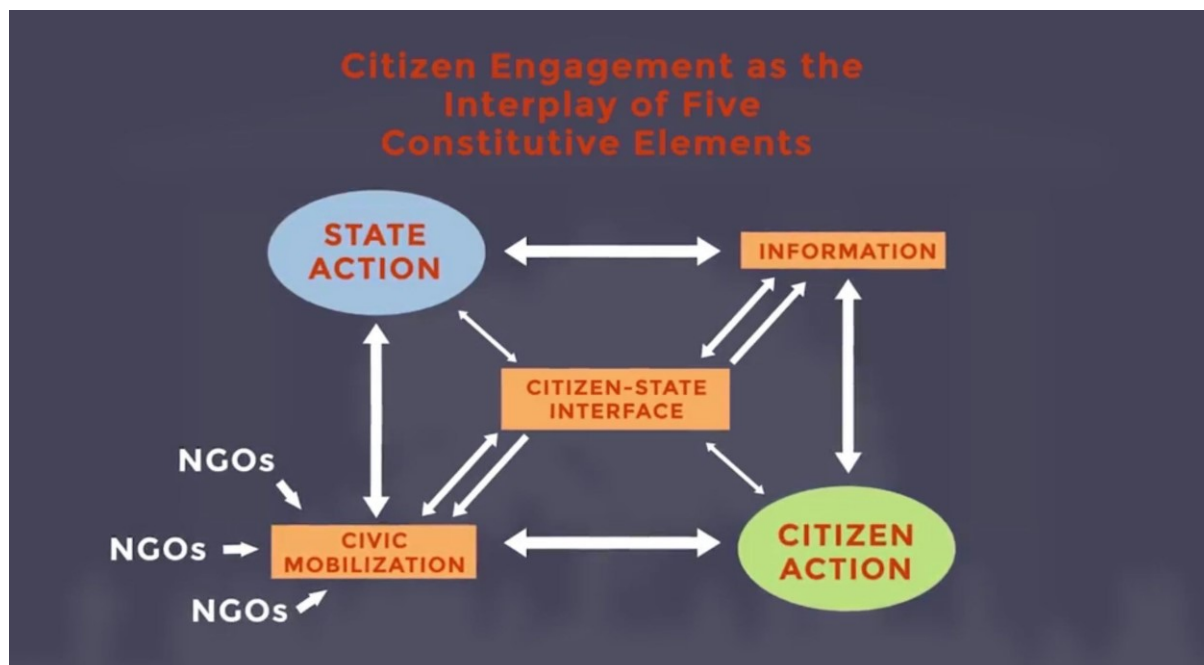


Figure 2.4: Citizen Engagement as the interplay of five constitutive elements. Source: World Bank (2015), adapted from Grandvoinnet et al. (2015).

After all, protestors do not suddenly become citizens, what actually happens is that citizens become protestors (Leighninger, 2014; Nabatchi and Leighninger, 2015).

Just like locals involved in participatory exercises on development projects, local NGOs gain planning knowledge and learn how to operationalise the information that is used within the planning process ('expert knowledge') that may be used to exclude such groups. They use the same type of expert knowledge as ammunition to legitimize their arguments. Well-organized NGOs such as Friends of the Earth or Greenpeace use such methods regularly, publishing their own 'expert' reports, usually backed by their international counterparts (Briguglio, 2015). Small, locally based NGOs are increasingly making use of or getting help from experts, sometimes the same experts who work within the urban planning process, and by making alliances with larger NGOs.

As the literature suggests, relatively new participative tools are changing who gets heard and how they get heard, and how information and knowledge moves through the democratic machine of bureaucratic and political corridors within the decision-making process. Representation, including self-representation and inclusion within debates on current planned interventions does not necessarily need to be face-to-face or through direct action, nor does one need to be actively involved with an NGO. This relates to how different forms of participation interact with each other, which O'Faircheallaigh (2010) argues, are rarely acknowledged. In the growing age of social media, different forms of 'passive' participation may provide "on-ramps to more deliberative mechanisms" (Sinclair et al., 2008: 422), i.e. new opportunities to develop more deliberative processes, using social media, for example.

The advent of social media has made it possible for 'the lazy environmentalist' (coined by Joshua Dorfman in 2005) or, more appropriately, slacktivists (Christensen, 2011; Obar et al., 2011; Peña-López, 2013), to participate in environmental debates without leaving their homes. They do so just by contributing on Internet forums and groups (such as Facebook) and using Social Media platforms such as Twitter, commenting, sometimes rather vociferously, on digitally published news articles. Both local and international NGOs have tapped into this resource and in conjunction with more strategic participative actions, and depending on the governing body's capacity to respond to citizen demands and being accountable, the temporality of socio-environmental change has the capacity of becoming shorter (Nabatchi and Leighninger, 2015). These new participative tools can instigate direct action at a moment's notice and reach a much wider pool of civic participation well beyond the formally declared

Aol (Baldacchino, 2015). If an issue becomes important enough, citizens will spring to action and will go out of their houses to attend a protest that may have been organised even by a local, less politically influential NGO, exponentially increasing the attendance of a protest and increasing the chances of making the State / project proponent accountable. The increasing role that these new digital technologies and social media have as participative tools to improve and enable civic participation to promote democratic and deliberative processes, is now frequently identified and studied by political scientists and those working in the field of democratic participation projects within International Development (Gigler and Bailur, 2014; Fox 2014; Grandvoinnet et al., 2015; Nabatchi and Leighninger 2015; O'Meally, 2013).

Temporality then becomes an important issue to consider because within environmental planning and decision-making processes and environmental change, there are very different temporalities (Abram, 2014). As mentioned earlier (e.g. Section 2.3.2, p. 38; 2.3.3, p.41) and discussed in further detail in Chapters 6 and 7, urban development and its planning, with the decision-making apparatus that accompany them, have different timings. Policymaking has its own much lengthier tempo and bureaucratic processes that span local and transnational politics and multi-level governance. It has been noted that more recent democracies have both the propensity to adopt more participative, deliberative and decentralisation processes that their governing bodies are more willing to adopt, but there can still be risks of corruption or falling into old habits of participation, as mentioned earlier (Carothers and Brechenmacher, 2014; Gaventa and Barrett, 2012; Grandvoinnet et al., 2015; Leighninger, 2014; Menocal, 2015). Abram (2014: 130) argues that

conflicting temporal frames characterize contemporary urban and infrastructural planning, and that widespread forms and norms of social mediation adopted by planners falter through a lack of theoretical and practical attention to temporal contradictions.

Abram's paper questions whether the temporalities of planning have been deliberately omitted from local government action, while games of temporality are played where "new varieties of future horizon have emerged as well as disappeared, and models of the progression from one to another have been postulated, discarded, and adopted" (Abram, 2014: 132). She argues that even though academic planning theory literature acknowledges that planning is a process that implies progress through time, the concept of conflicting temporalities is generally underemphasized: for example, planning for long-term futures while dealing with immediate issues, continuing to play the same games of control and expertise and

focusing on demonstrating that there is participation with the public, while leaving behind the meaningful near and medium past (Abram, 2014: 130).

While NGOs, CSOs, environmental activists and civic society often grumble about the grindingly slow and lengthy planning and decision-making processes that govern urban development, many forget the socio-political histories that preceded the current political atmosphere, especially those who are second generation within a relatively recent democratic state, or, those who have recently joined the EU, and are suddenly experiencing multi-level governance (Baldacchino, 2015). Conceptually, time has a huge bearing on values and the propensity for values to transform into attitudes that may activate a person to consciously become a more active participant within their society and the socio-political processes of governance within it. By viewing participation as a form of deliberative democracy, it becomes possible to study participation as it is enacted via different policy mechanisms.

2.5 Conclusion: An anthropological approach to the study of participation

This chapter so far has reviewed the role of participation in SIAs and considered how applied anthropological approaches can contribute towards a more critical analysis and reflective practice of participation. In addition to defining stakeholders as those who are affected or can affect a decision, whether directly or indirectly, in this research, stakeholders will also be considered to include those who are affected or who can affect a decision but who choose not to get involved in the decision-making process, and those who are not directly or indirectly affected by a decision, but who choose to take an active interest in and engage with that decision (e.g. for political reasons). This conception of stakeholders is important because it explicitly considers and values those who are somehow left out of the decision-making process, whether intentionally (for example in protest against a process that they do not believe will afford them decision-making power) or unintentionally (for example due to power dynamics such as lobbying by more influential groups, or a lack of resources or organisation). This thesis also distinguishes between civic and stakeholder engagement because civic participation is more akin to the broader idea of public participation, and as mentioned earlier, stakeholders fall within specially defined groups of the public.

This section and the following chapters take a highly interdisciplinary approach to the study of participation in SIAs. As already noted, SIAs are inter and/or trans-disciplinary studies, incorporating many fields, especially within the social sciences (Esteves et al., 2012), and in part because of all these disciplines trying to interact with each other, confusion on methods,

theoretical models and so forth, makes interdisciplinary communications difficult (Burdge and Vanclay, 1996), first between the social scientists contributing to the SIA, then with the other more biophysical scientists collaborating on the EIA, the planners who have to review the EIA and finally the stakeholders, both those who may be affected by the proposed project and decision-makers who have to make decisions based on the EIA's recommendations (which include the SIA within it). I propose that Anthropology as a discipline and the contributions that anthropologists, as academics and applied practitioners, with their propensity to cross disciplinary boundaries in their enquiries and research interests, may be able to help untangle interdisciplinary miscommunication and improve information flow and knowledge transfer between the social actors involved in the planning and decision-making processes and explicitly including stakeholder knowledge. Anthropology as an umbrella of sub-disciplines that include applied and environmental anthropology can contribute towards the debate in environmental discourse, the contentious arguments around sustainability, questions on development and maybe answer some of the questions posed, such as why change in urban planning processes seem to be so difficult to attain (Gardner and Lewis, 1996; Milton, 1996; Stone, 2003).

As normative calls for participation grow louder, there are increasing attempts to replicate participatory processes at international scales, with mixed success (e.g. the integration of participation in the EU's Water Framework Directive and the ELC). Although de Vente et al. (2016) argue that replication is in theory possible across widely divergent contexts, if participatory processes are effectively designed, it is still essential to take into consideration national and localized socio-political contexts. Techniques from applied anthropology (and elsewhere) can help address this challenge by better recognizing the role of power and governance, information and the production of knowledge and how these are operationalised within civic society.

There is evidence that poorly managed participation in SIA and EIAs may fail to achieve intended outcomes, or may lead to unintended (negative) consequences for affected communities (Vella et al., 2015a; 2015b; Reed et al., 2017a). As a result, the SIA practitioner may create more conflict than they are able to solve, biasing outcomes towards the preferences of a minority of active, vocal stakeholders, exacerbating existing conflicts. There is an urgent need to go beyond the assumed representation of stakeholder needs and priorities via economic analysis in SIAs, to more fully engage stakeholders in the process (Vella and Borg, 2010; Reed et al., 2017a). By making power dynamics and the positionality of the

researcher more explicit, an anthropological approach has the potential to alert practitioners to these sorts of issues in time to resolve or reduce them, valuing all types of knowledge equally in the process.

Existing methods for integrating knowledges from environmental social science disciplines (such as participatory or mediated modelling) often underplay the role of power in decision-making processes. While this can be useful in some contexts, for example where power discrepancies between participants are a source of conflict, it may be necessary to give different weights to different interests or social groups, given how this may subsequently affect the distribution of power and resources, especially for marginalised and disempowered groups. This can be particularly challenging when participation is constrained within pre-existing legislative processes, such as often exist within the context of EIA and SIA.

Learning from work published by Cooke and Kothari (2001) and others it seems that practitioners of participatory methods need to become epistemologically aware and self-critical about their positionality in relation to the decision-making processes they are facilitating and the social actors (the stakeholders) that they are interacting with, and possibly identifying with. In this way it may be possible to appreciate the extent to which the practitioner influences the process and the decisions that are taken as a result of their work, and avoid de-localising or disenfranchising affected 'communities'.

The tenets of applied anthropology, which uses an increasingly varied toolkit of mixed methods to collect data, is still predicated upon a holistic approach which involves participant observation and the ethnographic method to understand local knowledge (Ervin, 2005; Taylor et al., 1995). This is central to building relationships and involving social actors, or, stakeholders and more broadly, communities and populations that are affected by proposed developments. One of the central themes in anthropological studies is to understand how power relations operate. There is an increased interest in “studying up” or “studying through”, where it is recognised that powerful agents (e.g. developers, politicians and the state), together with citizen engagement can increase the value of the SIA analysis and help create more effective and socially accountable SIMPs, that have the potential to reinforce the citizen-state interface. Anthropological fieldwork methods usually build relationships and the more contentious a research project is, the more transparent those methods need to be.

Anthropology attempts to understand the various discourses and values that are attached to a locality, and the extent to which identity (i.e. how an individual or group identifies with that

locality as a physical space within the physical environment and also as a social space and the interactions of the relationships of power within that social space) contributes to planned change (such as those brought about by planned urban change). Anthropology recognises the multiple roles that people have within their cultures, and the way that social actors can play different (and sometimes apparently contradictory) roles at different times in a decision-making process. It can also help shed light on stakeholder perceptions of their lived environment, recognising shifting, diverse and conflicting values, rather than trying to generalise, categorise or stereotype. By understanding the ways in which knowledge is culturally, socially and politically produced, continuously reformulated and used to exert power, anthropology can help explore what is considered valid knowledge to be included or left out, who is included or excluded, who is misinforming or omitting information and for what purpose. The ways in which knowledge is used then depends upon the contexts within which it is produced and how various actors in a decision-making process choose to interpret, legitimise and 'rank' knowledge.

Ultimately, as Aylett (2010) points out from his analysis of Foucault and Habermas of finding the middle ground between their theoretical debates (pp. 103-104), citing Heller's argument (2001: 158),

rather than focus strictly on either confrontational grassroots mobilisation or on more consensus-driven systems of participation (as if they were in opposition to each other), we instead need to explore and promote an intermixing of the two. This seems nowhere more true than at the intersection between social equity and environmental sustainability. (Aylett, 2010: 112).

Chapter 3

Methods

...The key is communication... but the lock is trust.

- Julie Swagger, *The Shooter, A Man called Moon* (2017)

3.1 Research design

3.1.1 Introduction: ethnography, the ethnographic method, applied anthropology and practitioner research

The research conducted for this doctoral thesis was based on primarily qualitative research methods, rooted in the ethnographic methodologies employed by anthropology, for the whole fieldwork experience, which included the research conducted on the three case studies. In other words, the fieldwork was not limited to the three case studies, for which a mixed qualitative methods strategy was undertaken and adapted to the various settings that were presented during the various case studies. This included semi-structured interviews with specific people involved in urban planning / civic society and participant observation with 'informants' (as long-term research subjects are usually called in anthropology), both directly involved with the case studies and others from the broader society of Malta.

As will be explained in Section 3.2.6 on participant observation, and in this introduction, the fieldwork that was conducted followed the anthropological method of field research, where fieldwork did not start and finish with each SIA consultancy, which became my case studies for this thesis. As already mentioned in the introduction (p. 15, Footnote 10), the fieldwork consisted of one full year in 2011, during which time, I conducted ethnographic participant observation, which included conducting three SBS consultancies. Due to the temporality of the planning process (discussed in several places throughout this thesis), a short second fieldwork period was conducted at the end of 2012.

In line with researchers in the social sciences today increasingly employing a mixture of methods in the pursuit of answering their research questions (May, 2008: 151; Bryman, 2008),

the fieldwork methods for this dissertation included semi-structured and informal interviews, but the predominant method was long-term participant observation. Participant observation varies from questionnaires or surveys in that it is not a 'static-causal snapshot' (May, 2001: 150) but a "process of learning behaviour" (p. 150), where the "investigator establishes a many-sided and relatively long-term relationship with a human association in its natural setting, for the purposes of developing a scientific understanding of that association" (Lofland and Lofland, 1984:12 cited in May, 2008:150). Section 3.2.6 (128-133) goes into further detail on how participant observation was conducted throughout the whole fieldwork process, clarifying how data was collected, used and analysed.

This research may be described as 'practice-oriented' or 'practitioner research' (Lees, 2008: 1), since the case studies used for this thesis are based on Social Baseline Studies performed as an SIA practitioner. Like Lees, I argue that

research based on the skills of the practitioner can supplement conventional research methods, resulting from incorporating personal experience into the research process and questioning premises and assumptions, including his/her own. (Lees, 2008: 1)

I realise now that I could not disassociate myself from the knowledge I had learnt experientially through the years as an 'applied anthropologist' learning how to conform with the standards and practices of report writing, adhering to deadlines without the luxury of the longer-term fieldwork of academic anthropology research. The minutiae that each case study brought with it were unique in local circumstance, if not at national level, which taught me how little I knew about my own society, maybe not as society at large, but the more localised, personal histories that might have been defined by a more formal history at national level, though even that seemed to vary depending on who was telling the story. This meant that I was presented with a few challenges of "unlearning" and not taking for granted what I thought I knew about my own primary culture (Okely, 2012).

At this point, it may be appropriate to distinguish between ethnography, the ethnographic method and anthropology as a discipline, without going into lengthy debates that have been going on for decades. The most important point to make is that, as Tim Ingold (2007; 2014) emphatically argues, ethnography is *not* anthropology. My argument here though is not one of accurate definitions but more in the light of advocating for more collaboration between disciplines (in my case EIA practitioners collaborating with Anthropologists), rather than practitioners trained in one discipline trying to adopt methodologies from other disciplines (such as Anthropology) that take years to refine and hone. I believe that this goes both ways,

at least in the current pedagogic vein into enquiries across disciplines, where even if research (by one individual) states that it is interdisciplinary, it will still follow epistemological biases towards a primary discipline and when trying to adopt methodologies outside that discipline, misuse of those methods will be inevitable, even within the social sciences, where mixed methods have become more common. Ingold (2014: 384) complains that many disciplines beyond anthropology have started to use terms such as “ethnographic interviews” in their work and research applications, “in which ethnographic appears to be a modish substitute for qualitative, offends every principle of proper, rigorous anthropological inquiry — including long-term and open-ended commitment, generous attentiveness, relational depth, and sensitivity to context” (p. 384). Nor is ethnography a fieldwork method, a substitute for the word “qualitative” (Ingold, 2014: 348),³⁷ nor is it synonymous with participant observation (Ingold 2014; Hockey and Forsey, 2012). Ingold (2007; 2014) highlights in his papers on anthropology and ethnography that many anthropologists use anthropology and ethnography interchangeably, as with ethnographic fieldwork to denote participant observation, which in turn has been damaging to the discipline of anthropology, especially when ethnography has proliferated beyond ‘anthropological shores’ (Ingold, 2014: 384) and textbooks on ethnography have used “privileged sociological definitions “with positivist remnants” (Okely, 2012: 2). Maybe, as Sanjek suggests, “anthropologists have done better jobs at using than articulating it” (1991: 617, cited by Okely, 2012: 2). I could be accused of making the same mistake, even while writing this thesis. I have found myself using ‘ethnographic fieldwork’ to distinguish between the other qualitative methods such as the structured or unstructured interview with the whole embodied experience of participant observation and anthropological fieldwork methods (which include qualitative methods). On the other hand, in my methods statement for SIA baseline studies I was clear: “The researcher proposes to conduct an intensive qualitative analysis using the methods of social anthropology, namely in-depth interviews and observation.”³⁸ If the problem was just an ontological one, as Ingold puts it, then this distinction might have been a footnote.

³⁷ Like Ingold, at an ESRC workshop held in 2015 on the use of visual media as a research methodology, organised by and with speakers from mostly applied ecological and biophysical scientists, several social scientists and one or two anthropologists, I critically observed a lack of theoretical and methodological knowledge and rigour in the justification for the use of visual media in their research. Many were asking questions that have been debated upon and practiced within visual anthropology for decades. Some social scientists even used the term ‘visual ethnography’.

³⁸ See Appendices V, VI and VII for the Methods Statements for each of the case studies (Accompanying CD).

Even though the PhD was initially intended to be a cross-disciplinary project in anthropology and human geography, the project was still led by anthropology as the primary discipline, as was required by the university I was registered to at the time. Therefore, while a research design was presented before fieldwork started, it is normal practice in anthropology for such research designs to be open-ended and subject to possible change while in the field.

As Okely (2012) notes, ethnographic fieldwork is a product of relationships with the people through continuing, not one-off, shared experiences (p.1). It differs from grounded theory because unlike grounded theory, while recognising the back and forth of knowledge through process (Glasser and Strauss, 1967) where “theory production is interview-privileged and rooted in text and word, divorced from hand, heart, movement and the senses” (Okely, 2012: 1). In her book, *Anthropological Practice: fieldwork and the ethnographic Method* (2012), Judith Okely, drawing on the first-hand accounts of over twenty anthropologists of their ethnographic field experiences, explains that in ethnographic fieldwork, knowledge comes through the skin and all the senses (p. 1). To reiterate Forsythe’s point, quoted earlier (p. 73), ethnographic fieldwork is not a set of preformulated research instruments, it takes years of training in theory, methodology and practice (1999: 129). It is therefore not prescriptive or easily captured in a set of chronological events and a neat set of interviews to test a hypothesis, nor is it ‘mere description’; and “just as fieldwork involves an openness to anything that may shake preconceptions, so theoretical conclusions are open to refinement... [and] an entire paradigm is overturned” (Okely, 2012: 11).

Malinowski (considered by many as the father of modern anthropology, moving away from university-based, ‘armchair-anthropology’ to the ethnographic practice of going to the field to study, first-hand, those cultures that were unknown during his time), writes, on ethnography,

In Ethnography, the writer is his own chronicler and the historian at the same time, while his sources are no doubt easily accessible, but also supremely elusive and complex; they are not embodied in fixed, material documents, but in the behaviour and in the memory of living men.
Malinowski (1922:33)

My approach went beyond regular anthropological fieldwork in terms of using the SIA baseline study consultancies both as my entry-point or official role within the given ethnographic circumstance and as my case studies. This may be construed (by anthropology) as being more akin to grounded theory methodology, given the prevalence of the qualitative interview as my main data collection method and the shorter time span spent in the field for each case study. I would argue that the fieldwork I undertook for each case study and the overall fieldwork

was based on anthropological qualitative methods including participant observation with various groups and individuals, some of whom became gatekeepers or informants; and informal and formal interviews based on snowball sampling etc.

Fieldwork is fluid, especially when one does ethnographic research in anthropology. Authors on fieldwork methods, especially qualitative and ethnographic fieldwork, such as Bryman (2012), Bernard (2011), May (2011), Crang and Cook (2007), Hesse-Biber (2010), among others, all caution prospective fieldworkers that things will not go as originally planned and one should have contingency plans and go with the flow. For example, as part of my fieldwork, getting access within MEPA was much harder and time consuming than I had anticipated and I was denied access to the original case study I had planned to follow.³⁹ I remembered Malinowski's legendary first chapter of the *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*⁴⁰ (first published in 1923). Malinowski read novels, in between knocking on doors and setting up meetings with countless midlevel civil servants with little success. Similarly, I was writing emails and waiting for replies from MEPA and civil servants from the OPM — replies that arrived months later. During those first months, similarly to Malinowski, who “buried [himself] in the reading of novels, as a man might take to drink” (1932: 4), I watched endless TV series and movies,⁴¹ feeling dispirited because four months had passed without anything tangible in terms of actual fieldwork. Besides, due to the cumbersome bureaucratic process that constitutes the EIA process in Malta (though from the literature and my previous experience as a consultant, I should have prepared myself for such delays), the Magħtab SBS, which should have had started when I arrived in Malta towards the end of 2010, only started in April of the following year! It was only in retrospect during the analysis that this too was invaluable data on the inner workings of the cumbersome bureaucratic planning system found in Malta.

During this time, through my wife's social networks, I started following a group of concerned citizens within my home town of Cospicua, who were trying to gain information on a large project on the waterfront, which, among other things, had destroyed the trees lining the main

³⁹ My original research design was to follow a large EIA on a proposed wind farm in Malta, but the company I subcontracted with did not win the tender for the EIA. Being denied access to the EIA process I had to change my project to exclude renewable energy.

⁴⁰ The introduction of the book was compulsory reading in the fieldwork methods course at BA level anthropology at the University of Malta.

⁴¹ It is also one of the reasons why I started a number of chapters in this thesis (including this Chapter) with a quote from a movie or TV series, partly, to show that inspiration, and sometimes motivation, may come from unexpected places.

road along the waterfront. It was a great opportunity since I was witnessing the birth of an eNGO or a group of activists brought together by a common concern (Milton, 1996). Although this is not included in this thesis as a case study (preferring to focus instead on participation in SIAs), I learnt a lot about civic society groups, how they operate and their entangled agendas built on relationships of both trust and distrust. This would help me immensely later on when confronted with eNGOs on my case studies. The experience with that group also produced a number of parallels insights into people's values of a transforming landscape, both physical and social, tangible and intangible.

3.1.2 Positionality and ethics

One's "positionality" in anthropology and human geography as a researcher and more importantly during fieldwork is considered a central theme that one needs to interrogate both during fieldwork and afterwards, when the researcher leaves the research site and analyses and writes up the data. I believe that it is important that SIA and stakeholder / public participation practitioners should question their positionality in relation to who they are working with and the proposed project, not just where methods or the research design of the SIA or stakeholder participation are concerned, but also how knowledge co-produced with their 'informants' is being represented in their reports, during stakeholder events and how their positionality affects the relations of power that are reproduced.

Therefore, my multiple positions of a PhD candidate conducting fieldwork while simultaneously being an SIA consultant performing baseline studies on EIAs as a professional 'applied' anthropologist would be inherently problematised with a possible conflict of interest. My response is straightforward because I work on the premise that I am an anthropologist working within the ethical boundaries of that discipline, whether I am a PhD candidate, an SIA consultant or as a professional anthropologist. If the PhD candidate persona is put aside for a moment, the ethics of best practice SIA clearly state that there needs to be informed consent and a clear transition of information that is two-directional (Esteves et al., 2012: 35, also Chapter 2, p. 36). As an anthropologist, I have been trained to respect my "informants" and to protect both my informants and the disadvantaged, again, in conformity with SIA best practice.

I therefore argue that there is not much difference between my positions ethically, nor do I consider them a conflict of interest. I am not stating that I do not give serious thought about ethics in my work or the possibilities of conflict of interest — as Scott-Stevens (1999: 54)

puts it, refusing to examine these issues would border on negligence. In fact, as practitioners of applied anthropology attest (e.g. Becker and Vanclay, 2003; Ervin, 2005; Hackenberg and Hackenberg, 2004; Rylko-Bauer et al., 2006: 179; Vanclay and Esteves, 2011; Van Willigen, 2002), even while conducting applied research in sometimes very volatile multi-sited, multi-level and multivocal ethnoscaples (Hackenberg et al., 2004: 387), under the strains of reduced budgets, higher administrative costs, shorter time frames, and a thicket of regulations (p. 387), ethics remains very high on the agenda. Just as with academic anthropological pursuit, this has been moulded by the discipline of anthropology's historical trajectory. At the same time, it should be noted that the first professional code of ethics in anthropology was established by the SfAA in 1949, a mere eight years after its founding, while it took the AAA another 20 years to produce its first ethics statement.

Finally, these ethical obligations become more binding than legal ones that need to be adhered to as anthropologists working as SIA practitioners. My field notes are never shared with third parties, not even under court order (something I have not experienced since I started working as an SIA practitioner). My position though is that if a court had to ask for the field notes, they could be provided, but they would be redacted so that informants' identities are protected. The only time this rule is broken is if I am given knowledge of a crime that has or will happen which involves bodily harm against another human being, in other words, the breaching of human rights.

If information is given to me that pertains to other legal infringements (such as the informal sector, or grey economy, mostly manifest as unreported employment by legal or illegal immigrants), the moral obligation is towards understanding why that individual feels the need to keep his earnings undeclared. Following Fassin's more philosophical position (Fassin, 2008; Fassin and Stoczkowski, 2008), the analysis of the socio-political complexities of why such behaviour is undertaken may reveal that services that should be given by the State are not reaching the end-users, which obliges such end-users to supplement their earnings with off-the-books employment to survive and being able to provide for their families. This intrinsically falls under the realm of basic human rights.

On the other hand, as an anthropologist working in an applied, quasi-PAR area, I take Schepers-Hughes's (2009) position as having a professional duty (not just ethical and moral ones) to respond to public issues that will be harmful to society and the environment and to bring these issues into the public domain, if the need arises. Therefore, if a proposed project will

be clearly harmful to society and the social impacts are downplayed by the environmental authorities when making their decisions, I feel that I have a professional obligation to give the report to eNGOs that will then bring it to the public eye through the media, raise public awareness and so forth. Since my reports, as part of the EIS become public documents anyway, I am not breaking any laws or confidentiality agreements.

The above ethical position stems from the awareness of the risks that ethnographic, in-depth research has of “being misappropriated beyond the control of the individual researcher. In-depth fieldwork can inform, not enlighten policymakers seeking greater controls of moving peoples” (Okely, 2012: 34).⁴² While Okely was referring to asylum seekers and diasporas when referring to ‘moving peoples’, her argument is still very relevant in terms of SIAs, especially for large urban and infrastructure projects, where whole villages may be displaced to make way for mega-projects such as an oil pipeline, a dam or a mine (see for example Goldman, 2000; Becker and Vanclay, 2003; Esteves, 2008; Vanclay and Esteves, 2011; Esteves, Franks and Vanclay, 2012). While displacing whole villages may not be the case in Malta, there have been several incidents where the Maltese Government, for example, chose to re-appropriate agricultural land that may have been leased to farmers for generations as part of the plans for urban and infrastructural projects (the Magħtab and CRU case studies are two such examples).

I adopted a more pragmatic approach as advocated by Wedel (2009), borrowing from ethics of journalism when interviewing powerful individuals such as MEPA officials and politicians, including the opposition leader at the time (who is currently, at the time of writing, the Prime Minister of Malta). I agreed with such informants whether our encounter / interview would be “off the record” and only used to advance my understanding of the themes being examined; “on the record” and therefore used with attribution or “on background”, where if any part of the interview is quoted or cited, the source would not be mentioned (used without attribution). This also addresses the issues of informed consent as per the ASA ethical guidelines (No. 4a, 2011: 4), where the official may not know who he or she is talking to—the SIA consultant or the PhD student. It must be noted that as an SIA practitioner on any proposed project, if there is any contact with MEPA officials it would be on an official level to ask for clarifications on TORs, not to be interviewed as part of the SIA. Therefore, when

⁴² See Okely (2012b: 34-37) for a discussion on some very public and controversial examples and their ramifications, both methodologically and theoretically.

contacting MEPA, my position was very clear, I was contacting them as a PhD 'student' conducting fieldwork not as an SIA practitioner.

Finally, I will briefly elucidate my position as a PhD candidate doing fieldwork while having another two roles, as examined above. When I started working as an SIA sub-consultant with ADI Associates, my boss and mentor, Kevin Morris, suggested that I should critically analyse my work academically by writing academic papers and reading for a PhD. While I only started my PhD years later, the seed had been sown in my head that one day I would eventually do a PhD on urban development and SIA with the option of maybe performing a longitudinal study that included fieldwork that had been performed prior to starting my PhD. It became normal practice for me to explain to all my interviewees that there was this possibility and if I had informed consent to include the data provided during the interview as part of the analysis in the eventuality of the PhD really happening. If they consented, I would make a note at the beginning of the interview.

Most interviewees were happy for me to use the interviews, given their perception that even if their views and local knowledge was properly represented within my reports, it would make little or no difference towards the result of the decision-making process. Therefore, if I were to then use that same data as part of an academic study, especially if I were doing the PhD at a foreign university, my results would have more exposure, with the hope that maybe my PhD would reach the EU with the result local legislation based on EU directives on urban planning and public / stakeholder participation would start to be implemented (See Sections 2.2, pp. 25-27 and 7.5 to 7.8, pp. 357-369). I considered each SIA as a case study within multiple field-sites of the Maltese socio-cultural milieu over time. When I then did start the fieldwork for my PhD, since I had kept a record of those interviewees who had given me informed consent (previous paragraph), I had an accumulation of data, analysed at the time of the study that could now be longitudinally analysed further.

3.1.3 Case study selection

3.1.3.1 *Why Malta?*

There had always been pragmatic, personal and financial reasons why I wanted to choose Malta as my field site. I was recently married and had already spent more than a year away from my wife, who had stayed behind in Malta, since she worked there. Fieldwork would have to be in Malta if I were to be with my family. Financially, my funding was not enough to allow

me to conduct fieldwork in another country where I could compare SIA and the planning system in that country with Malta's. Even though I considered applying to the EU Erasmus Programme, the timings would not be compatible. I also had responsibilities with the company that subcontracted me on SIAs in Malta and I had already participated in the tender process for a number of EIAs that would then become my case studies if the company won those tenders.

The most compelling reason for choosing Malta personally and professionally, though, has already been elucidated in the introductory chapter of this thesis. During the years I spent working as an SIA sub-consultant, I saw a number of discrepancies between the best practice guidelines (Vanclay, 2003) and the reality of doing baseline studies in Malta. Even before I actively and formally decided to commence doctoral research on SIAs and stakeholder participation in Malta, I wanted to understand why there were these discrepancies, and when I was invited to present a paper with an archaeologist colleague at the European Association of Archaeologists (EAA), which later became my first published book chapter (Vella and Borg, 2010), my research agenda had already started to formulate in my mind.

There was a definite juncture between stakeholder *participation* and *involvement* during the EIA process in Malta apart from the legislative obligation of the formal consultation with EU directives that specifically state stakeholder participation, such as the ELC (Council of Europe, 2000: 12), for example. Though many commentators on stakeholder participation now consider Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation (see Figure 2.3, p. 50) as out-dated (Collins and Ison, 2006, also see Section 2.4.1, pp. 43.-51), it may be appropriate to us in the Maltese context, because one might say that most stakeholder or public participation in Malta falls under the sections of non-participation (manipulation and therapy) and tokenism (informing, consultation and placation), since much of participation element is largely 'contractual' (Biggs, 1989). This means that decisions would have already been made unofficially and sometimes even officially, as in contracts signed, even before the EIA had been completed and published.

Malta is also an interesting site for such a study because the public can easily become a stakeholder, especially on large projects that potentially affect the whole population of Malta. Using Rowe et al. (2004), Wandersman (1981) and Wilcox (1994), Reed (2008) defines participation as "a process where individuals, groups and organisations choose to take an active role in making decisions that affect them" (p. 2418). This definition, based on Freeman (1984), usually focuses on stakeholder participation rather than broader public participation, if

stakeholders are defined as those who are affected by or can affect a decision. In the Maltese context though, its size and population make such a definition ambiguous and this is also reflected in the TOR for many impact studies, where it is specified that potential impacts of a proposed project on the wider population of Malta must be taken into consideration and assessed. This overlap is also reflected in the number of diverse eNGOs that get involved in one way or another in such projects (see Section 2.4.6, p. 79). Moving up the ladder of participation is usually a lengthy process in itself and must be gradual to be effective (Conrad and Cassar, 2010). The results of a study evaluating public participation practices in the Maltese planning system indicate that constraints to public participation originate from both the institutional framework and the public mind-set with greater attention to issues of social capital (Conrad et al., 2011c).

There were also issues of development and sustainability that made Malta a good place to focus on for this doctoral enquiry. In anthropology, these themes have mostly focused on third world geographies and the “north” “south” dialectic where the north has always been considered more ‘advanced’ and the south as under-developed, needing ‘assistance’ from the north (Escobar, 1991; 1998). Critical attention also focused on local or indigenous involvement in such projects and the use of indigenous or local knowledge by environmental and project managers of such projects. These debates ranged from unequal power relations, vested interests and lack of understanding and misuse of indigenous knowledge for example. It became common custom among environmental managers to reflexively criticise their methods on local participation but focus on the methods themselves rather than on epistemological understandings of why projects and methods failed to deliver (Cooke and Kothari, 2001). Entrenched in the Cartesian models their disciplines from the west had trained them in, they failed to realise that there could be other models out there, other world views or ontologies, of different but equally valid forms of knowledge that could not simply be discounted or deconstructed to fit into their neatly packaged projects. Their starting point was always based on the notion that theirs was the right epistemology, that if it could not be explained and measured scientifically then it was discarded as myth or indigenous knowledge that was considered scientifically unworthy of analysis (e.g. Cooke and Kothari, 2002; Gardner and Lewis 1996; Milton, 1995; Mosse, 2001; Sillitoe, 2007; 2010; Stone, 2003).

What happens when development projects are taking place not in a ‘third’ world country but in one that is considered part of the affluent ‘north’? The assumption here is that the indigenous population do not have very different human-environment and social relationships

to those implementing the projects, where the social actors pertain to a broadly similar epistemological worldview of how they see and value their changing landscape and the planning system. It is assumed that bureaucrats, planners, policy makers (at least the local ones) and the users of the landscape pertain to the same culture. This is very different to international development initiatives in regions where ideologies, world-views, rituals and indigenous knowledge are very different between the locals and those implementing the projects (see e.g. Cooke and Kothari 2002; Mosse et al., 2010; Sillitoe, 2010). Probably the most distinct epistemological differences will come from the various experts employed to conduct the various parts of the environmental assessments (the 'soft' versus 'hard' science debate), usually the source of similar conflicting scientific methodological biases and misunderstandings, depending on the type and magnitude of development project being assessed.

There is evidence to suggest that environmental managers are now turning to the lessons learnt in third world realities for guidance, where a more action-oriented, site-specific approach has been emerging, as environmental managers learnt from social activism, adult education, applied anthropology, complex systems, natural resource management and ecology (Reed, 2008: 2419; DeVente et al., 2016). Arguments are now emerging where the stress is on a well-designed process, not a tool-kit approach that can be used under multiple circumstances, even though such thinking is still rarely found within the institutions that fund or ask for environmental assessments. In fact, Reed (2008) argues that "stakeholder participation must be institutionalised; creating organisational cultures that can facilitate processes where goals are negotiated and outcomes are necessarily uncertain" (p. 2417). This is a difficult task when considering that politicians want decisions to be based on a high degree of certainty (Carter, 2006). This is one of the main functions of Impact Assessments and the emphasis on technical expertise (and scientific knowledge that can be corroborated by scientific testing and replicability based on a Cartesian model).

Following the above arguments, I chose Malta as the primary site of enquiry because the nation state of Malta is an interesting geographical space situated simultaneously in a central position in the Mediterranean, between Sicily to the north and North Africa to the south, and on the periphery in relation to Western Europe (Mitchell, J. P., 2002). It has a noteworthy historical and geo-political tapestry that has influenced how its inhabitants view the world around them and operate within it. The various discourses that drive decisions taken at local, national, and

international levels can be traced to the archipelago's more recent post-colonial history as an independent state and its accession to the European Union in 2004.

Ontologically therefore, I am arguing that Malta should not be categorised as pertaining to the 'north' or the 'south' when looking at it from a development perspective. I would argue that it is more of a borderland, between the north and the south, both geographically and politically. While it can be argued that such discourse can sometimes be a 'felt' sentiment in Malta when dealing with national politics and the EU, this may be a skewed sentiment when focusing on local politics as opposed to policy-making. In other words, while policy structures might be influenced by Malta's propensity as a nation state to benefit from EU programmes that are increasingly being utilised at a more local level, the way such funds are then operationalised in reality may be very different from how the directives were thought to be implemented within nation states at project level. The same could be said for environmental policy on the ground when dealing with individual development projects.

3.1.3.2 *Why these case studies?*

During the fieldwork period, I worked on five baseline social studies (or 'population studies'⁴³). Even though I still consider those studies as part of my broader ethnographic fieldwork in understanding SIAs and the urban planning system more generally, they were technically smaller projects with no organised stakeholder participation exercises within their methodological design. These were excluded as case studies for this research since one of the main criteria for inclusion as case studies was the possibility of doing official stakeholder participation exercises beyond the normative involvement of stakeholders as part of the fieldwork (as part of qualitative fieldwork collection). Finally, I settled on the three case studies described in the chapters of this thesis.

- I. In Chapter 1 (pp. 9-12), I gave four main reasons why I chose three Maltese case studies, which I consider as both inductive and deductive reasons. For the purposes of the PhD research, which further focuses on stakeholder engagement and SIA, Table 3.1 (below) illustrates the criteria used to characterise the three case studies within the wider Maltese context that best illustrated that focus. Seven criteria were used to gauge their suitability as case studies for this research, including to illustrate a

⁴³ These are technically considered as shorter SIAs by MEPA, though the amount of work put into them is the same as SIAs. Interestingly, according to MEPA, the Coast Road's social study was considered as a Population Study, even though it covered a comparatively large area next to other SIAs I worked on.

progression in stakeholder engagement within the SBS process, as introduced in Chapter 1 (pp. 15-18) and analysed throughout Chapter 6. These criteria also highlight the official/unofficial inclusion of stakeholder engagement during the EIA process, which affects how stakeholder involvement and participation is influenced during the process. Therefore, the four final criteria under the heading 'Explicit inclusion of Participation in' are of particular relevance. These include; whether or not participation was explicitly included in the TOR by MEPA; the proposed methods (within the Methods Statement drafted by myself, as the consultant, during the procurement process); whether or not the proposed methods to officially include stakeholder engagement during the SBS were accepted by the developer; and whether or not the results of the stakeholder engagement during the SBS were included in the final report. By critically analysing these issues that were presented in the three case studies, the analytical evolutionary process that led to the theoretical framework in Chapters 6 and 7 could be made more clearly and explicitly.

The research will however be also drawing on some of the data and knowledge learnt from both the other two baseline social studies performed during the fieldwork, together with previous studies during what I consider as long-term fieldwork on SIAs conducted during the previous eight years in Malta. Appendix VII provides three additional baseline studies for reference since these may be difficult to procure, even though they are technically public documents.⁴⁴ Two studies in particular (Vella, 2006; 2013; see Appendix VIII) will be used during the analysis in addition to the three case studies because they provided the unique possibility of a temporal comparative study of the same geographical location. The urban projects were different but the locality was the same, with a seven-year difference between the two studies. This meant that I could revisit the same stakeholders and interviewees and interview them again, giving me two sets of data that could then be analytically compared. Furthermore, given the forward-looking nature of SIA, I had the opportunity to testing whether scenarios described in the first study had unfolded as I had anticipated they might.

⁴⁴ The EIS and all the documents pertaining to it, including the Technical Appendices with the SIA baseline study are freely downloadable from the MEPA website during the public consultation period. After that period however, they are only available upon written request and usually at a fee.

Table 3.1: Case Studies Selection Criteria

Criteria	Recycling Plant on Landfill (Magħtab)	Coast Road Upgrade (CRU)	Coastal Defences (Marsalforn)
Spatial scale of Study	Medium	Large	Small
Number and diversity of stakeholders	Medium	High	Low-Medium
Inclusion of Stakeholder exercise (formal or otherwise) during fieldwork	Informal	Formal and informal	Formal
Explicit inclusion of participation in:	Low	Medium-High	High
TOR by MEPA	None	None	None
Proposed Methods	✓	✓	✓
Accepted Methods	X	✓	✓
Report	✓	✓	✓

3.2 Fieldwork methods

3.2.1 Introduction to fieldwork methods

This section provides an overview of the fieldwork methods that were employed during the fieldwork period, as summarised in Table 3.2 below. The table follows the different research phases found in the first column, starting with the Baseline Study / SIA phases (mostly in chronological order), followed by the more long-term anthropological research agenda that sought to understand stakeholder participation within the SIA and planning system. Though placed as Phase 5 in the table, participant observation within Maltese society on SIA was a long-term process, pervading the whole fieldwork period. As an applied anthropologist working on SIAs in Malta I see my work as a longitudinal study across the various EIA projects within the Maltese context (see also Okely, 2012; 2018).

As explained in Chapter 1 (Footnote 10, p. 15), the fieldwork was conducted over two time periods; January 2011 to beginning of February 2012, followed by a second period from June 2012 to February 2013. During this time, I worked on two additional SBSs, which I considered as participant observation. In December 2012, a second engagement exercise was conducted for the Marsalforn case study (described and analysed in detail in Section 6.4.2.3, pp. 329–338) and the SBS report was updated by the end of February 2013. I considered this as officially ending the fieldwork for the PhD research.

Column 2 of Table 3.2 consists of methods used for the different phases, which may have varied for the individual case studies, as specified in columns 3 through 5. The five phases loosely follow the phases described by Vanclay et al. (2015) in the latest guidelines published for conducting SIAs (Box 3.1, below). The numbers assigned for the Phases that are found in Table 3.2 should not be confused with the phases designated by Vanclay in Box 3.1, below).

As explained in the introduction to this chapter, clearly illustrated in Table 3.2 and further discussed in the sections that follow, ethnographic fieldwork adopts a mixed-methods approach, where different methods are used depending on the situation. In other words, there is no pre-defined sequence of methods used, though particular phases adopt particular methods. Since the three SBSs were part of the fieldwork for the PhD research, the various phases of the SBS are accompanied by participant observation and considered part of the fieldwork experience, including the analysis of the fieldnotes produced for each case study, the report writing and interactions with the EIA coordinator during that part of the process.

Phase 1: Understand the issues

1. Gain a good understanding of the proposed project, including all ancillary activities necessary to support the project's development and operation.
2. Clarify the responsibilities and roles of all involved in or associated with the SIA, including relationships to the other specialist studies being undertaken, and establish what national laws and/or international guidelines and standards are to be observed.
3. Identify the preliminary 'social area of influence' of the project, likely impacted and beneficiary communities (nearby and distant), and stakeholders.
4. Gain a good understanding of the communities likely to be affected by the project by preparing a Community Profile which includes: (a) a thorough stakeholder analysis; (b) a discussion of the socio-political setting; (c) an assessment of the differing needs, interests, values and aspirations of the various subgroups of the affected communities including a gender analysis; (d) an assessment of their impact history, i.e. their experience of past projects and other historical events; (e) a discussion of trends happening in those communities; (f) a discussion of the assets, strengths and weaknesses of the communities; and (g) optionally the results of an opinion survey. This task is typically called profiling.
5. Fully inform community members about: (a) the project; (b) similar projects elsewhere to give them a sense of how they are likely to be affected; (c) how they can be involved in the SIA; (d) their procedural rights in the regulatory and social performance framework for the project; and (e) their access to grievance and feedback mechanisms.
6. Devise inclusive participatory processes and deliberative spaces to help community members: (a) understand how they will be impacted; (b) determine the acceptability of likely impacts and proposed benefits; (c) make informed decisions about the project; (d) facilitate community visioning about desired futures; (e) contribute to mitigation and monitoring plans; and (f) prepare for change.
7. Identify the social and human rights issues that have potential to be of concern (i.e. scoping).
8. Collate relevant baseline data for key social issues.

Phase 2: Predict, analyse and assess the likely impact pathways

9. Through analysis, determine the social changes and impacts that will likely result from the project and its various alternatives.

10. Carefully consider the indirect (or second and higher order) impacts.
11. Consider how the project will contribute to the cumulative impacts being experienced by the host communities.
12. Determine how the various affected groups and communities will likely respond.
13. Establish the significance of the predicted changes (i.e. prioritise them).
14. Actively contribute to the design and evaluation of project alternatives, including no go and other options.

Phase 3: Develop and implement strategies

15. Identify ways of addressing potential negative impacts (by using the mitigation hierarchy).
16. Develop and implement ways of enhancing benefits and project-related opportunities.
17. Develop strategies to support communities in coping with change.
18. Develop and implement appropriate feedback and grievance mechanisms.
19. Facilitate an agreement-making process between the communities and the developer leading to the drafting of an Impacts & Benefits Agreement (IBA).
20. Assist the proponent in facilitating stakeholder input and drafting a Social Impact Management Plan (SIMP) which puts into operation the benefits, mitigation measures, monitoring arrangements and governance arrangements that were agreed to in the IBA, as well as plans for dealing with any ongoing unanticipated issues as they may arise.
21. Put processes in place to enable proponents, government authorities and civil society stakeholders to implement the arrangements implied in the SIMP and IBA, and develop and embed their own respective management action plans in their own organizations, establish respective roles and responsibilities throughout the implementation of those action plans, and maintain an ongoing role in monitoring.
22. Assist the proponent in developing and implementing ongoing social performance plans that address contractor obligations implied in the SIMP.

Phase 4: Design and implement monitoring programs

23. Develop indicators to monitor change over time.
24. Develop a participatory monitoring plan.
25. Consider how adaptive management will be implemented and consider implementing a social management system.
26. Undertake evaluation and periodic review (audit).

Table 3.2: Methodology table showing main phases and tasks in the research (and how these map onto the phases suggested by Vanclay et al. (2015: 8), in Box 3.1)

Research Phases	Core Methods Used	SIA – Recycling Plants on Maghtab Landfill	SIA /Population Study– Coast Road Upgrade (CRU)	SIA / Population Study – Coastal Defences, Marsalforn, Gozo
<p>Phase 1: Scoping and Understanding the issues</p> <p>Task 1 : Gain a good understanding of the proposed project, including all ancillary activities necessary to support the project's development and operation (Vanclay et al., 2015: 34).</p> <p>Task 2: Identify the preliminary 'social area of influence' of the project, likely impacted and beneficiary social groups (nearby and distant), and stakeholders (Vanclay et al., 2015: 35).</p> <p>Task 3: Clarify the responsibilities and roles of all involved in or associated with the SIA, including relationships to the other specialist studies being undertaken, and establish what national laws and/ or international guidelines and standards are to be observed (Vanclay et al., 2015: 34-35).</p> <p>This is also where as field researcher I start making contacts and building relationships, gaining access to Stakeholders and key actors within the process.</p>	<p>1st meeting with EIA Coordinator to prepare Quote and Method Statement. Discussion of Project in general, a list of Official / unofficial stakeholders is given by EIA coordinator (they would have already performed a stakeholder analysis themselves, but would also get my input during the meeting); land-use maps are provided and discussed to create a provisional social Aol Map.</p>			
	<p>Desk Research: Read TOR by MEPA, PDS by Developer, provided by EIA Coordinator.</p>			
	<p>Unofficial site visit: I go to the physical site/s of the proposed project to get a better "feel" or sense of the area, usually guided by the land-use map. This is part of what is usually referred to as 'scoping' in Malta.</p>	<p>Here, I did not just go for walks around the site but followed the land-use map provided by the EIA Coordinator to get a proper feel of the overlapping uses within the preliminary Aol, including the historical context, unofficial conversations with people met within the preliminary Aol, etc. (Also refer below to the Meeting with the Project Manager of this particular project, where these issues were then discussed in an unofficial capacity to illicit his own perceptions)</p>	<p>Drives along the coast road, both with a motorcycle and a car. I also walked parts of the road skirting the coastline.</p>	<p>I day visit to Marsalforn, Gozo in an unofficial capacity before the start of the fieldwork.</p>
	<p>Prepare Quote and Method Statement – this is where the time needed to perform the various phases of the baseline study are quantified (Time and costs – See above task – for example, for the Marsalforn case, I had to go to Gozo).</p>			
	<p>Once Project is assigned, a 2nd meeting is held with the EIA Coordinator to discuss in further detail timings, an updated stakeholder analysis is presented, materials that may be needed for the fieldwork are provided, a more detailed timeline of the various phases are discussed, clarification of responsibilities and if needed, meeting is held with other members of the EIA team. The Social Aol is also updated if new data that supplements and improves the social Aol is accessible.</p>	<p>Had the 2nd meeting with the EIA coordination team and discussed the project in more detail as described in column 2.</p>	<p>Had the 2nd meeting with the EIA coordination team and discussed the project in more detail as described in column 2.</p>	<p>Had the 2nd meeting with the EIA coordination team and discussed the project in more detail as described in column 2.</p>
	<p>Depending on the project, official meeting with the Developer and other members of the EIA team, if their data could prove useful for the baseline study / SIA.</p>	<p>Official meeting with the Developer and other members of the EIA team, if their data could prove useful for the baseline study / SIA.</p>	<p>Official meeting with the Developer and other members of the EIA team, if their data could prove useful for the baseline study / SIA. This meeting proved to be very useful and follow-up meetings were organised during the course of the SBS.</p>	<p>Only with EIA core team. Did not meet the Developer (Ministry of Gozo), at this stage.</p> <p>Organised and went to meetings with the Local Council and the Residential Association of Marsalforn in Gozo.</p>
	<p>Official site visit or to a Project similar to the one to be done, if Developer is the same. Unofficial if not.</p>	<p>Official visit NOT to the proposed site but to another recycling plant.</p> <p>Meeting with Project Manager of</p>	<p>Done, but semi-officially, to other on-going works on the TEN-T. In other words, visited two sites and talked to some of the people within</p>	<p>Till this point (in the sequential logic of the research fieldwork) did not have the opportunity to meet the Developer.</p>

Research Phases	Core Methods Used	SIA – Recycling Plants on Maghtab Landfill	SIA /Population Study– Coast Road Upgrade (CRU)	SIA / Population Study – Coastal Defences, Marsalforn, Gozo
		project. Had extensive discussion with him on the historical context surrounding Maghtab, the perceptions of civic society in general, beyond the Aol and other issues that had risen while conducting the scoping phase thus far.	what I perceived as being the projects' Aol.	
<p>PHASE 2: Understand the Social Environment within the Social Aol</p> <p>Task 4: Fieldwork specifically for case study in question.</p> <p>Through fieldwork start building a figurative map of the social environment, populating it with the various social groups found within the Social Aol (these may be communities in the more traditional sense, hence why Vanclay calls it a 'community profile'; while depending on the social environment found during fieldwork, the population within the Aol may be defined as 'sociospheres', 'communities of practice' or divided into social categories delineated by their primary reason to be found within the Aol. Vanclay uses the term IAPs – Interested and Affected Parties, to differentiate from the more generic term, stakeholders. It all depends on what the fieldwork data presents);</p> <p>Conduct:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> an assessment of their different needs, interests, values and aspirations; an assessment of their impact history and their perceptions of those projects and how they have affected their lives, 	<p>FIELDWORK on Case studies using predominantly qualitative methods, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formal and informal open-ended interviews; Semi-structured interviews; Observation and situated listening; Participant observation; Use of visual media to elicit responses and inform respondents about the project (with the use of an iPad); Follow-up interviews conducted in the field if 1st interview was conducted elsewhere (e.g. in people's homes) depending on interviewees and relationship with them (always within the ethical parameters of informed consent). Telephone semi-structured interviews (not a telephone survey) In one case study (The Coast Road), also used Social Media (Facebook) to reach a wider audience and to give out relevant information about project. 	<p><i>Primary fieldwork techniques used:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Qualitative data collection in 4 localities within the Social Aol over a two-month period, with a total of a snowball non-random quota sample of 170 in-depth open-ended semi and unstructured interviews. Use of visual media, including physical maps, the PDS (in paper format and digitally if requested) to give all the relevant information on the proposed project (Task 5); Situated listening and observation; Multiple informal interviews and participant observation with selected interviewees who became 'informants' (in the anthropological sense); multiple site visits during different times of the day; walks in the surrounding countryside and fields; Interviews and collaboration with formal and informal groups and eNGOs including meetings with Local Council officials (including Mayors) and formal and informal Resident Associations. 	<p><i>Primary fieldwork techniques used:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Qualitative data collection in 9 localities within the Social Aol over a two-month period, with a total of a snowball non-random quota sample of 320 in-depth open-ended semi and unstructured interviews. <p>Note: For the fieldwork I was the primary investigator with 1 full-time research associate and 3 part-time research assistants.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Use of visual media, including physical and digital maps, 3-D models of the project; the PDS in both paper and digital formats to give all the relevant information on the proposed project (Task 5); situated listening; 2nd interview if relevant data missing from interviews conducted by team or needed more elaboration on certain themes / issues from any of the respondents. Interviews and collaboration with formal and informal groups and eNGOs including meetings with Local Council officials (including Mayors) and formal and informal Resident Associations. 	<p><i>Primary fieldwork techniques used:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Qualitative data collection in 1 primary locality (Marsalforn) and surrounding areas within the Social Aol over two periods of time (two time scales): an intensive one-week period in December 2011, where I stayed at Marsalforn for the duration; with a total of a snowball non-random quota sample of 95 in-depth open-ended semi and unstructured interviews. Where IAPS were not physically available, telephone semi-structured interviews were used, especially because the 1st fieldwork period was short. Telephony was also used for follow-up questions, especially during the analysis phase (Phase 3 / Task 7). <p>Note: In total 125 people were interviewed between face-to-face and telephone interviews.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A second short 1-day visit with follow-up interviews with a number of respondents before and after a stakeholder / public meeting (see Task 6) was held.

Research Phases	Core Methods Used	SIA – Recycling Plants on Maghtab Landfill	SIA /Population Study– Coast Road Upgrade (CRU)	SIA / Population Study – Coastal Defences, Marsalforn, Gozo
<p>which includes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • assessing past and current trends happening within the socioscapas found in the Aol; • a discussion of the assets, strengths and weaknesses of the social environment; • service provision and amenities; and finally • their perceptions of the possible impacts, positive and negative of the proposed project. <p>Furthermore:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fully inform stakeholders or Interested and Affected Parties – IAPs) about: (a) the project; (b) similar projects elsewhere to give them a sense of how they are likely to be affected; (c) how they can be involved in the SIA; (d) their procedural rights in the regulatory and social performance framework for the project; and (e) their access to grievance and feedback mechanisms) <p>and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identification and informing stakeholders /IAPs / interviewees / 'informants' of their rights. This was done during the interviews, usually together with the interviewees (Task 7 in Vanclay et al., 2015: 41). 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews with a number of respondents with respondents from a previous SIA performed 6 years earlier, more notably, with Hoteliers who became gatekeepers for access to hotel personnel, tourist guides and their respective clients. • Interviewees also included local experts both of local knowledge and experts in various fields such as engineering, traffic and noise experts who lived within the Social Aol, giving alternative options and expertise that could be confronted with the Environmental Impact experts. • Where IAPS were not physically available (because of their working hours or other reasons, but showed interest in being interviewed, usually either by contacting me directly or by word of mouth through other interviewees), telephone semi-structured interviews were made. Telephony was also used for follow-up questions, especially during the analysis phase (Phase 3 / Task 7). • Multiple site visits during different times of the day; walks in the surrounding countryside and fields. Different times of day also helped identify different users depending on lifestyle choices, for example. Observational notes were also taken even when not interviewing people, observing the physical landscape and any interactions by people using it. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews with a number of respondents from a previous SIA performed 6 years earlier, more notably, with Hoteliers who became gatekeepers for access to hotel personnel, tourist guides and their respective clients. • Interviewees also included local experts both of local knowledge and experts in various fields such as engineering, traffic and noise experts who lived within the Social Aol, giving alternative options and expertise that could be confronted with the EIA experts. • Where IAPS were not physically available (mostly because of the time constraints to cover 9 localities within the Aol), telephone semi-structured interviews were made. Where possible if a face-to-face meeting could not otherwise be organised with interviewee (which in qualitative methods terms, is always preferable because of the richness of data obtained and the 'personal touch', which subconsciously showed that there was an effort made from my side in trying to build a trusting relationship) telephony was also used for follow-up questions, especially during the analysis phase (Phase 3 / Task 7). • Multiple site visits during different times of the day to interview and observe users of the Coast Road at different times, including while there were traffic jams, for 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of visual media, including physical and digital maps; 3-D models of the project; the PDS in both physical and digital formats to give all the relevant information on the proposed project (Task 5); • Situated listening and observation; • Multiple informal interviews and participant observation with selected interviewees who became 'informants' (in the anthropological sense); • Interviews and collaboration with formal and informal groups and eNGOs who showed an interest in the proposed project, including meetings with Local Council officials (including Mayors) and formal and informal Resident Associations. • Interviewees also included local experts both of local knowledge and experts in various fields such as engineering, traffic and noise experts who lived within the Social Aol, giving alternative options and expertise that could be confronted with the Environmental Impact experts. • Multiple site visits during different times of the day; walks in the surrounding countryside and fields. Different times of day also helped identify different users depending on lifestyle choices, for example. Observational notes were also taken even when not interviewing people, observing the physical landscape and any

Research Phases	Core Methods Used	SIA – Recycling Plants on Maghtab Landfill	SIA /Population Study– Coast Road Upgrade (CRU)	SIA / Population Study – Coastal Defences, Marsalforn, Gozo
			<p>example; walks in the surrounding countryside and fields. Different times of day also helped identify different users depending on lifestyle choices, for example. Observational notes were also taken even when not interviewing – especially while observing people in their cars (which couldn't be interviewed)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research Associate also generated data through interaction with the public and IAPs by setting up a Facebook page which she maintained • I oversaw the Facebook page as primary investigator but did not interact directly. The data generated from these interactions were considered as the qualitative equivalent to an opinion survey. 	interactions by people using it.
<p>PHASE 3: Stakeholder Participation</p> <p>Task 5: Devise inclusive participatory processes and deliberative spaces to help Stakeholders or IAPs (Interested and Affected Parties) (Vanclay et al., 2015: 40)</p> <p>See Chapter 6 of this thesis for details of this phase for each case study.</p>	<p>Stakeholder / IAPs Participation in the SIA & EIA Processes (beyond their participation through the above qualitative methods). This is also part of the Fieldwork for the case studies.</p> <p>Stakeholder participation was either:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Formal</i> – organised by researcher with the EIA Coordinator or Project Manager, or by the Developer; <i>Informal</i> – Organised by the researcher as part of the SIA / Pop. Study but not sanctioned by the Developer. Participation was consensual by the participants and was organised informally. This also served as part of the longer-term 'ethnographic' fieldwork and Participant Observation. 	<p><i>Informal</i> Stakeholder / IAPs meeting held. Developer did not approve any formal stakeholder or public meetings even after a document with the reasons detailing how the proposed project would benefit from involving stakeholders and IAPs in the SIA and EIA process.</p>	<p><i>Formal</i> Stakeholder / IAPs meetings held in various localities. Meetings were organised with the help of the EIA Coordinator and Project Manager and the Project Manager attended most of the meetings. Large maps of the proposed road works and upgrade were provided by Transport Malta while the SIA team organised the meetings.</p>	<p>Two public / stakeholder / IAPs meetings were held with a time gap of one year.</p> <p>An initial information-giving exercise was organised in December 2011 by the Developer with no input from the SIA consultant (the author) or EIA Coordinator ('tokenism', Arnstein, 1969). The meeting was a failure because it left participants very negatively affected. (See Chapter 6 for details)</p> <p>The second meeting was held a year later at the same venue. The project had changed substantially and experts from France had been tasked to create a working physical model based on the Marsalforn bay. The meeting was organised by the EIA Coordinator and the SIA team</p>

Research Phases	Core Methods Used	SIA – Recycling Plants on Maghtab Landfill	SIA /Population Study– Coast Road Upgrade (CRU)	SIA / Population Study – Coastal Defences, Marsalforn, Gozo
				<p>(I subcontracted two research assistants to help with the moderation of the meeting and interview people present after the meeting).</p> <p>Both meetings were moderated by myself, two members of the EIA team and two research assistants. The research assistants conducted the survey and took observational notes.</p> <p>Chapters 6 discusses the two stakeholder exercises in detail, including why the 2nd meeting was considered more successful, but also explains what role the 1st meeting had to contribute for this relatively better outcome.</p>
PHASE 4: Analyse and implement Task 6: Analyse and Collate relevant baseline data for key social issues into a baseline study or report.	<p>Analysis and Writing up of Baseline Study for each case study.</p> <p>Methods employed: Qualitative analysis of the data based on theoretical concepts predominantly from anthropology and human geography.</p>	<p>Qualitative analysis of the data based on theoretical concepts predominantly from anthropology and human geography.</p>	<p>Qualitative analysis of the data based on theoretical concepts predominantly from anthropology and human geography.</p> <p>Note: For this case study the analysis and preliminary write-up was done with the help of a Research Associate</p>	<p>Done, in two parts, the first report written in January 2012, and the second was a reworking of the first report, updating the methods section and the analysis to include the new data from the December 2011 fieldwork and stakeholder meeting.</p>
Task 7: Predict, analyse and assess the likely impact Pathways (Preparation of SIA) Task 8: Develop and implement strategies Task 9: Design and implement monitoring programs.	<p><i>Methods employed:</i> For Task 7, I collaborate with the EIA Coordinator. SIA is finalised by the Coordinator.</p> <p>If task 8 falls within the TOR for the SIA or Population Study, then I will work collaboratively with the EIA coordinator, with the EIA coordinator as lead, who finalises any strategies and monitoring programmes;</p> <p>If these tasks are in the TOR of the EIA in general but not specifically within the SIA's, I may be asked to consult, mostly for Task 7.</p>	<p>A meeting was held with the person on the EIA core team working on the SIA to consult on the Impacts. The report was written and finalised by that person.</p>	<p>A meeting was held with the person on the EIA core team working on the SIA to consult on the Impacts.</p> <p>I also had a meeting with the Project Manager to discuss mitigation strategies and eventual monitoring.</p> <p>I was not involved in the writing of any official strategies or monitoring programmes throughout my Participant Observation fieldwork.</p>	<p>After submitting the final baseline study report in January 2012, my fieldwork period for the PhD was over. The project has been on hold since then and no official reports or EIS have been submitted to MEPA to date (November 2017).</p>

Research Phases	Core Methods Used	SIA – Recycling Plants on Maghtab Landfill	SIA /Population Study– Coast Road Upgrade (CRU)	SIA / Population Study – Coastal Defences, Marsalforn, Gozo
	<p>Note: This last part, below, even though considered as part of Phase 4; in the context of methods/actions that usually take place during a consultancy, are not considered as normal practice. The following actions were possible because the three consultancies were being used as case studies for my PhD research, and therefore considered as part of the of the longer-term Participant Observation / Ethnographic Process (Phase 5).</p>			
	<p>Since the EIA Coordinator was aware that I was using the EIA as one my PhD case studies, I was invited to interview members of the EIA team and the EIA Coordinator to better understand:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Their process of integrating the various sections of the EIA with the social aspects of the environmental impacts. 2) How they evaluate the significance of impacts in correlation to the social aspects to develop and design mitigation strategies and monitoring programmes. 3) How they the EIA team mitigates with the developers and decision-makers the feasibility of such strategies and how they would implement them. 	<p>Since the EIA Coordinator was aware that I was using the EIA as one my PhD case studies, I was invited to interview members of the EIA team and the EIA Coordinator.</p> <p>I was also invited to sit in as an observer during two meetings with the developer where they discussed the findings of the EIA, including the SIA.</p>	<p>Since the EIA Coordinator was aware that I was using the EIA as one my PhD case studies, I was invited to interview members of the EIA team and the EIA Coordinator.</p>	<p>Since the EIA Coordinator was aware that I was using the EIA as one my PhD case studies, I was invited to interview members of the EIA team and the EIA Coordinator.</p>
<p>PHASE 5: Participant Observation as part of the Ethnographic process throughout the whole fieldwork period of the PhD to better understanding the Stakeholder Participation and SIA in the Planning Process</p> <p>-- Longer term Participant Observation</p>	<p><i>Participant Observation as a qualitative long-term research methodology used in Anthropology was conducted throughout the time I was in Malta, between Dec. 2010 and Feb. 2012.</i></p> <p>Methods included:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informal and formal, semi-structured, open-ended interviews with: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Officials from the Planning Authority (MEPA) ○ Other EIA Coordinators and EIA Consultants ○ Officials from Local Councils ○ Members of eNGOs and CSOs ○ Members of Parliament, both from the Government and the Opposition ○ Other members of politically active groups ○ Long-term 'informants' from previous SIAs I had worked on who I had kept in contact over the years • Walks organised by an eNGO in Maltese countryside; 	<p>Kept in contact with a number of key informants for the duration of my fieldwork and made monthly return visits to the field site. Since I did not have an official capacity once the report was submitted, I could not enter the actual Landfill site but visited surrounding areas within its Aol.</p>	<p>Kept in contact with a number of key informants for the duration of my fieldwork and made monthly return visits to the field site.</p> <p>Also kept in contact with the Project Manager and we had a number of informal discussions</p>	<p>Kept in contact with a number of interviewees from Marsalforn, mostly by email and telephone. Even though I did not return to the locality till December 2012 for the one-day fieldwork and stakeholder / public meeting, the social capital built over that time improved the turn-out to the 2nd public meeting and those previously interviewed gave consent to be interviewed again.</p>

Research Phases	Core Methods Used	SIA – Recycling Plants on Maghtab Landfill	SIA /Population Study– Coast Road Upgrade (CRU)	SIA / Population Study – Coastal Defences, Marsalforn, Gozo
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A one year 'student' membership with one particular eNGO, allowing me to attend their regularly held meetings. This also gave me access to two consultations meeting held by the Government where NGOs were invited to attend, where I attended as a member of that eNGO • Participant Observation with a fledgling CSO for 6 months • Learnt how to 'throw' and turn clay with the owner of the EIA company I sub-consulted for as an SIA practitioner, using the informal encounters to discuss EIAs, SIAs, the planning system in Malta, governance and other themes, by using the conversations on the methods, science and art behind pottery and the philosophical tropes that emerged during this learning experience (by doing) to get a more holistic understanding of why this particular EIA coordinator worked in his field and his understanding of EIAs, SIAs, the planning system in Malta, governance when comparing his experience in Malta to his work abroad over the course of his career. 			

Table 3.2 NOTES:

FIELDWORK & SIA Phases (Adapted from Vanclay et al., 2015 – see Box 3.1 above):

PHASE 1: Scoping and Understanding the issues

Task 1: Gain a good understanding of the proposed project, including all ancillary activities necessary to support the project's development and operation.

Task 2: Identify the preliminary 'social area of influence' of the project, likely impacted and beneficiary communities (nearby and distant), and stakeholders.

Task 3: Clarify the responsibilities and roles of all involved in or associated with the SIA, including relationships to the other specialist studies being undertaken, and establish what national laws and/ or international guidelines and standards are to be observed.

PHASE 2: Understanding the Social Environment within the Social Aol. Typically called Profiling in SIA terminology - Gain a good understanding of the communities likely to be affected by the project by preparing a social profile of the various sociospheres, communities, populations within the socioscapes of the social A of I of the proposed project. This is the fieldwork part of the SIA / Population Study. Vanclay et al. (2015) put this under Phase 1 (Understanding the issues) as Task 4 and discuss 6 sub-tasks that go with this task. These include (a) a thorough stakeholder analysis; (b) a discussion of the socio-political setting; (c) an assessment of the differing needs, interests, values and aspirations of the various subgroups of the affected communities including a gender analysis; (d) an assessment of their impact history, i.e. their experience of past projects and other historical events; (e) a discussion of trends happening in those communities; (f) a discussion of the assets, strengths and weaknesses of the communities; and (g) optionally the results of an opinion survey.

Table 3.2 NOTES (Cont.)

For the purposes of this research, as part of my data flow logic, I have put it as a phase in its own right because this is where fieldwork for the purposes of the baseline study takes place, which is also central for establishing relationships with people and becomes an integral part of the participant observation.

Task 4: Fieldwork for the SIA / Population Study. Phase 3 / Task 5: devising participatory processes and deliberative spaces to help Stakeholders or IAPs (Interested and Affected Parties) is usually considered as part of the fieldwork. It has been put as a Phase on its own because 1) it does not always happen and is not standard procedure within MEPA TOR, though this is slowly changing, and 2) Since my research has a focus on Stakeholder participation within SIA, it warranted a clear-cut phase.

PHASE 3 / Task 5: Devise inclusive participatory processes and deliberative spaces to help Stakeholders or IAPs:

(a) understand how they will be impacted; (b) determine the acceptability of likely impacts and proposed benefits; (c) make informed decisions about the project; (d) facilitate community visioning about desired futures; (e) contribute to mitigation and monitoring plans; and (f) prepare for change.

(Task 7 in Vanclay et al's schema: Identify the social and human rights issues that have potential to be of concern i.e. scoping, in SIA terminology). In Malta though, when one is asked to do a 'scoping exercise', this is not what they mean – it is Tasks 1 through 3, with meetings with the EIA coordinator, 'scope out' the field site, i.e. field visit to get the 'lay of the land' and the land uses, which will help with an initial stakeholder analysis, maybe even a meeting with Local Council officials, which starts off the snowball sampling. This task, as far as my own methodology is concerned during a baseline study goes into the fieldwork and analysis phases. It may not be explicit but when conducting the analysis human rights issues are important in reference to the potential negative impacts of a proposed urban project.

Task 6 (In Vanclay's schema this is Task 8 and still part of Phase 1): Analyse and Collate relevant baseline data for key social issues into a baseline study or report.

Task 7 (Phase 3 in Vanclay et al.'s Schema): Predict, analyse and assess the likely impact Pathways (Finalizing the SIA)

Task 8 (Phase 4 in Vanclay et al.'s Schema): Develop and implement strategies

Task 9 (Phase 5 in Vanclay et al.'s Schema): Design and implement monitoring programs.

Tasks 7 – 9 (Phases 3 – 5 in Vanclay's Schema) are performed by the SIA practitioner depending on whether or not 1) s/he is contracted to perform the baseline study or the full SIA; and more importantly, 2) they are explicitly in the MEPA TOR for the SIA. The TOR may specify to develop strategies and monitoring programmes but not to implement them. These will be subject to scrutiny by MEPA once the EIS is submitted, they may be asked to be amended if necessary and usually a separate tender is issued when works start. It needs to be noted that SIMPs may not be the main objective of the monitoring – it is usually part of the overall mitigation strategies agreed upon during the EIA and decision-making process. In the case studies for this research, the EIA Coordinator / Project managers were in charge for the SIA (Phase 5) and develop mitigation strategies, with input from myself as representative of the local knowledge learnt through the fieldwork and the stakeholder meetings, when they were held. Suggestions for possible strategies to counter negative impacts may or may not be included in the baseline study.

Phase 5: Understanding the Stakeholder Participation and SIA in the Planning Process -- Longer term Participant Observation as part of the ethnographic process adopted throughout the doctoral research fieldwork period:

Phase 7 and task 8 run alongside all previous phases during Research Fieldwork Process. It expands on Vanclay's Schema's Phase 1 Task 4b (a discussion of the socio-political setting). In Malta, due to the socio-political context and the often politicised contentious nature of larger proposed projects, including the 3 case studies chosen for this doctoral research, the politics of such projects are either left completely out or minimized by the EIA Coordinator within the baseline study reports, who has, what I call, 'veto power', where contentious arguments can be left out from the final report that is collated to the Technical Appendices of the EIS. This will be further discussed in this and the discussion chapters.

3.2.2 Phase 1: Scoping, understanding the issues and gaining access

The first phase of the research focused on identifying and characterising the issues involved in each of the case study SIAs. This meant gaining a detailed understanding of the projects that were being proposed in each case through desk-based research and oral and email-based communication with the EIA co-ordinators and other specialists involved in each SIA. This information was then used to inform a stakeholder analysis in which those who may benefit or be negatively impacted by the project were identified as part of the "social Area of Influence". An iterative approach was taken to stakeholder analysis (after Reed et al., 2009; Reed and Curzon, 2015), in which a desk-based analysis was triangulated with key stakeholders during field visits, and then further discussed and refined with the EIA team for each case study (and the developer in two of the cases).

Scoping interviews during this phase were broad-ranging. I used open-ended questions to bring me closer to the people I was interviewing, helping me get a better picture of their world view. This included, for example, questions such as what their connection with the locality is, if they interact with others and if they do, how and why and whether they consider themselves an integral part of that locality and therefore how they articulate their understanding of being part of that locality, of being part of a community, if that is the case. Many times, these conversations lead to themes of virilocality or uxorilocality and the reasons why they chose such residence, which vary depending on many different circumstances, as Boissevain had observed, back in the 1960's (Boissevain, 2006 [1969]: 45). These may not just depend on social and familial relations but also on economic circumstances and in some cases, prestige. One may not have been able to afford a villa in Sliema 30 years ago but they could, on the other hand convert and enlarge a family summerhouse into one at a fraction of the price at Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq. In fact, today, 30-year-old villas are now surrounded by modern, lavish villas costing hundreds of thousands of Euros, if not a few millions, at the upper part of Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, as the locality stopped being predominantly a summer residence locale and people started living there permanently. Direct survey questions alone would not produce such rich data; at the same time, as Bernard observes (2006; 2013), ethnographic data, open-ended questionnaires and surveys all produce different kinds of data and combining them produces more insight and better results than either does alone. This is especially relevant for report writing, which is expected for decision-making in environmental planning and policy research, for example.

The first part of my interview followed a more structured set of questions, collecting demographic data on the household or business before going to the more open-ended questions. I usually followed an interview key or aide-memoire (Appendix II) for interviews with individuals or groups, such as family units or business associates / employees. Interview keys are not standardised and they do not follow a strict order apart from the first question, to get the demographic / census data out of the way. Many times, I introduce the main themes that I would like to discuss with interviewees and then let them decide how to proceed, in the order they felt most pertinent. After the interviews I would then code my notes according to the main themes and questions, putting interviewees into categories and outline overarching themes, frequently asked questions, why those questions were asked and so forth and analyse the connections between different social actors.

The social actors that I worked with ranged from the communities at the receiving end of proposed projects (such as residents, farmers, the workforce found within the area of influence of the project, businesses, visitors, tourists), to the official and unofficial organisations that deal with the EIA process, as consultants (such as ENGOs), those performing the EIA *per se* (the EIA consultancy firms) and the planning officials on the receiving end of the EIA (the EIA team at MEPA). Therefore, following from the above, there are three broad categories to be investigated -- the planners (MEPA), the consultants (EIA companies) and 'communities' / social groups affected by particular projects. Figure 3.2 gives an indication of the number of stakeholders and social actors involved during a typical EIA, their groupings, such as the EIA consultants and MEPA officials, for example, could also be similarly expanded.

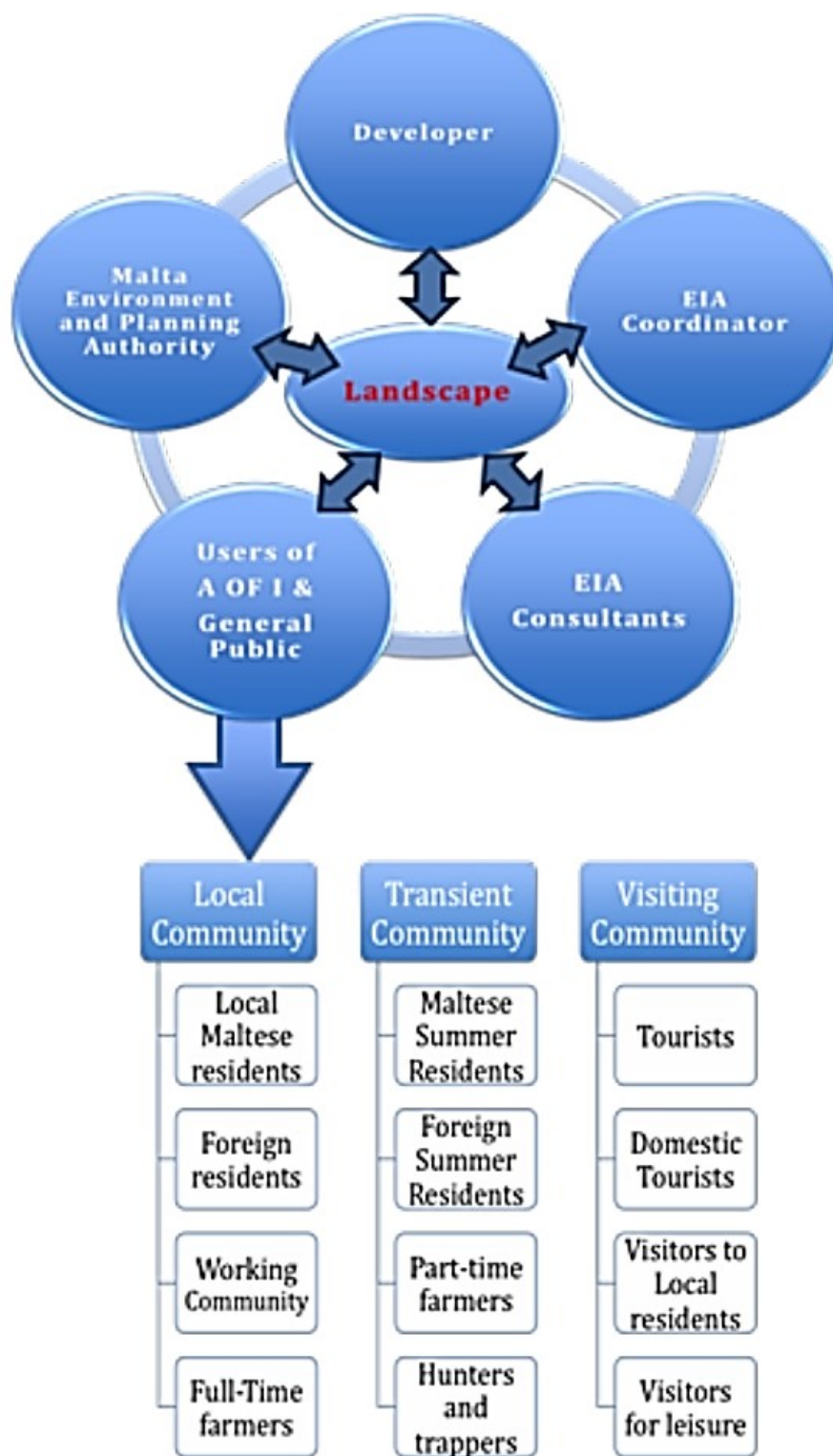


Figure 3.2: The various types of social actors that are involved in the landscape, expanding one of those groups (stakeholders) to give an idea of the range of different actors that may be found within one grouping.

3.2.3 Phase 2: Understand the social environment within the social AoI

The second phase involved more in-depth, qualitative fieldwork to better understand the social context in which the developments were proposed in each case. A mixed-methods approach was taken, combining participant observation, situated listening, site visits and walks in the field, and a series of initial and follow-up face-to-face in-depth semi-structured interviews (including the use of visual media to help explore proposed developments with participants in greater detail). This was complemented with telephone interviews, and in one case the use of social media, to extend the reach and coverage of the work to a wider audience within the social area of influence (as determined in Phase I, see p. 121). Secondary data was also collected during this phase, including demographic data, household types, jobs, social clubs and other variables describing how the area is used and by whom.

In the CRU, Magħtab and Gozo case studies, 320, 170 and 125 in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted across nine, four and one localities respectively (delineated by the number of stakeholder groups and IAPs identified within the social AoI for each case study, the snowball sampling technique used and the time period assigned for the fieldwork period for each case study), with the vast majority done face-to-face. Using these methods, the research sought to understand the context in which developments were being assessed by participants, in terms of individuals (their needs, interests, values and aspirations) and the communities to which they belong (considering assets, strengths and weaknesses of their social environment), and the temporal context (considering how the development fits within or interacts with historic and current trends in the community and locality). In this context then, perceptions were elicited about the possible positive or negative impacts of the proposed developments in each case study.

The first of these interviews were with staff from the Local Council (LC) or municipality responsible for the locality within which the AoI is found, or equivalent unofficial organisations and associations involved in the governance of each locality. For the case studies presented in this research, these included Marsalforn, within iż-Żebbuġ LC; il-Madliena in Swieqi; Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq in Naxxar and Burmarrad in San Pawl il-Baħar (St Paul's Bay). Not all hamlets are officially represented, though they are officially recognised. Buġibba and Qawra in St Paul's Bay and il-Magħtab in Naxxar are such examples. Magħtab though organised themselves by forming a Residents Association.

There were two reasons for starting with interviews in these organisations. The first was to start making connections with those who have vested interests within the locality. Large LCs such as Naxxar were not very knowledgeable on the whole geographical area that their municipality oversees, especially where population sizes and migratory patterns are concerned but the administrative councils or local community committees typically had insights on the everyday on-goings of their locality or hamlet. Their representatives would usually show me around, acting as gatekeepers to businesses, families, groups and so on. These would in turn have a snowball effect on other groups and social actors within the socioscape.

The second reason for starting with interviews in these organisations was to involve the LC as the official representatives of the locality, given that they would have an official position towards the proposed project, even though this may sometimes be affected by which political party has the most representatives within the LC. It is also important to understand what the vested interests of the official representatives are, especially in business. Many representatives have business interests within the locality and these may conflict with the proposed project's objective. This will not be immediately apparent if one goes in with a set questionnaire or survey and so a more qualitative approach is desirable. Even in the time limitations of the quick appraisals associated with such exercises, situated listening and observation by spending as much time within the socioscape as possible make a marked difference to understanding underlying meanings and values. It is also the reason I chose semi-structured interviews, to enable the interviewee to expand on what they felt was important for them while still going through the list of questions needed to collect the basic, more quantitative data.

To understand how the development scheme would interact with local people's lifestyle, work, and recreational patterns, the following factors were taken into consideration during interviews:

- What does the physical space (the socioscape) offer to the various social groups that inhabit it?
- What are the attitudes and values that the social groups have towards these elements through the way they interact with their physical and social environment through their lifestyles?
- What are the attitudes that people have towards the Scheme?

- How do these attitudes relate to the perceived social effects of the Scheme (how it is perceived to interact with their work, recreational patterns and lifestyle in general) and what is their response to such a project?

3.2.4 Phase 3: Stakeholder participation

Although the selection of stakeholders for interviews was based on a systematic assessment of stakeholder interests in the social area of influence in the previous phase, this in-depth, qualitative approach was necessarily selective in its reach. Therefore, a range of participatory methods were used to provide all stakeholders with opportunities to learn and engage in deliberation about proposed developments. This also provided an important opportunity to triangulate initial findings from interviews and explore certain issues in greater depth through the deliberative process. Workshops used maps and models as a focus for professionally facilitated group discussion. In two of the case studies, these workshops were organised in collaboration with the developer to a greater or lesser extent, and the workshop in one case study was organised without the developer. All workshops involved participation from the full range of stakeholder groups identified in phase I.

In previous consultancies I was involved in, introducing stakeholder exercises within the official methods statement was not considered beneficial to the tendering process because it would need to be costed, which, in turn, would increase the overall price of the EIA. If I then included it in my methodology during the consultancy was up to me, depending on the type of job it was, the time allocated for the job, the resources and whether the developer was partial for such “unorthodox” methods, which were not officially part of the approved methods. The doctoral research made it possible to introduce this effort as a free addition to the methods statement, explaining I would be performing such an exercise free of charge though it would be included within the official method statement. While MEPA and developers usually regarded such initiatives positively, in reality I was still at the mercy of the developer as to whether I could conduct stakeholder exercises.

In two of the three case studies, the developers gave me their blessing, though in one occasion (the Marsalforn study), the first exercise was controlled by the developer with very little input from my side. In fact, the exercise was quite unsuccessful though still yielding some results (as will be elaborated in Chapter 6). Nearly eight months later another exercise had to be commissioned where I had more control over both the planning and execution of the exercise. On the other hand, with the Coast Road project, I was immediately given near

complete autonomy with willing help from the project leader, with very positive results. As for the Magħtab case study, while I was allowed to attend executive board meetings with the EIA team, there was considerable resistance towards actively involving stakeholders in the SIA process. In the end, even though the project leader asked me for a write-up on the benefits of stakeholder involvement within the SIA / EIA processes, nothing came out of it.

The stakeholder exercises were rudimentary in the way they were conducted (in the sense that I did not plan complicated, multi-session, multi-methodological exercises with focus groups and other commonly used methods in SIA and applied anthropology manuals). The aim of the exercises was not to introduce or experiment with a new methodology or find a method that fits Malta's particular needs but to explore two main points: 1) How stakeholder exercises are perceived by the social actors involved in a social and decision-making environment where stakeholder participation is scarce, following on the arguments made by Conrad et al.'s research (2009; 2011), and 2) Whether stakeholder exercises, if considered as a process, as Reed and others argue, would improve the SIA and EIA processes, and by proxy, the planning and decision-making processes of urban development projects in Malta and other similar contexts.

To explore these two issues, there had to be a clear departure from the usual methods I employed during my consultancy work, and this was where the doctoral research design merged the consultancy work as a study of such work and stakeholder participation during such work. In other words, this overlap is where it all came together as an ethnographic study, giving me the opportunity to interview social actors within the EIA process which I would normally not come directly in contact with during consultancies, such as for example, the EIA team at MEPA, other consultants and other EIA coordinators with whom I had not worked in the past.

3.2.5 Phase 4: Analyse and implement

Analyses of fieldnotes and report writing

Data from the previous three phases was recorded as detailed fieldnotes, written during the fieldwork, and analysed using qualitative thematic coding techniques, allowing themes to arise from the fieldnotes, and categorizing material under themes until theoretical saturation was reached, based on the ethnographic research process. In terms of SIA, Taylor et al. (1995:106-114) describe the process as a dynamic, issues-driven (or oriented), analytic induction

approach.⁴⁵ As is customary in anthropological analysis of fieldnotes, as described in Chapter 2 (pp. 71-74 and 96-98); also see next section on participant observation, attention was paid to how participants answered questions (including body language and intonation) and under what circumstances (including details of the location, such as whether the interview was conducted at a residence or in the field). The SBS of the three case studies then became the preliminary analyses of the social landscapes within the Aol. However, the fieldnotes from the ethnographic fieldwork / participant observation (next section), included much more than what was presented in the reports of the individual SBS (Emerson et al., 2011; Okely, 2012; 2018). Indeed, during the distinguished JJ Bachofen lecture at Basil University in April 2017, Okely (2018)⁴⁶ explains how the anthropologists she interviewed for her book *Anthropological Practice* (2012), all agreed that their “hitherto unpublished testimonies on fieldnotes [were] integral to their published explorations of fieldwork practice” (2018: 3).

While the SBS informed the writing of the SIA in collaboration with the EIA team working on each case study, as Okely argues, fieldnotes need to be ruminated upon and re-examined, even years later, with key themes hidden in plain sight, “subsequently explored in doctorate and monograph” (2018: 12). In fact, the focus of this thesis and the theoretical framework that emerged (in Chapters 6 and 7) were embedded in the fieldnotes while exploring the relationship between SIA and stakeholder participation / engagement. The themes that were instrumental for the exploration of the theory emerged from the experiential narratives and in-depth descriptions in the fieldnotes on the experiences that took place specifically during the case studies i.e. the consultancies that I was a part of, but also comparatively analysing those experiences with previous ones as a consultant, critically questioning my own tacit knowledge as an ‘insider’ practitioner, which requires mental distance (Forsythe, 1999: 130)⁴⁷.

3.2.6 Phase 5: Participant observation throughout the whole fieldwork period

Participant observation ran concurrently with each of the preceding phases and involved a series of supplementary activities on an ongoing and opportunistic basis throughout the research process. These observation activities ranged from open-ended ‘key informant’

⁴⁵ Taylor et al. (1995) devote a whole chapter on the analytical approach in SIA (pp. 103–122).

⁴⁶ I thank Prof Okely for permission to access the expanded copy of the manuscript to be able to cite and quote here. Please note that the page numbers might change when the book is made available to the public.

⁴⁷ This also correlates with discussions on reflexivity and positionality in anthropological analysis discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2 (p. 57) and Section 3.1.2 on positionality and ethics (p. 100), together with long-term participant observation in the next section (3.2.6).

interviews to accompanied walks and active involvement as a member of a local NGO. The focus of this phase was very much long-term, with trust being built slowly over time, through repeated engagement with individuals and groups, leading to the development of relationships that will potentially outlast the duration of this PhD research project. It may be argued that I was what Okely calls, “the occasional observer” (2012: 84) since I was not totally immersed 24/7 at the given locality. I did leave every day to go back home to sleep for a few hours (except for the Marsalforn study, where I stayed at a hotel for the week during which time I conducted the fieldwork) and when the fieldwork for the baseline study was over, I did indeed leave and only kept contact with a few people from each case study.

The anthropological method of participant observation is an embodied, lived experience, that encapsulates qualitative research methods within the social sciences but transcends those methods because of that embodied participant observation experience in the field and the holistic approach that it offers (Bernard, 2013; Halstead et al., 2008; Madden, 2017; Okely, 2007; 2011; 2012; 2018; de Sardan and Alou, 2016). This method therefore gave me the opportunity to broaden my ‘field of vision’ beyond the three case studies, make use of the long-term advantage that I had from having practiced SIA in Malta over several years, which had allowed me to encounter many social actors over time. It also allowed me to develop relationships and trust by accompanying participants and joining in with everyday tasks. One such example is learning how to throw clay and turn the potter’s wheel with one key informant. During hours of frustration, as I learnt how to tentatively mould clay into something intelligible, I had the most revealing experiences about a man who I had known for years. I began to appreciate how he understood and perceived the environment, his role as an EIA coordinator and his ‘place’ within Maltese society, a society that he had adopted as his own, since he was a foreigner. These would have most likely never come out from a single interview, however open-ended it might have been.

By the time I had interviewed 130 people in two weeks, working from very early in the morning to very late in the evening, I had written more than 250 pages of notes, mostly during the interviews. After interviews, I would sometimes add my own notes on observations I had made on non-verbal expressions, cross-references to other interviews and the like. The fact that this was a contentious and high-profile project meant that when I took notes, I was sure not to use names but coded entries such as ‘FTR’ for full-time resident, ‘PTR’ for part-time resident, ‘M’ for male etc.

Participant observation helped me understand the ‘felt’ dimensions of the changing socio-physical environment, the differences between talking about a particular place and “living” the place by being there. Scott et al. (2009) discuss the results garnered from joining different social actors in their journey through the landscape, interacting as little as possible with them but noticing how they interact with their environment and with others. Their methodology shows how “experience shapes perception and vice versa” (Scott et al., 2009: 401). I too met with social actors in the landscapes in question, but the difference between Scott’s methodology and mine was that I actively interacted and asked questions about their experiences and the changing landscape. Like Scott’s methodology though, I tried to impinge as little as possible to what they were doing, first observing from a distance before approaching the subjects and engaging with them.

The ethnographic, observational style and actively participating with the social actors within the Aol, including allowing them to tell their stories, is very similar to urban planning research techniques focusing around dialogue and story-telling. As Bulkens et al. (2014) argue, “story-telling” is much more than a means to highlight local knowledge and their views of the urban landscapes they live in but can reveal how vernacular narratives can subvert dominant discourses and processes of formal planning practices. Story-telling and allowing conversations to flow can be a ‘therapeutic’ planning practice in certain contexts (Sandercock, 2000; 2003; 2006), especially where there are polycentric cultural differences and the potential of impending major lifestyle and socio-physical changes. These techniques, which emerged in planning literature to deal with the challenges involved in planning for multiple publics in multicultural and poly-ethnic cities (Abram, 2011; Forester, 2000; 2009; 2015; Healey, 2005; 2006; Innes, 1995; Sandercock, 2003; 2006), are very comparable with the anthropological fieldwork techniques described in this chapter and adopted during the length of the fieldwork period.

As part of the broader research agenda (i.e. part of the longer-term ethnographic research), in-depth, semi-structured interviews were also conducted with members of the EIA teams on the consultancies of the three case studies, which does not usually take place during a consultancy or SBS. These interviews helped me, both as a consultant and doctoral researcher, to better understand the role of the SIA within the broader context of the EIA and the decision-making process. In other words, what happens to the EIA once it goes to MEPA for review and how that ties in with the consultation process. This was also the case

for mitigation strategies, which, in one case study (the Coast Road Upgrade) were part of the remit of the SIA, making it possible to collaborate in its preparation.

Formal access to the EIA team at MEPA took the form of semi-structured and informal interviews. Employing various interviewing strategies (see Agar, 1996:139-146; May, 2011:122; Okely, 2012: 75-86), as an ethnographer, the conversations were inductive and tacit, conducted in such a way to allow both interviewer (myself) and interviewee to participate freely. When dealing with senior management though, more formalised and structured interviews were used. The interviews with MEPA officials were instrumental to identify themes to explore during the broader, long-term fieldwork that took place throughout the whole fieldwork process, beyond the three case studies.

Questions were open-ended and discussed the various stakeholder and official roles and experiences of planning. Questions did not push interviewees towards particular directions, though the broad aims of my research were explained. While themes on landscape change, perceptions of what landscape means, EIA and the decision-making process and the methodologies used were tackled, respondents had the opportunity to explore their own ideas on what is important for them. This is because the aim of such a line of enquiry is first and foremost to elicit what kind of knowledge they consider important for decision making, what their perceptions are on other types of knowledges and their perceptions of stakeholder and public participation (see Cassar et al., 2006; Conrad et al., 2010; Vella and Borg, 2010). One of the reasons this method was chosen is so that relationships could be forged, which would facilitate opportunities for longer-term participant observation.

Finally, an important part of the research and ethnographic fieldwork process was to revisit both my own previous SIA 'fieldwork' experiences and the people I encountered on these short 'expeditions', especially those with whom the relationship endured beyond the 'ethnographic present' (Halstead, 2008: 1) of the SIA fieldwork.⁴⁸ For example, on a number of SIAs, some of the 'informants' I had interviewed kept contact with me, both during the period of the SIA fieldwork, where I would visit them regularly even though I had already officially interviewed them and after the SIA was finalised. For me this was important because these people became an invaluable source of local knowledge beyond the formal interview setting.

⁴⁸ For examples of SIAs I have worked on refer to Vella and Falzon (2005); Vella (2006; 2013). See accompanying CD, Appendix VIII.

I was effectively doing participant observation with these social actors, going beyond the remit of the TOR of the SIA methodology I was supposed to adopt (of 3/4 hr informal interviews based on an aide-memoire question set). By adopting this kind of availability towards informants who showed an interest beyond the interview, it was possible to go back to them and discuss different issues on the socio-geographic area in question. Some went one step further, by inviting me to go with them to the landscape being discussed to show me through their eyes and their experiences of what they appreciate of that landscape, similar to Scott et al.'s methodology (2011), which goes beyond the visual. These visits were either specially organised for me or else, and akin to Scott's methodology; I was invited to accompany them on one of their visits to the area. Both types of visits (whether specially done for me or otherwise) had as an objective for me to 'see' through their eyes and make the connections of particular landmarks with experiences they had in the landscape that made that landscape important for them.

This process of 're-visiting' these interviewees gave me the chance to do a number of things. First, I could re-establish dialogue with my one-time informants and follow the historical trajectory of the projects for which I was the SIA consultant. Depending on the stage at which the development process had arrived, I could critically analyse the projections that were made in the EIA (and more specifically the SIA) and the predictions the indigenous population had made. I was also able to gauge the sentiments and perceptions of the affected 'communities' and IAPs towards the decision-making and development processes. This *ex-post* analysis of previous studies helped me understand how affected populations reacted towards material and environmental change and what that did to those populations within the affected localities. This included how their own perceptions of whether they subscribed to being part of a local community had changed over time (because of the proposed development and the decision-making process that had taken place); if they had considered themselves as 'communities of practice' brought together by their perceived socio-environmental impacts, had brought them closer together into a more homogenous 'community' or not, and so forth.

Re-visiting of both places and fieldnotes over time also helped re-formulate and re-examine several themes and concepts leading to the core concepts presented Chapters 6 and especially Chapter 7 (also see previous section, above). Indeed, there is a serendipitous analogy between a metaphor made by Agar (1980: 13) on ethnographic fieldwork practice and analysis, and how I ended up visualising the theory in practice in Chapter 7 (Figure 7.10: 361), as a funnelling

of the various factors that are then analysed through the theoretical framework proposed in Chapter 6. Agar metaphorically calls the ethnographic fieldwork practice a

'Funnel approach', with breadth and humanity at the beginning of the funnel, and then, within the context of that beginning, depth, problem-focus, and science at the narrow end.
(Agar, 1980: 13)

It was also useful to critically question the role the SIA had in the stakeholder and public involvement processes of the EIA. For example, the stakeholder involvement partly brought about by the SIA process of one of the EIAs that I worked on was instrumental to create long lasting empowerment of the farming community. The development project would have irreversibly changed both the physical and social environs of the farming community to make way for a golf course. The group ended up joining a number of NGOs that helped them lobby against the project and by acquiring 'planning knowledge' managed to change the fate of the whole area, convincing the government to abandon the golf course development and turn the whole area into a protected park (See Vella and Borg, 2010: 198-200). Later on, going back to this particular community helped identify where the SIA and the methodology was useful and where it hindered stakeholder and community involvement.

It also helped me frame what May calls the "'reflexive rationalization' of conduct—the continual interpretation and application of new knowledge by people" (2008: 154), including myself, having been part of the process as the fieldworker, in affected stakeholders' socio-physical environments. Part of this reflexive rationalisation involved reflecting on my belief in the veracity of claims made by those I interviewed. Okely (2012: 84) explains that informants can lie and maintain a performance for when I was doing fieldwork. I do have one experience in my early days as a fledging SIA practitioner, where years later I met one informant from a very contentious project, which did not go through in the end, and as we were having a drink and reminiscing, he told me that the SIA was one important study which helped "making the golf course go away". While this was nice to hear, it was his next sentence that worried me – he told me in a very matter-of-fact way that I had fortunately believed all the rubbish they had fed me! This was an invaluable lesson to be made (and a very humbling one), because it highlights the importance of questioning everything and being critical of all the data during fieldwork, while using multiple fieldwork methods to get as holistic and clear picture as possible, especially when, the research is practiced and applied, and the results and critical analysis may have real-world consequences.

3.3 Limitations during the fieldwork for the three Baseline Studies

This section provides a brief overview of the limitations encountered during the fieldwork for the three baseline studies that constitute the case studies for this thesis. For easy cross-referencing, Appendix IV contains the unabridged limitation sections for the three baseline studies. Some of these issues have already been discussed in Chapter 2 (Sections 2.3.2-2.3.3 and 2.4.4–2.4.7), while other constraints will be further explored in Chapters 6 and 7, especially with reference to official SIA best practice guidelines that are currently produced for large budget ‘mega-projects’. Explicitly focusing on the EIA practical realities (such as value conflicts and narrow focus/superficiality of assessment due to time and financial limits), especially for smaller projects, is hoped to fill a gap in best practice as current literature and EIA / SIA manuals tend to focus on larger cases.

These realities are the foundation of some of the major tensions between academics and practitioners. Even academics who also conduct consultancy work maintain that for example, the SIA is not really anthropology or strictly academic in nature, i.e. that an SIA does not follow the same rigour as academic research. These realities need to be addressed more explicitly, not as excuses to bad practice, as some critics maintain, but as part of a process with limited resources, the most prominent being time and budgetary constraints.⁴⁹

Each case study presents several limitations, some of which are common to all three, depending on the context of each study, and some are particular to the individual study. The relevance of including this section is to highlight methodological limitations predicated by the realities of the planning process itself, constraints that can be construed as bad practice, especially in academia, but are rarely addressed explicitly in the literature (Vella and Borg, 2010; Vella, 2017). This section will briefly focus two issues, which are at the heart of most of the limitations encountered during the fieldwork: temporality and trust.

3.3.1 Temporality, logistics and the TOR

Time constraints during the three baseline studies affected sampling, seasonality and the choice of methods used, for example. Since the studies were commissioned to be performed

⁴⁹ See for example Section 7.7 (pp. 366-369) for a discussion on how such limitations, which restrict the choice of methods used, for example, can be construed by critics across disciplines, such as anthropology and sociology, use the limitations section of the baseline studies (which is good practice both in academia and applied research to include), to imply an admission of bad practice by the author of the baseline study, without analysing why those choices were made.

at a particular time to fit with the EIA process, in the Marsalforn study, for example, the fieldwork had to be conducted during the winter season, even though the most important season for the locality was the summer period. Therefore, a number of important IAPs or stakeholder groups, such as summer residents, tourists, etc. could not be interviewed directly and the analysis had to rely on secondary data. Logistics also affected how the stakeholder / public meetings were conducted, who attended and so forth.

Sampling was also affected because of the time constraints/logistics. The use of in-depth interviews as opposed to surveys counterbalanced this limitation in that data tended to 'add up', in the sense that information given by the various groups was to a very high degree congruent. While mixed methods (i.e. both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods) would have been preferable for both the Magħtab and CRU studies, budgetary and time constraints restricted the choice of methods used (see Appendix IX for more details).

As discussed in Chapter 2.2.2 (p. 28) and 2.3.2 (p. 38) the SIA is governed by the TOR that are issued by the governing bodies (Esteves et al., 2012). Therefore, even on such projects as the CRU or the BMT plant at Magħtab, where the magnitude of the projects can have a cumulative impact on a national scale, if cumulative impacts are not included in the TOR, then there will not be a budget and necessary time-scale to conduct such additional research, nor would it be allowed to be conducted by the EIA coordinator. Therefore, sample sizes will only reflect the local level, and for a project such as the CRU, even at local level the sample of interviewees can be considered too small. The limitations section for the CRU (Appendix IV) explains how these issues were counterbalanced.

3.3.2 The role of the fieldworker and issues of trust

The role of the fieldworker/consultant for all three SBSs was put into question. Apart from the misconception that the fieldwork and the stakeholder meetings were thought to be information-giving rather than information-gathering and two-way communication exercises, there was a high level of mistrust, where many interviewees thought that the fieldworker was a 'spy' for the developer; or worse still, for the environmental authorities, and therefore did not have the stakeholders' best interest in mind and would most likely misrepresent their needs in the SBS/SIA report. This created confrontational attitudes because Maltese civic society in general is not accustomed to initiatives coming from the developer, for example. This mistrust is analysed and discussed in both Chapters 4 and 5, which are based on the analyses made for the baseline studies (see Appendices V–VII) and more generally is a theme

that cuts across the whole thesis. The role of the fieldworker is also further scrutinised in this chapter when discussing positionality and ethics (Section 3.1.2, pp. 100-103).

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter described and critically discussed the research design and methods used for this PhD. The research used a mixed-methods research design that integrated a range of qualitative, participatory and anthropological methods. Given the stated aim of this thesis to explore the potential for anthropological methods to complement and provide new insights into stakeholder participation, it was necessary to first unpack key methods from applied anthropology that have been used in this research. Ethnography and the ethnographic method are of particular importance, highlighting the value of research insights that are derived from long-term, trusting relationships rather than short-term survey encounters. This requires attention to reflexivity and positionality as an integral part of the analysis and resulting insights, rather than these considerations being seen as irrelevant or methodological limitations. More broadly, applied anthropology methods pay particular attention to the social and cultural context in which research is framed, carried out and interpreted.

After discussing these issues in more general terms, the positionality of the PhD researcher was considered, along with the nuanced ethics associated with conducting PhD research as an SIA practitioner and as a member of the society affected by the developments being studied. Whilst acknowledging the methodological limitations and challenges associated with this complicated position, being embedded in the case studies in this way also offered important opportunities and insights that would not otherwise have been available. Taking an interpretivist epistemological approach to the research, the multiple roles of the researcher in the case studies become different lenses through which social interactions, observations and the views of stakeholders can be interpreted. Making these different interpretive lenses explicit in this way facilitates a far deeper level of reflexivity in the analysis of research findings than may otherwise be possible.

In this context, it is clear that the selection of Malta as the location for this study is opportunistic (in the sense of “opportunistic sampling”). However, Malta does provide a particularly interesting context in which to investigate challenges of stakeholder participation in urban planning (generally) and Social Impact Assessment (specifically). The fieldwork comprised mainly five phases, with participant observation (phase five) being the underlying epistemological driving force, running through the fieldwork, concurrently with the other four

phases of the research. The other four phases of the fieldwork followed the SIA process of three case studies.

The data collected in these phases forms the basis for the next chapter, which describes the stakeholders and localities in each case study area. It also provides the basis for Chapter 5, which describes the values, lifestyles and perceived impacts of developments in each case study, which formed the basis of the three SIAs. Finally, data from these case studies is used in Chapter 7 to test and refine the typology and theory of participation proposed in Chapter 6.

Chapter 4

Case Study Background

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a targeted socio-cultural background of the localities where the baseline studies for the three SIAs that are being used as the three case studies for this research. The background to each Maltese case study is described here, and in the next chapter, I will explore the values and lifestyles of the stakeholders for each case study and the resulting perceptions of the proposed urban development schemes underpinning each case study.

As has been explained in detail in Chapters 2 and 3, stakeholders' perceptions of how the various proposed schemes may or may not affect their lives derive in great part from their values and lifestyles, both internal and experiential, both in how they interact with their socio-physical environment daily and direct / indirect experience of similar projects. To be able to elicit and understand these values, an in-depth understanding of the background knowledge of the social environment is important, especially in a context like that of Malta, where even though the physical size of the whole island is very small and the localities seem wedged in with little to no remaining buffer zones, the social environments of even neighbouring localities will vary (Vella, 2017). Sometimes these differences are small but can still be very relevant in terms of how a project may affect seemingly similar stakeholders. I have therefore argued for mixed methods where possible and a propensity for qualitative fieldwork, more specifically based on anthropological approach of participant observation and not just relying on set questionnaires. This creates a rich qualitative canvas of data based on what anthropologists call 'thick description'.

The SBSs that I wrote for the SIAs of each case study are based on the methodology described in Chapter 3 and a direct result of a dynamic, issues-driven, analytic induction approach (Taylor et al., 1995: 106-114), rooted in the applied anthropological research tradition. Since those reports had a different reader in mind (primarily decision-makers and non-experts), while all the relevant information is

included, it is presented mostly in point form, for easier readability. Here I present the same descriptive background in table format. The original reports can be accessed via the appendices (found on CD at the end of this thesis, either in Appendix I in the 'Baseline Studies' Folder, or in appendices for the individual case studies).

Rather than providing an extensive technical background to each proposed development Scheme, which can be found in the PDSs for each project (Appendix III), I provide other details from my fieldwork experience, which are more relevant for the thesis. These details, some of which are more reflexive in nature, bring further context that emerged during the fieldwork for each case study, which were being conducted under the broader connected overarching research agenda of my doctoral research.

4.2 Overview of the Localities and Stakeholders found within the Areas of Influence of the Case Studies

Before funnelling down to the individual case studies, I will first provide an overview of the localities and stakeholder groups that were identified for each case study. Figure 1.2 (p. 16) illustrated the geographical position of the three case studies, superimposed over the map of Malta. Chapter 1 also showed the size of the Maltese archipelago and its population in relation to its size. In the introduction to this chapter, I explained how geographical closeness of localities does not necessarily mean that social landscape will be identical or that a project will affect seemingly similar stakeholders in different localities in the same way. Even though the Magħtab and Coast Road projects overlap geographically – their Areas of Influence therefore including many of the same stakeholder groups, some values will be overarching, influencing their perceptions for both projects, while others will target different aspects of the individual projects.

Since the Magħtab and Coast Road case studies have overlapping localities within their Areas of Influence, they are presented together in Section 4.2.1 and have been put together in one table, while the locality of Marsalforn is described in a separate section (Section 4.2.2) and table (Table 4.2). In the first table (Table 4.1), localities are identified as falling within the overlap between both the Magħtab and Coast Road case studies, or in only one of these case studies.

Most of the information found in this section is extrapolated from the interviews described in the previous chapter, reflecting the sample of stakeholders found within the Aol for the three case studies (see maps in Figures 4.1-4.6, pp. 143-155, which show the Social Impact Locality Boundaries for each of the case studies). The Local Councils of the localities and other official organisations that operate in the area supplied some of the additional data. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 provide details of the localities in each case study, and Table 4.3 (p. 166) provides an overview of the stakeholder groups for the three case studies, which are introduced in further detail in Sections 4.3-4.5, below.

4.2.1 Overview of the localities of the Magħtab and Coast Road Case Studies

While the localities in Table 4.1 (p. 144 below) are organised by their official Local Council boundaries, it is important to note that the data shows that official boundaries do not necessarily correspond to the social and personal (individual) constructs of the space where people live and/or conduct business. The fieldwork data shows that two important issues presented themselves. The first was the disconnection felt by residents of Salini, Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and Magħtab from their Local Council. Instead they felt more closely connected to one another and expressed a desire to form their own, more localised Local Council, even though in a locality like Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, the Administrative Council, consisting of residents of the locality were praised more than once for the work they were conducting within the locality. Officially though, apart from Qawra, which forms part of St. Paul's Bay (*San Pawl il-Baħar*), the localities of Magħtab, Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and Salini fall under the Naxxar Local Council and only Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq residents have their address listed as 'Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, Naxxar'. Magħtab and Salini are only listed under Naxxar.

The second issue is more pertinent to the Coast Road study. Stemming from the affinity that the IAPs⁵⁰ within the above villages expressed is the recognition that along the Aol, three distinct relationships to the Coast Road emerged: terminus, central and secondary central. This is discussed further in Chapter 5, which discusses centrality of the Coast Road to lifestyle. Figure 4.1 illustrates a satellite map showing the urban

⁵⁰ The term IAPs is being used here as an umbrella term, to include all those who may be affected by the Magħtab and CRU projects without placing them in any specific social category, such as stakeholders, sociospheres, communities or communities of practice.

settlements that would be affected by the road upgrade. From west to east, these were parts of Buġibba; the waterfront area of Qawra overlooking the coast road across the bay; Burmarrad, more specifically the fields between St Paul's Bay and Salini; Salini; Maġħtab hamlet (which also has within its bounds the Maġħtab landfill) and Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq. This is technically the actual extent of the Coast Road, since it hugs the coast on one side of it. From Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq the road continues uphill, first with agricultural land on both sides and then intersecting Pembroke and Madliena to finish at the beginning of Swieqi.



Figure 4.1: The Localities skirting the coast road, including Magħtab

Table 4.1: Overview of the Localities within the Area of Influence of the Magħtab and the Coast Road Case Studies, organised by Local Councils

Local Council / Locality	Overview of Localities
Naxxar Local Council	<p>Both Magħtab and the Coast Road Case Studies.</p> <p>Magħtab, Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, and Salini are currently incorporated into Naxxar Local Council, though residents often speak of a desire to split from Naxxar Local Council and to form an administrative unit of their own. In particular, they wish to form a local council that will be more reactive to the needs of residents.</p>
Magħtab Hamlet	<p>Many people immediately associate this hamlet with the landfill found on the site, and many people who are not from this area of Naxxar Local Council do not know that this hamlet exists despite the fact that it has a population of more than 250 residents. This has created a lot of mixed feelings amongst residents both towards the space in which they live and towards the authorities who decided to name the landfill <i>Magħtab Landfill</i> after their village. In many cases residents were ashamed to say that they lived in Magħtab, because <i>Magħtab</i> was immediately associated with the <i>landfill</i>.</p> <p>For the purposes of this report, interviewees were sought from out from these various land uses but were mostly concentrated around residential use, consisting of long-standing residents and more recently established residents; farmers, including full-time and part-time farmers; legitimate business operations, including those in construction, livestock farms, equestrian facilities and recreational facilities found in the area. While every effort was made to interview users such as workers of garage industries (panel beaters, mechanics and the such like), most declined to be interviewed⁵¹.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Magħtab settlement is spread out over a large linear area (circa 1.6km) and thus lacking an identifiable core apart from the 16th century chapel with a population of circa 250 residents. • The hamlet of Magħtab is situated on the periphery of Naxxar, just under the Victoria Lines (1870-1899) and very visible from Heritage Trail that runs along the Victoria Lines, a very popular spot with tourists. Magħtab is also located on what has been termed as the “Golden Mile” that is the road linking Sliema, Paceville, St. Thomas Bay, and Dawret il-Gżejjer in Buġibba, where the highest concentration of all the tourist visiting Malta are located.

⁵¹ It was reported by other users that many of those who declined being interviewed either had illegal operations or had operations that were not up to standard (such as a number of husbandry and livestock farms), who stonewalled the researcher’s efforts to get access to such facilities.

Local Council / Locality	Overview of Localities
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spread around Magħtab there are a number of interesting features of historical note that include the Magħtab Land Radar ('il-widna') from Malta's British heritage. The structure is now dwarfed by the large satellite dishes of the Go Earth Station operated by Malta's primary telecommunication company GO Ltd. Of archaeological interest, there is the Neolithic Temple of Tal-Qadi, then towards Salina the 16th Century St Michael's Chapel and along the Coast Road there are a number of other historical sites: The Catacombs, Ximenes's roundabout, the Fougasse, Ghallis Tower, Qalet Marku Tower, the Dolmens at Magħtab and the world famous cart ruts which still baffle all tourists visiting them as to their intended purpose. • While having a predominantly rural visual landscape, Magħtab has a highly mixed and somewhat conflicting land use, giving a rather disorganized character to the settlement. MEPA states, in the Central Malta Local Plan (2006) that the "area and has a number of existing different uses apart from farmhouses. These existing uses include residential units of varying types and design, batching plants, plant yards, garage industries, animal husbandry farms as well as a substantial number of disused buildings. Due to these mixed and conflicting uses and the disorganised character of this settlement, Magħtab is affected by a fall in rural quality and amenity."
Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq	<p>Apart from falling under the administration of Naxxar, the locality falls under the pastoral care of the parish of Madliena. This has implications for the way in which the residents there relate to larger social structures including notions of <i>community</i> and <i>civil society</i>⁵². The Church at the locality has only recently been given permission by Madliena Parish to perform rites such as weddings, baptisms, Holy Communion and Confirmation. Furthermore, the central square in front of the church is now under construction to transform it from a car park into a piazza where residents can gather together in the out of doors. Prior to the advent of these improvements to social infrastructure, the residents were finding it difficult to cultivate a sense of community or local identity as they are on the margins of Naxxar Local Council (and, thus, are often neglected) and were on the margins of Madliena Parish.</p> <p>Furthermore, because the locality has for a long time been seen as a predominantly summer residence, the full-time residents (approximately 800) continue to have very few amenities in the locality. In addition to the Church, there is one, small mini-market and a few restaurants, which are not always open. There also is a</p>

⁵² Civil society: has implications for the way that people think about and relate to governmental authorities – including, but not limited to, Naxxar LC and the National Government.

Local Council / Locality	Overview of Localities
	<p>water and marine park, overlooking the coast, behind which lies the entrance to Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq. The park features Black Sea dolphins, sea lions and sea birds. The water park offers a number of water slides. It is quite popular with the Maltese, though a number of residents from Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq complained about the noise volume coming from the park during the peak of the summer season⁵³.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq is situated to the east of Magħtab and over the years the distance between the two has been reduced to a mere 100m. For a long period of time the locality was associated with summer residences, where people living in other localities for the rest of the year spent the summer months at Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq. This is probably reminiscent from the British era when the British forces used to use the area as a camping site. The locality is also associated with the White Rocks tourist complex, which had fallen into disrepair and currently there are (uncertain) plans to turn it into a sports complex. Opposite the residential area of the locality, across the Coast Road, there are a couple of bars and a marine entertainment centre. There also is a Boy Scout camping site. There are two chapels that are not in use but the locality now has a large church and a Franciscan retreat house. • During these last 35 years, though, there has been an increase in development and an influx of full-time residents. During the summer months the population goes up to around 1,250 people but during the wintertime when only the full-time residents live in the locality permanently, the population is of around 800. • The locality can be divided into two areas, the lower part of the locality, at sea level, and the upper part, mainly housing large houses and villas. While there are a number of houses that are either still being built or recently inhabited, there are a number of houses that have been permanently lived in since the sixties.
Salini	<p>Only recently having grown into a highly populated locality, Salini is divided into two distinctive residence areas. One, the original village, is located at the junction of the Coast Road and Triq T'Alla u Ommu and is comprised of a collection of houses and small blocks of flats approximately 3-4 stories tall. The other area of housing is comprised predominantly of two large apartment blocks built upon (or in very close proximity of) archaeological remains</p>

⁵³ During both the Magħtab SBS and this study, the fieldworker did not have the opportunity to visit and interview the owners or the patrons of the parks because of the seasonality of the fieldwork.

Local Council / Locality	Overview of Localities
	<p>of a series of catacombs, a chapel and medieval tower that borders the Coast Road.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Salini residential area is found to the west of Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and north of Magħtab. It is associated with the salt pans (Maltese – <i>salini</i>) found by the sea. Salini used to be a predominantly rural area with just a few farms and later a number of summer houses. • Slowly the locality started to grow with people moving to the area more permanently. According to a long-standing resident, the locality has been growing slowly for these past 25 years. While it was mostly catering for summer residents, with very few full-time residents, more recently there have been a new wave of development and blocks of flats have been erected, attracting many transient residents—renters who may stay from a few months to a few years. For many of the longstanding residents of the area this meant over-development and building in an ‘ugly’ fashion, changing the quality of the area, not just physically, but also socially. This is because a lot of transient residents have moved to the area, many of whom are either single, separated or from broken families. Salini has some 250 registered voters but the number of full-time residents is closer to 350, according to those interviewed. • The recent desirability of Salini as a summer residential area is particularly pertinent for the Coast Road study. This attraction, in combination with the rise in car-ownership in the past 20 years, has put a strain on the parking available in the area. In particular, it appears that many summer residents are people who have bought or rented the few available garages around the tower blocks. Rather than renting a flat for the summer months, many part-time residents live in the garages and park their cars – and the cars of their guests and extended families – on the streets. • Prior to the construction of the tower blocks (around 25 years ago) the area was predominantly rural in nature and, to a large extent, remains so today. However, rather than being a rural idyll, the residents are affected by the foul smells coming from both the landfill and the salini. Unfortunately, the salini have been allowed to fall into disrepair with the resultant stagnant water turning into a putrid breeding ground for algae and biting insects. • The only amenities within short walking distance for people living in either section of Salina is the vegetable stand located at the corner of the Coast Road and Triq T’Alla u Ommu. There are also two restaurants that cater to summer tourists and sell traditional Maltese food. Most people drive, or take the bus, to Qawra and St Paul’s Bay in order to do their shopping. There also is the beach, though many interviewees stated that it is too polluted to swim in, though people have been spotted fishing (as a leisurely activity).

Local Council / Locality	Overview of Localities
	<p>There also were young adults seen racing radio controlled model speedboats. This activity was observed along the shoreline between Salini and Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, especially near Torri San Marku and park their cars at the layby.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At Salini there also is a four-star hotel, which operates all year round, catering for British senior citizens during the winter period and students wanting to learn English during the summer months. During the fieldwork period, the hotel was hosting the British organised mass tourists (OMTs). • The area also has a number of archaeological sites that include buildings, catacombs, the salt pans as well as a historic harbour with shipwrecks that have been silted in within the last 500 years to become the fields between Salina, St Paul's Bay and Burmarrad.
<p>St. Paul's Bay Local Council</p>	<p>Magħtab Case Study: Qawra</p> <p>Coast Road Case Study: St. Paul's Bay, Qawra and Burmarrad.</p> <p>St Paul's Bay (including Bugibba), Qawra and Burmarrad (namely the fields between St Paul's Bay and Qawra) all fall under the administrative remit of St Paul's Bay Local Council. However, each locality has particular characteristics.</p>
<p>Qawra</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whereas for the purposes of the social study of both the Magħtab and Coast Road case studies not all the locality of Qawra was taken into consideration as part of the A of I, it was decided that the major area for tourism within Qawra that overlooked the Magħtab landfill would potentially be affected by the proposed projects. The hotels (and their workers and clientele) along the promenade were the main focus here, though a number of local residents, visitors to local residents; a number of foreign residents, people power-walking along the front; a number of businesses and their clientele were also interviewed. • While Qawra falls under the administrative remit of St Paul's Bay Local Council, many interviewees consider it a separate locality, which is also a mixed-use area. Though the locality is primarily touristic with business that feed into the tourist services industry, the locality has both full-time and part-time (summer) residents, both Maltese and foreign. The hotels in Qawra also cater for domestic tourism⁵⁴.

⁵⁴ Supplemental data for Qawra was also taken from another SIA baseline study performed in the same area by the author (Vella and Falzon, 2005, accessible in Appendix VIII).

Local Council / Locality	Overview of Localities
(NOTE: All Localities below are only pertinent for the Coast Road Study)	
St. Paul's Bay	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> St Paul's Bay is both a tourist, residential, agricultural and fisherman's locality. The physical landscape offers some particularly beautiful natural and geological features. Socially, it is important for its traditions and archaeology: an important commercial and agricultural centre from prehistoric times to the 9th Century, with numerous traditions and legends relating to St Paul's shipwreck that is said to have occurred on the coast around St. Paul's Islands in 60 AD. The town developed rapidly in the last decades and became a modern tourist area with hotels and resorts. It is now suffering of the "destination fatigue syndrome" and it is in need of a general urban regeneration. St. Paul's Bay is particularly attractive to British Ex-Pats who have bought houses and lived at St. Paul's Bay for decades. Some are also full-time residents and have not gone back to the UK in a long time, though they do have visitors from back home. Others come to Malta predominantly during the winter season.
Burmarrad	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> While Burmarrad falls under the administrative remit of St Paul's Bay Local Council is also considered a separate locality. Unlike Qawra, where the urban sprawl between Bugibba and Qawra is continuous, Burmarrad is found further inland and is geographically detached from St. Paul's Bay by fields though along the main road between Mosta and St. Paul's Bay centre, there are a number of businesses including a car showroom, a few bars, and a supermarket. The main feature of the hamlet is the Church, which is dedicated to St. Paul. For the purposes of this study, only the farmers who live or have fields within the A of I have been interviewed.
Swieqi Local Council	<p>Coast Road Study</p> <p>Madliena (including High Ridge) and Swieqi are part of Swieqi Local Council.</p> <p>Note that only the areas of Madliena (and High Ridge) and Swieqi that are closest to the coast road were included within the A of I for the Coast Road study. Therefore, the number of interviews and the data collected do not reflect a representative sample of the two localities as a whole but only are a representative sample of those areas within the A of I. The relation of those areas with the rest of the locality has been considered through interviews with the Local Council and other prominent stakeholders, such as the Parish Priest and representatives of the schools in the area.</p>

Local Council / Locality	Overview of Localities
Madliena	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Since March 2010 Madliena has its own Administrative Council within the Swieqi Local Council. In the past Madliena formed part of Gharghur, however in the 1990s the Central Government decided that it should form part of the new Swieqi locality. • The locality is divided in two areas: Madliena and High Ridge. They are situated on the hill just South of Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and they are considered prestigious locations in terms of real estate and standard of life of the residents. The two neighbourhoods face the sea and they are just touching the Coast Road. • The localities consist mainly of large villas and some areas include maisonettes. International and local professionals or retired professionals and their families live in the maisonettes. • Residents of the villas were difficult to find in their homes and interview and even the ones that were interviewed said that they live a hectic and isolated life, with no real sense of community.
Swieqi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Swieqi is a location that has been defined ‘quiet’ and ‘central’ by most interviewees. The locality is considered an upper-middle class residential area, very well connected to the St Julian’s entertainment and business hub. At the same time it is considered convenient as a family settlement because of the many schools, sports amenities and its centrality. • A few business activities are present along the main road and several of them were part of the interview sample. • There are a number of foreigners residing in Swieqi who were attracted by the location because of its centrality and the easy access to shopping and entertainment areas and other amenities without the need of moving by car or even the need to travel to other parts of the island. • The area also has a number of privately owned language schools and is popular with foreign students who rent rooms with local families or rent flats close to the schools and find all they need to live comfortably in the area during their stay.
Pembroke Local Council	<p>Pembroke forms its own administrative unit – the Pembroke Local Council, which is responsible both for the residents, and eleven private and government-run schools in the locality. For the purposes of this report, a sample of 48 people was interviewed concentrating on those living at St. Patrick’s Government housing in the immediate vicinity of the road.</p> <p>Since other users of the Coast Road include those working, teaching or learning at the schools situated at Pembroke, a sample of the schools constituting of teachers, workers (such as minibus drivers) and several parents were also interviewed.</p>
Pembroke	

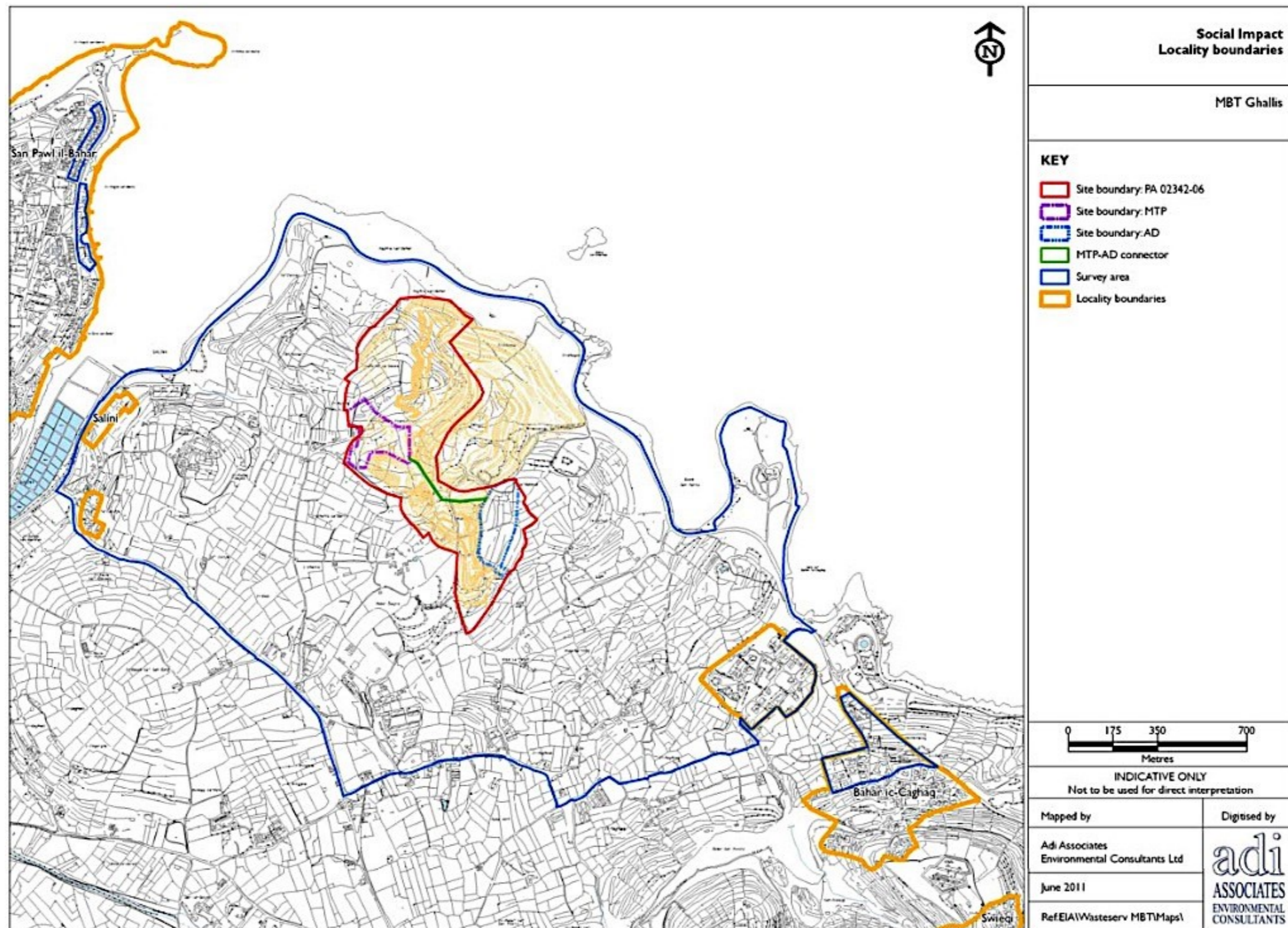


Figure 4.2: Locality Boundaries for the Maghtab Social Study. Note that Baħar ic-Cagħaq starts within the larger survey boundary area (in blue). Qawra is part of San Pawl il-Baħar. Source: MBT Social Study Technical Append IX.

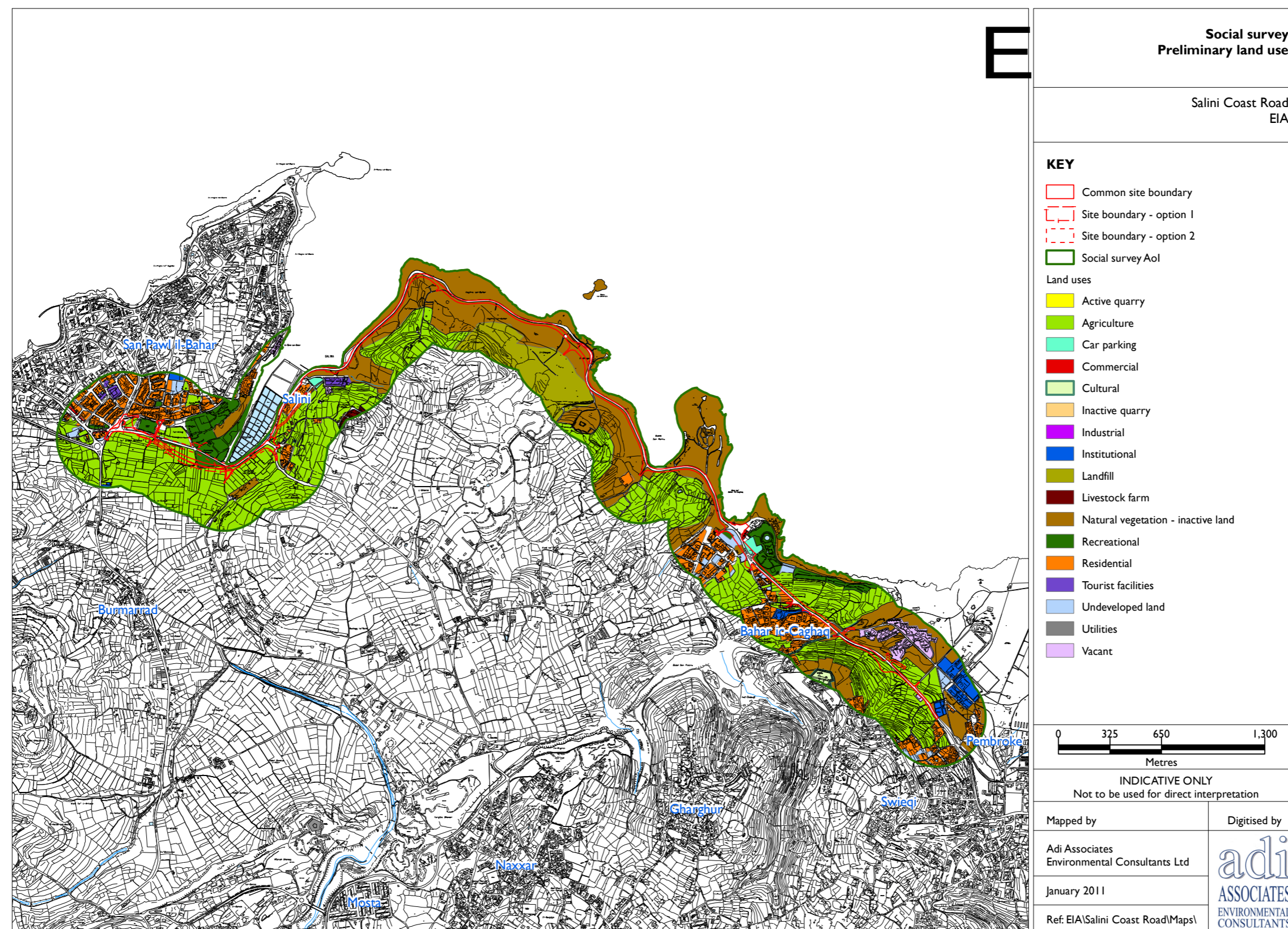


Figure 4.3: Land Use and localities for the Coast Road Social / Population Study

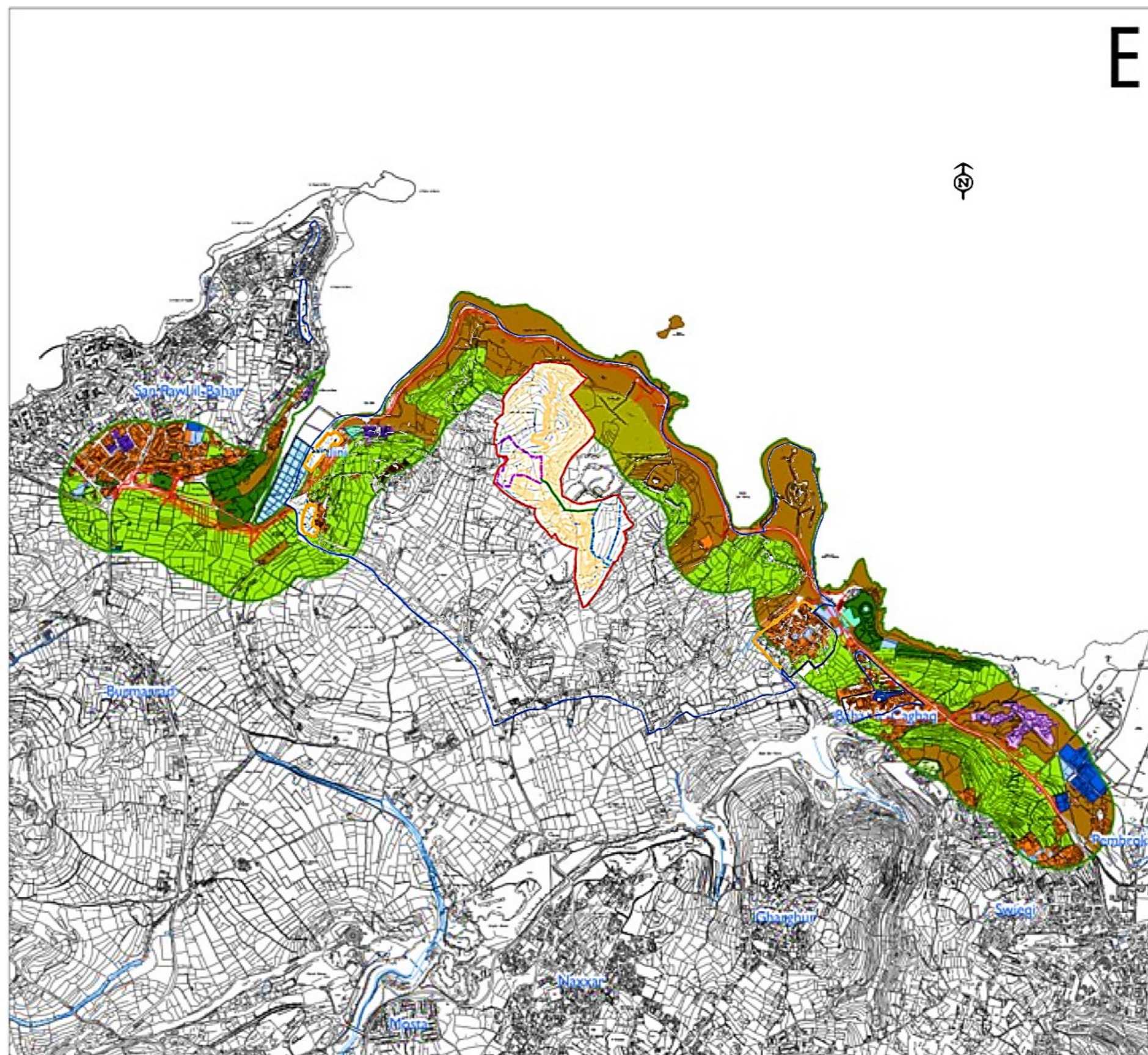
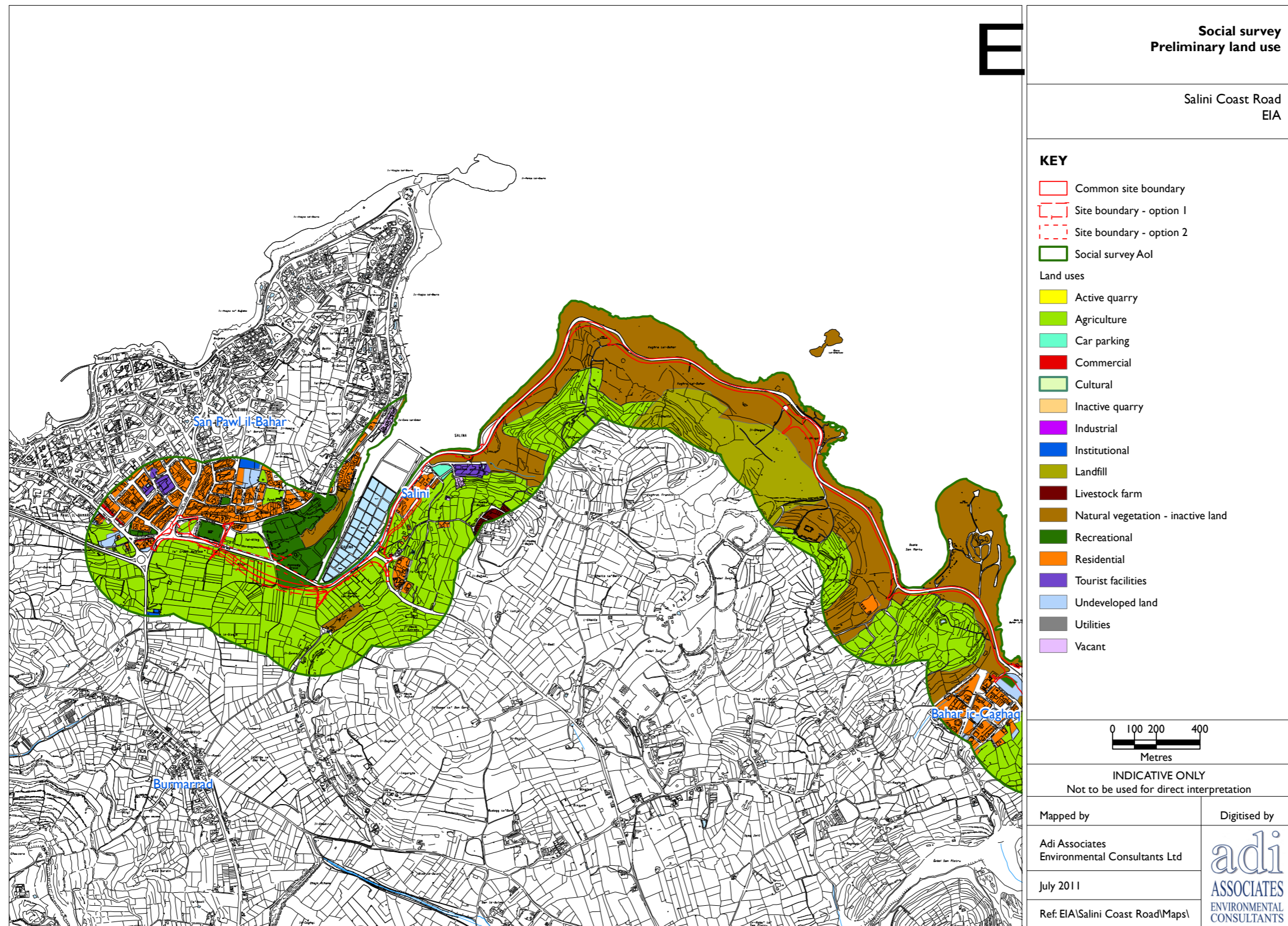


Figure 4.4: Overlay of A of I for Maghtab study and the larger A of I for the Coast Road study



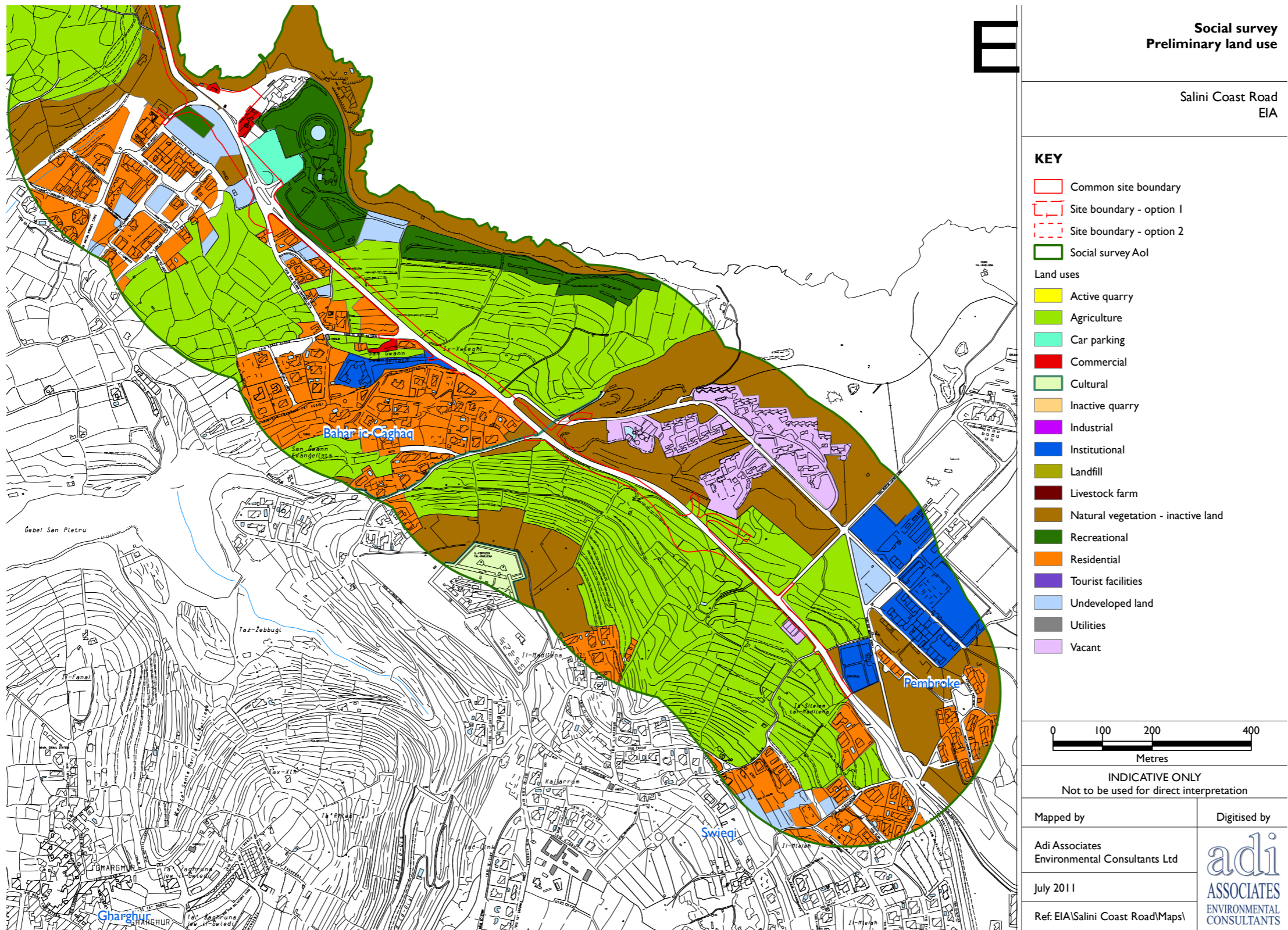


Figure 4.6: Coast Road Study Baħar iċ-Ċaġħaq and Pembroke areas

Figures 4.2 – 4.6 show the multitude of land uses along the route. It is important to incorporate figures 4.2 through 6 for several reasons. First, they elucidate the multitude of land uses and landscape features, which show the extent of human activity that characterises the landscapes through which the road passes. Using planning or EIA terminology, the area shows versatile mixed land uses, ranging from tourism, agriculture and livestock farming, residential, recreational amenities, natural vegetation, which is either inactive land (fields that have been abandoned) or forms part of the natural landscape.

At Pembroke there are a number of schools, both public and private. The traffic that these generate in the early morning and afternoons during the winter time was cause for concern for those who use the road regularly, the Local Council and of course the project designers. This concern was largely due to the fact that the foreseen upgrade for that particular project stopped at a very dangerous junction where school busses and vans meet the main road. The project designers had to negotiate this by trying to find funding to incorporate upgrading this junction as well.⁵⁵

If we zoom further in on Figure 4.5 to the Salini area, the area shaded in light blue, which, according to the key, is undeveloped land, is actually an archaeological site earmarked for another EU project to rehabilitate the salinas found there, which in Maltese are called *salini* – from which the locale's name is derived (Figure 4.7). This is a very important because the residents of *is-Salini* consider these features to be very important, even though they had been left in disrepair for decades, producing foul smells of stagnant sea water, since the water circulation within the salinas had been clogged due to illegal dumping of rubbish and the illegal building of a shed on the side of the road that has long since been abandoned and till the renewed interest in the salinas, had been laying there in ruins. The project for the rehabilitation of the salinas is connected with the tourism industry found on the other side of the bay at Qawra and Bugibba, in the hope of capitalising on their cultural value (Petanidou et al., 2002). In fact, many interviewees from *is-Salini* suggested the construction of some sort of pontoon passing by the Salinas, linking the two urban settlements.

⁵⁵ Stakeholder participation and involvement during the CRU will be further discussed in Section 6.4.2.2 (pp. 324-329).

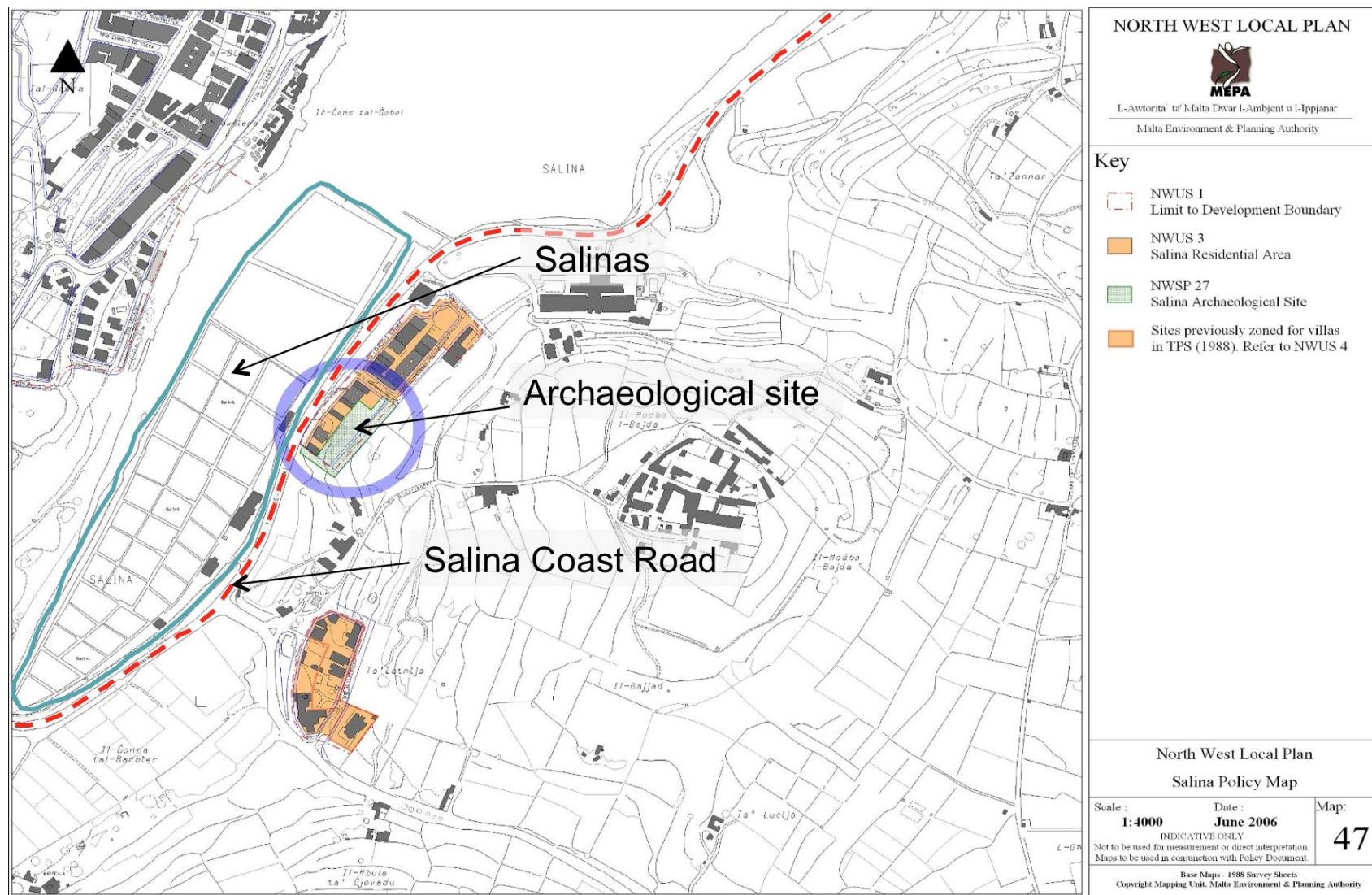


Figure 4.7 also shows another archaeological site, catacombs that are literally surrounded by part of the urban settlement of is-Salini. Many interviewees complained about the state of this site and its access and were worried that the proposed road plans would damage or block the catacombs to attract tourism from the other side of the bay.

Secondly, the coloured parts that indicate these mixed land uses (in Figures 4.3 through 4.6) were defined by the EIA coordinators and delineate the Aol of the proposed road upgrade. Figure 4.4 further shows the hamlet of Magħtab and the landfill superimposed onto the CRU Aol, which shows that the Magħtab hamlet and the landfill operation are not considered part of the official Aol for the CRU. Having conducted the social study for the Magħtab Recycling Plants a few months earlier, I knew that access to the landfill and the recycling plants from the coast road was a major issue for the residents of Magħtab hamlet. One of the major concerns of the residents was that trucks carrying refuse to the landfill were habitually passing through their hamlet, since it was a quicker route to and from the landfill site. Therefore, they wanted to make sure that the road upgrade would accommodate a proper entrance from the coast road and make sure that their hamlet will be liberated, at least, from the fumes and dust caused by the refuse trucks. Therefore, while officially, Magħtab hamlet was not included within the Aol, during the fieldwork, the hamlet was included.

4.2.2 The Marsalforn Case Study – Overview of the village of Marsalforn, Gozo

Table 4.2 below gives an ethnographic overview of the locality of Marsalforn, and particularly its socio-physical landscape that has changed over time. This history recounted below is based on interviewees' recollections.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ More factual historical details can be found on the Local Council website (<http://www.zebbuggozo.com/history-marsalforn.php>) and Blouet (1997: 101).

Table 4.2: Overview of Marsalforn Locality for the Marsalforn Coastal Defences Case Study

Marsalforn, Żebbuġ (Gozo) Local Council	Overview of Locality
General Description	<p>Marsalforn is a Gozitan seaside village, situated on the north west coast of the island, nested between the hilltop towns of Xagħra and Żebbuġ. Today, Marsalforn is a well-known tourist destination and during the summer months the village is very busy and vibrant with tourists, both domestic (Maltese) and foreigners, bathers, boat owners, summer residents, from both Malta and other localities in Gozo, and recreational visitors. Prior to this redirection in its economy, Marsalforn was a quiet fishing village.</p>
History of Marsalforn based on life histories, first-hand accounts (interviews) & desk research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interviewees attest that Marsalforn and Xlendi were the only two localities in Gozo that attracted Maltese and foreigners. Marsalforn attracted a certain type of class—there were a lot of high-class people who owned or rented at Marsalforn. Before the 60's and 70's there were two classes of people, those who lived permanently at the village, mostly working-class fishermen and farmers; and those who owned property and businesses and had particular high-ranking roles in Maltese society, including very high officials in the Government and religious institutions. Before the 1970s there were maybe 7 families that used to live through the wintertime at Marsalforn, mostly the families of fishermen. Till the 60's many of these VIPs used to come to Gozo either for holiday during the summer or for day trips with friends, and they used to stay at a particular bar (the Pirate's Den, today the Pebbles bar and restaurant), where they used to play cards. First-hand accounts from long-standing residents who are now in their seventies and eighties remember these times and emphasised that besides the police constable, the local police station also had a messenger boy who relayed important messages from the mainland (i.e. Malta) to these VIPs staying at Marsalforn. Many of the fishermen who used Marsalforn were from Fontana and kept their fishing boats in the bay. All the restaurants that are situated near the <i>Menqa</i> today were fishermen's garages and boathouses. There used to be a lot of part-time fishermen during the summer months. Since the economic redirection of the village to tourism, fishing has taken the back seat in the local economy, though the fishermen that were interviewed maintained that their presence at the bay used to give the 'quaint' flavour to the locality that singles it out from other

Marsalforn, Żebbuġ (Gozo) Local Council	Overview of Locality
	<p>similar seaside villages, which attracted many tourists to the locality, especially returning foreign tourists and especially people from Malta. Since it was a fishing village, during the dolphin fish season, a lot of people used to come to the locality to buy directly from the returning boats. This has all but nearly disappeared today.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Electricity arrived at Marsalforn in 1958, and many of the older residents interviewed still remember the street corners being lit up by wicker lamps. • Marsalforn has always been a prominent port in Gozitan history, all the way back to Roman times, where food imports were unloaded at the port and travellers to the continental ports embarked from there. Today's established residents are still very proud of their history, both past and recent, and they recount the tradition that maintains that St. Paul embarked for Sicily from Marsalforn. In fact, Marsalforn's emblem consists of a blue shield representing the harbour together with a viper entwined around a sword, which is St Paul's emblem. • Today, Marsalforn lies between two parishes, the valley being the boundary between the two. One side forms part of the Xagħra parish and on the other, the Żebbuġ one. On the side that makes part of Xagħra, they do not perform certain religious functions that are celebrated at the main Parish in Żebbuġ. Interviewees mentioned that residents from Xagħra frequent Marsalforn much more than those from Żebbuġ. Then there are many that come from Rabat. The two parishes do not interfere with each other. The feast of St. Paul on the 10th February is celebrated at Marsalforn. In the past Marsalforn used to celebrate the Lady of Sorrows as well.
Tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • During the war, there were around a thousand refugees at Marsalforn. Some attribute the residents' welcoming nature and such moments in their recent and more distant historical past as a prominent port in Gozitan history, together with Marsalforn's natural beauty and geographical position, as being a number of factors that promoted the change to the tourism industry. Marsalforn started becoming more popular with tourists in the early 60's, after Malta gained Independence; when the Lantern, Marsalforn and the Calypso hotels were erected. • These new establishments started attracting a lot of tourists and it changed the social landscape of the locality.

Marsalforn, Żebbuġ (Gozo) Local Council	Overview of Locality
	<p>It must be noted that while everybody acknowledges the importance of the tourism industry at the locality, many also acknowledge that not all the socio-physical changes that took place in these last 50 or so years were entirely positive and in the best interest of the locality as a whole. Many commented on <i>palazzini</i> (small apartment blocks, borrowed from the Italian language) with beautiful Arabic style architecture that were torn down to make way for apartment blocks to accommodate the new influx of tourists, both foreign and domestic and the increase in demand in the local housing market, especially by Maltese people wanting a summer house at the locality.</p>
Urban Development & Growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Today, the locality of Marsalforn has experienced considerable urban growth. At the same time, the population of Marsalforn in general is in continual flux and there are no exact figures to show how many people realistically live at Marsalforn. While the data suggests that there are around 1000 voters from Marsalforn, those who are considered as “real” residents of the locality by established residents, are much less. This distinction of who is a “real” resident and who is not is delineated by the notion that there is a large number of Maltese people (in other words, they are not Gozitan by birth) who are registered as living at the locality (i.e. their I.D. card shows that they reside at Marsalforn) but in actual fact they are part-time or summer residents owning an apartment at the locality and habitually live in Malta. • There are also an increasing number of foreigners who own property at the locality but only live temporarily at Marsalforn, either during the winter or summer months. During the summer, the population grows exponentially. It is estimated by a number of well-established residents that the population of residents permanently living at Marsalforn is of around 250 families. • Many long-standing full time and summer residents and frequent visitors in their 60's and 70's all recalled how Marsalforn was famous for its beach (the <i>ramla</i>) and how it used to occupy the whole length of the bay, starting from where there is the 'Paletta' today (near the Menqa), all the way to the Neptune's on the other side of the bay. It has since disappeared because of the bad weather and, according to a number of respondents (especially fishermen and other sea-faring persons) the increase in development around the bay and the valley where the

Marsalforn, Żebbuġ (Gozo) Local Council	Overview of Locality
	<p>storm water channel is situated. Some claim that these human interventions, including the building of the Menqa, contributed to the gradual disappearance of the sandy beach.</p>
The Weather	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • During exceptionally bad weather, the pebbles from the bay used to be taken up all the way to the Marsalforn Hotel, which is more than 100 metres inland. The sea used to engulf Marina Street. At one point blocks of cement were placed at the bay to try and reduce the impact of the sea on the buildings and the streets nearest to the bay. Several attempts were made to build a breakwater. One such attempt used large slabs of stone but these were dispersed by the large waves and scattered around the bay. The breakwater that has recently been severely damaged was reportedly supposed to be longer but it was never completed. Many interviewees state that that breakwater did give a little shelter but it was not enough during very bad weather when the sea was very rough, especially when the wind is northerly and East by North East. • Most of the people interviewed who are regular users of Marsalforn and its bay agreed that when the waves hit the reef found near the Qbajjar tower (now an abandoned discotheque) at <i>il-Qolla l-Bajda</i>, the waves become stronger and higher (many said that the waves become three times as high) and it is these waves that then travel into the bay, hitting the Menqa and the promenade with destructive force.

4.2.3 Overview of Stakeholder groups, populations and social categories for the three case studies

Table 4.3 below outlines the various stakeholder groups, populations and social categories found within the As of I affected by the three case studies, based on the fieldwork and the limitations encountered therein. As with the previous two sub-sections, to reduce unnecessary duplication of data, given the geographical overlap of the Magħtab and Coast Road case studies, the two case studies are placed next to each other, with the Marsalforn case study in the last column. In the section that follows, the case studies will follow a more theoretically informed sequence as described in Chapter 3, based on how far up Arnstein's (1969) "ladder of participation" (see Figure 2.3, p. 50) they took place during fieldwork (Magħtab Case study will be described first, followed by the Marsalforn Breakwater, and finally, the Coast Road Upgrade). While this widely used typology was used as a basis for study site selection in the previous chapter, I will question the theory underpinning this typology and use the empirical data presented here and in Chapter 5 to propose, test and refine a new typology and theory of participation (in Chapters 6 and 7).

The following sections also serve to provide a descriptive background to the case-studies in the context of stakeholder participation, or how they engaged with me (as the SIA consultant) and the EIA/planning process. They provide brief ethnographically reflexive experiential accounts from the fieldwork experience of what kind of participation or engagement social actors got involved in during the particular case study, introducing the underlying circumstances that drove them to act and interact with the process in the way they did.

Table 4.3: Overview of Stakeholder groups, populations and social categories for the three case studies

Stakeholder Group or Population			Magħtab Case Study	Coast Road Cast Study ⁵⁷	Marsalforn Case study
The Local Population The local population is made up of Stakeholder groups whose constituents use the A of I <u>regularly and over an extended period of time</u>	Permanent Residents	Well-Established Local Residents	Yes for all localities within A of I	Yes for all localities within A of I	Yes
		Well-Established Foreign Residents	Yes, a number of whom may be married to Maltese nationals	Yes for all localities. Many, if not most, foreign residents encountered in this study were married to Maltese nationals.	Yes
		More recent permanent Maltese residents	Yes for all localities within A of I	Yes for all localities within A of I	Yes
		More recent foreign residents	Yes a number of whom may be married to Maltese nationals. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> At Magħtab none were in Malta to be interviewed during the fieldwork period due to their very small number. Information gathered is considered as 	Yes.	Yes

⁵⁷ Also see details for the Magħtab Case Study due to overlapping localities within respective Areas of Influence of the two projects

Stakeholder Group or Population			Magħtab Case Study	Coast Road Cast Study ⁵⁷	Marsalforn Case study
The Local Population (Cont.)	Permanent Residents (Cont.)	More recent foreign residents (Cont.)	secondary data & was provided by other their friends, mostly well-established residents (Maltese & foreign). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> There were a number of this group that were interviewed from the other localities. 		
	Part-time residents who regularly return to the locality all year round and / or spend in excess of 6 months at the locality	Maltese part-time residents who visit the locality regularly during the rest of the year	Yes / No (depending on locality). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> No part-timer residents were encountered at Magħtab. Yes for Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, Salini and Qawra 	Yes.	This group is defined by the fact that they return to Gozo and the locality every weekend all year round.
		Foreign part-time residents	Yes for Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, Salini and Qawra, No for Magħtab	Yes for localities not included in Magħtab Case Study.	Yes
		Gozitan summer residents who visit locality regularly	N/R	N/R	Yes. Many go back to Marsalforn every weekend, just as the Maltese counterparts do. This contrasts those who are Gozitan summer

Stakeholder Group or Population			Magħtab Case Study	Coast Road Cast Study ⁵⁷	Marsalforn Case study
The Local Population (Cont.)		during the rest of the year			residents only and do not return to Marsalforn regularly.
	Workers	Small Business Owners	Yes, including the garage industry, construction industry, horse-riding facilities and livestock rearing facilities that were operated as businesses.	Yes for localities not included in Magħtab Case Study.	Yes. It should be noted that many also have residence at Marsalforn. Some live in neighbouring localities but work at Marsalforn daily. Some used to live at Marsalforn, moved to neighbouring localities but still work at Marsalforn and have kin still living at Marsalforn.
		Hoteliers	Yes / No (depending on locality). There are no hotels in Magħtab and Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, though there is one hotel in Salini and a major aggregation of hotels in Qawra.	Madliena, Pembroke and the area of Swieqi that were within the Aol did not have hotels. Swieqi has at least one hotel and many apartment blocks, some owned by hotel owners that host tourists and TEFL students. Bugibba has a number of hotels.	Yes.

Stakeholder Group or Population			Magħtab Case Study	Coast Road Cast Study ⁵⁷	Marsalforn Case study
The Local Population (Cont.)	Workers (Cont.)	Employees	<p>Employees of the above, including the hotel industry, some residents in Magħtab; most interviewees from the tourism industry reside in Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, Salini and Qawra.</p> <p>Interviewees also included a number of employees from other industries above.</p>	<p>Yes, except for Madliena, which is predominantly residential. There are a number of employees of businesses within the Aol and a number of business owners worked from home as self-occupied or self-employed.</p>	<p>See ‘Small Business Owners’ above.</p>
	Farmers (Full-time & Part-time)		<p>Most of the farming population could potentially be placed within the ‘visiting population’ above, since they do not live in the immediate vicinity, though a number of those interviewed lived in localities relatively close by, such as Naxxar and Mosta. Others were full-time residents of Magħtab of both part-time and full-time farmers.</p> <p>From the data collected, most farmers of the area are part-time farmers and it was also explained that the reason why the fieldworker did not encounter many farmers on their fields</p>	<p>The farming population is predominantly made up of part-timers, the majority of whom were men. They tend to be resident in localities different from those where their fields are located and, thus, many travel along the Coast Road to access their fields. On the other hand, a number of farmers with fields in or around Burmarrad actually resided at the locality or hailed from nearby localities.</p>	<p>While there are numerous fields surrounding Marsalforn, the locality itself is a sea-side, fishing village (historically), so keeping this in mind, most farmers are not residents of Marsalforn, though there were a few who fit this profile.</p> <p>In fact, given the time of the fieldwork, it was reported by interviewees that during that time of the year, the fields are usually vacant. In fact no</p>

Stakeholder Group or Population		Magħtab Case Study	Coast Road Cast Study ⁵⁷	Marsalforn Case study
The Local Population (Cont.)	Farmers (Full-time & Part-time) (Cont.)	during the fieldwork period was because the harvest period was practically over.		farmers were interviewed, except for those who were also permanent residents. For the above reasons, farmers, part-time or otherwise cannot be profiled as part of the local population for the Marsalforn case study, and should be viewed as visitors, mostly part of the visiting population, especially if Part-timers. Those who are full-timers, should be considered transient because they spend an extended period of time in their fields during different times of the year.
	Fishermen (Full-time & Part-time)	Yes / No (depending on locality / specific areas). No fishermen were encountered at Magħtab but a few were encountered (and not necessarily interviewed) from Salini and Qawra. This group should not be confused with those who use	Yes / No (depending on locality). Bugibba has a number of part-time & full-time fishermen though none was encountered during the fieldwork period of the baseline study. Further data was collected after the	Yes for both full-time and part-time, though there was a predominance of part-time fishermen.

Stakeholder Group or Population		Magħtab Case Study	Coast Road Cast Study ⁵⁷	Marsalforn Case study
The Local Population (Cont./d)	Fishermen (Full-time & Part-time) (Cont.)	Qawra or the shoreline around Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and Salini to fish using fishing rods as a hobby (below).	baseline study was completed during the participant observation phase and secondary data from previous studies by the researcher.	
	Regularly Returning Visitors for leisure / Sports	<p>NOTE: This group (for all three case studies) is constituted of individuals who also make part of other stakeholder groups or ‘sociospheres’ who have associations with or pertain to other ‘sociospheres’. Such visitors would have associations to residents (kin or friends) and would therefore form part of those ‘sociospheres’; bar goers are associated with businesses, and so forth. As described previously, pertinence to a particular ‘sociosphere’ is by association in one way or another.</p> <p>The operative word for this group is ‘regularly’, i.e. they return regularly enough for leisure and sports activities to know and associate themselves with the socio-physical environment and consider themselves as having a stake in changes that may occur to the physical landscape or the social environment.</p>		
		This group include those who visit the localities for leisure and sports, such as fishing by the sea-shore, swimming, camping (near Salini), go to the recreational parks, visit hotel amenities regularly, bars etc., walks in the countryside, horse-riding regularly, practicing regularly at the gun range at Magħtab etc.	Not in Madliena except for those visiting the countryside around <i>regularly</i> to exercise, walk their dog etc. While it was reported that there is such a group, none were encountered during fieldwork. Yes for Pembroke and Swieqi.	Yes, mostly for the bars, restaurants and other amenities that the village offers. During the summer months, swimming attracted daily visitors.

Stakeholder Group or Population		Magħtab Case Study	Coast Road Cast Study ⁵⁷	Marsalforn Case study
The Transient Population The transient population is made up of stakeholder groups whose constituents use the <u>Aol on a temporary but recurring basis or for a relatively short period of time.</u>	Maltese (and Gozitan in the case of Marsalforn) Summer Residents	Yes, not including Magħtab. NOTE: Due to the time of fieldwork, most summer residents had not yet moved to the localities for the summer. In fact a number of houses or apartments were found vacant, and neighbours and other interviewees informed about this group who had not yet moved from their primary residence elsewhere in Malta to their summer property. This data is therefore considered as secondary data. Data from previous social studies at Qawra was also used in the analysis.	Yes, though due to the time of fieldwork, most summer residents had already left the localities by the end of the summer. In fact a number of houses or apartments were found vacant and neighbours and other interviewees informed the researcher that the property belonged to summer residents who had already returned to their primary place of residence.	Due to the time of fieldwork, all summer residents had already left the locality by the end of the summer. In fact many apartments were found vacant and neighbours and other interviewees informed the researcher that the property belonged or was rented out to summer residents who had already returned to their primary place of residence.
	Maltese (and Gozitan in the case of Marsalforn) temporary residents	This group usually rent from a number of months. At Magħtab, interviewees informed the researcher that there were a number of foreigners living for part of the year in converted farmhouses but at the time of interviews these were not encountered (again considered as secondary data).	Yes. Includes Full-time residents who are usually renting a property with a view towards eventually moving on to a different part of the island, or out of the country entirely.	Yes, for both Maltese and Gozitan people. Full-time Gozitan residents are usually renting a property with a view towards eventually moving on to a different part of the island, to Malta or out of the country entirely. Very few were interviewed from this group and most of the data is secondary.

Stakeholder Group or Population		Magħtab Case Study	Coast Road Cast Study ⁵⁷	Marsalforn Case study
The Transient Population (Cont.)	Foreign regularly returning summer visitors	No for Magħtab Yes for Qawra and Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq; Unconfirmed for Salini (none were encountered during fieldwork nor mentioned by other stakeholders)	Yes.	Yes, spending short or lengthier periods of time at the locality.
	Foreign summer residents (who only spend short periods of time at the locality but usually own the property, though a number do rent)	Mainly found at Qawra, Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, and increasingly Salini. At Magħtab, interviewees informed that there were a number of foreigners living for part of the year in converted farmhouses but at the time of interviews these were not encountered.	Yes, though none encountered at Madliena.	Yes, spending short or lengthier periods of time at the locality.
	Regularly returning tourists	While the researcher was informed that this group exists in the localities excluding Magħtab, very little data was collected directly from this group due to the time of year and is not considered representative. Most of the data about this group was	Often have made friends with people in the local community. While the researcher was informed that this group exists in the localities, very little data was collected directly from this group due to the time of	Yes. Often have made friends with people in the local community. While the researcher was informed that this group exists in the localities, very little data was collected directly from

Stakeholder Group or Population		Magħtab Case Study	Coast Road Cast Study ⁵⁷	Marsalforn Case study
The Transient Population (Cont.)	Regularly returning tourists (Cont.)	collected through 'hear-say' from their friends, which is one of the reasons why such tourists return on a regular though sporadic basis – to visit their friends.	year and is not considered representative.	this group due to the time of year and is not considered representative
The Visiting Population The visiting population is made up of stakeholder groups whose constituents use the A of I <u>on a very temporary or fleeting basis or occasionally, which could include on-off visits.</u>	Visitors to the local and transient populations (not necessarily for leisure and may include kin)	All localities.	All localities	Yes, especially during the summer months, not necessarily for leisure and may include kin.
	First-time Tourists	All localities though predominantly at Qawra as the main tourist locality; a few at Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and Salini. At Magħtab tourists were encountered walking the countryside, but not staying at the locality. These are therefore considered visitors for leisure (next cell below). NOTE: During the period of fieldwork, only a very few number of tourists outside of hotels were noticed, and at only one locality (Qawra). A few were seen walking towards particular	While the broad answer is “yes”, it is important to note, here, that during the period of fieldwork, only a very few number of tourists outside of hotels were noticed, and at only one locality (Qawra). A few were seen walking towards particular sites at the periphery of Salina and Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and along other parts of the Coast Road.	Yes. It is important to note, here, that during the period of fieldwork, only a very few number of tourists were encountered. A few were seen strolling along the promenade or were dining at restaurants.

Stakeholder Group or Population		Magħtab Case Study	Coast Road Cast Study ⁵⁷	Marsalforn Case study
The Visiting Population (Cont.)	First-time Tourists (Cont.)	sites at the periphery of Salini and Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq.		
	Visitors for leisure / recreation	<p>Same as regularly returning visitors (above), but on a one-time or sporadic basis.</p> <p>These include sports and recreation activities, including bars and clubs (in the case of Qawra); restaurant goers and social club goers; people going for morning walks in the countryside etc. These also include nightlife visitors: people using restaurants/ bars and other amenities.</p>	<p>Visitors for sports and recreational activities, including bars and clubs (in the case of Qawra); restaurant goers and social club goers; people going for morning walks in the countryside or along certain parts of the Coast Road etc. These also include nightlife visitors: people using restaurants/ bars and other amenities.</p> <p>Given that the Aol is a road, and given the Maltese love of driving, this group also includes young adult street racers and motorcyclists who use the road as a leisure amenity in and of itself. This last group is constituted by a number of sociospheres who have associations with or pertain to other sociospheres, as has been explained above, such that visitors to residents (kin or friends) would form part of those sociospheres; bar goers are associated with businesses, and so forth. As described previously,</p>	Yes, all year round, but during holiday seasons and the summer months, either for leisure and / or Sports, especially water sports and amateur fishermen.

Stakeholder Group or Population		Magħtab Case Study	Coast Road Cast Study ⁵⁷	Marsalforn Case study
The Visiting Population (Cont.)	Visitors for leisure / recreation (Cont.)		pertinence to a particular sociosphere is by association in one way or another.	
	Church goers	<p>At Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, the (Catholic) church attracts many people from the surrounding localities to it, especially for Saturday (evening) and Sunday Mass. These include kin of people living at the locality, friends who are visiting, usually staying for Sunday lunch, those who go to the sea-side recreational facilities after Mass, etc.</p> <p>Again, this group form part of other 'sociospheres' and their commonality is their Catholic faith. They might not otherwise relate or socialise beyond religious activities, apart from those who have direct connections to other 'sociospheres'.</p>	<p>As with Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, the Swieqi (Catholic) Church attracts many people from the surrounding localities, especially for the Saturday and Sunday Mass; including kin of people living at the locality, visiting friends, usually staying for Sunday lunch; those who go to the recreational facilities after Mass, including on Saturday evening, where Paceville, a major recreational (and touristic) hub, is within walking distance.</p> <p>Of interest, people park their cars in the area, go to Mass and then walk to Paceville, where parking is difficult to find on weekends during the year and practically every day of the week during the summer months (in the evening/ night-time).</p>	<p>Residents from other localities attending Mass (usually on Sunday)</p> <p>This group also overlaps with many other 'sociospheres', especially the Church-going local population.</p>

4.3 Case Study 1: The Magħtab Environmental Complex Case study - A case of 'tokenism' or 'passive participation'; and 'self-mobilisation'

4.3.1 Background to the case study

In July 2010 I was commissioned for the SIA of the Magħtab Environmental Complex Master Plan. The fieldwork was supposed to start some time that autumn, which would have coincided with my arrival to Malta for my PhD fieldwork. For some reason, MEPA (the Malta Environmental and Planning Authority) took till April 2011 to finally give me the go-ahead to start the baseline study for the SIA.

Once the SIA at Magħtab started I began to appreciate the complexities of the project and the diversity found within the locality. There were full-time residents owning very expensive converted farmhouses right next to part-time farmers living in modest houses, with one 88-year old woman still living in an unconverted farmhouse consisting of a few small corbeled stone rooms a hundred metres from the proposed project.

The development brief for the proposed Environmental Complex states, "The solid waste disposal site at Magħtab was developed at a time when the full environmental impacts of such operations were not known. As a result, the Maltese Islands were left with a legacy of landfill sites that had no systems in place for the proper control of landfill leachate or gas and the presence of fires was common" (MEPA 2010: 3). This has been the situation for nearly 33 years for the people living at Magħtab.

The brief also states that the Magħtab landfill has been closed since 2004. Magħtab, though, as the residents had specified so many times during the interviews for the SIA and ethnographic fieldwork, is not just where the landfill is situated but the whole area that surrounds it. This area, as is typical with many rural areas in Malta, is subdivided into many smaller pockets of land whose names usually originated after the owners of those fields. So, while it is true that the Magħtab landfill was closed, an engineered landfill was opened right next to the original one, which was called after the area's topographical name – Għallies. Another landfill to the south of the site was also established, named Żwejra, again after the name of the area in question. The entrance to both landfills remained the original one that accessed the Magħtab landfill (Figure 4.9). For the people of the area, this was a big blow because when the Government had promised that Magħtab would be closed and the surrounding areas converted to

a park, there was no mention of engineered landfills ⁵⁸ (as opposed to an uncontrolled dumping site) being introduced to the area (see Figure 4.10 below, of an ‘artist’s impression’ visual representation of the rehabilitated landfill).



Figure 4.9: Magħtab landfill with Magħtab hamlet with farms and villas side by side.
(Source: http://www.youngreporters.org/article.php3?id_article=4441)



Figure 4.10: One of the proposed projects for the rehabilitation and establishment of a park instead of the Magħtab landfill (Source: Di-ve.com 19th Jan. 2011)

⁵⁸ An engineered landfill is different from an uncontrolled dumping site in that the landfill is specifically designed to contain waste and its decomposition products until they pose no significant threat to the socio-physical environment. Engineered landfills also reclaim materials that can be recycled and energy recovery. In the Maltese case, an online newspaper article (Malta Independent Online, 2009), explains the differences between the dumping sites and engineered landfills found at Magħtab.

It is also interesting to mention that the company that manages the landfills made several development applications over the years that cover these additions and other projects that include the extraction of the poisonous gases buried deep within the original landfill of Magħtab. In fact, as the PDS (March 2010 revision)⁵⁹, describes in some detail the then current situation of waste disposal in Malta and the history of the Magħtab landfill, earlier interventions and obligations that arose once Malta applied for and later joined the EU. This resulted in the need for a Solid Waste Management Strategy of the Maltese Island, October 2001, which was later updated in 2009, which was accompanied by an SEA. The Waste Management Plan, which encompasses all types of wastes produced within the Maltese Islands, is an attempt to conform to the EC Waste Framework Directive obligations, with targets extending to the year 2020 (see map in Figure 4.12, p.183. The case study in question though relates to the Landfill Directive and is an extension of a previous development application (PA 02342/06) for the extension of the boundary of the Għallies Waste Management Complex to accommodate a biological treatment plant, or AD, and later also included a pre-landfilling mechanical treatment Plant or MTP. The list of additions is listed in page 10 of the document and further expanded in Appendix E of the same document. The information therein is based on an EIS that was undertaken in September 2009.

The local residents' association had been battling with the Government and the managers of the site for decades, with promises by the Government prior to Malta's entry into the EU that the Magħtab landfill would be closed down and converted to the above-mentioned landscaped family park, which would have even including a golf course, according to a number of informants. Free electricity for the residents was also mentioned. Seven years later, while the older 30-year old landfill was closed, another landfill (Għallies, mentioned above) was opened right next to the old one (Figures 4.9, above and 4.11, overleaf) and the residents suddenly heard for the first time through me that there was a 13-year plan for the extension of another part of the landfill together with the two recycling plants.

⁵⁹This PDS is a 220-page document that describes the proposed project in detail, its background and how the proposed works connect to the previous works that were made on the Magħtab and newer landfills, based on the rational of the 20-year Waste Management Plan and so forth. This document was written for WasteServe Ltd. by Adi Associates and presented to MEPA with the planning application. It is included in the digital resources with this thesis in Appendix III.



Figure 4.11: Magħtab and Ghallies landfills with Qawra in the background, one of the most frequented tourist areas in Malta (Source: Di-ve.com 19th Jan. 2011)

It was quite understandable that the people of the area were incensed by the plan and at first did not appreciate my presence, especially since apart from being the bearer of what they perceived as more bad news, they also thought that I was representing the company that was planning to build the recycling plants.

Fortunately I happened to personally know the president of the residents association and his wife through their affiliations with another eNGO. During a meeting with around 45 residents at the local chapel to explain the project to them, since he understood the EIA procedure and my work, he was instrumental to reduce the tension the residents had towards me and helped me in securing interviews with all the people present during the meeting. During my interview with him and his wife that same evening, where they also offered me dinner, he implicitly suggested that this would be a great case study for my PhD, which I had already considered. After that I

started asking other interviewees whether they would be interested to be my ‘informants’ (see Section 3.2.6, p. 128 on participant observation) if I chose to use the Magħtab project as one of the case studies for my doctoral research and most thought that it would be a very good idea to create exposure of their long-term situation (see Section 3.1.2, p. 100 on positionality and ethics).

As the title to the section implies, there was little attempt from the developers to actively involve the stakeholders. If using Arnstein’s model, then it was a case of tokenism, mostly informing the stakeholders of what had already been decided at planning level. One must remember that the EIA is a tool to inform decision-makers with technical data on the proposed plans so that they can make more informed decisions. There is public consultation, officially held by MEPA once the EIA has been submitted by the developer and scrutinised by the MEPA EIA team. This means that what is taking place is the developer and MEPA informing the public and stakeholders of the various results of the EIA and the various options that can be decided upon based on the EIA findings. This is where the consultation with the public and stakeholders takes place at in official capacity. If we had to use Pretty’s typology (1995), what we get is a mix of her first three categories — manipulative and passive participation, and finally, participation by consultation.⁶⁰

In effect, the SIA for this particular plan was the first time that the social effects were being considered in a scientific report and the people using the area consulted. Converging empirical data from multiple sources confirmed that the main tactic by the Government and the company spearheading the project had always been lack of information, or a mixture of ‘Marksmanship’, ‘passing the buckmanship’, some form of ‘confusionism’ and ‘I’m only trying to help you’ ploys, after Howard’s anti-participation ploys (1976, adapted by Taylor et al., 1995: 59). It took the Magħtab Residents Association, the local eNGO, for example, long months, involving lawyers and several communications with officials from the EU to be given a report on the environmental situation at Magħtab, commissioned by the managing company, which did everything in its power not to give the association the desired information.

⁶⁰ See Section 2.4.1, p. 43. Cornwall (2008: 272) provides a very useful table explaining Pretty’s typology of participation.

This is where Pretty's "self-mobilisation" comes in — residents, either independently or through the residents' association took matters in their own hands and would take photos of infractions by the company, phone the Local Council (LC), write to the newspapers and incessantly harass the developers and the Government for information. They made contact with other eNGOs who also put pressure on the Government. Ever since the Hilton project, described by Boissevain and Theuma (1998), eNGOs became the watch-dogs for environmental governance.⁶¹

Indeed, when I first went to interview the users of the area they thought that I was performing a social study for the long-awaited family park, which would replace the closed landfill. One can imagine their surprise when I explained that the project did not envisage that but two recycling plants of which one would recycle all the manure from the farms in the north of Malta and Gozo.

⁶¹ There are several ethnographic and case-study accounts of eNGOs taking a similar stand, with varying degrees of success (see e.g. Abram, 2011; Abram & Waldren, 1998; Burglund, 1998; Milton 1996; Pare et al., 2012).

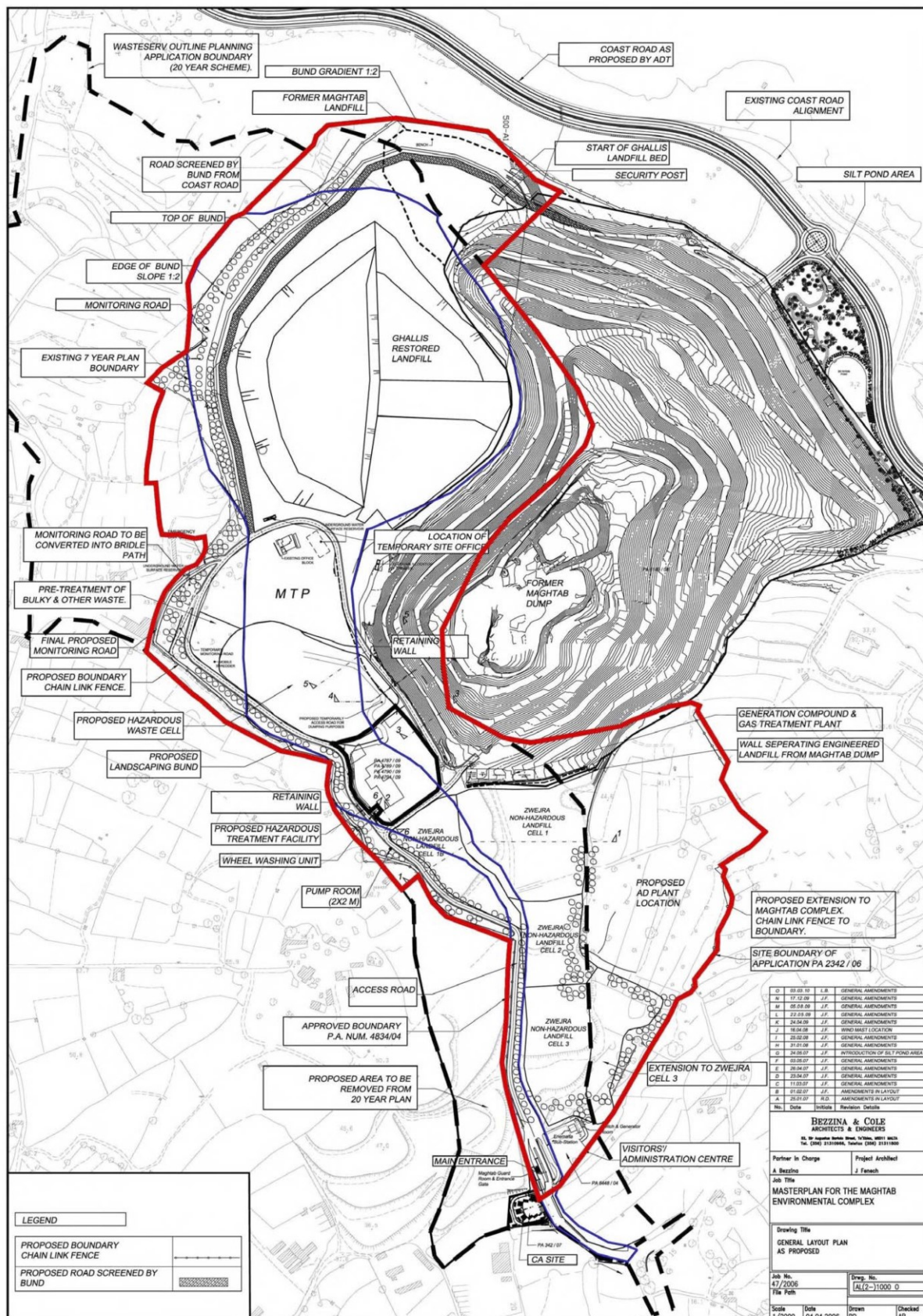


Figure 4.12: Master Plan for the Area as described in the PDS (EIS Update for Master Plan for the Maghtab Environmental Complex Naxxar (GF 00121/06) Version 1: September 2011: 5)

4.3.2 Description of stakeholders for the Magħtab case study

Table 4.4 provides a detailed overview of the various stakeholders and populations that were found within the three localities within the Aol of the Magħtab case study. Individuals may not necessarily be exclusive to one group, which was one of the reasons why social groups were termed sociospheres for the baseline study and SIA. For example, members of the farming community may also belong to the community of the local full-time residents; a respondent may have both his place of residence and his business at the locality, and so forth. The social groups have now been grouped as populations where the common denominator is temporal, i.e. how much time they spend within the Aol. A guiding tool for the initial identification of stakeholders is the land uses map, provided by the EIA consultants, ADI Associates (Figure 4.13).

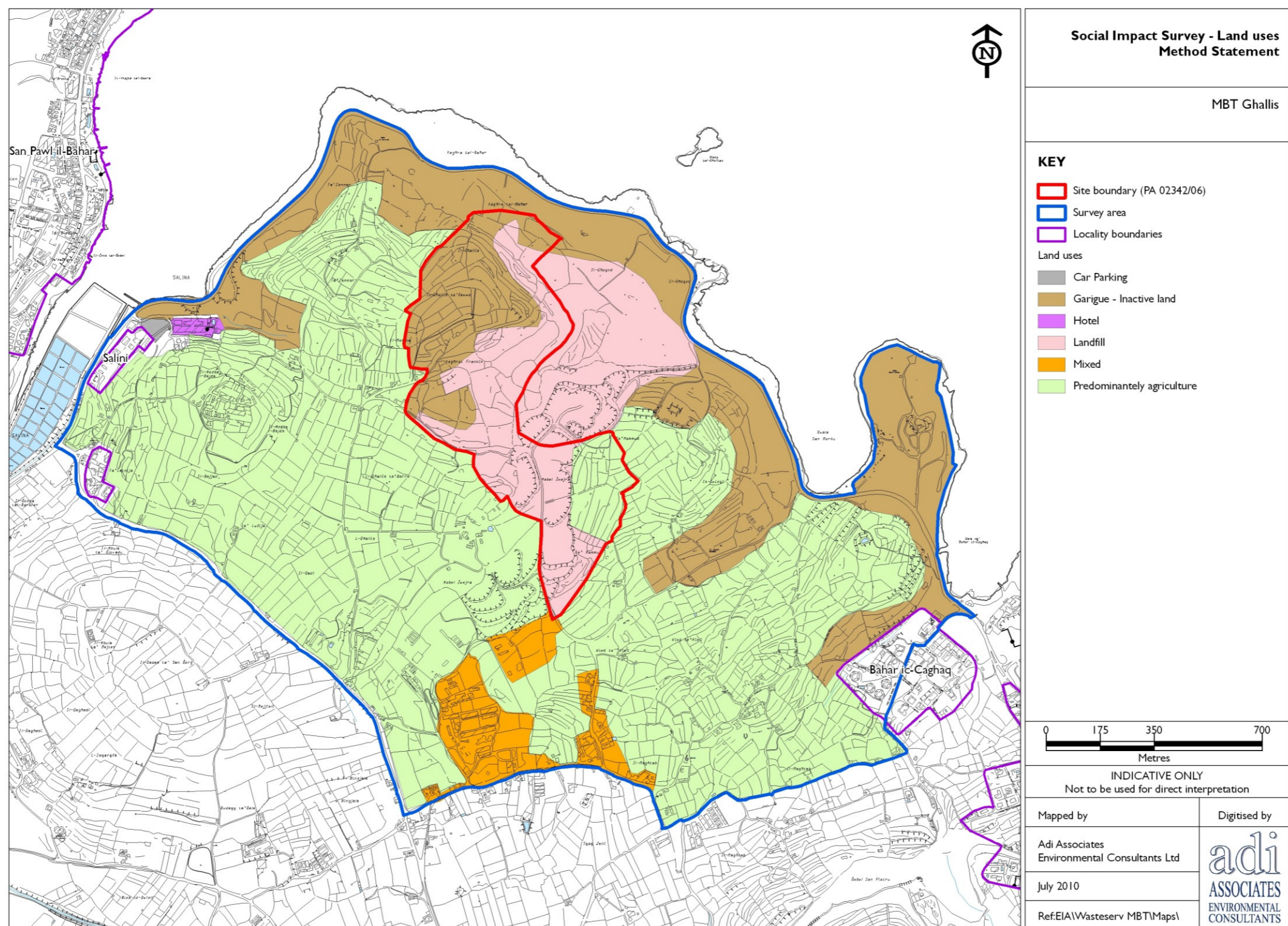


Figure 4.13: Land Use Map within the Social Aol for Magħtab and the surrounding localities, provided by the EIA coordinators, ADI Associates for the Methods Statement

Table 4.4: Description of the Populations constituent stakeholder groups found within the Area of Influence (A of I) of the Magħtab Case Study

Social Group or 'Population'	Stakeholder Groups	LOCALITY		
		Magħtab Hamlet	Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and Salini	Qawra
The Local Population or 'community' ⁶²	Permanent Residents (Permanent residents are people who generally live permanently in a particular area, all year round.) Permanent residents can be further subdivided in long-standing permanent residents, more recently established permanent residents etc., as described under each locality.	Long-standing permanent residents: Can be subdivided into two categories, those who have their roots at Magħtab (the indigenous population) and those who don't. These are considered outsiders, even if they lived at the locality all their lives (see Chapter 5). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> People with their roots at the locality, including their extended families, who usually live close by, sometimes on the same road. Historically these were mostly farmers with fields in the area; Young couples, one of whom was born and raised at Magħtab. These usually were given a plot of land by the extended family to be able to start their own family with less economic burden, though kin ties are also very influential; People who have fields in the area, sometimes for generations but their family was originally from another locality, usually not too far away from the locality (for example, Mosta, Naxxar, Għargħur) and have since come to live closer to their fields; People from other localities who have moved to the area when they got married, decades ago. These types of people were usually attracted by the rural lifestyle and decided to buy or build a house in the area and rent (<i>bil-qbiela</i>) or buy fields in the area. Married couples, one of whom was born at Magħtab, whose family has since moved elsewhere. These usually have fields and / or land belonging to the spouse and therefore opted to move back to the hamlet to build their house there. 	Long-standing permanent residents: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Maltese people owning houses (and in some cases in Salini, farmhouses that belonged to their family and therefore can be considered long-standing residents) and have lived for a substantial number of years at the locality. In Qawra there are also apartment owners who fall in this category. Some of these used to own the house as a summer residence and then moved permanently into the house in later years. The house could have also belonged to their parents, who used to use it as a summer residence when they were young. Some of these permanent residents moved back to the house when their socio-economic circumstance changed (for example, they got separated). They were attracted to the localities for their proximity to the sea, the quiet environment (at the time of buying the property). Those at Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and Salini also wanted to be close to a countryside area and away from the more populated centre of Qawra. This group is formed of mostly educated middle class workers or business entrepreneurs in middle management or higher. Some are also freelance workers in business or other industries. A number were government employees. Most of their children have a university background. As long-standing residents, some are in the fifties and over. The oldest interviewee was in his late eighties. Foreign permanent residents who might have been returning tourists for years and then decided to buy property in Qawra, where they used to rent. In Qawra and Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, there is a predominance of British people who fall in this category. In Salini, there may be the long-standing foreign residents owning property who fall under the above category, but these were not encountered during the fieldwork. On the other hand, foreigners married to Maltese spouses were encountered. Most of these foreigners again, were in their fifties or older. 	

⁶² The term *local communities* is used here not in the traditional sense of the term (for community), but is referring to those users who habitually use the area. These users form part of different sociospheres, sometimes even when placed under the same heading such as permanent residents, since, as will be explained further down in the report, their interactions can be minimal with others falling under the same within the same nomenclature.

Social Group or 'Population'	Stakeholder Groups	LOCALITY		
		Magtab Hamlet	Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and Salini	Qawra
		<p>More recently established permanent residents:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Couples or families from other localities who decided to move to the area, usually attracted by the locale and the possibility of converting a farmhouse. These are usually of a higher socio-economic status and standard of education who can afford to convert the farm. A number of such residents bought the farm with the ancillary buildings and sometimes surrounding fields. This could be considered a countryside villa with a particular architectural style. Foreigners who, like the above, decided to convert or renovate a typical farmhouse. 	<p>More recently established permanent residents:</p> <p>More recent residents, especially in Qawra and Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, but also in Salini, also fall within the above socio-economic grouping. These either own or rent their houses or apartments (especially in Salini). These belong to three different groups:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Young couples of childbearing age, with or without children, both working and with a mixture of tertiary or post-secondary level education. These include professionals and business owners (especially those who own villas at Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq); Couples may also be of mixed nationalities, where one of the partners is Maltese; Single parents, with or without their children; Blue-collar working class, with jobs that vary from drivers, manual labourers, house-cleaners, chambermaids, and runners / dish-washers, and bar-tenders and waiters most of whom work in the restaurants and hotels of the area. Foreigners living in Malta (These range from students and other young tertiary educated workers at Salini to rich businessmen and dignitaries in Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq); <p>○ In Salini the predominant group that make up the more recent permanent residents are young married couples, though interviewees have explained that there is an increasing number of separated couples or individuals who rent indefinitely. Most of the above chose to live in the three localities, especially Salini because the localities promote anonymity and everybody minds his own business.</p>	
	The working community (Business owners, including recreational facilities and their employees, hotel workers, hoteliers)	<p>A mixed variety of businesses, some legitimate and other less so. These constitute:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A number of livestock farms and an increasing number of equestrian facilities. Their employees are usually skilled labourers in most cases, both Maltese and foreign. The more industrial side of the area, including a construction company, a number of construction related small businesses, some working out of garages or other makeshift structures that may have been tool sheds of farms or fields. There also are a number of 'garage industries', using disused fields or farms to place trucks and busses, and car repair shops such as panel beaters, mechanics, sprayers and so forth. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and has one grocery store and two restaurants (that were always closed during fieldwork). At the periphery of the residential area there are a couple of bars and the marine entertainment facility. Salini also has three restaurants. For most amenities, residents of all three localities have to go elsewhere. Salini also has a four star hotel, whose workers mostly live in neighbouring localities, especially Qawra and Buġibba. 	<p>Qawra is a predominantly touristic area and the workers supply the industry for the most part. Many workers, including hotel management live relatively close to their work place. Others, who do not necessarily live in the area, such as management, use the area not only for work but also for leisure, using the hotel's amenities and leisure facilities such as the gym and pool; they also play squash, tennis, football and so forth. This contrasts with the non-management staff, many of whom do not like mixing pleasure with work and therefore go elsewhere during their leisure hours. It is not uncommon, however, that they go to the beach in Qawra.</p>

Social Group or 'Population'	Stakeholder Groups	LOCALITY		
		Magħtab Hamlet	Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and Salini	Qawra
		Magħtab has no amenities such as grocery stores or retail.		
The Transient Population or 'community' (Those users that return regularly for a period of time but are not permanently established at the locality)	Maltese summer residents	During the interview period, no summer residents were encountered at Magħtab and cross-referencing with other interviewees did not yield any data on whether or not there is such a stakeholder group at Magħtab. For the purposes of this research, it is therefore taken that this stakeholder group does not exist at Magħtab.	At Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, Salini and Qawra, summer residents have their principle dwelling elsewhere in Malta and opted to purchase property at the respective localities because it was usually less expensive than other localities, such as Sliema. This is mostly referring to those people who bought their house more than a decade ago since this is not the case any longer, as prices have generally gone up everywhere in Malta, even though this increase is comparative, with prices still being 'cheaper' at the three localities when compared to more up-market localities. It must be noted though that at Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq in particular there are two distinct areas, 'Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq ta' Fuq' (The upper Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq) and Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq t-isfel (the lower Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq). Topographically, these two 'neighbourhoods' are one higher than the other respectively, but the Upper Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq is predominantly composed of villas, some long standing, as described above and some more recently built, or still in construction. All the villa owners (and this includes those situated at lower Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, have a higher income from tertiary-education related jobs and businesses. Interviewees of villa owners in all of Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and areas of Qawra that constitute the A of I for this grouping, bought their property in the area mostly because it was a positive business move at the time when they bought the villa.	
	Foreign summer residents and other regularly returning tourists	While no foreign summer residents or other regularly returning tourists were encountered during the fieldwork period at Magħtab, Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and Salini, interviewees from other data gathered from other sociospheres show that these two groups exist in all three localities. (From data gathered during interviews, it is known that there are also a number of foreigners who do not live permanently at Magħtab, but return every year for a number of months, usually in excess of 6 months of the year. These are therefore part-time (foreign) residents. (These were not in Malta during the fieldwork period.) At Magħtab there are a few foreigners who own farmhouses and return to Malta during the summer months. At Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and Salini, the two groups are more frequent.	Returning tourists fall into two groups; those who always come back to Qawra, and those who come to Malta but do not always follow the same pattern, choosing different localities each time they return. From the data gathered and desk research, most returning tourists are from the British Isles and are OMTs and IMTs (Organised and Independent Mass Tourists). During the summer months there are a number of returning tourists who are what the literature defines as "explorers", actively engaging with the local population and sampling cultural norms and lifestyles. They return to Qawra because they enjoy the variation there is while appreciating the "quaint" surroundings that Qawra still offers, to a certain degree.	
The Visiting Community	First time tourists and domestic tourism	During the interview period, no tourists were interviewed at Magħtab. Interviews with other stakeholder groups though confirmed that tourists walking in the countryside were sometimes encountered.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ A few IMTs were interviewed near Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq. ○ At Salini, those interviewed were in the confines of the hotels and these were British OMTs. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If the fieldwork took place a few weeks later, there would have been a completely different type of tourists—teenagers and young adults from Italy and other parts of mainland Europe in Malta to "learn" English as a foreign language. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ First-time tourists staying at the hotels there were OMTs and IMTs, going either directly through tour operators or by checking out various destinations online or through a travel agent. In some cases, friends who had already been to the island, sometimes as regular returning tourists, recommended Malta (and the hotels they had been to).

Social Group or 'Population'	Stakeholder Groups	LOCALITY		
		Magħtab Hamlet	Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and Salini	Qawra
			This is because the hotel (there is only one hotel at Salini) caters for these two very different OMTs during two different seasons.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> During the summer months there are also a number of domestic 'holiday makers' who go for weekend breaks or for longer periods of time, to remain on the island while getting away from it all and enjoy being pampered. The season for such domestic tourism had not yet started during the fieldwork period⁶³.
	Visitors to local residents	All localities hosts visitors to local residents, family members, lovers and friends who visit both the Maltese residents and the foreign ones (as tourists).		
	Visitors to the locality for leisure	Visitors to the localities for leisure, including sports and recreation activities, including bars and clubs (in the case of Qawra); restaurant goers and social club goers; people going for morning walks in the countryside (especially around Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq) or along the waterfront or the shoreline, regulars to sports facilities (including Magħtab and Qawra) and so forth. These also include nightlife visitors: people using restaurants/ bars and other amenities, where available.		
		At Magħtab there is one particular sports facility that is frequented by many enthusiast of that particular sport. Some go to the facility practically every day, where one could easily categorise them under the 'local' group category. A few people were encountered in fields that were disused by couples on picnics, since the weather was still fresh at the time. These interviewees go regularly to the area during the autumn and spring but not during the summer and winter seasons. No visitors were encountered walking though the fields at Magħtab though a number of residents mentioned that they do have friends over for lunch and a walk in the fields on weekends. Other regular visitors to Magħtab are the horse owners who keep their horses at the various stables around Magħtab. It is reported that the stables at Magħtab keep more than 450 horses between them.	The countryside around Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq offers particularly nice landscapes and a relatively quiet environment for many visitors (not just residents) who go walking every day or during the weekend. Residents who go walking in the morning report that they recognise many people not from the locality when they go walking. The marine entertainment facility has many visitors, both Maltese and foreign, especially during the summer months. The coastline between Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and Salini is used regularly by people who go walking along the coast road and fishing enthusiasts who go fishing to pass the time. During the fieldwork period there were a number of groups who were camping using caravans or tents near Qalet Marku Tower and these came from all over the island.	Qawra is a place of high recreational value; many people use the area during their leisure. The data show that Qawra is predominantly frequented as a recreational space by people from other parts of Malta, rather than by people who actually live in the locality. In the early morning, one finds power walkers, cyclists, and people walking their dogs. During the daytime in summer people go swimming and in the evening there is a whole plethora of activities. This used to be more seasonal, but during the last few years, there has been a steady increase in people going out for walks, eating out at restaurants and having social evenings at the many bars of the area. Sirens football club uses the area for jogging and stretching. During the evenings both Maltese and foreigners go to bars, restaurants and clubs. TEFL students go to particular clubs <i>en masse</i> .
The FARMING POPULATION (Mostly Part-time farmers, though some visit their fields on a daily basis.)		AREAS SURROUNDING MAGĦTAB AND SALINI AREAS WITHIN THE AREA OF I		
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Farmers in the area are predominantly part-time farmers, according to the number of farmers interviewed. Since the harvesting period was at its end, most of these farmers had already vacated their fields. This group can be considered visitors because they visit their fields very irregularly during the year, mainly to till the fields, to plant and later to harvest their crops. These part-timers are mostly, though not exclusively residents of neighbouring localities, such as Naxxar, Mosta, Gharghur and Madliena. A number of part-timers were residents of Magħtab though, as explained above in the local residents section. 		
		No farming found at Qawra so NR.		

⁶³ Data for domestic tourists was taken from previous social studies conducted by the author.

Social Group or 'Population'	Stakeholder Groups	LOCALITY		
		Magħtab Hamlet	Bar i-ċ-ġaġaq and Salini	Qawra
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ There also were a number of full-time farmers, but again, prominence varied from being residents of Magħtab but also from neighbouring villages. The amount of part-timers is larger than that of full-timers. ○ A number of farmers, both part-time and full-time owned their fields but most leased the fields either from other farmers or from the Government. Some have been working the same fields for a lifetime and has been in their family's hands for a number of generations, even if it was leased. ○ Farmers living at Magħtab, even if they are part-timers, have a different relationship with the land than those who live elsewhere. They go to their fields much more regularly, some even daily and consider their fields as an integral part of who they are. 		

The next section provides the background to the upgrade of a major transport trunkline, the Coast Road, seven kilometres that hugged the north-eastern coast of Malta.

To recapitulate, as explained in the introductory paragraph of Section 4.2.3, even though the CRU case study cannot be considered an example of stakeholder participation best practice (in fact, all three case studies would not manage to fulfil the IAIA best practice criteria because of the limitations overviewed in Section 3.3 and detailed in Appendix IV), but for the sake of this thesis, when comparing the stakeholder participation episodes during the CRU SBS to the other two case studies, it yielded more positive outcomes, with a higher amount of stakeholder inclusion (described in detail in Chapter 6). It is only being presented as the 2nd case study here to maintain the original sequence presented in Chapter 1. It is a simple pragmatic choice to avoid overlap in the presentation of the data for the two case studies, since the CRU Aol included most of the Aol of the Magħtab case study. Otherwise, if the case studies were being presented according to how effective or successful the participatory episodes were during the two case studies, the order in which they would have been presented would have been inverted, as indicated by the terms used in the sub-titles (borrowed from Arnstein's and Pretty's typologies) for the CRU and Marsalforn case studies in sections 4.4 and 4.5.

4.4 Case study 2: Coast Road Upgrade - A case of participation by consultation and a degree of collaborative consultation and social learning

4.4.1 Background to the case study

The proposed road upgrade used for this case study is a seven km stretch of road on the north-eastern part of Malta (Figure 4.14). The first part of the road has the coastline, and therefore the sea on one side and agricultural land, the largest landfill of Malta and also one of the most touristic enclaves of Malta as backdrops, while passing on the outskirts of four urban settlements, as already described in Section 4.3.

The upgrade is part of Route 1 of the EU TEN-T (Figure 4.15, p. 194), linking different regions of the EU in order to enable the realisation and development of the EU internal

market; the economic and social cohesion of the EU; economic competitiveness of the EU, and finally, balanced and sustainable development within the EU (MEPA, 2010: 20).



Figure 4.14: The Coast Road upgrade - in red

Besides needing to adhere to the EU objectives of the economic, social, environmental and regional development policies of the EU that Malta, as a member state is expected to attain, TM, the Government Authority for Transport in Malta had a more down-to-earth concern, that of improving the safety of the road, both for commuters and the communities adjacent to it. Indeed, the project manager in charge of the design and management of the road upgrade. Ing. Robert Zerafa⁶⁴, made this point very clear, both at my first meeting to discuss the social study and the methods to be employed,

⁶⁴This is not a pseudonym since as project leader he is recognizable and his name can be found on the public documents concerning the Coast Road Upgrade.

and in every presentation and discussion on the project with stakeholders and the public.

Data to support this objective was readily illustrated on the PowerPoint and provided for the press.⁶⁵ Mass media has enhanced the awareness of risk, though this has made people feel less safe and secure. While this undoubtedly has intensified public scrutiny of social institutions (Fox, 2000: 1; Mythen 2004: 4) and development projects, the same tactic of using mass media is used by developers to win over the endorsement of public opinion for project proposals. In fact, newspaper articles with photos of accidents that had taken place on the road together with pie charts and statistical evidence showing exactly how dangerous the road was in its current state were readily illustrated on these PowerPoints. Using national road injuries statistics, Robert explained that the Salini Coast Road is one of the most dangerous roads in Malta with one of the highest rates of traffic accidents. The road has a number of blind spots and dangerous bends where over speeding and reckless driving compounded with environmental factors such as rain and bad road conditions contribute to drivers losing control of their vehicles, causing accidents, sometimes even fatal ones.

The proposed scheme envisaged upgrading the road, aligning parts of it and on various tracts the road was to be increased to four lanes with a central barrier. A number of roundabouts were also planned to reduce speeding. For one particular area, close to Burmarrad, since a significant area of fields used for agriculture, some government owned and some privately owned, were going to be expropriated for the widening and alignment of the road, two alternatives were designed in the hope of negotiating with the local farming community. Both options would expropriate agricultural land and a number of protected trees would have to be uprooted and relocated. One of the options also meant that the trees found on the centre-strip would also have to be uprooted.

For this reason, during the fieldwork, extra care was made to interview as many farmers as possible from the Burmarrad area, both at their fields and when possible, at their homes. Interviewees at Burmarrad were not limited to farmers. This was because the proposed project also intended to eliminate the existing road network

⁶⁵See for example this article from the Times of Malta, after MEPA made the EIS public:
<http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20120507/local/road-upgrade-plans-seek-to-make-driving-far-safer.418685>

between Bugibba and Salini to unify the Salini Park, which is both a recreational green area and on the other side of the road (Kennedy Drive) has a camping site.

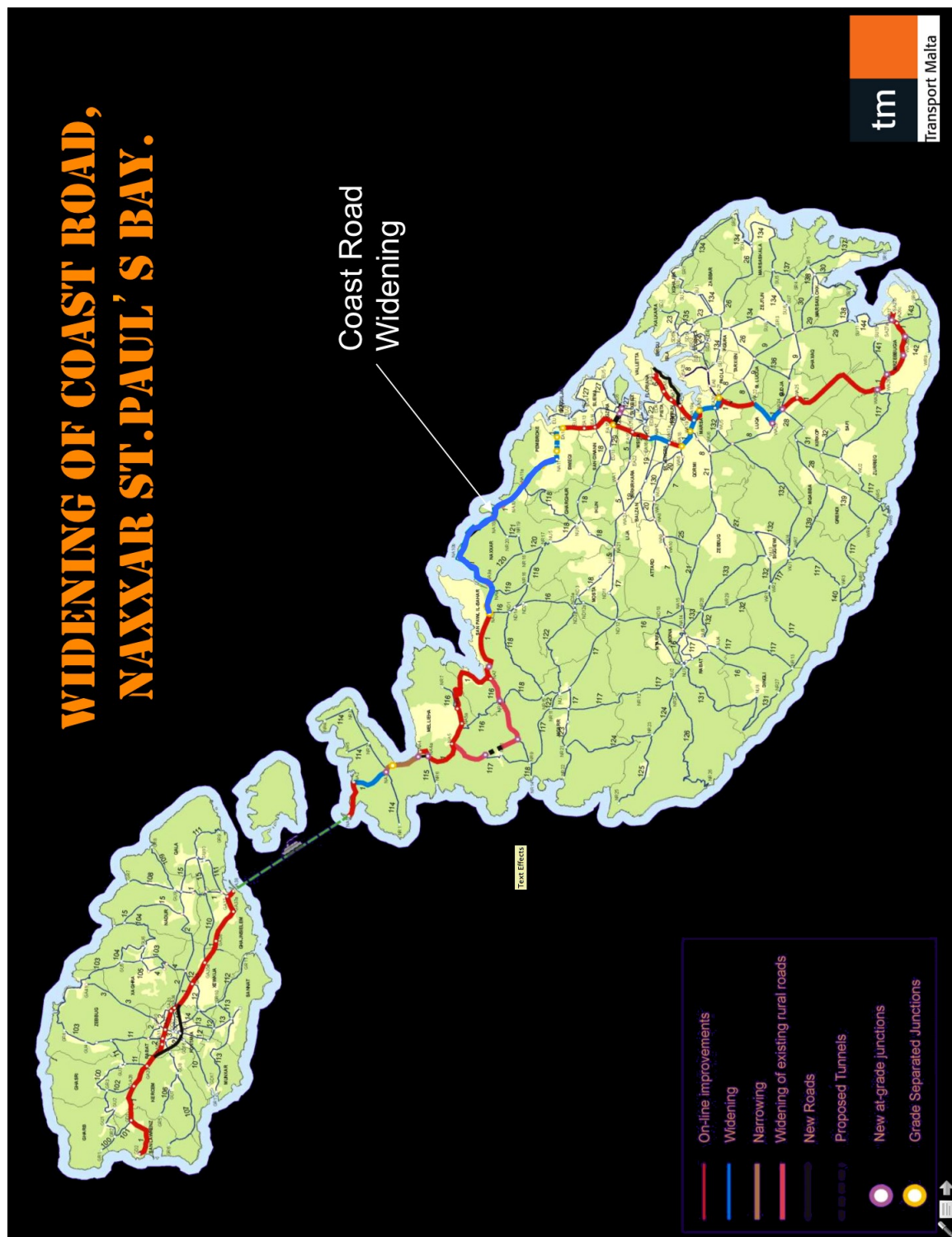


Figure 4.15. Route 1 of the TEN-T, spanning Malta and Gozo. The Coast Road section of the route to be upgraded by the development discussed in this chapter is marked in blue. Source: Transport Malta

This would have meant that first, several fields would be appropriated to establish this link; secondly, the camp site, which is currently on the other side of the road and in a sense, secluded, would now become part of the park (Figures 4.16 and 4.17).

Finally, Kennedy Drive, which is currently lined on both sides of the road by large trees, would be eliminated. This proposal included an elevated road concept, which was later abandoned and Kennedy Drive would be realigned and made into a four-lane road. These changes and how users and other stakeholders perceived them are discussed further in the following sections. Therefore, residents and other social actors / stakeholders were included in the study sample.

As the title of this section suggests, this case study, in terms of stakeholder participation sets it apart from the other two case studies, and even though the Magħtab project and this project are linked geographically, with overlapping localities and therefore stakeholders, with vested interests in both projects, the attitude of the project manager towards stakeholder participation was distinctly different.

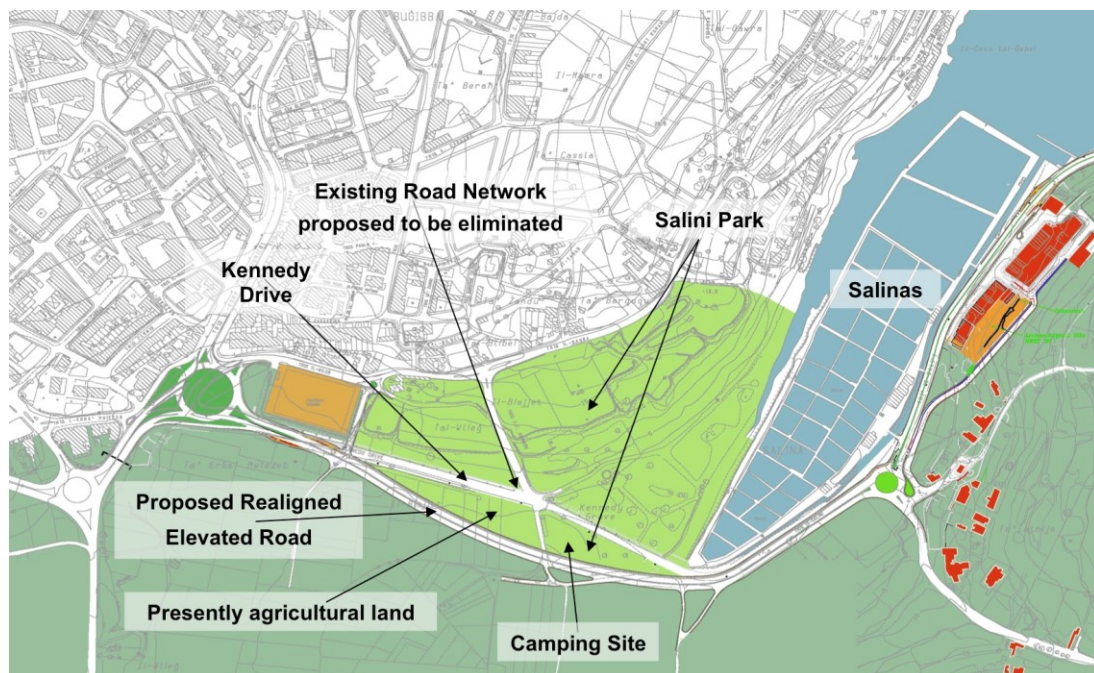


Figure 4.16: The present road network showing Salini Park and Kennedy Drive, together with the proposed realigned road. Notice the agricultural land adjacent to the camping site. Source: Transport Malta

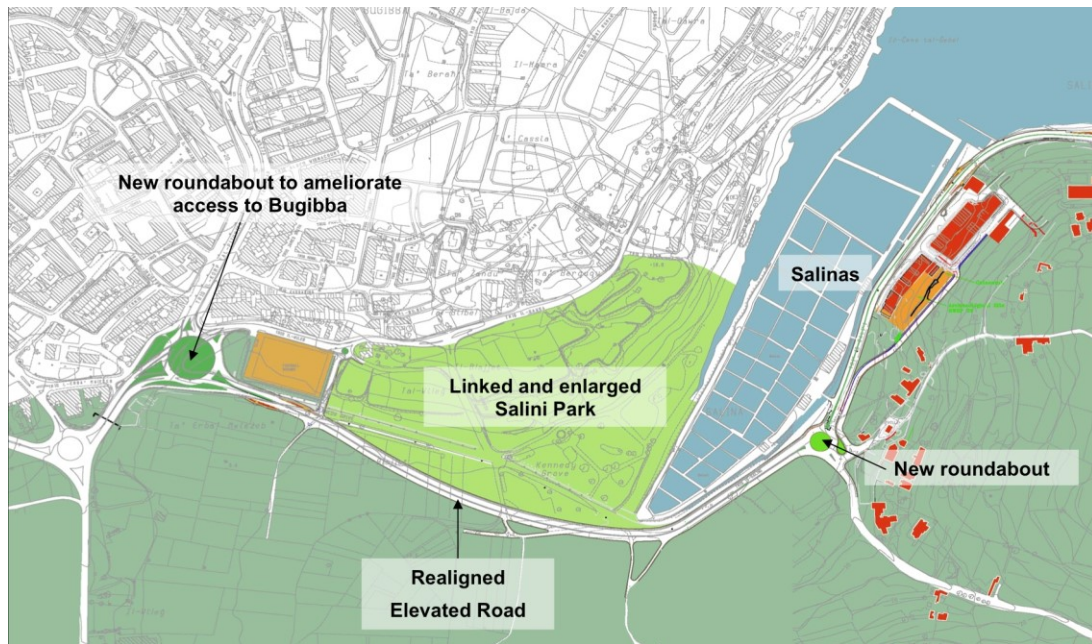


Figure 4.17: The proposed road realignment and the linked Salini Park. Source: Transport Malta

Indeed, the interest that Ing. Robert Zerafa, had in involving, as much as possible the users of the coast road and those who lived or worked close by, came as a complete surprise for me. This was because usually, every time I hint to a developer to officially include the stakeholders in the SIA process, the idea would be taken quite sceptically and they would prefer to rely on the official public consultation process organised by MEPA. When I had my first meeting with Ing. Zerafa, a young, bright architect who, in his own words, had studied abroad (which was one of the reasons he gave for his different approach towards stakeholder participation), he immediately showed that he was very conscious that a road, a public project, had to meet the needs of those who used the road network while improving security and transport mobility. So when I told him that I wanted to conduct stakeholder exercises, without any hesitation, he asked me to let him know what material I needed, any personnel I would need to help out and when they were going to be held so he could come. He also told me that he would run any presentation he would make by me first so that if I cannot understand anything, the assumption would be that neither would the general public, in which case he would revise what he would say.

I have to admit that I was very surprised at this attitude and to be honest, I fell into the same trap as stakeholders usually do — I was initially sceptical of his enthusiasm. As I got to know him and we worked on the project together my reservations very

quickly dissipated. I later found out that as an architectural student he had done a project on one of the rural areas that the Coast Road Upgrade development project would affect, so he had a personal interest in the area and wanted to make sure that the CRU would have minimal impact on the rural community there.

During the 'Information Days' or 'Info-Days' for short, as we called the drop-in sessions, where people could simply go to the selected venue and scrutinise the plans and talk to the CRU designer, his direct subordinate, Robert would make sure to be there for at least part of the day to answer any questions and get in direct contact with the stakeholders. He also attended a number of meetings that I organised with official stakeholders, such as Local Councils.

What was very telling about stakeholder and public involvement in Malta though, which in a way can be corroborated by Conrad's (2011b) study and more generally as described by other ethnographic accounts, case studies and commentators on public participation in specific governance situations (Abram, 2011; Abram and Waldren, 1998; Healey, 2006), stakeholder and public involvement is all about the social relationships that are established and maintained along the process. Reed (2016), for example, recounts his experience on the one of his first stakeholder participation experiences where even though he had hired a professional facilitator, it was the relationships of trust that he had garnered over time, which got everybody involved around the table to make compromises and be willing to listen to each other.

On the same note, I noticed that even though we had publicised the Info-Days in the papers and I personally went and made announcements at the parish churches on weekends at the localities where the Info-Days were to be held, there still was a relatively poor turn-out from the general public and only the stakeholders who were going to be adversely affected by the CRU turned up (such as farmers who were going to lose their fields). The only members of the public pertaining to the group previously termed *Directly affected public*— (after Dewey, 1923) and other users of the A of I who did turn up at some point during the Info-Days were those who I had previously interviewed and had told them that the project leader and / or designer would be there to discuss the project in any detail they wanted.

In conclusion, it is not enough to give citizens the opportunity to have a voice. Their prior experience of such projects and the EIA / decision-making process, together

with their general distrust in MEPA were partly to blame for the poor turnout (Conrad, et al., 2011a; Vella and Borg, 2010, Vella, 2017).

4.4.2 Description of stakeholders for the Coast Road case study

The following section, represented by Table 4.5, provides a description of the stakeholders and users of the Coast Road, the socioscape that encompass the length of the stretch of road that starts at the limits of St Paul's Bay on one end and Swieqi and Pembroke at the end of its 7 km stretch. The following will focus on discussions of four different types of populations: local, transient, visiting and farming.

In the table below, the various users of the area and the various sociospheres are listed below with a brief general description. A more detailed analysis of the social makeup of the sociospheres will be given in Chapter 5.

To recapitulate, a socioscape is a social landscape, a geographic/spatial area that is characterised and/or dominated by the presence of people. A sociosphere is a sphere, or *world*, of social interactions that is characterised by a network of dispersed social interactions that are not rooted to one place. For the sociosphere, wider networks of movement and communication are essential so that people resident in different localities in Malta (or the world) can contact one another and maintain relationships.

It is in this context and understanding of contemporary lifestyles in Malta in relation to the CRU project, which becomes vitally important as a main artery that both allows for, and inhibits, the movement of people that is essential to their sociosphere (rather than village 'community') based lifestyles, making the use of the theoretical framework that socioscaping and sociospheres provide, appropriate.

Further, a person's lifestyle is the living out of their particular sociosphere; thus, for the purposes of this study, the two concepts become interchangeable.

Therefore, what is important when describing the people in this case study is both the relationship they have with their locality (Local, Transient, Visiting, Farming in Table 4.5 below) *and* the centrality of the Coast Road to their lifestyle (Terminus, Central, Secondary Central – see Section 5.3.1, p. 256).

Given the nature of and the time constraints of the fieldwork period for this case study, the interview sample does not include all the users of the various localities, who could potentially also be stakeholders affected by the CRU project (see Section 3.3.1,

p. 134). Therefore, localities such as Burmarrad, for example, only farmers who have fields that might be affected by the proposed Scheme were interviewed and while a number of them are also residents of Burmarrad, these cannot be considered a representative sample of the residents (or local population) of Burmarrad. The same can be said for Swieqi, Madliena and Pembroke. Those interviewed, while not representing the whole locality can, on the other hand can be considered an indicative sample representative of the types of users that fall within the Aol for this case study (see Section 4.2, starting on p. 140, for an overview of the stakeholders for each case study).

Table 4.5: Detailed Description of the Stakeholders, grouped as 'Populations' within the sociospace or social landscape of the A of I of the Coast Road Upgrade Project

Social Group or 'Population'	Sociosphere/s/ Stakeholder group/s	Locality	Description of Stakeholder groups within the Social Group or 'Population' (by locality)
THE LOCAL POPULATION The term <i>local population</i> refers to those Users who live or work full-time in a locality and who expect to continue living full-time and/or working regularly there for the foreseeable future. (Full-time residents who have recently moved in and are planning to move out are considered to be part of the transient population and are discussed further below. There are two broad sub-categories: permanent residents and workers.)	Permanent Residents These are members of the local population that either live full-time in a locality. Equally, permanent residents are those Users who expect to continue living or working regularly in the locality for the foreseeable future. Furthermore, permanent residents can be subdivided into two categories, those who own a car and drive along the Coast Road and those who rely on public transportation or rides from family members as their mode of travel along the Coast Road. The majority of non-drivers were older women who relied either on their husbands or their (grand) sons and (grand) daughters to drive them.	St Paul's Bay	<p>The sensitive receptors (i.e. those stakeholders most likely to be affected by the proposed Coast Road Upgrade) in St Paul's Bay were considered to be those who live in the apartments closest to the St Paul's Bay roundabout and who will also be the closest to the new roundabout proposed at the junction where Triq il-Korp tal-Pijunieri and Kennedy Drive intersect. This area is comprised of a group of government flats and a series of smaller access roads running behind and between the flats that are in a poor state of repair. The loose rock and potholes on these roads have caused substantial damage to residents' cars and comment was made about the potential of new construction on the Coast Road of contributing additional loose road material to the area, and thus making an already unpleasant situation even more dangerous.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Pensioners, usually married couples, in which the husband drives but the wife does not. Many of these residents have been living in the locality for over 30 years and now have adult children living with them in their flats. ii. Young adults living with their parents who chose to stay because it was where they grew up and because they have familial support. iii. Middle-aged couples who are particularly aware of impact that changes to the areas around Salina Bay would have on local ecology. There was particular interest in the effects it would have on bird migration and land productivity. This group also includes a resident who cycles for his main mode of transportation. iv. Foreign pensioners who had retired to Malta were also encountered. They tended not to own cars and to enjoy spending most of their time in the locality and to take public transportation.
		Qawra	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Families with adult children living in the house (where both the husband and children were of working age) were common. All of the people met were Maltese and reported that, rather than being a place filled with foreigners, the area of Qawra closes to the bay and Coast Road was mainly lived in by Maltese families who had been in the area for the past 20-30 years – since the houses were first built. These residents were often commuting along the Coast Road to get to jobs in the south of the island such as in B'Kara, Kalkara, Valletta, etc. ii. Extended families living in different flats within the same block of flats. These families often functioned as if they were living in a single household with tasks such as minding children, grandchildren and pets left to the matriarch/grandmother of the family while the grandfather, children and children's spouses went to work. Often the eldest woman did not drive, but relied on the working (and, thus, also driving) members of the extended family to provide her with transportation when required. Such extended families have often lived in the area for decades; usually the adult children were born and brought up there.

Social Group or 'Population'	Sociosphere/s/ Stakeholder group/s	Locality	Description of Stakeholder groups within the Social Group or 'Population' (by locality)
THE LOCAL POPULATION (Cont.)	Permanent Residents (Cont.)		iii. Small business owners and their employees who were often local to the area, living in either Qawra, St Paul's Bay or Bugibba. Given the low-paid nature of the work, some employees had other part-time jobs that they drove to via the Coast Road.
		<u>Burmarrad</u>	<p>i. Those who were interviewed were mostly farmers (part-time or full-time) who had fields at Burmarrad and also lived at Burmarrad (see relevant section below)</p> <p>ii. There also were a number of full-time residents who were not farmers and had established themselves at the locality more recently. These had previously lived in neighbouring villages.</p> <p>iii. There were also a few interviewees whose parents were originally from Burmarrad and they had decided to buy a house at Burmarrad, not necessarily just to be closer to their families but also because they liked the socio-physical environment of the village.</p>
		<u>Salini</u>	<p>There were two distinct areas of Salina: the original village at the junction between the Coast road and T'Alla u Ommu and the blocks of flats that were built 20-30 years ago directly across the road from the salt pans.</p> <p><u>Salina: original village</u></p> <p>The original village was characterised by older dwellings and recently built, yet vacant, blocks of flats as well as two restaurants catering mainly to summer visitors.</p> <p>Families with young adult children who, in turn, are getting married and beginning to raise a new generation in the village. Many of these people are socially connected to the small businesses in/near the village such as the restaurants and the vegetable stand. For residents whose extended families are also resident in the locality, the health and vitality of such businesses is not just a financial concern but an emotional one as there are strong fictive kin⁶⁶ ties amongst them.</p> <p><u>Salina: blocks of flats</u></p> <p>i. A number of single-parent households in which the families had been living there for a number of years and were well-established. In some cases, there were multiple generations of a family living in different flats within the same block where the family had been living there for decades – since the buildings had been constructed around 30 years ago.</p> <p>ii. There are also a number of single people who live here and say that they chose the locality because of its proximity to the sea.</p> <p>iii. Also a number of two parent households with both young and adult children living there. Families with adult children tended to be long-established (around 20-30 years) in the village, yet, unlike in the original Salina</p>

⁶⁶ People who, while not genetically related, feel themselves to be and act as if they are family.

Social Group or 'Population'	Sociosphere/s/ Stakeholder group/s	Locality	Description of Stakeholder groups within the Social Group or 'Population' (by locality)
THE LOCAL POPULATION (Cont.)	Permanent Residents (Cont.)	<u>Salini (Cont.)</u>	<p>village, did not have any obvious ties to the local businesses preferring instead to drive to the shops and amenities in St Paul's Bay or Qawra.</p> <p>iv. Young couples who were not married but had just moved into their first flat together or had recently moved to the area and had young children. These people tended to be visited by their parents.</p> <p>v. It was also told that there are a great number of summer residents who are resident from May-September. Some of these residents stay in the flats; however, some of them also own garages and in the summer, rather than keeping their cars or boats in the garages, they turn them into living spaces while keeping their cars parked on the streets. During this season many summer residents often have a great deal of visitors as well.</p> <p>vi. There are also a number of people who run their own businesses either partly or wholly from their homes.</p> <p>vii. There are also a number of small families (comprised of husband and wife, or husband, wife and one or two children) who have lived in the flats between 5-10 years. Many of these are Maltese, but there are also a few British residents. There are also a similarly small number of middle-aged returning migrants who are raising their children here.</p>
		<u>Magħtab</u>	<p>At Magħtab, long-standing residents can be described as follows:</p> <p>i. People with their roots at the locality, including their extended families, who usually live close by, sometimes on the same road. Historically these were mostly farmers with fields in the area;</p> <p>ii. Young couples, one of whom was born and raised at Magħtab. These usually were given a plot of land by the extended family to be able to start their own family with less economic burden, though kin ties are also very influential;</p> <p>iii. People who have fields in the area, sometimes for generations but their family was originally from another locality, usually not too far away from the locality (for example, Mosta, Naxxar, Għargħur) and have since come to live closer to their fields;</p> <p>iv. People from other localities who have moved to the area when they got married, decades ago. These types of people were usually attracted by the rural lifestyle and decided to buy or build a house in the area and rent (<i>bil-qbiela</i>) or buy fields in the area.</p> <p>v. Married couples, one of whom was born at Magħtab, whose family has since moved elsewhere. These usually have fields and / or land belonging to the spouse and therefore opted to move back to the hamlet to build their house there.</p> <p>vi. More recently established permanent residents can be described as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Couples or families from other localities who decided to move to the area, usually attracted by the locale and the possibility of converting a farmhouse. These are usually of a higher socio-economic status and standard of education who can afford to convert the farm. A number of such residents bought the farm

Social Group or 'Population'	Sociosphere/s/ Stakeholder group/s	Locality	Description of Stakeholder groups within the Social Group or 'Population' (by locality)
THE LOCAL POPULATION (Cont.)	Permanent Residents (Cont.)	<u>Magħtab (Cont.)</u>	<p>with the ancillary buildings and sometimes surrounding fields. This could be considered a countryside villa with a particular architectural style.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Foreigners who, like the above, decided to convert or renovate a typical farmhouse. ○ From data gathered during interviews, it is known that there are also a number of foreigners who do not live permanently at Magħtab, but return every year for a number of months, usually in excess of 6 months of the year. These are therefore part-time (foreign) residents. These were not in Malta during the fieldwork period.
		<u>Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq</u>	<p>As previously described in the overview of localities, Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq is socio-geographically (in topographically) divided into two, Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq <i>ta' Fuq</i> (Upper) and Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq <i>t'Isfel</i> (Lower), which follows the topography of the area. Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq is found at sea level and is closest to the Magħtab landfill and the coast road.</p> <p><u>Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq: Lower</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Extended families consisting of grandparents, adult children and grandchildren ranging in age from nearly adult to young infants. Many of these extended families were visited by friends during the interviews and many of them had lived in the village for decades, some as long as 60-70 years. ii. Small business owners. iii. Single or separated, middle-aged adults (both men and women) some of whom also lived with their young-adult children. In one instance a resident had bought a property, lived in it briefly, and moved to another village to live in their partner's house. The property was kept furnished and maintained by the owner as the freedom to come and go as well as the security of knowing that they still had their own home. Thus, it can be said that some people in this area straddle the divide between local and transient populations. iv. Summer residents who had owned their property there for decades, it having been passed down from one generation to the next. <p><u>Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq: Upper</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Characterised by families headed by middle-aged couples generally with school-aged or young adult children. Many have chosen the area for its excellent views of the sea and proximity to a main trunk road (i.e. the Coast Road), which makes travel into the urban areas and international transportation hubs easier. These people tended to mention international travel either as a feature of their lives currently, or as a feature that impacted their family structure (i.e. a foreign-born spouse with extended family living outside Malta) or past educational experiences. In short, residents in this region tended to have sociospheres that regularly took

Social Group or 'Population'	Sociosphere/s/ Stakeholder group/s	Locality	Description of Stakeholder groups within the Social Group or 'Population' (by locality)
THE LOCAL POPULATION (Cont.)	Permanent Residents (Cont.)	<u>Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq</u> (Cont.)	<p>them outside of Malta. They also tended to have (had) prestigious, well-paying occupations that frequently required high levels of education.</p> <p>ii. There are extended families that have residences across all of Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq meaning that they frequently take their cars back and forth between Upper and Lower Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq to their parents'/siblings'/children's homes. This is done along the Coast Road as there is no secondary road system linking the two halves of this village. This disconnect also means that any residents from Upper Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq drive along the Coast Road in order to reach amenities such as the ice cream van, Splash and Fun park, etc., which are across the road from Lower Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq. It is uncommon for people from Upper Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq to walk to these amenities due to the perceived danger of the Coast Road.</p> <p>iii. There are also instances of villas in which multi-generational families live. One instance, in particular, involves a family of Gozitans who have lived in Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq for nearly 30 years continue to commute at least once a week to Gozo.</p> <p>iv. In the area of Upper Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq characterised by houses rather than villas around 50% of the homes are owned by part-time residents, both Maltese and foreign. In one instance, a family summer home was recently gifted to the family's daughter and new husband as their first home in which they now live full-time. There are several other young couples and, in addition to the longer-standing residents, most people here seem to work late hours.</p> <p>v. There are a number of single people living in the area of Upper Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq where there are flats. They are a mix of working people and widowed pensioners.</p>
		<u>High Ridge</u>	<p>i. Similar demographics to Upper Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq</p> <p>ii. Young couples who work in challenging and well-paid jobs and have young children. They come from wealthy families and the ones who were interviewed all work in the family enterprise where the father is the founder and initiator of the successful business.</p>
		<u>Madliena</u>	<p>i. Multi-generational families can be found here. Some are Maltese, but others are comprised of foreigners who have been living in Malta for a number of years. Their education levels tend to be high with correspondingly challenging and financially lucrative careers.</p> <p>ii. Additionally, there is an instance in which one person rents a flat there as a business office while their primary residence is elsewhere on the island.</p>
		<u>Pembroke (St Patrick Government housing)</u>	<p>i. Mainly government housing in which the families living there were of lower socio-economic status and had been there for the past (approximately) 25 years, since the locality first opened as a residential area for Maltese people (after having been built and used by the British Army as married quarters for their troops/the so called Barracks). The majority of people encountered here lived as multi-generational families with pensioner parents (who had been the original tenants), adult children and now grandchildren. As the houses/flats are large, sometimes comprised of extended families of up to 10 people. The locality is</p>

Social Group or 'Population'	Sociosphere/s/ Stakeholder groups	Locality	Description of Stakeholder groups within the Social Group or 'Population' (by locality)
THE LOCAL POPULATION (Cont.)	Permanent Residents (Cont.)	-- As previously explained in the Overview of Localities	<p>considered to be pleasant and quiet, yet residents pointed out that they were 'so near yet so far' from amenities meaning that while the area seemed central it was necessary to use the car in order to reach shops (even for staples such as bread and milk), the school bus stop and other essential amenities. Thus, the Coast Road was used by people several time a day – up to an average of 5 times a day.</p> <p>ii. A few elderly widows (age 80+) also lived in the area, some alone, some with only a single adult child.</p> <p>iii. Many people in this area mentioned that they socialise mainly with members of their family rather than neighbours. It was also very common to find housewives who did not drive, but husbands and adult children who did.</p> <p>iv. There was also found a small-business owner who runs his company from home.</p>
		<u>Swieqi</u>	<p>i. There are a number of British residents (both pensioners and young adults) who have been living here for an extended period of time – up to 20 years.</p> <p>ii. There are a number of Maltese families with parents/children of various ages. Of those with adult children, they tend to have moved out of the house.</p>
	Workers Workers are members of the local population that have their main place of work in a locality within the A of I. Some of this work is legitimate, some is less so. For the purposes of this study such workers include: business owners, hoteliers and their employees, bar/cafe managers and their employees, other managers and employees of small businesses as well as professional delivery drivers/couriers. Farmers who work the fields are considered under their own category, discussed in the relevant section below.	<u>St Paul's Bay</u>	<p>i. Employees working at local businesses who were in their 30s and 40s and commute daily to the locality. In one business all employees commuted from Mellieħa to work in St Paul's Bay area and rather than socialising in the area after work or on the weekends, returned home and used the amenities in the north. These people did not know much about the locality, nor were they interested.</p> <p>ii. Small business owners some of who rely on the Coast Road either to get goods or customers to their place of business. However, there was one business which imported their stock themselves (likely delivered by post) and, thus, did not perceive themselves as relying on the Coast Road directly.</p> <p>iii. Employees of petrol stations whose unconventional work hours mean that they are not travelling during rush hour, and thus have no problems with the Coast Road.</p>
		<u>Qawra</u>	<p>i. Middle-aged workmen in the area who commute daily from various parts of the island to their full-time jobs.</p> <p>ii. Several other small business owners or employees tended to live in the same locality.</p> <p>iii. Qawra is a predominantly touristic area and the workers supply the industry for the most part. Many workers, including hotel management live relatively close to their work place. Others, who do not necessarily live in the area, such as management, use the area not only for work but also for leisure, using the hotel's amenities and leisure facilities such as the gym and pool; they also play squash, tennis, football and so forth. This contrasts with the non-management staff, many of whom do not like mixing pleasure with work and therefore go elsewhere during their leisure hours. It is not uncommon, however, that they go to the beach in Qawra.</p>

Social Group or 'Population'	Sociosphere/s/ Stakeholder groups	Locality	Description of Stakeholder groups within the Social Group or 'Population' (by locality)
THE LOCAL POPULATION (Cont.)	Workers (Cont.) <p>It is important to note that in this study many people were encountered in the A of I who work as drivers for a living and thus frequent the locality, the Coast Road or both. Even though such workers could be categorised as 'transient' as they do not have a single place or building in which they work, they have been included as members of the local population due to their often extreme familiarity with the localities along and the driving conditions of the Coast Road itself.</p>	<u>Salina and Burmarrad</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Delivery drivers who were bringing catering supplies to the restaurants in the original village (for Salina) and to bars and other businesses at Burmarrad. ii. A number of SMEs (small to medium business enterprises). iii. There were also a small number of self-employed residents who worked from their homes via Internet based businesses.
		<u>Magħtab</u>	At Magħtab there is a mixed variety of businesses, some legitimate and other less so. As described above, there are a number of livestock farms and an increasing number of equestrian facilities. Their employees are usually skilled labourers in most cases, both Maltese and foreign. Then there are the more industrial side of the area, including a construction company, a number of construction related small businesses, some working out of garages, or other makeshift structures that may have been tool sheds of farms or fields. There also are a number of garage industries, using disused fields or farms to place trucks and busses, and car repair shops such as panel beaters, mechanics, sprayers, and so forth. Magħtab has no amenities such as grocery stores or retail.
		<u>Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Small business owners across the Coast Road from Lower Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq were interviewed and in many cases their business was run by an entire network of extended family – owned by a middle-aged parent and employing adult children and their spouses. Grandchildren were also seen to be helping in unofficial capacities. Additionally, the owners tended not to live locally. ii. Splash and Fun employees tend to come from disparate parts of the island to work at the park. iii. Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq has one grocery store and two restaurants. At the periphery of the residential area there are a couple of bars and the marine entertainment facility. Salina also has three restaurants. For most amenities, residents of all three localities have to go elsewhere. Salina also has a four star hotel, whose workers mostly live in neighbouring localities, especially Qawra and Buġibba. iv. There were a number of residents who made extra income by hosting foreign students in Malta to learn English.
		<u>Madliena</u>	The interviewed sample consisted mainly of residents working in the gaming industries; as international civil servants; business owners, all of whom worked elsewhere. Being a purely residential area there are not many shops close to the houses. People walk down to Swieqi for the basic shopping or drive to bigger supermarkets outside the area.
		<u>Pembroke</u>	The interview sample within the A of I consisted of teachers, bus / minibus drivers and others who worked in different capacities at schools.
		<u>Swieqi</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. There are a number of small businesses in the area as well as people who work from home. They tend to be middle-aged adults with children who are young adults. These businesses tend to cater for the local population, though they do also attract some tourists and students as well. Many of the owners do not live in Swieqi, but commute from other areas of the island. Additionally, the owners' children do not tend to have

Social Group or 'Population'	Sociosphere/s/ Stakeholder group/s	Locality	Description of Stakeholder groups within the Social Group or 'Population' (by locality)
THE LOCAL POPULATION (Cont.)	Workers (Cont.)	<u>Swieqi (Cont.)</u>	gone into the family business, but can be found studying at university and embarking on distinct careers of their own. ii. As with Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, a number of residents hosted foreign students.
THE TRANSIENT POPULATION The term <i>transient population</i> refers to those users of the coast road who are only passing through the area briefly, but return regularly. These may include tourists on holiday, part-time residents who only frequent a locality seasonally or full-time residents who have only recently moved to a locality and plan to be moving away again shortly.	Maltese Summer Residents	<u>Qawra, Salina and Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq</u>	At Qawra, Salina and Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, Maltese summer residents have their principle dwelling elsewhere in Malta and opted to purchase property in the area because it was usually less expensive than other places, such as Sliema. This is mostly referring to those people who bought the house more than a decade ago since this is not the case any longer, as prices have generally gone up everywhere. Villa owners, on the other hand, (in Qawra and Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq), have a higher income from educated jobs and businesses, and the villa was bought in the area mostly because it was a positive business move at the time when they bought the villa.
	Foreign Transient Residents and other regularly returning tourists	<u>St. Paul's Bay (including Qawra)</u>	i. At St. Paul's Bay (including Qawra), the interview sample also included young professional couples working in Malta for part of the year and returning to their home country for the remainder of the year. ii. There also were a number of British families consisting of now retired couples and occasionally their children, who are now adults with their own families or have since moved out of their family's residence back in the UK. The importance of this is that in previous years, all the family used to come to Malta on holiday for several months during the summer and as the children grew up, only the parents and younger children would return to Malta. Some had bought a house or flat at the localities while other rented the same flat year in year out. Many of these families have been returning to Malta for the past 30 years and have integrated into the sociosphere of local, full-time Maltese residents and had an extended network Maltese friends who were considered to be family and vice versa. This group of fictive kin tended to be of higher socio-economic status and educational levels. iii. It has to be noted that conversations with the above group has indicated that there has been a decline in the number of long-stay returning 'tourists' from the British Isles and part of the reason for this decline is the fact that they have seen an increase in development, a decline in what they considered the localities in what they referred to as 'quaint' and the increase in traffic in and around the localities and in Malta in general (this is further discussed in the Results Chapter on Values and Lifestyles) ⁶⁷ . iv. There also were a number of young adult European tourists, a number of whom were half-Maltese, coming to the locality not only for a holiday but also to visit relatives who were living in a variety of locations around the island. v. While older tourists did not tend to hire cars, the younger ones did and as such they expressed enjoyment about the scenic views of the Coast Road. They were also quicker than the older tourists to recognize the safety issues that might be affecting drivers on the Coast Road; thus, they were less reticent to change.
		<u>Salini</u>	i. As already mentioned earlier, together with St. Paul's Bay, at <u>Salini</u> the interview sample also included young adult couples from European countries (predominantly from the UK in this sample ²⁸) living in rented flats who arrived within the last year and plan to leave again in the near future. Most chose Malta as a stopover point on their travels as a place with a nice climate.

⁶⁷ This data should also be compared to the analysis made by the same author together with Dr. Falzon in the SIA baseline study for PA 04591/00.

Social Group or 'Population'	Sociosphere/s/ Stakeholder groups	Locality	Description of Stakeholder groups within the Social Group or 'Population' (by locality)
THE TRANSIENT POPULATION	Foreign Transient Residents and other regularly returning tourists	<u>Salini (Cont.)</u>	ii. The transient population also includes British tourists staying at various hotels and time-shares in the villages around Salina Bay (including the Coast Line hotel, St Paul's Bay and Qawra). All of them were pensioners and many of them were met while walking along the Coast Road as this was a particular amenity that they enjoyed. The demographic encountered is clearly an artefact of the season in which fieldwork was conducted as during the summer season a wider age range and diversity of tourist nationalities will be found. Some of these tourists had friends who had retired to Malta and were now living there full-time.
		<u>Magħtab</u>	i. At Magħtab, nobody from this group was interviewed though a number of full-time residents mentioned that there were a number of foreigners living during a part of the year at the locality, where they had bought a converted farmhouse ⁶⁸ . ii. At localities such as Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, St. Paul's Bay (including Qawra ⁶⁹), a number of language students can be found living here either in rented flats on their own, sharing with other young adults or as paying houseguests with families (Maltese full-time residents) from the locality.
		<u>Madliena</u>	At Madliena it was noted that a number of visitors were passing by mainly to pay a visit to their relatives or to friends who live in the area. The impression of the researcher is that not many people pass by the area unless they are residents or family, friends and visitors to residents.
	Drivers and cyclists along the Coast Road	<u>Throughout Coast Road – No individual Locality but pertinent to all localities.</u>	Another important group of the transient population is the <u>drivers</u> that actually travel along the Coast Road not for work or because they are residents of one of the localities within the A of I). These include the following: i. University students who drive along the road, usually with friends, to go to the beaches and parks at the north of the island as well as to the Gozo ferry. They usually travel along the road on summer evenings and weekends. Additionally, they may use the road to visit friends who live in the north of the island, such as in Mellieħa. Young women do not tend to use the road at night, while young men do. ii. Young adults with fast cars (previously called young adult racers) were mentioned by many informants as users of the coast road, including one informant who gave first-hand information about her young, male friends who enjoyed racing along the road late at night. These users would look forward to a wider road with an improved surface, as it would allow them to enjoy their racing more. iii. Motorcyclists, especially on Sunday mornings and public holidays. Many converge onto the Coast Road from other parts of the island to go up to Mellieħa as a group. While such groups do not usually drive fast and would actually drive at a leisurely pace (and therefore do not constitute a risk to other drivers), tend to occupy both lanes of the road and do not allow other drivers to overtake them. Apart from such groups, there are other motorcyclists, who usually own fast road bikes (and young adult racers in fast cars) who do race among each other, especially during the weekends and at night and these

⁶⁸ See also relevant sections from the Magħtab Social Baseline study PA 02342/06 (GF 00121/06), here discussed in Table 4.4 (p. 186) and in Chapters 5.

⁶⁹ From data collected during the baseline study for PA 04591/00 (Vella and Falzon, 2005), this trend seems to be on the increase at Qawra since from the interview sample for that study in 2005, while English students visited the locality for recreation in the evenings (organized by their schools), there is little indication that Maltese full-time residents hosted such students.

Social Group or 'Population'	Sociosphere/s/ Stakeholder groups	Locality	Description of Stakeholder groups within the Social Group or 'Population' (by locality)
THE TRANSIENT POPULATION (Cont.)	Drivers and cyclists along the Coast Road	<u>Throughout Coast Road – No individual Locality but pertinent to all localities.</u> (Cont.)	tend to weave through the traffic, posing a threat to other drivers. A number of serious and fatal accidents have been reported and in a number of cases witnessed by interviewees, along the Coast Road. iv. Finally, the Coast Road is quite popular for cyclists who use the Coast Road for training and also to enjoy the views while they train. These can be seen either solo or in groups, on both sides of the road (either going uphill or downhill).
THE VISITING POPULATION Visitors to the localities for leisure, including sports and recreation activities, including bars and clubs (in the case of Qawra); restaurant goers and social club goers; people going for morning walks in the countryside (especially around Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq) or along the waterfront or the shoreline, regulars to sports facilities (including Magħtab and Qawra) and so forth. These also include nightlife visitors: people using restaurants/bars and other amenities, where available. The visiting population also includes tourists, both domestic and foreign.	First time tourists and domestic tourism	<u>Predominantly Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, Salini and Qawra</u>	i. While no tourists were encountered at Magħtab, a few IMTs were interviewed near Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq. At Salini, those interviewed were in the confines of the hotel. In the winter season these are British OMT pensioners (and occasionally some other member of their family, such as sons, daughters or nephews and nieces, themselves usually adults over 40 years of age. During the summer they are a completely different type of tourists—teenagers and young adults from Italy and other parts of mainland Europe in Malta to “learn” English as a foreign language. This is because the hotel caters for these two very different OMTs during the two seasons. ii. At Qawra, first-time tourists staying at the hotels there were OMTs and IMTs, going either directly through tour operators or by checking out various destinations online or through a travel agent. In some cases, friends who had already been to the island, sometimes as regular returning tourists, recommended Malta. During the summer months there are also a number of domestic ‘holiday makers’ who go for weekend breaks or for longer periods of time, to remain on the island while getting away from it all and enjoy being pampered.
	Visitors to local residents	<u>All Localities</u>	i. All localities host visitors to local residents, family members, lovers and friends who visit both the Maltese residents and the foreign ones (as tourists). ii. <u>At Mdina</u> not many visitors were noticed during the fieldwork. The impression is that the area is very residential and there are not venues that attract people in terms of bars, restaurants or other amenities. The time of the day when the fieldwork was conducted was mainly a time of full time residents returning home from work.
	Visitors to the localities for Leisure	<u>St Paul's Bay (including Qawra)</u>	i. The parks (including Kennedy Grove) and bars in the area are frequented by people from all over Malta. One such business in particular hosts children's birthday parties – about 3-4 of them a week – which draw children, parents and/or grandparents from all regions of the island normally in the late afternoon and early evenings. ii. Qawra is a place of high recreational value; many people use the area during their leisure. The data show that Qawra is predominantly frequented as a recreational space by people from other parts of Malta, rather than by people who actually live in the locality. In the early morning, one finds power walkers, cyclists, and people walking their dogs. During the daytime in summer people go swimming and in the evening there is a whole plethora of activities. This used to be more seasonal, but during the last few years, there has been a steady increase in people going out for walks, eating out at restaurants and having social evenings at the many bars of the area. Sirens football club uses the area for jogging and stretching. During the evenings both Maltese and foreigners go to bars, restaurants and clubs. TEFL students go to particular clubs <i>en masse</i> .

Social Group or 'Population'	Sociosphere/s/ Stakeholder group/s	Locality	Description of Stakeholder groups within the Social Group or 'Population' (by locality)
THE VISITING POPULATION (Cont.)	Visitors to the localities for Leisure (Cont.)	<u>Magħtab</u>	At Magħtab there is one particular sports facility that is frequented by many enthusiasts of that particular sport. Some go to the facility practically every day, where one could easily categorise them under the 'local' group category. A few people were encountered in fields that were disused by couples on picnics, since the weather was still fresh at the time. These interviewees go regularly to the area during the autumn and spring but not during the summer and winter seasons. No visitors were encountered walking through the fields at Magħtab though a number of residents mentioned that they do have friends over for lunch and a walk in the fields on weekends. Other regular visitors to Magħtab are the horse owners who keep their horses at the various stables around Magħtab. It is reported that the stables at Magħtab keep more than 450 horses between them.
		<u>Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. The Franciscan Retreat Centre is a draw for people from across the island that come for contemplation, short stays and evening/weekend workshops. Frequently, these visitors are of higher socio-economic and education levels than the general population. They also tend to be middle-aged. ii. The countryside around Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq offers particularly nice landscapes and a relatively quiet environment for many visitors (not just residents) who go walking every day or during the weekend. Residents who go walking in the morning report that they recognise many people not from the locality when they go walking. The marine entertainment facility has many visitors, both Maltese and foreign, especially during the summer months. The coastline between Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and Salina is used regularly by people who go walking along the coast road and fishing enthusiasts who go fishing to pass the time. During the fieldwork period there were a number of groups who were camping using caravans or tents near Qalet Marku Tower and these came from all over the island.
		<u>Madliena</u>	Some people were walking for fitness but most likely these were residents just going out for an evening walk.
		<u>Pembroke</u>	The tennis club in the locality draws older middle-aged people, usually of a higher socio-economic status.
		<u>Swieqi</u>	At Swieqi, the BMX/jump bicycle park draws young people from as far afield as Mellieħa. Some of them cycle along the Coast Road to get to it.
THE FARMING POPULATION	Full-Time and Part-Time Farmers	<u>Magħtab and Salini</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Farmers at Magħtab and Salini are predominantly part-time farmers, according to the number of farmers interviewed. This group of people could be considered visitors because they visit their fields very irregularly during the year, mainly to till the fields, to plant and later to harvest their crops. These part-timers are mostly, though not exclusively residents of neighbouring localities, such as Naxxar, Mosta, Għargħur and Madliena. A number of part-timers were residents of Magħtab though (as explained above in the local residents section). There also were a number of full-time farmers, but again, prominence varied from being residents of Magħtab but also from neighbouring villages. The amount of part-timers is larger than that of full-timers in these two areas. ii. A number of farmers, both part-time and full-time owned their fields but more leased the fields either from other farmers or from the Government. Some have been working the same fields for a lifetime and has been in their family's hands for a number of generations, even if it was leased. Farmers living at Magħtab, even if they are part-timers, have a different relationship with the land than those who live elsewhere. They go to

Social Group or 'Population'	Sociosphere/s/ Stakeholder groups	Locality	Description of Stakeholder groups within the Social Group or 'Population' (by locality)
THE FARMING POPULATION (Cont.)	Full-Time and Part-Time Farmers (Cont.)	<u>Maghtab and Salini</u> (Cont.)	their fields much more regularly, some even daily and consider their fields as an integral part of how they perceive themselves in the context of their identity.
		<u>Burmarrad</u>	<p>iii. At Burmarrad, on the other hand, most of the farmers interviewed lived at the locality. The locality is, in fact, considered predominantly rural, even though land use is mixed, with residential and businesses also sharing the landscape. Historically though, the area has mostly been rural with a few farms surrounded by farmland. In time, more farmers moved from surrounding villages (as mentioned in previous sections) closer to their fields and the hamlet grew in population.</p> <p>iv. Many of the farmers today work fields that their forefathers had farmed for a number of generations, at least up to four generations, from those interviewed. As the family grew, , the lots of land were passed down from one generation to the next and distributed among the siblings. As farming activities became less remunerative and many started finding alternative employment to supplement their income, many full-time farmers became part-timers and usually one member of the family worked all the fields as a full-timer.</p>

4.5 Case Study 3: The Marsalforn Breakwater - A case of movement from passive participation and conflict to participation by consultation and a degree of social learning

4.5.1 Background to the case study

This case study was a very interesting one, albeit a frustrating one, for nearly all parties concerned. Even though it was quite challenging from a logistic and temporal perspective because there were long months of inactivity with a flurry of 18-hour working days during the fieldwork, since it took place on the island of Gozo on a tight budget, the fieldwork process was a rewarding one. This is because there was a case of social learning from the developer's part, at least during the fieldwork period. Unfortunately, this move forward did not follow through the whole planning 'episode' because after the project was amended, based in part on the feedback given by the stakeholders during the first two stakeholder consultations, a year apart from each other, I was informed that there had been a third public consultation, which the EIA team was not invited to attend⁷⁰. The project though amended at least twice, the EIA studies still to be submitted to the Maltese Planning Authority and as of the finalisation of this thesis (November 2017) the project is still on hold. In the meantime, the Marsalforn waterfront continues to be devastated by sea swells every time there is bad weather (See Figures. 4.18- 4.20, overleaf)⁷¹.

Similar to the Magħtab case study, these very long time periods give an indication of the kind of temporality that urban planning and those affected by proposed projects are continuously subjected to, which depends on many factors, not just bureaucracy, not dissimilar to environmental management and protection, legislative change and social change. These issues will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

⁷⁰ This 3rd consultation took place after I had concluded the fieldwork for the PhD but as a consultant on the EIA, I would have otherwise been involved. The EIA team was offered no official reason to why they were not invited.

⁷¹ See photos and a video taken in 2017, posted on the Times of Malta's website: <http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20170310/local/watch-the-violent-waves-which-lashed-gozo.641974>; and photos of the damage done by the weather in 2010, Annex III of the revised PDS, downloaded from the MEPA website, included in Appendix III of this thesis).



Figure 4.18: Photo of the Marsalforn promenade being battered by the waves in 2012. (Source: David Carrington, Times of Malta, <http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20121101/letters/Marsalforn-at-risk.443522>)



Figure 4.19: Photo showing a wave battering onto the promenade and the restaurants. Photo taken during fieldwork, December 2011.



Figure 4.20: The sea swell at the bay, the morning after the storm. Photo taken during fieldwork, December 2011.

As the photos included in the PDS and the photos above, taken during fieldwork attest, stakeholders such as business owners, who suffer economic loss, damage to their properties and businesses on a yearly basis, do not understand or accept the lengths of time from plans to action. They feel even more aggravated when their experience of previous attempts at upgrading the coastal defences of the bay did not improve the situation and their businesses kept on being damaged by bad weather.

The developer's first attempt at a stakeholder participation exercise could be described as a 'passive' (as per Pretty's typology) or nominal/legitimizing one (after White's typologies (1996: 7-9)). They took up my suggestion of including a stakeholder / public meeting in the methodology of the SBS but they took complete control over the organisation of it and the way it was structured. The meeting ended up being a very technical Power-Point presentation by the architect, who incidentally had been the same architect who had previously upgraded the promenade in an attempt at improving the coastal defences of the bay. During the technical presentation, the architect informed the stakeholders present that this was what had been decided and that their views were not important because they are not technical or even

knowledgeable. This incensed the audience and similarly to Boissevain's account on the Hilton project (Boissevain and Theuma, 1998), insults were thrown at the project architect who responded in kind. Even though there was also an overwhelming presence from the Ministry for Gozo, the developer, this did not stop the stakeholders, especially those with economic stakes in the project's success, from telling them exactly what they thought of the proposed underwater breakwater, regardless of what the mathematical projections being presented said.

After the EIA findings were scrutinised internally (by the Ministry of Gozo), including those found in the SBS, which included the local knowledge of the users of the Marsalforn bay, new plans were drawn up, which are reflected in the updated PDS (see Appendix III). This time, instead of relying just on computer-generated projections, a scaled model that simulated the wave and wind patterns at the bay was commissioned in France and a second stakeholder exercise was commissioned.

This time, as the SIA consultant, I was given organisational control over how the stakeholder / public meeting would be conducted. The French experts who built the model and extrapolated all the results were invited to fly down to Malta and give a presentation that included videos of the model in action and what the results meant. Even though they had the mathematical extrapolations at hand, they explained everything in simple English and whoever needed a translation into Maltese was provided with one. Probably the fact that the French consultants were not expert speakers of English helped keep their presentation simple and therefore understood by all the stakeholders. The EIA coordinator also gave a presentation with a lot of clear visual representations of how the project had changed and why, stressing that their local knowledge and views / perceptions that were collected by me, as the SIA consultant, were instrumental for the change in plans.

Though the structure of the meeting could be described as a 'participation by consultation' (Pretty, 1995), where the participants were largely consulted by being asked questions on the one hand, and being allowed to ask questions on the other, the meeting progressed into a debate between some of the interested parties and the experts, especially the foreign ones, all over the plans and discussing alternatives civilly (Figure 4.21).



Figure 4.21: Stakeholders and one of the French consultants discussing the presentation that he had just made, during the 2nd stakeholder meeting in December 2012

While it seemed like the meeting had broken down and become unstructured, this was a great leap from the first stakeholder meeting that was held. It does not mean that the most vulnerable groups were equitably represented, as will be discussed in Chapter 6.

What I mean here by ‘social learning’ is that the developers learnt from previous experience and from the local knowledge reported within the SBS that was held nearly a year earlier and made a decision to revise the plans and consult the stakeholders further.

For a better background to this case study and to why this project was considered vital for the well-being of Marsalforn, and not just for stakeholders who had an obvious economic stake, the following sub-section will provide an overview of the social landscape of the locality of Marsalforn.

4.5.2 Description of stakeholders for Marsalforn case study

As illustrated in Table 4.6 (overleaf), many of the users of Marsalforn fell under more than one stakeholder categories or groups, such that an individual is not necessarily just a local resident, but could also be a business entrepreneur or owner; a summer resident may also regularly visit the locality during the rest of the year for leisure purposes or to meet friends or family; and so forth. This does not mean that all the Gozitan summer residents that were interviewed regularly returned to the locality.

While the number of interviewees add up to 95, the addition of the final column in Table 4.6 adds up to 211. This column therefore represents the above overlap of individuals within the stakeholder groups identified at Marsalforn⁷².

This overwhelming overlap of interviewees pertaining to multiple social or stakeholder groups is particularly relevant for this case study for a number of reasons. First, during most social studies of a locality, users usually make part of one or two groups but rarely more. In this case, this indicates a very fluid social landscape where people have multiple uses of that landscape based on various networks and opportunities, some economic and some purely social. Following this logic then, the initial use of sociospheres in the baseline study becomes problematic because sociospheres as described by Albrow (1997) do not usually overlap in such a manner. In fact, the term is usually used for groups of people within the same social landscape (the socioscape) where sociospheres do not usually interact with each other as a more traditional community would.

⁷² The following par. and the table are taken from the Methodology section of the Marsalforn SBS (See Appendix VI, accompanying CD)

Table 4.6: Overlapping social groups of interviewees (total interviewed = 95)

Stakeholder Group		Stakeholders forming part of Stakeholder group	Number of interviewees that fit stakeholder profile
Residents	Local	Fulltime Local Residents	28
		Recent Full-time Local Residents	10
		Part-time Local Residents	8
		Summer Local Residents (Gozitan)	7
	Foreign	Summer Local Residents (Maltese)	6
		Fulltime Foreign Residents	2
		Part-time Foreign Residents	1
		Summer Foreign Residents only	0
Business & workers		Business Owners	21
		Business Employees	13
		Hotel Management or Owners	5
		Hotel Employees	5
		Part-Time Employees	8
		Business Entrepreneurs- Apartments Owners	7
Fisheries & Agriculture	Fishermen	Full-Time Fishermen	3
		Part-Time Fishermen	4
	Farmers	Full-Timer Farmers	2
		Part-time Farmers	2

Stakeholder Group		Stakeholders forming part of Stakeholder group	Number of interviewees that fit stakeholder profile
Official Organisations		Members of Official Organisations	15
		Members in Local Council	4
		Members of Local Council Administrative Committee	3
Visitors		Visitors for Leisure (fishing for leisure with a fishing rod)	5
		Frequent or returning Maltese visitors	6
		Visitors to family or Friends	6
		Visitors – Frequent, Foreign	3
		Foreign Tourists - day visitor	6
		Maltese Visitors - day visitor	12
		Restaurant Clients (Maltese, Gozitan & Foreign)	19
Total Number of stakeholders if each interviewee only fit one stakeholder profile (i.e. sum total for the above list)			211
Total Number of people interviewed (n)			95
Total Number of Gozitans interviewed			61
Total Number of Maltese interviewed			22
Total Number of Foreigners interviewed			12

At the same time, as described above, the social landscape is very fluid – they have networks and connections, with a sense of community, which at the same time is disjointed and many interviewees felt that the traditional sense of community was disappearing. This is at odds with those who felt that there still was a feeling of community at Marsalforn (see Section 5.4.2, pp. 268-276). For the purposes of this section, and to keep the tables homogeneous in their presentation, I will use the term ‘populations’, keeping in mind that in this particular case study, individuals will pertain to more than one population. In more classical environmental studies or planning terms, one could say that individuals overlap stakeholder groups, pertaining to various groups, forging alliances, making networks and maintaining relationships to the effect that this created a sense of village community at an overarching level, even if it may not have been felt at individual level.

One reason for this is the locality’s history, the fact that we are dealing with a geographically small area, relatively speaking, and that many individuals within the various stakeholder groups have been part of the social landscape of Marsalforn for a long time, therefore there is a very strong sense of belonging towards Marsalforn, even if at a subconscious level, in many cases. Finally, there is one element that affects all stakeholders, the weather, and whether they have businesses or are employed at those businesses, or own property at Marsalforn, they are all affected by the bad weather and the sea swells that pound the Marsalforn sea front and the surrounding buildings, even further inland.

Secondly, it helped off-set the limitation of seasonality, where it is understood that for a locality which is dependent on tourism, both domestic and otherwise, information on these groups could be collected and corroborated because of the amount of overlapping social groups that had contact with them. Even though such data is considered as secondary data within the social sciences and therefore not as reliable, multiple accounts by respondents from the various sociospheres helped ‘map’ an indicative picture of the groups that were absent during the winter season.

Given the above-mentioned overlap, sub-categories of stakeholder groups have been described together in Table 4.7 (overleaf), though they have been identified and the necessary differences pointed out.

Table 4.7: Overview of the Social Landscape found at Marsalforn

Social Group or 'Population'	Stakeholder groups	Description of Stakeholder groups within the Social Group or 'Population'
THE LOCAL POPULATION	<p>Permanent Residents</p> <p>Made up of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Local Residents <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Well-established local residents • More recent permanent local residents ○ Foreign Residents <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Well-established foreign resident • More recent foreign residents 	<p><u>Local Residents</u> made up of well-established local residents and more recent permanent local residents.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local permanent residents can be subdivided into two: those who are well established and those who moved to the locality more recently. • Permanent residents usually are Gozitan individuals and their families that have been living at Marsalforn for a considerable number of years. When asked how long they have lived at the locality, these usually responded “all my life”. These therefore were categorised as well-established local residents as opposed to more recent local residents, who moved to the locality more recently and live and / or work at the locality permanently. More recently established residents moved into the locality within the last 5 years with a view of remaining at the locality permanently. These are not to be confused with what have been termed in this report as Gozitan temporary residents, even though some of these temporary residents have been living at the locality for a considerable number of years (see section below). Some of the recent residents live more centrally at the village core, probably due to previous ties and therefore had the opportunity to move into property there. Others live at Qbajjar and Xwejini areas, alongside the temporary residents and summer residents. • Many of these more recently established residents already had ties to the locality in one way or another. Some because their property had previously belonged to their families and was divided between the family members or handed down to them. A number had also been renting for a long time, mostly because their family either used to own property there or had used to rent in the past. This is also the case for a number of summer residents who own property at Marsalforn and even though they move back to another property elsewhere (from those interviewed, these usually lived at Rabat or Żebbuġ), but they still visit the locality regularly, even daily, for business, work or leisure (including visiting friends and / or family). Many have been going to Marsalforn during the summer for decades. • Recently established permanent residents are mostly educated middle class workers and business entrepreneurs who either choose to live in Marsalforn to be closer to their business or to start afresh at a new locality. Like temporary residents, a number of such residents work elsewhere. Those who are apartment owners, especially at Qbajjar (and Xwejini) comprise of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Single people and young couples, both working and with a mixture of tertiary or post-secondary level education; ○ Families that once used the apartment as a summer residence and now reside permanently; ○ Families that moved to the area because they lived there during the summer when they were young. This group includes those who own businesses in the area; ○ Single parents and separated people; and ○ Blue-collar workers, a number of who work in the restaurants and hotels at the locality or elsewhere. ○ Retired people who chose to live permanently at the locality. These may have previously stayed at the locality during the summer months.

Social Group or 'Population'	Stakeholder groups	Description of Stakeholder groups within the Social Group or 'Population'
		<p><u>Foreign Residents are made up of Well-Established Foreign Residents and More recent foreign residents:</u></p> <p>The local population is also made up of foreign residents, some of who have been living at Marsalforn for decades. From secondary information gathered from those interviewed, such residents either lived on the Maltese islands prior to Independence and decided to live in Marsalforn permanently; came to Malta as tourists when Marsalforn started becoming more attractive for tourists, especially British, who first started returning regularly (as returning tourists) and when the right opportunity arose, bought property there; while others still came to Gozo specifically to buy property. Those interviewed were in their late fifties and early sixties who decided to retire in Gozo and particularly at Marsalforn. These were professionals of very good socio-economic standing who had the means to buy and renovate property at the locality. The data also suggests that there are foreign residents who moved to Marsalforn more recently, also to retire, and have been living at the locality for a number of years.</p>
	<p>Part-time / summer residents who regularly return to the locality.</p> <p>Made up of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Maltese part-time residents ○ Gozitan summer residents who visit the locality regularly during the rest of the year 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This group of people comprise mainly of two sub-groups – Maltese part-time residents who return regularly to Gozo and Marsalforn; and Gozitan summer residents who visit the locality regularly during the rest of the year. • After interviewing a number of Maltese part-time residents, it became clearer that these consider themselves as part of the local population. They might not live permanently at the locality but certainly consider themselves part of the local community. They own property at Marsalforn and return to it regularly whenever they can, usually on most weekends throughout the year (i.e. when they are not working). A number of these Maltese part-timers may also spend the summer at Marsalforn if their work permits it. These usually either have jobs with the Government where in summer their working hours are reduced, or have jobs within the education system, such as teachers / lecturers. • A number of Gozitan summer residents also return regularly to Marsalforn regularly throughout the winter months, not just to check on their property but also to spend weekends, meet friends, go for walks in the area and so forth. These usually have more significant ties to the locality in the sense that they might have family living or working permanently at the locality, or they have been summer residents for a long time and have thoughts of moving to the locality permanently. Such residents have a strong relationship with the locality and identify themselves with it (though this is not always the case).
	<p>Workers</p> <p>Made up of three main groups:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Small business owners ○ Hoteliers ○ Employees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • During the fieldwork period, most of the people encountered and interviewed belonged to the business and working population, especially since it was the winter season and the locality was void of summer residents and workers who worked through the summer months. Therefore the work during the winter period is distributed among permanent residents, except for full-timers who live elsewhere. Workers either live at Marsalforn permanently or travel daily down from other neighbouring localities to their work place. A number of workers are either married into families with businesses at the locality or have extended family living permanently or part-time at the locality. It is interesting to note that a number of workers first started living at Marsalforn for convenience, not to travel to and fro from their hometown and eventually decided that they liked living at Marsalforn and established themselves at the locality. • Many of the businesses at Marsalforn service the tourism industry in one way or another – there are 65 registered restaurants and bars at the locality, though a number of these do not open during the winter months. There also are a number of small hotels and B&Bs, though again, during the winter season they have few customers and many do not open during that period. This is the same

Social Group or 'Population'	Stakeholder groups	Description of Stakeholder groups within the Social Group or 'Population'
		<p>for other businesses in the area, where many close from around November to April/ May. Some open during the Christmas holiday season to close again till the tourism industry gears up again towards the beginning of summer.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A number of fishermen were also interviewed. As already explained above, the fishing industry at Marsalforn is now sparse and interviewees mentioned that there only was one family permanently living at Marsalforn who were full-time fishermen, and a few part-timers. Most fishermen either living at Marsalforn or residing elsewhere are part-time. Many used to berth their fishing boat at the Menqa in the past but have since moved their fishing boats to Mġarr harbour because it is safer. A number of fishermen have garages or boathouses along the bay, interspersed between the restaurants near the Menqa. These are also used as a meeting place where they can meet and socialise with each other, discussing the weather, fishing, politics (usually local and national), and to drink, while repairing their nets. In the past, fishermen used to repair and prepare their nets out in the open near the Menqa but this area has since been encroached upon by the restaurants, who have extended into the space putting up plastic enclosures to shelter their clientele from the wind and rain.
	<p>Regularly Returning Visitors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Maltese part-time residents Gozitan summer residents who visit the locality regularly during the rest of the year 	<p>During the fieldwork, a number of individuals were interviewed who return regularly to the locality for various reasons (apart from work). These include those who use the area for leisure purposes - fishing with a rod on a daily basis all year round or going to the boċċi club at Qbajjar; visiting friends and / or family on a regular basis, even daily; going for walks in the countryside or by the seaside, alone or with their dogs. A number of regularly returning visitors were encountered in bars in the evening, who meet with other friends from the locality or elsewhere and have a couple of drinks. These were usually young adults with their own transportation.</p>
THE TRANSIENT POPULATION	<p>Summer Residents</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Maltese Summer Residents Gozitan Summer Residents 	<p>The main difference between these two groups is that one group is originally Gozitan by birth and the other Maltese. Both use Marsalforn during the summer months and live permanently there during those months. Some own an apartment (which might have been inherited) while others rent. Some of the Maltese summer residents either have Gozitan heritage (and these too may have inherited property), or are married to Gozitans who have to live permanently in Malta because of their jobs or other commitments. This is the same for Gozitan summer residents, who may have to live in Malta during the winter months. Other summer residents (both Gozitan and Maltese) rent over the summer months at the locality.</p>
	<p>Gozitan Temporary Residents</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> For all intents and purposes, this group is made up of residents who are currently living at Marsalforn. Since very few of this group were interviewed, this information is being extrapolated from secondary data by interviewees from whose sociospheres include Gozitan temporary residents and are therefore in contact with this group of residents in one way or another. The reason why they are termed temporary is because such residents are living at the locality temporarily, either renting an apartment (many of whom are situated at the Qbajjar and Xwejini areas), or living in an apartment owned by an extended family member, with the prospect of moving to another locality in the near future. The time spent in these accommodations can be as short as a few months up to a few years. What members of other sociospheres said when they were describing this group was that these people are not living at Marsalforn because they want to but because they have no other choice, be it financial or personal. In fact, many full-time residents do not look favourably upon this group and describe them as people who do not have an interest in the locality, their social networks are usually external to the locality and they do not mingle a lot with the rest of the 'community'.

Social Group or 'Population'	Stakeholder groups	Description of Stakeholder groups within the Social Group or 'Population'
		<p>This group is reportedly made up of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Single people and young couples, both working and with a mixture of tertiary or post-secondary level education; ○ Young families that are living at Marsalforn while they build a house at another locality; ○ Families with a variety of social problems, including single parents and separated people with or without their children; and ○ Blue-collar workers, a number of who work temporarily in the restaurants and hotels at the locality or work elsewhere and therefore only use the apartment as a temporary sleeping accommodation.
	<p>Foreigners who regularly return to Marsalforn:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Foreign regularly returning summer visitors ○ Foreign summer residents ○ Returning tourists 	<p>Since the 60's and 70's Marsalforn has become a very sought after by foreigners. Besides the tourism industry (discussed below), there are many foreigners who regularly return to Marsalforn during the summer months and these usually rent an apartment for the summer. The main difference between the two groups is that usually summer foreign residents own property at Marsalforn only returning for the summer months while regular visitors rent out an apartment for the summer (many times, through developing a good relationship with the apartment owners, they rent the same apartment year in year out). Returning tourists on the other hand may not return to Gozo yearly and may spend their summer holidays at other destinations as well. The length of their stay is also less than that of regularly returning visitors and they may spend as little as a few days – they are essentially on holiday and repeatedly choose Marsalforn as their holiday destination.</p>
THE VISITING POPULATION	Tourists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourists are usually first-time tourists and these are usually at their peak during the summer months and constitute OMTs arriving by coach and spending very little time at the locality and IMTs who may visit the locality either through an organised tour or independently, both as day visitors or for longer stays, residing at one of the hotels and B&Bs found at the locality. Many also rent an apartment for the duration of their holiday. While Marsalforn as a tourist destination is popular with British and European nationals, it is reported that tourists arrive from all corners of the globe. This is also partly because Marsalforn has reputedly become one of the main scuba diving destinations in the Mediterranean. First time tourists either used a tour operator or checked out various destinations at a travel agent. Most tourists though found out about Malta through the Internet. First-time visitors on a package holiday have pre-programmed recreational activities organised by the hotel. • The few tourists that were encountered during fieldwork were either lodging at the locality, were day visitors, were encountered while taking a drink, or having a stroll by the seaside, when the weather permitted. There were no tours to Marsalforn at the time of fieldwork, since it was out of the summer season.
	Visitors to local Residents	<p>Maltese and foreign permanent and summer residents have regular visits from family and friends. The foreigners come to Malta as tourists, usually staying at the residences of their hosts. Local visitors are more regular throughout the period when the residents (both permanent and transient) reside in the area.</p>
	Church goers	<p>Besides residents of Marsalforn (including summer residents), and the older generations in particular who go to church regularly, there are many residents from other neighbouring localities who choose to go to Mass at Marsalforn. As previously described, it has been reported that residents of Xagħra attend Mass at</p>

Social Group or 'Population'	Stakeholder groups	Description of Stakeholder groups within the Social Group or 'Population'
		the locality more than those from Żebbuġ. A number of churchgoers go for a stroll on the promenade during the afternoon, and then go to Mass. Others first go to Mass and then go for a stroll.
	Recreational Users	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Marsalforn is a place of high recreational value, especially in the summer months when people go to Marsalforn bay and nearby beaches to swim. The countryside and the shore surrounding the locality attract ramblers and hikers, both from Malta and Gozo, and many people use the area during their leisure, including permanent and summer residents. Activities include power walking or simply taking a walk, with or without their pets; cycling, bird watching, and observing other fauna/ flora. The data shows that many Maltese summer visitors and residents go snorkelling around the bay and nearby beaches / shoreline. Also in summer, many boat owners from Gozo and Malta go for day trips to Marsalforn, to swim, socialise, and use the various amenities found at the locality, such as restaurants and bars. During the summer months the locality becomes the main diving centre of Gozo and it is well served with a number of scuba diving shops and establishments. Many scuba divers leave from Marsalforn, using the scuba diving amenities of the locality. During the daytime in summer, people go swimming or use their boats / dinghies. During the summer months, in the evening, the locality is vibrant with activity, with people strolling on the promenade at the bay or at the Qbajjar promenade; people eating out at restaurants and drinking at the many pubs found at the locality. Given the time of year, this group did not constitute a large sample and were greatly absent from the locality. During the summer months, this group would have been very numerous. Many interviewees compared Marsalforn to a summer holiday resort or a locality that perpetually has a feast without the procession.⁷³

⁷³ In Maltese culture a feast refers to a religious feast. In this case, interviewees were referring to the 'outer' feast of the religious activities (as opposed to the 'inner' feast, that takes place in the church). For more information refer to Boissevain's *Saints and Fireworks* (1965) and Mitchell's *Ambivalent Europeans* (2001).

Again, as a guiding tool, a land uses map of Marsalforn is provided below (Figure 4.22), borrowed from the final version of the PDS for the proposed coastal defences (2011:11).

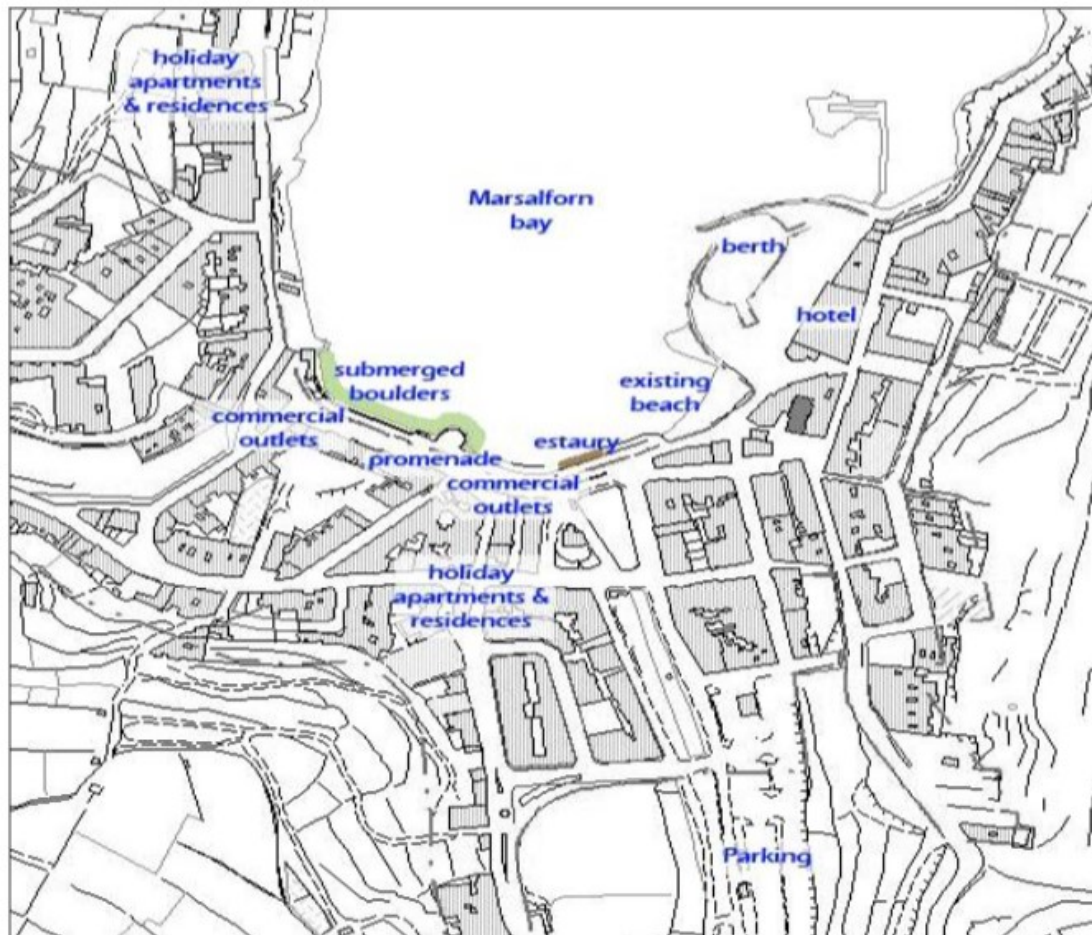


Figure 4.22: Present and Surrounding Land Uses found at Marsalforn in 2011 (Source: PDS – Marsalforn Breakwater FINAL COPY 09 02 11:11, Appendix VII).

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the background and history of the development projects that are the focus of each case study. I have explained how each case study could be described as having higher or lower levels of participation according to Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Participation. I have then used this as a device to frame a wider discussion of the unfolding relationship between publics, stakeholders, developers and the SIA/EIA team in each case study. Each case study

unfolds in unique ways, informed and influenced by a range of socio-political factors and practical considerations. In some cases, the approach was straightforward and linear, while in others it was more iterative. Understanding the background to how each of these case studies developed prior to and over the course of the research, helps provide important contextual information in which to interpret the findings that are presented in the next chapter.

In this following chapter, I will move beyond a description of the projects and their localities and stakeholders, to a more critical examination of how the various social groups and stakeholders in each case study perceived the proposed developments. This will be done by analysing their lifestyles and how through their experience of the socio-physical environment within the Aol for each case study, from which they construct their attitudes and values towards those landscapes. These in turn influence how they perceive the proposed development Schemes and the potential impacts that it may have on their lifestyles, their families, social networks and the physical environment surrounding them.

This will be done by providing direct cross-referencing to the actual SBSs (in Appendices V–VII), to retain the depth of the descriptive analysis for each case study.

Chapter 5

The effect of lifestyles and values on the perceived impacts of three Maltese proposed urban developments: A descriptive analysis taken from the social studies for their environmental assessments

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the localities and the various stakeholder groups that were identified for each case study were briefly outlined, based on the descriptive analyses in the baseline reports. This chapter follows suit and provides a brief synthesis of the results stemming from the analyses provided in the baseline studies.

The report versions of the results and analysis of the fieldwork data for each case study can already be considered as summaries in themselves, since they are not ethnographies intended for an academic reader. As the EIA coordinator had explained when I first started sub-consulting for his EA consultancy company, decision-makers only need the most relevant information and analysis to assist them with their decision-making (Dobbins et al., 2007). In fact, the EIS (in Malta) is usually accompanied by an executive summary in both English and Maltese, while the EIS itself, besides integrating the results of individual baseline studies, each of its chapters (for example the SIA) summarises the corresponding baseline study, cross-referencing the original reports found in the EIS appendices for further detail, where necessary. This is the case for both the Magħtab and CRU SIAs, which were published as part of the corresponding EIAs⁷⁴. While it would have been preferable for the relevant sections

⁷⁴ As already explained in earlier chapters of this thesis, the Marsalforn project is still pending and the EIA has not yet been submitted to the Planning Authority, as of the finalization of this thesis (November 2017), and therefore remains unpublished.

of each case study to be included in this chapter in their entirety, this is not possible within the constraints of a PhD thesis⁷⁵.

The following are the relevant sections of the three baseline studies:

- ⇒ Values and lifestyles;
- ⇒ Perceptions of the schemes and their effects; and finally,
- ⇒ Recommendations made by stakeholders

Further summarising these reports for the purposes of this chapter would counter one of the objectives of this thesis (Section 1.4, p. 18), to explore the potential for anthropological fieldwork methods and analysis to strengthen the SIA and EIA processes and provide new insights into the role of stakeholder participation in environmental governance. It is therefore essential to highlight and include the detail that the baseline studies provide. Therefore, in this chapter, rather than providing a summary of the relevant sections of the baseline study for each case study, I will make a number of observations based on the analyses provided in the baseline reports, cross-referencing the relevant sections from the original baseline reports, to maintain the rigour and depth provided in the reports.⁷⁶

These observations will focus on the values and lifestyles of the stakeholders within the Aol for the three case studies and their attitudes and values towards the socio-physical environment they inhabit. This includes the push and pull factors that influence changes in values and lifestyles, usually based on present and past changes within the Aol that have affected their lifestyles, which in turn affects how they presently perceive and value their socio-physical surroundings.

An understanding of the attitudes and values that the stakeholders have towards their socio-physical environment, how they relate to each other and how they use their socio-physical landscape on an everyday basis are the foundations for the analysis of how they feel towards the proposed development project (or 'Scheme') and ultimately how the project may interact positively or negatively with their lifestyles. By analysing

⁷⁵ The relevant sections for each baseline study consist of 27,000 words for the Maghtab Study, 19,700 words for the Marsalforn Study and 20,750 words for the Coast Road Upgrade Study; which would have made this chapter (or three Results chapters) 67,500 words in total.

⁷⁶ The three baseline studies are found in the Appendices to this thesis, which are available in Appendices V–VII in the accompanying CD.

these attributes and perceptions, the role of the SIA is to provide the EIA Coordinators with a clear picture of the social environment within the A of I in order to formulate strategies specific to that social environment, to reduce and mitigate the negative impacts of the proposed project, identify residual impacts and formulate longer-term monitoring programmes. This chapter will also frame the above observations in terms of how the stakeholders' attitudes and values influence their interactions with the EA process, more specifically, the SIA process and any stakeholder participation that is conducted during the baseline studies.

All three case studies highlight contestation of land and the use of space, especially since land (spaces) and more importantly their uses, are already a scarce commodity on an island where space is so limited. This is further exacerbated by the multiple uses the same spaces have, to which different stakeholders attribute different values. These contestations become more intense these spaces are socially diverse and a multitude of cultural backgrounds converge, giving rise to divergent attitudes towards, for example: land rights and use (including prospective uses in the future); access; the transformation of the socio-physical landscape of the locality, especially caused by population growth; an increase in traffic and circulation throughout the area and so forth.

Building on Chapter 4, this chapter analyses these different perspectives within the specific contexts that each case presents. The Magħtab (Section 5.2) and Marsalforn (Section 5.3) case studies follow a similar analytical approach to Chapter 4, using the socio-physical environment within their respective Aol as the focus. However, the CRU case study (Section 5.4) frames the stakeholders' present values and attitudes in relation to their proximity to the coast road, "understanding an artery of movement – a road that people take to move between areas and thus to complete their sociospheres, rather than population related to a fixed locality, then it is important to focus on an analysis of the main areas of concern for the users" (CRU baseline study par. 215). It must be noted however that this analysis also draws on and is informed by the analysis that was made for the Magħtab case study, since there is a clear overlap between the stakeholders' attitudes and values towards the present social and physical conditions within the Aol for both case studies, of which, the Magħtab landfill plays an important role.

5.2 The Magħtab Environmental Complex (The Magħtab Case Study)

The results that follow refer to the baseline study report in Appendix IV. Table 5.1 provides a table of contents for the relevant sections and their sub-sections, with their corresponding paragraphs (2nd column) and page numbers (3rd column) within the baseline study. It is recommended that when cross-referencing, the reader finds the corresponding paragraph/s.

Table 5.1: A list of the relevant Sections and subsections of the Magħtab Baseline Study (Technical Appendix 7 of the EIS, found in Appendix IV of this thesis (accompanying CD) with their relative paragraphs and page numbers.

The Magħtab Environmental Complex Social Baseline Study Section / Subsection	Par./Pars.	Pages
VALUES AND LIFESTYLES	84 – 294	16 - 60
<i>Pull and Push Factors within the Aol</i>	94 – 152	19 – 27
Physical Factors	96 – 115	19 – 22
Social Factors	116 – 152	23 - 27
<i>Perceptions of Community and Community Values</i>	153 – 182	30 – 38
Factors influencing the formation of and the decrease of community and community values	160 – 182	32 - 38
<i>Attitudes and Values towards Present Social and Physical Conditions</i>	183 – 292	38 - 60
Magħtab (and where specified, other localities)	186 – 246	39 - 51
Full-time Residents with extended families (Long standing residents with roots at the hamlet); Long standing Families without extended families in the area but are part-time / Full- time farmers who have worked the fields for a long period of time; more recently established local residents (where indicated) and foreign full-time residents	186 – 239	39 - 49

The Magħtab Environmental Complex Social Baseline Study Section / Subsection	Par./Pars.	Pages
More Recent Fulltime residents (Magħtab)	240 – 243	50 – 51
Full time and Part time farmers (Magħtab and Salini)	244	51
Visitors to the area (Magħtab)	245 – 246	51
Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, Salina and Qawra	247 - 292	51 – 60
Residents: The local and transient communities	249 – 272	52 – 55
Visitors: Power walkers and sports people	273 – 275	55 – 56
Visitors to family and friends	276 – 277	56 – 57
Visitors: Tourists	278 – 284	57 – 58
Hotel workers and business owners / operators	285 – 292	58 – 60
PERCEIVED EFFECTS OF THE SCHEME	295 - 323	62 – 75
<i>The implications that the experience of users of the Magħtab landfill operation had in formulating their general attitude and perceived impacts of the proposed Master Plan.</i>	297 – 308	62 – 65
<i>The general attitude towards the proposed Master Plan and the most commonly perceived Impacts</i>	309 – 313	65 – 71
<i>The Effects (positive and negative) of the proposed plans on tourism</i>	314 – 320	71 – 72
<i>Additional perceived socio-economic impacts that influence the quality of life</i>	321	72 – 73
<i>Recommendations made by Users of the Aol</i>	322 – 323	74 – 75

5.2.1 Contestation of place

Contestation of space involves the different perceptions of that same space by different groups of people, whether resident or transient, which hold a stake in that same physical space. The fieldwork showed that, in the Aol, a number of different perceptions and meanings of that space exist, sometimes within the same household or the same socio-physical environment. These processes have different derivations; from gender to age, from the use of the space in question, and from the stakes that different individuals or groups have within the area.

This contestation of space through the highly mixed and somewhat conflicting land use that gives a rather disorganised character to the settlement has not just been noted through the interviews alone and by direct observation of the socio-physical landscape of the surrounding areas of Magħtab, but was also noted within the Central Malta Local Plan (2006: 20), which states that

...the area and has a number of existing different uses apart from farmhouses. These existing uses include residential units of varying types and design, batching plants, plant yards, garage industries, animal husbandry farms as well as a substantial number of disused buildings. Due to these mixed and conflicting uses and the disorganised character of this settlement, Magħtab is affected by a fall in rural quality and amenity.

The Local Plan further states that the aim of the policy is to counter the problems mentioned above by preventing the further development of incompatible uses in the area. Contestation of space is also seen in how the various users view (and perceive) each other and their claims for using the area in question. It becomes rather idiosyncratic then that the more mixed the land use of the area, the more complex the relationships and perceptions of the various users are, creating a landscape of increased tensions that needs to be given due process that go beyond simply adhering to rules, regulations, legislation and local plans. While it was beyond the scope of the baseline study or the Social Assessment to seek to resolve or mitigate contestations, this summary now seeks to provide pointers towards reaching a better understanding of the users within the Aol and finding solutions that suit all parties that have stakes (economic or otherwise) in the area.

5.2.2 Attitudes, values and the experience of change

The first paragraphs below are reproduced directly from the Baseline Study, since in this particular case, stakeholders' perceptions of the project stem from their experience of the Magħtab landfill, in some cases, over a long period of time, spanning three decades. Therefore, for the purposes of this chapter, it is essential that there is a clear understanding of the reasons why many stakeholders are intrinsically against the project and openly oppose it.

Past experience enables consideration of possible reactions that residents and other stakeholders of the area might have during and after the construction of the project. Past experience, as a reference, is a more reliable basis than opinion polls on which to make forecasts on possible reactions and impacts. Opinions change frequently depending on rumour, information when present, and public opinion, while one speaks of present and past experiences with more certainty depending on personal impacts.

It should be also noted that many interviewees used past experience of the sewage treatment plant at Marsascala rather than two recycling plants operating there. It had to be explained to these respondents that those are two very different types of operations and that even the current plants at Marsascala have very few odour and sanitation problems, while the proposed plants will be using better technology than that used currently. A number of respondents had also had the opportunity of having a site visit at the Marsascala recycling facilities and most agreed that there was a marked improvement to the air quality of the area. A number of respondents though did have their doubts and argued that there still were foul odours within the facilities that could permeate to the surroundings if such plants were implemented at the proposed site. This argument was also compounded by the experience of the engineered landfill that still produces foul odours on days when the wind prevails towards their place of residence together with their experiences of the now decommissioned original Magħtab landfill.

Another important factor that this project has to its disadvantage is the respondents' past experience with the authorities and the project proponent regarding the closure of the Magħtab landfill and the opening and management of the engineered landfill at Għallies. Nearly all respondents of the study believed that they had been short-

changed by the system (Vella and Borg, 2010) and that many promises that the Authorities and / or the proponent had been made but rarely if ever maintained.

The following two sections of the baseline study describe the landfill operation in detail, through the 'eyes' of the stakeholders:

- ⇒ The physical push factors in the section Values and Lifestyles, pars. 113–115; and
- ⇒ Pars. 183–239 in the section Attitudes and Values towards Present Social and Physical Conditions.

Other 'push and pull' factors and experiences of other social and physical conditions that are not directly related to the landfill operation were also be taken into account. This is because it is the compounded effects of all these different experiences that create an overall positive or negative feeling (and attitudes) towards the place where they live, work or 'play'. Negative attitudes brought about by 'push' factors and negative experiences of change in their socio-physical landscape are countered by the positive pull factors and experiences that the same socio-physical landscape has to offer. These are important issues to consider when devising mitigation measures to increase the enjoyment of their experience, by reducing the negative experiences as much as possible (especially, in this case, those that are a direct cause of the landfill operation, past, present and future) and increasing the enjoyment of their experience of their uses of the Aol of the proposed Schemes.

From a meeting the EIA coordinators (ADI Associates) had with the company that manages the Magħtab Environmental Complex, Wasteserv Ltd (WSM) on the 27th July 2011, it was apparent that the manager in charge of the proposed Scheme was aware of and understood the concepts being outlined above. The increase of the enjoyment of the area on matters that may not be related to the proposed Scheme can help the mitigation process and the social acceptance of the project by the users of the area. One such example mentioned during the abovementioned meeting had to do with the archaeological sites found at the vicinity of the landfill operation when the project manager asked ADI Associates for a quote on a planning gain package that included cleaning and taking care of the archaeological sites.

Different factors affecting the values and lifestyles and the users' experience of change within the Aol are inter-related and factors that may be considered not directly caused

by the Environmental Complex operation still influence values and attitudes towards factors that relate to the environmental complex operation. A case in point can be found in the section on perceptions of community and community values (par. 153 onwards). These social dynamics have created a set of contestations and arguments towards users' perceptions of legitimacy of usage of the Aol. An example of this is the tensions between the indigenous population and 'outsiders', for example. If one had to posit WSM's operation in such a social context, then the operation (especially the landfill) would be considered as an 'outsider' and should not be there.

There are ample examples within the text of the baseline study that illustrate that the users of the Aol, especially residents of Magħtab hamlet consider the landfill operation as having contributed to such factors as (to mention but a few):

- The decrease of community values in the area;
- The pollution of the land, water and air quality of the area;
- The way the physical landscape is viewed by the Magħtab community vis-à-vis using the countryside because of widespread degradation of the area (mentioned in the next point) and such reasons as rats and wild dogs, which add to the perception of lack of safety of the area;
- The landfill operation was one of the primary forces behind the social stigmatization of Magħtab and its residents. While for example the landfill operation itself was not a direct cause for the widespread physical degradation of the whole area due to fly-tipping, it was the widespread perception of the Maltese people that the whole area was indeed an extension of the landfill and in their minds, fly-tipping and generally dumping bulky refuse and other waste in nearby fields and along roads and country lanes became widespread practice over the years.
- The increase in the industrial use of the area in general, such as the introduction of industrial size husbandry farms, equestrian farms and the garage industry.

There are then those experiences that are more directly attributed to the landfill operation itself. These are described in detail in the baseline study pars. 186 – 239. Apart from the point on the experience of dirt (and fly-tipping) at Magħtab and the stigma of living at Magħtab, both of which have already been mentioned above; of note is the section on the general distrust towards the authorities and WSM (pars. 218 – 228). The data has shown that this distrust, that has grown throughout the years that

the original non-engineered landfill was in operation and has increased when the Ghallies and Żwejra landfills were opened when the Government had promised the residents that the landfill would be closed (without mentioning that other landfills would be opened next to the old landfill).

Table 5.2 (overleaf) summarises the lifestyle values and activities described by the stakeholders and analysed in the Lifestyles and Values section of the Magħtab baseline study. It is an amended reproduction of Table I found at the end of the baseline study.

Table 5.2: A summary of the lifestyle values and activities described by the stakeholders within the populations found at the localities within the Aol of the Magħtab Case Study and how they interact (positively or negatively, if at all) with the stakeholders.

Lifestyle Values and Activities	Populations and Stakeholder Groups within the A of I ¹										
	Permanent Residents								Seasonal Residents		
	(Long-standing)				(More recently established)						
	Magħtab	Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq	Is- Salini	Qawra	Magħtab	Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq	Is- Salini	Qawra	Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq	Is- Salini	Qawra
Family ties / obligations (including proximity to kin)	✓✓	✓	✓	✓ NR	✓ ² NR	✓ NR	NR	✓ NR	NR / A / ✓ X	NR / A / ✓ X	NR / A / ✓ X
Ties to the land	✓✓	✓	✓	✓ NR	✓	✓ NR	✓ NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Economically viable property or rent or family land available for construction of family home / family house available	✓✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Reduction in economic viability of their property (in general)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Different Environment to where they lived	✓✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
The locality considered "quaint"	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
The locality not having a "quaint" feel to it any longer	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Privacy & Anonymity	✓ X	✓	✓	✓	✓ X	✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓
Quiet / personal time	✓ X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓
A place to relax	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓
Locality considered a "refuge"	✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓ NR	✓ A	✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓
The locality stopped being considered a "refuge" over time	X	XX	XX	XX	X	X	X	X	X A	X	X A
Lack of Quiet personal time / relaxation due to increase in population / activities ³	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
A socially safe environment	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X ✓ A / NR ⁴	✓	✓	✓	✓
The social environment became unsafe over time	NR	X	XX	X	NR	NR / X	X ✓ A / NR ⁵	NR X	X	XX	NR
A quieter social environment when compared to other similar localities	NR	✓	✓	✓✓	NR / ✓	✓	✓ A	✓	✓	✓	✓
A quieter social environment but still close to urban centres	✓	✓	✓	NR	✓✓	✓✓	✓	NR	✓	✓	NR
An increase in social activities compared to when they first moved	X	X A	XX	XX	X	X	XX	XX	X	XX	X
A good public ⁶	XX ✓	XX ✓	X ✓	✓✓ X	XX ✓	X ✓	X ✓	✓✓ X	✓✓	✓ X A	✓
A change in type of public over time (for better (✓) or for worse (X) ? If answer is (✓X), the situation has improved but there still are grievances.	✓ X	✓ X	✓ X	✓✓ X	✓ X	X	X	X A	X A	X	✓
Experience of development / Increase in population ⁷	X	X	XX	X	X	XX	XX	X	X	XX	X
Amenities such as ATMs, supermarkets, post office	XX	X	XX	NR / A	XX	X	XX	NR	X ✓	XX	NR
Increase in traffic and circulation	XX	XX	XX	X A	XX	X	X	XX	X	X	XX
Parking problems	X	✓	✓	✓	X A	XX	XX	XX	X NR	X	XX
Good public transport facilities	XX	X ✓	X	✓✓	XX	X ✓	X	✓✓	✓ A	X	✓✓
Proximity (and access) to Heritage (archaeological sites)	✓✓	✓✓	✓	X A	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	NR	✓ A	NR ✓	✓ A
Proximity to the seashore	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ A	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓
Proximity to the countryside	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	A / ✓	✓	✓✓	✓	A	✓✓	✓	NR ✓
Access to countryside	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	A / ✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓	A	✓✓	✓	NR ✓

Lifestyle Values and Activities	Populations and Stakeholder Groups within the A of I ¹										
	Permanent Residents								Seasonal Residents		
	(Long-standing)				(More recently established)						
	Maghtab	Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq	Is- Salini	Qawra	Maghtab	Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq	Is- Salini	Qawra	Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq	Is- Salini	Qawra
Quiet physical environment (void of traffic, noise etc)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Decrease in the quiet physical environment due to increase in traffic, noise pollution etc.	XX	X	X	XX	XX	X	X	X	X	X	X
Less pollution esp. air quality in comparison to other places	✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓ A	✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓	✓
An increase in air pollution over time	XX	X	X	X	XX	X	X	X	XX	XX	X
An increase in sea pollution over time	X	XX	XX	X	X	XX	XX	X	XX	XX	X
The place considered 'dirty'	XX	X A	X	X	XX	X A	X	X	X NR	X	X
Good views / visual space	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓
Visual impact of development	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	X	XX	XX	X
Loss of visual space	XX	XX	X	X	XX	XX	X	X A	XX	XX	X
The landfill operation: Loss in tangible / intangible Heritage	XX	XX	X	X A	X	X	X	X A	X	X	X
The landfill operation: Bad or foul odours	XX	XX	X	X	XX	XX	X	X	XX	XX	X
The landfill operation: a decrease in bad odours after closure of Maghtab landfill	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓
The landfill operation: A change in views (visual impact over time because of landfill growing)	XX	XX	X	XX	XX	XX	X	XX	XX	X	XX
The landfill operation: A marked change in the physical landscape	XX	X	X	X	XX	X	X	X A	X	X	X
The landfill operation: large rats and stray dogs	XX	X	X	NR	XX	X	X	NR	XX	XX	NR
The landfill operation: a decrease in rats a number of months after the old Maghtab landfill closed down (first there was a an increase then after a number of months, a decrease in rats)	✓	✓	✓	NR	✓	✓	✓X	NR	✓✓	✓✓	NR
The landfill operation: flies and midgees	XX	XX	XX	X	XX	X	X	X	XX	XX	X A
The landfill operation: an increase in pollution attributed primarily to the landfill (apart from other factors)	XX	X	X	X	XX	XX	X	X	XX	XX	X
The landfill operation: Dust pollution	XX	X	X	X	XX	XX	X	X	XX	XX	X
The landfill operation: The perception of a decline of physical health, including skin and respiratory conditions	XX	X	X	X	XX	X	X	X	X?	X?	X?
The landfill operation: Increase in traffic because of ancillary operations	XX	X	A X	A X	XX	X	X	NR X	X A	X A?	NR
The landfill operation: Decrease in the quiet physical environment specifically due to landfill ancillary operations (increase in traffic, noise pollution etc.)	XX	X	A X	A / NR	XX	X	X	NR	X A	X A	A X

Lifestyle Values and Activities	Populations and Stakeholder Groups within the A of I ¹									
	Agriculture within A of I		Businesses including livestock farmers & equestrian facilities				Visitors (Recreation, Sports & Business Clientele, visitors to friends and family)			
	Magħtab	Is- Salini	Magħtab	Baħar iċ- Ċagħaq	Is- Salini	Qawra	Magħtab	Baħar iċ- Ċagħaq	Is- Salini	Qawra
Family ties / obligations (including proximity to kin)	✓✓ X	✓✓ X	✓ NR	✓ NR	✓ NR	✓ NR	✓ NR	✓ NR	✓ NR	✓ NR
Ties to the land	✓✓ X	✓✓ X	✓ NR	✓ NR	✓ NR	✓ NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Economically viable property or rent or family land available for construction of family home / family house available	✓✓ X	✓✓ X	✓ NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Reduction in economic viability of their property (in general)	NR	NR	X	X	X	X	NR	NR	NR	NR
Different Environment to where they lived	✓✓ NR	✓✓ NR	✓ NR	✓ NR	✓ NR	✓ NR	✓	✓	✓	✓✓
The locality considered "quaint"	NR	NR	✓ NR	✓	✓ NR ?	✓	NR	NR	NR	✓✓
The locality not having a "quaint" feel to it any longer	NR	NR	✓ NR	X NR	X NR	X	NR	NR	NR	NR / A
Privacy & Anonymity	✓ NR	✓ NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	✓ NR	✓ NR	✓ NE	✓ NR
Quiet / personal time	✓✓	✓✓	NR	NR	NR	NR	✓	✓	✓	✓
A place to relax	✓✓	✓✓	NR ✓	NR ✓	NR ✓	NR	✓	✓	✓	✓
Locality considered a "refuge"	✓✓	✓✓	NR	NR	NR	NR	✓	NR	NR ?	NR ✓
The locality stopped being considered a "refuge" over time	X A	X A	NR	NR	NR	NR	A	NR	NR ?	NR X
Lack of Quiet personal time / relaxation due to increase in population / activities ³	X	X	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR ?	NR
A socially safe environment	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ X	✓✓
The social environment became unsafe over time	A	A	NR	NR	X ?	NR	NR	NR	X	NR
A quieter social environment when compared to other similar localities	✓	✓	✓ NR	✓ NR	✓ NR	NR ⁸	✓	✓	X/A ?	✓
A quieter social environment but still close to urban centres	✓	✓	NR ✓	NR ✓	NR ✓	NR	✓	✓	✓	NR
An increase in social activities compared to when they first moved	✓	✓	NR	✓	✓	✓	A	X✓	XX ?	✓ X A
A good public ⁶	X	X	X✓	✓ X	✓ X	✓✓	X	✓	X✓ ?	✓✓
A change in type of public over time (for better (✓) or for worse (X) ? If answer is (✓X), the situation has improved but there still are grievances.	✓ X	✓ X	✓ X	✓ X	X	✓	✓ X	✓ X	X	✓
Experience of development / Increase in population ⁷	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X✓	X	✓ X X
Amenities such as ATMs, supermarkets, post office	X	X	X	X	X	✓	X	X	XX	✓✓
Increase in traffic and circulation	XX	XX	XX	X	X	✓	XX	X	X	XX
Parking problems	NR	NR	NR	X	NR ?	X	NR	X	X	XX
Good public transport facilities	NR	NR	X NR	✓	X	✓	X NR	✓	X	✓✓
Proximity (and access) to Heritage (archaeological sites)	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	✓✓ NR	✓✓ NR	✓ NR	✓ NR
Proximity to the seashore	NR	✓	NR ✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓ NR	✓ NR	✓ NR ?	✓✓
Proximity to the countryside	✓	✓	✓	NR	NR	NR	✓ X A	✓	✓	A
Access to countryside	✓	✓	✓	NR	NR	NR	✓ X A	✓✓	✓	A

Lifestyle Values and Activities	Populations and Stakeholder Groups within the A of I ¹									
	Agriculture within A of I		Businesses including livestock farmers & equestrian facilities				Visitors (Recreation, Sports & Business Clientele, visitors to friends and family)			
	Magħtab	Is- Salini	Magħtab	Baħar iċ- Ċagħaq	Is- Salini	Qawra	Magħtab	Baħar iċ- Ċagħaq	Is- Salini	Qawra
Quiet physical environment (void of traffic, noise etc)	X✓	X✓	✓	NR	NR	NR	✓	✓✓	✓	✓'
Decrease in the quiet physical environment due to increase in traffic, noise pollution etc.	X	X	X	NR	NR	NR	XX	XX	X	XX
Less pollution esp. air quality in comparison to other places	XX	X✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	NR	✓✓	✓	✓
An increase in air pollution over time	XX	XX	XX	X	X	X	XX	X	X	X
An increase in sea pollution over time	X	X	X NR	X	X	XX	XX	XX	XX	X
The place considered 'dirty'	XX	XX	XX	X	X	XX	XX	NR	X	NR / A
Good views / visual space	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓
Visual impact of development	X	X	X	X	X	XX	XX	X	XX	XX
Loss of visual space	X	X	X	NR	X	NR	XX	X	NR X ?	NR
The landfill operation: Loss in tangible / intangible Heritage	X	X	XX	X	X	NR	X	X	NR X ?	A NR
The landfill operation: Bad or foul odours	X	X	XX	XX	XX	X	XX	X	X	X
The landfill operation: a decrease in bad odours after closure of Magħtab landfill	✓X	✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓
The landfill operation: A change in views (visual impact over time because of landfill growing)	X	X NR	X	X	X	XX	XX	X	X	XX
The landfill operation: A marked change in the physical landscape	XX	X NR	XX	X	X	XX	XX	X	X	X
The landfill operation: large rats and stray dogs	XX	X	XX	X	X	NR	XX	X	X	NR
The landfill operation: a decrease in rats a number of months after the old Magħtab landfill closed down (first there was a an increase then after a number of months, a decrease in rats)	✓	✓	✓X	✓X	✓X	NR	A NR	✓ NR	✓ NR	NR
The landfill operation: flies and midgees	XX	X	XX	XX	XX	X	XX	XA	XA ?	X NR
The landfill operation: an increase in pollution attributed primarily to the landfill (apart from other factors)	XX	X	XX	XX	X	X	XX	XA	X ?	XX
The landfill operation: Dust pollution	XX	X	XX	X	X	XX	XX	X	X	XX
The landfill operation: The perception of a decline of physical health, including skin and respiratory conditions	XX	X	XX	X	A	A	NR XX	NR / A	NR ?	NR / A
The landfill operation: Increase in traffic because of ancillary operations	XX	X	XX	X	X	NR	XX	X	X	NR
The landfill operation: Decrease in the quiet physical environment specifically due to landfill ancillary operations (increase in traffic, noise pollution etc.)	X	X	XX	X	X	NR	X	NR / A	NR ?	NR

Lifestyle Values and Activities	Populations and Stakeholder Groups within the A of I ¹							
	The Tourism Industry (Both first time & returning OMTs also reflect worries by Hoteliers who have such clientele)							
	Tourists (OMTs & IMTs)			Returning Tourists			Hotel employees	
	Qawra	Is- Salini	Baħar iċ- Ċagħaq	Qawra	Is- Salini	Baħar iċ- Ċagħaq	Is- Salini	Qawra
Family ties / obligations (including proximity to kin)	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Ties to the land	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Economically viable property or rent or family land available for construction of family home / family house available	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR / ✓	NR / ✓
Reduction in economic viability of their property (in general)	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR / X	NR / X
Different Environment to where they lived	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	NR	NR
The locality considered "quaint"	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	NR	NR
The locality not having a "quaint" feel to it any longer	X	X	X	X	X ?	X ?	NR	NR
Privacy & Anonymity	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	NR	NR
Quiet / personal time	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	NR	NR
A place to relax	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	NR	NR
Locality considered a "refuge"	NR	NR	NR	✓	✓	✓	NR	NR
The locality stopped being considered a "refuge" over time	NR	NR	NR	X	XX	X	NR	NR
Lack of Quiet personal time / relaxation due to increase in population / activities ³	NR	NR	NR	X	X	X	NR	NR
A socially safe environment	✓✓	X	✓	✓✓	X	✓	✓	✓
The social environment became unsafe over time	NR	NR	NR	NR	XX	X	NR	NR
A quieter social environment when compared to other similar localities	NR	NR	NR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
A quieter social environment but still close to urban centres	NR	✓	✓	NR	✓ ?	✓	NR	NR
An increase in social activities compared to when they first moved	NR	NR	NR	✓ X	X ?	✓ X ?	✓ X	✓ X
A good public ⁶	✓✓	✓ / NR ¹¹	✓ / NR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓
A change in type of public over time (for better (✓) or for worse (X) ? If answer is (✓X), the situation has improved but there still are grievances.	NR	NR	NR	✓	X ?	NR	NR	NR / A
Experience of development / Increase in population ⁷	NR	NR	NR	XX	X ?	X ?	X	XX
Amenities such as ATMs, supermarkets, post office	✓✓	X	X	✓✓	X	X	NR / A	✓✓
Increase in traffic and circulation	NR X X	NR / A X	NR / A ?	XX	X	X	X	XX
Parking problems	NR X	NR / X	NR	XX	X	X	NR / X	XX
Good public transport facilities	NR / ✓✓	NR / X	NR / ✓	✓✓	X	✓	X	✓✓
Proximity (and access) to Heritage (archaeological sites)	OMTs: NO / IMTs: ✓	OMTs: NO / IMTs: ✓	OMTs: NO / IMTs: ✓ ?	✓	✓	✓	NR	NR
Proximity to the seashore	✓✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓ / NR	✓ / NR
Proximity to the countryside	OMTs: NO / IMTs: ✓	NR	✓ ?	✓	✓	✓	NR	NR
Access to countryside	✓	NR	NR	NR / A	✓	✓	NR	NR

Lifestyle Values and Activities	Populations and Stakeholder Groups within the A of I ¹							
	The Tourism Industry (Both first time & returning OMTs also reflect worries by Hoteliers who have such clientele)							
	Tourists (OMTs & IMTs)			Returning Tourists			Hotel employees	
	Qawra	Is- Salini	Baħar iċ- Ċagħaq	Qawra	Is- Salini	Baħar iċ- Ċagħaq	Is- Salini	Qawra
Quiet physical environment (void of traffic, noise etc)	NR	NR	NR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Decrease in the quiet physical environment due to increase in traffic, noise pollution etc.	NR	NR	NR	XX	X ?	X ?	X	X
Less pollution esp. air quality in comparison to other places	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ NR	✓ NR
An increase in air pollution over time	X	X	X	XX	X ?	X ?	X	X
An increase in sea pollution over time	X	X	X	XX	X	X	X	X
The place considered 'dirty'	X	X	X	XX	X	X	A	A
Good views / visual space	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓✓
Visual impact of development	X	NR / A	NR / A	XX	XX	X	XX	XX
Loss of visual space	NR X	NR / X	NR / X	X	X ?	X	X	XX
The landfill operation: Loss in tangible / intangible Heritage	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
The landfill operation: Bad or foul odours	NR	NR	NR	XX	X	X	NR / A	XX
The landfill operation: a decrease in bad odours after closure of Magħtab landfill	NR	NR	NR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
The landfill operation: A change in views (visual impact over time because of landfill growing)	NR	NR	NR	X ?	X ?	X ?	X	XX
The landfill operation: A marked change in the physical landscape	NR	NR	NR	X	X ?	X ?	X	XX
The landfill operation: large rats and stray dogs	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
The landfill operation: a decrease in rats a number of months after the old Magħtab landfill closed down (first there was a an increase then after a number of months, a decrease in rats)	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	✓	NR
The landfill operation: flies and midgees	NR A	NR X A	NR X	X	X ?	X ?	XX	NR / A
The landfill operation: an increase in pollution attributed primarily to the landfill (apart from other factors)	NR X	NR X	NR X ?	X	X ?	X ?	XX	X
The landfill operation: Dust pollution	XX	X	X	X	X ?	X ?	X	XX
The landfill operation: The perception of a decline of physical health, including skin and respiratory conditions	NR ¹⁰	NR ¹⁰	NR ¹⁰	NR / A ¹⁰	NR / A ? ¹⁰	NR / A ? ¹⁰	A X	A / NR
The landfill operation: Increase in traffic because of ancillary operations	NR	NR	NR	NR	X ?	NR	A / NR	NR
The landfill operation: Decrease in the quiet physical environment specifically due to landfill ancillary operations (increase in traffic, noise pollution etc.)	NR	NR	NR	X A	X ?	X ?	A X	NR

Notes:

- 1 Stakeholder Groupings and populations do not necessarily reflect pertenance of individuals to their social networks, or what I termed as "sociospheres" in the Social Study. This heading was changed from "Types of Users within the A of I" to maintain congruity between tables and chapters in this thesis.
- 2 This depended on whether the more recently established resident either had an extended family living at Maghtab or the individual was married to the son or daughter of an extended family. There were other factors for deciding to stay at Maghtab though, including economic reasons such as not having to buy land since it was inherited.
- 3 This depends on what type of activities is being referred to -- at Maghtab, increase in activities because of the landfill operation; at Bahar ic-Caghaq, increase due to population increase & also activities caused by some recreational activities; Salini, the increase in tourists negaitvely affected some, while others embraced it.
- 4 While some Salini residents felt that the area was not particularly safe environment, others thought that it didn't matter as long as they minded their own business and other people's privacy and anonymity. Others still didn't really care when they moved to the locality (hence the NR)
- 5 The status quo as above didn't change much over time, though they all agreed that the locality became more unsafe
- 6 Public here means people who are not from the locality or the area, in other words visitors. In the case of Maghtab, the public would include people over the years going to Maghtab to fly-tip. Therefore in the case of Maghtab, there are welcome visitors and those who are not welcome. In the case of Bahar ic-Caghaq and Salini, and to a lesser extent Qawra, there are the restaurant or bar goers who create noise and park in front of their houses / garages.
- 7 In the case of Maghtab, this also includes the indsutrialisation of a number of areas of Maghtab, which include the increase of garages (panel beaters and the such like) and the industrialisation of livestock farms and the increase of equestrian facilities in the area of Maghtab. For Bahar ic-Caghaq and Salini, development means buildings for various uses, especially apartment blocks.
- 8 Qawra is not a socially quiet area but for businesses it is actually good that it is a thriving socially diverse area because it brings business
- 9 This depends on the time of day, day of the week and season.
- 10 Visitors to the area and returning tourists, unless they visit regularly, as for example those who own horses or use other recreational facilities regularly; or in the case of returning tourists, visit for a number of months yearly, would not have enough knowledge to attribute declining health to the landfill operation.
- 11 For tourists at the Salini hotel, a good public also includes the hotel employees, who, according to all those interviewed, provide a commendable service

KEY

- ✓ : Positively interacts with sociosphere / group and lifestyle
- ✓✓: Positive interaction is more prominent with sociosphere / group compared to other localities
- X : Negatively interacts with sociosphere and detracts from lifestyle
- XX : Negative interaction is more prominent with sociosphere / group compared to other localities
- ✓X: Predominantly positive interaction with sociosphere / group & lifestyle but not everybody agrees
- X✓: Predominantly negative interaction with sociosphere / group & lifestyle but not everybody agrees
- NR : Not relevant for sociosphere, no effect on sociosphere and lifestyle of individuals
- A : Group predominantly ambivalent, i.e. they are not sure whether the factor positively or negatively interacts with them
- ? : Either not enough data collected for a representative sample or sociosphere so a "?" is placed next to educated gues from converging data of other similar groups

5.2.3 Perceived effects of the Scheme

The above values and attitudes are closely related to the perceived effects of the proposed Scheme. Understanding the implications that past experience has on formulating their general attitudes and perceived impacts towards the Master Plan and related projects, will help to understand why many issues that stakeholders perceive as being potentially negative boil down to lack of trust. As explained in detail in previous sections of this document and in the social study, the biggest stumbling block for WasteServ will be gaining the trust of the stakeholders. The reasons are explained in further detail in the first section of the perceived effects of the Scheme (pars. 297–308) of the baseline study and summarised in pars. 12.68–12.69 of the SIA in the Master EIS update⁷⁷.

The general attitudes and perceived effects of the proposed Scheme are explained in detail in pars. 309–321 of the SBS and summarised in pars. 12.70–12.74 of the SIA.

The sub-sections found under the section on the perceived effects together with the recommendations made by the stakeholders themselves during the interviews for the baseline study should in theory be the starting blocks of an exercise of information transfer, meaningful collaboration, and mitigation between stakeholders, project managers and decision-makers. The SIA explains the significance of affects that have been identified to be potential impacts on the lifestyles and social activities of the users of the Aol and the mitigation measures that are foreseen to counter or alleviate such impacts.

5.2.4 Recommendations made by users of the Aol

While discussing the proposed Master Plan with the various users of the Aol, based on their experience therein, the landfill operation found at Maghtab and their areas of expertise, users made their own suggestions and recommendations. Interviews were also conducted with official organisations, including but not limited to the Local Councils. A number of these recommendations were embedded within the text of the SBS. The rest are briefly listed below, reproduced from the SBS (pars. 322-323) and par. 12.76 of the SIA.

⁷⁷ See Appendix V: Maghtab SIA - CH 12 of Master EIS Update 12 09 2011 FINAL.

These are briefly listed below for consideration during mitigation strategies formulated within the EIS:

- The Authorities should appoint representatives from the sensitive receptors (the stakeholders) as the internal watchdog for the project and are involved in the decision-making process;
- Timely information transfer and sharing of issues pertaining to this Scheme and other projects related to the Environmental Management Complex (EMC) – the stakeholders should be informed and educated on the various projects being planned or going on at the site and the linkages between projects;
- An educational package or programme is set up by WSM to educate the public on waste management and recycling in particular;
- The EMC operators should have corporate economic liability towards the ancillary operations of the Waste Management Scheme. Heavy vehicles that are not up to standard should not be allowed to enter the facility and are fined on the spot. If the EMC operators do not enforce such requirements, then the operators become liable and will be fined.
- With the above, the operator should employ a warden (or pay the Local Council to be able to employ a warden) to enforce the law, such as heavy vehicles not passing from residential roads and the compulsory use of the wheel wash;
- The wheel wash is built in such a way that the whole truck is washed not just the wheels when leaving the EMC;
- The entrance gate that is currently used (from *Triq ir-Ramla*) has to be closed even before the construction phase. In other words, the perimeter road from the Coast Road should be the first step in the construction phase, together with the bund, so that the construction machinery etc. are immediately made invisible;
- New refuse that arrives at the site is immediately buried and not left for a whole day or more before it is moved, as is happening at the moment with the Gozo refuse;
- The bund, which should be made up of trees that are high enough to camouflage the construction site and later the plants, should surround the whole landfill not just the project perimeter, to reduce the visual impact of the whole landfill not just the project site;
- If the project goes through, MEPA should impose planning gain that goes directly towards the improvement of the locality and the residents of the area.

This is not, for example, the resurfacing of the road, which is in the competence of Central Government, but other socio-environmental issues such as cleaning and refurbishing the area (such as planting trees along roads) and monitoring the environmental situation very closely;

- As part of the mitigation strategy and the planning gain mentioned above (including WSM's corporate responsibility, it is suggested that WSM, together with the Residents' Associations and the Local Councils team up and apply for EU funds for a project that would improve the image of the locale and involve the residents of the locality, to improve community values. The project should involve the community from planning to execution of the project, not just inform.
- On monitoring the environmental situation, it is suggested that the recycling plants should have an online monitoring system that can be scrutinised by the public. Air monitoring should be done frequently and from various distances, especially in the residential parts of the localities closest to the EMC and the results published quarterly online;
- SMEs should be involved and encouraged to get involved in small, targeted recycling operations, to reduce the burden on one recycling operator for the whole of Malta;
- To decrease the amount of traffic carrying waste to the EMC, waste could be brought in by barge.

The next section provides a similar guide to the CRU baseline study sections relevant for this chapter: the Values and Lifestyle section, which informs upon the Perceived Impacts of the CRU and recommendations made by the stakeholders, especially those who either used the Coast Road as commuters from their localities within the Aol and others who may be impacted more negatively than others, including farmers who had fields within the two options (and therefore could lose their fields to the CRU).

As with the above sections, the text mostly replicates explanatory sections from the CRU baseline study and then cross-references the relevant sections that provide the detailed descriptive analysis of the empirical data collected during the fieldwork.

5.3 The Coast Road Upgrade (CRU) Case Study

In the introduction to this chapter it was emphasised that the Aol for the landfill operation falls squarely within the Aol of the CRU. Therefore, the CRU baseline study explicitly cross-references the Magħtab study where relevant.

As the fieldwork for both studies were only a few months apart, relationships that had been forged during the Magħtab study were utilised again and many of the stakeholders that had been interviewed during the Magħtab study were interviewed again.

This overlap had four methodological functions:

1. Data collected for the Magħtab study was checked for any inconsistencies during the 2nd set of interviews;
2. From a stakeholder participation standpoint, the relationships that had been forged in the previous months were reinforced, while creating new ones through the old ones;
3. Get the stakeholders' perceptions on how the two projects intersected for them, getting a better sense of how two projects can affect each other; and finally,
4. Since the Coast Road's A of I was much larger in size, utilising previous relationships was time efficient, improving the scalar fit (see Chapter 6) of the fieldwork process to make up for the bureaucratic delays during the tender process of the CRU SIA consultancy (see Chapters 3 and 4) to increase the time to be allotted for the other localities and stakeholders within the A of I.

The overlap of stakeholders at the localities of Magħtab, Salini, Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and Buġibba on the two projects also allowed for changes of the methodology used to collect the empirical data and their analysis. As a continuation of points 1 and 3 above, the fact that I was asking the same question content in relation to another project, in other words, using semantics to elicit responses towards the different contexts we were discussing, gave the overlapping data slightly different meanings and emphasis. This enabled me to verify inconsistencies in responses to particular questions, especially in reference to lifestyle. This also allowed to understand how these variations affected the stakeholders' perceptions and attitudes towards the locality and the surrounding landscape and how these affected the prioritisation between different values. This meant that with further probing, unless the first answer given for the Magħtab project was not truthful (which was a rare occurrence for a response to be

a complete lie, but rather, some responses exaggerated the importance of certain aspects of their response to make their point more urgent, for example), the inconsistency in the answers was due to the context within which the question was being answered.

This contextual element provided the basis for two very important research outputs:

1. Using a different analytical framework of the empirical data for the CRU study, i.e. focusing on the centrality of the coast road in relation to the stakeholders' lifestyles; and
2. As will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, this overlap between the two projects allowed for an examination of how stakeholder reactions of stakeholder meetings and exercises performed during the Magħtab study affected stakeholder participation and their attitudes towards those held for the CRU study and how these affected the design of the meetings, the power dynamics during the meetings themselves and how they were mitigated.

The second point above brings highlights the importance how different contextual elements interact with each other, affecting other factors (introduced in Chapter 2 and discussed in detail in Chapters 6 and 7) that together influence the outcome of stakeholder participation.

As with the previous sections, Table 5.3 provides a table of the relevant contents of the social baseline study for the CRU, found in Appendix 7 of the EIS (2012). The SIA, Chapter 12 of the CRU EIS (2012: 439–455) provides a short summary of the baseline study. The sections summarising the sections on values and lifestyles and perceived effects of the scheme are summarised between pages 447 and 455 of the same document.

Table 5.3: A list of the relevant Sections and subsections of the Coast Road Upgrade Social Baseline Study (Technical Appendix 7), found in Appendix VI of this thesis (accompanying CD) with their relative paragraphs and page numbers.

Coast Road Upgrade: Social Baseline Study Section / Subsection	Par./Pars.	Pages
VALUES AND LIFESTYLES	116 – 213	41 – 76
Values: A theoretical Review	116 – 129	41 – 44
Centrality of Coast Road to lifestyle	130 – 133	44 – 45
Community: A Theoretical Review	134 – 149	45 – 49
Values at work: Push and Pull Factors	150 – 213	49 – 63
<i>Pull and Push Factors: General</i>	150 – 156	49 – 50
<i>Physical Factors: General</i>	157 – 160	50 – 51
<i>Physical Pull Factors</i>	161 – 166	51 – 53
<i>Social Factors</i>	167 – 194	54 – 58
<i>Foreign Full-Time Residents</i>	195 – 198	59
<i>Businesses and their employees / workers</i>	199 – 204	59 – 60
<i>Tourists</i>	205	60
<i>Recreational Users</i>	206 – 211	60 – 62
<i>The Farming Population</i>	212 – 213	62 – 63
Present Values and attitudes towards the coast road	214 – 274	64 – 76
An Anthropology of Risk – Human Security	220 – 223	65
Experience of the Coast Road	224 – 255	65 – 72

Coast Road Upgrade: Social Baseline Study Section / Subsection	Par./Pars.	Pages
<i>General</i>	224 – 229	65 – 67
<i>Past Experiences as recounted by the Users</i>	230 – 245	67 – 69
<i>Experiences of the Coast Road: Freedom</i>	246 – 249	69 – 70
<i>Experiences of the Coast Road: Security/risk</i>	250 – 255	70 – 72
Experience of the Coast Road: Road Centrality	256 – 265	72 – 75
<i>Centrality and locality (Termini, Central, & Secondary Central)</i>	256 – 265	72 – 75
SUMMARY OF FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO LIFESTYLE	266 – 274	75 – 76
PERCEIVED EFFECTS OF THE SCHEME	275 – 301	77 – 82
The implications of Experience	275 – 284	77 – 78
General Attitudes and Perceived Impacts	285 – 288	78 – 79
<i>Main Concerns</i>	288	79 – 80
Impacts and Quality of Life	289 – 301	80 – 82
<i>Traffic Congestion</i>	290 – 293	80 – 81
<i>Pollution and the Environment</i>	294 – 295	81
<i>Road Safety</i>	296 – 299	81
<i>Roadworthiness</i>	300 – 301	82
RECOMMENDATIONS MADE BY USERS	302 – 316	82 – 84

5.3.1 The centrality of the Coast Road to lifestyle

The study shows that the positioning of a locality along the Coast Road (Terminus, Central and Secondary Central) has an impact on the role that the road plays in people's lifestyles and thus the reaction that a particular user had towards the proposed upgrade. In particular, those interviewed who live at localities near the termini of the road were less concerned with issues of security or risk along the road and were less reflexive about what changes would do to their own lives or those of other people. Instead, they focused on the benefits, the freedom of movement that such an upgrade would bring 'for the good of the island'. Residents at central localities were the most concerned with the potentially negative aspects of freedom of movement such as increased traffic congestion and increased risk to themselves and others of reckless drivers.

Being a locality at the terminus of the Coast Road encompasses the areas of St Paul's Bay, Qawra, Pembroke, Madliena and Swieqi. The termini are characterised by being at the far northwest or south-east points of the Coast Road where it is generally accepted to have changed into another road. In the north this would be where the Coast Road meets the St Paul's Bay bypass and in the south this would be where it meets the main road into Paceville. Those localities that are considered to be located central to the Coast Road and where people must drive on, or take the bus along, the Coast Road in order to reach another locality. These include Salina and Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq.

Being in secondary central refers to localities that are very close to the Coast Road and can be assessed either via that road or via a secondary road network. Thus, people in secondary central locations may use the Coast Road frequently, but have alternative roads they can use.

- a. **Terminus Residence:** Localities and residents based at the end points of the proposed Coast Road upgrade. These include interviewees in St Paul's Bay, Swieqi and Pembroke. What they all have in common is that they are not immediately and/or directly affected by changes to the road. This is often because they do not use it, instead preferring to take other routes.

- b. **Central Residence:** Localities and residents based in the middle of the Coast Road upgrade. These include interviewees in Salina, Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and Burmarrad Farmers. What they all have in common is that they are immediately and directly affected by changes to the road. This is because they have no other choice but to use the road to access amenities outside their village and because all visitors to these residents must also use the Coast Road.
- c. **Secondary Central Residence:** Localities and residents in the middle of the proposed Coast Road upgrade, but who have alternative routes that they can and do use in conjunction with heavy use of the Coast Road. These include interviewees in Qawra and Magħtab. What they all have in common is that they are immediately and directly affected by changes to the road, but are not forced to use the Coast Road exclusively.

5.3.2 Values at work: Push and pull factors

The above conceptualization of how the road interacts with the lifestyles of stakeholders also informs upon how the road affects the ways how they perceive and value the localities where they live, work, play and interact with others, in other words, the push and pull factors. Physically the road is an artery that physically connects people to other aspects (human, work etc.) of their sociospheres, and thus it functions to lubricate and make possible the type of distributed sociality that is characteristic of modern Malta (par. 150). The section on Values at Work: Push and Pull Factors discusses the physical and social push and pull factors that were described by the stakeholders.

Paragraphs 151–194 detail physical and social push and pull factors that were common for most of the stakeholder groups at the various localities. Par. 158 specifies that while there are significant overlaps of such factors for residents and other users of the Aol,⁷⁸ it must also be understood that most respondents of the localities of Baħar iċ-

⁷⁸ This is referring to the areas from the localities within the Aol, especially Magħtab, Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, Salina, Qawra and Burmarrad on the one hand and the areas of Pembroke, Swieqi and Madliena from where users were interviewed, for physical factors in their respective locality.

Ġagħaq, Salina and Qawra were not referring to the area closest to the application site, unlike users of the hamlet of Magħtab, but to physical attributes found within their respective localities. A number of respondents from Magħtab and to a lesser extent Baħar iċ-Ġagħaq and Salina though referred to physical attributes found in the other neighbouring localities as being attractors, in the sense that while not living in the hustle and bustle of Qawra for example, which for them overcrowding, nightlife activities and being surrounded by hotels were negative aspects of living in a locality such as Qawra, living at Magħtab (or the nearby localities) meant that while their place of residence was in a quieter, more rural socio-physical environment, they were still close enough to the more lively (social) environment of Qawra together with the recreational amenities that it offered.

The main physical pull factors are:

- a. Proximity to sea (especially for residents of Qawra, Baħar iċ-Ġagħaq and Salina)
- b. Proximity to the countryside
- c. Quiet environment
- d. Trunk road, access to good transport links
- e. Advantageous geographical position of the locality/Proximity to Urban Centres.

The main physical push factors are:

- a. Pollution of swimming areas
- b. Smell and pollution coming from the landfill⁷⁹
- c. Dangerous road conditions: surface, lights, reckless drivers, etc.

Par. 161 – 166 describe in further detail the above pull and push physical factors, while Par. 167- 194 discuss the social pull and push factors, outlined below:

The Social Pull Factors are:

- a. Proximity or attachment to kin and land ownership
- b. Inexpensive land / property

⁷⁹ The Magħtab landfill is a major push factor, both physically and socially. Since the aim of this report is to concentrate more on the Coast Road, the factors surrounding the landfill and its ancillary operations will not be discussed in detail here. For more information and analysis on the landfill issues that users have, see the Magħtab SBS, Appendix V).

- c. Residence as a result of domestic problems (Residents of Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, Qawra and Salina) but this is related to family attachment and land ownership
- d. Anonymity (including privacy) and Independence (Residents of Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, Qawra and Salina)
- e. A quiet (peaceful) environment
- f. The alleged closure of the Magħtab landfill operation (Predominantly for residents of Magħtab, Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and Salina).

The Social Push Factors are:

- a. Parking
- b. Dangerous driving: illegal night racing along the coast road and motorcyclists
- c. Poor public transportation.

In addition to the above factors that were mostly homogenous among stakeholders (except where specified), there were a number of other factors that were more specific to particular stakeholder groups. These included foreign full-time residents, businesses and their employees / workers; tourists; recreational users and the farming population. These are discussed in pars. 195–213 of the baseline study report.

5.3.3 Present values and attitudes towards the coast road

Just as the Landfill operation affected the values and attitudes that stakeholders within the Aol for the Magħtab case study, the social analysis considers the affects that the coast road has on the social groups and stakeholders that in one way or another are affected by it. Here the central concept becomes that of an understanding of an artery of movement - a road that people take to move between areas and thus to complete their sociospheres, rather than population related to a fixed locality, then it is important to focus on an analysis of the main areas of concern for the users. As seen in the information presented in the previous section, people are overwhelmingly concerned with their ability to move freely along the Coast Road (to avoid traffic queues, slow drivers, and awkward vehicles, such as large Arriva busses and construction / garbage disposal trucks) and to travel safely either along the road from point A to point B, or else to be able to cross the road safely when going to and from their residences (par. 215). Therefore the concepts of risk, freedom and security

become the focus of the analysis, where road centrality of a locality becomes evidently important. These are discussed in detail in pars. 220–225.

5.3.4 Summary of factors that contribute to lifestyle

Paragraphs 266–274, reproduced below for easy access, provide a basic summary of the factors that contribute to lifestyle that can be grouped into issues surrounding socioscape (where people live along the road), sociosphere (how people use the road to facilitate the actualization of their sociosphere) and human security/risk (the perceived risk as a factor of weighing freedom versus security):

- Socioscaples and Lifestyle: The socioscape is where the Sensitive Receptors live (i.e. the stakeholder groups that live in localities that fall within the Aol) and how other users' sociospheres interact with that socioscape via the Coast Road. In particular, the use of the Coast Road by recreational drivers, commuters and travellers to the beaches/Gozo ferry all impact on the socioscaples under consideration. Where people live along the road, their road centrality (terminus, central, secondary central) was also analysed.
- Sociospheres and Lifestyle: The individual's own sociosphere contributes to the form their lifestyle takes. This concept takes into consideration how a person uses the Coast Road in order to actualize their lifestyle. It is here that issues of road centrality come to the fore. In particular how people use the road (to facilitate the actualization of their sociosphere).
- Human Security, Risk and Lifestyles: Issues of road centrality feed into the final consideration: that of human security. Users' perceptions of the freedom they find through the road versus the safety issues they identify with it come together to inform their ideas of how risky it is to take the Coast Road. This, in turn, implicitly influences how much value they place on the need to upgrade the safety features of the road.
- Road Centrality of the Socioscape: The places, ways in which, and people with whom the users interact constitute their sociospheres. Given that it is a reasonable assumption that nearly all users in the Aol will have sociospheres that reach beyond their locality, and that they will use the Coast Road as a means of actualizing these spheres (getting from one place to another in the course of living their lives), then the centrality of each of the nine localities along the road is an important factor to consider. This factor also impacts on how other users of the Coast road, like illegal car racing, impact on the Sensitive Receptors (for example, those who live near accident black spots such as Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq and Salina).

- Current perceptions of Risk and the Coast Road: Influences how they use their locality, how often they deem it necessary to use the car versus walking to local amenities. It also impacted whether or not they used the road at all, and when. Such as the young women who tried to avoid the Coast Road at all costs, but certainly would never use it at night even if they might use it during the day every once in a while. This also influences how necessary they think an upgrade to the Coast Road is. For example, those people who do not think it is particularly dangerous (many of the residents of the original village of Salina and those living at terminus localities) were less inclined to see the need for road works that they saw as unnecessary to their way of life (continued, safe maintenance of their sociospheres). Equally, those who saw the road as dangerous, but also saw an upgrade as increasing the risk posed by the road, were also disinclined towards the upgrades that they saw as detrimental to their way of life.

5.3.5 Perceived effects of the Coast Road Upgrade

This section investigates how stakeholders perceived the CRU development Scheme, starting by reiterating the importance that experience has on such perceptions. It also pointed out that the perceived effects varied depending on the position that a person's locality had along the road.

- a. Thus, those who lived in localities at the termini of the Coast Road tended to be less reflexive about the project and its potential impacts (negative or positive).
- b. Those who were centrally located along the road tended to be the most reflexive on both the positive and negative impacts of the Scheme as well as offering alternative ideas on how to improve the road or to better spend the funds that would be used to upgrade the road.
- c. Those located secondary central included both urban residents (as in Madliena) and rural farmers (as with the lands around Burmarrad). Each of these groups had different reactions to the perceived impacts of the scheme with those in Madliena being much less concerned about the Scheme than the farmers whose lands would be directly impacted. Thus, in outlook, users in Madliena share more in common with other users in terminus locations and users in Burmarrad share more in common with other users in central locations.
- d. There were very few perceived effects that were shared by all users with the exception that the Scheme would create a road with a more attractive and pleasant driving surface.

The section then lists the main concerns (par. 288) and the impacts on quality of life, which fell into three main issues (discussed in pars. 290–301):

- Traffic congestion;
- Road safety; and
- Roadworthiness for pleasure.

5.3.6 Recommendations made by stakeholders

Invariably, interviewees made their own recommendations, which are based on their experience of the Coast Road and other roads in Malta. Interviews were also conducted with official organisations, including but not limited to the Local Councils. A number of the recommendations that were made are interspersed through the text of the baseline study.

The following are the recommendations that were mentioned by most the stakeholders (par. 303), followed by a brief explanation for each one in pars. 304–316:

- a. Police presence
- b. Speed cameras
- c. Traffic calming measures: bollards and roundabouts
- d. Zebra crossings
- e. Secondary road system for Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq
- f. Two bicycle lanes, one on each side of the road.
- g. An aggressive educational campaign that goes hand-in-hand with a drastic increase in enforcement (in particular points a. and b. — greater police presence and speed cameras).

5.4 The Marsalforn Coastal Defences Case Study

Table 5.4 provides a table of the relevant contents of the unpublished social baseline study for the Marsalforn Coastal Defences, which was updated in January 2013, after a second stakeholder meeting was held in December 2012. The values and lifestyles section of the updated version has very few alterations from the original version that was written after the fieldwork and first stakeholder meeting that took place a year

earlier. The updated version mostly emphasizes a number of perceptions and values stakeholders had already voiced, in particular towards their experience of development, their mistrust towards decision-makers (especially the time it takes to make decisions and for stakeholder knowledge to be taken seriously); and their attitudes towards the weather conditions at Marsalforn in terms of safety and risk.

Table 5.5 (p. 273) in Section 5.4.1 brings together Table 2: *Lifestyle Values and Activities for the "Populations" of Marsalforn (Consisting of various sociospheres that overlap populations)* and Table 3: *Lifestyle values and activities: The Transient and Visiting Populations*, found at the end of the Marsalforn SBS (See Appendix VII).

The main difference from the first report is the final two sections, which include respondents' perceptions to the updated version of the plans and corresponding recommendations:

- Perceived effects of the scheme; and
- Recommendations made by interviewees and their perceived (social) effects.

Table 5.4: A list of the relevant Sections and subsections of the Marsalforn Social Baseline Study (Technical Appendix 6), found in Appendix VII of this thesis (accompanying CD) with their relative paragraphs and page numbers.

The Marsalforn Coastal Defences Social Baseline Study Section / Subsection	Par./Pars.	Pages
VALUES AND LIFESTYLES	136 – 294	35 - 67
Introducing the functions of understanding Values and Lifestyles	136 – 142	35 – 37
What the Socioscape Offers to the Sociospheres & intersecting Populations	143 - 153	37 – 41
Perceptions of Community and Community Values	154 – 188	41 – 49
Factors influencing the formation of and the decrease of community and community values	157 – 188	41 - 49
Attitudes and Values towards Present Social and Physical Conditions	189 – 292	49 - 60
The Local Population	192 – 219	50 - 55
<u>The experience of development in Marsalforn:</u> Increase in population and a decrease in community values and unity	195 - 203	51 - 52
<u>The experience of development in Marsalforn:</u> Attitudes towards visual space and amenity	204	52 - 53
<u>Safety and risk:</u> The weather conditions at Marsalforn and bad urban planning	205 - 211	53 - 54
<u>Official / unofficial social organisation</u>	212 - 213	54
<u>Traffic and Parking problems, past and present</u>	214 – 217	54 - 55
<u>Noise Pollution</u>	218 – 219	55
The Transient and Visiting Populations	220 – 221	55 - 56

The Marsalforn Coastal Defences Social Baseline Study Section / Subsection	Par./Pars.	Pages
Tourists (from both the transient and visiting populations)	222 – 224	56
Recreational Users	225 - 228	56 – 57
Summary of Factors that Contribute to Lifestyle	229	58 – 67
Table 2: Lifestyle Values and Activities for the "Populations" of Marsalforn (Consisting of various sociospheres that overlap populations)		59 – 63
Table 3: Lifestyle values and activities: the Transient and Visiting Populations		63 - 67
PERCEIVED EFFECTS OF THE SCHEME	230 - 279	68 – 77
Key Themes extrapolated from the survey held in December 2012	233 - 246	68– 70
General attitudes towards the proposed Schemes – both above and underwater breakwater options	247 - 260	70 – 72
Above Water Breakwater: General attitudes towards the proposed Scheme	261 - 265	72 – 74
Underwater Breakwater: General attitudes	266 - 275	74 – 76
Summary of General Attitudes and Other Concerns	267 - 279	76 - 77
RECOMMENDATIONS MADE BY INTERVIEWEES AND THEIR PERCEIVED (SOCIAL) EFFECTS	280– 319	78 – 85
Recommendations perceived to increase the efficacy and safety of the proposed Scheme	291 - 300	79 - 81
Recommendations perceived to increase the socio-economic value of the proposed Scheme	301 - 316	81 - 84
Concluding Observations and Recommendations made by the Researchers	317 - 319	84 - 85

5.4.1 Values and lifestyles

As with the previous two case studies the first paragraphs (pars. 136–142) introduce the functions of understanding values and lifestyles in the context of Marsalforn. A general description that was congruent by all the stakeholders that were interviewed follows (pars. 143–146). These are reproduced below to show the similarities between the three case studies when it came to express what attracted them to that particular locality. What is interesting to highlight though is the different ways that were used to describe their attachment towards the physical and social environment of Marsalforn.

143. ... It is interesting to note that when asked (in Maltese) what attracts interviewees to the locality so much, most, could not eloquently express in their own words what it was that made them so attached to the locality, except that the (physical and social) environment at the locality was different or unique.⁸⁰ It was more of a visceral feeling, and their immediate response was usually that they simply love the place, that it was part of them, part of their identity and who they were. Some established residents went as far as saying that they were born at the locality and they wish to die there.
144. When pushed further, their description was strikingly similar to what English-speaking foreigners, Maltese and Gozitans used to describe the locality – “quaint.” The concept of “quaintness” is key to understanding the attractiveness of the locality and the area to foreign residents (especially British ones) and regular foreign visitors. Quaintness conveys a perception of a physical and social landscape that has not been irrevocably changed by progress and industrialisation, as has happened in most towns in their own country. It is of considerable value to this group.⁸¹
145. Another word that was used instead of ‘quaint’ to describe the locality was that it projected a feeling of “homeliness”. This probably referred more to the friendly social environment of the locality.
146. When asked to describe in their own words, what they meant and what attracts them to the locality, all the interviewees made the following remarks. Other responses that were specific to particular users / groups or sociospheres are described in the following sub-sections.

⁸⁰ In Maltese, the expression used by many was: ‘*l’ambjent hawn differenti – uniku*’ – ‘The environment here is different – unique’; and when asked to elaborate on whether it was the physical or the social environment that they were referring to, their response was that it was both.

⁸¹ Also see the Social Study for PA 04591/00: EPS: Multi-storey Scheme for Housing, Timeshare and Retail Facilities (Vella and Falzon, 2005: 259-300).

- As described above, the locality is perceived as being ‘quaint’;
- Quiet and tranquil environment, they liked the area in general;⁸²
- The views and breath-taking scenery;
- Related to the previous point, the area is diverse in its landscapes – it offers both seascapes and rural landscapes;
- A lot of open space;
- They appreciate the fact that people, including tourists and foreign residents use the area for their leisure;
- For those who like the outdoors, it offers walks both by the shore and the countryside – both are within walking distance;
- Less pollution;
- A different environment from where they originally lived, usually in over-populated localities, even though in summer the locality is very populated;⁸³
- Economically convenient (apartments were cheaper than at other localities when they were bought, or reduced costs because they now lived in same place where they worked);
- In summer it is like having a summer-long party where everybody is invited – it is like living at a holiday resort;
- It is safe for the children to play and roam outside and swim unattended by their parents – and this also gives the children more freedom, and it is close to the countryside where they can go exploring;
- A Relaxing and safe social environment;
- Residents who own dogs want a place close to home that offers the space in the countryside (or by the sea) to walk them;⁸⁴

⁸² Even in the height of the summer activities, Marsalforn can still offer pockets of tranquility – people can go for long walks along the shore or into the countryside.

⁸³ This is countered by the very small population during the winter time, which many people welcome – giving users the time to have the locality for themselves during that period.

⁸⁴ In fact during the fieldwork a number of (British) foreigners were encountered who travelled down to Gozo with their dogs to stay for the winter season.

- Other leisure activities include cycling and biking in the countryside, swimming, and fishing. Some own boats and, being close to the sea / mooring areas, can go boating regularly during the summer;
- Privacy and personal time out;⁸⁵
- Anonymity and Privacy (for transient residents and others who seek it);
- Summer residents, local permanent residents, especially those with extended family living at the locality are able to stay close to their kin, who also live permanently or as summer residents at the locality;
- Proximity to the Church for practising Catholics; and
- Restaurants / outlets act as a meeting place for business owners (themselves residents) and habitual clients, most of whom are summer / FT residents and serve to create or renew friendships and ties between owners and clients from one season to another. This is particularly true for Maltese summer residents and regular Maltese visitors. It is estimated that more than 65% the tourism industry at Marsalforn is domestic, i.e. coming from Malta. The same can be said for the clients themselves, where habitual clients mingle and make friends, dine and enjoy themselves together.

Particular stakeholder groups, especially those who pertained to more than one sociosphere made specific comments on how this overlap between social groups affected their perceptions of what Marsalforn had to offer for them. These are described in pars. 147–143 of the baseline study.

5.4.2 Perception of community and community values

This section is of particular interest because for a relatively small Aol, there was a lot of ambivalence at what contributed towards maintaining a feeling of community and what contributes towards a decrease in community values. The data collected suggest two main theories:

⁸⁵ Even if many believe that there is not much of a community or community values in the area, accounts depicting their lifestyle tell a slightly different story. While they do not mingle much and there do not seem to be the binding factors found in villages such as Manikata, nonetheless, foreigners and other transient visitors find that while they are given their space and can have their relaxation and personal timeout they can still socialise. These characteristics will be explained further in the coming paragraphs.

- That there are a number of 'sociospheres' built around social networks, which out of necessity makes people communicate with each other. There still is the distinction between long standing residents and more recent residents, but those who work at Marsalforn and have familial ties with residents who have been living at Marsalforn for much longer feel that, through their familial connections, they have the same status within the community (or sociosphere) as those who have been living there for much longer (par. 157).
- Established residents and those with strong social ties within the locality perceive transient full-time residents as not really caring for the welfare of the locality. It is for this reason that they are considered transients and put on the same level as summer residents. This is irrespective of the fact that a large number⁸⁶ of summer residents feel that they form part of a community at Marsalforn since they have been returning to Marsalforn for decades, many since they were young. Many summer residents either started using their parents' summerhouse or bought one for themselves when they grew up.

The interesting thing about this case study is that, as seen in earlier sections and visualised by Table 4.7 (p. 223, above), many individuals subscribed to different sociospheres, so that a resident, for example, was also a business person operating at Marsalforn. Such a person would be expected to interact with various groups, not just other residents. Interviewees also made various distinctions between who should be considered part of the community of Marsalforn (this goes back to the idea of who is a “real” resident and who is not, as described in an earlier section). It is interesting to note here though, that when interviewing Maltese summer residents and Maltese regular visitors (during the summer), many mentioned that they believe that they also formed part of a community and several times it was reiterated that they *are* a community, even though they do not live at Marsalforn all year round (par. 159).

Taking the above as a starting point, the perceptions that different people have of what a community is, and the construction of community in people's minds, depends as much on the baggage of experiences one has within a culture, as much as the external socio-physical conditions found within the socioscape. In other words, whether it fits with their preconceptions as to whether the locality sustains, or can sustain, a

⁸⁶ The reader must be reminded here that the use of the word 'large' is derived from interviews with other users and a few summer residents – it does not mean that a large number of summer residents have been interviewed.

community. Therefore, a group's perception of community and the values held by the group go hand in hand and depend on the interaction of one with the other. Finally, does their perception of community affect their lifestyle in any way; does it stop or limit them from forging new friendships or alliances with different people?

At the end of paragraph 160 there is a list of factors of the more commonly perceived factors that influence the formation and the consolidation of community values or, conversely, decrease the feeling of an active community and the perception of community values within Marsalforn. These are described in further detail in the subsections that follow (pars. 161–188). It is noted that many of the factors are related, in one way or another. These are listed below:

- Increase in Development –
 - Pertinence to the local community depends on where one lives within the locality;
 - Spatially organised social hubs and;
 - Network dependent (or sociosphere interconnectedness) construction of community values;
 - No social clubs to reinforce community cohesion;
 - The Seasonal changes at the locality contribute to maintaining a feeling of community (even though there were divergent arguments here);
- The Concept of a family as a conduit to community cohesion –
 - Anonymity and privacy;
 - Families and having children induce the need to settle at the locality;
 - Families with children/ teenagers with the same age-groups;
 - The Church helps community cohesion and inter-sociosphere connections;
- Tensions due to different uses of space (land use); which also interconnect with:
 - The socio-economic changes to Tourism at the locality have decreased community values;
 - Alienation from Administrative Loci

For the purposes of this chapter, it is pertinent to point at two subsections from the above list, since there are correlations with the other two case studies. One is the experience of (the lack of) safety and (increase of) risk, this time because of the weather conditions at Marsalforn, especially the bay area, which stakeholders argued as worsening because of bad urban planning (see pars. 205–211). This is very similar to the experience that residents of Magħtab had of the landfill operation.

Connected to the above point, is the point that follows: ‘Official / unofficial social organisation’ (pars. 212–213). Again, just like the Magħtab case study, there is a perceived lack of proper representation and consultation at the level of official governance – the Ministry of Gozo (which represents central Government), to the regional level (at Local Council Level), since the Administrative Committee at local level, which represented Marsalforn within the Local Council had only been recently formed. There was consensus that the Administrative Council had very little decision-making power within the Local Council to start with and more importantly, stakeholder representation was not homogenous. “As a number of residents with no business affiliations within the locality pointed out, it is partly the fault of the residents themselves that they do not have equal representation since very rarely a person without business affiliations opts to run for office within the Administrative Committee or the Local Council” (par. 212).

Table 5.5, below reproduces Tables 2 and 3 of the Marsalforn baseline study. These summarise the above attributes and values that contribute towards users’ lifestyle at the locality and how these attributes interact (positively or negatively) with their lifestyles. As noted, interviewees may pertain to several sociospheres.

The key is reproduced below for reference:

- ✓ : Positively interacts with sociosphere and lifestyle
- ✗ : Negatively interacts with sociosphere and detracts from lifestyle
- ↔ : Ambivalent attitude
- ? : The interviewees generally did not know whether the particular issue would positively or negatively affect them.
- 👉 : Not enough data: Interview sample too small to give an informed description. The ‘👉’ is followed by the analysis gathered from the data available or secondary data. Ex. 👉✓, meaning – not enough data; positively interacts with sociosphere and lifestyle.
- NR : Not relevant for sociosphere, no effect on sociosphere and lifestyle of individuals.

Table 5.5: Lifestyle Values and Activities of the stakeholder groups found within the Populations of Marsalforn (Consisting of different sociopheres found within the various populations)

What the socioscape offers (+ve and –ve) for the sociospheres	Effect on Sociospheres																		
	The Local Population										The Transient population					The Visiting Population			
	Permanent Residents				Part-time/ Summer Residents regularly returning to locality		Workers		Fishermen (Part-time and Full- time)	Regularly returning visitors for Leisure / Sports	Maltese & Gozitan summer residents 👤 [2]	Gozitan temporary residents	Foreign regularly returning summer Residents 👤	Foreign Summer Residents 👤	Returning Tourists 👤	First-time Tourists 👤	Visitors to Local Residents	Church Goers	Recreational Users ^[3]
	Well established Local residents	Recently established permanent Local residents	Established foreign residents	Recently established foreign residents	Maltese Part-time Residents	Gozitan Summer Residents [1]	Business Owners (including hoteliers)	Employees											
“Quaint” / “homeliness” / “unique social environment”	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Quiet / Tranquil Environment (Esp. in Winter for the local population)	✓	✓	✓	✓	NR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
A Refuge (esp. in Winter for the local population)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	NR	NR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ ^[4]	NR	NR	✓
Place to relax	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	NR	NR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	NR	✓
Social gathering / Family outing – A Meeting Place	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
In Summer the locality is vibrant with activity	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓/ ✕	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Different environment to where they (originally) live/ed	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Less Pollution	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Safe environment for their children	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Privacy	✓ / ↔	✓	👤 ✓	👤 ✓	✓ / ↔	✓ / ↔	NR	NR	↔ / ✕	↔ / ✕	✓ / ↔	✓	✓	✓	✓ / ↔	✓ / ↔	NR	NR	↔ / NR
Anonymity	↔ / ✕	↔ / ✕	👤 ✓	👤 ✕	✓ / ↔	✓ / ↔	NR	NR	↔ / ✕	↔ / ✕	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ / ↔	✓ / ↔	NR	NR	↔ / NR

What the socioscape offers (+ve and –ve) for the sociospheres	Effect on Sociospheres																		
	The Local Population										The Transient population					The Visiting Population			
	Permanent Residents				Part-time/ Summer Residents regularly returning to locality		Workers		Fishermen (Part-time and Full-time)	Regularly returning visitors for Leisure / Sports	Maltese & Gozitan summer residents 🖐️ [2]	Gozitan temporary residents	Foreign regularly returning summer Residents 🖐️	Foreign Summer Residents 🖐️	Returning Tourists 🖐️	First-time Tourists 🖐️	Visitors to Local Residents	Church Goers	Recreational Users [3]
	Well established Local residents	Recently established permanent Local residents	Established foreign residents	Recently established foreign residents	Maltese Part-time Residents	Gozitan Summer Residents [1]	Business Owners (including hoteliers)	Employees											
Physical Environment: Proximity to the Seashore and countryside	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Safe open spaces for leisure activities including hiking, cycling and walking pets	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Visual Amenity – both seascapes & countryside views	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Visual Space	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Proximity to work	✓ / NR	✓ / NR	NR / ✓	NR / ✓	NR	✓ / NR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ / NR	✓ / NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Physical closeness to kin	✓	✓	🖐️ NR / ✓	🖐️ NR	NR	NR					✓	✓	NR / ✓	NR	NR	NR	✓ / NR	✓ / NR	✓ / NR
Physical closeness to friends	✓	✓ / NR	✓	🖐️ ✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	NR	✓	✓	✓
Feeling of Community / Community values at locality	✓ / ✖	✖ / ✓	🖐️ ✓ / ✖	🖐️ ✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✖ / ✓	? / ↔	✓ / ✖	✖ / ✓	✓ / ?	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	NR / ✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓	↔ / ✖ / ✓ / NR
Economically viable property/ size of flat	✓	✓	✓	🖐️ ✓	✓	✓	NR / ✓	NR / ✓	NR / ✓	NR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ / ✖	NR	NR	NR / ✓
Cheap destination	NR	NR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	NR	NR	NR	NR	✓	✓	✓	✓ / ?	NR	NR	NR
Centrality and Good Public Transport Facility [5]	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

What the socioscape offers (+ve and –ve) for the sociospheres	Effect on Sociospheres																		
	The Local Population										The Transient population					The Visiting Population			
	Permanent Residents				Part-time/ Summer Residents regularly returning to locality		Workers		Fishermen (Part-time and Full- time)	Regularly returning visitors for Leisure / Sports	Maltese & Gozitan summer residents 👤 [2]	Gozitan temporary residents	Foreign regularly returning summer Residents 👤	Foreign Summer Residents 👤	Returning Tourists 👤	First-time Tourists 👤	Visitors to Local Residents	Church Goers	Recreational Users ^[3]
	Well established Local residents	Recently established permanent Local residents	Established foreign residents	Recently established foreign residents	Maltese Part-time Residents	Gozitan Summer Residents [1]	Business Owners (including hoteliers)	Employees											
Parking ^[6]	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✖	✓ / ✖	✖	✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖
Traffic and circulation ^[4]	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖	✓ / ✖
Noise Pollution	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔
Amenities including restaurants, supermarkets etc.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ / ✖	✓	✓	✓
Proximity to Church	✓ / NR	✓ / NR	✓ / NR	✓ / NR	✓ / NR	✓ / NR	✓ / NR	✓ / NR	✓ / NR	✓ / NR	✓ / NR	✓ / NR	✓ / NR	✓ / NR	✓ / NR	✓ / NR	✓ / NR	✓ / NR	✓ / NR
Experience of Development/ Increase in Population	✖	✖	👤 ✖	👤 ✖	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖	↔	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖ / NR	✖	✖	✖
Loss of visual space due to increasing height in apartment blocks	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖	↔	↔	✖	↔	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖	↔	↔	✖
Safety and Risk issues because of bad weather	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖	NR / ✖	↔ / ✖	NR	NR	✖ / NR Depending on Season	✖ / NR Depending on Season	✖ / NR Depending on Season	✖ / NR Depending on Season	✖ / NR Depending on Season
Various areas of locality need regeneration and embellishment	✖	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖	✖	✖	↔ / ✖	✖	↔ / ? / ✖	✖	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖ / ↔	✖	NR / ✖	↔ / ✖	↔ / ✖	↔
Tensions due to different uses of Space	↔ / ✖	↔ / ✖	↔ / ✖	↔ / ✖	↔ / ✖	↔ / ✖	↔ / ✖	↔ / ✖	✖	↔ / ✖ / ?	↔ / ✖	↔ / ✖	↔ / ✖	↔ / ✖	↔ / ✖	↔ / ?	↔	↔	✖
Alienation from Administrative Loci	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖ / ↔ / ?	✖	↔ / ✖ / ?	✖	✖	✖	✖	↔ / ✖	? / ↔	↔ / ✖	✖ / ↔ / ?	↔

Key

- ✓ Positively interacts with sociosphere and lifestyle
- ✕ Negatively interacts with sociosphere and detracts from lifestyle
- ↔ Ambivalent attitude
- ? The interviewees generally did not know whether the particular issue would positively or negatively affect them.
- 👉 Not enough data: Interview sample too small to give an informed description.
The ‘👉’ is followed by the analysis gathered from the data available or secondary data. For Example: 👉✓ means not enough data; positively interacts with sociosphere and lifestyle.
- NR Not relevant for sociosphere, no effect on sociosphere and lifestyle of individuals.

Notes

- [1] These visit the locality regularly during the rest of the year, though they do not live permanently at their summer residence.
- [2] Where indicated with the symbol ‘👉’ the sample size was either too small to give an informed description and the data is mostly from secondary data.
- [3] For summer recreational users: 👉
- [4] Relevant for First Time Tourists for the point on ‘A Refuge (esp. in Winter for the local population)’; and the point on Traffic and Circulation for all the Transient and Visiting populations: Depends on what the stakeholders within their particular sociospheres are looking for in a holiday or the locality
- [5] With the new public transport system, the locality has become very accessible and the public transport has improved drastically
- [6] Relevant for the Transient and Visiting Populations: Depends on the season: summer = ✕ while in winter = ✓

5.4.3 Perception of the Scheme and its effects

The perceived effects of the Scheme (both the underwater breakwater proposed in 2011 and the updated version proposed in 2012) “were necessarily based on past experience, especially, in this case, the weather and its lasting effects on the locality, including perceptions of risk – whether or not the proposed Scheme is perceived to first and foremost be effective against the high waves during bad weather and weather it will effectively also reduce the risks and damages the storm water has on the area affected. However, such considerations need to be taken into account in an area where the general feeling of the population residing in the area is that of one of bad planning and decision-making together with lack of enforcement and responsiveness by administrative bodies and developers. These inform the definition of ‘sensitive receptors’ and ‘sensitive attributes’ that guide the impact assessment” (par. 230). The section discusses and analyses perceptions and attitudes towards the two versions of the Scheme.

There were 5 key themes towards the updated version, extrapolated from the survey that was undertaken with stakeholders during the 2nd stakeholder meeting that was held in December 2012 (par. 233) and explained in further detail in the paragraphs that follow (pars. 234–246):

1. Tourism and Amenities;
2. Winter (weather and amenities);
3. Degradation of the Urban Environment;
4. Sustainability of the Proposed Scheme, and
5. Family Connections to the Locality.

The section then analyses general attitudes towards both versions (pars. 247–255); concerns about the construction phase (pars. 256–260), and concerns both general and more specific for both versions of the project proposal (pars. 261–275). Paragraphs 276–279 summarise the general attitudes towards the two versions and for each version, reproduced below.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ It should be noted that the points and the information therein can be inter-related and have only been separated for clarity.

Summary of General Attitudes and concerns towards both versions:

- Safety at the bay for users and their properties, including boats kept at the bay, and the Menqa should be the priority – other things should be secondary, such as the beach. This is because of the general perception of interviewees that the underwater breakwater was being constructed to protect the re-nourished beach and not the promenade, the properties / businesses on the foreshore and the Menqa;
- The proposed Scheme is not holistic in its approach and should also seek to be beneficial towards the socio-economic amenity of the bay, its current uses and users.
- Dredging:
 - If there were to be dredging, would the process damage or pollute the seabed?
 - Would the dredging disturb the underwater flora & fauna, especially those found hugging the coast?
 - Would the dredging cause any damage to the artefacts found at the bottom of the sea, even if found further away from where the dredging would take place? (This was a question mostly asked by scuba divers)?
 - Are there any alternatives to dredging? Are there other methods that would minimise disturbance of the seabed?
- Other concerns were directed towards the construction phase:
 - The timing and length of the construction phase:
 - Access to the bay during the construction phase;
 - Loss of business and employment during the construction phase
 - Noise and dust pollution;
 - Traffic and circulation problems.

Concerning Only the Underwater Breakwater Scheme:

- Uncertainty on the efficacy of an underwater breakwater - that it would not be enough to stop the waves in bad weather;
- Local knowledge experts had not been consulted resulting in the currently proposed plans that are perceived to not take into consideration all the variables at play at the bay (different wind directions; underwater currents; the underwater erosion of the promenade; the force of the storm water; the reefs; especially the one at Qolla l-Bajda; etc.);

- Accountability and lack of trust in the Authorities, especially since the proposed Scheme is being proposed by the Authorities (based on previous experience);
- Regarding the Menqa – all interviewees (and those present at the public meeting) did not agree with increasing the height of the arm of the Menqa;

Concerning only the Above Water Breakwater Scheme

There were no new concerns expressed specifically for the above-water breakwater scheme. However, it is important to remember that respondents did not tend to find the new plans of the Scheme a vast improvement over the previous one. This is likely because it did not address the social dimensions of the breakwater's use (par. 279).

5.4.4 Recommendations made by interviewees and their perceived (social) effects

This section of the Marsalforn 2012 baseline study (pars. 280–316) is a compilation of the recommendations made by interviewees and survey respondents regarding both the underwater and the above water breakwater schemes. These recommendations have been consolidated because (for the most part) they remain similar. They have been updated to remove those recommendations that were taken into consideration with the commissioning of the new above water breakwater Scheme.

The introductory paragraphs stress that one of the aims of the social study is to assist the Environmental Assessors with alternative considerations and mitigation strategies. This is in part achieved by understanding how users within the Aol perceive the future trajectories that they would like their locality to go to through the recommendations that they make for the proposed Scheme. This is especially significant for this study because of what respondents meant when stating that the project was not 'holistic' enough. The word 'holistic' was used in two ways:

Either that

- The proposed plans for the coastal defences of the bay were not taking into consideration all the environmental factors that come into play during major storms, which explains the uncertainties mentioned in the previous section that respondents felt about the underwater breakwater's efficacy in stopping the waves from damaging the promenade, the properties along the foreshore and users and their property (such as boats) who use the bay area and the Menqa;

Or that

- The proposed Scheme does not also increase the socio-economic value of locality in its approach as a project of such economic expense, and respondents felt that if such a project is to be undertaken, then either this Scheme should incorporate other features that would enhance the locality; or that other development projects should be developed hand-in-hand with this Scheme and implemented contemporaneously. Like that, users would only suffer the negative impacts of one construction phase (even if they were separate development Schemes) since they were being done during the same time frame (pars. 281–282).⁸⁸

Paragraphs 283–287 explain:

283. The first concern was addressed by the re-commissioning of the breakwater design; however, the second concern remains unaddressed and people remain worried about whether such a breakwater will enhance or destroy the touristic amenities of the bay.
284. Because of the above reasons, several recommendations were made by respondents that either targeted the plans of the currently proposed Scheme, such as a breakwater above sea level and the use of accropodes or other similar structures in different places around the bay and beyond the bay; or went beyond the remit of the Scheme and suggested additional features such as a pontoon for boat owners, a small yacht marina and an additional pontoon for medium sized cruise liners.
285. Some respondents went prepared to the interview, with ad-hoc drawings and plans, either drawn by hand or even architectural drawings of how they envisaged these changes, while others, including official organisations such as the Gozo Tourism Association (GTA), explained their vision for the locality by showing the researcher actual project proposals with project description statements. These were usually changes on a much larger scale than the proposed Scheme and usually included a yacht marina and / or a medium sized cruise liner pier.
286. It must be noted that some of the recommendations combined the two given meanings of holistic, recommending features that incorporated both a perceived increase in the safety and efficacy of the proposed Scheme with added socio-economic value.

⁸⁸ This second use of the word “holistic” goes back to respondents’ previous experience of other developments in the area as having been badly planned and not taken together as a sort of Master Plan for the socio-economic enhancement of the locality as a whole.

287. It is the additions to the socio-economic value that require further social analysis and how various respondents perceived them. During the fieldwork, the researcher felt that such recommendations, if not mentioned by the respondent being interviewed at the time, should be made known to the respondent, especially if they pertained to other sociospheres, and that they should be given the opportunity to comment on them. This is because if taken into consideration by the Authorities, such proposals would potentially have significant social effects on the locality, especially for the areas where such recommendations were being proposed to be located.

Based on this analysis, several recommendations were suggested by stakeholders to increase the efficacy and safety of the proposed Scheme, and its socio-economic value. This included, for example, combining safety features with amenities on a much larger scale, such as a yacht marina or a pier for medium-sized cruise liners or their landing boats.

These major alterations had little to do with coastal defences but an increase in amenity-value features to make Marsalforn a year-round tourism destination, brought with them conflicting views of such alterations. Business owners sought to improve their income stream while claiming to wanting to improve the overall service provision of the locality. Other stakeholders did not want such major changes to take place. These included residents who had been identified as wanting peace and quiet, including many who pertained to more than one sociosphere, such as those who also had economic stakes such as a number of restaurant owners but also considered Marsalforn their home and had a particular affinity to the locality. The decrease in tourism in winter for them meant that Marsalforn went back to be a quiet seaside village where they could relax for the winter months.

Many of the proposals that included a large yacht marina invariably placed it off *il-Qolla L-Bajda* (at the periphery of the village of Marsalforn), which, according to the proponents of such plans, would have a similar effect on the Qbajjar and Xwejni areas. They argued that such a proposal would encourage a regeneration of the two areas. However, while interviewees used the term 'regeneration', when asked for an explanation, it sounded more like the definition for gentrification (Smith, 1996). In other words, since it is perceived that some of the types of people living at the Qbajjar and Xwejni areas are considered social cases, with living conditions that are felt to be less than desirable and adding to the image of shabbiness to the locality, a yacht marina

would produce a ripple effect – Apartment owners would upgrade their properties, increase the rent and those who cannot afford the new rents would have to move elsewhere, making way for a more professional and middle class population to settle in these areas.

5.4.5 Concluding observations and recommendations made by the researchers

A number of conclusions were made in the baseline study that point toward the role of stakeholder engagement in understanding the various agendas that stakeholders can have towards a proposed project. For example, many objections were couched in terms of “tourism,” and discussions of new building (whether flats or breakwaters) being “eye sores.” It is important to consider these objections and analyse the likelihood that tourists would indeed share these perceptions of the proposed development. To really assess such an impact would require an entirely different study into tourism. In contrast to the new proposals, suggestions from local stakeholders that the old breakwater be rebuilt were based on the fact that they knew what it looked like and how tourists reacted to it. When residents spoke about having some input into the aesthetic design aspect of the breakwater, then there was a greater atmosphere of collaboration happening and a feeling that the residents (including the fishermen) could have a meaningful contribution to what went on in their village. It also helped mitigate anxiety because then people were able to take a proactive role in trying to improve their place of living and place of work. And while locals are not architects, and so cannot design the technical aspects, they are grassroots experts at the socioscape of their locality and as such are best placed to plan positive aesthetic/design improvements to infrastructure Schemes that will be both positive for the residents and draw in tourists.

Of interest is how these agendas were proposed, dressed in a language that may sound more appealing to the project proponents, especially by official organisations who have ‘planning knowledge’. Such knowledge can put other stakeholders at a disadvantage, shifting power dynamics during stakeholder meetings and reduce the possibility of one of the cardinal aims of stakeholder participation- equitable representation of all stakeholder groups, which will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter, when read in tandem with the corresponding sections of the baseline studies they are based on, show the kind of detail that is needed to depict a more holistic canvas of the inter-connectedness that the various user groups within the Aol of a proposed urban or infrastructural project. It also shows how their perceptions of a project or projects (as indicated by the two overlapping projects of Magħtab and the Coast Road) are influenced by their experience, past and present, of many factors, which can be directly or indirectly connected. These factors contributed to how and why stakeholders decide to get involved or not in the planning process. The rich descriptions that emerge from ethnographic accounts of fieldwork in this chapter, help explain some of the reasons behind the motives to engage or disengage from the planning process, for example, based on responses of distrust based on former experiences that left them feeling ignored or betrayed by those in the planning process that they engaged with.

A number of interviewees made comments that resonated with each other, which can be supported by island and post-colonial studies. These informants told me that Malta has never really belonged to 'us' – the Maltese. Abridging and amalgamating the comments together and using the keywords as the thread, the overarching thought-process is as follows. What emerged from the interviews was rhetoric of helplessness and alienation, or what Santner calls a "rhetoric of mourning" (quoted in Das, 2007: 5); a feeling of oppression reminiscent of colonial times, of not ever having had the power to manage their own country the way they saw fit. In other words, being dictated by others, be it foreign counties and more recently, since independence, the two main political parties and the governments they formed, which for most people are perceived as both being corrupt (e.g. Henke, 1997; Pugh 2005a; 2005b; 2013; Pugh et al., 2007). They feel a lack of empowerment, and so even if there were effective participatory processes for them to engage with, they would still need to overcome the hurdle of feeling that they own their own country, that they can be active citizens where their voice, their representation could make a tangible difference. Therefore, there is an embedded sense of indifference towards environmental and social change, even if it affects them negatively, because they do not feel that they can really make a difference by being active citizens (see e.g. Abram, 2009; Healey, 2006; Nelson and Finan, 2009).

The next chapter will discuss these barriers to engagement, based on an analysis of the literature, to build a typology and theory of participation that attempts to explain why some engagement processes achieve their goals while others do not. In Chapter 7, I will use this theory to interpret the case study findings reported in this and the previous chapter. In this way, I will use the case study findings to both test and refine the theory that follows.

Chapter 6

A Typology and Theory of Participation

6.1 Introduction

The discussion of results presented in Chapters 4 and 5 is split across two chapters. In this chapter, I will build on literature from Chapter 2 to develop a typology and a theory of stakeholder and public engagement. This is placed here, rather than in Chapter 2, because the methods and fieldwork presented in Chapters 3-5 were based on a body of research based around Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation typology and theory, which is reviewed in Chapter 2. During fieldwork, it became apparent that despite the descriptive utility of the "ladder", it had limited explanatory power. This insight, combined with similar insights from empirical work elsewhere, highlighted the need for a theoretical framework that could explain why some highly engaged processes (from the top of the ladder) fail to achieve their objectives and disenfranchise stakeholders, leading to negative unintended consequences, while other less engaged processes (from the bottom of the ladder) are sometimes associated with more benefits for stakeholders. The first half of this chapter therefore develops a new typology and theory to explain what works in stakeholder participation, inspired by fieldwork experience and informed by alternative perspectives on engagement from the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, section 2.4 (participation as design, mediation, the management of power, interdisciplinary and cultural discourse, context and democracy). The second half then uses this new typology and theory to interpret the results from chapters 4 and 5, testing what is proposed in the first half of this chapter. Chapter 7 then uses this experience to refine the theory to propose an approach to stakeholder engagement that is theoretically robust and empirically grounded.

The goal of this chapter is to develop generalised principles that can enable SIA and other practitioners to adapt participation to their local context to successfully mediate conflicts in EIA and urban planning processes. The theoretical framework aims to provide guidance for those designing engagement processes, arguing that a theoretically informed approach to stakeholder and public engagement has the

potential to markedly improve the outcomes of environmental decision-making processes.

Both the typology and proposed theory put forward in this chapter are based on collaborative interdisciplinary research, drawing on the experience of a number of researchers in different academic fields who share one thing – they, or rather, we, all use stakeholder participation in our work, both academic and applied. The goal of the collaboration was to put aside our epistemological differences and build more holistic approaches to understand environmental problems and find implementable, sustainable solutions that work in both the short term and the long term (Vella, 2017; Vella and Borg, 2010). It culminated in the development of a new typology to describe stakeholder and public engagement, and from it, a theory to explain the variations in outcomes from across these different types of engagement (Reed et al., 2017a).⁸⁹

Section 6.2 describes a typology of public and stakeholder engagement, built upon the literature review and concepts in Chapter 2, based on agency (who initiates and leads engagement) and mode of engagement (from communication to co-production). Section 6.3 then describes a theory comprising four factors that explain much of the variation in outcomes (for the natural environment and/or for participants) between different types of engagement. The chapter, following Reed et al. (2017a)'s structure, creates a clear distinction between descriptions (typology) and explanations (theory) of stakeholder and public engagement in environmental management:

- 1) the typology *describes* different types of public and stakeholder engagement; and
- 2) the theory comprises factors that *explain* much of the variation in outcomes between different types of engagement in different contexts.

⁸⁹ The text in this chapter is based on several publications where I was either primary or secondary author. For this reason, the writing style of several sections in this chapter may vary to reflect the style of the journal or edited volume for which they were written. See the acknowledgements for a list of the authors and their inputs for this paper and others that were co-authored and are included in the text of this chapter. The chapter also includes relevant parts of two book chapters of which I am primary author: Chapter 12 of the edited volume *Unquiet Pasts – Lived Cultural Heritage, Risk Society and Reflexivity* (2010), entitled “Integrate Plurality of Landscapes and Public Involvements into Maltese Environmental Policy”, which has already been cited in earlier chapters; and, “Contested values and perceptions of urban landscapes in Malta: reconceptualising environmental assessments”, Chapter 31 of the edited volume *Island Landscapes: An Expression of European Culture* (2017).

The chapter will be illustrated with examples from SIA during EIAs of planned urban development interventions and environmental management interventions more broadly. Chapter 7 will use the typology and theory analyse the three case studies and other examples from the participant observation phase of the fieldwork in greater depth, to analyse the role that the SIA and the practitioner/s conducting them have in contributing towards stakeholder participation and the mediating and exchange of different kinds of knowledges. Taken together, these chapters argue for embedding this approach into the future practice of SIA and explains my contribution to stakeholder participation theory and applications.

6.2 The wheel of participation: A new typology to describe stakeholder and public engagement

Participation is defined here according to Reed (2008: 2418) as a process where public or stakeholder individuals, groups and/or organisations are involved in making decisions that affect them, whether passively via consultation or actively via two-way engagement, where publics are defined as groups of people who are not affected by or able to affect decisions but who engage with the issues to which decisions pertain through discussion (after Dewey, 1927; Ikegami, 2000) and stakeholders are defined as those who are affected by or can affect a decision (after Freeman, 1984; see Section 2.4.1, p. 43 for an in-depth discussion of definitions).

There are many ways of describing the different types of public and stakeholder engagement that are typically seen in environmental management. These typologies tend to be descriptive, but many also attempt to explain why engagement may or may not deliver desired outcomes in any given context (Reed, 2008). As a result, and given the paucity of theory in this area, these descriptive typologies are often used to classify engagement processes, but they do not explain why these different types of engagement sometimes work (meeting objectives and providing benefits to those who participate) and sometimes do not.

Existing typologies tend to characterise the mode of engagement in three ways:

- First, engagement may be characterised as bottom-up (initiated and/or led by citizen, public or special interest groups with limited formal decision-making power) or top-down (initiated and/or led by those with formal decision-

making power who wish to empower interested parties with less power and diverse perspectives to make or contribute towards decisions) (Fraser et al., 2006; Reed, 2008).

- Second, types of engagement may be distinguished in relation to the different motivations and outcomes that drive engagement. For example, motives may be pragmatic (e.g. better decisions that are more likely to be implemented), normative (e.g. the democratic right or expectation that stakeholders and/or publics should participate in major decisions that affect them) (Reed, 2008), or the motives may be to enhance trust in decision-making processes among publics and stakeholders (Rowe and Frewer, 2004; Rowe et al., 2005).

Different motives are typically linked to the pursuit of different outcomes from engagement. For example, pragmatic motives may be linked to the pursuit of outcomes relating to the decision or issue in which publics and/or stakeholders are engaged (such as environmental protection), whereas motives that are more normative or that seek to build trust and learning may be more likely to target benefits for participating individuals or groups (de Vente et al., 2016).

- Third and finally, different modes of engagement are possible, and typically lie along an information or knowledge exchange continuum, from approaches based more on one-way flows of information and knowledge to publics and stakeholders (communication mode) and seeking feedback from publics and stakeholders (consultation mode) to more two-way knowledge exchange and joint formulation of goals and outcomes (more deliberative and co-productive modes) (Rowe and Frewer, 2004; Rowe et al., 2005).

These different ways of describing engagement have been historically described using the metaphor of a ladder, first described by Arnstein (1969). Although now widely considered out-dated (e.g. Collins and Ison, 2006; Reed, 2008), many practitioners and decision-makers still use the ladder as their point of reference, and citations in the academic literature are increasing (according to Google Scholar, approximately 25% of the article's citations are from the last 2.5 years). Rather than simply describing different types of engagement, the 'ladder of participation' implicitly attempts to explain why lower levels of engagement will in theory lead to undesirable outcomes

(because it is argued that they are typically associated with manipulation), suggesting that more deliberative and co-productive modes of engagement should be preferred (Arnstein, 1967; Pretty, 1995; Wilcox, 1994).

However, as I argue in the next section, there are many reasons why participatory processes at the top of the ladder are not automatically better and can fail. Conversely, I build on work by Vella et al. (2015a; 2015b) to argue that for certain purposes and contexts (e.g. where there is little scope for delegation of decision-making power because a decision has already been made), communicative and consultative modes may be most appropriate, at least in the short term. Previous attempts have been made to dislodge the metaphor of Arnstein's ladder from popular imagination, for example focusing on directions of information flow, openness and representativeness, and delegation of power (e.g. Fung, 2004; 2006; 2013; Fung and Wright, 2003; Newig and Kvarda, 2012). However, like Arnstein's ladder, these conceptualisations combine typology and theory, trying to describe what is possible whilst trying to recommend ideal types based on what should in theory work. In contrast, our approach provides a comprehensive but purely descriptive typology, thus taking out the element of value judgment. This descriptive approach then makes it possible (later in the chapter) to identify theoretical principles that are generalizable across all types of engagement (rather than explaining how one type of engagement operates versus another).

In Figure 6.1 (p. 292), I use the metaphor of a wheel with an inner and outer dial that can be spun in either direction to create different combinations of agency (who initiates and leads the process) and mode of engagement (from one-way communication to co-production). The wheel metaphor was first proposed in the grey literature by Davidson (1998), but despite being highlighted by many authors (e.g. Carter, 2005; Reed, 2008) as a more appropriate metaphor than the ladder of participation, without a rigorous theoretical basis it has seen limited use.

Therefore, in Figure 6.1, the concept of the 'wheel of participation' is developed into a theoretically grounded, more comprehensive, rigorous and useful alternative to the 'ladder of participation' to help select the appropriate type of engagement for a given context and purpose. In doing so, I seek to describe what happens in each type of engagement without attempting to explain why what happens works or not. By spinning the outer dials in Figure 6.1, it is possible to identify four broad types of engagement. There is a gradient between top-down and bottom-up agency and each

of the different modes of engagement, rather than these being hard boundaries, as depicted in the Figure. As a result, it is possible to envisage types of engagement that may lie in between each of the idealized types below (e.g. where there is a combination of top-down and bottom-up agency, discussed below). The four types of stakeholder and public engagement are:

- **Top-down one-way communication and/or consultation:** engagement is initiated and led from the top-down by an organisation with decision-making power, consulting publics and stakeholders (but retaining decision-making power) or simply communicating decisions to them. Although this type would not generally be considered 'participation' (e.g. see Rowe & Frewer, 2001), in common with most other typologies I include it to show the full range of options available. However, in contrast to most other typologies, I do not attach any value judgement to this type of engagement, providing it is best suited to the given purpose and context, for example where a decision has already been made and cannot be changed, but needs to be communicated to those affected.
- **Top-down deliberation and/or co-production:** engagement is initiated and led from the top-down by an organisation with decision-making power that engages publics and stakeholders in two-way discussion about the decision, enabling the decision-making body to better understand and explore suggestions with stakeholders prior to making their decision. A more co-productive approach would typically include deliberation, but the decision (and how it should be implemented) would be jointly developed and owned by both the agency and stakeholders/publics. Despite this, it would still be the responsibility of the environmental agency to implement the decision
- **Bottom-up one-way communication and/or consultation:** engagement is initiated and led by stakeholders and/or publics, communicating with decision-making bodies, often via grassroots networks and social media, to persuade them to open their decision-making process to scrutiny and engagement. For example, environmental NGOs have successfully gained participation for Third Sector and other stakeholders in environmental decision-making processes that would otherwise been closed to broader

participation. Alternatively, this type of engagement may occur when stakeholders or publics gain enough power, typically through mass mobilisation of public opinion or influential stakeholder groups such as well-known eNGOs, to overrule previous top-down decisions. Those leading the process may consult with publics and stakeholders to better understand and represent their views and demonstrate buy-in and support, and so increase their capacity to influence decision-makers or overturn decisions

- **Bottom-up deliberation and/or co-production:** engagement is initiated and led by stakeholders and/or publics who engage in two-way discussion about the decision with other relevant publics and stakeholders to make a decision. The decision may be made and implemented by a single or a small group of stakeholders/publics based on knowledge gained through deliberation, or the decision may be co-produced, owned and implemented by the whole group

It is worth noting that there are few examples of genuinely bottom-up, deliberative and co-productive decision-making processes in the literature. In reality, many processes that claim to be bottom-up are in fact jointly initiated and/or led by groups with and without formal decision-making power, and so may in fact be closer to the second than the fourth type of engagement described above. Such processes are characterised by collaboration between those with formal power, derived from the roles, functions and responsibilities that are typically held by organisations, and those with informal power, derived from the knowledge, needs and moral rights of stakeholder and publics.

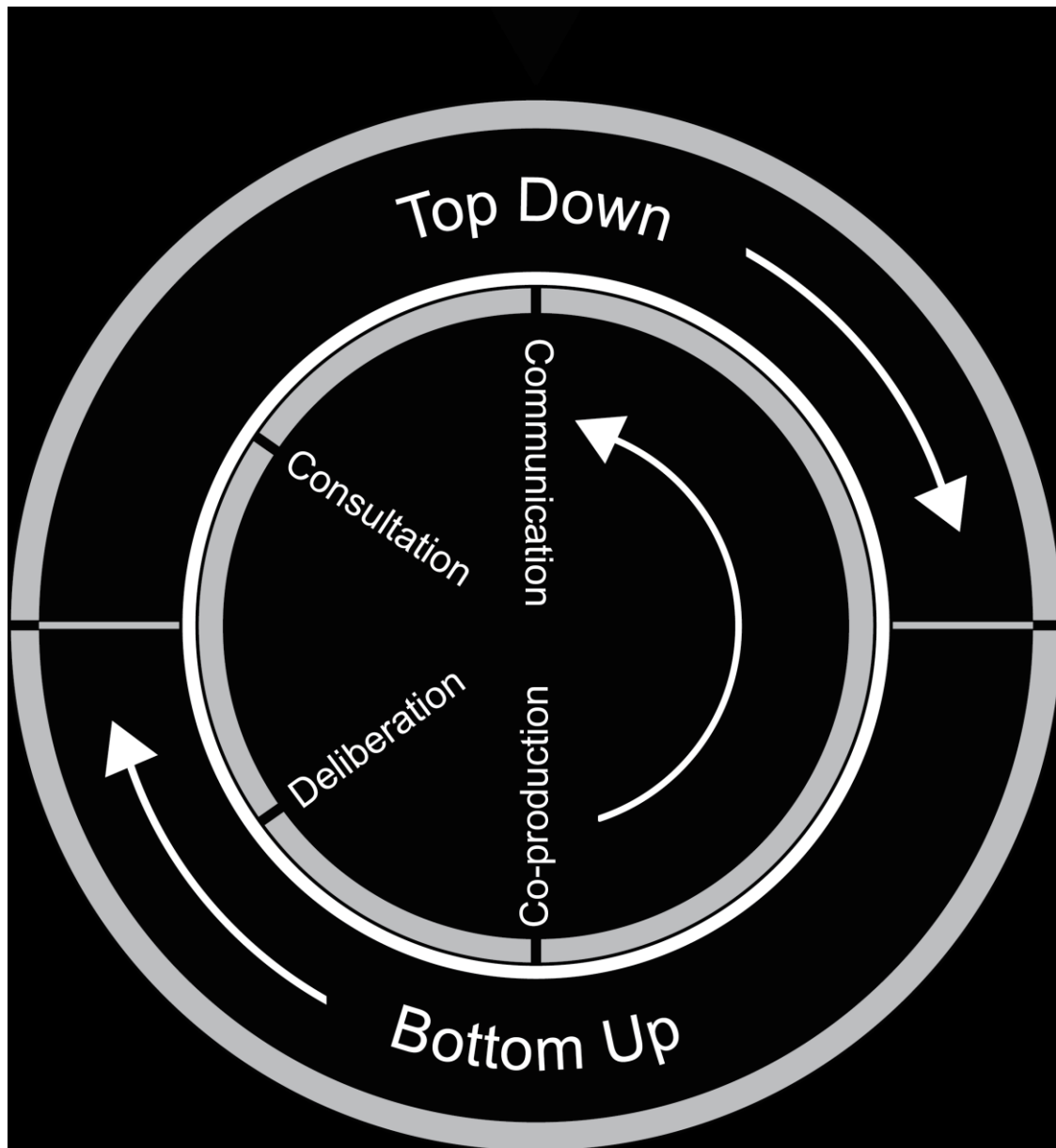


Figure 6.1: The wheel of participation (updated version for this thesis from the original that was published in Reed et al., 2017a)

The wheel of participation, represented by Figure 6.2 above, is a typology that defines different types of stakeholder and public engagement. It combines four modes of engagement with either top-down or bottom-up agency. It consists of an inner and outer wheel that can be spun in different directions to create different combinations of agency (who initiates and leads the process) and mode of participation (from one-way communication to co-production). This identifies four types of engagement: top-down one-way communication and/or consultation; top-down deliberation and/or co-production; bottom-up one-way communication and/or consultation; and bottom-up

deliberation and/or co-production. Rather than always aiming for bottom-up and co-productive types of engagement, the wheel of participation can be used to match the appropriate type of engagement to the purpose and context in which engagement is needed. This updated version includes dashed arrows on either side of the top arrow, which mode/s that are found within the within Top-Down / Bottom-Up half of the outer wheel is / are more predominant. In this configuration, for example, the top arrow can either remain as is, as top-down consultative communication (i.e. more one-way communication rather than consultation); or move towards the consultation mode till it becomes top-down communicative consultation (i.e. the engagement is more consultative and therefore is not predominantly one-way communication).

6.3 A Theory of Participation

Built on insights from the literature review in Chapter 2, which showed how engagement processes may be explained in terms of context, design, mediation and/or democracy, this section develops a new theory for stakeholder and public engagement processes that can explain why the different types of engagement defined in the typology above may lead to different outcomes for participants and for the natural environment via spatial planning or other engagement processes. Synthesising the key explanations from Chapter 2, the theoretical framework in Figure 6.2 comprises four groups of factors that explain what makes different types of engagement more likely to lead to beneficial environmental and social outcomes: context, design, power and scalar fit. Each of these factors maps directly or indirectly onto the reviewed literature:

- Contextual and design factors map directly onto the context and design literature in Sections 2.4.2, 2.4.5-2.4.6 and 6.2.
- Power is an explanatory factor that explicitly runs through the literature on mediation and “horizontal justice” (where dialogue and cooperation between parties provides more equitable and lasting outcomes than more hierarchical and adversarial approaches), and deliberative democracy (where civil society is empowered to engage directly in the democratic process via two-way dialogue, as opposed to representative democracy via parliament or direct democracy such as referenda)

- Scalar fit is an explanatory factor that implicitly links the literature on mediation and deliberative democracy. Both literatures are based on the principle of two-way dialogue as the basis for decision-making, but mediation processes typically take place between a small number of parties at the scale of interpersonal, typically local networks over relatively short timescales. On the other hand, deliberative democracy process typically takes place at the scale of societal, typically national scales, over longer timescales. The fact that there are two separate literatures and traditions surrounding stakeholder and public engagement at these two different spatial and temporal scales, illustrates the importance of adapting engagement to the relevant scale, and highlights scale as a fourth factor that can help explain why engagement processes succeed or fail (de Vente et al., 2016).

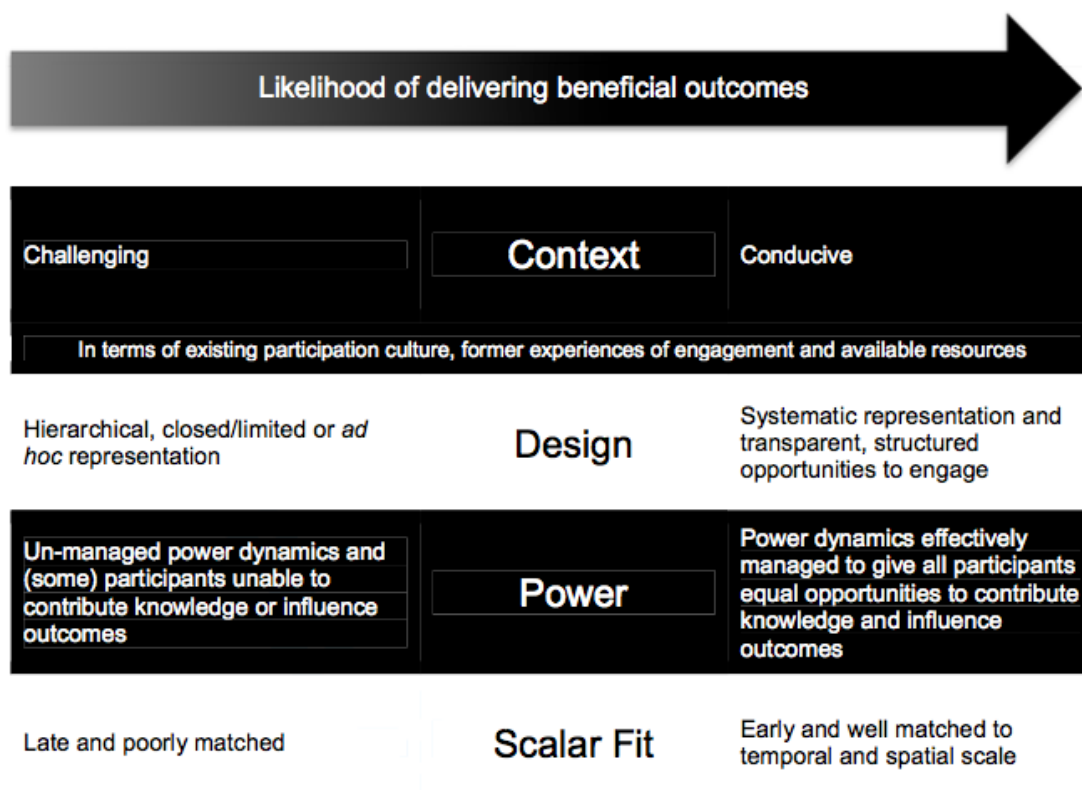


Figure 6.2: A theory of participation that explains how the outcomes of stakeholder and public engagement in environmental management are explained by context, process design, the management of power dynamics and scalar fit.

To describe the theory in greater detail, the remaining text accompanies Figure 6.2, describing how each factor explains why public and stakeholder engagement is or is not likely to “work” for the different actors who engage in the process. It draws on (rather than citing again) the concepts reviewed in Chapter 2. The rest of this chapter

will use examples from the three case studies, described in Chapters 4 and 5 and the participant observation phase of the fieldwork (see Table 3.2, p. 113; Section 3.2.6, p. 128) to illustrate practically the Wheel of Participation typology and test the factors that explain the likelihood of delivering beneficial outcomes. In Chapter 7, I will then use this grounded interpretation and testing to refine and further develop the theory beyond its current linear conception as illustrated in Figure 6.2, to one that highlights how the four factors are inexplicably interconnected, as the interplay of a loosely nested set of interdependent factors along the temporal continuum of the planning cycle.

6.3.1 Context

The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4.6, p. 79) shows how the outcomes of stakeholder and public engagement are affected by (mainly local) socio-economic, cultural and institutional contexts within which it is enacted. Examples of specific contextual factors that may significantly affect the success of an engagement process include the existence of a participatory culture and former experiences of engagement (whether successful or unsuccessful) and available resources. For these reasons, it is necessary to take time to fully understand the local context in which engagement is to be enacted, to determine what type of engagement approach is appropriate, and enable the design of any process to be effectively adapted to the context.

6.3.2 Design

The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4.2, p. 51 and 2.4.3, p. 58) shows how a number of process design factors can increase the likelihood that engagement leads to desired outcomes, across a wide range of socio-cultural, political, economic and biophysical contexts. In particular, engagement processes that systematically represent relevant public and stakeholder interests and provide transparent opportunities to influence outcomes based on multiple knowledge sources are more likely to deliver beneficial environmental and social outcomes, across a wide range of contexts. Reasons for this are that: engagement can facilitate learning and changes in attitudes and values amongst participants that make acceptance of outcomes more likely; engagement can lead to better informed decisions due to a wider range of information inputs and knowledge exchange; and increase the likelihood of implementation / delivery, because the decision is more relevant to stakeholder needs and priorities

and the decision is more likely to reflect the views and be sensitive to the circumstances of those who have to implement it. Ideally all affected parties should be represented somehow, to develop shared goals and co-produce outcomes based on the most relevant sources of knowledge, but for all parties to be involved in dialogue may not always be feasible. This emphasizes the need to include and respect the knowledge claims of all involved in a conflict resolution process and requires the explicit inclusion and empowerment of (or sharing of power with) marginalized groups.

6.3.3 Power

The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 (Sections 2.4.4, p. 61 and 2.4.5, p. 66) shows how the effectiveness of engagement is significantly influenced by power dynamics, the values of participants and their epistemologies i.e. the way they construct knowledge and which types of knowledge they consider valid. Poor management of power dynamics is one of the major reasons for engagement failing to deliver outcomes. Professional facilitation and mediation can significantly reduce the likelihood of conflict and where conflicts have already started, can help reduce or resolve conflicts through engagement with and management of power dynamics between participants. It is necessary to implement the design in a way that ensures power dynamics are effectively managed, so that the value of every participant's contribution is recognised and everyone is given an equal opportunity to contribute.

One of the key roles of the facilitator in a participatory approach to conflict resolution is to ensure effective deliberation and learning between participants (see Section 2.4.3, p. 57 and 2.4.5, p. 66). Depending on the scales at which learning occurs through participatory processes, deliberation may lead to social learning⁹⁰. Social learning can build and strengthen relationships, enhance participants' understanding of other perspectives, and trigger systemic thinking (Johnson et al., 2012; Raymond et al., 2010) and in contemporary settings can have long lasting effects beyond an initial participatory approach (Bull et al., 2008). Kenter et al. (2014) argue that deliberative

⁹⁰ Defined by Reed et al. (2010) as occurring when: 1) there is some change in the relationship between a person and the world (i.e. change in understanding); 2) that this change in understanding occurs through social interaction; and 3) that the learning should occur across more than one person, at the scale of social units or communities of practice.

social learning processes have the potential to lead to a greater sharing of values, and hence leading groups towards consensus and away from conflict. They suggest that for such learning to occur, it is important that the facilitator/mediator elicits the values of participants at a range of levels, from “contextual values” or preferences to more deeply held values and beliefs, which are likely to underpin conflicts of interest.

6.3.4 Scalar fit

The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4.7, p. 83, though temporality is a recurrent underlying theme throughout the chapter), shows how outcomes from engagement are highly scale-dependent over space and time. Contextual values, such as preferences for one option or another, may change over short timescales, but the extent to which engagement (via deliberation) shapes the values of participants is highly dependent on the temporal scales over which engagement occurs. It is therefore necessary to match the length and frequency of engagement to the goals of the process, recognising that changes in deeply held values (that may be at the root of a conflict) are likely to take longer than changes in preferences, which may be influenced over shorter timescales through deliberation. The extent to which engagement leads to desired outcomes also depends upon matching engagement to the spatial scales at which decisions are being made. Stakeholder and public engagement must be organised and conducted at a spatial scale that is relevant to the issue and the jurisdictions of authorities or institutions that can tackle it. Also, ecological scales, spatial or temporal, need to be addressed appropriately. Some ecological processes can take a very long time and concern multiple generations, but very few people overall. Other ecological processes may concern a significant number of people, but the ecological process might be altered in a very short time. For engagement to deliver desired outcomes, representation of stakeholder interests and decision-making power needs to match a spatial scale relevant to the scale of the issues being considered. In this way, those with national interests and decision-making power will be involved in national decisions but local actors will be empowered to engage in issues at scales more relevant to their interests.

The final principle (scalar fit) shows that the contribution of participation towards conflict resolution is scale-dependent over space and time. The extent to which participation facilitates learning, shapes the values of participants and tends towards

consensus rather than conflict is highly dependent on the temporal scales over which participation occurs. Assuming that values are made explicit as part of the deliberative process, deliberation within participatory processes may alter contextual values over short timescales (e.g. a single workshop), but deeper-held values and beliefs require engagement over much longer periods of time, potentially requiring generational timescales for more deeply engrained conflicts embedded in the cultural norms of a society.

The extent to which participation can avoid or resolve conflict may depend upon matching the participation of relevant stakeholders to the spatial scales at which a decision is being made, or over which period a conflict is operating. For national and international environmental decision-making processes and conflicts, this can be challenging.

6.4 Evaluating the typology and theory of participation using three Maltese case studies

This section critically evaluates the “wheel of participation” typology (Section 6.2) and the theory of participation (Section 6.3) using data from the three Maltese case studies (described in Chapters 4 and 5).

At this point it is important to reiterate that the primary aim of the Wheel of Participation is to help practitioners to choose the appropriate participatory type/s (and the methodological tools within each type) after analysing the four factors presented by the theory of participation described above. Further, one of the main distinctions of the Wheel is that it is “value” free – the types of engagement are not encumbered by whether or not one type is better or worse than another for any given context or purpose. Its value depends instead on the four factors for a particular participatory episode within the planning and / or decision-making process where engagement is to be used.

The following sections, on the other hand are using the theory as an ‘*ex-post*’ analytical tool to evaluate participatory exercises that have already taken place. From this emerges a second, previously unanticipated application of the theoretical framework, which together with the Wheel, helps to analyse why the intended objectives and outcomes of a participatory exercise that has already taken place were successfully

reached or not. This aims at helping practitioners evaluate the design and execution of their participatory exercises at both theoretical and methodological levels, increasing the likelihood of obtaining better results of future engagement interventions.

This section therefore evaluates whether the various typologies of the engagement that took place during the SBS of the three Maltese case studies theoretically should have yielded positive results after matching which type was used in reality with the typologies suggested after analysing the four factors of the theoretical framework for each of the case studies.

First, the participatory engagements that took place for the three case studies are described using the Wheel of Participation, while Section 6.4.2 analyses the four factors for each case study and the participatory engagement types that were used, indicating whether theoretically the types that were used were appropriately chosen or if there might have been a more suitable type that could have been used.

As already pointed out in the previous sections, choice of engagement type is iterative and for a particular intervention the agency (i.e. top-down or bottom-up) will generally remain broadly the same but the mode of engagement (i.e. communicative, consultative, deliberative or co-productive) may change during the course of the intervention, as illustrated by the dashed arrows on either side of the top pointer, in Figure 6.1 (p. 292). This gives the Wheel the flexibility, for example, to adapt to changes in context or power dynamics (or other factors from the theoretical framework). This is why it was stressed in the explanation of the theory (Section 6.3, p. 293) that the design itself needs to be iterative and flexible enough to account for the unforeseen and facilitators usually have various contingencies and tools to help improve the chances of a successful stakeholder intervention. Sometimes it therefore boils down to how the event is facilitated. At other times, the four factors (from the theoretical framework) that were analysed at the design stage may have changed by the time when the intervention actually happens.

This also means that if the *ex-post* evaluation of the four factors for a particular participatory event suggests that a different type of engagement may have been more appropriate, it does not necessarily mean that the one suggested by the framework would have definitely yielded more beneficial outcomes than the one that was used.

6.4.1 Describing the case studies using the Wheel of Participation

This section describes the engagement that took place during the SBS for each case study using the Wheel of Participation, as an *ex-post* exercise. Section 6.4.2 then goes a step further and evaluates whether or not the particular typologies used were the most appropriate or whether typologies yielded the intended results.

6.4.1.1 *The Magħtab Case Study*

The participatory process during the Magħtab case study, as part of the SBS for the EIA can be summarised as follows:

1. 'One-to-one' meetings with particular stakeholder groups were organised (the Naxxar and St. Paul's Bay Local Councils; the Local Council sub-committees for localities that had such representation within the Naxxar Local Council; the Parishes; NGO groups and other unofficial but organised groups);
2. Two Stakeholder / 'general public' 'town hall' style meetings were held on Church premises at Magħtab and Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq.

The 'public meetings' (point 2 above) can be considered as part of the methodology for the SBS to reach stakeholders, introduce the consultant (the author) for the SBS, explain the purpose of the SBS and invite those who attended to be interviewed individually or as families for the SBS. As with the organised meetings with stakeholder groups (point 1 above), the more public meetings also served to communicate the proposed project's aims and plans, and to consult with those present on their views of the plans.

Using the Wheel of Participation, the first group of meetings can be officially described as **top-down communication and consultation** (Figure 6.3, overleaf). The 'agency', i.e. the body that organised the meetings, was the SBS process and therefore, legally can be considered as the developer, since the developer is legally responsible to commission the EIA. The meetings' aim were to explain the project and to consult with organisations on issues and problems regarding the information inside the PDS while answering questions about the issues raised, either during the meeting when possible or to make a list of those questions to pass on to the EIA coordinator, who would reply after engaging with the various outputs of the EA.

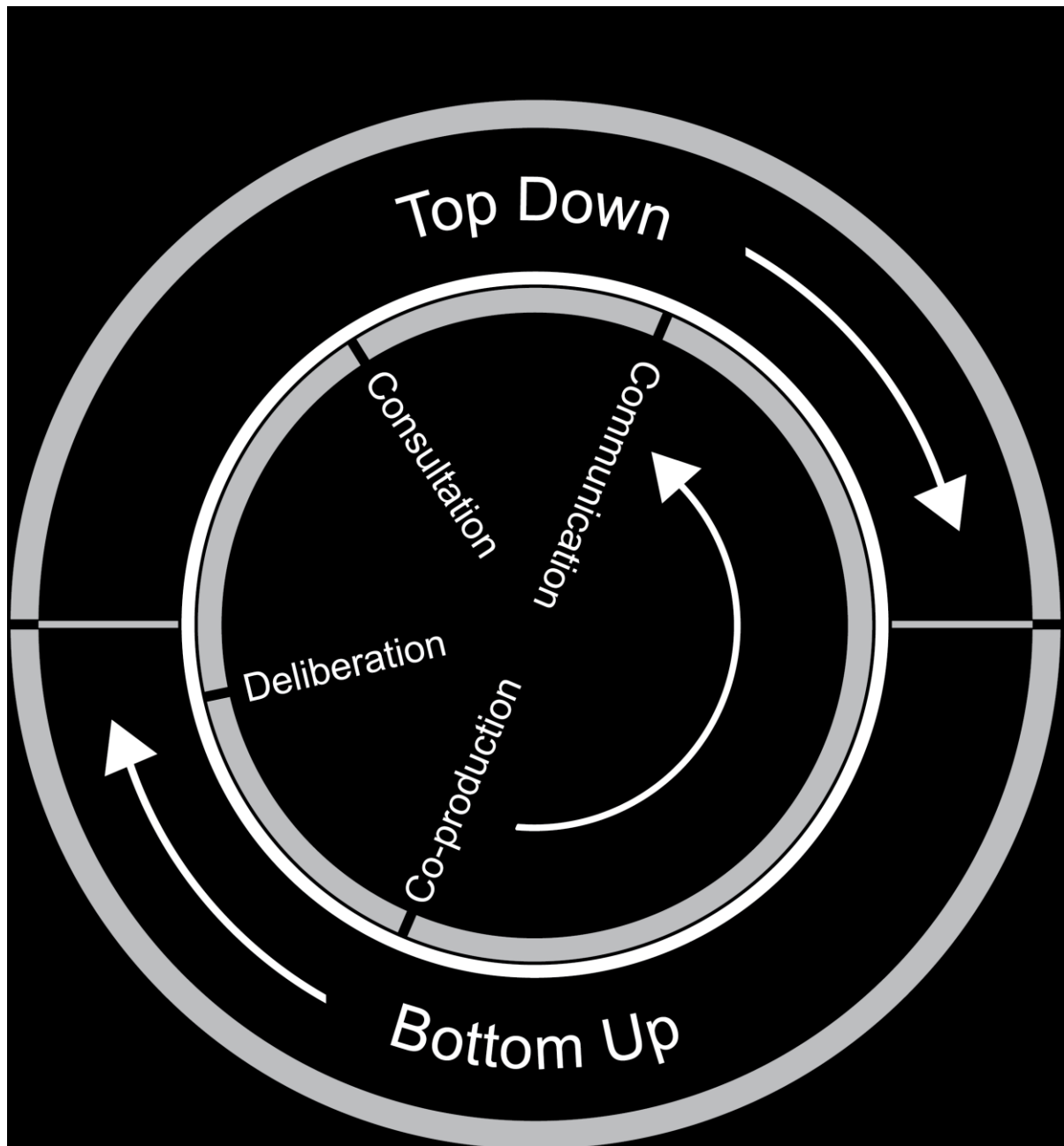


Figure 6.3: Describing the Magħtab stakeholder groups one-to-one meetings as part of the official process, using the Wheel of Participation to describe this type of engagement as Top-down communication and consultation

On the other hand, as part of the SBS fieldwork, the methodological approach included two-way communication because the meetings also followed the same aide-memoire interaction used during any interview, and where possible, actually interviewing a few of those present at the meeting individually in the days after. This served to both supplement the data collected during the meetings but also clarify different or even opposing views of different members of the same organisation that might have become

apparent during the meeting. This meant that in reality, the meetings were more deliberative, though, as will be described below when describing the same group of consultative meetings with official / unofficial organisations and groups during the Coast Road and Marsalforn case studies, the amount of deliberation was limited because of the lack of decision-making power from my side, among other things (see Figures 6.6 and 6.10 below and the accompanying explanations).

The second group of meetings, though officially part of the SBS, were not considered as participatory engagement by the developer but an effort by the SBS consultant (myself) to bring as many stakeholders as possible together for a number of reasons. Reasons included 1) to be as expeditious as possible in creating exposure of the SBS with the 'sensitive receptors' (i.e. the stakeholders who may likely be affected the most by the project) and inviting them to be interviewed as part of the SBS; 2) have the opportunity to explain the SBS process and the PDS of the project to as many stakeholders as possible (and noting which specific parts of the PDS were of most concern to particular stakeholders so that these could be addressed in more detail during the interviews, if I did not have answers for those questions already at hand during the meetings); 3) get a feel of the general disposition and perceptions of the stakeholders about the proposed project by giving the stakeholders the 'invited space' deliberate on the project in open discussion, while making myself clear of my position as the SBS consultant.

Therefore, the second group of meetings can be described as **top-down two-way communication, i.e. slightly deliberative**, within their unofficial capacity and **consultative** (Figure 6.4). As the SBS consultant, even if legally 'sent' by the developer, the meeting was not an officially endorsed intervention but only considered part of the SBS (therefore communicative and consultative). I also had the ethical obligation to be impartial and not just consult with the stakeholders and simply communicate the plans of the project but also deliberate with them on what they thought would be the best solutions to specific issues. In other words, the space that was created allowed for local knowledge to be part of the engagement process, even if these would not necessarily directly contribute towards influencing outcomes. Indirectly though, this local knowledge exchange was represented through its inclusion within the SBS.

This is why rather than fitting this group of meetings as top-down one-way communication and / or consultation, it stands in-between that type of engagement and the top-down deliberation, i.e. two-way communication, but not co-production. This is like turning the internal dial of the Wheel of Participation three-quarters way round within the Top-Down dial, as represented in Figure 6.4.

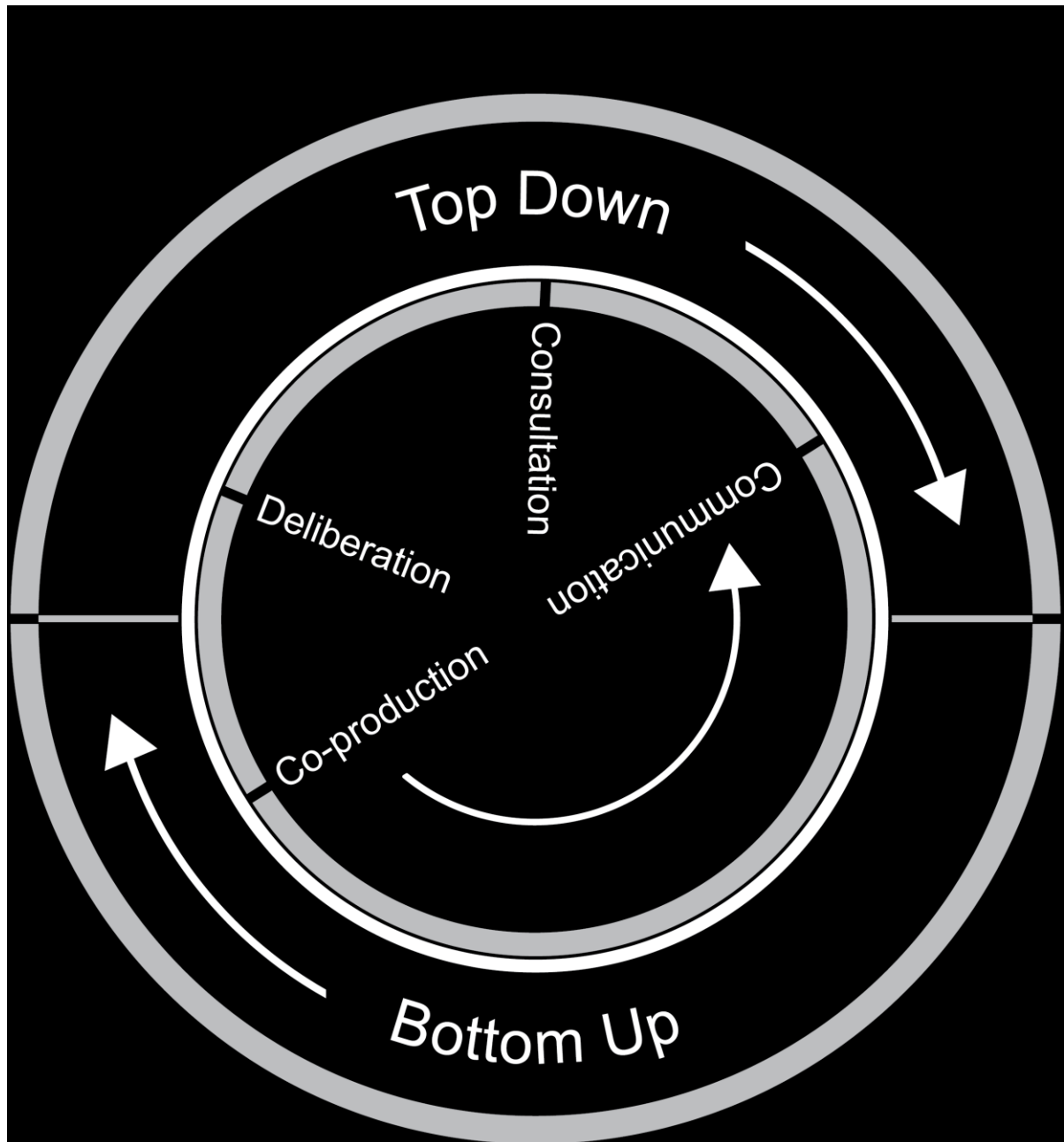


Figure 6.4: Describing the stakeholder 'general public' 'town hall' style meetings during the Maghtab SBS using the Wheel of Participation, as Top-down, two-way communication, i.e. very limited deliberative (within their unofficial capacity), consultation.

As previously described in the introduction to this section, the self-mobilisation efforts by stakeholders as being agents of their own stakeholder engagement are not described here, since they were not part of the SBS engagement official / unofficial design. These will be discussed below, in Section 6.4.2.1 (p. 316).

6.4.1.2 *The Coast Road Upgrade Case Study*

In contrast, partly because of the relationships created during the Magħtab study and a project manager (Ing. Zerafa) that endorsed and even welcomed the input of local knowledge, the Coast Road's engagement was more dynamic as a process. Again, because of the limitations in decision-making power that Zerafa had during these meetings, the process could still be described as top-down. The engagement mode though, using the Wheel of Participation, there was a movement towards deliberation and to some extent, co-production (what in Section 4.4, p. 191, using more traditional terms, was described as a movement from consultative communication to a degree of collaborative consultation and some social learning). This movement again points at the fact that most participative processes do not fall squarely in one type or another.

As in the Magħtab case study, during the Coast Road SBS there were two main types of participatory engagements consisting of a number of “episodes” or interventions, the main difference lied in the official endorsement of the public events. Because of their official endorsement, there were more resources, which meant better design; the contexts, especially the broader ones (i.e. the stakeholders' previous experience with the Magħtab engagement and issues / problems related to the Magħtab project), were taken into consideration, and finally, because the project manager was present for the meetings, the power dynamics were more effectively managed, with better transparent, structured opportunities for engagement and knowledge exchange.

In the Magħtab case, any changes to the master plan or the MTB project that might have been made as a direct result of stakeholder input were more likely made due to the political pressures that shrouded the project than the result of a more deliberative process. In contrast, in the case of the Coast Road, Zerafa was very specific in pointing out that he was not the ‘shot-caller’, that he had no direct decision-making power, especially on those suggestions that were not part of the PDS. However, as the official representative of the project, he had more decision-making power than I had during the Magħtab participatory episodes. In fact, one of the fundamental rules of

stakeholder participation is to never make promises that are untenable. What he could promise was that he would discuss the suggestions with his superiors, weigh their viability and where possible make changes to the existing plans to include them. He also instructed me, as the SIA consultant, to make sure that I represented those suggestions and the importance of those recommendations from a social science standpoint in my report, so that he would have a stronger argument to make to his superiors.

To sum up, the first group of stakeholder episodes can be described by the Wheel of Participation as **top-down two-way communicative (and therefore limited deliberative), consultation type** (Figure 6.5, overleaf), at least for the ones where Zerafa could attend the meetings as well. This is because due to his very tight schedule, he could not attend all the meetings with me. For meetings with particularly important stakeholder groups, such as Local Councils, if he could not attend, he sent his deputy. While having less decision-making power than Zerafa, this architect was well-acquainted with Zerafa's decision-making powers and limitations, together with the planning and decision-making process of the project to give more informed feedback to the stakeholder groups during the meetings than I would have if I had been alone. For those meetings where I was alone, the meetings were less deliberative and more consultative (Figure 6.6, p. 307).

It must be noted though that as explained above, for both meetings with and without official project planning representation, while stakeholder groups had the opportunity to contribute knowledge and deliberate, their contribution to influence outcomes was more of a potential since decisions to include any suggestions in the project's plans could only be taken post-meeting by Zerafa's superiors once the EIA was reviewed and later confirmed by the Planning Authority. This is why the participatory process could not be described as co-production or bottom-up.

The second group of stakeholder episodes included broader public meetings and could best be described as 'open days' and could be characterised as **top-down communicative, with a certain degree of deliberative consultation type of engagement** (Figure 6.5).

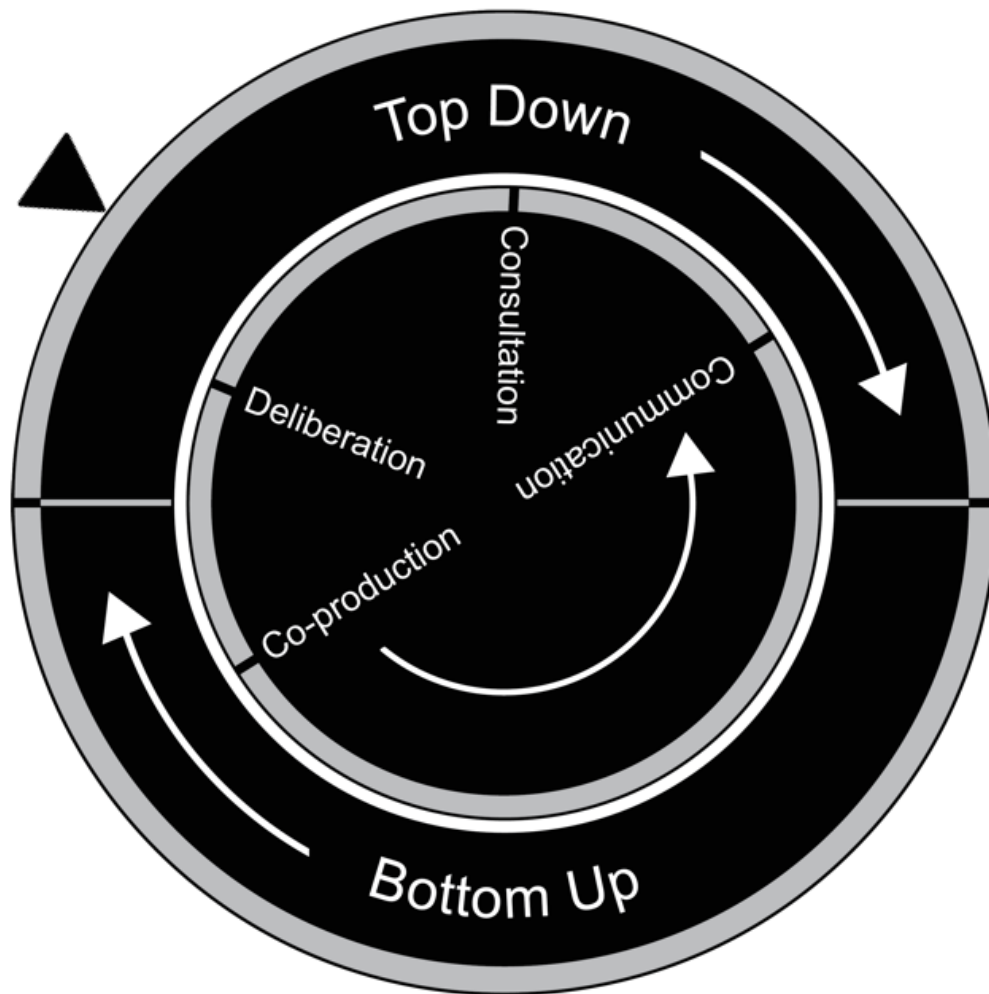


Figure 6.5: Describing two groups of stakeholder exercises during the Coast Road SBS: 1) The organised 'one-to-one' meetings with particular stakeholder groups when the Project Manager or his 2nd were present and 2) The second group of stakeholder episodes, which included broader public meetings and what were termed as 'open days', using the Wheel of Participation: Top Down two-way communication - closer to deliberation, consultation type of engagement.

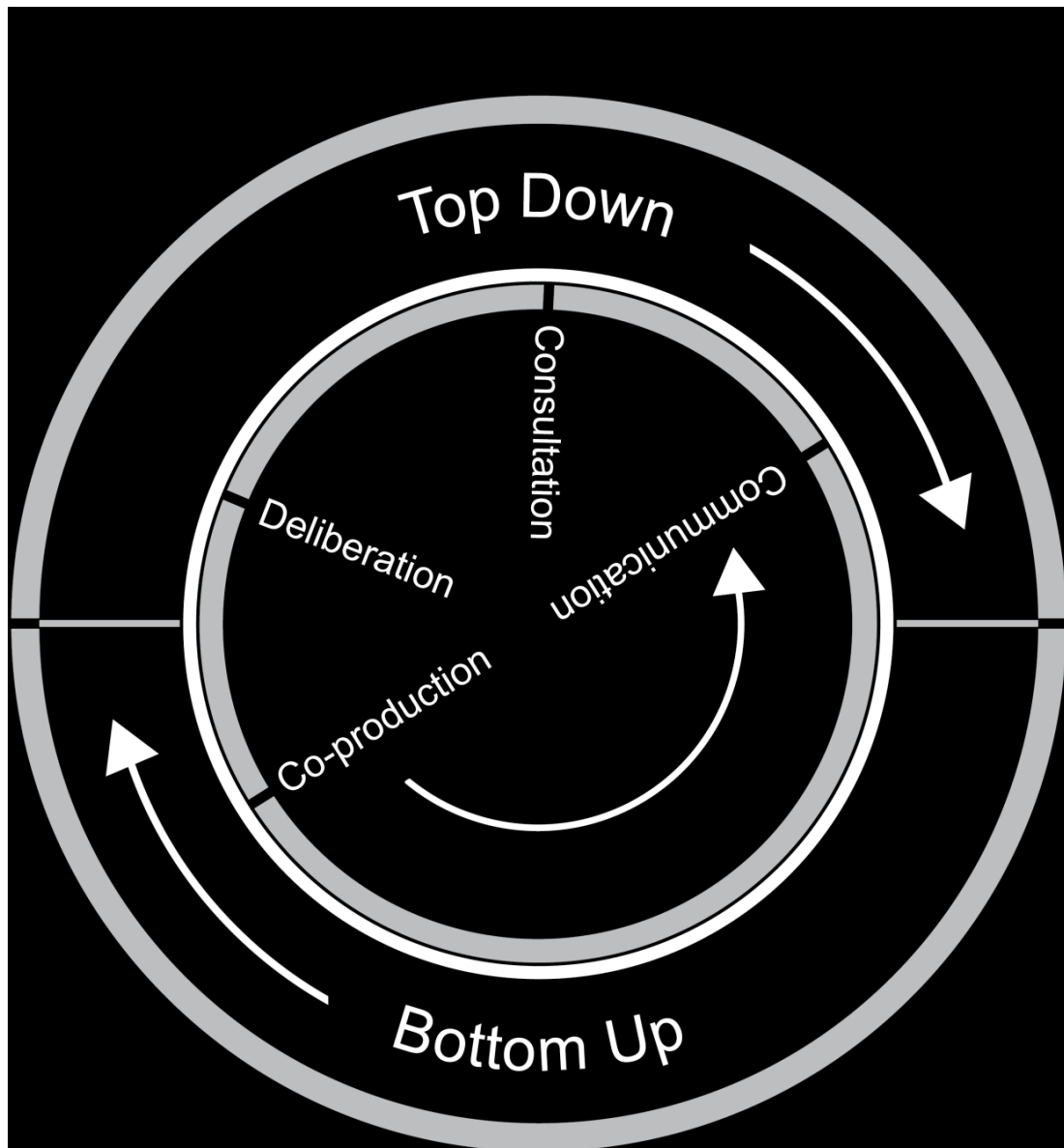


Figure 6.6: Describing the Organised 'one-to-one' meetings with particular stakeholder groups during the Coast Road SBS *without* the presence of the Project Manager or his 2nd using the Wheel of Participation: Top Down Consultative two-way communication with less deliberative consultation.

6.4.1.3 The Marsalforn Case Study

The Marsalforn process followed a similar methodology as the previous case studies, with one major difference – there was a 2nd public and stakeholder town hall meeting, held a year after the first one had taken place; i.e. a year after the SBS fieldwork had been completed and the first SBS report submitted to the EIA coordinator. In fact, the final report (Appendix VI) is an update of the first report to include the 2nd stakeholder town hall meeting and a number of interviews with stakeholders who had already been interviewed the previous year to update data as necessary given the time that had elapsed.

The Marsalforn process consisted of:

- I. Organised ‘one-to-one’ meetings with particular stakeholder groups (the Żebbuġ (Gozo) Local Council; the Marsalforn Local Council sub-committee; the Parish priest; tourist and local economic groups; NGO groups and other unofficial but organised groups);
- II. Two Stakeholder / ‘general public’ ‘town hall’ style meetings held at the same local, privately owned hall, a year apart from each other.

The 1st ‘town hall’ type meeting (point 2 above) started as a hierarchical, closed and limited representation with dysfunctional power dynamics, making stakeholder participation more than challenging, resulting in a **top-down one-way communication type** of engagement (Figure 6.7, below). It unwittingly (in other words, not by design but because of the change in power dynamics in the room during the meeting) moved to a more **top-down consultative communication type of engagement**, rather than remaining stuck on the communication type on the Wheel. Having attended the meeting, while there was a movement to better knowledge exchange once the power dynamics forcibly shifted by the tension and increased dissatisfaction of the stakeholders, an *ex-post* analysis of the first meeting still does not move the Wheel’s dial around to include deliberation but shifts the arrow towards the consultative mode (Figure 6.8, p. 310).

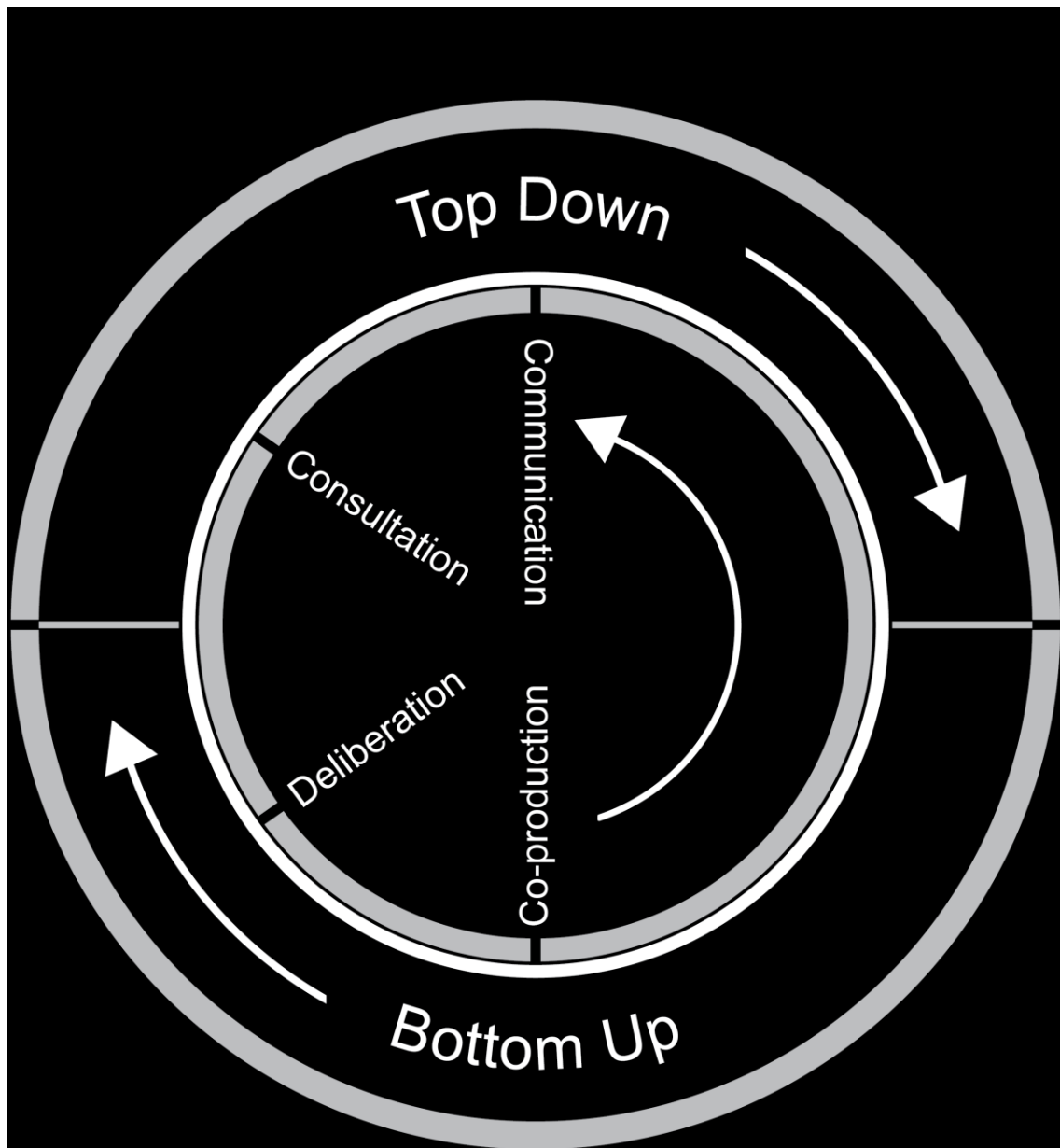


Figure 6.7: The First Marsalforn 'town hall' style meeting as it was designed by the 'agency', as described by the Wheel of Participation: Top-down one-way communication.

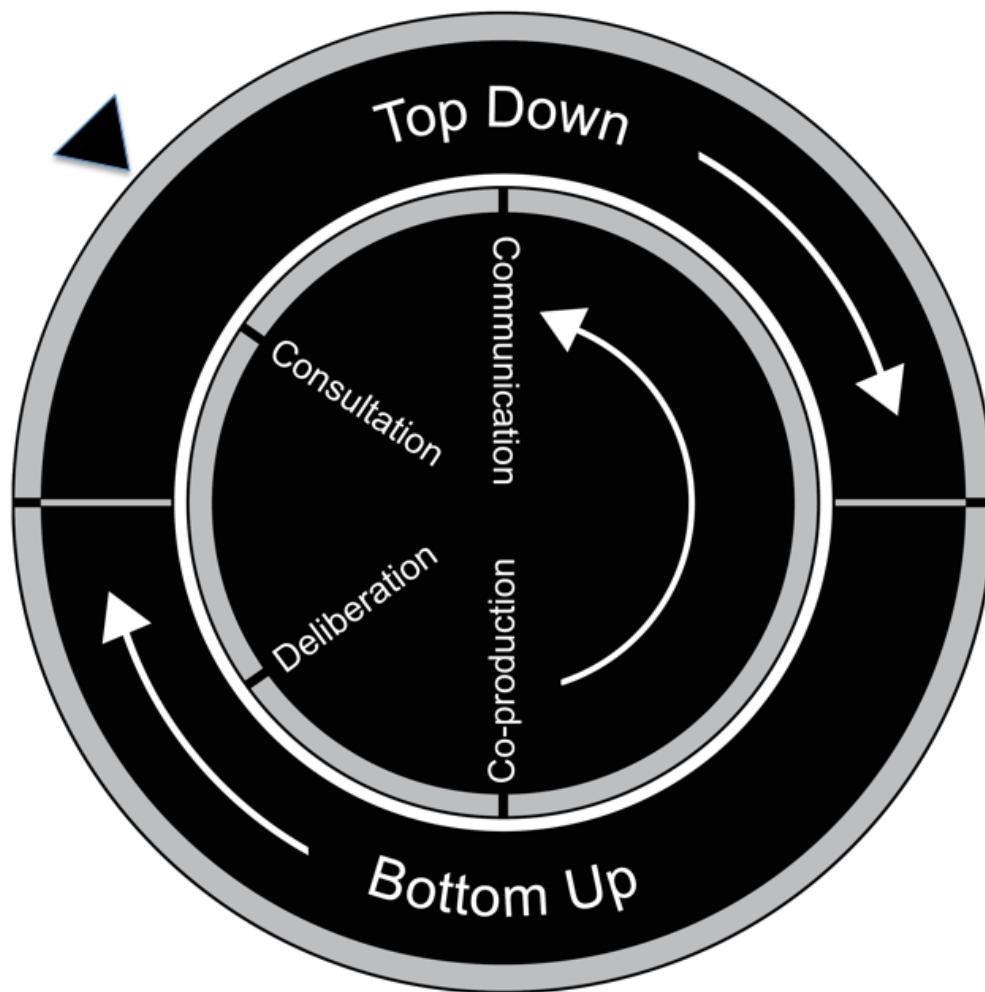


Figure 6.8: The First Marsalforn 'town hall' style meeting after the shift in power dynamics, where the stakeholders made themselves heard; as described by the Wheel of Participation: Top-down consultative communication.

The second 'town hall' style meeting, a year later, moved to a more **deliberative communication consultation type of engagement**, while still based on a top-down process, since the meeting started off with a presentation first by the EIA coordinator explaining the changes in the project based on the results of the (physical, as opposed to the mathematical) model that was built in France. This was followed by a presentation that included videos of the model at work by the French consultants. Finally, because of how the meeting moved to a two-way discussion, it resulted in a more deliberative model of participation (Figure 6.9, overleaf), though it is not clear how well represented all stakeholder voices were in the decision-making process.

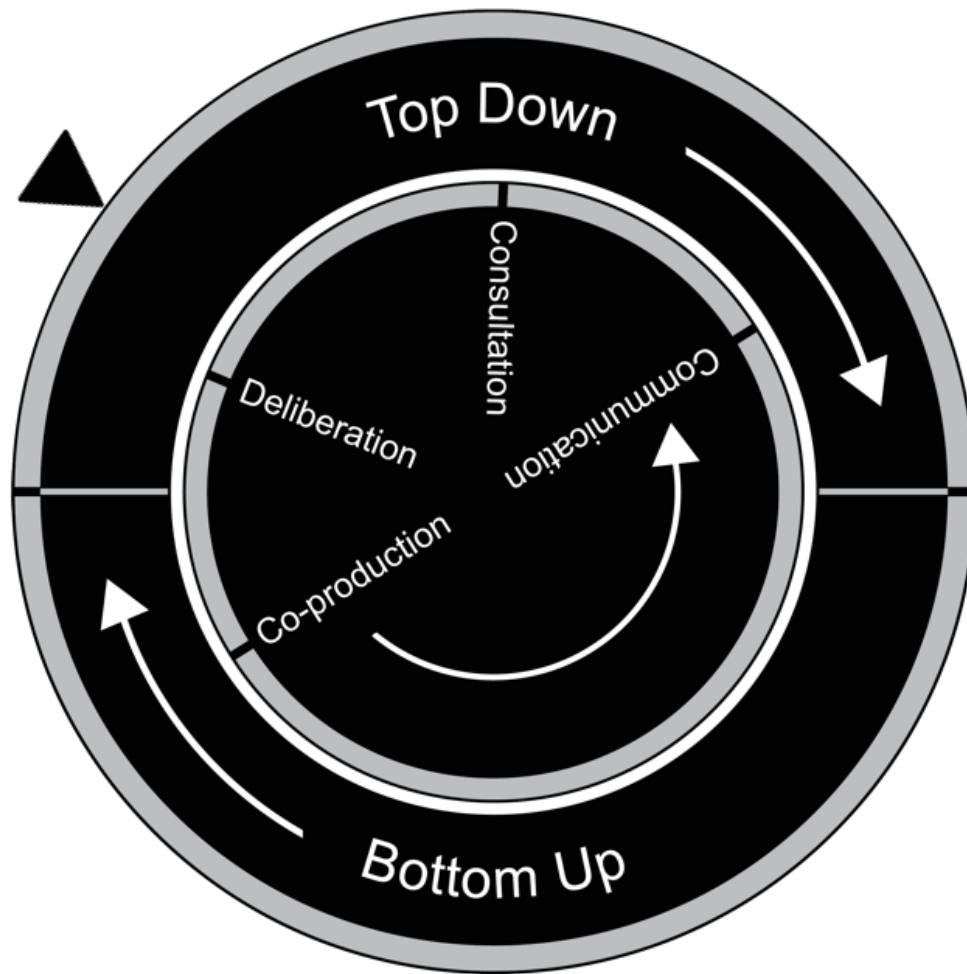


Figure 6.9: The 2nd Marsalforn Case Study 'town hall' style meeting, as described by the Wheel of Participation: A Top-Down Deliberative Communication Consultation type of engagement.

The organised 'one-to-one' meetings with stakeholder groups and official organisations can be described similarly as the previous case studies, since they followed the same methodology – the **top-down deliberative communication consultation type of engagement**, where there was an exchange of information, knowledge transfer and deliberation of the various issues but no co-production, even though interviewees were asked for their suggestions and alternatives. Figure 6.10 (overleaf) therefore shows the arrow squarely on top of 'Consultation' on the inner dial, while deliberation is also included within the top-down half of the Wheel. This suggests an equal amount of deliberation and communication through the consultation process. In reality, the arrow moves towards deliberation and communication depending on how the meeting evolves.

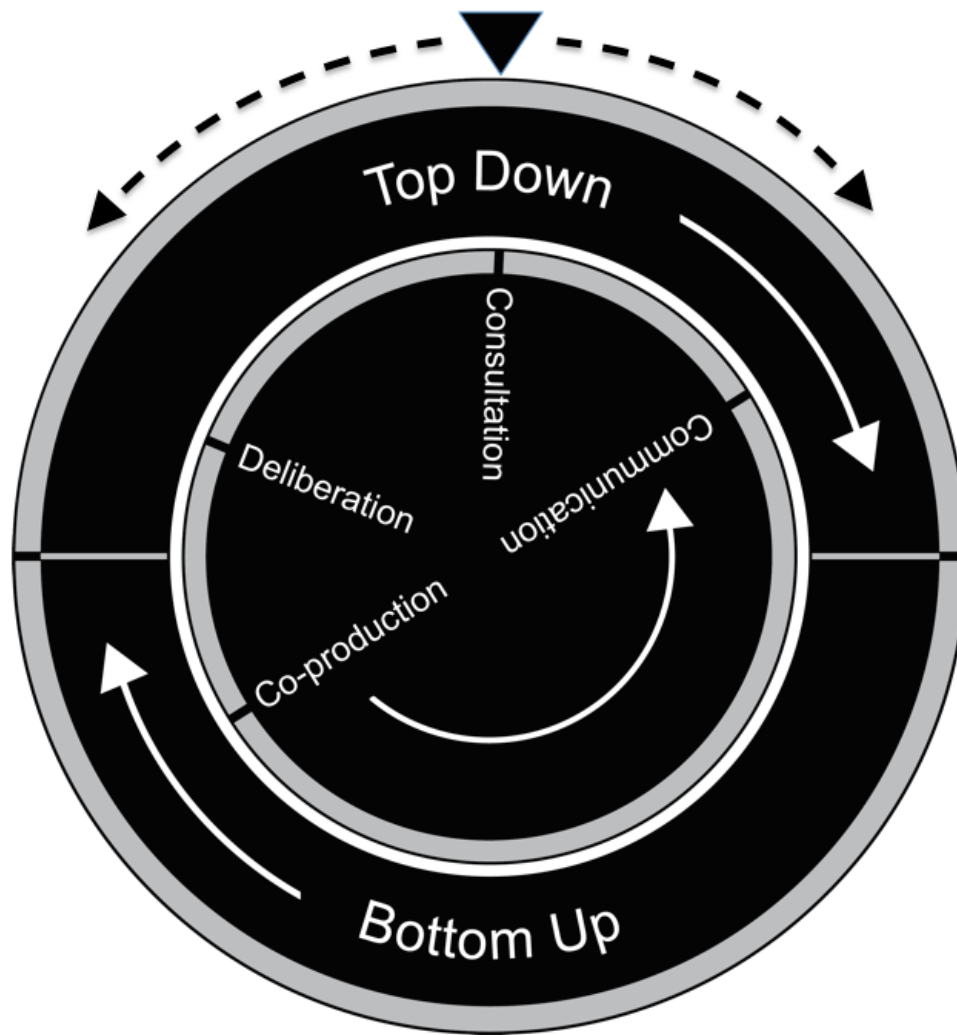


Figure 6.10: The 'one-to-one' meetings with stakeholder groups (official and unofficial organisations), broadly speaking for the three case studies, as described by the Wheel of Participation: Top-down deliberative communication consultation. The top arrow moves towards deliberation and communication depending on how the meeting evolves (represented by the dashed arrows on each side of the top arrow).

Again, while these suggestions and alternatives were represented within the SBS, most of the stakeholder groups with whom the one-to-one meetings were held were not included within the decision-making process after these meetings and considered part of the wider public during the official consultation period (except for Local Councils and a few other official entities who were invited to send comments). It is important to note here that as with the other case studies, any engagement started by stakeholders outside or beyond the SBS process are not taken into consideration or described here.

Since the project is still pending, it remains unclear what the final outcomes of the stakeholder engagement that were held as part of the SBS and EIA process, i.e. the 3rd meeting that was held of which I have no data, will be. As observed above, this case study further highlights the temporality of planning processes (in terms of the length of time it takes to review the preliminary results of the EA, for internal decisions to be made so that further studies could be made etc.), and how these delays can have negative impacts, since, as illustrated in Chapters 4 and 5 (see Sections 4.5.1, p. 213; Section 5.4, p. 262), damage continues to take place at Marsalforn bay.

The above descriptions of the various types of participatory engagements that took place during the three case studies show the applicability of the Wheel of Participation typology to describe a wide range of types of engagement. The case study research also shows the dynamism of engagement in the real world, which rarely respects discreet types, often sitting between types or shifting from type to another as a process evolves. As a descriptive tool, the typology was able to effectively describe the various types of engagement that occurred in the case study research. Used *ex post* in this way, the application of the typology made it possible to systematically compare the types of engagement employed across and between processes in the case studies. What this analysis does not do however, is to explain why engagement delivered certain outcomes or make any comment as to the appropriateness of engagement in each case study context. The next section will analyse the participatory processes during the three case studies using the theory of participation, also serving to evaluate the theory itself.

6.4.2 Evaluating the Theory of Participation using the three case studies

To recapitulate, using our definition of participant, the above theory suggests that the extent to which participation helps avoid or resolve conflict will depend on 1) the **context** in which the participation occurs affects the 2) **design** of the participatory process; 3) the extent to which the facilitator/mediator is able to manage **power dynamics** within this design and enable deliberation between participants; and finally, 4) the length of time and **spatial scales** over which the participatory process occurs.

As has been identified in earlier chapters, the three case studies were selected because of how differently both developer and stakeholders perceived stakeholder participation during the three SIA processes and how this affected the individual

participative process, which needed more or less mediation by the SIA practitioner,⁹¹ even though they all take place in one very small nation state within the EU. I will also use the three case studies to discuss connecting or crosscutting themes that will help provide answers to the research questions posed in Chapter 1, including the propensity for knowledge exchange and collaboration with other EIA consultants, for example, who, as I argued in Chapter 2 (p. 46), are also stakeholders. The next sections have been arranged to illustrate the four factors in the theoretical framework for each case study; it will also become clear how the four factors are inextricably connected as a nested set of factors that affect one another and influence the outcome of different participatory processes (the main theme of Chapter 7).

One needs to remember that within each case study there are multiple stakeholder engagement processes taking place, starting with the ones that are part of the SBSs that range from official to semi-official interventions or ‘episodes’ (described in the previous section) to those considered as citizen action and civic mobilisation (after Grandvoinnet et al’s (2015) five constituent elements of CE and SA) by stakeholder groups and individuals either instigated by the SBS process itself or prior to the SBS process. These engagement processes will be considered as contextual factors within the SBS participatory / engagement process rather than analysed as individual interventions. This is because these more bottom-up citizen-led engagement processes, while part of the project planning process, were not part of the official EIA SBS. While as the SBS consultant I may have interacted with some of these more ‘bottom-up’ civic mobilisation interventions, my involvement was either as a ‘stakeholder’ within those processes as the SBS consultant while conducting interviews with stakeholders who took part in those interventions, or as a PhD student during the participant-observation phase of this research. This is why in the earlier description of the case studies each case study stakeholder engagement was described as part of a process where the movement of the engagement processes during each case study was described as a whole (see the descriptions given for each case study in Chapters 4 and 5).

⁹¹ It has already been identified clearly that the SIA practitioner for the three case studies was the author of this thesis, and as such, as I have already done in previous chapters, will continue using the 1st person to describe my involvement and interactions on the case studies, rather than using “PA” (Primary Author), as was used in the manuscript for the IAIA 2015 paper.

Finally, it must be stressed that the following sections are an *ex-post* exercise looking at the four factors behind the participatory processes that took place during the three case studies. If one had to look at the context and spatial (temporal) factors alone surrounding the Magħtab and Marsalforn situations, for example, any engagement intervention that would have been attempted would have been bound to result in very poor outcomes. We are looking at 30 years of the various governments of Malta dumping Malta's waste at a stone's throw from the village of Magħtab; its residents labelled as living on a dumpsite, so much so that illegal tipping along the side of the countryside roads surrounding Magħtab has been common practice for decades. It is no wonder that the context there was challenging. It is also no surprise that the developer was very reticent on revealing the full extent of the 20-year master plan and therefore not wanting to engage directly with stakeholders, who had every right to be angry. The same thing can be said for the situation at Marsalforn, where for years the waterfront had been pummelled by raging seas during bad weather, damaging business properties, and previous attempts to improve the situation had failed. Again, there was little reason for stakeholders at Marsalforn to take any attempt at stakeholder participation seriously, and hence their direct opposition manifested during the first public meeting.

This was very apparent from the fieldwork conducted for the SBS and the broader participant observation as part of the PhD fieldwork. Does this mean that there should be no attempt at engagement at all; at least in any meaningful way (since legally, as part of the planning and decision-making process, public hearings have to take place)? This is where consideration of the broader socio-political contexts, the existing relations between the state and civil society and the social accountability mechanisms within the citizen-state interface (see Grandvoinnet et al. 2015) must be taken into consideration (discussed in Chapter 7, Sections 7.3 through 7.5). In this section, the discussion will focus on assessing the most appropriate type of engagement within the limitations that were inherent for each case study by analysing the contextual, power dynamics and spatial context within which the various participatory processes needed to be executed.

6.4.2.1 *The Magħtab Case Study*

When analysing the four factors of the theoretical framework, the likelihood of delivering beneficial outcomes from any stakeholder engagements for the Magħtab MBT proposal would theoretically be limited at best. The participatory engagement that took place was formally part of the SBS process rather than the overarching planning and decision-making process, and thus not officially recognised as stakeholder engagement exercises but considered part of the SBS methodology. In other words, official exercises would have been perceived as politically contentious, while as part of the data gathering exercise for the social study, they were perceived by the developer as being less potentially damaging.

The two stakeholder interventions that took place during the SBS (i.e. where a group of stakeholders met in one venue) could be assessed as having little effect on delivering beneficial outcomes on their own, and therefore over-all, the scales would tip towards the left of Figure 6.2, representing the Theory of Participation. On the other hand, in reality, since the above contexts were taken into consideration in conjunction with the whole process of the SBS, including all the interviews and participant observation and what took place during the meetings, the scales tip towards the middle.

Below the four factors for the Magħtab case study are discussed in more detail. Since all three case studies took place within the same nation state of Malta, so that there is no overlap in the text, there are parts of the following discussion that will inevitably be relevant for all three case studies.

The Context(s)

As introduced above, there are socio-economic, cultural and institutional contexts that feed into each other. These will not only affect whether or not stakeholder participation is officially organised but how stakeholders and the public in general will engage (or not) and how, with the ‘agency’ proposing the development and those within processes perceived pertain to that agency, such as the EIA process, for example, in urban planning. As discussed in Chapter 2 (Sections 2.4.6, p. 79 and 2.4.7, p. 81), this is especially so when the feedback loop is jeopardised and there is little to no knowledge transfer or exchange, taking place. As described above, this also depends on the socio-political situation and how governance is operationalized at state

and local levels, which affects the citizen-state interface (Grandvoinnet et al. 2015: 5; also see Figure 2.4, p. 87; Figure 7.1, p. 349; Section 7.4, p. 352).

At the institutional level then, depending on the legal structure of a country, developers are not necessarily obliged to get involved in stakeholder involvement before the official consultation takes place, after the EIS has been compiled. This has been the case in Malta for example, at the time of the fieldwork. This means that it depends on the developer whether the SIA practitioner can officially carry out such participatory exercises. In the waste management case, since it was a politically contentious project, even though as the SIA practitioner, I sent the developers a report arguing the positive effects of including the stakeholders during the EIA process, I was not granted permission to go ahead and organise official stakeholder exercises. The result was that I organised stakeholder / public meetings as part of the SBS, to introduce myself, give those who attended as much information as I legally could (i.e. the PDS) and make appointments to interview those who attended the first meeting as part of the SBS. A subsequent meeting was unofficially held again to discuss the problems more collectively and share the information I had thus far collected, after I had conducted most of the official interviews for the SBS, including discussions / meetings I had had with various official organisations such as the Naxxar Local Council and a number of NGOs.

Therefore, the context surrounding this case study was intrinsically challenging. For years, stakeholders, either as individuals or as semi-organised and organised groups had been trying to solicit information from the Government and the Developer with very little success, to the point of writing to the EU Commission. Therefore there was no participation culture in existence and any previous attempts at involving stakeholders during earlier interventions on the Magħtab landfill operation could be characterised as either consultative at best or top-down information (e.g. plans that had already been decided upon).

Keeping these challenging contexts in mind should improve in the identification of a participation type that may help put them in perspective, such as creating the opportunity of an invited space for open communication with stakeholders.

Design and Power

The design could be considered as closed or limited in scope, though every effort was made to include and therefore represent as many stakeholders as possible during the two broadly speaking, public meetings. Contextually though, while challenging (see below), since the interventions were part of the SBS, which included the building of relationships and a certain degree of trust with stakeholders, especially during the second meeting that was organised (in an *ad hoc* fashion, one might add), there was the opportunity to engage during these meetings. Even though all the participants were able to contribute knowledge, there was very little knowledge exchange with stakeholders, except for explaining the PDS.

Because of the contexts described above, the design of any participatory action would have to be unofficial, resulting in involving stakeholders informally by organising meetings through other channels, such as local groups and NGOs, utilising relationships developed during the fieldwork for the SBS of the SIA. Here I reiterate the distinction already made above between official and unofficial engagements, in this case including the design of participatory processes officially through the “agency” (i.e. organised through the developer using their resources) and unofficially, when in this case, I became the “agent” organising stakeholder meetings with no official power from my side to ensure participants that their contribution would influence the outcomes of the meetings held. While it may be argued that as the SIA consultant I did have the ‘power’ to organise these meetings, their original intended purpose was one of information gathering as part of the SBS/SIA fieldwork and information transfer about the proposed project based on the PDS, in other words, a publicly available source of information. It is for this reason that *design* and *power* have been placed together in this section.

There was an opposing dichotomy of power dynamics; while all the stakeholders during the two meetings that were held had every opportunity to be heard and be represented; the meetings themselves were in themselves unofficial. In other words, as the representative of the EIA process, or the proposed project, as initially perceived by the participants, it was very quickly made clear that I had no decision-making power and their representation would only be included as part of the SBS report. Therefore, the participants had no direct possibility to influence outcomes, at least during the two

meetings organised for the SBS. On the other hand, since the public meetings were technically unofficial, a deliberative space was created, in that stakeholders could securely vent their disappointment and thoughts of the project without fear of repercussions, since all the stakeholders were unanimous in their reactions towards the proposed MBT plant.

Since I could not facilitate stakeholder involvement officially, I provided stakeholders with information that I could legally (and ethically) give them, even though the developers were very reticent about what information was divulged, which was essentially limited to the PDS. As part of my remit as the SIA consultant, I had the obligation to provide them with clarifications on information found within the PDS, some of which were possible by liaising with the EIA coordinator, who in turn consulted with other consultants performing other studies as part of the EIA. As part of the timeline of the EIA process, the baseline study for the SIA was usually executed last, so that other studies would have already been performed and the EIA coordinator could provide answers that connected to the social study (see next section on scalar fit).

The stakeholders then used this information as leverage to get further answers, even involving the press. Here, I may have increased tensions between the stakeholders and the developer, but by involving stakeholders in this way, it provided a certain degree of balance (though very partial) of the power dynamics found within this particular context, at least, to their constitutional right to information, especially on health and safety related issues. These issues could then be discussed and further actions taken by the stakeholders, which created a movement as described in Chapter 5, from 'tokenism' and 'passive participation' as part of the SIA process in its limited capacity to properly involve stakeholders equitably, to 'self-mobilisation', making the stakeholder groups agents of their own participatory engagement within the planning process.

This bottom-up stakeholder-led engagement was not part of the stakeholder participation methodology within the SBS but a by-product of it. More precisely, it was part of the wider democratic process of which the EIA process is one constituent. This is where my involvement with this 'independent' participatory engagement could have been construed as verging on Participatory Action Research (PRA). In reality I

was not instrumental to their civic mobilisation, but rather, an interface of sorts through the provision of some of their pressing questions during the stakeholder meeting and the continued fieldwork (and participant observation) for the SBS.

This was partly due to the above-mentioned deliberative space that was possible because the meetings were unofficial and I was there as the independent SIA consultant gathering data for the potential social impacts of the proposed project based on stakeholder experiences, values and so forth, which would be later detailed in the SBS. Further, this space was also possible because of the fieldwork and interviews I had already started conducting before the 1st public meeting, creating a number of relationships and a certain amount of trust with many of the stakeholders who were present for that first meeting. This created a shift in the power dynamics of that meeting where we were all participants contributing towards an equitable representation of stakeholder needs, grievances and experiences (and therefore knowledge exchange), which would then be included in the SBS.

Scalar Fit

As part of the SBS during the EIA process, especially in conjunction with the interview process for the SBS and the opportunity for stakeholders to mobilise and get involved during the EIA process of this particular project, the scalar fit at this level was temporally well matched, i.e. engagement, officially or otherwise took place during the time-frame of the EIA / SBS process. On the other hand, if analysed from a macro-temporal perspective, after 30 years of landfill projects and operation, with very little to no meaningful stakeholder engagement and no feedback loop (i.e. no two-way communication or information exchange), the spatial scale was very poorly matched. Here, the spatial scale is used to emphasise that there was a mismatch in both the temporality (30 years of landfill projects) and the geographical (spatial) dimension, since the landfill operation continued to grow in size over time, increasing the AoI of the social and environmental impacts over the years.

Governance processes take time and even though many issues follow the time-scales between one political election and the next, many large projects do not follow the same temporal scale and environmental problems have ecological time-scales that may span generations. Decisions taken 30 years earlier may still have an effect on the socio-ecological landscapes three decades later, as is the case with the Magħtab landfill, for

example. This may be compounded with connected projects, such as the ‘closure’ of one landfill only to create others right next to it, with the resulting cumulative effects, both environmental and social. Projects themselves may be long-term, as with the Magħtab Waste Management Master Plan spanning 20 years and part of a larger waste management plan for the Maltese Islands, i.e. the nation-state of Malta, which include obligations arising from accession to the EU.

There are other temporal scales to consider – those of the EIA process and its constituent parts, including the SIA. Once the EIS is finalised, the review and decision-making process follows, which can also be a lengthy process, which in turn will reflect the start of the construction phase of the proposed development, if given development permission. Depending on the scale of the development scheme, construction can take years and its implementation occurring in phases. A development scheme’s lifetime does not only include the planning stage but, as discussed in Chapter 2, also includes its decommissioning. The socio-environmental (or ecological) effects of both its operation and eventual abandonment and decommissioning can be long-term, especially if there are irreversible impacts.

In regard to stakeholder participation during the SIA process and the temporal scales within which participation may take place are dependent on the socio-political and bureaucratic contexts described above and the design of the SIA methodology. In Malta, the SIA is strictly part of the EIA process of a particular development and any participatory processes that take place before or after the EIA (such as public consultations at policy level that will inform a master plan, such as the Magħtab Waste Management Plan, or post-EIA public hearings and further consultations) are not considered part of the SIA process (unlike what Figure 2.1, p. 35 illustrates, for example). It does not mean that any consultation exercises on other developments that form part of the larger Master Plan should not be taken into consideration.

Because of the extensive engagement with several stakeholders during the fieldwork that was conducted for the Magħtab study, there was knowledge exchange between myself, as the SIA consultant, and the stakeholders who experienced the landfill operation first hand over time. In some cases, I was provided with first-hand experiences of the socio-physical landscape before the landfill was commissioned three decades earlier, providing me with a temporal map of how the landscape (physical and

social) had changed and how those changes affected their values and circumstances over time. This is relevant to scalar fit in two ways: first, the temporal scale of fieldwork, which must fit with the timeline of the SIA process, whereby the methods employed need to take into consideration the spatial scale of the proposed development together with the number of stakeholder groups to be interviewed and any participatory interventions that take place during the SBS process. Secondly, it highlights the temporal scale of the proposed development in relation to related projects that had already been implemented over time, linking impacts related to the previous projects to the one being proposed, i.e. the cumulative impacts over time, which affect the scalar fit of stakeholder interventions of the current project.

Many stakeholders are very much aware of temporal scale, even if they do not always realise the length of planning and decision-making processes. They have first-hand experience of temporal and spatial change within the landscapes they operate, especially when it affects them directly. Farmers made it a point to show me how the operation affected their fields, providing photos of their trees covered in plastic bags on windy days as evidence, while another illustrated the growth of the landfill over the months in relation to a branch of a tree that directly overlooked the landfill operation. This farmer literally mapped the growth of the landfill over time as the tree also grew, making a temporal comparison between ecological growth and anthropogenic environmental degradation, commenting that the landfill grew faster than the tree. A full-time resident who was a retired structural engineer showed me unanswered letters that he had sent to the developer asking technical questions that ironically were very similar to questions that were posed by the Naxxar Local Council during the official stakeholder meeting at the beginning of the baseline study fieldwork. The same stakeholder took me on walks around the perimeter of the landfill operation to illustrate problems that he felt needed to be addressed. An eNGO showed me aerial photos of the operation over time, pointing out discrepancies between official statements and what the photos showed.⁹²

As part of my PhD fieldwork, I was given permission to attend a meeting between the EIA coordinators and the developers (this is not normal practice), which gave me

⁹² These examples further illustrate Scott's argument (2011) that when conducting interviews in the field, the results are richer.

further insight on the existing socio-political realities and the temporal context that surrounded the project since the start of the landfill operation at Magħtab and the 20-year management plan that did not just affect Magħtab but the whole of Malta as an island state with very finite waste disposal and management problems. These needed to be addressed and communicated without further antagonising those immediately affected by the current operation and the 20-year strategy.

Although suggestions to use mediation formally were not considered by the EIA organiser, by acting as a knowledge broker between the EIA team, developers and stakeholders, especially explaining the temporality and wider macro-impacts of the master plan, some knowledge exchange could take place, allowing the stakeholders to develop better options for input to the process. This was also partly achieved with the details presented in the baseline study itself as part of the decision-making process by representing the stakeholders' perceptions of the project and how it is dependent on their values and experiences over the 30 years of landfill operations in the area, suggesting that further interventions need to be made carefully and with a strategy that directly involves those affected and which is more transparent. Even if a participatory process is designed to be more consultative, it is the stakeholders' experience of non-transparency (where the context is therefore challenging) that resulted in further conflict and un-balanced power dynamics that created late and poorly matched scalar fits to engagement in this case study.

Fit to theory

In conclusion, appraising this case study in relation to the theory of participation:

- I. The context was overall challenging in terms of the many contextual elements (from micro to macro socio-political contexts, compounded by 30 years of negative experiences by stakeholders (see Chapter 5) that interacted with each other negatively, creating a lot of animosity and lack of trust;
- II. The design of meetings with individual stakeholder groups was systematic and structured, allowing participants to engage. The 'town hall' style meetings were hierarchical and closed / limited since they had an ambiguous status, but which still allowed for opportunities to engage;
- III. The power dynamics during the 'town hall' style meetings, because of their ambiguous status, were more balanced, giving participants equal opportunities

to contribute local knowledge, though they were not officially / directly able to influence project design or outcomes. The stakeholder group meetings were officially part of the SBS, therefore these were more structured to allow participants to contribute and officially make statements, especially for those meetings held by / with official organisations such as Local Councils, with formal minutes taken by their secretary and therefore had some influence over eventual outcomes.

- IV. The scalar fit for the two kinds of participatory interventions was well matched as part of the EIA process but mismatched in terms of the larger temporal and spatial scale of the project being part of a 20-year master plan and in relation to the cumulative of impacts already experienced as part of the 30-year long landfill operation.

6.4.2.2 The Coast Road Upgrade

The process for the CRU involved a number of different activities that needed to match the contexts presented by the spatial and temporal scales of the project, since the upgrade passed through a number of localities and secondly, there were time limitations to conduct all the engagement activities to reach as many stakeholders as possible. The design of the various activities ranged from *ad hoc* to systematic representation, while being as transparent as possible, depending on the contexts for each activity.

The contexts ranged from challenging to conducive and overall the design of the various participatory episodes took into consideration the existing participation culture and former stakeholder experiences of engagement and the available resources. The power dynamics were by and large effectively managed, at least, in terms of the opportunities stakeholders had to contribute knowledge, though there were limitations on how much they could influence outcomes. As discussed in Chapter 2, Sections 2.4.6-2.4.7 (pp. 79-90) and further elaborated in Chapter 7, Sections 7.2-7.3 (pp. 346-352), the state of governance present in the country will inevitably influence the relationship and interface between civil and state societies and should be considered an overarching contextual element.

Overall, after weighing the various outcomes of the EIA, Ing. Zerafa informed the EIA coordinator that he considered the SIA process, including the engagement activities within it, as the most educational part of the EIA. He argued that the lessons learnt from the SBS / SIA process contributed to a number of tangible changes to the plans that enhanced the project and improved relations with the local population. While not all the activities within the engagement process can be considered as having delivered equitable or beneficial outcomes, in terms of the theory of participation, the various activities did deliver intended outcomes, including transfer of information, representation of vulnerable stakeholders (i.e. those that stood to lose a lot because of the project, such as farmers who had fields that were in either one of the two options mentioned in Chapter 5) and representation of stakeholder concerns that could be resolved within the limitations of the project.

Context, Design and Scalar Fit

By understanding the immediate problems that stakeholders at Magħtab had and taking into consideration the tensions that existed because of the Magħtab Environmental Complex and how the stakeholders felt about the previous EIA process, the design of the stakeholder meeting immediately prioritised those points that directly or indirectly intersected with the Magħtab project. The first point of discussion was the utility road leading to the Magħtab Complex and the alternative routes that the trucks going to the site would take to by-pass the village of Magħtab. While this was not the most pressing issue on the architect's agenda, it was for the stakeholders of Magħtab and by discussing that first and promising to liaise with the project manager in charge of the transport routes for the Magħtab Complex project (the Coast Road project only had one road directly related to the project), it made stakeholders more open to other issues that related directly to the Coast Road Upgrade.

Here we see that by taking into consideration the various contexts, in this case including contexts not necessarily directly connected to the project, but important in terms of understanding the existing participation culture and experiences of previous engagement processes. This helped make the participatory engagement at Magħtab more effective and meaningful for all the participants.

The Coast Road project needed to engage with various stakeholder groups from different localities, with different needs and concerns – in other words, the contexts

differed geospatially along the length of the Coast Road. Different stakeholder groups, such as schools, were met individually in a round-table discussion setting, including teachers and representatives of the parents, where the various issues that affected them were discussed. Early on of the SBS, meetings were also held with the Local Councils, who helped design and run the public meetings at each locality. In addition, meetings were held with formal and informal institutions at particular localities, again, unofficially helped by members of the local sub-committees of the Naxxar Local Council at those localities, who acted as members of the local communities not in their official capacity of sub-committee members. By acting in an unofficial capacity but still utilising their contacts and influence as active residents of the localities where they lived, they played an important role during the stakeholder analysis identifying whom to invite for these meetings.

The religious communities of some of the localities allowed me to address the local community at the end of Sunday Mass (at least those who were Catholic and attended Mass), first, to invite them to contact me to be interviewed, and secondly, to invite them to go to the 'open day' to see the plans, ask questions to the architects as representatives of the project and voice their concerns. These open days were designed as an exhibition in some localities using the Church's '*sala*' (hall)⁹³ with an open-ended forum, with a number of hours when either Zerafa or his deputy would be present for questions. This was because it depended on the readiness of stakeholders / civil society to attend these open days and therefore, in these cases, representation was more *ad hoc*, aimed at the general public. During these open days, though, several stakeholder groups were invited to attend at scheduled times for more structured opportunities to engage.

This was the case with farmers to discuss the two road options, for example, following discussions that had taken place as part of the SBS interviews with individual farmers utilising the fields that had been earmarked to be appropriated depending on the option that would ultimately be chosen. The architect listened attentively to the farmers' knowledge on water-flows and how precipitation affected run-off, soil erosion, water collection from the hills in Naxxar to the valleys below, and how the

⁹³ In this context, *sala* is a town hall owned by the (Catholic) Church, used by the local 'community' for religious and other events, including meetings by local organisations, usually at the discretion of the Parish priest

water flow through the terraced fields and wells owned by different farmers down to the valley could be affected by the two options proposed by the Coast Road Upgrade (see below on issues of Power).

Therefore, the design of the various engagement activities needed to take into account the various contexts based on the spatial and temporal scales of the project's social Aol and the temporal issues that the SBS process presented, including time limitations, which is why the open days were designed, i.e. to enable a closer scalar fit.

The temporal scales over which the Coast Road engagement was conducted were challenging, since time was limited with very little time to properly advertise and organise the open days. This was also partly due to more top-level bureaucratic delays during the commissioning phase of the SIA and eventual start of the fieldwork for the SBS, which further reduced the total amount of time of the SBS process, including the time between the organisation and delivery of the open days. This resulted in poor turn out from the public for at least two of the events in the larger localities. In the smaller localities, the events were more successful in terms of attendance because of the local networks that advertised the events through word of mouth and snowball effect by first interviewing influential members of the communities who had various ties with local groups and organisations.

Power

Since Zerafa was present for most of the engagement activities, especially those with challenging contexts, and because the activities were held in an official capacity, it meant that there was at least one project representative with a degree of decision-making power. His disposition was also one of transparency, where he made his decision-making power limitations very clear but through his facilitation skills gave all the participants equal opportunities to contribute and help him understand the issues in such a way that he could represent them equitably with his superiors. He also directed me as the SIA consultant, to record the issues in as much detail as possible, so they would be represented within the SIA report.

He especially showed this disposition for engagement and equitable contribution to knowledge exchange with the farmers while discussing the two options for a section of the road that would effectively appropriate a number of fields and might disrupt water flows in the area. While Zerafa admitted to me that he knew most of what the

local farmers had told him because his Masters dissertation had been on that area, he still collected all the data, aware that there may have been changes to the terrain, water flow and distribution since his own academic research. This allowed for both knowledge exchange and better opportunities for all the participants to contribute towards identifying the better option.

Of course, the project involved many objectives and again, multiple issues with multiple stakeholders. One issue that was difficult to resolve, for example, was the introduction of bicycle lanes, with both social and technical problems that were difficult to mitigate. Another similar point of contention was the removal of trees on a particular stretch of road, which was opposed by many eNGOs. These problems were difficult to mitigate and find common ground to introduce planning gain packages that appeased all parties concerned.

Fit to theory

To sum up the engagement during the SBS for the CRU, in relation to the theory of participation:

1. The context, while always challenging, given the existing participation culture and former experience of engagement in general, it varied from particularly challenging to less challenging depending on the locality and stakeholder groups for individual participatory episode. Where the coast road passed through Magħtab, the context was the most challenging to mediate but by taking into consideration MBT plant experience and the available resources, the most important of which was the official representation of the CRU project at the meetings, the context became more conducive.
2. The Design of the various episodes followed a similar structure and only the details varied, depending on the participants. Since the CRU manager supported all the participatory efforts, there was a real effort to have as much systematic representation as possible with transparent, structured opportunities to engage, though the “open days” produced *ad hoc* representation.
3. The Power dynamics were by and large managed to give participants equal opportunities to contribute knowledge and within the limitations explained above, influence outcomes.

4. The Scalar Fit: temporarily within the SBS process, the participatory interventions were in the right place. On the other hand, given the spatial scale of this particularly large Aol involving 9 localities, the delays described above resulted in a poor temporal scalar fit within the SBS process for the open days late.

The above analysis suggests that theoretically, given the poor scalar fit, the open days would have less likelihood of delivering beneficial outcomes. A top-down deliberative type with better systematic representation, such as a continuation of the stakeholder group meetings might have been better use of the time available. On the other hand, since the limitations of the scalar fit was very apparent at the design stage of the open days, stakeholder group meetings were also organised within the time-frame and space of the open days, thus trying to reach those in the general public who had an interest in getting involved in the SBS process while utilising the same time to continue making sure that groups with a stake in the project had the opportunity to deliberate with the project manager. By combining the two together during the available time, the likelihood of delivering beneficial outcomes improved.

6.4.2.3 The Marsalforn Case Study

Finally, we consider the case of the Coastal Defences project at Marsalforn, Gozo. Even though a public meeting was organised, the developers did not discuss the meeting with me, as SIA lead, or the EIA team, and only used us to facilitate the meeting. Their architect did not consult us prior to the meeting, and gave a very technical presentation, brushing aside local knowledge as invalid, which he openly vocalised during the meeting.

This meant that the four factors, and most importantly context and power dynamics, were seemingly not taken into consideration when designing the stakeholder meeting. On the other hand, as part of the SBS, where consideration of alternatives is an important factor of the EIA process, the scalar fit may be considered as matching the temporal scale of the planning process. This resulted in the consideration of alternatives and again, taking the socio-political context surrounding the project as a deciding factor, further studies as suggested by the stakeholders were commissioned.

The second meeting, a year later was designed with the experience of the first meeting in mind (i.e. context), the design was structured in a way to balance the power dynamics in the room, which were initially tense because of the poorly designed previous exercise. The scalar fit for the second meeting was also better matched, since this meeting could be considered a feedback loop where the results of the first meeting (the commissioning of a to-scale physical model and the results of the experiments conducted on the model) were discussed in detail with the stakeholders.

Therefore, while the first meeting would score low (towards the left of Figure 6.2 on p. 294) on the overall scale of the likelihood of delivering beneficial outcomes, it would score high in terms of the scalar fit, i.e. the appropriate timing of the meeting, can be placed towards the right of Figure 6.2. The second meeting theoretically scored higher for all the four factors, but since the decision-making process has not been finalised, there is no empirical evidence to evaluate the extent to which the meeting resulted in beneficial outcomes.

Context, Power and Design Part 1: The 1st Stakeholder ‘Town Hall’ Meeting

The context for the 1st meeting was very challenging, as has been described above. One needs to keep in mind that this project is a direct consequence of prior projects that had tried to improve the effects of the physical environment on the waterfront and the businesses that make use of it. As these projects had been unsuccessful and stakeholders had not been properly included in decision-making, stakeholders expected the same out of this project.

Power is placed with context here because during the meeting, there was a disproportionate number of public officials (i.e. representatives of the Ministry of Gozo, the developer of the project) in relation to the stakeholders. Even though they did not intervene during the meeting, their presence highlighted even more the stakeholders’ perception that they would not be heard, which made the socio-political context even more challenging.

The design of the meeting, which could be characterised as top-down information-giving (akin to the tokenistic model that is usually used for public hearings where decisions have already been made), also moved the power dynamics toward the developer, giving little to no room for participants to effectively contribute.

As previously described, a technical presentation was given by the project architect who when provoked, answered back in kind, by invalidating local knowledge. In this case, as the facilitator of the meeting, I had to use a non-conventional but culturally appropriate mediation technique to calm the participants – climbing on a table, whistling loudly and urging participants to calm down, before the whole meeting became untenable.

Power dynamics during such proceedings are always in flux and the stakeholders did not give in until they were heard, even if that meant open confrontation. By using a number of mediation / facilitation techniques that were culturally appropriate for the given context, even if not necessarily appropriate for an official meeting, and letting the confrontations pan out (as long as they did not get out of control), this shifted the power dynamics in such a way that improved the opportunity for stakeholders to 'engage', or rather, represent themselves and their concerns.

Context, Power and Design Part 2: The 2nd Stakeholder Meeting

The 2nd stakeholder meeting had to address two important points – 1) the acknowledgement of the urgency of the project, and 2) at the same time help the stakeholders understand the time it takes for projects to go from planning phase to construction and implementation phases, which unfortunately do not always match. To try and put these in context, the EIA project leader explained that if it were not for this timely process of considering alternatives, also thanks to their interventions a year earlier, they might get a project now that would ultimately fail and cause more damage.

The design of the meeting was structured to promote more opportunities to engage, but the structure still followed a public hearing style. This was intentional in the sense that by first presenting the findings and resulting changes to the design, acknowledging that these changes were in part due to the stakeholders' contributions, it would shift the power dynamics in the room. Even the seating arrangement at the venue was altered to equalise power and better enable deliberation. This strategy helped maintain the stakeholders' attention during the various presentations, which included a number of videos of the studies made on the model, since the model could not be physically brought to the venue. Once the presentations were over the discussion between

stakeholders and experts was managed, even if not systematically, to ensure that both the project and the deliberation were clearly understood and facilitated to allow real participation.

Even though the 1st stakeholder meeting cannot be considered a properly designed or managed one, it was the fact that it was held during the early stages of the EIA, as part of the SBS that helped yield a rather positive, albeit costly outcome. From a developer's perspective, the meeting was synonymous to most public meetings held in Malta till then, where they felt that they were bullied into letting non-experts influence the planning and decision-making process. As a partly EU funded project, the developer had certain financial obligations and restrictions but they also were legally bound to follow EU directives on public participation and the EIA process. Therefore, the SBS report that detailed the stakeholder concerns that were brought up during the meeting showed that what the stakeholders were suggesting as an alternative was an appropriate alternative to be explored, since it was also included as one of the alternatives within the PDS of the project. This effectively legitimised stakeholder knowledge because when the report's findings, which were based on stakeholder knowledge, were included into the simulations, it became more apparent that the project would not be viable, with the result that the whole project had to go back to the drawing board.

Being aware of the socio-political and economic context surrounding a project does not just involve interviewing stakeholders and taking what they say at face value. The Marsalforn project affected different stakeholders in many ways, including significant personal economic stakes because of the yearly damage they were subjected to by the weather; physical risk during bad weather and for many thus affecting their livelihood. Some stakeholder groups wanted to secure their economic future, but others wanted to increase revenue and make changes to the socio-economic landscape of Marsalforn that would be substantial, including a yacht marina and even a sea terminal for cruise liners.⁹⁴ Apart from meetings with several official organisations, I also met with business owners who made various arguments to why they wanted (or not) these major changes. I was even taken to various vantage points overlooking the Qbajjar

⁹⁴ See the Marsalforn Baseline Study's Recommendations section, pp. 81-83, par. 307-316, found in Appendix VII; also reproduced in Section 5.4.4, p 279.

area and other locations where they thought these projects could be realised (see Section 5.2.4, p. 249).

While arguments were compelling, by listening to different stakeholders attentively, looking for alliances and sub-group dynamics and mapping out their overlapping pertinence within the various sociospheres present within Marsalforn, the various agendas I heard were not necessarily ‘for the greater good’ of the social environment of Marsalforn. This exemplifies the factors of power dynamics and context explained in this theory of participation (Figure 6.2, p. 294) and how they also fit with SIA fieldwork and analysis. This rigour in cross-examining values, experience and motivations is not just dependent on training but also experience, which is usually a result of previous oversights or mistakes, especially when one loses sight of impartiality, thinking that those without a voice need to be fairly and equally represented⁹⁵. A few years after concluding one of my very first social studies, I met with one of my informants on that study and during a conversation where we were discussing how the proposed project had been abandoned partly because of my SIA report. He smiled and told me: “So all the bullshit we told you did its job!” This fuelled my motivation to understand the underlying values, agendas and motives of stakeholders who chose to either participate or not in such SIA/EIA processes.

I use the above example to argue that for a well-designed process that can be effectively facilitated to balance power dynamics between participants (de Vente et al., 2016), these power dynamics need to be contextually imbued and the facilitator must be acutely aware of the minutiae that drive the micro-politics on particular issues that surround a proposed project. In the introduction to the theory of participation above, context and design were put in the same point. The literature review drew on studies conducted by De Vente et al. (2016), presenting evidence partly based on an analysis of interviews with stakeholder facilitators conducting different types of participatory processes in similar contexts versus similar process designs in very different contexts. They find that participatory processes that help avoid or resolve conflict are more likely to include broad representation of stakeholders and the provision of information and decision-making power to all participants. In other words, while context does play an important role towards the outcome of participatory processes, the process-design

⁹⁵ Refer to Section 3.1.2, p. 100, on positionality.

seems to given more weight. I argue that part of the reason why context did not rank higher in de Vente et al.'s (2016) analysis was because of the structured interview methodology, which allowed the interviewer limited time to probe the interviewees in greater depth about the interconnectedness between the contexts within which they were working while designing and carrying out engagement activities. In contrast, while conducting my own in-depth, qualitative interviews with EIA coordinators and observing a number of public meetings for other projects that I was not involved in, together with a stakeholder meeting with eNGOs at policy level, the conclusions reached ranked context as being as important as the design of the participatory process.

In particular, the socio-political context proved to be very important, as was the prior experience that all parties involved had of stakeholder exercises. This influenced how those with agency designed their exercises and how stakeholders reacted to the design during the exercise. On one of his first jobs in Malta, a foreign EIA coordinator, well aware of the international state of the art of both EIA coordination and stakeholder participation, tried to bring together all the consultants to design the EIA process collaboratively. After three days of meetings, he could not accomplish what he was accustomed to in other countries, even with over 15 years of experience using his 'tool box'. Communication problems arose from epistemological differences between the various consultants, primarily because they were accustomed to work individually on their own part of the EIA, following different methodologies and temporalities during the EIA process. This meant that consensus could not be reached on an overarching design that could bring together the various types of expert knowledge that were available during the early stage of the EIA process, i.e. while the baseline studies were being done. This forced the EIA coordinator to collate the results from studies conducted by different consultants at the end of the process. It took many years for the EIA coordinator to build relationships of trust between the various consultants whose studies overlapped or intersected, to achieve a much more limited direct collaboration and information sharing in real-time, during the EIA than the one that he had envisaged 15 years earlier.

Similarly, during the stakeholder meeting discussing the drafting a new environmental policy, even with the best intentions in trying to conduct a transparent, constructive and engaged exercise by the Ministry for Environmental Policy (described as 'agency'

in the Wheel of Participation), the existing participation culture was challenging and the stakeholders, though all from eNGOs, could not reach consensus. Instead, each maintained their positions on individual agendas and priorities, some of which were not related to the policy being discussed. This was partly because of perceived differential power dynamics between the eNGOs themselves, each wanting to be heard and validated, but also because of their prior experience during previous exercises where they felt that their knowledge and ideas had been ignored. These were in fact the unrelated points that they brought up during that particular meeting, either using them as examples to make the point that even this exercise was a futile one or trying to validate them as pertinent to the policy being discussed. This example highlights the underlying pre-conceived perceptions stemming from previous experience of stakeholder engagement, or more precisely, consultation, and the exploitation of any opportunity to be heard by the authorities.

As a result, based on my own findings, I argue that those interviewed by de Vente et al. (2016) whose participatory exercises were successful, were likely to have succeeded because they were (or used) expert facilitators, embedded within the socio-cultural and political contexts in which they were working. For this reason, they intrinsically took into consideration the power dynamics in those contexts while designing their stakeholder engagement and adapted the design to ensure the engagement process evolved to meet the needs of the group.

The 1st and 2nd Stakeholder Meetings: Scalar Fit

Temporarily the 2nd stakeholder meeting was still within the time-scale of the EIA and therefore the outcome of this meeting could potentially influence decision-making of how the project would turn out. On the other hand, if looking at the temporal continuum of the planning cycle (discussed in Section 6.4.2, p. 313, above), i.e. the timeline scale consisting of the time it takes from planning to implementation of a project, when placed on the time-scales of the changing state of the environment – at the level of Marsalforn, the weather had continued to provoke considerable damage between the two meetings, as it had already done in previous years.

Here we have two different temporal scales – the planning one for the proposed project, which was effectively timely for that process; and the ‘state of the environment’ temporal scale, easily observed by the damage that had been consistently

sustained to the Marsalforn waterfront over a number of years. At this scale, it did not match the urgency of the structural interventions that needed to be done to prevent more severe and potentially irreversible damage to the waterfront.

Fit to theory

Throughout this section the theory has been used to discuss how each element of the theory (context, design, power dynamics and scalar fit) was played out in the case studies, using the theory as a critical lens in targeting what happened in the case study. In this final case study, the interplay of the four factors makes it impossible to summarise the role each individual factor in isolation (as was done at the end of the previous two case studies reviewed in this section).

However, the three case studies can also be used to examine the extent to which the theoretical framework can be used as an *ex-post* methodological evaluative tool. The first two case studies followed a temporal trajectory that allowed for the theory to be used in a structured, almost diagnostic way to evaluate the participation that took place. In addition, the Marsalforn case demonstrates how it is possible to also use the theory in a more reflexive way to interpret and make sense of what happened in a more complex case study.

It should be noted that it is possible, and even recommended, that the Theory of Participation (i.e. the analysis of its constituent four factors) can be used for each individual participatory episode, both as an *ex-ante* analysis (i.e. before the episode is conducted, during its planning stage) and after the participatory exercise has been conducted, as an *ex-post* evaluation (Figure 6.11, p. 338). The first column in the figure gives a hypothetical visual representation of the Theory of Participation used as an *Ex-Ante* theoretical analysis that helps the practitioner choose the most appropriate type of engagement design. The analysis of the four factors are represented by the coloured arrows, where in this particular case, for example, Context (the orange arrow) is found to the left of the upper horizontal arrow (illustrating the movement towards the likelihood of delivering beneficial outcomes); which means that the existing participation culture is challenging (etc.). The green arrow (representing Design) sits more to the right, and so forth. The arrows represent the result of a hypothetical theoretical analysis of the four factors represented by the four coloured balls in the funnel above. The funnel and the varying sizes of the balls represent the four factors

as connected and affecting each other but not in a particular hierarchy where one is more important than the other. This will be explained further in Chapter 7. Once the analysis is done, the Wheel of Participation is used to choose what analysis suggested as being the most appropriate typology.

The second column shows the *ex-post* evaluation of the actual participatory episode and the type of engagement that was used. The Theory is now being used as an analytical tool to evaluate the typology that was previously chosen based on the outcome of the exercise. The original orange arrow representing context has now moved further to the right, signifying that the actual engagement exercise was more participatory, which shows the fluidity of engagement episodes.

While this could have been done for each case study, the aim of the above section was to highlight the interconnectedness of the four factors within the various episodes of the SBS, as a process, rather than analysing each episode individually. This also serves as an empirical analytical preamble for the arguments put forward in the next chapter, which further refines the theoretical framework put forward in this chapter.

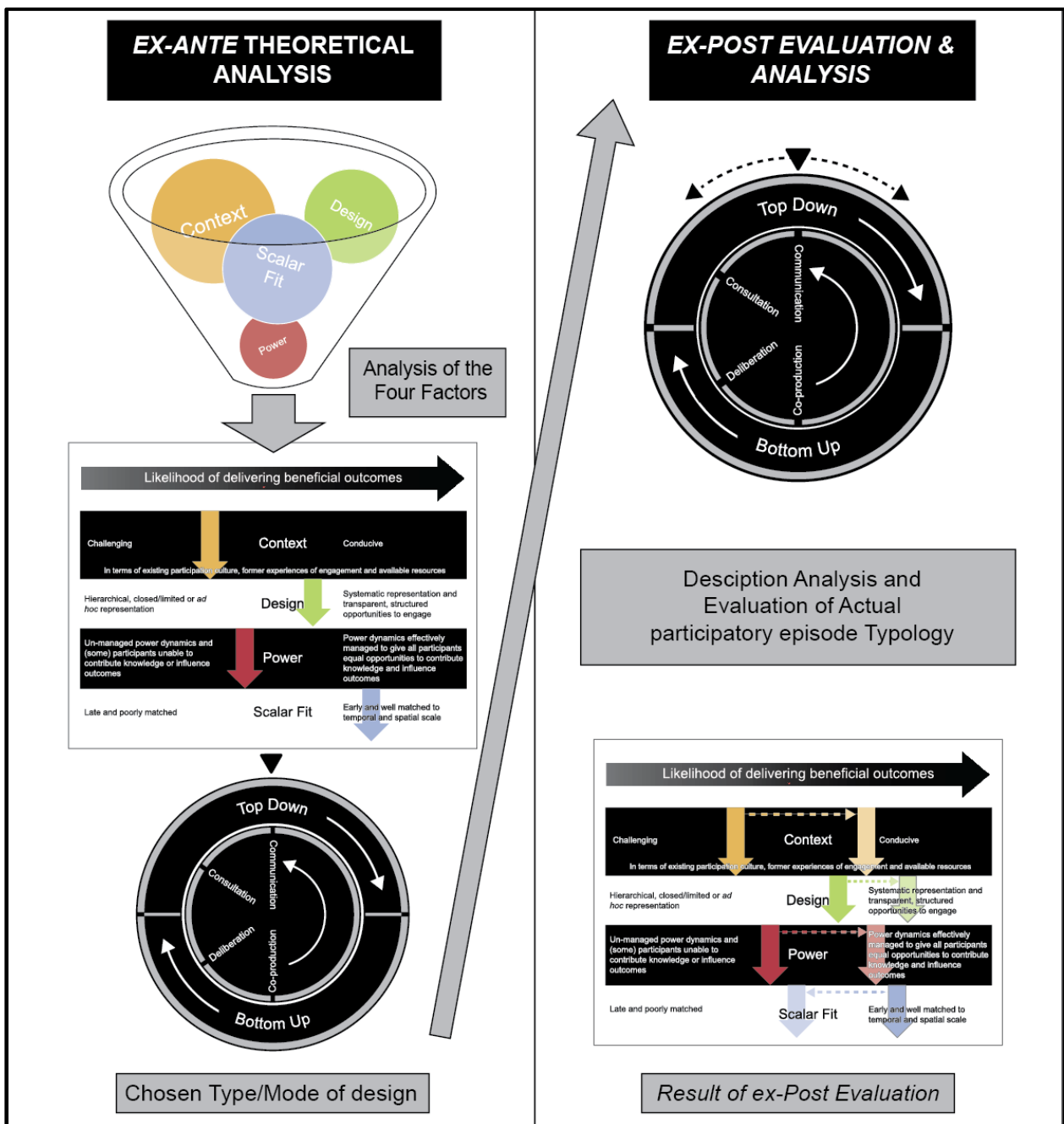


Figure 6.11: The Theory and Wheel of Participation used together as an ex-ante and ex-post framework.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have distinguished between the description of different types of stakeholder and public engagement and the factors that explain why in theory engagement works. This helps explain why engagement in the form of top-down communication can in some contexts achieve its goals successfully, while more bottom-up, co-productive processes sometimes fail to achieve their goals. The type of

engagement, in terms of its agency and mode, does not necessarily predict the outcomes of engagement. In this light, we reject normative assertions that engagement should always aim to be “as far up the ladder as possible”, to use Arnstein’s (1969) ladder analogy, in which more top-down and communicative forms of engagement are assumed to represent “tokenism”, “therapy” and “manipulation”. By repurposing the analogy of a “wheel of participation”, it is possible to argue that all types of engagement should be available for use, but their selection and application should be based on a theoretical understanding of “what works”, in terms of desired outcomes from engagement.

Understanding why stakeholder and public engagement is likely to work or not, in theory, is essential to select the most relevant type of engagement for a given purpose and context, from the wheel of options in Figure 6.1 (p. 292). The theoretical framework in Figure 6.2 (p. 294) helps explain why these different types of engagement may lead to different outcomes.

These are the resulting conceptual implications of the Theory of participation proposed in this chapter:

- The agency (who initiates/leads) and mode of engagement does not necessarily predict its outcomes
- Stakeholder and public engagement may not be appropriate where there have been unsuccessful previous attempts, are insufficient resources, or is no culture of participation
- Co-productive approaches to engagement that systematically represent stakeholders and/or publics are more likely to achieve beneficial outcomes
- Engagement outcomes are influenced by power dynamics, the values of participants and their epistemologies, and so may benefit from professional facilitation
- Length and frequency of engagement need to match the goals of the process, recognising that outcomes are highly scale-dependent over space and time

This chapter empirically illustrates that the framework could be used both as an *ex-ante* analytical theoretical tool or an *ex-post* evaluative one (Figure 6.12, p. 343). As an *ex-ante* tool, it helps to understand the four factors and how they interact with each other to organise and deliver the most relevant and appropriate type of participatory

engagement/s for a particular project. Used as an *ex-post* tool, the framework can be used to evaluate participatory actions after they have taken place, to monitor changes in the four factors while the planning and decision-making process is still on-going, i.e. in practice as a methodological tool. Used as such, the framework can be useful for evaluating decisions and actions that took place during a particular participatory episode, analysing how these affected and changed the four factors over the temporal scale of the planning and decision-making process, and helping make informed adjustments to the design of future participatory interventions.

The research showed two main mechanisms through which participation can deliver outcomes at different spatial scales: replication and social learning. In reality, a mix of these two processes occurs. Following the replication approach, participatory processes are replicated across a spatial unit (e.g. habitat, region or nation). To be successful, such replication processes (e.g. the EU TEN-T transport network that the Coast Road Upgrade was a part of) must adhere to each of the previous principles. The broader the spatial scale, the more important it will be to adapt the process design to different socio-cultural contexts. Following the social learning approach, participation is designed to enable knowledge and attitudes arising from a participatory process to diffuse through the social networks of those directly involved, enabling participants to draw on shared values and the knowledge of those they are connected to in their social network. Again, for this to be effective, each of the preceding principles will need to have been fulfilled, in particular ensuring effective representation of different stakeholder interests.

As the case studies show, this is not always directly possible, though the SIA practitioner can utilise social networks both for knowledge acquisition and transfer, as with the 1st case study. More sophisticated approaches using Social Network Analysis may be used to identify individuals or organisations who are central in social networks in terms of their connectivity and trust, however the principle of homophily suggests that with the exception of certain key individuals acting as knowledge brokers, connecting disparate social networks, most stakeholders diffuse and represent the values and knowledge of others similar to them. Whether success means achieving beneficial environmental outcomes or whether it simply leads to an increase in trust and more positive working relationships, a theoretically informed approach to

stakeholder and public engagement has the potential to markedly improve the outcomes of decision-making processes.

In conclusion, applying this theory, we make the following recommendations for practice:

- Take time to fully understand local context to determine the appropriate type of engagement approach and adapt its design to the dynamic nature of context
- Depending on the institutional context (i.e. whether engagement is legally institutionalised within the planning phase of a project or is expected to only take place officially further along the planning and decision-making process), get all affected parties involved in dialogue as soon as possible, to develop shared goals and co-produce outcomes based on the most relevant sources of knowledge
- Manage power dynamics, so every participant's contribution is valued and all have an equal opportunity to contribute
- Match the length and frequency of engagement to the goals of the process, recognising that changes in deeply held values (that may be at the root of a conflict) are likely to take longer than changes in preferences
- Match the representation of stakeholder interests and decision-making power to the spatial scale of the issues being considered
- Evaluate the progress of the stakeholder engagement process as it is taking place, adapting plans for stakeholder engagement to match the evolving contextual, power-dynamics and scalar fit of the decision-making process within which engagement is embedded (Figure 6.12, below).

Based on the analysis and discussion put forward in this chapter, the next chapter aims at refining the theory of participation, moving from its current more linear conceptualisation to a life cycle one. In this conceptualisation, the four factors are depicted as dynamically interdependent and multi-faceted, loosely nested along the changing “micro,” “meso” and “macro” socio-political contexts along the temporal scales of the planning and decision-making processes.

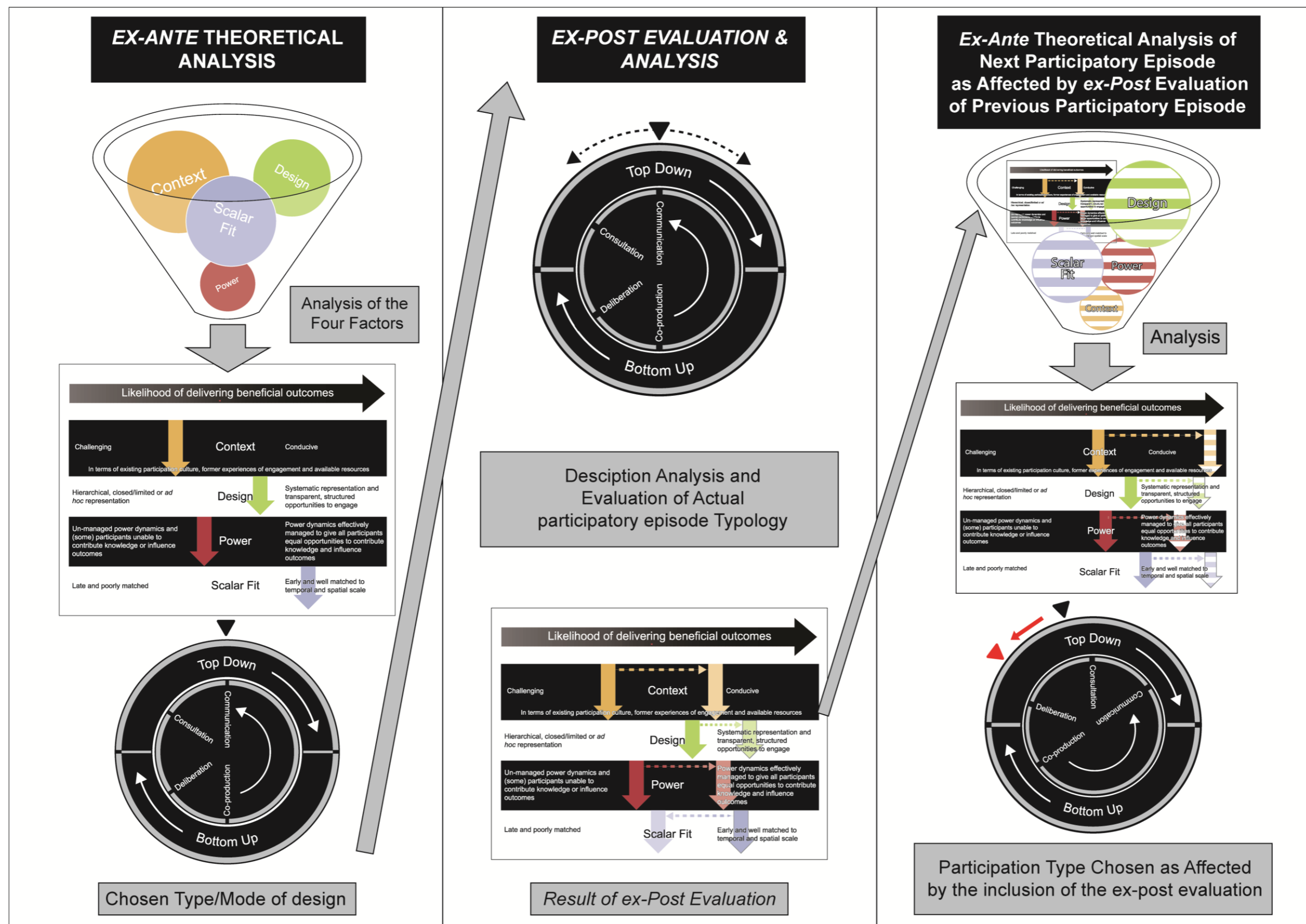


Figure 6.12: From ex-ante theoretical analysis to ex-post methodological analysis to ex-ante analysis of future participatory episodes taking into account the outcome of the previous participatory episode

Chapter 7

Moving beyond a linear model of the Theory of Participation

*... One person is not just one person;
In each of us there is a world webbing out,
Reaching others, creating reactions...
Sometimes equal, sometimes opposite...*

--Father Lantom, Daredevil, Penny and Dime (2016)

7.1 From a linear concept to a life cycle set of nested interdependent factors

This chapter aims to further develop and refine the theory of participation proposed and tested in the previous chapter (see Figure 6.2, p. 294). The final sections of Chapter 6 clearly showed that the four factors – context, design, power, scalar fit – are interdependent, both for an individual participatory episode and along the participatory process within the planning and decision-making of a project (i.e. temporally). The case studies show that the four factors cannot meaningfully be investigated or analysed separately because they are interdependent and loosely nested, influencing each other along the temporal scales within the life-cycle of the decision-making processes at work of a given project. For example, as the coast road case study highlights how these factors evident in other / related projects within the Aol of a given project can significantly influence the four factors of a participatory process of that given project. In this case, the contexts surrounding the Magħtab case study and its participatory process influenced the four factors of the CRU SBS participatory process, particularly where the Aol for the two projects overlapped.

The final sections of the preceding chapter also explained how the Wheel and the Theory of Participation can be used both as an ex-ante theoretical analysis to choose the most appropriate mode of participation for a particular participatory episode, as

well as an ex-post methodological analytical tool of that episode. Figure 6.11 (p. 338) also showed that the ex-post analysis can be useful to improve upon the design and execution of future participatory episodes.

This chapter therefore further clarifies and elaborates on this theory of participation as an interdependent and loosely nested set of factors that play out within a dynamic temporal continuum in the life-cycle of a project. It will consider whether there is a hierarchy between the four factors, particularly focusing on the contexts in which participation is enacted, so that they are contextualised in terms of a wider, ‘meso-’ and ‘macro-’ set of social, political, economic and ecological factors or drivers (after Grandvoinnet et al., 2015). All of this will be done in the context of the dynamic planning life-cycle, where the planning cycle is conceptualised as different levels or “tiers” of planning and decision-making processes from governance policy level to their operationalization at project level (drawing on Arts, 1998; Arts et al., 2011; 2005). Therefore each participatory episode has to be further contextualised in terms of: i) where on the temporal scale each individual participatory episode is located; and ii) how contexts change (from micro to macro and vice versa) along the temporal continuum of both the project life cycle and the participatory episode as part of the planning life cycle (Arts et al., 2005).

The empirical evidence from the three case studies highlighted the links and interdependence between the four main constituents of the theory of participation. In addition, two factors - the context and the spatial / temporal factors – were found to be effectively book-ending the four factors, interacting with those in the middle - power and design. Examining power relationships / influence and the design of participatory processes requires looking at context, and spatial and temporal scales. So, the context and scalar fit are bounding and diffusing through the other factors. This does not necessarily mean that context and scale are more important than design and power. They affect each other depending on the specificity of the participatory episode of a particular project.

7.2 The pervasive role of context: Context as multi-dimensional

The reason why this chapter particularly examines context, and how it pervades the other three factors (but should not be considered as being more important or on top of the other factors), is because of its multidimensionality. Since this thesis investigates

the roles of applied anthropology, SIA and the participatory processes within SIA, looking at context as 'micro', 'meso' and 'macro' is a logical next step, since the SIA process also addresses the social impacts at these three levels, while focusing on the individual, local and wider effects of these multi-level impacts (Western and Lynch, 2000: 45–48). Equally, anthropological enquiry pays particular attention to “relational depth and sensitivity to context” (Ingold, 2014: 384).

The Theory of Participation described in the previous chapter considered context as primarily being socio-cultural, i.e. the social norms and practices of a society or specific groups within that society, affecting the individual contextual elements of a particular episode (existing participation culture, former experience of engagement etc.), which in turn are affected by the temporal scale and sequencing of events/actions. The socio-cultural can also include a socio-political dimension, which affects both the power dynamics and the design of a particular episode. As explained above, the more locally contextual elements (of an individual episode) need to be further analysed and then operationalized in terms of the broader socio-cultural, political, economic and ecological contexts that the project is a part of within the planning and decision-making processes at those various levels.

Given this broader meaning to what 'context' encompasses, it becomes necessary to understand the meso and macro contexts based on the spatial scale within which the practitioner (e.g. SIA consultant) is working (i.e. the order) and to use this information to tailor any participatory engagement to the specific context within which the decision is being made (i.e. the hierarchy of the importance of the four factors within the individual exercise, where the context feeds into / affect the other three factors). This then enables one to effectively:

- a) design the participatory process appropriately in the first place; and
- b) keep the participatory process working effectively and actually achieving set/co-defined goals bearing in mind that context changes, even within the time-frame of a single workshop / exercise.

Context then become the prime consideration within the theory of participation, both in terms of locating a participatory exercise within the temporal scale of the lifecycle of a project and considering how the exercise affects and interacts with the four factors. This is because the design of a participatory exercise is dependent on the

dynamic nature of the various contexts that are bounded and diffusing through the design and scalar fit of the engagement process within which one is working. This in turn helps understand and manage the power relationships that are also dynamic in nature.

7.3 A more multi-tiered, dynamic lifecycle approach

The macro, meso and local contexts in which decisions are made are “interdependent” and “dynamic”. As Chapter 6 shows, the Theory and Wheel of Participation do not give practitioners a toolbox or blueprint that assures successful engagement. For this reason, it is helpful to analyse and operationalize the four factors of the theoretical framework as a stakeholder-based, multi-tiered, dynamic decision-making lifecycle approach (after Thabrew et al., 2009). This is echoed by Grandvoinnet et al. (2015)’s theoretical framework, where they state that there is no blueprint for engagement, but that it is iterative, depending on the interplay of many factors (see Chapter 2). This emphasises that as McGee and Gaventa (2011: 27) point out:

... all transparency and accountability initiatives (of which civic and stakeholder engagement are usually a part of [my addition]) unfold within complex, non-linear, contextually-specific social and political processes and it is these complex contexts and processes that they seek to change.

Building on evidence from the literature and empirical examples of the relationship and interconnectedness between social accountability and engagement, Grandvoinnet et al. (2015) propose a framework for social accountability and engagement as the interplay of five constituent elements – State Action, Information, Civic Mobilization, Citizen Action and the Citizen-State Interface, which sits in the middle⁹⁶ (Figure 7.1).⁹⁷

Their framework explains in detail the relationships between these five constituent elements and the heterogeneous nature of the various categories (Figure 7.2). Depending on the governance of a country, actors within the state and civil society can overlap influencing the citizen-state interface (Figure 7.3). Further, they go into

⁹⁶ The overview to their report (Grandvoinnet et al., 2015: 1-19) provides a very good summary of their framework, found in the rest of the report.

⁹⁷ Also reproduced in Chapter 2, Figure 2.2, as adapted for the World Bank MOOC “Engaging Citizens: A Game Changer for Development?” (2015).

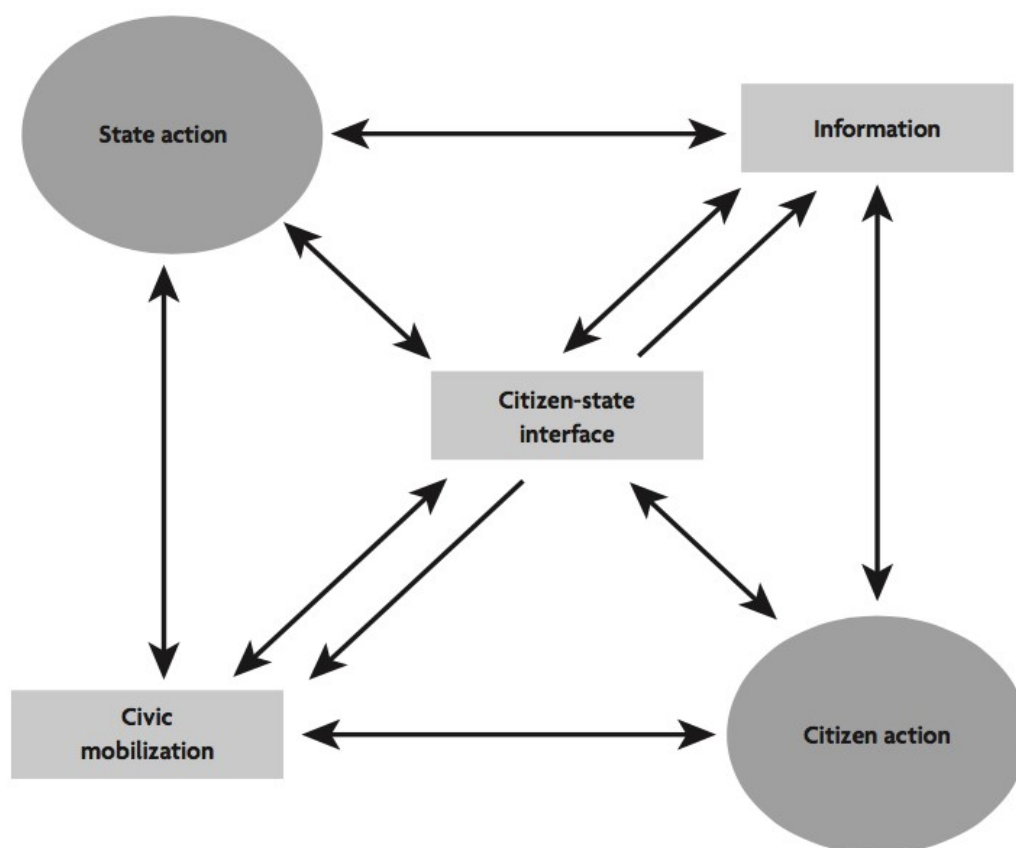


Figure 7.1: Citizen Engagement as the interplay of five elements (Source: Grandvoinnet et al., 2015: 5)

detail on the various contextual factors and drivers behind each element, reproduced below in Figures 7.7-7.8 from Grandvoinnet et al. (2015).

In particular, Figure 7.4 illustrates the main macro contextual factors for CE and SA effectiveness, explained in chapter 3 of their report (Grandvoinnet et al., 2015: 83-106), which feeds into the above discussion on the interdependence of the macro contexts with the more project-related contexts (the meso and micro levels). They argue that SA is shaped by the interactions between political and civil society (state-society and intra-society), with three additional factors that cut across these political spheres: cultural norms, global factors, and the prevailing political settlement (Figure 7.4, p. 352, below; also refer to Footnote 35, p. 80 for a definition of political settlement). Their research shows that there are three major findings that determine the effectiveness of SA, (summarised in Box 3.9 of their report, pp. 106-107). To understand SA and its operationalization, political and power relations are of utmost importance. Secondly, links and networks between pro-accountability state and civil society actors need to be built and maintained. Finally, the dynamics of inequality and

exclusion need to be given particular attention when analysing these contextual drivers.

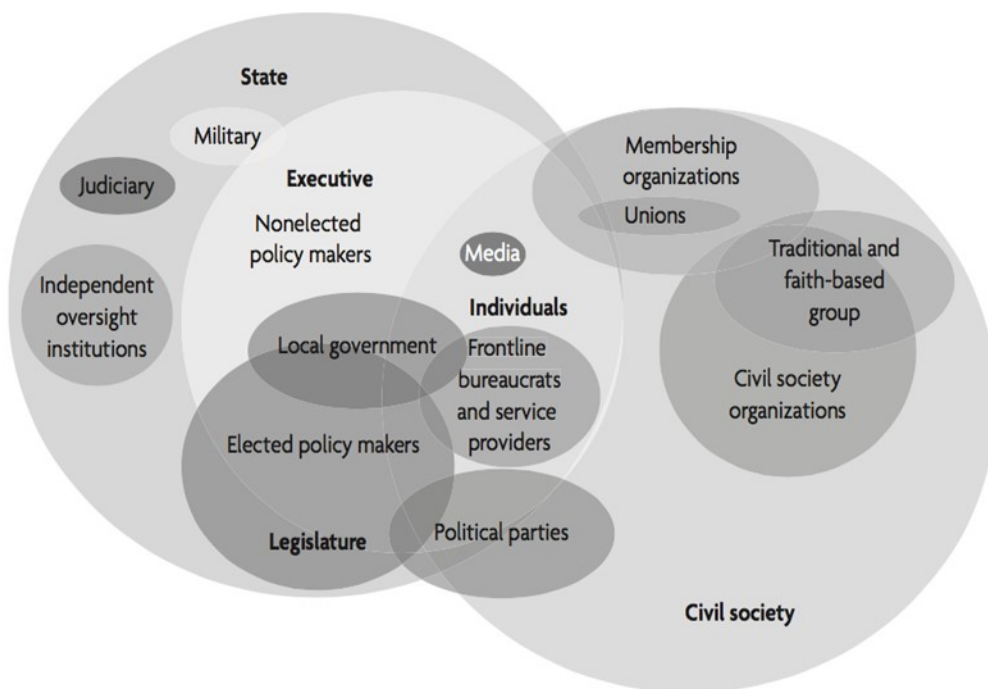


Figure 7.2: Heterogeneous Categories of the State and Civil Society (Source: Grandvoinnet et al., 2015: 71).

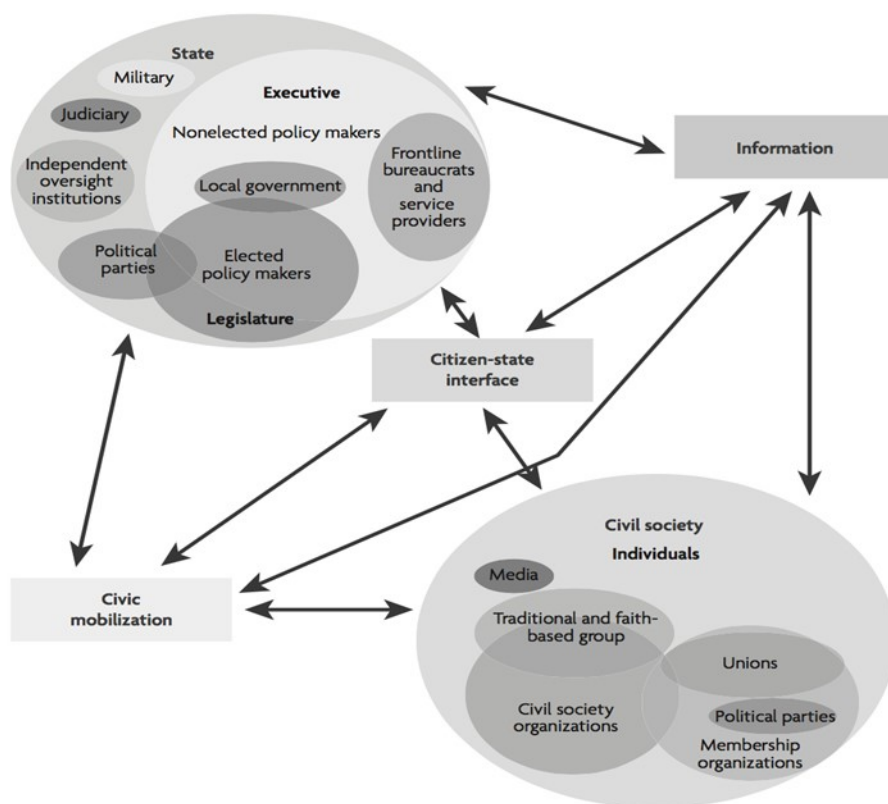


Figure 7.3: Overlapping State and Civil Society Institutions (Source: Grandvoinnet et al. 2015: 72).

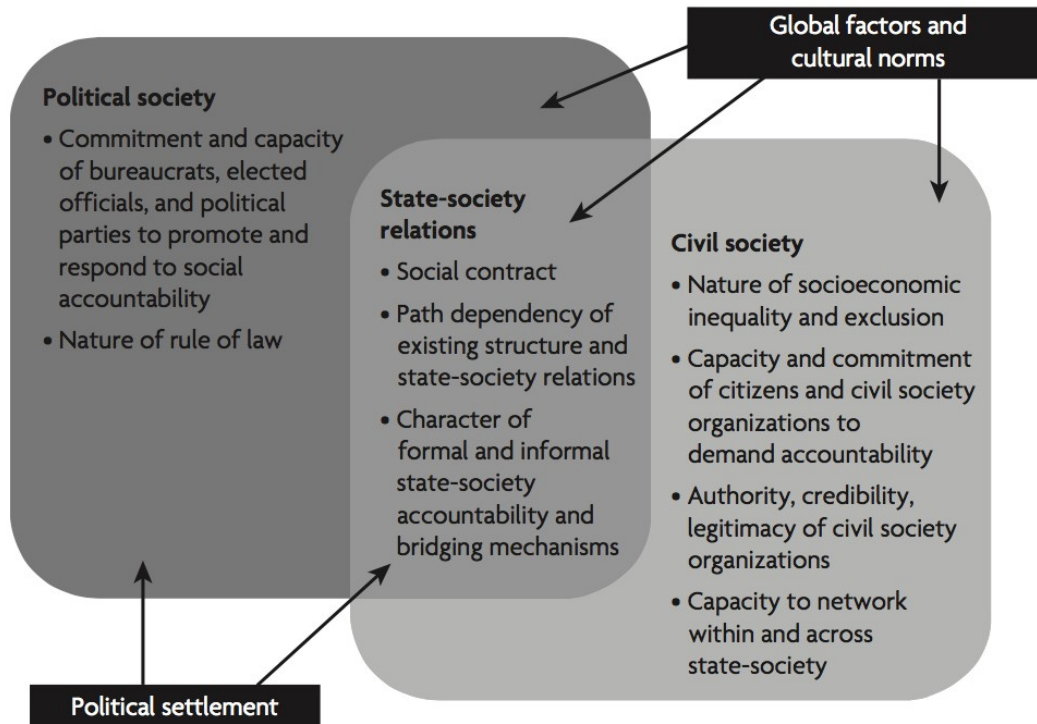


Figure 7.4: Main “Macro” Contextual Factors for Social Accountability Effectiveness (Source: Grandvoinnet et al., 2015: 84).

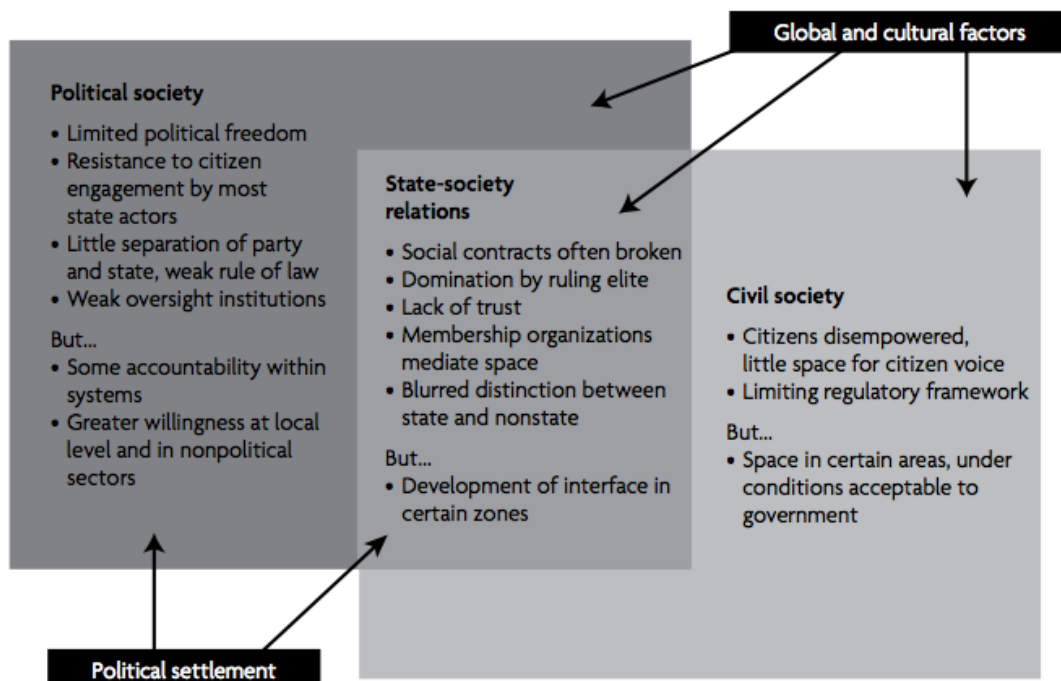


Figure 7.5: Summarizing an Archetypal Institutional Landscape in Countries where Space for Citizen-State Engagement is Formally Constrained (Source: Grandvoinnet et al., 2015: 13).

7.4 Analysing the role context at multiple scales

Figure 7.6 presents the analytical framework by Grandvoinnet et al. (2015: 119), showing the five constitutive elements of social accountability. It is argued that there is a direct correlation between SA and civic engagement, in particular, “the extent to which the experience of citizen engagement has been positive or negative shapes the willingness of citizens to engage in current SA initiatives” (p. 99). For the purposes of this discussion, I argue that the indicative questions and analytical framework proposed by Grandvoinnet et al. can be very helpful when analysing the broader macro contexts that feed into the four factors of the Theory of Participation, presented in the preceding chapter.

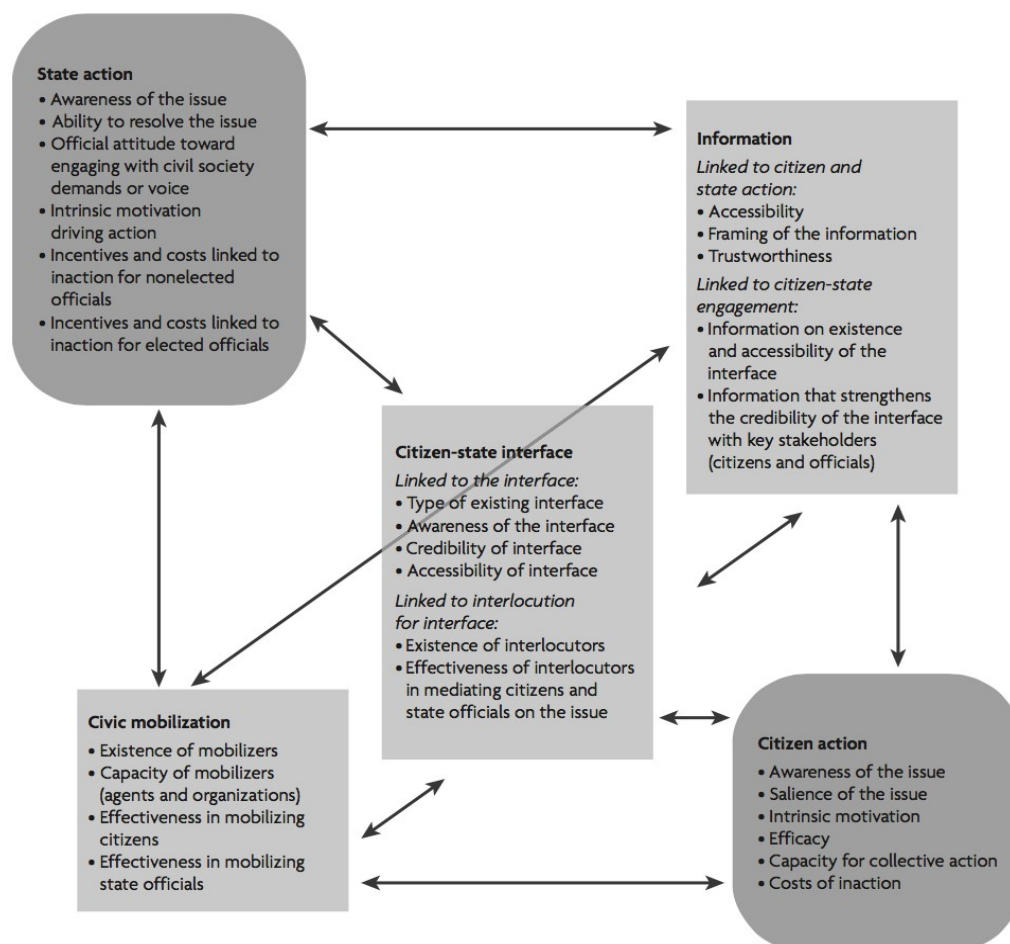


Figure 7.6: The Analytical Framework of Social Accountability and its Contextual Drivers (Source: Grandvoinnet et al., 2015: 119).

This is further exemplified in Figure 7.5, which illustrates the macro contextual factors in an archetypal institutional landscape, which limit effective SA and CE and therefore

the choice of design and participatory type / mode of any participatory intervention in such a country. These are discussed in detail in chapter 5 of their report (pp. 153–188) and summarised in Box 5.9 (pp. 186-187). The report also analyses SA in fragile and conflict-affected socio-political realities (see their Chapter 6: 193–220) and use four real-life examples to further illustrate their analytical framework (see their Chapter 7: 229–273).

The report further unpacks each constituent element, and provides a guiding table for their framework (Grandvoinnet et al., 2015: 131-145; reproduced in Appendix IX, accompanying CD), putting indicative questions for each driver they identified to analyse the potential contributing short and long-term contextual factors and potential intervention strategies. For example, when unpacking state action, indicative questions would be (Grandvoinnet et al., 2015: 131-132):

- Awareness of the issue:
 - Do state officials know the reasons *why* this issue exists?
 - Do officials get regular or updated information on this issue?
 - Are officials, especially if elected, aware of the importance of this issue for citizens?
- Ability to resolve the issue:
 - Do officials targeted by the intervention have responsibility or the authority needed for addressing the particular issue?
 - Do officials know what action to take to address the issue?
 - Etc.
- Official attitude toward engaging with civil society demands or voice:
 - Do officials have reservations regarding civil society’s motivations to act on this issue?
 - Do officials perceive individuals or organisation(s) capable of mobilizing resources for popular support on this issue?”

The tables (Grandvoinnet et al., 2015: 131-145) ask such questions for all five elements used for their framework, i.e. for state action, citizen action, information, mobilization and the citizen-state interface. They further clarify that the intervention strategy or measures they propose in the tables are not just illustrative but need to be tailored to the particular context, where longer-term contributing factors are less likely to be

addressed by an intervention without having properly focused on contributing factors that can potentially be addressed in the short term (p. 145).

They also argue and caution that

SA [social accountability] impact evaluations often do not capture the intricacies of context and fail to examine a longer trajectory of citizen-state engagement or the broader political-economy context that determines the nature and contours of social accountability. The tendency to examine social accountability initiatives in a “snapshot” fashion, when the purpose and focus of the evaluation are specifically a test of the intervention itself, does not acknowledge broader contextual factors (Banerjee et al., 2010; Nguyen and Lassibille, 2008) (p. 65).

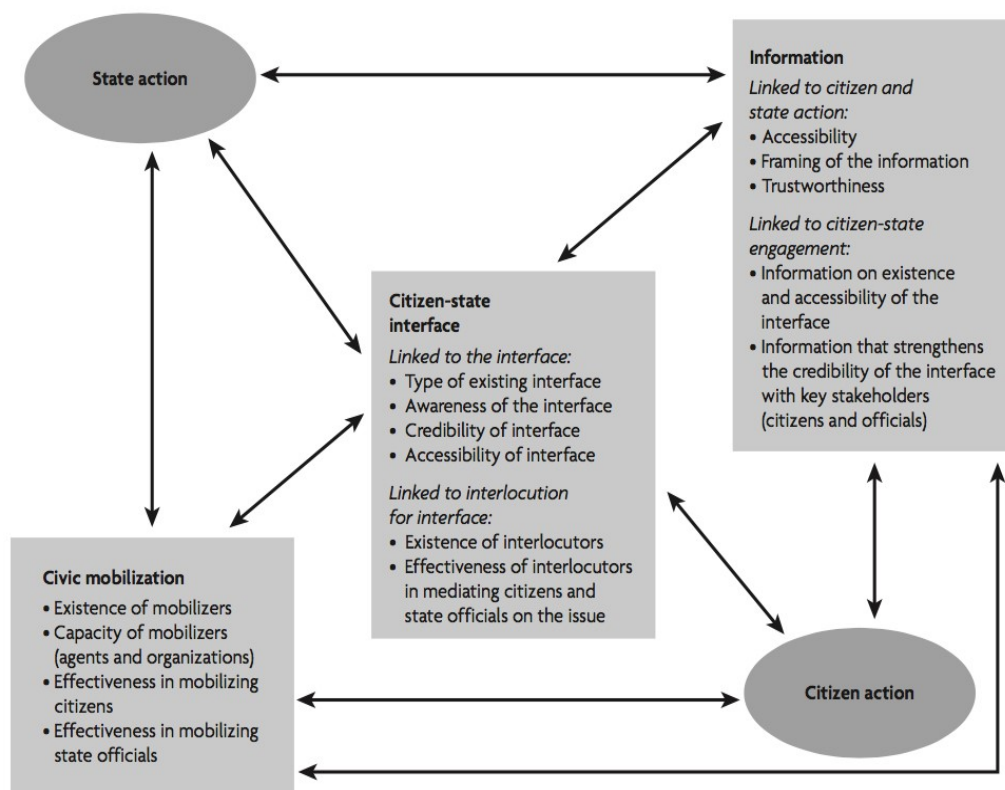


Figure 7.7: Assessing Drivers of State and Citizen Action (Source: Grandvoinnet et al., 2015: 120)

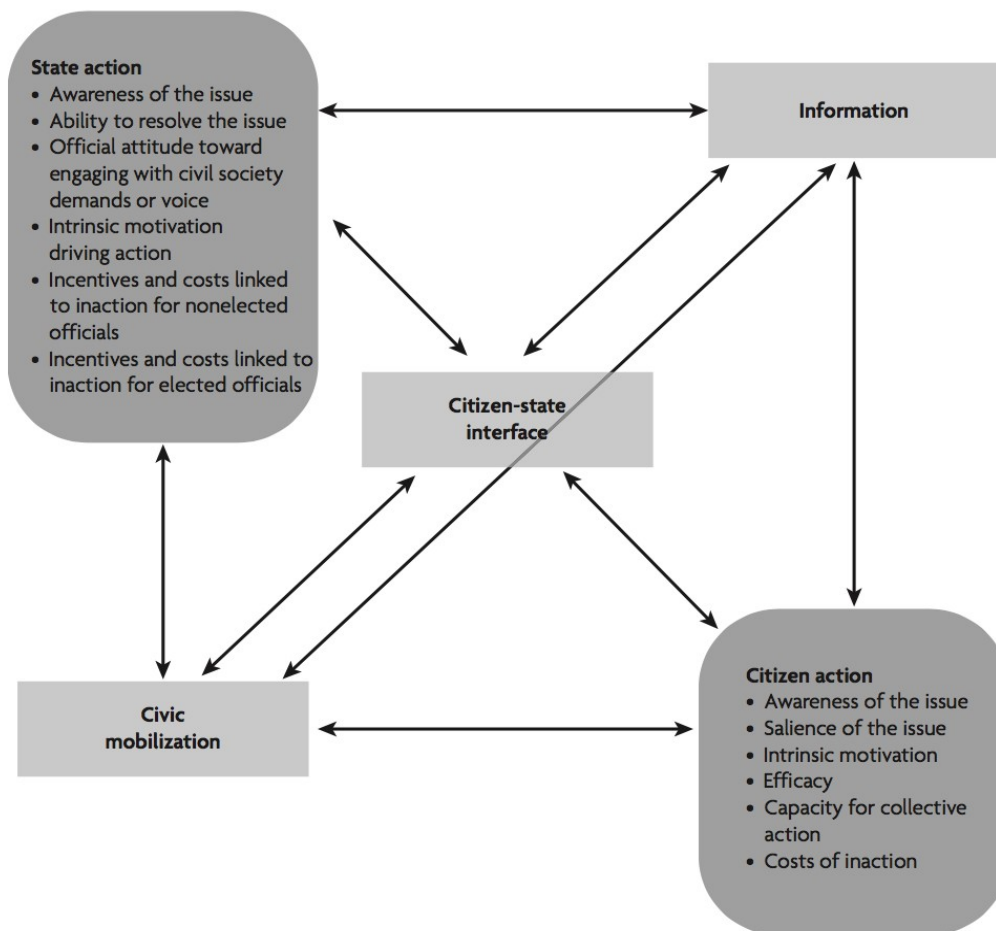


Figure 7.8: Assessing and Supporting Drivers of Information, Interface, and Civic Mobilization
(Source: Grandvoinnet et al., 2015: 122).

The main argument here is not just the recognition that ‘context matters’, as has been pointed out by the international development community (Grindle, 2007; Levy, 2011; O’Meally, 2013); nor that a better understanding of context rarely reveals any “magic bullet” solutions. Instead, exploring context often reveals complexity and contradictions, opening multiple options for action (DFID, 2009). A deeper understanding of the interdependencies between important contextual factors at the macro, meso and micro scales can help untangle and unpack the complexities and contradictions mentioned above, recognizing their dynamism over time. Taking this more *holistic* approach, managing projects in their socio-political and physical context, these complexities and multiple options may become an opportunity for more co-productive deliberative engagement, rather than being viewed as a problem.

7.5 Institutionalising and operationalizing the theory

These complexities and their interdependencies, together with various propositions for addressing them theoretically and operationally have started to become recurrent cross-disciplinary themes in both academic and governance debates. For example, socio-cultural, economic and environmental multi-scalar aspects are integrated through working with the concept of ecosystem services and its integration with other environmental management tools (such as SEA and EIA for example); also policy has become a central theme at environmental conferences (such as the IAIA) and academic literature (e.g. Attlee et al., 2015; Baker et al., 2013; Braat and de Groot, 2012; Helming et al., 2013; Irvine et al., 2016; Karjalainen et al., 2013; Kumar et al., 2013; Partidario and Gomes, 2013; Plieninger et al., 2014; Reed et al., 2017b; Schleyer et al., 2015; Tarrasón et al., 2016). Regarding governance and policy implementation, SEAs for example have become institutionalised in many national policy frameworks. There has also been increasing recognition that urban development should not be created, designed and implemented as stand-alone projects or in a vacuum, but need to take account of the wider spatial-temporal context (and possibly conflicting priorities) and be address multiple policy goals that may be regional, national or supranational (as with EU Directives). This means that individual projects would follow recommendations arising from SEAs of regional or local structure plans. A sign of this happening is the increase of Cumulative Impact Assessments within EIA TOR, which include considering impacts / outcomes derived from other related past, current or planned projects that fall within the remit of the same action plans, policies and regulatory processes that the proposed development scheme needs to adhere to.

Further, engagement tools that are operationalized during SEAs and EIAs have started to include Stakeholder Engagement Plans (SEPs) over the lifecycle of proposed projects. In the case of urban development schemes, this could be part of the EIA package, possibly as part of the SIA. Increasingly, at least on large-scale projects, SEPs are included as part of a comprehensive Environmental Social Impact Assessment (ESIA) package, corporate responsibility plans and / or Social Development Needs Analysis (Franks and Vanclay, 2013; Vanclay and Esteves, 2011; Vanclay et al., 2015). By using these engagement tools it is possible to better capture uncertainty and complexity in decision-making processes, and co-develop monitoring and adaptive strategies. This is particularly important where there are multi-stakeholder contexts

in projects with overlapping and different temporal scales, and the interdependence with and cumulative effects of related projects.

This reiterates the need of more integrated approaches to stakeholder involvement, social accountability and social-ecological assessments in decision-making processes, bringing together or closer, different assessments, such as SEA and EIA at different levels of planning, i.e. the concept of tiering.⁹⁸ As Arts et al. (2011: 416) argue,

*crucial decisions that imply impacts on the environment are constantly made throughout the planning process such that the context in which plans and projects are developed is often highly dynamic (changes in the environment, society: policies, regulations, scientific insights, and so on) with numerous parties often involved in the process. Moreover, multiple projects and events in an area may have synergistic interactions and may result in cumulative impacts, indirect effects and large-scale effects.*⁹⁹

Arts et al. (2005: 4) provide an interesting analogy to clouds of the various relationships between the different levels of planning and their operationalization through decisions taken and projects implemented on a temporal scale of a multi-tiered planning cycle (Figure 7.9, overleaf), with the following explanation:

Like clouds, strategic plans often have a rather ethereal quality. Nevertheless, they are real in that they can influence the social and biogeophysical reality. Strategic plans cast their shadow upon reality like clouds do. Analogously, projects can be seen as the result – precipitation, raindrops – of the clouds that actually change reality. Trickling down, they cause concrete effects. You cannot ‘feel’ the cloud, but you surely become wet from the rain falling from it. Moreover, strategic plans, like clouds, may pass over the physical environment they oversee. New clouds may be formed and old ones may evaporate over time – thereby losing their relevance for the environment below. Also, the ‘project drops’ do not circulate back into the ‘strategic plan cloud’ but are implemented downwards. However, when many such droplets – operational and spatial decisions – have fallen, they may cause the formation of a new ‘strategic plan cloud’ when the humidity – their combined impact – has become so high that they condensate – i.e., there is need for a new plan (p. 3, footnote 2).

⁹⁸ Tiering is defined by Arts et al. (2011: 417) as “The deliberative, organized transfer of information and issues from one level of planning to another, which is being supported by EAs”.

⁹⁹ For a comprehensive analysis of Tiering and its potential as a bridge between the islands of EA decisions, decreasing uncertainty throughout the planning process and improving of the effectiveness of SEA, see Arts et al. (2011: 415–434).

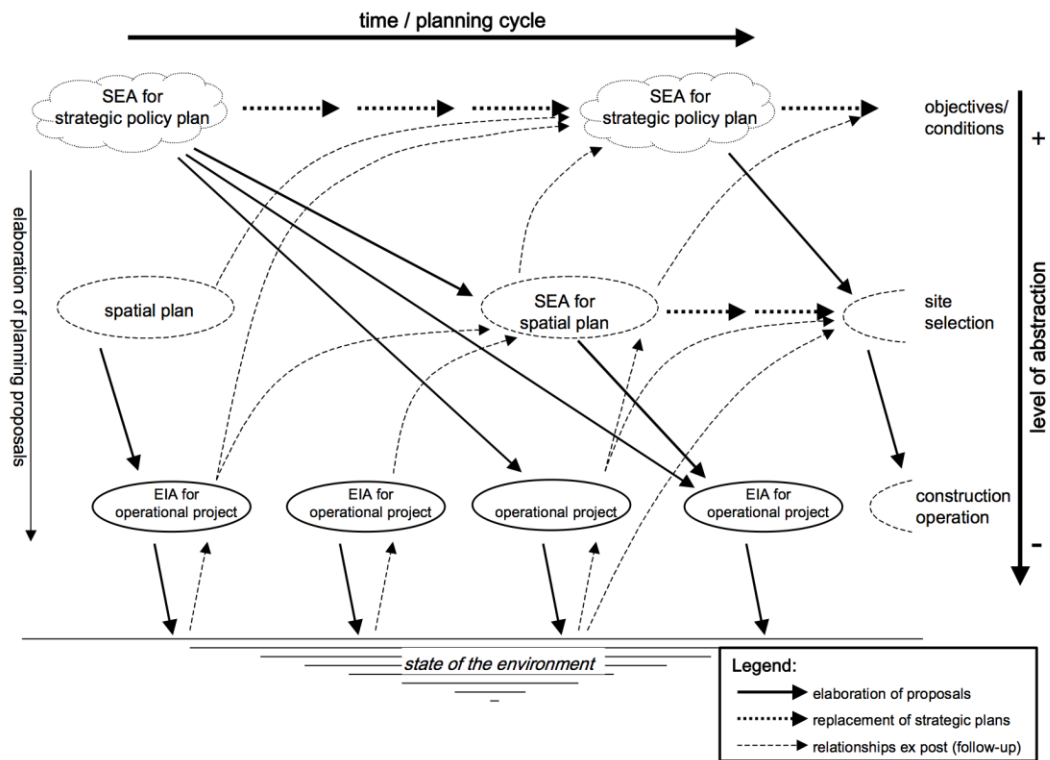


Figure 7.9: 'Trickling down and evaporating up', the various relationships between different planning levels, decisions and environmental assessments that can be seen in planning practice (Source: Arts et al., 2005: 4, after Arts, 1998).

For example, even though an SIA practitioner might be operating within one particular process, for example, the SIA of an urban development project, SIA practitioners designing stakeholder / civic engagement during the SIA must be acutely aware of the nested temporal and spatial contexts in which the project sits. The SIA process is part of the EIA process, which in turn is part of a decision-making process for that particular project, and those processes are affected by (or need to be contextualized to) other processes and the socio-political, environmental and power relationships that connect them. These will also including other urban projects, past, present and future (i.e. that are in the pipeline or are presently in their planning phase) at local, regional, national or strategic level. This also means that besides the important need for follow-up and continuous stakeholder engagement throughout a particular process, for example, the life-cycle of an urban project from planning to decommissioning phases, there must be an awareness and explicit collaboration with other projects on the same tier, even if seemingly unconnected (though an investigation of the cumulative impacts may identify the connections). This means that the conceptual framework of the theory in practice,

presented in Chapter 6, Figures 6.11 and 6.12 (pp. 338; 343) can be employed more broadly and holistically, by including in the *ex-ante* analyses the meso and macro contextual factors and connections that may help untangle and unpack the complexities of participatory processes at different planning levels and temporal scale (Figure 7.10, overleaf).

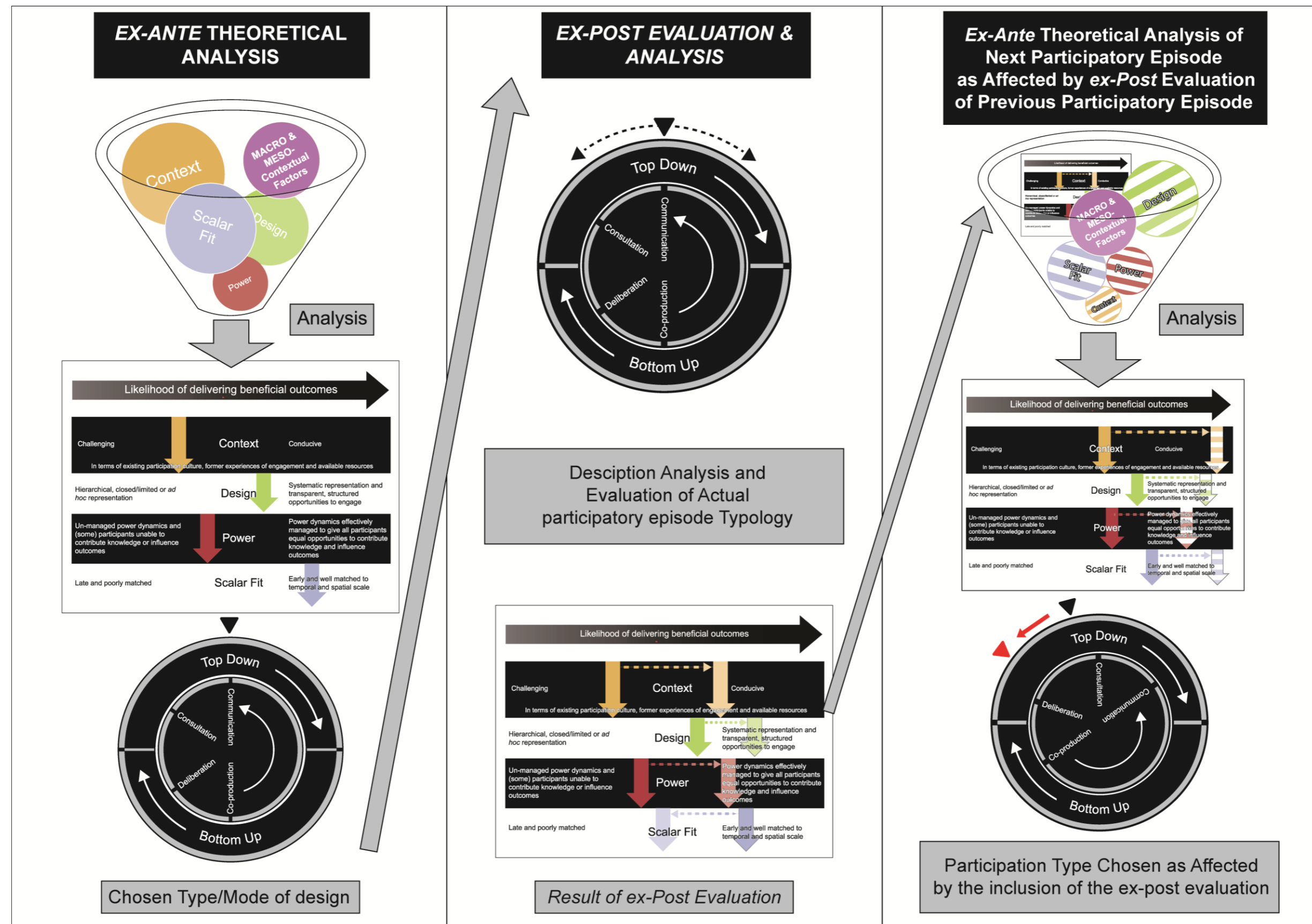


Figure 7.10: Considering the Macro and Meso contextual factors when using the Theory and Wheel of Participation ex-ante - ex-post evaluation to future ex-ante analysis framework

7.6 Overcoming contextual barriers to engagement

Analysing these micro contextual details using Grandvoinnet et al.'s (2015) framework is beneficial in two ways. First they provide a deeper understanding of the broader contextual drivers that connect the socio-normative drivers with how state action is operationalized on the ground and how it affects the 'political settlement' and the citizen-state interface (described by Grandvoinnet et al.'s framework) in relation to the particular project the participatory process within it. This would not only help improve the quality of the design of a participatory episode but the whole participatory process within an SEP of the planning and decision-making process of a development project.

Secondly, such an analysis has the potential to become a monitoring analytical tool of the whole planning cycle, which can potentially provide a platform to improve the citizen-state interface and the agency of engagement. This is because to be able to conduct such analyses, there needs to be an increase in knowledge exchange, making the results of EIAs more readily accessible (without which cumulative impacts become more difficult to assess for example) and facilitating collaboration and information / knowledge exchange between those conducting EIAs for current operationalized projects within the planning cycle. The results of all these analyses can then feed into better monitoring and analysis of the results of the operationalization of policies and action plans and along the tiers of governance over time. Since all this information would need to be publicly available, it could, in theory, create better opportunities for social accountability mechanisms.

The whole premise behind this second point is the creation of a knowledge base of ex-ante and ex-post analyses of participatory engagements and connecting them to the broader contexts over time. In the past, those designing and conducting successful participatory engagements may have relied on their expertise, networks and intimate knowledge of how the broader contextual factors influenced and affected their participatory engagement, as de Vente et al.'s (2015) study elucidated (where context was not considered a priority, especially for those whose participatory engagements had been successful, as critically discussed in Chapter 6). If those involved in designing and organising engagement processes made a systematic effort at conducting these analyses and including them in their reports, especially if they are part of an SEP, there

would be a cascading effect of knowledge exchange between those conducting participatory processes. This collective effort would provide empirical evidence at the operational level (i.e. from actual projects as they are happening) of the interdependence of all the different levels of governance, including policies and legislations that may not be ‘communicating’ with each other effectively at the institutional level, thus requiring making those connections and providing such rich context through practitioners.

At this operational level, the dynamics of trust between those in the engagement process is of particular importance (de Vries, 2014). I have alluded to this with reference to the Marsalforn case study, mentioning how the EIA coordinator had to be careful not to antagonise the ‘agents’ of the engagement – the developer, which in that case was the State. The problem with democratic processes that lack robust mechanisms to social accountability is that the lack of trust that is generated by the misappropriation of power, resources, and lack of transparency become the very barrier to beneficial engagement.

There are two barriers (or processes) at work here, (i) lack of trust and (ii) hidden agendas of both state and society. Both are symptomatic of the historical and continued lack of transparency by those in power and civil society adapting or conforming to the continued experience of “fake democracy” (Leighninger 2014: 4). When discussing how politics affects people’s lives, Lavenda & Schultz (2015) point out how members of any civil society “describe the niche they have constructed for themselves. By building social and political alliances and mobilizing technology and material resources to make a living, ways of life are scaffolded and sustained over time” (p. 352). When these alliances and interests stop being aligned, conflict arises, as discussed in Chapter 6. Donohue and Kolt’s definition of conflict is appropriate in this context (1992: 4): “a situation in which interdependent people express (manifest or latent) differences in satisfying their individual needs and interests, and they experience interference from each other in accomplishing these goals”. Such barriers impact on the ability to conduct fieldwork and research that can properly elicit the complex socio-political and economic contexts that underpin engagement, when the relationships of trust are already strained and lack of trust has become embedded with the social norms of a society. This creates a methodological and analytical problem.

It has become increasingly more difficult to conduct in-depth research, due to 'stakeholder fatigue' (Abram, 2011; Cooke and Kothari, 2002; Reed, 2008). Getting access, i.e. getting stakeholders to consent to being interviewed, especially qualitatively, has become a major hurdle. During the three case studies, it was still relatively easy to ring a door Bell and manage to convince the occupants of a household to be interviewed. More recently, gaining access to stakeholders has become more dependent on creating relationships of trust with gatekeepers to gain access to their networks. This can make it harder to achieve representation of all relevant stakeholders, and it can mean that the fieldwork period needs to be extended, which can be a problem when time is already highly constrained during many baseline studies. Relying on 'quick' quantitative data collection is likely to yield unreliable results, since the data cannot be verified, which is why using mixed-methods is always preferable (Cornwall, 2008).

The ethical dilemma is whether or not to share the results of such in-depth analysis. Performing a thorough internal analysis that includes the macro contextual factors and drivers to design more effective engagement processes is one thing; making this analysis public and sharing it with other experts, stakeholders and governing entities is a different matter. Gathering relevant information is already difficult and is often highly politicised and contentious in deliberative democratic societies; imagine doing so in less democratic societies or emergent ones with a recent history of despotism, communism etc. By conducting extensive research on the contexts surrounding a particular project, the results of that research may be used to the advantage of those who either already have decision-making power, such as the State, or by others whose agendas may be other than improving citizen-state relations (Okely, 2012: 34-37; also see Section 3.1.2, p. 102). During the fieldwork for this thesis, for example, I had the opportunity of informally interviewing a government employee whose job constituted in finding the "right" citizen engagement that created the least political tension – in other words, engagement types that engaged citizens without making them feel like they were not being engaged or misinformed or left uninformed. The argument was that the average citizen does not need to know every detail of a plan or strategy but should have access to the essentials, in order to maintain the perception of being led by a democratic government. The ethical dilemma then becomes whether or not "providing the government (or any bureaucratic institution) with detailed vital

statistics can be threatening, especially in cases where people are concerned that the state does not [necessarily] have their best interests at heart” (Lavenda and Schultz, 2015: 356).

7.7 Inter-professional trust

Trust between professionals is also important. In Chapter 2 (2.4.1, p. 46) I defined the consultants performing the EA as being stakeholders themselves. Here it becomes clearer why. There is a real danger that consultants performing these analyses, who effectively are criticising the political contract within a society, may find themselves blacklisted or worse. Even in democratic societies, SIAs, for example, being the one study where the consultant invariably comes in direct contact with the stakeholders, may have limited or no resources to conduct stakeholder engagement, as the Magħtab case study exemplified. Legislation itself can be a limiting factor and the TOR create clear boundaries to what should go into the report.

In Chapter 2 (p. 40) I mentioned the criticisms baseline studies receive for not including power and political dynamics (Morell, 2008; Vella and Borg, 2010: 197). While I may justify my reports as being the product of an analysis that did take into consideration the political context at the time, these could not be directly or explicitly included in the report, both because they were not part of the TOR and the EIA coordinator vetoed their explicit inclusion. The EIA coordinator had explained that the results of the analysis were important for inclusion, not the analysis itself. Including the analysis may create unnecessary tensions politically and cause repercussions in the decision-making process.

A more recent professional experience emphasises this limitation. Another SIA for which I had conducted its SBS several years earlier was criticised in court during the decision-making process of the proposed development and in the media¹⁰⁰. The expert (a non-anthropologist social scientist) that was called to the stand criticised the report for not having included several points as per SIA state of the art guidelines (quoting the older 2003 guidelines), such as cumulative social impacts, to give but one example.

¹⁰⁰ No reference is provided here to the specific case because it has no relation with any of the three case studies and to retain the anonymity of the case in a very politically charged development project on a small island state where anonymity is difficult to maintain (Boissevain, 2013; Mitchell, 2001) and is only being used to make the argument.

The expert also stated that the report did not have a representative sample and criticised the qualitative nature of the data collection, while misrepresenting the limitations. These limitations, which need to be included in any scientific report as good practice were misrepresented in the affidavit as proof that my report was not up to standard by wilfully admitting in writing that there were those limitations.

While it is true that best practice guidelines today do include cumulative impacts, the report in question was written more than a decade earlier and adhered to all the TOR mandated by MEPA at the time. Furthermore, the SIA is part of the EIA process with its own deadlines. If the consultancy for the SIA fieldwork was commissioned during the winter season, for example, a very similar situation to the Marsalforn case study, the consultant cannot ask for more time to be able to interview the stakeholders that are usually present within the Aol during the summer time. By default, this would then become a limitation of the study (see e.g. Section 3.3, p. 135, when referring to the Marsalforn case study). During the review period, if MEPA decides that this lack of primary data warrants an addendum to the report, it would instruct the EIA coordinators to conduct further studies.

Without going into a lengthy and superfluous debate on the merits of qualitative and quantitative methods (such as conducting surveys as structured questionnaires vs. in-depth and semi-structured interviews, or the benefits of a mixed-methods approach, limitations such as seasonality for example (discussed in Sections 2.2.2, p. 28; 2.3.2, p. 38 and 2.3.3, p. 41), already limit the choice of methods to be meaningfully used. What was troubling in this criticism though, was the explicit manner of how anthropology as a discipline was attacked as not being a rigorous and scientific discipline by a representative of another social science. Using technical terminology such as *triangulation* and defining the qualitative fieldwork as an obsolete picture of a snapshot analysis, this showed lack of knowledge on fieldwork methods carried out in anthropology, as discussed in the introduction of Chapter 3 and in Sections 3.2.2-3.2.3 (pp. 121-126) and especially Sections 3.2.5-3.2.6 (pp. 127-133). The anthropological epistemology is diverse, includes triangulation, and inductively “throws light on quantitative material when the system [*italics in original*] is revealed” (Okely, 2012: 13). Using Leach’s critique of a survey-based study using structured questionnaires, Okely continues to argue that “long-term participant experience helps to make sense of even the most detached survey” (p. 13) and that “a wide range of sociological phenomena

are intrinsically inaccessible to statistical investigation of any kind” (Leach, 1967: 87, quoted by Okely, 2012: 13). Finally, sociological surveys using questionnaires tend to focus on ‘units of population’ and ‘individuals’, whereas anthropology investigates ‘systems of relationships’ (p. 13). While the fieldwork conducted during that baseline study cannot be considered long-term, the research still revealed relationships and themes that would not have been revealed by a structured questionnaire. More importantly, structured questionnaires contain prescribed questions privileging the researcher’s agenda, not the concerns of the people being interviewed. Unforeseeable responses that do not fit into the prescribed structured questionnaire format are routinely filtered out and are not considered by the theorist-analyst (Okely, 1987: 59-60). “By contrast, the participant observer, with no such separation between theory and practice, is able to revise his or her ideas and concerns at *any* [italics in original] time during fieldwork” (Okely, 2012: 84). Similarly, Boissevain and Vella’s review (2010) of an SIA for another development that employed structured questionnaires, clearly showed how the framing of questions, the data collected and the results from the questionnaires can be misinterpreted or organised in such a way as to give an incomplete social analysis, skewed in favour of the proposed project.

The problem with the misinterpretation of the limitations within the *affidavit* presented to the Court in the first example is that when the Media quoted the court proceedings, they quoted what was written in the *affidavit* without consulting the actual report, which explained the limitations in detail. In a small country such as Malta, such allegations, even if unsubstantiated, can be professionally damaging to the reputation of both the individual consultant and the EIA consultancy that performed the EIA, not to mention the relationships of trust that had been built between the SIA consultant and the stakeholders.

Similar challenges and tensions exist for the deeply contextualised analyses proposed in the previous section, both for those conducting the analysis and the relationship between the state and civil society. Openly criticising the state where the relationship may already be strained might be destabilising rather than empowering and improving the democratic process (e.g. Abram and Wieszkalnys, 2013; Becker, 1997; Berglund, 1998; Forester, 1989; 2009; Grandvoinnet et al., 2015; Peixoto, 2014; Redpath et al., 2013; Sjoberg et al., 2017; and see Sections 2.4.3-2.4.7, pp. 58-90, where issues on the problematics of the democratic process are discussed). It is also one of the reasons

why the macro and meso socio-political contexts, discussed in this chapter, are considered essential factors to be included during the ex-ante analysis of the Theory of Participation, explained in the earlier sections of this chapter.

A final example worth expanding on is a stakeholder meeting at policy level that I attended during the participant observation phase of my PhD fieldwork, which I briefly mentioned in Chapter 6 (p. 334). The policy-makers found it very difficult to mediate between all the different requests being made by the participating eNGOs because of their strong (and differing) individual agendas. In other words, creating a co-productive deliberative space at the planning phase of any decision-making process can be very difficult to actually create and deliver especially when tensions between participants / different actors flare up.

The above examples illustrate how trust is formed and broken over time, emphasising the temporal dynamism of trust (de Vries et al., 2014). Policy change takes time, as do the contextual factors that allow for policy change and above all their operationalization on the ground, which usually involves social and institutional change. Values, especially deeply embedded ones, take time to change, which for many issues may be measured in generations (Everard et al., 2016). Relationships of trust take time to build and maintain, but can be quickly destabilised. Trust may be created or broken as a result of direct interaction, or indirectly through stories that are told to further build or break trust as they spread from person to person through social networks. Research by de Vries et al. (2014) show how these different expressions of trust and distrust can lead to beneficial outcomes or troubled inter-professional relations. The next section continues to elaborate on this discussion, providing what I call a tangential approach to improve inter-professional collaboration within the legislative and temporal constraints of planning and decision-making processes that EA and engagement practitioners are working in.

7.8 Conclusion: Lessons for inter-professional collaboration and SIA

As I have already argued in several parts during the course of this thesis, also citing earlier publications (e.g. Vella and Borg, 2010), there is an urgent need for more integrated and inter-disciplinary approaches to IA and engagement. In a book chapter on landscape issues (Vella, 2017: 257-266), while being realistic about the difficulties of implementing such changes (needing major restructuring of current legislation), I

proposed a “tangential approach”, to inter-professional collaboration in engagement processes.

In such tangential approach, consultants need to put aside their epistemological differences and start collaborating during the process of the various components of the EIA, rather than giving the EIA coordinator the responsibility of collating all the different parts of the EIA after the studies are completed. This would entail a more co-productive approach amongst those contributing to the EIA rather than allocating decision-making powers to one coordinator and dividing sections / allocating authors to write specific self-contained parts. Socio–physical landscape change management would then be approached as a process, using present legislation and tools such as the EIA and its constituent components, in particular the Social, Visual, Landscape and Cultural Impact Assessments. At implementation level, the local environmental and planning authorities should reframe the individual terms of reference to facilitate more inter- and trans-disciplinary (rather than multi-disciplinary) approaches to the methodologies and analyses, in other words, inducing collaboration (and social learning) between the various researchers and authors of the EIA process and report itself (Spash and Carter, 2001; Vella and Borg, 2010; Vella, 2017).

As discussed in Chapter 2, there are several challenges of using a more holistic approach to inter-professional inter- and trans-disciplinary collaboration and the proper use and cross-fertilisation of both methods and knowledge from multiple disciplines (see Section 2.4.5, pp. 71-76). Taking off our ‘epistemological robe’, after years of specialisation that effectively re-shaped our world-view, is no easy task. For example, Chubb and Reed (2017) showed how academics in the UK and Australia have responded to the formal evaluation of the impact their research has had on society. They showed how the utilitarian, instrumental approach to using knowledge for impact is in direct tension with a strong sense of “epistemic responsibility”, leading to negative impacts on the integrity of academic practice, and favouring more applied disciplines. Equally, critical reviews of interdisciplinary research and the evaluation of interdisciplinary research proposals, for example, have shown that bridging disciplines in a team of researchers from very different epistemological backgrounds can prove detrimental to the research being proposed and the production of knowledge that truly bridges and transcends disciplinary boundaries (Bammer, 2013; 2017; Chapman, 2009; Chou and Wong, 2015; Hadorn et al., 2008; Oughton and Bracken, 2009; Pohl,

2008; Pohl and Hadorn, 2008; Pohl et al., 2011; Roy et al., 2013; Salter and Hearn, 1996; Spanner, 2001; Tress et al., 2003; Wernli and Darbellay, 2016; Youngblood, 2007). In fact, a 2016 report by the British Academy, concluded that,

...the evaluation of the emergent whole is precisely the core task that differentiates the evaluation of IDR [interdisciplinary research] from the evaluation of single-discipline research. It is vital, because the difference between high quality and poor IDR is most often not in the quality of the disciplinary ingredients, individual researchers in a team, or knowledge sources, but rather in how they are combined (p. 62)

While this may be difficult to achieve, the literature also demonstrates that there has been an increase in interdisciplinary research that has yielded positive results (Chou and Wong, 2015; Newell, 2001; Werlen, 2015; Wernli and Darbellay, 2016). In Chapter 2 (p. 93) I concluded the chapter by using Heller's argument (2001: 158, in Aylett, 2010:112) promoting the intermixing of theoretical debates to find the intersection between them. A similar point is made by promoters of interdisciplinary research. In her 2007 article, Dawn Youngblood unpacks the fallacy of nomothetic claim while considering a solution-driven approach (Newig, 2001) by viewing process, i.e. methodology, not domain (what she calls 'academic turf'), as the key to interdisciplinary success. The last sentence of the abstract to her article is particularly poignant:

Staking claim to interdisciplinarity is shown to be unproductive while finding the need for interdisciplinary approaches and following the mandates of that need strengthens both the disciplines and interdisciplinary studies.

This argument can be used for EIA, since the EIA process has always been a cross-disciplinary, even if not necessarily approached and conducted in a holistic, interdisciplinary process, as discussed in Chapter 2 (see in particularly Section 2.3.3, p. 41, for a number of reasons why this may be difficult to achieve), with SIA bridging the gap between disciplines, since as Esteves et al. (2012: 34) emphasise, SIA is inherently interdisciplinary (Section 2.3.1, p. 36). Since SIA usually includes the various environmental issues covered in the EIA from a social perspective, the SIA practitioner or team has the potential of bringing together the various consultants contributing to the identification and analysis of the potential impacts of a proposed development by taking a more integrative approach, making use of the bridging characteristics of their disciplinary backgrounds, such as anthropology and geography, as Youngblood (2007) points out (Section 2.4.5, p. 68).

During the fieldwork for the SBS / SIA, stakeholders and IAPs do not usually discuss social impacts from a conceptual level but from a lived, experiential perspective, as the empirical descriptive analyses of the three case studies in Chapter 5 and corresponding baseline studies show. Stakeholders talk about traffic, wind, dust and noise pollution, lack of amenities, loss of cultural heritage... in other words, when discussing these issues with stakeholders, the SIA practitioner is communicating the complex language found in the other IA studies to suit the various 'audiences' the various stakeholders represent. To be able to do so, the SIA practitioner has to be able to understand the different language presented in the other studies or by their authors. These become important opportunities for breaking down disciplinary communication boundaries because the SIA practitioner too needs to understand the various, and possibly complex, concepts presented by the other consultants and be able to both 'translate' them into layman 'speak' and also connect the more technical analysis to the socio-cultural and political dimension.

The SIA practitioner then becomes a conduit or interface between other experts and stakeholders, bridging different types of knowledges. In other words, the SIA practitioner's role is to be able to provide a new understanding of a familiar environment (be it from the world view and epistemological background of the technical expert or that of the stakeholder, experiencing the same impacts from a more value-based, experiential perspective), aiming at introducing "a fresh language, and with it fresh perspectives, to things they take for granted; things that are invisible to them due to their overt, everyday visibility" (Roberts, 2006: 76-77)

Chapter 8

Conclusions, reflections and further research

*In every moment there's the possibility of a better future, but you people won't believe it. And because you won't believe it you won't do what is necessary to make it a reality. **They dwell on this terrible future and you resign yourselves to it for one reason, because that future doesn't ask anything of you today** [emphasis added]. So yes, we saw the iceberg and warned the Titanic. But you all just steered for it anyway full steam ahead. Why? Because you want to sink! **You gave up!** [emphasis added]*

-- David Nix, *Tomorrowland* (2015)

The Dystopian future isn't the future anymore, it's now, we didn't even notice!

-- Detective Chief Inspector Karl Roebuck, *The Tunnel: Vengeance*, Episode 2 (2017)

8.1 Introduction

This thesis does not purport an Archimedes moment, there is no “Eureka!” at the end of it. The PhD’s findings, however, galvanise and stress interdisciplinary research insights on human-environment relations and environmental governance spanning decades. This then informed a theory towards understanding stakeholder participation and involvement dynamics / outcomes during urban development processes.¹⁰¹ More specifically, while in the most optimal of situations it is desirable to have co-productive participation and involvement, the reality is that we live in imperfect democratic (or governance) systems. Therefore, the types of participation to be used should reflect those realities, described by the Wheel of Participation (Chapter 6) by taking out the value judgement of the different participatory processes types and typologies.

This concluding chapter provides a summary of the general insights gained from the PhD research in relation to the three research questions, followed by a critical

¹⁰¹ It is one of the reasons why during the course of the thesis I deliberately chose to cite publications spanning a number of decades.

appraisal of the key contributions and their significance in terms of future EIA/ SIA studies, the selection and conduct of participatory processes, and the interdisciplinary and co-productive working of professionals and stakeholders.

8.2 What makes public and stakeholder engagement work in SIAs?

In contrast to commonly used engagement typologies, and specifically Arnstein's Ladder, this research suggests that the type of engagement used cannot predict the outcome of engagement. Instead, the research proposes a purely descriptive typology based on agency (who initiates and leads engagement) and mode of engagement (from communication to coproduction). There are then four key factors - context, power, design and scalar fit - that influence the outcomes of any type of stakeholder exercise. Based on this, theory was developed, using each variable to help explain why stakeholder engagement in SIAs is likely to work or fail to deliver intended outcomes. The theory explains the variation in outcomes from different types of stakeholder engagement, suggesting that:

- 1) Socioeconomic, cultural, and institutional contextual factors tend to critically influence the outcomes of engagement;
- 2) Process design factors can increase the likelihood that engagement operates effectively and fairly, across a wide range of sociocultural, political, economic, and biophysical contexts;
- 3) The effectiveness of engagement is significantly influenced by power dynamics, the values of participants, and their epistemologies, that is, the way they construct knowledge and which types of knowledge they consider valid; and
- 4) Engagement processes work differently and can lead to different outcomes when they operate over different spatial and temporal scales.

Application of the theory in the Maltese context shows how contextual factors (from micro to macro) both influence and are influenced by the other explanatory variables in the theory of participation, mediating their role in determining outcomes and limiting the extent to which any theory can be fully generalizable. Exploring context often reveals complexity and contradictions, leaving open multiple options for action

(which is usually undesirable at decision-making levels). On the other hand, a deeper understanding of the interdependencies between important contextual factors at macro, meso and micro scales can help untangle and unpack these complexities and contradictions, recognizing their dynamism over time. Taking this more holistic approach, managing projects in their socio-political and physical context, these complexities and multiple options may become an opportunity for more co-productive deliberative engagement, rather than being viewed as a problem.

Application of the theory in the Maltese context also illustrates how the theoretical framework can be used both as an *ex-ante* and *ex-post*, theoretical and evaluative tool (Figure 6.11, p. 338). As an *ex-ante* theoretical tool, the Wheel of Participation helps identify what type of participatory type and mode could be the most appropriate for stakeholder participatory episode. As an *ex-post* evaluative tool, the four factors from the Theory of Participation can be used after the participatory exercise has ended, to understand how the different factors influenced the process and outcomes of that particular episode, providing a clear framework in which lessons for future exercises may be prioritised and learned. Furthermore, by incorporating the results of the *ex-post* evaluation of the 1st participatory episode to the *ex-ante* theoretical analysis of a 2nd participatory episode, the design and type/mode of participation of following participatory events can be adjusted to account for the fluidity of the changing planning circumstances.

Given the complexities of how social-ecological systems work, decision-makers need to be able to tap into all the different types of 'knowledges' that contribute to a more holistic understanding of the socio-physical environment. To be able to do so, as this thesis shows, researchers have to break out of disciplinary silos and shed the 'epistemological robes' that incessantly weigh them down so that they can collaborate more effectively to better understand the complex environmental problems that span multiple disciplines through knowledge exchange. Open deliberative communication and engagement is needed between all those affected to find sustainable and viable solutions that can be realistically implemented, monitored, reviewed and improved upon in more appropriate time scales. This includes acceptance of local knowledge and involvement of stakeholders during the planning stages of urban projects. Such an improvement in civic-state relations greatly depends on the level of trust that there is

between those that govern and those being affected by the project being proposed. Where this is lacking, many governance models have already shown that improving stakeholder participation makes for more robust decision-making, but it may take time to reach more beneficial outcomes depending on the socio-political contexts within which they are found.

As such, this thesis shows that the outcome of engagement in Impact Assessments is driven significantly by the context in which participation occurs. In contrast to recent literature emphasising the role of process design over context, the case studies from this research show how power, process design and scalar fit are all nested within a given context.

As a result, contextual factors shape power relations, process design must adapt to changing contexts and the spatial and temporal scales over which engagement is conducted are determined by the socio-economic, political and cultural context in which engagement is enacted. The Wheel of participation helps in a structured way to take account of such changes and assists to inform on potentially more 'sound' decisions during planning participatory processes.

8.3 How do flows of knowledge between disciplines, professions and stakeholders influence spatial planning decisions?

This thesis shows how, during the planning cycle of small to medium urban development projects (such as the majority of urban development projects within the built environment in a European context) where stakeholder participation and involvement are limited (as in the case of Malta), the civic-state interface is not always strong enough to maintain healthy relationships of trust between decision-makers and end-users. Improving relationships of trust throughout the planning and decision-making processes between the various stakeholders is imperative, or the planning process can suffer, causing delays that may make the proposed project economically unviable and socially or environmentally unsustainable.

On the abovementioned (relatively) smaller projects that have limited resources to include stakeholder participation more effectively throughout their planning and development cycle, as part of the EIA team, the SIA practitioner may be able to improve stakeholder participation and knowledge transfer. If the SIA practitioner uses

more qualitative methods to interact more directly with stakeholders, manages power dynamics between the EIA team and stakeholders, and is adequately funded to work at appropriate spatial and temporal scales, the SIA practitioner can be in the unique position of acting as a knowledge broker between stakeholders. By integrating knowledges in this way, the SIA practitioner can contribute to the distribution of power and influence whose knowledge gets taken into account during decision making processes. Drawing on the theory of participation outlined in this thesis, such SIA practitioner role is more likely to lead to beneficial outcomes for the natural environment and affected 'communities', stakeholders, sociospheres and other Interested and Affected Parties (IAPs), bringing SIA practice closer to best practice guidelines.

More cross- and inter-disciplinary collaboration and sharing of resources (including types of knowledges that cross and transcend disciplinary boundaries) between the members of the EIA team during the EIA process can provide a more holistic 'picture' of the interactions between potential socio-environmental impacts of the proposed (small to medium) projects than is currently standard practice during EIAs of such projects. This is important for EIA practice, as the 2003 and 2015 IAIA SIA best practice guidelines were specifically designed for 'mega-projects' (with the budgets that such projects have). In contrast, Chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis emphasise the need and provide a basis for the drafting of guidelines for smaller SIAs:

- EIA budgets on small-medium sized development projects need to account for mixed methods where both qualitative and quantitative methods are used simultaneously. Mixed methods approaches are needed for collecting, verifying and triangulating data, and to address issues of trust and improve stakeholder participation during the EA, planning and decision-making processes
- When establishing EIA Terms of Reference (TOR), there should also be more awareness from both the regulator and service provider of contextual practical challenges in SIAs (e.g. as described during this thesis, on small to medium –sized development projects), including timing and scalar fit, both of which can have an impact on data collection and sources (primary or secondary)

- The length of the bureaucratic process after the development application has been made to the issuing of TORs by the competent authorities (including the length of time it takes to issue tenders for the EIA to when the EIA consultants actually begin their work) needs to be built into TORs, and reflected in the length of time given to conduct the SIA work and perform the analysis to a level that can enable genuine stakeholder engagement

Greater inter- and trans-disciplinary collaboration has the potential to create a more comprehensive ‘picture’ of the interactions between potential socio-environmental impacts of the proposed (small to medium) project than is currently standard practice in SIA. Cross-disciplinary and cross-project collaboration during the planning process will also improve the understandings of the various socio-political contexts that influence the stakeholder and public participatory processes, especially the informal micro and meso contexts, which may be influenced by broader, less obvious connections and perceptions, including other projects. As the Theory of Participation shows, understanding these contexts together with power dynamics and scalar fit (time and geographical scales), will improve the choice of participatory types to be used during participatory processes and how to design them.

8.4 How is public and stakeholder engagement enacted and perceived in SIAs for urban developments?

This thesis illustrates that the use of qualitative methods especially the ethnographic process, as employed by applied anthropologists in such socio-political contexts can be effective tools to understand the impacts of proposed developments on social groups, making it possible to draw on experiences that can span decades, even generations (and therefore the resulting analysis is not simply a ‘snapshot analysis’). Investing in the use of more ethnographic qualitative approaches can be justified to obtain triangulation. This is not just to validate (or cross-check) data but also to increase the understanding of how the same information (such as the project development information) can be contextually interpreted and even manipulated by different stakeholders, when there are issues of mistrust between stakeholders, decision-makers at governance level and service providers (as empirically identified during the three case studies, for example).

Qualitative methods (in the case of this research, including participant observation, semi-structured and in-depth interviews, situated listening, networking and focus groups), can enable the SIA practitioner to contribute in the building of relationships between the stakeholders, EIA team and developer. In this way, combining ethnographic and other qualitative methods in the analysis and enactment of participation enables the practitioner to both better understand and improve the outcomes of stakeholder participation during the EIA process (Amaratunga et al., 2002; Malina et al., 2011; Vella and Borg, 2010).

The case studies in the Maltese context have shown how even in such small geo-spatial circumstances as are found in the island state of Malta, which has also been described as an 'island city-state' (Mitchell, 1998: 83), within the Aol of the case studies, there can be significant differences in how IAPs perceive their role as members of a locality within the Aol. Therefore, individuals cannot be systematically categorised as members of a homogenous stakeholder group, for example, where every individual within that group has the same goals, aims or agenda. This is especially so, when groups of active citizens join as, what may be sometimes termed a 'community of practice', fighting the 'common enemy', as proposed development projects may be collectively perceived. Even at the 'micro', local circumstances such as the ones described in the case studies, understanding how different groups come together, how they perceive themselves within the locality (whether they form part of a broader local 'community' or a specific group with similar needs or aims, such as, for example, the 'farming community'), how they perceive the locality itself and its population as being part of a heterogeneous community with community values or not, will influence how they will interact with the engagement / participatory processes.

This brings together several points made in Sections 8.2 and 8.3, above, where the underlying thread is the importance of understanding the perceptions of all the 'social actors' involved in the various process; from planning, to decision-making and how they change both contextually and temporally. These perceptions influence value judgements, the propensity (or not) for collaboration and sharing of information between EIA consultants during the EIA process, affecting the kind of knowledge exchange that takes place between SIA practitioner and stakeholders in the field. This, in turn, will affect the creation of relationships and trust and how public and stakeholder engagement takes place during the SIA process. The three case studies,

for example, provide examples of how these perceptions can hinder or enable stakeholder participation and engagement, officially or otherwise, during the SIA process.

8.5 Further research

This research has highlighted a number of important differences between best practice and the realities of conducting applied research in the form of SIAs. These are realities that are not always the result of corruption or bad practice, but working within the constraints of converging bureaucracies (or bureaucratic practices, including mono-disciplinary practices), each with their own expectations, agendas, time frames and decision-making processes that while dependent on each other, many times lack the resources to obtain a more streamlined and efficient use of those resources. These problems need to be addressed, both by studying these processes more closely using interdisciplinary research pathways and streams (of the need for translating research insights into policy application; but also the previously argued issue of embedding a broader conception and application of research/methods from mono- or multi- to inter- and trans-disciplinary) that bring research and policy closer, in such a way that the resulting policy recommendations can then be implemented more effectively and realistically.

This means that practitioners and researchers/theorists working on SIAs/EIAs need to pool their collective knowledge to come up with implementable solutions by working together with those who have decision-making power (at governance or institutional levels), service providers, to improve both the services they provide and accountability of those services, including the pathways from decision-making to service provision. Accountability though is not a one-way street – end-users, those with a stake in a proposed project (i.e. stakeholders) need to also be held accountable of the roles they play to help make the proposed development environmentally, socially, culturally and economically sustainable. This also means that projects (urban and spatial development, environmental management, for example) need to have long-term plans to involve stakeholders and other end-users, not just during the life-time of a project but after the funding finishes and when the project is officially considered terminated. If urban development projects are to have long-term social and physical environmental benefits, they need to be considered important and beneficial to the end-users, while

service providers (such as Local Councils, for example) and project managers need to show their commitment towards projects within the urban landscape. This means two-way communication, collaboration and monitoring of projects and programmes. Citizens have the right to hold officials accountable, but officials also have to hold citizens accountable for their actions. For this to take place, there needs to be relationships of trust and a predisposition from all those concerned to make a continued commitment towards respecting and enacting decisions taken while taking responsibility for their actions.

Finally, throughout the thesis and this conclusion, it has been stressed that the results are a product of the analyses of predominantly three case studies in the Maltese context: an over-populated island-city state, with its very particular socio-geo-political and historical context, in particular its post-colonial historical background. While not a dominant theme during the interviews for the three case studies, it flowed like an undercurrent perception among ‘informants’ with whom I had built a long-term relationship of trust over several encounters. This finding is in line with arguments in the literature on island studies as well as post-colonial studies (see for example Baldacchino (2015), appropriately titled *Small island states and territories: vulnerable, resilient, but also doggedly perseverant and cleverly opportunistic*; Baldacchino (2010); Baldacchino and Royle (2010)).

Considering the above observations, further research and actions based on this thesis may include:

1. On the Wheel of Participation Typology and the Theory of Participation:

- a. Use the *ex-ante* and *ex-post* capabilities of the Wheel and Theory to provide a longitudinal analysis of the theory’s efficacy and create a contextual comparative knowledge base to improve stakeholder participation.
- b. Expand and refine the typology and theory to help practitioners better understand how and when to appropriately use the ever-expanding range of participatory methodologies and new technologies (with the chosen participatory typology) that may enable more effective engagement; for example including cross-disciplinary methods and analytical tools such as Social Network Analysis (SNA), Public

Participation Geographical Information Systems (PPGIS), visualisation technologies, and more integration between qualitative and quantitative research methods.

2. *On SIAs and Stakeholder Participation:*

- a. The knowledge base mentioned under point (1b) would provide more readily available longitudinal social information for similar projects and serve as baseline empirical data to further analyse and test the generalizability of the theory and to assess to what extent contextual differences may alter the projected outcomes of participation.
- b. There is the need for the IAIA to address the challenges faced by consultants working on smaller development projects with small budgets but TOR that expect results similar to their much larger counterparts. Having such TOR can be interpreted as acknowledging the cumulative effects that multiple overlapping smaller development projects have on a geographical area. At the same time, there are few provisions to assist the SIA practitioners to deliver reports that empirically make these connections explicit. By addressing these issues formally, a more comprehensive set of best-practice guidelines could be formulated, not just for SIA practitioners, but also for Environmental and Urban Planning Regulators issuing the TOR to the service providers.
- c. Further research is needed on the lack of SIAs being commissioned as part of EIAs and SEAs within the EU and to investigate its impact on the planning processes (including policy formulation, interpretation and operationalisation) and outcomes of development projects within member states.
- d. There needs to be better integration of effective participatory practices in the planning process to improve knowledge exchange, and a move towards more collaborative projects that include stakeholders as partners with decision-making power, especially as part of EU funded projects. SIAs that secure stakeholder involvement could help improve the identification of the needs of the socio-physical environment at the

various levels of governance and lead to incorporating local level needs in development projects. These would be a direct reflection of knowledge exchange at the various tiers of governance with relationships of trust developing during more hands-on SIAs being conducted at SEA level that would need to be nurtured throughout the SEA process and filter down into individual projects. While there are conflicting theories and empirical evidence that suggest that involving stakeholders at high level policy decision-making may be counter-productive, involving stakeholders during the SIAs of SEAs would include stakeholders 'indirectly' at high level governance and therefore SIAs for SEAs would no longer be just 'internal' exercises. Such a strategy would potentially provide a wider array (and more equitable representation) of knowledges to better understand the various types of contexts for a more comprehensive and holistic analysis of the complex socio-environmental needs that the policies have to address at the (different) local levels through the projects falling within the policies' purviews.

- e. Furthermore, the cumulative aspects of projects and policies that are connected and identified at SEA level will be reflected at project level, so that projects tackle a wider range of related socio-environmental and urban challenges, even if different projects may fall under the jurisdiction of different policies and associated strategies, i.e. under the competencies of different Ministries. When projects are shared between different Governmental agencies, there is the need for more collaboration, transparency and more efficient cross-agency bureaucratic systems that reduce 'red-tape' significantly to improve the scalar fit and power dynamics of the projects. Actions to put this into policy and practice and research to assess whether the expected outcomes would actually materialise could be fruitful next steps.
- f. Points (d) and (e) also highlight the need for more effective collaboration between cross-disciplinary sciences and policy research, bringing together different, or creating new, tools that would then no longer be stand-alone policy or research tools but could be shaped to

work together to elicit a range of options that are environmentally and socially more sustainable in their outputs in the long term.

3. *On cross- and inter-disciplinary research, especially at PhD level and trans-disciplinary research and collaboration on projects that cross-cut academia and practice, influencing policy and governance:*

- a. The research experience during the whole process of this PhD highlights the need for creating more concrete possibilities for students conducting research across disciplines, especially when the research deals with both hard and soft sciences. While PhD researchers within the hard sciences may have more possibilities to be embedded within interdisciplinary EU-funded collaborations, this is less frequent and usually frowned upon within certain disciplines in the social sciences, especially anthropology (since anthropological research has a long tradition where fieldwork is usually conducted by a single researcher during long-term participant observation, which then needs to be analysed by that researcher). This also depends on individual university and departmental regulations, funding opportunities and many times the propensity (or not) of academics to endorse and then actively follow through cross-departmental collaboration. There is increasing evidence of how environmental problems need to be tackled from many cross-disciplinary angles. There are already a number of research institutions that approach the tackling of problems from different disciplinary angles and in some cases, by being embedded within a particular project or funding stream, students from different disciplines can share data and work in tandem. I propose that just like in many engineering and ICT departments, for example, where a number of students work as a team, the same principle should be used to solve complex socio-environmental and political problems, with trans-disciplinary teams tackling a particular problem, pooling resources, funding, etc. with a truly inter/trans-disciplinary oriented team PhD project. This is very similar to the work package structure of EU projects, with an explicit emphasis on cross-disciplinary collaboration and knowledge exchange

and a think-tank mentality in the creation of new knowledge and problem solving.

8.6 Final Thoughts

This thesis makes a number of crosscutting empirical, methodological and theoretical contributions to the research and practice of stakeholder participation during the planning decision-making processes of urban development projects. While the research focus was based on the island state of Malta, the research offers insights of broader relevance both in terms of stakeholder participation theory and practice, and relating to the role that SIA can potentially have to improve stakeholder participation and involvement; knowledge and information transfer and exchange between the various socio-political actors involved; and finally, improving the mitigation and more timely resolution of disputes and concerns of the affected parties involved.

It makes this contribution by proposing a new typology to describe the possible range of types of stakeholder and public engagement that are theoretically possible, and a theory that can explain why these different types of engagement sometimes work or fail. This is an important contribution because to date, descriptive and explanatory variables have been conflated in typologies that imply high levels of engagement are always preferable to lower levels of engagement, despite empirical evidence to the contrary. This thesis has then tested and refined the typology and theory of participation through an empirical contribution in the context of three Maltese case studies. Although these case studies cannot be used to infer wide generalisability, they provide the first initial evidence that the typology and theory work in practice, and by adding the wider geo-political and social contexts during the analysis of the four factors for a specific engagement 'episode', the framework presented in Chapter 7 has the flexibility and adaptability to guide decision-making to enhance the depth and quality of engagement in very different socio-political realities. In particular, the thesis shows how it is possible to use the typology and theory as an evaluation tool *ex-ante*, to assess the quality of engagement and make recommendations for future practice, and as a design tool, to assess the design of engagement activities *a priori*.

In addition to these key contributions, the research makes a broader, over-arching methodological and theoretical¹⁰² contribution by showing how applied anthropology and its in-depth, qualitative methods and ethnographic process can help shed new light on the perceptions of stakeholders about proposed projects and each other, while contributing towards building relationships of trust during the planning (through the SIA of the EA) process. Such methods are highly compatible with methods currently used in SIAs, and complement the shorter interviews and focus groups typically used in studies of environmental governance as part of a mixed methods approach to SIA. By using more in-depth, ethnographic and qualitative methods during the baseline studies of SIAs and by creating connections between projects that spatially overlap (as with the Magħtab and Coast Road case studies, for example), the relationships between stakeholders, EA consultants and project managers may be improved. This can create a communicative bridge for information and knowledge sharing and transfer, together with the improvement of the outputs of projects that may not be considered related by developers or the State but do relate in terms of their intersecting Aols with overlapping stakeholders.

The value that is given to the environment has been a central philosophical debate in regard to environmental policy decision-making for decades, with discussions falling into two main camps – that the environment and everything that is within it must consider its intrinsic value; and the second that the ('natural') environment matters most and should be appraised in terms of its anthropocentric values; including the approach taken by the international Millennium Ecosystem Assessment¹⁰³, more specifically, the economic value given to the environment, ecosystem goods and services. Even though the parameters of assessing economic value are much broader than is generally assumed, which include for example, the value that individuals place on the beauty of a natural landscape, the international Millennium Assessment focuses on “contributions of ecosystems to human well-being though at the same time

¹⁰² I include the theoretical contribution of applied anthropology because as discussed in Chapter 2 (Sections 2.4.2-2.4.6; 2.5) and Chapter 3 (Sections 3.1.1 and 3.2.6), the ethnographic process carries “profound theoretical implications, if the reader will only surrender to the emergent flow of knowledge” (Okely, 2012: 3).

¹⁰³ See <http://www.millenniumassessment.org/en/index.aspx> for further information on the reports that were published between 2001 and 2005.

recognising the potential of non-anthropocentric sources of value” (National Research Council, 2005: 33).

The sad reality is that people in general do not view the environment as having value for its own sake, or as the empirical evidence, at least in Malta’s case; shows people do not consider the urban landscape or environment where they spend most of their time as part of that overarching concept, which is the environment. For most interviewees, the environment was something nearly intangible, because their understanding of the natural environment was one of an idyllic uncontaminated wilderness, untouched by human intervention. Others considered the environment as “the countryside” and definitely not the urban environment that surrounded them.

The environment became a tangible issue when discussing the environmental impacts of past, present and the proposed developments. Air, noise and light pollution then became primary concerns, especially for their health and well-being, which is why this thesis has repeatedly stressed that all environmental impacts are ultimately social (Taylor et al., 1995), especially in an urban setting.

I will finish this thesis with some experiential stakeholder wisdom, from one of my long-term ‘informants’, a part-time farmer, political activist and environmentalist, while discussing environmental values in relation to my research. Paraphrasing, he pointed out that nobody, not even environmentalists, think of the physical environment or its common good first, but will frame their importance to suit their agenda and personal or collective needs as an environmental group. Most people will equate environmental sustainability with economic sustainability, and the two are only given the same importance (the other being protecting the environment) when the latter aligns to their needs, primarily, in the Maltese case, the financial needs and well-being of their family. He stressed that in the past, family included extended family – today, rarely includes siblings. As a matter of fact, during matters of inheritance, siblings will divide a large piece of arable land into smaller parcels, which are usually too small to remain economically viable, apart from the damage done to the soil.

Very few people are willing to make personal sacrifices to protect the environment for its own sake or for society at large. So, if you (addressing me) want to improve the quality of the environment here, you must frame it in terms of what they will gain

– how will whatever you or the project is proposing improve the quality of their lives in the short to mid-term, with an emphasis on economics.

The long-term positive impacts would only be obtained by how economically sustainable and viable the short-term goals are realistically. If a project's goals are realistic, are sensitive to stakeholder needs and are indeed obtained, showing the seriousness of the Government's (or developer's) continued commitment, the stakeholders will start appreciating the longer-term results and make an effort to continue doing their part in supporting the project.

The commitment must be a two-way street, otherwise, once the project cycle is over and the funding stops, so does their (the stakeholders') commitment to, for example, keep the valley clean from fly tipping (in the case of Magħtab), or even the continued maintenance of any improvements to the urban environment within the Aol of a project resulting from mitigation strategies that had been agreed upon.

Bibliography

- Aboelela, S. W., Larson, E., Bakken, S., Carrasquillo, O., Formicola, A., Glied, S. A., Haas, J. and Gebbie, K. M. (2007) Defining interdisciplinary research: conclusions from a critical review of the literature. *Health Services Research*, 42(1), pp. 329-346.
- Abram, S. (2011) *Culture and Planning*. London: Ashgate Publishing.
- Abram, S. (2014) The time it takes: temporalities of planning. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 20(S1), pp. 129-147.
- Abram, S. and Waldren, J. (1998) *Anthropological Perspectives on Local Development: Knowledge and sentiments in conflict*. London: Psychology Press.
- Abram, S. and Wieszkalnys, G. (2013) *Elusive Promises: Planning in the contemporary world*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Ackerman, J. (2004) Co-governance for accountability: beyond “exit” and “voice”. *World Development*, 32(3), pp. 447-463.
- Adi Associates Environmental Consultants Ltd.. (2011) *Master Plan for the Magħtab Environmental Complex. Environmental Impact Statement Update prepared in support of development permit Application No. PA 02342/06 (GF 00121/06)*. San Gwann, Malta: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants Ltd. Available at: <https://era.org.mt/en/Documents/Environmantal%20Impact%20Statement%20Update.pdf>. [Accessed 20 September 2014].
- Adi Associates Environmental Consultants Ltd.. (2012) *Reconstruction and Upgrading of Coast Road from Junction Na 11 to Na 10 & Widening and Realignment of Coast Road from Baħar lċ-Ġagħaq, Naxxar to St Paul’s Bay. Environmental Planning Statement prepared in support of development permit Applications PA 03883/08 & PA 03758/09*. San Gwann, Malta: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants Ltd.
- Adi Associates Environmental Consultants Ltd.. (2013) *Development of Coastal Defences Against Wave Incidence on Shore for Marsalforn Bay, Marsalforn, Żebbuġ, Gozo. Environmental Impact Assessment prepared in support of the permit Application PA 04905/10*. San Gwann, Malta: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants Ltd.. Status of Planning Application available at: <https://www.pa.org.mt/en/pacasedetails?CaseType=PA/04905/10> [Accessed 11 May 2018].

- Agar, M. (1996) *The Professional Stranger: An informal introduction to ethnography*. 2nd edn. London: Academic Press.
- Agar, M. (2004) An anthropological problem, a complex solution. *Human Organization*, 4(63), pp. 411-418.
- Alberstein, M. (2009) The jurisprudence of mediation: between formalism, feminism and identity conversations. *Cardozo J. Conflict Resol.*, 11(1), pp. 1-28.
- Albrow, M. (1997) Travelling beyond local cultures: socioscaples in a global city. In: J. Eade, ed. *Living the Global City*. London: Routledge, pp. 43-51.
- Aldoory, L. and Grunig, J. E. (2012) The rise and fall of hot-issue publics: relationships that develop from media coverage of events and crises. *International Journal of Strategic Communication*, 6(1), pp. 93-108.
- Amaratunga, D., Baldry, D., Sarshar, M. and Newton, R. (2002) Quantitative and qualitative research in the built environment: application of “mixed” research approach. *Work Study*, 51(1), pp. 17-31.
- Anderson, G. L. (1998) Toward authentic participation: deconstructing the discourses of participatory reforms in education. *American Educational Research Journal*, 35(4), pp. 571-603.
- Ansell, C. and Gash, A. (2008) Collaborative governance in theory and practice. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 18(4), pp. 543-571.
- Appleyard, D. (1979) The environment as a social symbol: within a theory of environmental action and perception. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 45(2), pp. 143-153.
- Archer, M. S. (2007) *Making Our Way Through the World: Human reflexivity and social mobility*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arendt, H. (1970) *On Violence*. London: Allen Lane, Penguin.
- Armitage, D., Morris, M., Edwards, T. W. D., Loe, R. C. D., Gerlak, A. K., Hall, R. I., Huitema, D., Ison, R., Livingstone, D., Macdonald, G., et al. (2015) Science – policy processes for transboundary water governance. *Ambio*, 44(5), pp. 353-366.
- Armour, A. (1990) Integrating impact assessment in the planning process: from rhetoric to reality. *Impact Assessment*, 8(1-2), pp. 1-14.
- Armstrong, F. and Alsop, A. (2010) Debate: co-production can contribute to research impact in the social sciences. *Public Money & Management*, 30(4), pp. 208-210.
- Arnstein, S. R. (1969) A ladder of citizen participation. *Journal of the American Institute of*

- planners, 35(4), pp. 216-224.
- Arts, J. (1998) *EIA Follow-up — On the Role of Ex-post Evaluation in Environmental Impact Assessment*. GeoPress: University of Groningen.
- Arts, J., Tomlinson, P. and Voogd, H. (2005) *EIA and SEA Tiering: The missing link?* Prague: International Association of Impact Assessment.
- Arts, J., Tomlinson, P. and Voogd, H. (2011) Planning in tiers? tiering as a way of linking SEA and EIA. In: B. Sadler, R. Aschemann, J. Dusik, T. B. Fischer, M. R. Partidario and R. Verheem, eds. *Handbook of Strategic Environmental Assessment*. London: Earthscan, pp. 415-436.
- Ascough li, J. C., Maier, H. R., Ravalico, J. K. and Strudley, M. W. (2008) Future research challenges for incorporation of uncertainty in environmental and ecological decision-making. *Ecological Modelling*, 219(3-4), pp. 383-399.
- Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth (2011) *Ethical Guidelines for Good Research Practice*. Available at: https://www.theasa.org/downloads/ASA_ethics_guidelines_2011.pdf [Accessed 25 March 2013].
- Attlee, A. C., Reed, M. S., Carter, C. E., Scott, A. J., Vella, S., Hardman, M. and Neumann, R. K. (2015) Looking to the future of ecosystem services: a review of available approaches. *CAB Reviews: Perspectives in Agriculture, Veterinary Science, Nutrition and Natural Resources*, 10(024), pp. 1-13.
- Austin, D. E. (2004) Partnerships, not projects! improving the environment through collaborative research and action. *Human Organization*, 63(4), pp. 419-430.
- Aylett, A. (2010) Participatory planning, justice, and climate change in Durban, South Africa. *Environment and Planning A*, 42(1), pp. 99-115.
- Ayuso, S., Ángel Rodríguez, M., García-Castro, R. and Ángel Ariño, M. (2011) Does stakeholder engagement promote sustainable innovation orientation? *Industrial Management & Data Systems*, 111(9), pp. 1399-1417.
- Baker, J., Sheate, W. R., Phillips, P. and Eales, R. (2013) Ecosystem services in environmental assessment—help or hindrance? *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 40, pp. 3-13.
- Baldacchino, G. (2010) “Upside down decolonization” in subnational island jurisdictions: questioning the “post” in post-colonialism. *Space and Culture*, 13(2), pp. 188-202.

- Baldacchino, G. (2012) The lure of the island: a spatial analysis of power relations. *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures*, 1(2), pp. 55-62.
- Baldacchino, G. (2014) Malta transformed by multi-level governance: more than just an outcome of Europeanisation. *Reflections of a Decade of EU Membership: Expectations, Achievements, Disappointments and the Future*. Msida: University of Malta (Institute for European Studies Occasional Paper 3).
- Baldacchino, G. (2015) Editorial: Small island states and territories: vulnerable, resilient, but also doggedly perseverant and cleverly opportunistic. *Entrepreneurship in Small Island States and Territories*, 8(27-28), pp. 1-28.
- Baldacchino, G. and Royle, S. A. (2010) Post-colonialism and islands: introduction. *Space and Culture*, 13(2), pp. 140-143.
- Bammer, G. (2013) *Disciplining Interdisciplinarity Integration and Implementation Sciences for Researching Complex Real-World Problems*. E-Book edn. Canberra, Australia: ANU E-Press.
- Bammer, G. (2016) What constitutes appropriate peer review for interdisciplinary research? *Palgrave Communications*, 2(1), pp. 16017-16017.
- Bammer, G. (2017) Should we discipline interdisciplinarity? *Palgrave Communications*, 3(1), pp. 30-30.
- Banerjee, A. V., Banerji, R., Duflo, E., Glennerster, R. and Khemani, S. (2010) Pitfalls of participatory programs: evidence from a randomized evaluation in education in India. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 2(1), pp. 1-30.
- Banks, M. (2007) *Using Visual Data in Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Barbash, I. and Taylor, L. (1997) *Cross-cultural Filmmaking: A handbook for making documentary and ethnographic films and videos*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Barrow, C. J. (2000) *Social Impact Assessment: An introduction*. London: Arnold.
- Barrow, C. J. (2002) Evaluating the social impacts of environmental change and the environmental impacts of social change: an introductory review of social impact assessment. *International Journal of Environmental Studies*, 59(2), pp. 185-195.
- Barrow, C. J. (2010) How is environmental conflict addressed by SIA? *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 30(5), pp. 293-301.
- Barry, A. and Born, G. (2013) *Interdisciplinarity: Reconfigurations of the social and natural sciences*. London: Routledge.

- Barthel, R. and Seidl, R. (2017) Interdisciplinary collaboration between natural and social sciences – status and trends exemplified in groundwater research. *PLOS ONE*, 12(1): e0170754. Accessible from: <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0170754>.
- Baumeister, R. F., Leary, M. R. and Baumeister, R. E. (1997) Writing narrative literature reviews. *Review of General Psychology*, 1(3), pp. 311-320.
- Bear, L. (2014) Doubt, conflict, mediation: the anthropology of modern time. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 20, pp. 3-30.
- Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a new modernity*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Becker, D. R., Harris, C. C., Nielsen, E. A. and McLaughlin, W. J. (2004) A comparison of a technical and a participatory application of social impact assessment. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 22(3), pp. 177-189.
- Becker, H. A. (1997) *Social Impact Assessment: Method and experience in Europe, North America and the developing world*. London: UCL Press.
- Becker, H. A. and Vanclay, F. (2003) *The International Handbook of Social Impact Assessment: Conceptual and methodological advances*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Beierle, T. C. (2002) The quality of stakeholder-based decisions. *Risk Analysis*, 22(4), pp. 739-749.
- Bell, S, Vanner, R, Oughton, E A, Emery, S B, Lock, K and Cole, I. (2011) *DEFRA NE0109 Social Research Evidence Review to Inform Natural Environment Policy. Final Report to the Department of Environment Food and Rural Affairs*. London: Policy Studies Institute (PSI) in partnership with Centre for Rural Economy (CRE) and Land Use Consultants (LUC). Available at: <http://randd.defra.gov.uk/Document.aspx?Document=Socialresearchevidencereview-Mainreport.pdf> [Accessed 12 February 2017].
- Bender, B. (1993) *Landscape: Politics and perspectives*. Oxford: Berg.
- Bercovitch, J. (2007) Mediation success or failure: a search for the elusive criteria. *Cardozo J. Conflict Resol.*, 7, pp. 289-289.
- Berglund, E. K. (1998) *Knowing Nature, Knowing Science: An ethnography of environmental activism*. Cambridge: White Horse Press.
- Berkes, F., Colding, J. and Folke, C. (2008) *Navigating Social-ecological Systems: Building resilience for complexity and change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bernard, H. (2017) *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*.

- 6th edn. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Bernard, H. R. (2006) *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. 4th edn. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.
- Bernard, H. R. (2013) *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. 2nd edn. London: SAGE Publications.
- Bevington, D. (2012) *The Rebirth of Environmentalism: Grassroots activism from the spotted owl to the polar bear*. Washington, DC: Island Press.
- Bews, N. (2004) *Social Impact Assessments, Theory and Practice Juxtaposed – Experience from a South African rapid rail project*. Johannesburg: RAU, Department of Sociology.
Available at: http://www.socialassessment.co.za/sia_juxtaposed.pdf. [Accessed 03 January 2008].
- Bezzina & Coles (2010) *Masterplan for the Maghtab Environmental Complex. Project Description Statement*. PA02342/06.Valetta: Bezzina & Coles.
- Biggs, S. D. (1989) *Resource-poor Farmer Participation in Research: A synthesis of experiences from nine national agricultural research systems*. The Hague: International Service for National Agricultural Research. Available at:
<http://ebrary.ifpri.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15738coll1/id/92> [Accessed 12 April 2015].
- Blicharska, M., Isaksson, K., Richardson, T. and Wu, C.-J. (2011) Context dependency and stakeholder involvement in EIA: the decisive role of practitioners. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 54(3), pp. 337-354.
- Blouet, B. (1997) *The Story of Malta*. 6th edn. Malta: Progress Press.
- Boissevain, J. (2003) Confronting the tourist industry in Malta. *Mediterranean Ethological Summer School*, 5, pp. 95-113.
- Boissevain, J. (2013) *Factions, Friends and Feasts: Anthropological perspectives on the Mediterranean*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Boissevain, J. and Theuma, N. (1998) Contested space: planners, tourists, developers and environmentalists in Malta. In: S. Abram and J. Waldren, eds. *Anthropological Perspectives on Local Development*. London: Routledge, pp. 96-119.
- Boissevain, J. and Vella, S. (2010) Comments on: *Qala Creek EIA: Social Aspects* by Mario Vassallo: Review by Prof. Jeremy Boissevain, assisted by Steven Vella. Gozo, Malta, Qala Local Council.
- Bojórquez-Tapia, L. A., de la Cueva, H., Díaz, S., Melgarejo, D., Alcantar, G., José Solares, M.

- a., Grobet, G. and Cruz-Bello, G. (2004) Environmental conflicts and nature reserves: redesigning Sierra San Pedro Mártir National Park, Mexico. *Biological Conservation*, 117(2), pp. 111-126.
- Booth, A. and Halseth, G. (2011) Why the public thinks natural resources public participation processes fail: A case study of British Columbia communities. *Land Use Policy*, 28(4), pp. 898-906.
- Boyer, D. (2012) From media anthropology to the anthropology of mediation. In: R. Fardon, ed. *The ASA Handbook of Social Anthropology*. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 411-422.
- Braat, L. C. and de Groot, R. (2012) The ecosystem services agenda: bridging the worlds of natural science and economics, conservation and development, and public and private policy. *Ecosystem Services*, 1(1), pp. 4-15.
- Brandt, H.-J. (1995) The Justice of the Peace as an alternative: experiences with conciliation in Peru. In: M. Rowat, W. H. Malik and M. Dakolias, eds. *Judicial Reform in Latin America and the Caribbean: Proceedings of a World Bank Conference*. Washington, DC: World Bank, pp. 16-18.
- Brash, J. (2011) *Bloomberg's New York: Class and governance in the luxury city*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Briguglio, M. (2010) Malta's Labour Party and the politics of hegemony. *Socialism and Democracy*, 24(2), pp. 213-226. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08854300.2010.481443>.
- Briguglio, M. (2012a) ENGOs, EU accession and empowerment: the case of land rationalisation in Malta. *International Journal of Green Economics*, 6(3)
- Briguglio, M. (2012b) Societies without borders. *Societies Without Borders*, 7(4), pp. 470-477.
- Briguglio, M. (2015) *Ten Years of Malta's EU Membership - The Impact on Maltese Environmental NGOs*. Available at: https://www.um.edu.mt/_data/assets/pdf_file/0004/254713/Michael_Briguglio_Final.pdf. [Accessed 11 January 2016].
- British Academy (2016) *Crossing Paths: Interdisciplinary institutions, careers, education and applications*. London: British Academy.
- Brooks, J. S., Waylen, K. A. and Mulder, M. B. (2012) How national context, project design, and local community characteristics influence success in community-based conservation projects. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 109(52), pp.

21265-21270.

- Brooks, J., Waylen, K. A. and Mulder, M. B. (2013) Assessing community-based conservation projects: a systematic review and multilevel analysis of attitudinal, behavioral, ecological, and economic outcomes. *Environmental Evidence*, 2(1), p. 2.
- Brundtland, G. H. (1987) *Our Common Future: Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bryman, A. (2008) *Social Research Methods*. 3rd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Buckle, L. G. and Thomas-Buckle, S. R. (1986) Placing environmental mediation in context: lessons from “failed” mediations. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 6(1), pp. 55-70.
- Bulkeley, H. and Mol, A. P. J. (2003) Participation and environmental governance: consensus, ambivalence and debate. *Environmental Values*, 12(2), pp. 143-154.
- Bulkens, M., Minca, C. and Muzaini, H. (2015) Storytelling as method in spatial planning. *European Planning Studies*, 23(11), pp. 2310-2326.
- Bull, R., Petts, J. and Evans, J. (2008) Social learning from public engagement: dreaming the impossible? *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 51(5), pp. 701-716.
- Burdge, R. J. (2003) The practice of social impact assessment background. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 21(2), pp. 84-88.
- Burdge, R. J. and Vanclay, F. (1995) Social impact assessment. In: F. Vanclay and D. Bronstein, eds. *Environmental and Social Impact Assessment*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 31-65.
- Burdge, R. J. and Vanclay, F. (1996) Social impact assessment: a contribution to the state of the art series. *Impact Assessment*, 14(1), pp. 59-86.
- Burns, M. and Weaver, A., eds. (2008) *Exploring Sustainability Science: A Southern African perspective*. Stellenbosch: African SUN Media.
- Büscher, B. and de Beer, E. (2011) The contemporary paradox of long-term planning for social-ecological change and its effects on the discourse-practice divide: Evidence from Southern Africa. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 54(3), pp. 301-318.
- Candea, M. (2007) Arbitrary locations: in defence of the bounded field-site. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 13(1), pp. 167-184.
- Carothers, T. and Brechenmacher, S. (2014a) *Accountability, Transparency, Participation, and*

- Inclusion: A New Development Consensus?* Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Available at: http://carnegieendowment.org/files/development_consensus_brief.pdf [Accessed 12 April 2015].
- Carothers, T. and Brechenmacher, S. (2014b) *Closing Space: Democracy and human rights support under fire*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Available at: <http://carnegieeuropa.eu/2014/04/14/closing-space-democracy-and-human-rights-support-under-fire-event-4380> [Accessed 12 April 2015].
- Carneiro, R. L. (1995) *Godzilla Meets New-age Anthropology: Facing the post-modernist challenge to a science of culture*. Cagliari: Edizioni M & T.
- Carneiro, R. L. (2004) Can anthropology be made a science? A retrospective glance. *Ethnos*, 69(2), pp. 268-288
- Carpini, M. X. D., Cook, F. L. and Jacobs, L. R. (2004) Public deliberation, discursive participation, and citizen engagement: A review of the empirical literature. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 7, pp. 315-344.
- Carter, C. (2005) The role of participatory processes in environmental governance: the example of agricultural GMOs. *Partizipation, Öffentlichkeitsbeteiligung, Nachhaltigkeit. Perspektiven der Politischen Ökonomie*, pp. 181-207.
- Carter, C. (2006) *Environmental Governance: The power and pitfalls of participatory processes*. Aberdeen: The Macaulay Institute.
- Cassar, L. F. (2010) *A Landscape Approach to Conservation*. Msida, Malta: Institute of Earth Systems, University of Malta.
- Cassar, L. F., Conrad, E. and Schembri, P. J. (2008) The Maltese archipelago. In: I. Vogiatzakis, G. Pungetti and A. M. Mannion, eds. *Mediterranean Island Landscapes: Natural and cultural approaches*. Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 297-322.
- Cavaye, J. (2003) *Integrating Economic and Social Issues in Regional Natural Resource Management Planning: A framework for regional NRM bodies*. State of Queensland (Queensland Government).
- Chambers, R. (1989) *The State and Rural Development: Ideologies and an agenda for the 1990s*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies (Institute of Development Studies Discussion Paper 269).
- Chambers, R. (1997) *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the first last*. Rugby: Practical Action Publishing.

- Chambers, R. (2002) *Participatory Workshops: A sourcebook of 21 sets of ideas and activities*. London: Earthscan.
- Chapman, D. W. (2006) Applying macro urban morphology to urban design and development planning: Valletta and Floriana. *Urban Morphology*, 10(1), pp. 23-40.
- Chapman, D. W. (2009) Knowing our places? contexts and edges in integrating disciplines in built environment education. *Journal for Education in the Built Environment*, 4(2), pp. 9-28.
- Checker, M. (2009) Anthropology in the public sphere, 2008: emerging trends and significant impacts. *American Anthropologist*, 111(2), pp.162–169.
- Chess, C., Dietz, T. and Shannon, M. (1998) Who should deliberate when? *Human Ecology Review*, 5(1), pp. 45-48.
- Chou, W. H. and Wong, J.-J. (2015) From a disciplinary to an interdisciplinary design research: developing an integrative approach for design. *International Journal of Art & Design Education*, 34(2), pp. 206-223.
- Christensen, H. S. (2011) Political activities on the internet: slacktivism or political participation by other means? *First Monday*, 16(2). Available at: <http://uncommonculture.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/3336/2767> [Accessed 21 June 2017].
- Chubb, J. and Reed, M. (2017) Epistemic responsibility as an edifying force in academic research: investigating the moral challenges and opportunities of an impact agenda in the UK and Australia. *Palgrave Communications*, 3(1), pp. 20-20.
- Chávez, B. V. and Bernal, A. S. (2008) Planning hydroelectric power plants with the public: a case of organizational and social learning in Mexico. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 26(3), pp. 163-176.
- Cleaver, F. (1999) Paradoxes of participation: questioning participatory approaches to development. *Journal of International Development*, 11, pp. 597-612.
- Clegg, S. R. (1989) *Frameworks of Power*. London: Sage Publications.
- Clegg, S. R. and Haugaard, M. (2009) *The SAGE Handbook of Power*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Cobb, S. (1993) Empowerment and mediation: a narrative perspective. *Negotiation Journal*, 9(3), pp. 245-259.
- Code, L. (1995) *Rhetorical Spaces: Essays on gendered locations*. London: Psychology Press.

- Code, L. (2012) Taking subjectivity into account. In: C. W. Ruitenberg and D.C. Phillips, eds. *Education, Culture and Epistemological Diversity: Mapping a disputed terrain*. Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 85-100.
- Cohen, A. P. (2013) *Symbolic Construction of Community*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Cohen, E. (1974) Who is a tourist?: a conceptual clarification. *The Sociological Review*, 22(4), pp. 527-555.
- Colantonio, A., Dixon, T., Ganser, R., Carpenter, J. and Ngombe, A. (2009) Measuring socially sustainable urban regeneration in Europe. *Methodology*, (October), p. 129.
- Colby, W. D., Dobie, R., Leventhall, G., Lipscomb, D. M., McCunney, R. J., Seilo, M. T. and Søndergaard, B. (2009) *Wind Turbine Sound and Health Effects: An expert panel review*. Washington, DC: American Wind Energy Association, Canadian Wind Energy Association.
- Coleman, S. and Collins, P. J., eds. (2006) *Locating the Field: Space, place and context in anthropology*. London: Berg Publishers.
- Collins, K. and Ison, R. (2006) Dare we jump off Arnstein's ladder? social learning as a new policy paradigm. *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 19(6), pp. 358-373.
- Conrad, E. (2012) The European Landscape Convention: challenges of participation. *Landscape Research*, 37(3), pp. 383-385.
- Conrad, E. and Cassar, L. F. (2010) *Perspectives on Landscapes*. Msida, Malta: Institute of Earth Systems, University of Malta.
- Conrad, E., Cassar, L. F., Christie, M. and Fazey, I. (2011a) Hearing but not listening? a participatory assessment of public participation in planning. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 29(5), pp. 761-782.
- Conrad, E., Christie, M. and Fazey, I. (2011b) Is research keeping up with changes in landscape policy? A review of the literature. *Journal of Environmental Management*, 92(9), pp. 2097-2108.
- Conrad, E., Christie, M. and Fazey, I. (2011c) Understanding public perceptions of landscape: A case study from Gozo, Malta. *Applied Geography*, 31(1), pp. 159-170.
- Cooke, B. (2001) The social psychological limits of participation. In: B. Cooke and U. Kothari, eds. *Participation: The new tyranny?* London: Zed Books, pp. 102-121.
- Cooke, B. and Kothari, U., eds. (2001) *Participation: The new tyranny?* London: Zed Books.
- Cooke, B. and Kothari, U., eds. (2002) *Participation: The new tyranny?* 2nd edn. London: Zed

Books.

- Cooper, L. M. and Elliott, J. A. (2000) Public participation and social acceptability in the Philippine EIA process. *Journal of Environmental Assessment Policy and Management*, 2(03), pp. 339-367.
- Corburn, J. (2003) Bringing local knowledge into environmental decision making: Improving urban planning for communities at risk. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 22(4), pp. 420-433.
- Cornwall, A. (2008) Unpacking 'participation': models, meanings and practices. *Community Development Journal*, 43(3), pp. 269-283.
- Cosgrove, D. E. (1998) *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*. 2nd edn. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Cosgrove, D. J., Gilroy, S., Kao, T.-h., Ma, H. and Schultz, J. C. (2000) Plant signaling 2000: cross talk among geneticists, physiologists, and ecologists. *Plant Physiology*, 124(2), pp. 499-506.
- Council of Europe (2000) *European Landscape Convention*. Available at: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/landscape> [Accessed 14 March 2011].
- Cowan, J. K., Åne, M.-B., Dembour, Å. and Wilson, R. A. (2001) *Culture and Rights: Anthropological Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cox, G., Dale, A. P. and Morrison, T. (2000) Social assessment and resource management in Australia. In: A. P. Dale and M. B. Lane, eds. Collingswood: CSIRO Publishing, pp. 74-82.
- Crang, M. and Cook, I. (2007) *Doing Ethnographies*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Creighton, J. L. (1983) The use of values: public participation in the planning process. In: G. A. Daneke, M. W. Garcia and J. Delli Priscoli, eds. *Public Involvement and Social Impact Assessment*. Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 143-160.
- Cundy, A. B., Bardos, R. P., Church, A., Puschenreiter, M., Friesl-Hanl, W., Müller, I., Neu, S., Mench, M., Witters, N. and Vangronsveld, J. (2013) Developing principles of sustainability and stakeholder engagement for "gentle" remediation approaches: the European context. *Journal of Environmental Management*, 129, pp. 283-291.
- Dalakoglou, D. and Harvey, P. (2012) Roads and anthropology: ethnographic perspectives on space, time and (im)mobility. *Mobilities*, 7(4), pp. 459-465.
- Dallimer, M., Irvine, K. N., Skinner, A. M. J., Davies, Z. G., Rouquette, J. R., Maltby, L. L.,

- Warren, P. H., Armsworth, P. R. and Gaston, K. J. (2012) Biodiversity and the feel-good factor: understanding associations between self-reported human well-being and species richness. *BioScience*, 62(1), pp. 47-55.
- Dare, M. L., Vanclay, F. and Schirmer, J. (2012) Public participation in commercial environments: critical reflections on community engagement methods used in the Australian plantation forestry industry. *Australian Forestry*, 75(3), pp. 180-191.
- Das, V. (2007) *Life and Words: Violence and the descent into the ordinary*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Davidson, S. (1998) Spinning the wheel of empowerment. *Planning*, 1262(3), pp. 14-15.
- de Vente, J., Reed, M., Stringer, L., Valente, S. and Newig, J. (2016) How does the context and design of participatory decision making processes affect their outcomes? Evidence from sustainable land management in global drylands. *Ecology and Society*, 21(2). Article 24. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5751/ES-08053-210224>.
- de Vries, J. R. (2014) *Understanding Trust: Longitudinal studies on trust dynamics in governance interactions*. Wageningen: Wageningen University and Research.
- de Vries, J. R., Roodbol-Mekkes, P., Beunen, R., Lokhorst, A. M. and Aarts, N. (2014) Faking and forcing trust: the performance of trust and distrust in public policy. *Land Use Policy*, 38, pp. 282-289.
- Devlin, J. F. and Yap, N. T. (2008) Contentious politics in environmental assessment: blocked projects and winning coalitions. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 26(1), pp. 17-27.
- Devuyt, D., Hens, L. and de Lannoy, W. (2001) *How Green Is the City?: Sustainability assessment and the management of urban environments*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Dewey, J. (1927) *The Public and its Problems*. Chicago: Swallow Press.
- DFID (2009) *How To Note Political Economy Analysis*. London: Department for International Development (DFID Practice Paper). Available at: <http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/po58.pdf>. [Accessed 21 September 2017].
- Diduck, A. and Mitchell, B. (2003) Learning, public involvement and environmental assessment: A Canadian case study. *Journal of Environmental Assessment Policy and Management*, 5(03), pp. 339-364.
- Dietz, T. (1987) Theory and Method in Social Impact Assessment. *Sociological Inquiry*, 57(1), pp. 54-69.

- Dietz, T. and Stern, P. C. (2008) *Public Participation in Environmental Assessment and Decision Making*. Washington, DC: National Research Council, National Academies Press.
- Dipper, B. (1998) Monitoring and post-auditing in environmental impact assessment: a review. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 41(6), pp. 731-747.
- Dobbins, M., Rosenbaum, P., Plews, N., Law, M. and Fysh, A. (2007) Information transfer: what do decision makers want and need from researchers? *Implementation Science*, 2(1), pp. 20-20.
- Doelle, M. and Sinclair, A. J. (2006) Time for a new approach to public participation in EA: promoting cooperation and consensus for sustainability. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 26(2), pp. 185-205.
- Donohue, W. A. (1992) *Managing Interpersonal Conflict*. London: Sage Publications.
- Duncan, J. S. (1990) *The City as Text: The politics of landscape interpretation in the Kandy kingdom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eckersley, R. (1995) Liberal democracy and the rights of nature: The struggle for inclusion. *Environmental Politics*, 4(4), pp. 169-198.
- Eckley, N. (2001) *Designing Effective Assessments: The role of participation, science and governance, and focus*. Copenhagen: European Environment Agency (Environmental issue report 26/2001). Available at: http://reports.eea.eu.int/environmental_issue_report_2001_26/en/issue_26.pdf [Accessed 23 November 2009].
- Edwards, P. and Collinson, M. (2002) Empowerment and managerial labor strategies: Pragmatism regained. *Work and Occupations*, 29(3), pp. 272-299.
- Einstein, A. (1931) *Cosmic Religion With Other Opinions and Aphorisms*. New York: Covici-Friede, Inc.
- Ekberg, M. (2007) The parameters of the risk society: A review and exploration. *Current Sociology*, 55(3), pp. 343-366.
- Elzinga, A. (1981) *Evaluating the Evaluation Game: On the methodology of project evaluation, with special reference to development cooperation*. Stockholm: Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries.
- Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I. and Shaw, L. L. (2011) *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. 2nd edn. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Environmental Impact Regulations* (2007) (Malta) S.L. 356.09, LN 114 of 2007.

Environmental Impact Regulations (2017) (Malta) S.L. 549.46, LN412 of 2017.

'Episode 5: The Man called Noon' (Season 2), *The Shooter* [television programme]. Produced by Spencer Strasmore. Directed by Lukas Ettlin. Perf. Shantel VanSanten. Leverage Entertainment, Closest to the Hole Productions, Universal Cable Productions, et al.. US, 15 August 2017, 63 mins, 00:33:02-00:33:06. Available through <https://www.netflix.com/mt/title/80109194>. [Accessed 18 August 2017].

'Episode 4: Penny and Dime' (Season 2), *Marvel's Daredevil* [television programme online]. Produced by Doug Petrie and Marco Ramirez. Directed by Peter Hoar. Perf. Peter McRobbie. Marvel Television and ABC Studios. US, 18 March 2016, 61 mins, 00:10:20-00:10:46. Available through <https://www.netflix.com/gb/title/80018294>. [Accessed 19 March 2016].

'Episode 2' (Season 3), *The Tunnel: Vengeance* [television programme]. Produced by Ruth Kenley-Letts. Directed by Anders Engström. Perf. Stephen Dilane. Kudos Film and Television/Shine France. UK and France, 14th December 2017, Sky Atlantic, 46 mins, 00:25:04-00:25:09.

Ervin, A. M. (2005) *Applied Anthropology: Tools and perspectives for contemporary practice*. 2nd edn. Boston: Pearson/Allyn and Bacon.

Escobar, A. (1985) Discourse and power in development: Michel Foucault and the relevance of his work to the Third World. *Alternatives*, 10, pp. 377-400.

Escobar, A. (1988) Power and visibility: development and the invention and management of the Third World. *Cultural Anthropology*, 3(4), pp. 428-443.

Escobar, A. (1992) Culture, practice and politics: anthropology and the study of social movements. *Critique of Anthropology*, 12(4), pp. 395-432.

Escobar, A. (2006) An ecology of difference: equality and conflict in a globalized world. *Focaal—European Journal of Anthropology*, 47(47), pp. 120-137.

Esteves, A. M. (2008) Evaluating community investments in the mining sector using multi-criteria decision analysis to integrate SIA with business planning. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 28(4-5), pp. 338-348.

Esteves, A. M., Franks, D. and Vanclay, F. (2012) Social impact assessment: the state of the art. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 30(1), pp. 34-42.

European Commission (2000) Directive 2000/60/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council establishing a framework for the Community action in the field of water policy. *OJ*, L327, 22 December, pp. 1-72.

- European Commission (2004) Directive 2004/35/CE of the European Parliament and of the Council of 21 April 2004 on environmental liability with regard to the prevention and remedying of environmental damage. *OJ*, L143, 30 April, pp 56-84.
- European Commission (2007) Directive 2007/60/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 October 2007 on the assessment and management of flood risks. *OJ*, L288, 6 November, pp. 27-34.
- Everard, M., Reed, M. S. and Kenter, J. O. (2016) The ripple effect: institutionalising pro-environmental values to shift societal norms and behaviours. *Ecosystem Services*, 21, pp. 230-240.
- Eyben, R. (2003) The rise of rights: rights-based approaches to international development. *IDS Policy Briefing*, 17. Available at: <http://www.ids.ac.uk/files/Pb17.pdf> (Accessed 02 June 2016).
- Faguet, J.-P. (2014) Decentralization and governance. *World Development*, 53, pp. 2-13.
- Faguet, J.-P. and Pöschl, C. (2015) *Is Decentralization Good for Development?: Perspectives from Academics and Policy Makers*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Falzon, M. A. (2016) *Multi-Sited Ethnography: Theory, praxis and locality in contemporary research*. London: Routledge.
- Farr, M. (2012) *Understanding Participation and Power Within Collaborative Processes: Jointly involving staff and citizens in changing public services*. Ph. D Thesis. University of Bath. Available at: http://opus.bath.ac.uk/46564/1/Farr_PhD_Thesis_2012.pdf. [Accessed 12 July 2016].
- Fassin, D. (2008) Beyond good and evil? Questioning the anthropological discomfort with morals. *Anthropological Theory*, 8(4), pp. 333-344.
- Fassin, D. and Stoczkowski, W. (2008) Should anthropology be moral? A debate. *Anthropological Theory*, 8(4), pp. 331-332.
- Fazey, I., A. F. J., Joern, F., Kate, S., John, W., F. N. R. and R, D. S. (2007) Adaptive capacity and learning to learn as leverage for social–ecological resilience. *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment*, 5(7), pp. 375-380.
- Fazey, I., Fazey, J. A., Salisbury, J. G., Lindenmayer, D. B. and Dovers, S. (2006) The nature and role of experiential knowledge for environmental conservation. *Environmental Conservation*, 33(1), pp. 1-10.
- Fazey, I., Gamarra, J. G. P., Fischer, J., Reed, M. S., Stringer, L. C. and Christie, M. (2010) Adaptation strategies for reducing vulnerability to future environmental change.

- Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment*, 8(8), pp. 414-422.
- Field, L. and Fox, R. G. (2007) *Anthropology Put To Work*. London: Berg.
- Fiss, O. (1984) Against settlement. *Yale Law Journal*, 93, p. 1073.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (1998a) Habermas and Foucault: thinkers for civil society? *British Journal of Sociology*, pp. 210-233.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (1998b) *Rationality and Power: Democracy in practice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Folke, C. (2006) Resilience: the emergence of a perspective for social–ecological systems analyses. *Global Environmental Change*, 16(3), pp. 253-267.
- Folke, C., Colding, J. and Berkes, F. (2003) *Navigating Social-Ecological Systems Building Resilience For Complexity And Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Forester, J. (1989) *Planning in the Face of Power*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Forester, J. (1999) *The Deliberative Practitioner: Encouraging participatory planning processes*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Forester, J. (2000) Multicultural planning in deed: lessons from the mediation practice of Shirley Solomon and Larry Sherman. In: M. A. Burayidi, ed. *Urban Planning in a Multicultural Society*. Westport, CT: Praeger, pp. 147-168.
- Forester, J. (2009) *Dealing with Differences: Dramas of mediating public disputes*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Forester, J. (2015) Cultivating surprise and the art of the possible. In: S. S. Fainstein and J. de Filippis, eds. *Readings in Planning Theory*. 4th edn. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 363-382.
- Forsythe, D. E. (1999) “It's just a matter of common sense”: ethnography as invisible work. *Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW)*, 8(1-2), pp. 127-145.
- Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977*. Edited by Colin Gordon. Translated [from the French] by Colin Gordon. Brighton: Harvester.
- Foucault, M. (1991) Governmentality. In: G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller, eds. *The Foucault Effect: Studies in governmentality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 87-104.
- Fox, J. A. (2015) Social accountability: what does the evidence really say? *World Development*, 72, pp. 346-361.

- Franks, D. M. and Vanclay, F. (2013) Social impact management plans: innovation in corporate and public policy. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 43, pp. 40-48.
- Fraser, E. D. G., Dougill, A. J., Mabee, W. E., Reed, M. and McAlpine, P. (2006) Bottom up and top down: Analysis of participatory processes for sustainability indicator identification as a pathway to community empowerment and sustainable environmental management. *Journal of Environmental Management*, 78(2), pp. 114-127.
- Freeman, R. E. (1984) *Strategic Management: A stakeholder approach*. Boston, MA: Pitman.
- Freudenburg, W. R. (1986) Social impact assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 12(1), pp. 451-478.
- Frodeman, R. and Dos Santos Pacheco, R. C. (2017) *The Oxford Handbook of Interdisciplinarity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fuller, L. (1971) Mediation: its forms and functions. *Southern California Law Review*, 44, pp. 305-339.
- Fuller, R. A., Irvine, K. N., Devine-Wright, P., Warren, P. H. and Gaston, K. J. (2007) Psychological benefits of greenspace increase with biodiversity. *Biology Letters*, 3(4), pp. 390-394.
- Fung, A. (2004) *Empowered Participation: Reinventing urban democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Fung, A. (2006) Varieties of participation in complex governance. *Public Administration Review*, 66(s1), pp. 66-75.
- Fung, A. (2013) *Empowered Participation: Reinventing urban democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Fung, A. and Wright, E. O. (2003) Thinking about empowered participatory governance. In: A. Fung and E. O. Wright, eds. *Deepening Democracy: Innovations in empowered participatory governance*. London: Verso, pp. 3-44.
- Del Furia, L. and Wallace-Jones, J. (2000) The effectiveness of provisions and quality of practices concerning public participation in EIA in Italy. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 20(4), pp. 457-479.
- Gardner, K. and Lewis, D. (1996) *Anthropology, Development and the Post-Modern Challenge*. London: Pluto Press.
- Garmendia, E. and Stagl, S. (2010) Public participation for sustainability and social learning: Concepts and lessons from three case studies in Europe. *Ecological Economics*, 69(8),

pp. 1712-1722.

- Gasparatos, A. (2007) The argument against a reductionist approach for assessing sustainability. *International Conference on Whole Life Urban Sustainability and its Assessment*, pp. 27-29.
- Gasparatos, A., El-Haram, M. and Horner, M. (2008) A critical review of reductionist approaches for assessing the progress towards sustainability. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 28(4-5), pp. 286-311.
- Gaventa, J. and Barrett, G. (2012) Mapping the outcomes of citizen engagement. *World Development*, 40(12), pp. 2399-2410.
- Gaventa, J. and Cornwall, A. (2006) Challenging the Boundaries of the Possible: Participation, Knowledge and Power. *IDS Bulletin*, 37(6), pp. 122-128.
- Geertz, C. (1973) *The Interpretation Of Cultures*. London: Basic Books.
- Gerrits, L. and Edelenbos, J. (2004) Management of sediments through stakeholder involvement. *Journal of Soils and Sediments*, 4(4), pp. 239-246.
- Ghai, D. and Vivian, J. M. (2014) *Grassroots Environmental Action: People's participation in sustainable development*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Gigler, B.-S. and Bailur, S. (2014) *Closing the Feedback Loop: Can technology bridge the accountability gap?* Washington, DC: World Bank Publications.
- Ginsborg, P. (2005) *The Politics of Everyday Life: Making choices, changing lives*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Glaser, B. G. and Strauss, A. L. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Aldine.
- Glasson, J. and Wood, G. (2009) Urban regeneration and impact assessment for social sustainability. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 27(4), pp. 283-290.
- Glucker, A. N., Driessen, P. P. J., Kolhoff, A. and Runhaar, H. A. C. (2013) Public participation in environmental impact assessment: why, who and how? *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 43, pp. 104-111.
- Goffman, E. (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. 18th edn. New York: Anchor Books.
- Goffman, E. (1997) *The Goffman Reader*. Edited and with preface and introduction by Charles

- Lemert and Ann Branaman. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Goh, B. C. (2001) Remedies in Chinese dispute resolution. *Bond L. Rev.*, 13(7), p. i.
- Goldman, L. R. (2000) *Social Impact: An applied anthropology manual*. Oxford: Berg.
- Golobič, M. (2005) Are wind farms a problematic project? *Urbani Izziv*, 16(1), pp. 156-160.
- González, R. J. and Stryker, R. (2014) *Up, Down, and Sideways: Anthropologists trace the pathways of power*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Gow, D. D. (1996) The anthropology of development: discourse, agency and culture. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 69(3), pp. 165-173.
- Grandvoinnet, H., Aslam, G. and Raha, S. (2015) *Opening the Black Box: The contextual drivers of social accountability*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Gray, S., Chan, A., Clark, D. and Jordan, R. (2012) Modeling the integration of stakeholder knowledge in social–ecological decision-making: benefits and limitations to knowledge diversity. *Ecological Modelling*, 229, pp. 88-96.
- Grimshaw, A. and Ravetz, A. (2005) *Visualizing Anthropology*. Bristol: Intellect Books.
- Grimshaw, A. and Ravetz, A. (2009) *Observational Cinema: Anthropology, film, and the exploration of social life*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Grimshaw, A. and Ravetz, A. (2015) Drawing with a camera? ethnographic film and transformative anthropology. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 21(2), pp. 255-275.
- Grindle, M. S. (2007) Good enough governance revisited. *Development Policy Review*, 25(5), pp. 533-574.
- Grove-White, R. (1993) A new moral discourse for technological society? In: K. Melton, ed. *Environmentalism: The view from anthropology*. London: Routledge, pp. 17-28.
- Grunig, J. E. (1983) *Communication Behaviors and Attitudes of Environmental Publics: Two studies*. Columbia, SC: Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (Journalism and Communication Monographs No. 81).
- Grunig, J. E. (1997) A situational theory of publics: conceptual history, recent challenges and new research. In: D. Moss, T. MacManus and D. Verčič, eds. *Public Relations Research: An international perspective*. Boston, MA: International Thomson Business Press, pp. 3-48.
- Guijt, I. and Shah, M. K. (1998) *The Myth of Community: Gender issues in participatory development*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

- Gupta, A. and Ferguson, J., eds. (1997) *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in critical anthropology*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Gusterson, H. (1997) Studying up revisited. *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review*, 20(1), pp. 114-119.
- Habermas, J. (1983) *The Theory of Communicative Action, Volume I*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Habermas, J. (1996) Three normative models of democracy. In: S. Benhabib, ed. *Democracy and Difference: Contesting boundaries of the political*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 21-30.
- Hackenberg, R. A. and Hackenberg, B. (2004) Notes toward a new future: applied anthropology in century XXI. *Human Organization*, 63(4), pp. 385-399.
- Hacking, T. and Guthrie, P. (2008) A framework for clarifying the meaning of Triple Bottom-Line, Integrated, and Sustainability Assessment. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 28(2-3), pp. 73-89.
- Hadorn, G. H., Pohl, C., Hoffmann-Riem, H., Biber-Klemm, S., Wiesmann, U., Grossenbacher-Mansuy, W., Zemp, E. and Joye, D., eds. (2008) *Handbook of Transdisciplinary Research*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Hailey, J. (2002) Beyond the formulaic: process and practice in South Asian NGOs. In: B. Cooke and U. Kothari, eds. *Participation: The new tyranny?* London: Zed Books, pp. 88-101.
- Hajer, M. A. and Wagenaar, H. (2003) *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding governance in the network society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hale, C. R. (2006) Activist research v. cultural critique: indigenous land rights and the contradictions of politically engaged anthropology. *Cultural Anthropology*, 21(1), pp. 96-120.
- Hallam, E. and Ingold, T. (2007) *Creativity and Cultural Improvisation*. Oxford: Berg.
- Halstead, N. (2008) Introduction. Experiencing the ethnographic present: knowing through 'crisis'. In: N. Halstead, E. Hirsch and J. Okely, eds. *Knowing How to Know: Fieldwork and the ethnographic present*. New York: Berghahn Books, pp. 1-20.
- Halstead, N., Hirsch, E. and Okely, J. (2008) *Knowing How to Know: Fieldwork and the ethnographic present*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Handelman, D. (1994) Critiques of anthropology: literary turns, slippery bends. *Poetics Today*,

15(3), pp. 341-381.

- Hansen, B. (1994) *Report on the Seminar on Integration of Indigenous Peoples and Their Knowledge*. Reykjavik/Copenhagen: Ministry for the Environment/Ministry of the Environment/Home Rule of Greenland (Denmark Office).
- Harris, M. (2007) *Ways of Knowing: New approaches in the anthropology of experience and learning*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Harris, M. and Rapport, N. (2015) *Reflections on Imagination: Human capacity and ethnographic method*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- Hartley, N. and Wood, C. (2005) Public participation in environmental impact assessment—implementing the Aarhus Convention. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 25(4), pp. 319-340.
- Hastrup, K. (2005) Social anthropology. Towards a pragmatic enlightenment? *Social Anthropology*, 13(2), pp. 133-149.
- Healey, P. (1995) Discourse of integration: making frameworks for democratic urban planning. In: P. Healey, S. Cameron, S. Davoudi, S. Graham and A. Madani-Pour, eds. *Managing Cities: The new urban context*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 251-272.
- Healey, P., ed. (1997) *Managing Cities: The new urban context*. New York: Wiley.
- Healey, P. (1998) Building institutional capacity through collaborative approaches to urban planning. *Environment and Planning A*, 30(9), pp. 1531-1546.
- Healey, P. (2003) Collaborative planning in perspective. *Planning Theory*, 2(2), pp. 101-123.
- Healey, P. (2006) *Urban Complexity and Spatial Strategies: Towards a relational planning for our times*. London: Routledge.
- Healey, P. (2009) The pragmatic tradition in planning thought. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 28(3), pp. 277-292.
- Healey, P. (2010) *Making Better Places: The planning project in the twenty-first century*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Heller, P. (2001) Moving the state: the politics of democratic decentralization in Kerala, South Africa, and Porto Alegre. *Politics & Society*, 29(1), pp. 131-163.
- Helming, K., Diehl, K., Geneletti, D. and Wiggering, H. (2013) Mainstreaming ecosystem services in European policy impact assessment. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 40, pp. 82-87.
- Henke, H. (1997) The rise of industrial Asia and its implications for the developing world: a

- perspective from the Caribbean. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 51(1), pp. 53-72.
- Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2010) *Mixed Methods Research: Merging theory with practice*. New York: Guilford Publications.
- Heyman, R. (2004) Inventing geography: writing as a social justice pedagogy. *Journal of Geography*, 103(4), pp. 139-152.
- Hockey, J. and Forsey, M. (2012) Ethnography is not participant observation: reflections on the interview as participatory qualitative research. In: J. Skinner, ed. *The Interview: An ethnographic approach*. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 69-87.
- Hoff, J. and Gausset, Q., eds. (2015) *Community Governance and Citizen-driven Initiatives in Climate Change Mitigation*. London: Routledge.
- Hoffman, K. E. (2009) Culture as text: hazards and possibilities of Geertz's literary/literacy metaphor. *The Journal of North African Studies*, 14(3/4), pp. 417-430.
- Holm, D., Ritchie, L., Snyman, K. and Sunderland, C. (2013) Social impact management: a review of current practice in Queensland, Australia. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 31(3), pp. 214-219.
- Holmes, T. and Scoones, I. (2000) *Participatory Environmental Policy Processes: Experiences from North and South*. Brighton: University of Sussex, Institute of Development Studies (IDS Working Paper 113). Available at: <https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/123456789/3445/Wp113.pdf> [Accessed 15 October 2017].
- Holmes, T. and Scoones, I. (2001) Participatory environmental policy processes: experiences from north and south. *PLA Notes*, 40, pp. 76-78.
- Hooghe, L. and Marks, G. (2003) Unraveling the central state, but how?: types of multi-level governance. *American Political Science Review*, 97(2), pp. 233-243.
- Howard, A. (1976) The great participation fallacy. *The Planner*, 62(6), pp. 163-164.
- Hysing, E. (2013) Representative democracy, empowered experts, and citizen participation: visions of green governing. *Environmental Politics*, 22(6), pp. 955-974.
- IAIA (2015) *IAIA 15 Conference Proceedings - Impact Assessment in the Digital Era*. Florence, Italy, 20-23 April 2015. Available at: <http://conferences.iaia.org/2015/> [Accessed 23 September 2017].
- Ikegami, E. (2000) A sociological theory of publics: identity and culture as emergent

- properties in networks. *Social Research*, pp. 989-1029.
- Inda, J. X. and Rosaldo, R., eds. (2007) *The Anthropology of Globalization: A reader*. 2nd revised edn. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Ingold, T., ed. (1996) *Key Debates in Anthropology*. London: Routledge.
- Ingold, T. (2002) *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill*. London: Routledge.
- Ingold, T. (2005) Comments on Christopher Tilley: The Materiality of Stone: Explorations in landscape phenomenology. Oxford: Berg, 2004. *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 38(2), pp. 122-129.
- Ingram, H. (2013) No universal remedies: design for contexts. *Water International*, 38(1), pp. 6-11.
- Ingram, J. (2008) Are farmers in England equipped to meet the knowledge challenge of sustainable soil management? An analysis of farmer and advisor views. *Journal of Environmental Management*, 86(1), pp. 214-228.
- Innes, J. E. (1995) Planning theory's emerging paradigm: communicative action and interactive practice. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 14(3), pp. 183-189.
- Ioris, A. A. R. (2012) The neoliberalization of water in Lima, Peru. *Political Geography*, 31(5), pp. 266-278.
- Irvin, R. A. (2005) State regulation of non-profit organizations: accountability regardless of outcome. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 34(2), pp. 161-178.
- Irvine, K. N., O'Brien, L., Ravenscroft, N., Cooper, N., Everard, M., Fazey, I., Reed, M. S. and Kenter, J. O. (2016) Ecosystem services and the idea of shared values. *Ecosystem Services*, 21, pp. 184-193.
- Ison, R. and Watson, D. (2007) Illuminating the possibilities for social learning in the management of Scotland's water. *Ecology and Society*, 12(1), p. 21.
- Ison, R., Röling, N. and Watson, D. (2007) Challenges to science and society in the sustainable management and use of water: investigating the role of social learning. *Environmental Science & Policy*, 10(6), pp. 499-511
- Janowski, M. and Ingold, T. (2012) *Imagining Landscapes*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.
- Johnson, L., Becker, S. A., Cummins, M., Estrada, V., Freeman, A. and Ludgate, H. (2012) *NMC Horizon Report: 2012 higher education edition*. Austin, TX: New Media Consortium.

- Johnson, N., Lilja, N., Ashby, J. A. and Garcia, J. A. (2004) The practice of participatory research and gender analysis in natural resource management. *Natural Resources Forum*, 28(3), pp. 189-200.
- Kapoor, I. (2001) Towards participatory environmental management? *Journal of Environmental Management*, 63(3), pp. 269-279.
- Karjalainen, T. P. and Järvikoski, T. (2010) Negotiating river ecosystems: impact assessment and conflict mediation in the cases of hydro-power construction. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 30(5), pp. 319-327.
- Karjalainen, T. P., Marttunen, M., Sarkki, S. and Rytönen, A.-M. (2013) Integrating ecosystem services into environmental impact assessment: an analytic–deliberative approach. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 40, pp. 54-64.
- Kaur, S. (2007) *Applications of Anthropology: Meaning of applied action and development anthropology*. Available at: <https://www.upscsuccess.com/sites/default/files/documents/PDF%2B11.1MeaningOfApplied.pdf> [Accessed 30 June 2014].
- Keesing, R. M., Crick, M., Frankel, B., Friedman, J., Hatch, E., Oosten, J. G., Pinxten, R., Rousseau, J. and Strathern, M. (1987) Anthropology as interpretive quest [and comments and reply]. *Current Anthropology*, 28(2), pp. 161-176.
- Kelman, H. C. (2008) Reconciliation from a social-psychological perspective. In: A. Nadler, T. E. Malloy and J. D. Fisher, eds. *Social Psychology of Intergroup Reconciliation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 15-32.
- Kelman, I. (2008) Learning from disaster management diplomacy. In: *Proceedings of the International Conference on Climate Change Diplomacy*. Valletta, Malta, 7 February.
- Kennedy, D. (1997) *A Critique of Adjudication [fin de siècle]*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kenter, J. O., O'Brien, L., Hockley, N., Ravenscroft, N., Fazey, I., Irvine, K. N., Reed, M. S., Christie, M., Brady, E. and Bryce, R. (2015) What are shared and social values of ecosystems? *Ecological Economics*, 111, pp. 86-99.
- Kenter, J. O., Reed, M. S. and Fazey, I. (2016) The deliberative value formation model. *Ecosystem Services*, 21, pp. 194-207.
- Kim, J.-N. and Grunig, J. E. (2011) Problem solving and communicative action: a situational theory of problem solving. *Journal of Communication*, 61(1), pp. 120-149.
- Kim, J.-N. and Krishna, A. (2014) Publics and lay informatics: a review of the situational

- theory of problem solving. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 38(1), pp. 71-105.
- Kim, J.-N. and Lee, S. (2014) Communication and cybercoping: coping with chronic illness through communicative action in online support networks. *Journal of Health Communication*, 19(7), pp. 775-794.
- Kim, J.-N., Shen, H. and Morgan, S. E. (2011) Information behaviors and problem chain recognition effect: applying situational theory of problem solving in organ donation issues. *Health Communication*, 26(2), pp. 171-184.
- Kok, K. and van Delden, H. (2009) Combining two approaches of integrated scenario development to combat desertification in the Guadalentin watershed, Spain. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 36(1), pp. 49-66.
- Kontić, B. and Dermol, U. (2015) Confronting reality in strategic environmental assessment in Slovenia — costs and benefits. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 50, pp. 42-52.
- Kriebel, D., Tickner, J., Epstein, P., Lemons, J., Levins, R., Loechler, E. L., Quinn, M., Rudel, R., Schettler, T. and Stoto, M. (2001) The precautionary principle in environmental science. *Environmental Health Perspectives*, 109(9), pp. 871-876.
- Kumar, P., Esen, S. E. and Yashiro, M. (2013) Linking ecosystem services to strategic environmental assessment in development policies. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 40, pp. 75-81.
- Kunreuther, H. (1996) Mitigating disaster losses through insurance. *Journal of Risk and Uncertainty*, 12(2-3), pp. 171-187.
- Lane, M. B. and Corbett, T. (2005) The tyranny of localism: indigenous participation in community-based environmental management. *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning*, 7(2), pp. 141-159.
- Lane, M. B., Ross, H., Dale, A. P. and Rickson, R. E. (2003) Sacred land, mineral wealth, and biodiversity at Coronation Hill, Northern Australia: indigenous knowledge and SIA. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 21(2), pp. 89-98.
- Lansing, J. S. (2003) Complex adaptive systems. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 32(1), pp. 183-204.
- Larson, K. L. and Lach, D. (2008) Participants and non-participants of place-based groups: an assessment of attitudes and implications for public participation in water resource management. *Journal of Environmental Management*, 88(4), pp. 817-830.

- Latour, B. and Woolgar, S. (1979) *Laboratory Life: The construction of scientific facts*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Lavenda, R. H. and Schultz, E. A. (2015) *Anthropology: What does it mean to be human?* 3rd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lawrence, D. P. (2013) *Impact Assessment*. 2nd edn. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Leach, E. (1967) An anthropologist's reflections on a social survey. In: D. Jongmans and P. Gutkind, eds. *Anthropologists in the Field*. Assen: Van Gorcum, pp. 75-88.
- Leach, J. (2011) The self of the scientist, material for the artist: emergent distinctions in an interdisciplinary collaboration. *Social Analysis*, 55(3), pp. 143-163.
- Lees, J. (2008) A practitioner researcher's view of academic life, emancipation, and transformation. In: J. Lees and D. Freshwater, eds. *Practitioner-based Research: Power, discourse and transformation*. London: Karnac, pp. 1-18.
- Leighninger, M. (2014) What we're talking about when we talk about the "civic field" (and why we should clarify what we mean). *Journal of Public Deliberation*, 10(1) Article 8. Available at: <https://www.publicdeliberation.net/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1327&context=jpd> [Accessed 10 June 2016].
- Lemon, M., Jeffrey, P., McIntosh, B. S. and Oxley, T. I. M. (2004) Understanding perceptions of change: A pathways contribution to community consultation and environmental decision-making. *Journal of Environmental Assessment Policy and Management*, 6(02), pp. 189-211.
- Lewellen, T. C. (2002) The anthropology of globalization: cultural anthropology enters the 21st century. *American Anthropologist*, 1, p. 745.
- Lewellen, T. C. (2006) The anthropology of development and globalization: from classical political economy to contemporary neo-liberalism: the anthropology of development and globalization: from classical political economy to contemporary neo-liberalism. *American Anthropologist*, 108(1), pp. 240-241.
- Lewis, D. (2005) Anthropology and development: the uneasy relationship. In: J. G. Carrier, eds. *A Handbook of Economic Anthropology*, pp. 472-486.
- Liu, J., Dietz, T., Carpenter, S. R., Alberti, M., Folke, C., Moran, E., Pell, A. N., Deadman, P., Kratz, T. and Lubchenco, J. (2007) Complexity of coupled human and natural systems. *Science*, 317(5844), pp. 1513-1516.
- Liu, S., Proctor, W. and Cook, D. (2010) Using an integrated fuzzy set and deliberative multi-

- criteria evaluation approach to facilitate decision-making in invasive species management. *Ecological Economics*, 69(12), pp. 2374-2382.
- Liu, S., Sheppard, A., Kriticos, D. and Cook, D. (2011) Incorporating uncertainty and social values in managing invasive alien species: a deliberative multi-criteria evaluation approach. *Biological Invasions*, 13(10), pp. 2323-2337.
- Lockie, S. (2001) SIA in review: setting the agenda for impact assessment in the 21st century. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 19(4), pp. 277-287.
- Lockie, S., Franetovich, M., Sharma, S. and Rolfe, J. (2008) Democratisation versus engagement? Social and economic impact assessment and community participation in the coal mining industry of the Bowen Basin, Australia. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 26(3), pp. 177-187.
- Low, S. M. and Lawrence-Zúñiga, D. (2003) *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating culture*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lukes, S. (2005) *Power: A radical view*. 2nd edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lundvall, B.-ä. and Johnson, B. (1994) The learning economy. *Journal of Industry Studies*, 1(2), pp. 23-42.
- Lynam, T., de Jong, W., Sheil, D., Kusumanto, T. and Evans, K. (2007) A review of tools for incorporating community knowledge, preferences, and values into decision making in natural resources management. *Ecology and Society*, 12(1) Article 5. Available at: <http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol12/iss1/art5/> [Accessed 23 July 2016].
- MacDougall, D. (1997) The visual in anthropology. In: M. Banks and H. Morphy, eds. *Rethinking Visual Anthropology*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, pp. 276-295.
- MacDougall, D. (1998) *Transcultural Cinema*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Madden, R. (2017) *A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Ethnography*. 2nd edn. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Maggio, R. (2014) The anthropology of storytelling and the storytelling of anthropology. *Journal of Comparative Research in Anthropology and Sociology*, 5(2), pp. 89-106.
- Makhzoumi, J. and Pungetti, G. (2008) Landscape strategies. In: I. Vogiatzakis, G. Pungetti and Mannion A. M, eds. *Mediterranean Island Landscapes: Natural and cultural approaches*. Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 325-348.
- Malina, M. A., Nørreklit, H. S. O. and Selto, F. H. (2011) Lessons learned: advantages and disadvantages of mixed method research. *Qualitative Research in Accounting &*

Management, 8(1), pp. 59-71.

Malinowski, B. (1932) *The Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea. With a Preface by Sir James George Frazer*. London: Routledge & Sons, Ltd.. Available at <https://ia802703.us.archive.org/3/items/argonautsofthewe032976mbp/argonautsofthewe032976mbp.pdf>. [Accessed 12 March 2013].

Malta Environmental and Planning Authority (MEPA) (2006) *Master Plan for the Magħtab Environmental Complex, l/o Naxxar*. PA 02342/06 (GF 00121/06). Naxxar. Floriana: MEPA.

Malta Environmental and Planning Authority (MEPA) (2008) *Reconstruction and Upgrading of Coast Road from Junction NA11 to NA10 Naxxar and Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq*. PA 03883/08. Naxxar. Floriana: MEPA.

Malta Environmental and Planning Authority (MEPA) (2009) *Widening and Realignment of Coast Road from Baħar iċ-Ċagħaq, Naxxar to St Paul's Bay*. PA 03758/09. Naxxar and St Paul's Bay. Floriana: MEPA.

Malta Environmental and Planning Authority (MEPA) (2010) Development of coastal defences against wave incidence on shore for Marsalforn Bay including: beach nourishment; construction of groin; upgrade of storm water channel and construction of submerged breakwater. PA/04905/10. Marsalforn, Żebbuġ, Gozo. Floriana: MEPA.

Malta Environment and Planning Authority (MEPA) (2004) *Landscape Assessment Study of the Maltese Islands*. Floriana: MEPA.

Malta Transport Authority (2004) *Feasibility and Environmental Impact Studies for Transport Infrastructure Projects in Malta. Final Feasibility Study Report*. Available at: <http://www.transport.gov.mt/admin/uploads/media-library/files/TINA%20Final%20Feasibility%20Study%20Report%20-%20Malta%20-%20Nov%202004.pdf> [Accessed 10 June 2011]

Malta Environment and Planning Authority (MEPA) (2006) *Central Malta Local Plan*. Floriana: MEPA. Available at: <https://www.pa.org.mt/en/local-plan-details/central-malta-local-plan> [Accessed 05 April 2007]

Mannik, L. and McGarry, K. (2017) *Practicing Ethnography: A student guide to method and methodology*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Manroth, A., Hernandez, Z., Masud, H., Zakhour, J., Rebolledo, M., Mahmood, S. A.,

- Seyedian, A., Hamad, Q. and Peixoto, T. (2014) *Strategic Framework for Mainstreaming Citizen Engagement in World Bank Group Operations: Engaging with citizens for improved results*. Washington, DC. Available at: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/266371468124780089/Strategic-framework-for-mainstreaming-citizen-engagement-in-World-Bank-Group-operations-engaging-with-citizens-for-improved-results>. [Accessed 21 June 2017].
- Mansuri, G. and Rao, V. (2012) *Localizing Development: Does Participation Work?* Washington, D.C.: The World Bank. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1596/978-0-8213-8256-1>.
- Marchington, M., Goodman, J., Wilkinson, A. and Ackers, P. (1992) *New Developments in Employee Involvement*. Moorfoot, Sheffield: Department of Employment. (Department of Employment Research Series No. 2).
- Marcus, G. E. (1995) Ethnography in/of the world system: the emergence of multi-sited ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24(1), pp. 95-117.
- Marcus, G. E. (2002) Beyond Malinowski and after writing culture: on the future of cultural anthropology and the predicament of ethnography. *Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 13(2), p. 191.
- Marcus, G. E. (2008) The end(s) of ethnography: social/cultural anthropology's signature form of producing knowledge in transition. *Cultural Anthropology*, 23(1), pp. 1-14.
- Marcus, G. E. (2012) Classic fieldwork, critique and engaged anthropology: into the new century. *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures*, 21(2), pp. 35-42.
- Marcus, G. E. and Okely, J. (2007) 'How short can fieldwork be?'. *Social Anthropology*, 15(3), pp. 353-357.
- Marsden, G. and Stead, D. (2011) Policy transfer and learning in the field of transport: a review of concepts and evidence. *Transport Policy*, 18(3), pp. 492-500.
- May, T. (2011) *Social Research: Issues, methods and process*. 4th edn. Berkshire: Open University Press.
- Mayoux, L. and Chambers, R. (2005) Reversing the paradigm: quantification, participatory methods and pro-poor impact assessment. *Journal of International Development*, 17(2), pp. 271-298.
- McCabe, A. (2010) Below the radar in a big society? reflections on community engagement, empowerment and social action in a changing policy context. *Third Sector Research Centre*, 51(December), pp. 1-20.
- McDonald, M. (1993) The construction of difference: an anthropological approach to

- stereotypes. In: S. MacDonald, ed. *Inside European Identities: Ethnography in Western Europe*. Oxford: St. Martin's Press, pp. 219-236.
- McEvoy, K. and McGregor, L. (2008) *Transitional Justice from Below: Grassroots activism and the struggle for change*. Oxford: Hart Publishing.
- McGee, R. and Gaventa, J. (2011) Shifting power? assessing the impact of transparency and accountability initiatives. *IDS Working Papers*, 2011(383), pp. 1-39.
- McKeever, B. W., Pressgrove, G., McKeever, R. and Zheng, Y. (2016) Toward a theory of situational support: a model for exploring fundraising, advocacy and organizational support. *Public Relations Review*, 42(1), pp. 219-222.
- Meidinger, E. and Schnaiberg, A. (1980) Social impact assessment as evaluation research. *Evaluation Review*, 4(4), pp. 507-535.
- Meijers, E., Waterhout, B. and Zonneveld, W. (2007) Closing the gap: territorial cohesion through polycentric development. *European Journal of Spatial Development*, (24), pp. 1-24.
- Meinig, D. W. (1979) *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical essays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mels, T. (2003) Landscape unmasked: Kenneth Olwig and the ghostly relations between concepts. *Cultural Geographies*, 10(3), pp. 379-387.
- Mels, T. (2005) Between 'patial' imaginations and spatial rationalities: navigating justice and law in the Low Countries. *Landscape Research*, 30(3), pp. 321-335.
- Mels, T. (2016) The trouble with representation: landscape and environmental justice. *Landscape Research*, 41(4), pp. 417-424.
- Menkel-Meadow, C. (2000) Mothers and fathers of invention: the intellectual founders of ADR. *Ohio St. J. Disp. Resol.*, 16, p. 1.
- Menkel-Meadow, C. (1993) Lawyer negotiations: theories and realities — what we learn from mediation. *The Modern Law Review*, 56(3), pp. 361-379.
- Menocal, A. R. (2013) Aid and fragility: the challenges of building peaceful and effective states. In: D. Chandler and T. D. Sisk, eds. *The Routledge Handbook of International Statebuilding*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 387-399.
- Menocal, A. R. (2014) *Getting Real About Politics: From thinking politically to working differently*. London: ODI.
- Menocal, A. R. (2015) *Inclusive Political Settlements: Evidence, gaps, and challenges of institutional*

- transformation. Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department. Available at: <http://www.dlprog.org/publications/inclusive-political-settlements-evidence-gaps-and-challenges-of-institutional-transformation.php> [Accessed 14 April 2016].
- Menocal, A. R., Taxell, N., Johnsen, S. J., Schmaljohann, M., Montero, A. G., De Simone, F., Dupuy, K. and Tobias, J. (2015) *Why Corruption Matters: Understanding causes, effects and how to address them*. London: DFID (Evidence Paper on Corruption).
- Meyer, B. (2011) Mediation and immediacy: sensational forms, semiotic ideologies and the question of the medium. *Social Anthropology*, 19(1), pp. 23-39.
- Michels, A. and De Graaf, L. (2010) Examining citizen participation: local participatory policy making and democracy. *Local Government Studies*, 36(4), pp. 477-491.
- Mickelson, W. and Harrington, J. (2009) Fostering storytelling: a qualitative approach to enhance questionnaire development. In: *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the American Association for Public Opinion Association*. Fontainebleau Resort, Miami Beach, FL., 25 May 2009. Available at: http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p17157_index.html [Accessed 22 July 2017].
- Miklavcic, A. and LeBlanc, M. N. (2014) Culture brokers, clinically applied ethnography, and cultural mediation. In: L. Kirmayer, J. Guzder and C. Rousseau, eds. *Cultural Consultation: Encountering the other in mental health care*. New York: Springer New York, pp. 115-137.
- Miller, T., Baird, T., Littlefield, C., Kofinas, G., Chapin Iii, F. S. and Redman, C. (2008) Epistemological pluralism: reorganizing interdisciplinary research, ecology and society. *Ecology and Society*, 13(2). Article 46. Available at: <http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol13/iss2/art46/> [Accessed 3 September 2017].
- Milton, K. (1993) *Environmentalism: The view from anthropology*. London: Routledge.
- Milton, K. (1996) *Environmentalism and Cultural Theory: Exploring the role of anthropology in environmental discourse*. London: Routledge.
- Ministry for Resources and Rural Affairs (2011) *Proposed Coastal Sea Defences in Marsalforn, Gozo. Project Description Statement*. PA4905/2010. Floriana: Ministry for Resources and Rural Affairs, Marine & Storm Water Unit.
- Mitchell, C. R. and Webb, K. (1988) *New Approaches to International Mediation*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Mitchell, D. (1995) There's no such thing as culture: towards a reconceptualization of the

- idea of culture in geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 20(1), pp. 102-116.
- Mitchell, D. (2003) Cultural landscapes: just landscapes or landscapes of justice? *Progress in Human Geography*, 27(6), pp. 787-796.
- Mitchell, J. P. (1998a) An island in between: Malta, identity and anthropology. *South European Society and Politics*, 3(1), pp. 142-149.
- Mitchell, J. P. (1998b) The nostalgic construction of community: memory and social identity in Urban Malta. *Ethnos*, 63(1), pp. 81-101.
- Mitchell, J. P. (2002) *Ambivalent Europeans: Ritual, memory and the public sphere in Malta*. London: Routledge.
- Mitchell, R. K., Agle, B. R. and Wood, D. J. (1997) Toward a theory of stakeholder identification and salience: defining the principle of who and what really counts. *The Academy of Management Review*, 22(4), pp. 853-886.
- Mitchell, W. J. T. (2002) *Landscape and Power*. 2nd edn. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mohan, G. (1999) Not so distant, not so strange: the personal and the political in participatory research. *Ethics, Place & Environment*, 2(1), pp. 41-54.
- Mohan, G. (2002) The disappointments of civil society: the politics of NGO intervention in northern Ghana. *Political Geography*, 21(1), pp. 125-154.
- Mohan, G. (2007) Participatory development: from epistemological reversals to active citizenship. *Geography Compass*, 1, pp. 1-18.
- Mohan, G. (2014) Participatory development. In: V. Desai and R. B. Potter, eds. *The Companion to Development Studies*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 131-136.
- Molland, S. (2014) Anthropology and development: culture, morality and politics in a globalised world. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 50(2), pp. 345-346.
- Moore, S. F. (2000) *Law as Process: An anthropological approach*. 2nd edn. Hamburg: James Currey Publishers, LIT Verlag with the IAI.
- Moore, S. F. (2004) *Law and Anthropology: A reader*. Malden, MD: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Moran, E. (2006) *People and Nature: An introduction to human ecological relations*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Moran, E. F. (2017) *People and Nature: An introduction to human ecological relations*. 2nd edn. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

- Morell, M. (2008) *Paisatges D'urbanització i Ciutadania. Etnografia i anàlisi política de la valorització d'entorns urbans en la ciutat neoliberal: El cas de Tigné (Sliema, Malta)*. Thesis. Universitat de les Illes Balears. Available at: http://ibdigital.uib.es/greenstone/collect/memoriesUIB/archives/Morell_T.dir/Morell_Tipper_MarcAndreu.pdf [Accessed 22 October 2014].
- Morrison-Saunders, A. and Early, G. (2008) What is necessary to ensure natural justice in environmental impact assessment decision-making? *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 26(1), pp. 29-42.
- Mosse, D. (2002) 'People's knowledge', participation and patronage: operations and representations in rural development. In: B. Cooke and U. Kothari, eds. *Participation: The new tyranny?* 2nd edn. London: Zed Books, pp. 16-35.
- Mythen, G. (2004) *Ulrich Beck: A critical introduction to the risk society*. London: Pluto Press.
- Nabatchi, T. and Leighninger, M. (2015) *Public Participation for 21st Century Democracy*. Hoboken, NJ: Jossey-Bass.
- Nader, L. (1972) Up the anthropologist - perspectives gained from studying up. In: D. Hymes, ed. *Reinventing Anthropology*. 2nd edn. New York: Random House, pp. 284-311.
- Nader, L. and Todd, H. F. (1978) *The Disputing Process: Law in ten societies*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- National Commission for Sustainable Development (2004) *A Draft Sustainable Strategy for Malta*. Available at: http://msdec.gov.mt/en/sustainabledevelopment/Documents/Sustainable_Development_Strategy_-_July_2004.pdf [Accessed 10 June 2008].
- National Research Council (1996) *Understanding Risk: Informing decisions in a democratic society*. Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press.
- National Research Council (2005) *Valuing Ecosystem Services: toward better environmental decision-making*. Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press.
- National Statistics Office (2016) *Demographic Review 2014*. Available at: [https://nso.gov.mt/en/publicatons/Publications_by_Unit/Documents/C5_Population and Migration Statistics/Demographic_Review_2014.pdf](https://nso.gov.mt/en/publicatons/Publications_by_Unit/Documents/C5_Population_and_Migration_Statistics/Demographic_Review_2014.pdf). [Accessed 05 September 2016].
- Nelson, D. R. and Finan, T. J. (2009) Praying for drought: persistent vulnerability and the politics of patronage in Ceará, Northeast Brazil. *American Anthropologist*, 111(3), pp. 302-316.

- Nelson, N. and Wright, S. (1995) Participation and power. In: N. Nelson and S. Wright, eds. *Power and Participatory Development: Theory and practice*. London: ITDG Publications, pp. 1-12.
- Neuberger, M. R., Lord. (2010) *Equity, ADR, Arbitration and the Law: Different dimensions of justice*, London, 19 May. Fourth Keating Lecture at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Available at: www.civilmediation.org/downloads-get?id=98 [Accessed 20 March 2015].
- Newell, W. H. (2001) A theory of interdisciplinary studies. *Issues in Integrative Studies*, 25(19), pp. 1-25.
- Newig, J. (2007) Does public participation in environmental decisions lead to improved environmental quality?: towards an analytical framework. *Communication, Cooperation, Participation (International Journal of Sustainability Communication)*, 1(1), pp. 51-71.
- Newig, J. and Fritsch, O. (2009) Environmental governance: participatory, multi-level—and effective? *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 19(3), pp. 197-214.
- Newig, J. and Kvarda, E. (2012) Participation in environmental governance: legitimate and effective. In: K. Høgl, E. Kvarda, R. Nordbeck and M. Pregernig, eds. *Environmental Governance: The challenge of legitimacy and effectiveness*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, pp. 29-45.
- Newig, J., Schulz, D. and Jäger, N. W. (2016) Disentangling puzzles of spatial scales and participation in environmental governance—the case of governance re-scaling through the European water framework directive. *Environmental Management*, 58(6), pp. 998-1014.
- Nguyen, T. and Lassibille, G. (2008) *Improving Management in Education: Evidence from a randomized experiment in Madagascar*. Cambridge, MA: MIT (MIT Poverty Action Lab Working Paper).
- Nimrod, G. (2013) Online depression communities: members' interests and perceived benefits. *Health Communication*, 28(5), pp. 425-434.
- Nyce, J. and Löwgren, J. (1995) Towards foundational analysis in human-computer interaction. In: P. J. Thomas, ed. *The Social and Interactional Dimensions of Human-computer Interfaces*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 37-47.
- O'Faircheallaigh, C. (2010) Public participation and environmental impact assessment: purposes, implications, and lessons for public policy making. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 30(1), pp. 19-27.
- O'Meally, S. C. (2013) *Mapping Context for Social Accountability: A resource paper*. Washington,

- D. C.: World Bank. Available at:
<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/293491468151492128/Mapping-context-for-social-accountability-a-resource-paper> [Accessed 20 April 2015].
- O'Rourke, M., Crowley, S., Eigenbrode, S. D. and Wulforth, J. D. (2013) *Enhancing Communication & Collaboration in Interdisciplinary Research*. London: SAGE Publications.
- O'Sullivan, D. (2005) Geographical information science: time changes everything. *Progress in Human Geography*, 29(6), pp. 749-756.
- Obar, J. A., Zube, P. and Lampe, C. (2011) Advocacy 2.0: an analysis of how advocacy groups in the United States perceive and use social media as tools for facilitating civic engagement and collective action. *Journal of Information Policy*, 2, pp. 1-25.
- Office of the Ombudsman (2007) *Case 5 (April 2007): The Duty to Consult and the Right to Be Consulted*. Valletta, Malta: Office of the Ombudsman.
- Okely, J. (1992) Anthropology and autobiography: participatory experience and embodied knowledge. In: J. Okely and H. Callaway, eds. *Anthropology and Autobiography*. London: Routledge, pp. 1-27.
- Okely, J. (1996) *Own or Other Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Okely, J. (2007) Fieldwork embodied. *The Sociological Review*, 55(1_suppl), pp. 65-79.
- Okely, J. (2011) Retrospective reading of field notes. Living on gypsy camps. *Behemoth – A Journal on Civilisation*, 4(1), pp. 18-42.
- Okely, J. (2012a) *Anthropological Practice: Fieldwork and the ethnographic method*. reprint edn. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Okely, J. (2012b) Confronting positionality. *Teaching Anthropology*, 2(1), pp. 36-43.
- Okely, J. (2018, in press) *Anthropologists Writing down and Writing Up: Through fieldwork to publication*. Third JJ Bachofen Lecture. Basel: Chair of Social Anthropology, Basel University.
- Okpoko, P. A. T. U. (1998) The necessity for anthropological forum on environmental impact assessment. *Institute of African Studies Research Review*, 14(1), pp. 33-41.
- Okrent, D. (1998) Risk perception and risk management: on knowledge, resource allocation and equity. *Reliability Engineering & System Safety*, 59(1), pp. 17-25.
- Olivier de Sardan, J. P. and Tidjani Alou, A. (2016) *Epistemology, Fieldwork, and Anthropology*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US.
- Olwig, K. R. (1996) Recovering the substantive nature of landscape. *Annals of the Association*

- of *American Geographers*, 86(4), pp. 630-653.
- Olwig, K. R. (2002) *Landscape, Nature, and The Body Politic: From Britain's renaissance to America's new world* (Foreword by Yi-Fu Tuan). Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Oughton, E. and Bracken, L. (2009) Interdisciplinary research: framing and reframing. *Area*, 41(4), pp. 385-394.
- Owens, S. (2000) 'Engaging the public': information and deliberation in environmental policy. *Environment and Planning A*, 32(7), pp. 1141-1148.
- Papadopoulos, Y. and Warin, P. (2007) Are innovative, participatory and deliberative procedures in policy making democratic and effective? *European Journal of Political Research*, 46(4), pp. 445-472.
- Pares, R. (2012) *War and Trade in the West Indies*. London: Routledge.
- Park, S. H., Kim, J.-N. and Krishna, A. (2014) Bottom-up building of an innovative organization. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 28(4), pp. 531-560.
- Partidario, M. R. and Gomes, R. C. (2013) Ecosystem services inclusive strategic environmental assessment. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 40, pp. 36-46.
- Partridge, K., Jackson, C., Wheeler, D., Zohar, A., Krick, T., Forstater, M., Monaghan, P., Sillanpää, M., Machhiwala, S., Forde, C., et al. (2005) *From Words to Action. The Stakeholder Engagement Manual Volume 1: The Guide to Practitioners' Perspectives on Stakeholder Engagement*. Cobourg, Ontario: Stakeholder Research Associates Canada Inc., United Nations Environment Programme, AccountAbility. Available at: <http://stakeholderresearchassociates.com/wp-content/uploads/sra-2005-words-to-action-stakeholder-engagement-01.pdf>. [Accessed 20 April 2015].
- Patton, M. Q. (2002) Two decades of developments in qualitative inquiry. *Qualitative Social Work: Research and Practice*, 1(3), pp. 261-283.
- Pearce, W. B. and Pearce, K. A. (2010) *Aligning the Work of Government to Strengthen the Work of Citizens: A study of public administrators in local and regional government*. Dayton, OH: Kettering Foundation Report.
- Peel, J. (2005) *The Precautionary Principle in Practice: Environmental decision-making and scientific uncertainty*. Annandale, N.S.W.: Federation Press.
- Peixoto, T. (2014) Social accountability: what does the evidence really say? *World Development*, 72, pp. 346-361.

- Peixoto, T. (2009) Beyond theory: e-participatory budgeting and its promises for e-participation. *European Journal of ePractice*, 7(5), pp. 1-9.
- Pelling, M. and Uitto, J. (2001) Small island developing states: natural disaster vulnerability and global change. *Global Environmental Change Part B: Environmental Hazards*, 3(2), pp. 49-62.
- Pellizzoni, L. (2001) The myth of the best argument: power, deliberation and reason. *British Journal of Sociology*, 52(1), pp. 59-86.
- Peña-López, I. (2013) Casual politics: from Slacktivism to emergent movements and pattern recognition. In: Balcells, J., Cerrillo i Martínez, A., Peguera, M., Peña-López, I., Pifarré de Moner, M.J., Vilasau, M., eds. *Proceedings of the 9th International Conference on Internet, Law & Politics*. Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Barcelona, 25-26 June, pp. 339-358.
- Petts, J. (1999) Public participation and environmental impact assessment. In: J. Petts, ed. *Handbook of Environmental Impact Assessment, Volume 1: Environmental impact assessment – process, methods and potential*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 145-177.
- Petts, J. and Brooks, C. (2006) Expert conceptualisations of the role of lay knowledge in environmental decision-making: challenges for deliberative democracy. *Environment and Planning A*, 38(6), pp. 1045-1059.
- Petty, R. E. and Cacioppo, J. T. (1986) *Communication and Persuasion: Central and peripheral routes to attitude change*. Springer New York.
- Pezzoli, K. (1997) Sustainable development: a transdisciplinary overview of the literature. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 40(5), pp. 549-574.
- Piattoni, S. (2009) Multi-level governance: a historical and conceptual analysis. *Journal of European Integration*, 31(2), pp. 163-180.
- Pink, S., ed. (2005) *Applications of Anthropology: Professional anthropology in the twenty-first century*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Pink, S. (2006) *The Future of Visual Anthropology: Engaging the senses*. London: Routledge.
- Pirotta, G. A. (2001) A new creation or an image and likeness? The Maltese experience of establishing local government in a centralized micro-state I. *Public Organization Review*, 1, pp. 245-260.
- Planning Service Division (1990) *Structure Plan for the Maltese Islands*. Valletta: MEPA. Government of Malta.

- Plieninger, T., van der Horst, D., Schleyer, C. and Bieling, C. (2014) Sustaining ecosystem services in cultural landscapes. *Ecology and Society*, 19(2). Article 59. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5751/ES-06159-190259>.
- Pohl, C. (2008) From science to policy through transdisciplinary research. *Environmental Science and Policy*, 11(1), pp. 46-53.
- Pohl, C. and Hadorn, G. H. (2008) Core terms in transdisciplinary research. In: Hadorn, G. H., Pohl, C., Hoffmann-Riem, H., Biber-Klemm, S., Wiesmann, U., Grossenbacher-Mansuy, W., Zemp, E. and Joye, D., eds. (2008) *Handbook of Transdisciplinary Research*. Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 427-432.
- Pohl, C. and Hirsch Hadorn, G. (2008) Methodological challenges of transdisciplinary research. *Natures Sciences Sociétés*, 16(2), pp. 111-121.
- Pohl, C., Perrig-chiello, P., Butz, B., Hadorn, G. H., Joye, D., Nentwich, M., Paulsen, T., Rossini, M., Truffer, B., Wastl, D., Wiesmann, U. and Zinsstag, J. (2011) Questions to evaluate inter- and transdisciplinary research proposals. Available at: http://www.transdisciplinarity.ch/td-net/Publikationen/Publikationen-td-net/mainColumnParagraphs/04/text_files/file/document/td-Evaluation2011_workingpaper.pdf. [Accessed 16 September 2017].
- Pollock, L. J., Morris, W. K. and Vesk, P. A. (2012) The role of functional traits in species distributions revealed through a hierarchical model. *Ecography*, 35(8), pp. 716-725.
- Pollock, V. L. and Sharp, J. (2012) Real participation or the tyranny of participatory practice? Public art and community involvement in the regeneration of the Raploch, Scotland. *Urban Studies*, 49(14), pp. 3063-3079.
- Popa, F., Guillermin, M. and Dedeurwaerdere, T. (2015) A pragmatist approach to transdisciplinarity in sustainability research: From complex systems theory to reflexive science. *Futures*, 65, pp. 45-56.
- Porter, L. (2010) *Unlearning the Colonial Cultures of Planning*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Pospisil, L. J. (1971) *Anthropology of Law: A comparative theory*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Poteete, A. R., Janssen, M. and Ostrom, E. (2010) *Working Together: Collective action, the commons, and multiple methods in practice*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Pottier, J. (1993) *Practising Development: Social science perspectives*. London: Routledge.
- Powell, M. (2006) Which knowledge? Whose reality? An overview of knowledge used in the development sector. *Development in Practice*, 16(6), pp. 518-532.

- Powell, M. G. (2008) The uses of professional networking in the emerging methodology for an anthropology of public policy. *Anthropology in Action*, 15(2), pp. 26-37.
- Prell, C., Hubacek, K., Quinn, C. and Reed, M. (2008) 'Who's in the Network?' When stakeholders influence data analysis. *Systemic Practice and Action Research*, 21(6), pp. 443-458.
- Prell, C., Hubacek, K. and Reed, M. (2009) Stakeholder analysis and social network analysis in natural resource management. *Society & Natural Resources*, 22(6), pp. 501-518.
- Pretty, J. N. (1995) Participatory learning for sustainable agriculture. *World Development*, 23(8), pp. 1247-1263.
- Pugh, J. (2005a) Environmental planning in Barbados: a confident state, isolated environmental movements, and anxious development consultants. *Southeastern Geographer*, 45(2), pp. 192-205.
- Pugh, J. (2005b) Social transformation and participatory planning in St Lucia. *Area*, 37(4), pp. 384-392.
- Pugh, J. (2013) Speaking without voice: participatory planning, acknowledgment, and latent subjectivity in Barbados. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 103(5), pp. 1266-1281.
- Pugh, J., Hewett, C. and Chandler, D. (2007) Debating (de)territorial governance. *Area*, 39(1), pp. 107-109.
- Pungetti, G. (2012) Islands, culture, landscape and seascape. *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures*, 1(2), pp. 51-54.
- Ramsbotham, O., Woodhouse, T. and Miall, H. (2016) *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The prevention, management and transformation of deadly conflicts*. 4th edn. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Rapport, N. and Overing, J. (2000) *Social and Cultural Anthropology: The key concepts*. London: Routledge.
- Raymond, C. M., Fazey, I., Reed, M. S., Stringer, L. C., Robinson, G. M. and Evely, A. C. (2010) Integrating local and scientific knowledge for environmental management. *Journal of Environmental Management*, 91(8), pp. 1766-1777.
- Redpath, S. M., Young, J., Evely, A., Adams, W. M., Sutherland, W. J., Whitehouse, A., Amar, A., Lambert, R. A., Linnell, J. D. C., Watt, A., et al. (2013) Understanding and managing conservation conflicts. *Trends in Ecology & Evolution*, 28(2), pp. 100-109.

- Reed, M. S. (2008) Stakeholder participation for environmental management: A literature review. *Biological Conservation*, 141(10), pp. 2417-2431.
- Reed, M. S., Vella, S., Challies, E., de Vente, J., Frewer, L., Hohenwallner-Ries, D., Huber, T., Neumann, R. K., Oughton, E. A., Sidoli del Ceno, J., van Delden, H. (2017a) A theory of participation: What makes stakeholder and public engagement in environmental management work? *Restoration Ecology*. Available at: <https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/rec.12541>.
- Reed, M. S., Allen, K., Attlee, A., Dougill, A. J., Evans, K. L., Kenter, J. O., Hoy, J., McNab, D., Stead, S. M., Twyman, C., et al. (2017b) A place-based approach to payments for ecosystem services. *Global Environmental Change*, 43, pp. 92-106.
- Reed, M. S. and Curzon, R. (2015) Stakeholder mapping for the governance of biosecurity: a literature review. *Journal of Integrative Environmental Sciences*, 12(1), pp. 15-38.
- Reed, M. S., Dougill, A. J. and Baker, T. R. (2008) Participatory indicator development: what can ecologists and local communities learn from each other? *Ecological Applications*, 18(5), pp. 1253-1269.
- Reed, M. S., Evely, A., Cundill, G., Fazey, I., Glass, J., Laing, A., Newig, J., Parrish, B., Prell, C., Raymond, C., et al. (2010) What is social learning? *Ecology and Society*, 15(4). Response 1. Available at: <http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol15/iss4/respl/> [Accessed 7 December 2014].
- Reed, M. S., Fraser, E. D. G. and Dougill, A. J. (2006) An adaptive learning process for developing and applying sustainability indicators with local communities. *Ecological Economics*, 59(4), pp. 406-418.
- Reed, M. S., Graves, A., Dandy, N., Posthumus, H., Hubacek, K., Morris, J., Prell, C., Quinn, C. H. and Stringer, L. C. (2009) Who's in and why? A typology of stakeholder analysis methods for natural resource management. *Journal of Environmental Management*, 90(5), pp. 1933-1949.
- Reed, M. S. and Stringer, L. C. (2016) *Land Degradation, Desertification and Climate Change: Anticipating, assessing and adapting to future change*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Reed, M. S. and Suckall, N. (2008) *Participatory Methods Training Workshop Manual*. Leeds: University of Leeds Press.
- Renn, O. and Walker, K. (2008) Lessons learned: a reassessment of the IRGC framework on risk governance. In: O. Renn and K. Walker, eds. *Global Risk Governance: Concept and practice*. Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 331-367.

- Research Excellence Framework (2014) *REF2014 Impact Case Studies*. Available at: <http://impact.ref.ac.uk/CaseStudies/> [Accessed 16 September 2017].
- ResearchGate (2018) *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal (IAPA) Journal*. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/journal/1461-5517_Impact_Assessment_and_Project_Appraisal [Accessed 06 February 2018].
- Richards, C., Carter, C. E., Blackstock, K. L. and Sherlock, K. (2004) *Practical Approaches to Participation*. Aberdeen: The MacAulay Institute (SERG Policy Brief No. 1).
- Rist, R. C. (1998) Choosing the right policy instrument at the right time: the contextual challenges of selection and implementation. In: Marie-Louise Bemelmans-Videc, Ray C. Rist and Evert Vedung, eds. *Carrots, Sticks & Sermons: Policy instruments and their evaluation*. London: Transaction Publishers, pp. 149-163.
- Roberts, S. (2006) The pure and the impure? Reflections on applying anthropology and doing ethnography. In: S. Pink, ed. *Applications of Anthropology: Professional anthropology in the twenty-first century*. London: Berghahn Books, pp. 73-89.
- Robinson, M. and Bond, A. (2003) Investigation of different stakeholder views of local resident involvement during environmental impact assessments in the UK. *Journal of Environmental Assessment Policy and Management*, 5(01), pp. 45-82.
- Rohrschneider, R. and Whitefield, S. (2016) Responding to growing European Union-skepticism? The stances of political parties toward European integration in Western and Eastern Europe following the financial crisis. *European Union Politics*, 17(1), pp. 138-161.
- Rose, G. (1993) *Feminism and Geography*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Rowe, G. and Frewer, L. J. (2004) Evaluating public-participation exercises: a research agenda. *Science, Technology, & Human Values*, 29(4), pp. 512-556.
- Rowe, G., Horlick-Jones, T., Walls, J. and Pidgeon, N. (2005) Difficulties in evaluating public engagement initiatives: reflections on an evaluation of the UK GM Nation? public debate about transgenic crops. *Public Understanding of Science*, 14(4), pp. 331-352.
- Roy, E. D., Morzillo, A. T., Seijo, F., Reddy, S. M. W., Rhemtulla, J. M., Milder, J. C., Kuemmerle, T. and Martin, S. L. (2013) The elusive pursuit of interdisciplinarity at the human–environment interface. *BioScience*, 63(9), pp. 745-753.
- Ruby, J. (2000) *Picturing Culture: Explorations of film and anthropology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rylko-Bauer, B., Singer, M. and Van Willigen, J. (2006) Reclaiming applied anthropology: its

- past, present, and future. *American Anthropologist*, 108(1), pp. 178-190.
- Sadler, B., McCabe, M., Fuller, K., Australia, E., Ridgway, B., Bailey, J. and Saunders, R. (2002) *Environmental Impact Assessment Training Resource Manual*. 2nd edn. Available at: https://unep.ch/etu/publications/EIAMan_2edition_toc.htm. [Accessed 23 October 2008].
- Sairinen, R. (2011) Environmental conflict mediation. In: F. Vanclay and A. M. Esteves, eds. *New Directions in Social Impact Assessment: Conceptual and methodological advances*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 273-287.
- Sairinen, R., Barrow, C. J. and Karjalainen, T. P. (2010) Environmental conflict mediation and social impact assessment: Approaches for enhanced environmental governance? *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 30(5), pp. 289-292.
- Sairinen, R. and Kumpulainen, S. (2006) Assessing social impacts in urban waterfront regeneration. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 26(1), pp. 120-135.
- Salem, P. E. (1993) A critique of western conflict resolution from a non-western perspective. *Negotiation Journal*, 9(4), pp. 361-369.
- Salem, P. E., ed. (1997) *Conflict Resolution in the Arab World: Selected essays*. Beirut: American University of Beirut.
- Salter, L. and Hearn, A. (1996) *Outside the Lines: Issues in interdisciplinary research*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Sandercock, L. (2000) When strangers become neighbours: managing cities of difference. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 1(1), pp. 13-30.
- Sandercock, L. (2003) Out of the closet: the importance of stories and storytelling in planning practice. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 4(1), pp. 11-28.
- Sandercock, L. (2006) Spirituality and the urban professions: the paradox at the heart of planning. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 7(1), pp. 65-97.
- Sanjek, R. (1990) *Fieldnotes: The makings of anthropology*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Scheffler, I. (1982) *Science and Subjectivity*. 2nd edn. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing.
- Scheper-Hughes, N. (2009) Making anthropology public. *Anthropology Today*, 25(4), pp. 1-3.
- Schleyer, C., Görg, C., Hauck, J. and Winkler, K. J. (2015) Opportunities and challenges for mainstreaming the ecosystem services concept in the multi-level policy-making within the EU. *Ecosystem Services*, 16, pp. 174-181.
- Schmidt, V. A. (2013) Democracy and legitimacy in the European Union revisited: input,

- output and 'throughput'. *Political Studies*, 61(1), pp. 2-22.
- Schumacher, E. F. (1973) *Small is Beautiful. A study of economics as if people mattered*. London: Blond & Briggs.
- Schusler, T. M., Decker, D. J. and Pfeffer, M. J. (2003) Social learning for collaborative natural resource management. *Society and Natural Resources*, 16(4), pp. 309-326.
- Schwegler, T. and Powell, M. G. (2008) Unruly experts: methods and forms of collaboration in the anthropology of public policy. *Anthropology in Action*, 15(2), pp. 1-9.
- Scott, A. (2011) Focussing in on focus groups: effective participative tools or cheap fixes for land use policy? *Land Use Policy*, 28(4), pp. 684-694.
- Scott, J. C. (1998) *Seeing Like A State: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Scrase, J. I. and Sheate, W. R. (2002) Integration and integrated approaches to assessment: what do they mean for the environment? *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning*, 4(4), pp. 275-294.
- Sen, A. (1985) *Commodities and Capabilities*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Sen, A. (1999) *Development as Freedom*. New York: Knopf.
- Shah, A. (1997) Developing participation. *PLA Notes*, 30, pp. 75-78.
- Shaner W. W., Philipp, P. F., Schmehl, W. R. (1982) *Farming Systems Research and Development: Guidelines for developing countries*. A Consortium for International Development Study. Editorial assistance by Donald E. Zimmerman. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Shankman, P., Ágh, A., Bourguignon, E., Brintnall, D. E., Cole, J. R., Connor, L., Darnell, R., De Ruijter, A., Dutton, D., Fabian, J., et al. (1984) The thick and the thin: on the interpretive theoretical program of Clifford Geertz [and comments and reply]. *Current Anthropology*, 25(3), pp. 261-280.
- Sharma, A. and Gupta, A., eds. (2006) *The Anthropology of the State: A reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Shepherd, A. and Bowler, C. (1997) Beyond the requirements: improving public participation in EIA. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 40(6), pp. 725-738.
- Sheppard, C. and Morris, T. (2009) Resources pressures and small island states. *Marine Pollution Bulletin*, 58(2), pp. 167-169.
- Shore, C. and Wright, S. (2005) *Anthropology and Policy: Critical perspectives on governance and*

- power. 18th edn. London: Routledge.
- Shrader-Frechette, K. (1985) *Risk Analysis and Scientific Method*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Sibley, D. (1995) *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and difference in the West*. London: Routledge.
- Sidoli del Ceno, J. (2013) Construction mediation as a developmental process. *International Review of Law*, 2013(1), p. 1.
- Sigel, K., Klauer, B. and Pahl-Wostl, C. (2010) Conceptualising uncertainty in environmental decision-making: the example of the EU water framework directive. *Ecological Economics*, 69(3), pp. 502-510.
- Sillitoe, P. (2007) Anthropologists only need apply: challenges of applied anthropology. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 13(1), pp. 147-165.
- Simpson, G. (2000) Social impact assessment tools for mitigation and project development. In: L. R. Goldman, ed. *Social Impact Analysis: An applied anthropology manual*. Oxford: Berg, pp. 129-151.
- Sinclair, A. J., Diduck, A. and Fitzpatrick, P. (2008) Conceptualizing learning for sustainability through environmental assessment: critical reflections on 15 years of research. *Environmental impact assessment review*, 28(7), pp. 415-428.
- Sjoberg, F., Mellon, J. and Peixoto, T. (2017) The effect of government responsiveness on future political participation. *Public Administration Review*, 77(3), pp. 340-351.
- Skinner, J. (2013) *The Interview: An ethnographic approach*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Smith, J., Nayak, D. R. and Smith, P. (2012) Renewable energy: avoid constructing wind farms on peat. *Nature*, 489(7414), p. 33.
- Smith, N. (1996) *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the revanchist city*. London: Psychology Press.
- Spada, P., Mellon, J., Peixoto, T. and Sjoberg, F. (2016) Effects of the internet on participation: study of a public policy referendum in Brazil. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 13(3), pp. 187-207.
- Spaling, H. (1994) Cumulative effects assessment: concepts and principles. *Impact Assessment*, 12(3), pp. 231-251.
- Spanner, D. (2001) Border crossings: understanding the cultural and informational dilemmas of interdisciplinary scholars. *The Journal of Academic Librarianship*, 27(5), pp. 352-360.
- Spash, C. L. and Carter, C., eds. (2001) *Environmental Valuation in Europe: Findings from the*

- concerted action*. Cambridge: Cambridge Research for the Environment.
- Stember, M. (1991) Advancing the social sciences through the interdisciplinary enterprise. *The Social Science Journal*, 28(1), pp. 1-14.
- Sterling, E. J., Betley, E., Sigouin, A., Gomez, A., Toomey, A., Cullman, G., Malone, C., Pekor, A., Arengo, F. and Blair, M. (2017) Assessing the evidence for stakeholder engagement in biodiversity conservation. *Biological Conservation*, 209, pp. 159-171.
- Stewart, J. M. P. and Sinclair, A. J. (2007) Meaningful public participation in environmental assessment: perspectives from Canadian participants, proponents, and government. *Journal of Environmental Assessment Policy and Management*, 9(02), pp. 161-183.
- Stoczkowski, W. (2008) The 'fourth aim' of anthropology: between knowledge and ethics. *Anthropological Theory*, 8(4), pp.345-356.
- Stolp, A., Groen, W., van Vliet, J. and Vanclay, F. (2002) Citizen values assessment: incorporating citizens' value judgements in environmental impact assessment. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 20(1), pp. 11-23.
- Stone, M. P. (2003) Is sustainability for development anthropologists? *Human Organization*, 62(2), pp. 93-99.
- Strathern, M. (2004) *Commons & Borderlands: Working papers on interdisciplinarity, accountability and the flow of knowledge*. Wantage: Sean Kingston Publications.
- Strathern, M. (2005) Anthropology and interdisciplinarity. *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education*, 4(2), pp. 125-135.
- Stringer, L. C. and Reed, M. S. (2006) Land degradation assessment in southern Africa: integrating local and scientific knowledge bases. *Land Degradation & Development*, 18(1), pp. 99-116.
- Stringer, L. C., Twyman, C. and Thomas, D. S. G. (2007) Combating land degradation through participatory means: the case of Swaziland. *AMBIO: A Journal of the Human Environment*, 36(5), pp. 387-393.
- Strohm, K. (2012) When anthropology meets contemporary art: notes for a politics of collaboration. *Collaborative Anthropologies*, 5(1), pp. 98-124.
- Summerville, J. A., Buys, L. and Germann, R. E. (2006) The implementation of social impact assessment in local government. In: C. Hall and C. Hopkinson, eds. *Social Change in the 21st Century Conference*. Queensland University of Technology, Centre for Social Change Research, School of Humanities and Human Services, Brisbane, 27 October.

- Swanson, D. and Bhadwal, S. (2009) *Creating Adaptive Policies: A guide for policy-making in an uncertain world*. E-book edn. New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt Ltd.
- Swanson, M. E. (2009) Modeling the effects of alternative management strategies on forest carbon in the Nothofagus forests of Tierra del Fuego, Chile. *Forest Ecology and Management*, 257(8), pp. 1740-1750.
- Takyi, S. A. (2012) Review of social impacts assessment (SIA): approach, importance, challenges and policy implications. *International Journal of Arts & Sciences*, 7(5), pp. 217-234.
- Tarrasón, D., Ravera, F., Reed, M. S., Dougill, A. J. and Gonzalez, L. (2016) Land degradation assessment through an ecosystem services lens: integrating knowledge and methods in pastoral semi-arid systems. *Journal of Arid Environments*, 124, pp. 205-213.
- Taylor, C. N., Bryan, C. H. and Goodrich, C. G. (1995) *Social Assessment: Theory, process and techniques*. 2nd edn. Christchurch, New Zealand: Taylor Baines & Associates.
- Teel, T. L., Anderson, C. B., Burgman, M. A., Cinner, J., Clark, D., Estévez, R. A., Jones, J. P. G., McClanahan, T. R., Reed, M. S., Sandbrook, C., Freya St. John, A.V. (2018) Publishing social science research in conservation biology to move beyond biology. *Conservation Biology*, 32(1), pp. 6-8.
- TEP-CEPS (2010) *Study on Social Impact Assessment as a Tool for Mainstreaming Social Inclusion and Social Protection Concerns in Public Policy in EU Member States*. Final Report for the European Commission, Directorate General Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities. London: The Evaluation Partnership (TEP) with the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS).
- Thabrew, L., Wiek, A. and Ries, R. (2009) Environmental decision making in multi-stakeholder contexts: applicability of life cycle thinking in development planning and implementation. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 17(1), pp. 67-76.
- The Malta Independent* (2009) The difference between a waste dump and an engineered landfill, 26 August. Available at: <http://www.independent.com.mt/articles/2009-08-26/news/the-difference-between-a-waste-dump-and-an-engineered-landfill-262423> [Accessed 18 June 2011].
- Thrift, N. (1985) Flies and germs: a geography of knowledge. In: D. Gregory and J. Urry, eds. *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*. Basingstoke: MacMillan, pp. 366-403.
- Tilley, C. (1994) *A Phenomenology of Landscape*. Oxford: Berg.
- Tilley, C. (2004) *The Materiality of Stone: Explorations in landscape phenomenology*. Oxford:

Berg.

- Tippett, J., Handley, J. F. and Ravetz, J. (2007) Meeting the challenges of sustainable development—a conceptual appraisal of a new methodology for participatory ecological planning. *Progress in Planning*, 67(1), pp. 9-98.
- TINA Vienna GmbH (2002) *TINA (a Common Transport Infrastructure Needs Assessment - Identification of the network components for a future Trans-European Transport Network) in Malta. Final Report*. Vienna: TINA Vienna Transport Strategies.
- Tomorrowland*. [feature film] Directed by Brad Bird. Perf. Hugh Laurie. Walt Disney Pictures,/A113 Productions, USA, 2015. 130 mins. 01: 44:00-01:44:38.
- Toth, E. (2006) Building public affairs theory. In: C. L. Botan and V. Hazleton, eds. *Public Relations Theory II*. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, pp. 441-461.
- Transport Malta, Roads & Infrastructure Directorate (2010a) *Triq-is Salini, I/o Naxxar Reconstruction and Upgrading of Coast Road from junction NA08 to NA10. Project Description Statement. Technical Document*. Santa Venera, Malta: Transport Malta, Roads & Infrastructure Directorate.
- Transport Malta, Roads & Infrastructure Directorate (2010b) *Triq-is Salini, I/o Naxxar Reconstruction and Upgrading of Coast Road from junction NA11 to NA10. Project Description Statement. Technical Document*. Santa Venera, Malta: Transport Malta, Roads & Infrastructure Directorate.
- Traweek, S. (1988) *Beamtimes and Lifetimes: The world of high energy physicists*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Traweek, S. (1992) Border crossings: narrative strategies in science studies and among physicists in Tsukuba Science City, Japan. In: A. Pickering, ed. *Science as Practice and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 429-465.
- Tress, B., Tress, G., Décamp, H. and D’Hauteserre, A. M. (2001) Bridging human and natural sciences in landscape research. *Landscape Urban Planning*, 57, pp. 137-141.
- Tress, B., Tress, G. and Fry, G. (2003a) Potential limitations of interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary landscape studies. In: B. Tress, G. Tress, A. J. J. van der Valk and G. Fry, eds. *Interdisciplinary and Transdisciplinary Landscape Studies: Potential and limitations*. Wageningen: WUR, Alterra (Delta Series 2), pp. 182-192.
- Tress, B., Tress, G., van der Valk, A. and Fry, G. (2003b) *Interdisciplinary and Transdisciplinary Landscape Studies: Potential and limitations*. Wageningen: WUR, Alterra (Delta Series 2).

- Tress, B., Tress, G. and Fry, G. (2005) Integrative studies on rural landscapes: policy expectations and research practice. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 70(1-2), pp. 177-191.
- UN (1998) *Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework*. Available at: <http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/convkp/kpeng.pdf>. [Accessed 12 March 2013].
- UNECE (1998) *Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters*. Done at Aarhus, Denmark, 25 June. Available at: [https://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/env/pp/documents/ cep43e.pdf](https://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/env/pp/documents/cep43e.pdf) [Accessed 12 March 2013]
- UNEP/Map (2005) *Mediterranean Strategy for Sustainable Development: A framework for environmental sustainability and shared prosperity*. Athens: UN Environment Programme (UNEP (DEC)/MED WG. 277/4 Annex I, 27 June).
- Valeri, V. and Keesing, R. (1987) On anthropology as interpretive quest. *Current Anthropology*, 28(3), pp. 355-357.
- Van Willigen, J. (2002) *Applied Anthropology: An introduction*. New York: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Vanclay, F. (2002) Conceptualising social impacts. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 22(3), pp. 183-211.
- Vanclay, F. (2003) International principles for social impact assessment. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 21(10), pp. 5-11.
- Vanclay, F. (2006a) Engaging communities with social impact assessment: SIA as a social assurance process. In: D. Gardiner and K. Scott, eds. *Proceedings of the International Conference on Engaging Communities*. Brisbane Convention & Exhibition Centre Queensland, Australia, 14-17 August. Brisbane: Queensland Department of Main Roads, pp. 14-17.
- Vanclay, F. (2006b) Principles for social impact assessment: A critical comparison between the international and US documents. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 26(1), pp. 3-14.
- Vanclay, F., ed. (2014) *Developments in Social Impact Assessment*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Vanclay, F. and Bronstein, D., eds. (1995) *Environmental and Social Impact Assessment*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Vanclay, F. and Esteves, A. M., eds. (2011) *New Directions in Social Impact Assessment*:

- Conceptual and methodological advances*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Vancly, F., Esteves, A. M., Aucamp, I. and Franks, D. M. (2015) *Social Impact Assessment: Guidance for assessing and managing the social impacts of projects*.
- Vella, F. (2010) Social anthropologist critical of part of Hondoq EIA. *Malta Independent*, 6 June. Available at: <http://www.independent.com.mt/articles/2010-06-06/news/social-anthropologist-critical-of-part-of-hondoq-eia-275617/>. [Accessed 12 February 2011].
- Vella, S. (2011) *Social Study for PA 02342/06 (GF 00121/06)*. In: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants Ltd.. *Master Plan for the Magħtab Environmental Complex. Environmental Impact Statement Update prepared in support of development permit Application No. PA 02342/06, Technical Appendices, Appendix 7*. San Gwann, Malta: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants Ltd. Available at: <https://era.org.mt/en/Documents/Environmantal%20Impact%20Statement%20Update.pdf>. [Accessed 20 September 2014].
- Vella, S. (2012) Population study for PA 03883/08 & PA 03758/09. In: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants Ltd.. *Reconstruction and Upgrading of Coast Road from Junction Na I I to Na I O & Widening and Realignment of Coast Road from Baħar l-Ċagħaq, Naxxar to St Paul's Bay. Environmental Planning Statement prepared in support of development permit Applications PA 03883/08 & PA 03758/09, Technical Appendices, Appendix 7*. San Gwann, Malta: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants Ltd.
- Vella, S. (2013) Population study for PA 04905/10. In: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants Ltd.. *Development of Coastal Defences Against Wave Incidence on Shore for Marsalforn Bay, Marsalforn, Żebbuġ, Gozo. Environmental Impact Assessment prepared in support of the permit Application PA 04905/10, Technical Appendices, Appendix 6*. San Gwann, Malta: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants Ltd.. Status of Planning Application available at: <https://www.pa.org.mt/en/pacasedetails?CaseType=PA/04905/10> [Accessed 11 May 2018].
- Vella, S. (2017) Contested values and perceptions of urban landscapes in Malta: reconceptualising environmental assessment. In: G. Pungetti, ed. *Island Landscapes: An expression of European culture*. London: Routledge, pp. 257-266.
- Vella, S. (2006) *Social Study for PA 05534/04*. In: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants. *The Redevelopment of Mistra Village, St. Paul's Bay. Environmental Planning Statement prepared in support of development permit Application PA 05534/04, Technical Appendices, Appendix 6*. San Gwann, Malta: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants

Ltd.

- Vella, S. (2007) *Social Baseline Study for PA 04886/06*. In: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants. *The rehabilitation of existing unused dumpsite into family park, Marsascala. Environmental Planning Statement prepared in support of the permit Application PA 04886/06*, Technical Appendices, Appendix 6. San Gwann, Malta: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants Ltd.
- Vella, S. and Falzon, M.A. (2005) *Social Impact Assessment PA 04591/00*. In: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants. *Multistorey Complex, Qawra, St. Paul's Bay. Environmental Planning Statement prepared in support of the permit Application PA 04591/00*. San Gwann, Malta: Adi Associates Environmental Consultants Ltd., pp. 259-300.
- Vella, S. and Borg, M. (2010) Integrate plurality of landscapes and public involvements into Maltese environmental policy. In: S. Koerner and I. Russell, eds. *Unquiet Past: Risk society, lived cultural heritage, re-designing reflexivity*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, pp. 193-208.
- Vella, S., Reed, M.S. and Attlee, A. (2015a) Lessons learnt from SIA in Malta: the influence of local context and disciplinary background on the implementation of SIA in EU Member States. *IAIA15 Conference Proceedings: Impact Assessment in the Digital Era*. Florence, Italy, 20-23 April. Available at: <http://conferences.iaia.org/2015/Final-Papers/Vella,%20Steven%20-%20Lessons%20Learnt%20from%20SIA%20in%20Malta,%20the%20influence%20of%20local%20context%20and%20disciplinary%20background%20on%20the%20implementation%20of%20SIA%20in%20EU%20Member%20States.pdf> [Accessed 10 November 2015].
- Vella, S., Reed, M. S., Sidoli del Ceno, J. and Attlee, A. (2015b) SIA, participation and mediation on the ground. *IAIA15 Conference Proceedings: Impact Assessment in the Digital Era*. Florence, Italy, 20-23 April. Available at: <http://conferences.iaia.org/2015/Final-Papers/Vella,%20Steven%20-%20SIA,%20Participation%20and%20Mediation%20on%20the%20ground.pdf> [Accessed 10 November 2015].
- Walker, B., Holling, C. S., Carpenter, S. and Kinzig, A. (2004) Resilience, adaptability and transformability in social–ecological systems. *Ecology and Society*, 9(2). Available at: <http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol9/iss2/art5/> [Accessed 4 February 2014].
- Walton, O. (2013) 'Everything is Politics': understanding the political dimensions of NGO legitimacy in conflict-affected regions. In: R. A. Brown and J. Pearce, eds. *Charities in the Non-Western World: The Development and Regulation of Indigenous and Islamic*

- Charities. London: Routledge, pp. 35-55.
- Wandersman, A. (1981) A framework of participation in community organizations. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 17(1), pp. 27-58.
- Webler, T. (1999) The craft and theory of public participation: a dialectical process. *Journal of Risk Research*, 2(1), pp. 55-71.
- Wedel, J. R. (2009) Ethical research across power divides. *Anthropology News*, 50(6), p. 18.
- Weingart, P. and Stehr, N. (2000) *Practising Interdisciplinarity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Welsch, R. L. and Endicott, K. M. (2013) *Taking Sides. Clashing views in anthropology*. 5th edn. Boston: McGraw-Hill Higher Education.
- Werlen, B. (2015) *Global Sustainability*. Springer, Cham.
- Wernli, D. and Darbellay, F. (2016) *Interdisciplinarity and the 21st century Research-intensive University*. Leuven: LERU. Available at: <https://www.leru.org/files/Interdisciplinarity-and-the-21st-Century-Research-Intensive-University-Full-paper.pdf> [Accessed 10 April 2017].
- Western, J. and Lynch, M. (2000) Overview of the social impact assessment process. In: L. R. Goldman, ed. *Social Impact: An applied anthropology manual*. Oxford: Berg, pp. 35-59.
- Weston, J. (2003) Is there a future for EIA? Response to Benson. *Impact Assessment & Project Appraisal*, 21(4), pp. 278-280.
- White, S. C. (1996) Depoliticising development: The uses and abuses of participation. *Development in Practice*, 6(1), pp. 6-15.
- Whitfield, S., Geist, H. J. and Ioris, A. A. R. (2011) Deliberative assessment in complex socioecological systems: recommendations for environmental assessment in drylands. *Environmental Monitoring and Assessment*, 183(1-4), pp. 465-483.
- Wilcox, D. (1994) *The Guide to Effective Participation*. Brighton: Partnership.
- Wilkins, P. (2004) Storytelling as research. In: B. Humphries, ed. *Research in Social Care and Social Welfare: Issues and debates for practice*. 2nd edn. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, pp. 144-153.
- Winder, N. (2003) Successes and problems when conducting interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary (= integrative) research. In: B. Tress, G. Tress, A. J. J. van der Valk and G. Fry, eds. *Interdisciplinary and Transdisciplinary Landscape Studies: Potential and limitations*. Wageningen: WUR, Alterra (Delta Series 2), pp. 74-90.

- Winston, K. I. (1981) *The Principles of Social Order: Selected essays of Lon L. Fuller*. Edited, with an introduction by K. I. Winston. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Włodarczyk, T. L. and Tennyson, J. (2003) Social and economic effects from attitudes towards risk. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 21(3), pp. 179-185.
- World Bank Group. (2015) *Engaging Citizens: A game changer for development?* [MOOC]. Available through: <https://www.coursera.org/course/engagecitizen> [Accessed 20 March 2015].
- Wylie, J. (2007) *Landscape*. London: Routledge.
- Yakob, H., Yusof, F. and Hamdan, H. (2012) Land use regulations towards a sustainable urban housing: Klang Valley conurbation. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 68(AicE-Bs2012 Cairo ASIA Pacific International Conference on Environment-Behaviour Studies), pp. 578-589.
- Youngblood, D. (2007) Interdisciplinary studies and the bridging disciplines: a Matter of process. *Journal of Research Practice*, 3(2), pp. 18-18.
- Yow, V. R. (2014) *Recording Oral History: A guide for the humanities and social sciences*. 4th edn. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Iz-Zebbug Local Council I Kunsill Lokali (2018) *Marsalforn Culture & History*. Available at: <http://www.zebbuggozo.com/history-marsalforn.php> [Accessed 10 January 2013].
- Zeitoun, M., Mirumachi, N. and Warner, J. (2011) Transboundary water interaction II: the influence of 'soft' power. *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, 11(2), pp. 159-178.
- Zheng, Y. and McKeever, B. W. (2016) Communicating to improve health. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 45(6), pp. 1276-1296.
- Zillinger, M. and Jones, G. (2017) Rethinking anthropology's tricks of the trade: from a comparative anthropology to an anthropology of comparison. *Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 7(3), pp. 393-397.

List of Appendices (On Accompanying CD)

Appendix I – Published Papers and Book Chapters that are included in the thesis

(Except for Boissevain and Vella (2010), which is only cited briefly, the publications that have been used in this thesis are listed in the PhD Publications section of the Acknowledgements, p. xii)

Appendix II – Interview key for baseline study qualitative semi-structured interviews

Appendix III – The Project Description Statements (PDS) for the 3 Case Studies

- Case Study 1 – Magħtab Case Study PDS
- Case Study 2 – Coast Road Upgrade (CRU) PDS
- Case Study 3 – Marsalforn Breakwater PDS

Appendix IV - Limitation sections of the three baseline studies

Appendix V - Magħtab Case Study Ancillary Documents

- Magħtab Social Baseline Study (EIS Technical Appendix 7)
- Magħtab SIA – CH 12 of Master EIS
- Waste Management Plan for the Maltese Islands
- WSM Magħtab Complex MP – Social Study methods statement

Appendix VI - Coast Road Upgrade (CRU) Case Study Ancillary Documents

- Coast Road EIS Technical Appendices
- Coast Road Master EIS FINAL – SIA (Not the Baseline Study)
- Coast Road Master EIS Final - ALL CHAPTERS|
- Coast Road Master SIA Final TABLE 12.1 Predicted Social Impacts and their significance (Cross-referenced in CH 5 of PhD Thesis)
- Coast Road Upgrade Social Baseline Study (EIS Technical Appendix 7, 2012)
- Human Population Methods Statement - CRU

Appendix VII - Marsalforn Case Study Ancillary Documents

- Folder containing 3D Model videos and Reports – 2012
- Marsalforn Coastal Defences SOCIAL BASELINE STUDY_SV REVISED Dec 2012 VERSION_FINAL
- Method Statement - Marsalforn Coastal Defences Social Study

Appendix VIII - Additional Baseline Studies for reference

- 2005 - Qawra - PA 04591-100 EPS - CH 12 Social Assessment
- 2006 - Mistra Social Study - Technical Appendix 6
- 2013 - Xemxija Social Baseline Study - FINAL DRAFT

Appendix IX - Guiding Tables - Grandvoinnet et al. (2015: 131-145)