Procedural justice and the implementation of community wind energy projects

Procedural justice and the implementation of community wind energy projects: a case study from South Yorkshire, UK

Neil Simcock, School of Environment, Education & Development, University of Manchester

Highlights

- Examines perceptions of 'procedural justice' in the implementation of a community wind project.
- Interviewees had divergent expectations about what constituted 'procedural justice' in project implementation.
- Experiences of the implementation process reinforced perceptions of procedural justice or injustice.
- Challenges the notion that community energy projects will always be considered locally fair.
- Provides lessons of how procedural justice might be achieved in community energy schemes.

Abstract

In policy and activist discourses there is often an expectation that community wind energy projects will avoid the conflicts and local opposition often associated with private-developer-led developments. However, the empirical validity of this assertion has not been widely investigated. In previous research on private-developer wind projects, the fairness of decision-making processes ('procedural justice') during project implementation has been identified as an important factor in shaping local acceptance, but has not been deeply studied in relation to community-led schemes. Using in-depth qualitative research of a proposed community wind project in South Yorkshire, this paper examines stakeholder interpretations of procedural justice during the design and siting of this scheme. Although the project leaders explicitly aimed for a fair and 'democratic' implementation process, considerable conflict emerged over whether this goal was achieved. The analysis shows that these conflicting views were the result, firstly, of different normative *expectations* of what 'procedural justice' actually meant and involved, and, secondly, of contrasting stakeholder *experiences* of the decision processes that were utilised. It cannot be assumed that community wind projects will always be considered procedurally just at the local level, with much resting on the details of how they are undertaken.

Keywords

1. Introduction

Onshore wind energy has been recognised as a key technology in enabling the United Kingdom (UK) to reduce its carbon emissions and meet targets for renewable energy (RE) generation. Although wind energy is often supported by the majority of people at the national level, at the local scale specific projects can often be a source of contention amongst neighbouring communities, with substantial opposition frequently emerging that can help prevent projects from receiving planning permission (Bell et al., 2013).

'Community'-led RE projects – including community wind energy projects – have emerged in the UK in last 15 years or so as an alternative mode of owning, managing and implementing wind energy schemes, distinct from the 'private-developer' ownership model that dominates in the UK and elsewhere (Oteman et al., 2014; Walker and Cass, 2007). What makes a RE project distinctly 'community' is somewhat fuzzy (Walker and Devine-Wright, 2008), with schemes varying in terms of their aims, form of legal ownership, governance processes and benefit-sharing arrangements (Becker and Kunz, 2014; Radtke, 2014; Rezaei and Dowlatabadi, 2016; Seyfang et al., 2013). Broadly, however, community RE schemes can be said to be those that are developed through broadly 'collective' decision processes, and/or those that distribute their benefits in a local and collective manner (Walker and Devine-Wright, 2008).

In policy and activist discourses there is often an expectation that community wind energy projects will avoid the conflicts and local opposition found in private-developer-led developments (for example, BHESCo, 2016; Department of Energy & Climate Change, 2014; Friends of the Earth, 2014; Friends of the Earth Scotland, 2014). However, there have only been a few studies that examine the empirical validity of such assumptions. Although some research suggests that community-led projects can result in greater local support compared to private-developer schemes (Devine-Wright, 2005; Warren and McFadyen, 2010), a few studies demonstrate that community projects can also encounter substantial local opposition and conflict (Simcock, 2014; Walker et al., 2010). Given this mixed research picture, there is a need to understand more deeply the factors and project characteristics that shape local perceptions of community energy schemes (Bell et al., 2013).

It is this research need that I seek to address in this paper. There are a number of factors that may shape the local acceptance of community wind energy schemes, including the size and location of the turbines (Barry and Chapman, 2009), and the level of distributive justice in how the benefits and burdens of a project are shared (Hall et al., 2013). However, this paper focuses specifically on one important condition of local acceptance – the perceived

fairness or 'procedural justice' (Bell and Rowe, 2012; Schlosberg, 2007; Sovacool et al., 2014; Walker, 2012) of decision-making processes during the planning and implementation of a community wind energy project. I focus on this for two reasons. First, much research has found perceptions of procedural justice to be a key factor in shaping local attitudes toward private-developer wind energy projects (Gross, 2007; Haggett, 2008; Hindmarsh and Matthews, 2008; Pasqualetti, 2011; Wolsink, 2007a, 2007b; Zografos and Martínez-Alier, 2009), and there is a small amount of evidence that suggests it is also important in relation to perceptions of community energy schemes (Simcock, 2014; Toke et al., 2008; Walker et al., 2010). Second, as Fuller and Bulkeley (2013) have noted, in policy and activist community renewable energy projects have often been implied as offering a (procedurally) just for of low-carbon transition – indeed, some argue that 'participatory' decision processes are an inherent and necessary part of any community energy scheme.

In this paper, I examine perceptions of procedural justice in the design and feasibility stage of a proposed community wind project based in South Yorkshire, UK. The project is a particularly interesting case, as the project leaders explicitly attempted to implement the scheme in a highly 'democratic' and 'procedurally just' manner. Yet despite this, considerable local disagreement emerged over whether this intention was achieved, accompanied by significant local opposition. Drawing on in-depth qualitative methods, I aim to elucidate how particular aspects of the project's implementation shaped stakeholder perceptions of procedural justice, thus revealing the reasons for the divergence in stakeholder opinions.

I begin by describing the research methods, before outlining my approach to analysing procedural justice claims and conflicts. The story, context, and decision-making processes of the case study are then described, before stakeholder perceptions of these processes are analysed. The conclusions reflect upon the implications of the findings.

2. Method

Research reported here was undertaken as part of a larger PhD project that examined the development of two proposed community wind projects (Simcock, 2012). This paper focuses in detail on a case study based in the parish of Norton, South Yorkshire, UK (Fig. 2). The research sought to gain a detailed understanding of local stakeholders' perceptions of procedural justice, and so a qualitative and experiential research design was appropriate (King, 2010). Fieldwork was undertaken throughout 2010 and early 2011, with three particular methods utilised. First, in-depth participant observation was undertaken in the locality. This involved numerous visits and periods of travelling around the area, providing

an understanding of aspects of the local culture and context (Cook, 1999). I also attended 6 public engagement events relating to the proposed wind energy project, during which I took extensive field notes of the interactions and responses of attendees and engaged many local residents in an informal conversation about the proposed project.

Second, 19 people[1] were selected for a full semi-structured interview typically lasting around 60 minutes, all of which were audio recorded. Purposive sampling was utilised with the aim of capturing a broad spectrum of opinion about the project. Interviewees were primarily selected either by contact during participant observations and travel around the area, or through the 'snowball method'.

Supplementing these interviews and observations, a documentary analysis was conducted on many public documents, news reports and websites relating to the project. Interviews were transcribed verbatim, and all collected data was input into the qualitative analysis software Atlas.ti and analysed using a thematic coding approach. Both formal interviewees and those involved in more informal discussions gave full informed consent for their views to be used as part of this research.

Some limitations in this methodology should be noted. Largely for pragmatic reasons regarding accessibility, most of those who were interviewed or engaged with informally during participant observations had attended the public exhibition events, and most had also voted, or stated their intention to vote, in the community-wide poll (described below). Therefore, the results presented here to mostly reflect those who 'actively' engaged in the project's implementation process, and does not as thoroughly account for those in the area who (at least during the period of my data collection) did not engage. This is not particularly problematic for this study, since the research aim was to understand why there was such a diversity of evaluations about the project's implementation process, and the sampling strategy utilised enabled this to be achieved. However, there is certainly scope for further research around community wind energy projects that examines the perceptions of those who remain 'silent', and explores why they choose to not actively engage (Bell et al., 2005).

3. Analytical framework

The notion of 'procedural justice' emerged from social and environmental justice literature that critiqued the focus of justice theory solely on the distribution of material goods, arguing

---

[1] When seeking to elicit an inventory of the views of a population in order to explain the values and reasoning underpinning these opinions, as I do here, a diverse sample of around 20 individuals is sufficient (Kempton et al., 2005).

that the process through which decisions are taken is also an important element of justice (Schlosberg, 2007; Young, 1990). Procedural justice is defined by Bell and Rowe (2012, p. 2) as 'fairness in the process of decision-making and policy-making'. But what does a 'fair decision process' during the implementation of wind energy actually involve, and what aspects are likely to be important in shaping stakeholder perceptions of procedural (in)justice? In this section, I draw on literature on public opposition to infrastructure siting and theories of on procedural justice to construct an analytical framework which structures and informs the empirical analysis conducted later in the paper.

The first element of the framework recognises that procedural justice has multiple 'dimensions', comprising the basic criteria by which the fairness of a decision-making process is judged (Hunold and Young, 1998; McLaren et al., 2013; Shrader-Frechette, 2002). Overall assessments of a decision process are shaped by whether fairness is felt to be achieved in these different dimensions (Knudsen et al., 2015). Various typologies of precise dimensions exist, but in this paper I utilise three categories – inclusion, influence, and information – on the basis that these are both evident across a range of literature and were also articulated by participants during my empirical research.

Inclusion refers to the question of who is present and given voice in a decision-making process (Hunold and Young, 1998; Smith, 2009).[2] One common principle of justice here is that all those affected by a decision should be involved to some degree in making that decision (Goodin, 2007; Young, 2000). There are also pertinent questions about the *responsibility* to ensure presence and participation (Fuller and Bulkeley, 2013) – whilst people may have a 'right' to be included, to what extent are different actors responsible for ensuring that right is taken up?

Influence relates to the extent that different participants' opinions, suggestions and concerns shape decision outcomes (Smith, 2009). A person or collective can exercise different degrees of influence in a decision process (Arnstein, 1969; Haggett, 2011; Hunold and Young, 1998; Rowe and Frewer, 2005), which I broadly categorise here as 'listen as a spectator', 'consultative influence', and 'direct authority'. 'Listen as a spectator' refers to a situation where a stakeholder receives information about a decision, but has no influence over that decision. If a stakeholder has 'consultative influence', they are able to give their opinion on an issue but the final decision is ultimately made by others. Finally, 'direct

---

[2]There is clearly a spatial dimension to this issue, in terms of how the geographic boundary of the 'community' or demos is drawn and thus who is included in these terms (Bell et al., 2005). However, I have explored this issue in relation to community wind projects in detail elsewhere (Simcock, 2014), and so it is not a focus of this paper.

authority' refers to a situation where a stakeholder is able to formally shape the decision outcome – either by taking the decision individually or by sharing power with others in a democratic process (such as voting).

Finally, appropriate, sufficient and accurate *information* for all participants in a decision process is often considered crucial for procedural justice, helping to ensure transparency, effective participation and informed consent (Knudsen et al., 2015; Shrader-Frechette, 2002). However, as we shall see below, exactly what constitutes 'appropriate', 'sufficient' and 'accurate' information – such as the amount of detail that should be included, and how it should be communicated (e.g. written or verbally?) – can be somewhat elusive and contested (Walker, 2012).

The second element of the framework, drawing on Walker et al (2011), distinguishes between people's *expectations* and *experiences* of a decision process. 'Expectations' relates to the normative conceptions different stakeholders (including both project leaders and local publics) hold about what constitutes 'procedural justice' during the implementation of a community wind project – how they feel the process *ought* to be conducted. Accounting for the multidimensional nature of procedural justice, stakeholders might have particular expectations of the types and amounts of information that should be provided, of who should be included in decision-making, and the degree of influence different participants should have. 'Experiences', meanwhile, relates to how different stakeholders actually experience an implementation process, which will potentially vary between individuals or groups.
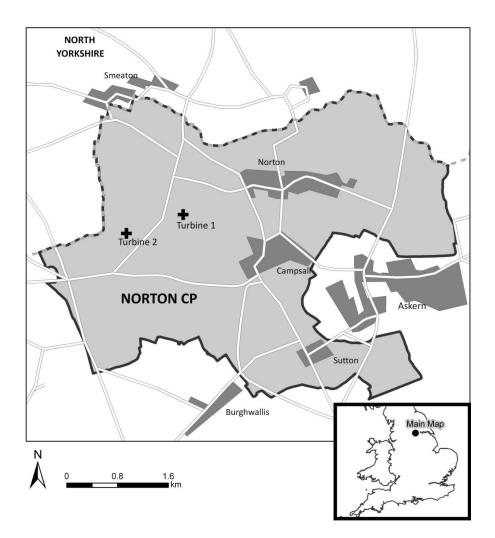
The expectations/experiences distinction is analytically useful for explaining why people have different opinions about whether the implementation of a wind energy project has been fair or unfair. They may have different normative expectations about what 'fairness' involves – as Sandel (2009) argues, ideas of what is 'just' and 'unjust' are contested and debated, and moreover individual and group expectations of justice are also shaped by historical, cultural and social contexts (Debbané and Keil, 2004; Vermeylen and Walker, 2011). Bickerstaff (2012) discusses the 'agency of the absent', arguing that past histories and events, and issues operating at a scale beyond the local, become present in infrastructure siting debates and powerfully shape people's interpretations of how such projects should be implemented (see also Keeling and Sandlos, 2009; Robbins, 2012). Alternatively, people may actually share expectations of what procedural justice involves, but for a variety of reasons may have very different experiences of the implementation process of a wind project and so reach different conclusions on whether their expectations were realised.

The third element of the framework recognises that the implementation process of a community wind project involves *multiple* decisions and stages (McLaren et al., 2013) – for example, about the location of wind turbines with a given locality (Wolsink, 2010), about whether the project should receive planning permission (Cowell et al., 2011), or the fundamental choice of which technology should be utilised (Barry and Ellis, 2011). For each of these decisions, people may have expectations about who should be included, the extent of influence they should have, and the types of information that should be provided with. Again, they might also have divergent experiences of different decisions, and thus of whether their normative expectations are met. The perceived fairness of each decision will shape evaluations of whether an overall implementation process has been just or unjust.

4. The Norton community wind project: context, motivations and objectives

Norton is a civil parish approximately 18 miles north of Doncaster in South Yorkshire, UK. It has a total population of around 4,300 people and comprises the three villages of Campsall, Norton and Sutton. A coal mine in the neighbouring town of Askern once provided a primary of employment for residents of the parish, but following its closure in 1992 there was an influx of new housing in the area and the majority of the working population now commute to work in nearby Leeds, Pontefract and Doncaster. Although the area is now relatively 'middle class' with low unemployment, pockets of deprivation remain and at the time of this research there had been a recent decline in local services with the closure of a pub and village shop (Simcock, 2012).

Figure 1: The location and boundaries of Norton civil parish, and the siting of the proposed wind turbines within it

At the time of the data collection for this paper, several private-developer owned wind farms had recently been proposed and developed in South Yorkshire, including in two areas that neighboured Norton – Hampole and Marr. The wind farm at Hampole, in particular, had recently sought planning permission and had attracted significant local opposition partly because of perceived inadequacies in the developers' consultation (Doncaster Free Press, 2008). Many Norton residents I spoke to were aware of these projects and often described them in negative terms.

In January 2010, a social enterprise[3] called Origin Energy (henceforth Origin) proposed that a 'community' wind energy project, comprising two 2.5 MW turbines, be located in the parish. Origin were not based in Norton or the surrounding area, but instead had offices around 25 miles away in the city of York. As discussed in more detail in Jeong et al. (2012), in proposing the Norton project Origin were motivated by strong ideas of justice and aimed to

---

[3] Specifically, Origin was a 'Community Interest Company' – a form of social enterprise in the UK that are bound by an 'asset lock', meaning that they must be ran for the benefit of a community and any profits must be reinvested within that community rather than distributed to shareholders.

develop a distinctly 'community' scheme that was radically different to private developer-led wind energy projects. For them, the Norton project's 'fair' and 'community' character came partly from how its benefits would be shared – upon completion, the turbines would be 'owned' by parish residents via a cooperative, in which any household could buy a share for £1. Profits from the turbine would then be spent on public facilities and infrastructure in the local area, rather than being distributed to distant shareholders for private gain. But Origin also argued that a large part of the project's 'community' nature would result from ensuring procedural justice during its planning and implementation. They were highly critical of the 'decide-announce-defend' (Bell et al., 2005, p. 462) model of decision-making that unfairly 'imposed' projects on local communities, and aimed for the Norton project to instead be implemented in a 'democratic' manner, with meaningful local involvement and control. As one Origin member described:

> [W]e had this interest in providing renewable energies for communities properly, rather than the current model of sticking up a wind farm as a private developer and then fighting everyone ... we felt ethically it was the right thing to do. (Simon[4], Origin)

They also expressed a more instrumental motivation for adopting democratic processes – overcoming or reducing the local opposition that wind energy projects often face:

> It's how can we get some renewable energy happening? […] [Maybe] it's not so much public consultation, getting that right, it's actually maybe more the fundamental model of how you do things, how you develop things and how you involve people in the development process […] people's involvement, not just consultation. (Martin, Origin)

Origin aimed for the Norton wind project to be implemented in a 'procedurally just' manner, but how exactly was decision-making designed in order to achieve this? In the next section, I describe the engagement processes utilised during the project's implementation from early 2010 to mid-2011. The focus is not on the formal planning process, but on the period of project design and feasibility that took place prior to submission for planning permission.

5. The Norton wind project's implementation process

Origin sought to facilitate the participation of local residents using a variety of engagement methods (Table 1), including both information provision and resident input into specific

---

[4] All respondents quoted have been given pseudonyms.

decisions. Participation was limited to households living within the spatial boundaries of Norton parish, with those living outside this area, even by a few metres, not formally included.[5] These households were first informed of the project in March 2010 when they received the information booklet through the post. Following this, a series of public exhibitions were held in the spring and summer, with a few further public meetings and updates to the project website occurring in 2011.

Table 1: The community engagement methods utilised by Origin

Engagement method	Time undertaken	Description
Information booklet	Spring 2010	Printed leaflet sent to every household and business in the parish in Spring 2010 - the first communication residents received about the project. Detailed the project's aims, how the profits from electricity generation would be distributed and controlled, general information about wind energy as a technology, and a one-page outline of the size and location of the proposed turbines.
Public exhibitions	Spring-summer 2010	Six public exhibitions were held in local village halls, containing posters displaying extra information (such as noise and landscape impact, and ownership structure). Members of Origin Energy attended the exhibitions to answer questions and gain feedback from local residents. It was largely through these discussions that residents offered their opinions on the project.
Website	Updated mostly in 2010/2011	A project website, advertised in the information booklet, was set up to provide further details about the project. Further outlined Origin's aims, included Frequently Asked Questions about wind energy, and provided photomontages of the turbines in the local landscape.
Online forum	Throughout 2010.	Every household was provided with a password to allow access an online forum, enabling interaction between local residents and Origin's directors.
Community poll	Summer 2010	Every household living in Norton parish was able to vote in a community poll that asked whether they felt the project was acceptable and would like to see it constructed. The majority result of this poll determined whether the project proceeded and sought planning permission.

In relation to the procedural justice dimensions of inclusion, information and influence, as Table 2 shows there was variation between different implementation decisions in terms of the types of local participation enabled. Some decisions were taken solely by Origin without any input from local people. A greater degree of local influence was enabled in relation to four decisions:

i) The decision to install the turbines – i.e. whether the proposed project was acceptable and should seek planning permission

ii) The number of wind turbines

iii) The size of the turbines

---

[5] This spatial definition clearly raises important questions of fairness, but as stated I have explored this issue in a previous paper.

iv)   The location of the turbines within the Norton parish

Table 2: The type of participation enabled for different stakeholders in different project decisions

Decision(s)	Type of involvement		
	Information provision	Inclusion	Influence
Selection of wind energy as the technology to be utilised	Information booklet Public exhibitions Project website Online forum	Origin takes decision before contact with local residents. Every household in Norton parish receives an information booklet, can access the website and online forums, and attend exhibition events.	Origin had direct authority. No influence for local community.
Project financing and legal issues	None	Only Origin involved in this decision. Details kept distant from residents, even in information provided.	Origin had direct authority. No influence for local community,
• **Size and generation capacity of turbines** • **Number of turbines** • **Location of turbines with Norton parish**	Information booklet Public exhibitions Project website Online forum	Every household in Norton parish receives an information booklet, can access the website and online forums, and attend exhibition events.	Origin had direct authority to take the final decision. Residents who attend exhibitions or use the online forum have a *consultative influence*
Decision to install turbines	Information booklet Public exhibitions Project website Online forum	Every household in Norton parish receives a voting slip through which to input their views	Local residents have *direct authority* via a majoritarian vote

Perhaps the most novel aspect of the project's implementation related to the decision to install and construct the turbines. In the summer of 2010, following the series of public exhibitions, Origin undertook a community-wide vote in which every household was posted a voting form asking them whether the proposed project was acceptable and could be constructed. The options given on the form were a simple 'Yes (it is acceptable)' or 'No (it is not acceptable)', with votes allocated on a one-per-household basis. Households could participate either by post or online, with an independent team at a university assembled to collate and count the responses to ensure impartiality and legitimacy. Origin's leaders were adamant that the project would not attempt to seek planning permission unless at least 51% of respondents voted 'Yes'. Therefore, a form of direct democracy (Smith, 2009) was undertaken, with local households given the collective authority to determine whether the project could proceed. In the poll, around 80% supported the wind project proceeding, although approximately only 10% of eligible households voted.

Furthermore, although Origin had taken initial decisions about the size, number and location of the wind turbines, they also stated that they were open to community input on these matters and would potentially make changes if these was backed up by a '*strong collective*

voice' (Simon, Origin). However, there was no 'formal' mechanism, like a voting process, through which local input could be communicated, recorded or weighted. Instead, participation was more informal, occurring principally by talking to Origin face-to-face at a project exhibition, or also by posting on the project website's online discussion forum. Therefore, in terms of *inclusion*, only those who engaged with Origin through these means had any involvement. Local *influence* in these decisions was a 'consultative influence' – whilst residents could express their opinions, the extent that these were acted upon was ultimately Origin's decision.

I now consider how different stakeholders perceived this implementation process in terms of procedural justice.

6. Overall assessments of procedural justice

Overall views on whether the implementation process achieved procedural justice were very diverse. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Origin's view was that the process had indeed been fair and 'democratic'. In particular, they argued that the community poll meant that the project had a '*clear mandate*' (Martin, Origin) and could '*legitimately*' (Simon, Origin) proceed, claiming in their formal planning application that a '*considered community consultation*' had been undertaken.

Local opinions, however, were much more mixed. Some residents largely shared Origin's view, stating that a sense of community 'control' was key in making the project superior to the corporate-led wind projects they had witnessed in neighbouring localities. For example, Lucy felt that Origin *'do seem to listen to the locals'*, whilst for Michael the project was *'allowing everyone to have a voice in it that needs to have a voice and for us to then collectively say "yes this fits for our community".'* Other residents were more 'on the fence,' whilst several others argued strongly that the process had been unfair and failed to sufficiently involve local people. For example:

> *I like the [idea of a community wind project] in principle but… I think that the community especially in something like wind farms which do probably add a visual impact on people's area and possibly noise impact as well, they should be entitled to be involved, and I don't think they are being.* (Emma, local resident)

Despite Origin claiming the project was a 'community' scheme, to these residents the Norton scheme was actually no different to corporate projects and was simply another example of the undemocratic behaviour of the wind energy sector: '*It is [happening] in general. People*

are being rolled over roughshod' (Phil, local resident). Partly motivated by this perceived lack of democracy, in late-2010 a group of residents formed an organised opposition group against the scheme, complaining multiple times via leaflets and their website about a lack of local participation in project decision-making.

The fact that there was such divergence in opinions may initially seem surprising. Origin was strongly motivated to implement the project democratically, and the utilisation of a community-wide poll that allowed Norton households to determine if the project proceeded might be considered relatively novel and radical. In the following sections, I explain why there was diversity in perceptions of procedural fairness. I argue that this resulted from contrasting normative *expectations* about what 'procedural justice' actually meant and involved, and contrasting resident *experiences* of how the process was undertaken.

7. Contrasting expectations of justice
7.1 How much influence should local residents have in different project decisions?
For Origin, the community-wide vote on whether the project should proceed was *the* fundamental element of achieving a fair and democratic implementation. They repeatedly stated that, by giving local households the direct authority to decide whether the project proceeded, the project would not be unfairly imposed on local people:[6]

> *It is proposed that this consultation will be as democratic as possible and will not employ the usual tactic of deciding that turbines will be established and then trying to defend that decision ... The scheme will not proceed unless the people of Norton want this. We are proposing to conduct a poll of the town in order to reach a democratic decision as to whether this proposal is acceptable.* (Origin consultation leaflet)

However, Origin also acknowledged that local influence in other project decisions was also important. As noted, residents also had a 'consultative influence' in decisions about turbine number, size and location, with Simon stating that it would be 'undemocratic' to not hear local opinions on these matters. In early 2011 one of the turbines was repositioned from its initial proposed location, partly in response to local feedback at the public exhibitions. As Simon surmised: '*the two new sites represent an amalgam of practicality and community opinion'.*

---

[6] The principle underlying these views was therefore that 'all-affected' by the decision to install wind turbines should have a right to directly influence that decision (Goodin, 2007)

In terms of the expectations of local residents, everyone that I spoke to also supported the principle of a community poll, agreeing that it was right that the local community 'affected' by a wind project had a direct say over whether that project proceeded. As Tom (a parish councillor) stated:

> *We believe this decision should be left to the community. If 51% of the people vote in favour of it, then the Parish Council will support it. If 51% of people vote against it, then the Parish Council will be against it.*

However, many residents also claimed that it was important that they also had some ability to influence other project decisions. There was, however, conflicting views about exactly *how much* authority local residents should have in different project decisions.

For those residents who held positive views about the project and its implementation process, some degree of local control over the location and number of wind turbines was of primary importance. At the public exhibitions, questions about who got to determine such issues, and whether or not the original proposals could change without the local community's consent, were frequently raised. Many seemed reassured when told by Origin that local opinion would help to determine such matters. For example, Rebecca stated that local control over turbine number was '*quite right*' because '*we're all going to be the ones that are living here with them*'. Indeed, although only having a 'consultative influence' over these decisions, and despite local opinions only being captured quite 'informally' at the exhibition events rather than through a more 'formal' mechanism such as voting, for these residents this did not appear to be problematic. Instead, what mattered, as Rowe and Frewer (2005) have suggested, was that they felt a general sense of community 'control' – a belief that Origin had a serious intent to listen, respect and when possible act upon local views. For these residents, this was key in distinguishing the project from 'private-developer' schemes. For example, when asked how she would feel if the project was being run by a large developer or utility company, Sophie replied:

> *I'd feel quite uncomfortable I think. Because this way I feel we have some control. And so it is likely to stay as one turbine, or two turbines but in different places. I wouldn't have that trust if it was an energy company. I'd think 'Oh… well they'll put one, and then they'll want to put twenty.'*

Therefore, Origin and those residents who felt the project had been implemented in a generally fair manner broadly shared the same expectations regarding the influence of local

residents (although Origin placed less importance on community involvement in decisions about turbine location and number).

In contrast, those residents who argued that the project had been implemented unfairly expressed different expectations. They argued that a fair process required local people to have some influence in the choosing which RE technology was utilised, not simply in the location and number of a preselected technology. However, as Section 5 details this was a decision taken solely by Origin, with local residents merely able to 'listen as a spectator' as they were informed wind energy was the technology of choice. Indeed, during my interactions with Origin, they never raised the possibility of local participation in such matters – the very idea did not seem to have occurred. Whilst observing the public exhibition events I occasionally noted unhappy residents questioning the suitability of wind energy for Norton parish, and questioning why local people hadn't been consulted on this issue. Origin's response to those who raised such issues, however, was not to suggest the matter was open for debate (as they did for questions of turbine location and number), but rather to launch a staunch defence of wind energy as a technology. But the choice of technology can be thought of as a crucial 'agenda-setting' decision (Agyeman, 2013; Lukes, 2005) that determines the fundamental materiality of a RE project and therefore bounds any subsequent choices and debates. In this regard, for some residents the community-poll actually seemed to *create* feelings of unfairness because it asked only a single question about a predetermined technology, therefore unfairly 'closing-down' (Stirling, 2014) the possibility of different options and visions. For example, Laura argued strongly that wind energy was the wrong technology for Norton, and felt that the '*really biased*' community-poll had unfairly excluded local people from suggesting alternatives. For Phil, the fact that Origin had pre-selected wind energy meant they were dictating to the local community – part of a wider pattern undemocratic wind energy planning:

> [Origin's information booklet] was like an open letter. 'We intend...' You know, that type of thing. There are other companies that are doing this […] where everything has been done as 'You will have this, and you will have that, and we're going to build this here.'

7.2 Who has the responsibility to ensure local inclusion in decision-making?

Several local residents emphasised the importance of ensuring the inclusion of a wide-range of local voices in the project's implementation process. However, some, especially those who expressed more negative or mixed assessments of the project's implementation, were concerned that only a very small proportion of people were actually participating. For some,

these concerns related particularly to the low numbers of people attending Origin's public exhibition events, which became seen by many residents as the primary way for local people to express their views and receive information. Paul, a local parish councillor, argued that attendance had been dominated by '*the usual suspects*' , thus providing fertile ground for feelings of unfairness: '*I don't know if there are further things going to happen but this is where you can dissension in the community. You can get people saying "well I didn't know about it".*' Some also expressed concerns about local participation in the community poll. Prior to the vote taking place, Andrew argued that a high proportion of households would need to participate for the vote to be '*legitimate*', arguing that it would be a '*flawed democracy*' if the project were to proceed based on a small turnout.   In the end only around 10% of households voted (see Section 5), and this was later raised by the project's opposition group (of which Andrew became a member). Leaflets distributed by the group criticised the level of local involvement in both the poll and the public exhibitions:

> *Leaflets and surveys were distributed to some local households ... Six drop-in sessions were also held, the busiest having around 30 attendees, the others less than ten. Origin have also created a website but as of 24 February [2011] less than ten people have posted any comments. In spite of this apparent lack of local engagement [...]*

These claims of unfairness rest upon a particular expectation of procedural justice: that it was Origin's responsibility to *actively* ensure the inclusion of a wide number of local people. The mere existence of a community poll and public events was not sufficient – the inclusion of local people had to be actively sought, for example through 'proactive', face-to-face forms of advertising (Hoffman and High-Pippert, 2010). Origin's abdication of this duty was blamed as the primary reason for low resident participation. For example, in relation to the public exhibitions Laura said:

> *And to get circulars going around this village, it would take you at least a full week. 'Cause there's a lot of properties […] And especially leaving it for only five days. You know, people have commitments and they wouldn't be able to attend. And I really feel as if that's been done on purpose.*

This quote also illustrates that Laura believed Origin had *deliberately* engineered a small attendance at the public exhibitions, deepening her feelings of injustice. Distrust in Origin is evident, and the context of such concerns is important to recognise. Based in York, Origin lacked any of the 'local ties' with the Norton area that Devine-Wright (2012) notes can help

build trust, and were portrayed by many I spoke to as an 'outsider' to the community. Throughout her interview, Laura also described the negative stories she had heard about wind farm developers, including those who had undertaken projects in neighbouring communities.

In contrast, those who expressed more positive views about the project tended to argue that it was the responsibility of individual residents to get involved with the project and participate in events. For example, after hearing that some people had complained about a lack of local inclusion or input, Lucy responded:

> *Well obviously they should've gone to consultations then! [...] You can't just sit back and ignore things can you, and expect it to come to you.* (Lucy)

Based on this understanding, it was not unfair that only a small proportion of residents had attended the public exhibitions or voted in the poll. What mattered was that every household had the *opportunity* to participate, and it was then their responsibility to take part if they so wished.

Origin's leaders held similar expectations. Although they were disappointed with the attendance at some public exhibitions and the online forums, and accepted some responsibility for this by tweaking their publicity methods, they rejected claims that the process had not been inclusive. Instead, local resident choice and apathy were considered the main cause of low attendance levels. For example:

> *You're never going to get everybody in, they'll always be some who don't attend, others who just aren't interested… I think we've done pretty well this afternoon [in terms of attendance]. All you can do is offer the chance for people to come down if they want to.* (Robert, Origin)

In relation to the community-poll, Origin did originally seek local participation in a relatively planned manner, sending every household an information pack and letter encouraging them to vote, and providing several methods of voting free-of-charge. In contrast, the public exhibitions were sometimes hastily arranged, and local participation in decisions about turbine number, size or siting decisions was not systematically sought or advertised. Although they felt a stronger responsibility for ensuring resident inclusion in the community-poll compared to the exhibitions (reflecting Origin's view that the poll was *the* most vital aspect of a 'democratic' process), after the poll had taken place and only 10% of households

had participated Origin again suggested that resident apathy was the main reason for the poll's low participation rate. All households had been given the opportunity to vote, but had chosen not to – as such, the poll was still inclusive and legitimate:

> *After spending £2000 on leaflets it's deflating to see that most people have either ignored them or lost them … it would be more assuring to have a larger sample of the population who have voted, though it looks positive from a statistical point. I think also that we can legitimately set up the new community company.* (Simon, Origin)

7.3 What constitutes 'good' information provision?

Access to 'sufficient and accurate' information about the Norton project was considered to be essential by every local resident I spoke to. Origin broadly shared this view, although they did not emphasise the importance of information quite as strongly. Resonating with arguments made in environmental justice literature (Hunold and Young, 1998; Schlosberg, 2007; Shrader-Frechette, 2002), information was considered valuable for two interlinked reasons. First, it was the bare minimum of what a 'fair' decision process involved. As Phil stated: '*You would always require information, whether you agreed with it or not. You still have to have the information on what they're wanting to do.*' Second, by enabling residents to make an 'informed choice' it was essential for ensuring the legitimacy of the community poll.

However, despite this broadly shared perspective, disagreement emerged over whether 'sufficient and accurate' information had actually been provided. Origin, and many of those local residents who felt the project had been implemented fairly, believed it had been (although, as shall be discussed, for different reasons). But for those critical of the implementation process, inadequate information was a key concern. Several argued that whilst they supported the community-poll *in principle*, in practice inadequate information provision meant that it was at best meaningless and at worst a form of deception. For example:

> *[The poll is] meaningless if we don't actually know what we're getting ourselves into … I don't think we can say if we support it until we know more.* (Roy, local resident)

> *I felt it was totally wrong to ask people for that [support] at this stage when they had given no information, or in effect no information.* (Emma, local resident)

Why, though, were there such divergent views on this matter? One reason was that whilst all agreed that information provision was valuable, Origin and local residents had very different expectations about what 'adequate and sufficient' information substantively involved. Origin emphasised the printed booklet and the project website as the most important sources, arguing that these provided most of what was necessary and were evidence of their *'considered community consultation'*. Face-to-face, discussion-based forms of information, such as the public exhibitions, were considered to be 'nice' but ultimately optional supplements. One project leader stated that he preferred the 'private' nature of the booklet:

> *I'm hoping to stay clear of the public exhibition at this stage. The information pack could contain all the same details but gives people the chance to consider the offer in the privacy of their own homes.* (Simon, Origin, interview)

Prior to contact with the local community, Origin also noted how the booklet and website *'need to address some of the myths surrounding wind farms'*. The booklet thus comprised very general information promoting wind turbines as a renewable energy source, and emphasised the underpinning 'community' ethos of the project. There was little 'technical' or detailed information about the specifics of the project or how it was being financed, largely because Origin felt that local residents would mostly lack the required knowledge or interest. Indeed, reflecting in late 2010 on the information provision, one member suggested that booklet had perhaps been too complex and that a better method would be '*just a one-page sheet instead, with all the details really simply in bullet points*' (Robert, Origin). Here, Origin's 'imaginations' of the Norton publics – how they would react, and what they would understand – influenced their visions of what 'procedural justice' involved and thus the information they provided (on this point, see Barnett et al., 2012). The desire to allay 'myths', to keep discussion private rather than public, and to avoid detail in the information booklet, all suggest 'deficit-model' characterisations of local publics (Irwin, 1995).

In contrast, almost all the local residents I spoke to and observed were very critical of the information booklet because it *lacked* sufficient detail. For example, at a public exhibition one resident described the pack by saying *'well that didn't tell you anything'* (Rebecca), whilst an interviewee said *'[the information pack] was just very condensed and just basically told you enough to draw you in'* (Laura). At various times, more detail was called for on many aspects of the project, such as whether wind power was feasible to the area and how the scheme was being financed, and on Origin's background and profile. Again, an initial distrust in Origin, stemming from their status as an 'outsider' to the area and residents'

negative perceptions and memories of wind farms elsewhere, shaped expectations of what a fair process involved. A high degree of transparency and detail was necessary to verify Origin's trustworthiness, whilst the booklet's lack of detail aroused suspicion:

> *It's all a bit cloak and dagger really … I think it just makes you naturally suspicious when something like that happens, like they've got something to hide.* (Sally, local resident, public exhibition)

Furthermore, several residents suggested that face-to-face discussion and Q&A with Origin was the not merely a supplement to the booklet, but absolutely fundamental and the 'best' form of information provision – the opposite of what Origin envisaged.

However, despite these critiques of the information booklet Origin circulated, some residents did eventually consider the information provided about the project to be largely adequate, whilst others considered poor information provision to be a key concern. Why was this? The explanation lies partly in residents' contrasting *experiences* of how the implementation process was undertaken, and it is this I turn to next.

8. Contrasting experiences of the implementation process

In terms of residents' experiences of the implementation and engagement process, the most important factor in shaping their overall assessments of procedural justice was whether they had participated in discussions with Origin at one of the public exhibition events. Those who had often described the experiences positively, whilst three of the residents I interviewed (Roy, Phil, and Laura) had not attended the exhibitions, and this reinforced their negative perceptions of the implementation process.

For attendees, the exhibitions were considered valuable for two reasons. First, although originally envisaged by Origin to be merely a secondary supplement to the information booklet, the face-to-face and dialogical format of the exhibitions allowed residents to receive more detailed information about specific concerns in a way not enabled by the one-way communication flow offered by a booklet (Fung, 2006). For example:

> Interviewer: And the public meetings, how did you feel about those?
> Lucy: *I think they helped quite a lot, actually. Because obviously you can put your questions and any concerns that you have and they were answered... and they had the information boards that they'd prepared, they were pretty good, gave you an idea of how far the noise would travel, and whether you were in the zone of that.*

Interviewer: OK. It's good to put a face to who's doing it, I guess.

Lucy: *Yes well that's right. They're not just a faceless corporation are they, who you'd have difficulty getting hold of if you've got any questions, yeah.*

Second, the exhibitions were the primary way residents could be included in, and exert influence over, decisions about turbine location, size and number. Several of those who had discussions with Origin on these matters described such interactions positively. In this regard, Origin's particular interactional manner was crucial – they welcomed and listened to public opinions, answered questions, and genuinely appeared to engage locals in a respectful discussion between equals. Such forms of dialogue can provide the sense of 'control' (Dobson, 2014) that, as noted in section 7.1, helped mark the Norton scheme out as a truly 'community' project. For some, positive experiences at the exhibitions strengthened their trust in Origin. Having attended some exhibitions and spoken with Origin at length, Rebecca's initial distrust had changed considerably: '*I've met them and [now] I don't think it's cloak and dagger.*'

In contrast, those I spoke to who had not attended the exhibitions often complained particularly strongly of feeling uninformed, and articulated a desire for face-to-face discussion. For example, Phil said: *'[W]e wanted to talk to somebody. Rather than the end of a telephone where you don't know who you've got, what you've got'*. Moreover, because they had not witnessed resident discussions with Origin about the final location and number of wind turbines, they were also unaware that local people had helped shape such decisions. Whilst Origin advertised the change on their project website, the rationale for the decision – and the fact that local opinions had been taken into consideration – was not explained, nor were any minutes published of discussions at the public exhibitions. Those I spoke to who had not attended the exhibitions thus believed that the siting choice had been made solely by Origin based purely on what would bring the highest financial return, with the project's opposition group portraying the change in one turbine location as a secretive decision taken without local input:

> *Lots of discussion and questions helped people get a better idea of what is going on, including what we understand to be Origin's current proposals for where the turbines may be located (but this could change, as it has already done once).* (Opposition group website)

This difference in individual *experiences*, therefore, helps to explain why some local residents felt the information provision was adequate, whilst others did not. However, I am

not arguing that attendance at a public exhibition guaranteed that a resident would feel positive about the project, or consider it to have been implemented in a fair manner. Some people still had different normative expectations regarding what procedural justice meant. For example, although Paul had attended the exhibitions and considered them to be useful and informative, he nonetheless held mixed views about the project because he felt much more should have been done to ensure the involvement of many more local people. Likewise, Phil, Roy and Laura felt that local people should have a say about technology selection, but Origin did not. It is unlikely that their attendance at the public exhibitions could have overcome such fundamental differences, although their experiences hardened their perceptions of unfairness.

9. Concluding discussion

In summary, there was a wide spectrum of opinions on whether the Norton wind projected was implemented in a procedurally just manner. This is perhaps surprising, given that the project leaders began with deeply held commitments of ensuring the project was 'democratic,' and utilised a community-wide poll that enabled residents to make a democratic decision on whether the scheme proceeded. However, I have argued that the divergent evaluations of the project can be explained by two factors. First, differences in people's normative *expectations* of what a 'procedural just' implementation actually meant and involved. Second, differences in expectations were reinforced by contrasting *experiences* of the implementation process. This theoretical distinction between expectations and experiences has proven useful, and could be productively replicated in future studies.

Overall, the findings here tally with the small body of literature (Simcock, 2014; Walker et al., 2010) that questions the romanticised narrative that community energy projects will always be widely considered 'democratic'. Inasmuch as perceived procedural injustice can be a driving cause of local opposition toward RE projects (Wolsink, 2007a), community wind projects may not necessarily attract universal or widespread local support. Importantly, in the Norton case whether people considered the project's implementation to be fair shaped whether they felt it could legitimately claim to be a 'community' scheme. As Walker and Devine-Wright (2008) argue, this indicates that what makes a wind project distinctly 'community' is not only that is technologically small-scale (Barry and Chapman, 2009), or adopts a 'community' label or ownership structure, but also *how* it is developed. In this regard, it is important to remember that 'community' energy projects are not homogenous, but are implemented through a variety of arrangements that are likely to engender varying types of local participation. The dichotomy between private-developer and community-led

wind energy projects (or RE projects more broadly) appears to be more complex and nuanced than is sometimes portrayed, with much resting on the particular details and experiences of specific projects.

The case study also demonstrates the difficulty and complexity in achieving a process that is universally or even widely considered to be just and fair. As Sandel (2009) and other justice theorists (e.g. Schlosberg, 2007) have argued, far from being simple or self-evident, there are many contrasting visions and expectations of what 'justice' can involve in any given context. Nonetheless, some general lessons for achieving perceived fairness in the implementation of community wind projects can be learnt from the Norton case.

First, overall assessments of whether the Norton project had been fairly implemented were shaped by the perceived fairness of *multiple decisions* and *multiple dimensions of procedural justice*. Whilst the project leaders predominantly emphasised community inclusion and influence in one particular decision (whether the proposed project was acceptable and could proceed to planning), for many local residents adequate information and influence in other project decisions were just as vital. This finding casts doubt on Cowell et al.'s (2011) assertion that allowing communities to determine if a wind project proceeds will be sufficient for justice, suggesting that, as others have argued (Hunold and Young, 1998; King, 2010; Knudsen et al., 2015), fairness must also be ensured in relation to other project decisions and procedural dimensions. Particularly crucial may be to ensure community participation and democratic processes in the 'agenda setting' decision of which RE technology is suitable and should be utilised (Barry and Ellis, 2011; Devine-Wright, 2011). Many of those strongly opposed to the Norton project argued that such processes were fundamentally necessary if RE were not to be imposed on local communities, and incorporating democratic processes 'upstream' in this way may help to build legitimacy and fairness in the later stages (McLaren et al., 2013).

Second, the Norton case echoes research that argues that the details of what is 'procedurally just' in any given situation are shaped by context and history (Bickerstaff, 2012; Debbané and Keil, 2004; Fan, 2006; Vermeylen and Walker, 2011). The project leaders' status as an 'outsider' to the area (Devine-Wright, 2012), and an unease around wind projects occurring in neighbouring localities and at wider scales, were particularly important. In such a context, face-to-face forms of information provision became particularly vital (Bell et al., 2005), alongside more 'formal' forms of decision-making that could transparently demonstrate the extent of community inclusion and influence in decisions about project design. In contrast, in communities with greater reserves of 'thick trust' (Gambetta, 1988) or

with more positive histories around community wind development, informal procedures may work because residents do not feel they require formal confirmation that the project leaders are acting in the community's best interest (see Simcock, 2012). Therefore, aside from broad principles any implementation process needs to avoid over generalised and simplified prescriptions of 'what works' and instead recognise 'the agency of the absent' (Bickerstaff, 2012, p. 2611) by tailoring the details of the process to the particular community in question (Walker, 2012).

Clearly, this is only one case study and additional research is needed to validate these findings, and to examine further how the specific features and contexts of different community projects shape stakeholder perceptions. A limitation of this study is its relatively short time-frame, and further research could also adopt a more longitudinal design in order to examine how the process evolves and changes (Walker et al., 2011). Finally, further research could also examine in detail the perceptions of those who remain 'silent' and do not actively participate in decision-making processes (Bell et al., 2005).

A final note: as of July 2016, the project has not been constructed. Following the completion of this research the opposition to the project grew in strength and number, and after several years it was refused planning permission partly due to concerns of damage to nearby ancient woodland. Origin then stated their desire to submit a second application, this time for only a single turbine.

References
Agyeman, J., 2013. Introducing Just Sustainabilities: Policy, Planning, and Practice. Zed Books Ltd, London.

Arnstein, S.R., 1969. A Ladder Of Citizen Participation. J. Am. Inst. Plann. 35, 216–224.

Barnett, J., Burningham, K., Walker, G., Cass, N., 2012. Imagined publics and engagement around renewable energy technologies in the UK. Public Underst. Sci. 21, 36–50. doi:10.1177/0963662510365663

Barry, J., Ellis, G., 2011. Beyond Consensus? Agonism, replublicanism and a low carbon future, in: Devine-Wright, P. (Ed.), Renewable Energy and the Public: From NIMBY to Participation. Earthscan, Abingdon, Oxon, pp. 29–42.

Barry, M., Chapman, R., 2009. Distributed small-scale wind in New Zealand: Advantages, barriers and policy support instruments. Energy Policy, New Zealand Energy Strategy 37, 3358–3369. doi:10.1016/j.enpol.2009.01.006

Becker, S., Kunz, C., 2014. Transcending community energy: collective and politically motivated projects in renewable energy (CPE) across Europe. People Place Policy 8, 180–191.

Bell, D., Gray, T., Haggett, C., 2005. The "Social Gap" in Wind Farm Siting Decisions: Explanations and Policy Responses. Environ. Polit. 14, 460–477. doi:10.1080/09644010500175833

Bell, D., Gray, T., Haggett, C., Swaffield, J., 2013. Re-visiting the "social gap": public opinion and relations of power in the local politics of wind energy. Environ. Polit. 22, 115–135. doi:10.1080/09644016.2013.755793

Bell, D., Rowe, F., 2012. Are climate policies fairly made? Joseph Rowntree Foundation, York.

BHESCo, 2016. Community energy: "Powerful, intrusive and disruptive" Doug Parr, Greenpeace [WWW Document]. URL http://bhesco.co.uk/community-energy-powerful-intrusive-and-disruptive-doug-parr-greenpeace/#.V6mHvPn6GVr (accessed 12.7.16).

Bickerstaff, K., 2012. "Because We've Got History Here": Nuclear Waste, Cooperative Siting, and the Relational Geography of a Complex Issue. Environ. Plan. A 44, 2611–2628. doi:10.1068/a44583

Cook, I., 1999. Participant Observation., in: Flowerdew, R., Martin, D. (Eds.), Methods in Human Geography. Addison Wesley Longman, Edinburgh, pp. 110–227.

Cowell, R., Bristow, G., Munday, M., 2011. Acceptance, acceptability and environmental justice: the role of community benefits in wind energy development. J. Environ. Plan. Manag. 54, 539–557. doi:10.1080/09640568.2010.521047

Debbané, A.-M., Keil, R., 2004. Multiple disconnections: environmental justice and Urban water in Canada and South Africa. Space Polity 8, 209–225. doi:10.1080/1356257042000273968

Department of Energy & Climate Change, 2014. Community Energy Strategy: Full Report. DECC, London.

Devine-Wright, P., 2012. Fostering Public Engagement in Wind Energy Development: The Role of Intermediaries and Community Benefits, in: Szarka, J., Cowell, R., Ellis, G., Strachan, P.A., Warren, C. (Eds.), Learning From Wind Power: Governance, Societal and Policy Perspectives on Sustainable Energy. Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, pp. 194–214.

Devine-Wright, P., 2011. From backyards to places: Public engagement and the emplacement of renewable energy technologies, in: Devine-Wright, P. (Ed.), Renewable Energy and the Public: From NIMBY to Participation. Earthscan, London.

Devine-Wright, P., 2005. Local aspects of UK renewable energy development: exploring public beliefs and policy implications. Local Environ. 10, 57–69. doi:10.1080/1354983042000309315

Dobson, A., 2014. Listening for Democracy: Recognition, Representation, Reconciliation. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Doncaster Free Press, 2008. Fight to stop turbines twice the height of Minster [WWW Document]. URL http://www.doncasterfreepress.co.uk/news/fight-to-stop-turbines-twice-height-of-minster-1-520691 (accessed 6.3.12).

Fan, M.-F., 2006. Environmental justice and nuclear waste conflicts in Taiwan. Environ. Polit. 15, 417–434. doi:10.1080/09644010600627683

Friends of the Earth, 2014. Community Energy – Unlocking Potential. Friends of the Earth, Leeds.

Friends of the Earth Scotland, 2014. Community Power Scotland: From Remote Island Grids to Urban Solar Co-operatives. Friends of the Earth Scotland, Edinburgh.

Fuller, S., Bulkeley, H., 2013. Energy justice and the low-carbon transition: assessing low-carbon community programmes in the UK, in: Bickerstaff, K., Walker, G., Bulkeley, H. (Eds.), Energy

Justice in a Changing Climate: Social Equity and Low-Carbon Energy. Zed Books Ltd, London, pp. 61–78.

Fung, A., 2006. Varieties of Participation in Complex Governance. Public Adm. Rev. 66, 66–75. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6210.2006.00667.x

Gambetta, D., 1988. Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Goodin, R.E., 2007. Enfranchising All Affected Interests, and Its Alternatives. Philos. Public Aff. 35, 40–68. doi:10.1111/j.1088-4963.2007.00098.x

Gross, C., 2007. Community perspectives of wind energy in Australia: The application of a justice and community fairness framework to increase social acceptance. Energy Policy 35, 2727–2736. doi:10.1016/j.enpol.2006.12.013

Haggett, C., 2011. Planning and Persuasion: Public Engagement in Renewable Energy Decision-Making, in: Devine-Wright, P. (Ed.), Renewable Energy and the Public: From NIMBY to Participation. Earthscan, London.

Haggett, C., 2008. Over the Sea and Far Away? A Consideration of the Planning, Politics and Public Perception of Offshore Wind Farms. J. Environ. Policy Plan. 10, 289–306. doi:10.1080/15239080802242787

Hall, N., Ashworth, P., Devine-Wright, P., 2013. Societal acceptance of wind farms: Analysis of four common themes across Australian case studies. Energy Policy 58, 200–208. doi:10.1016/j.enpol.2013.03.009

Hindmarsh, R., Matthews, C., 2008. Deliberative Speak at the Turbine Face: Community Engagement, Wind Farms, and Renewable Energy Transitions, in Australia. J. Environ. Policy Plan. 10, 217–232. doi:10.1080/15239080802242662

Hoffman, S.M., High-Pippert, A., 2010. From private lives to collective action: Recruitment and participation incentives for a community energy program. Energy Policy, Special Section: Carbon Reduction at Community Scale 38, 7567–7574. doi:10.1016/j.enpol.2009.06.054

Hunold, C., Young, I.M., 1998. Justice, Democracy, and Hazardous Siting. Polit. Stud. 46, 82–95. doi:10.1111/1467-9248.00131

Irwin, A., 1995. Citizen Science. Routledge, London.

Jeong, Y., Simcock, N., Walker, G., 2012. Making power differently: Exploring in motives and meanings of community renewable energy developments in cases from the UK and South Korea, in: Davies, A. (Ed.), Enterprising Communities: Grassroots Sustainability Innovations. Emerald Group, Bingley, pp. 105–121.

Keeling, A., Sandlos, J., 2009. Environmental Justice Goes Underground? Historical Notes from Canada's Northern Mining Frontier. Environ. Justice 2, 117–125. doi:10.1089/env.2009.0009

Kempton, W., Firestone, J., Lilley, J., Rouleau, T., Whitaker, P., 2005. The Offshore Wind Power Debate: Views from Cape Cod. Coast. Manag. 33, 119–149. doi:10.1080/08920750590917530

King, T.J., 2010. Damming the Flow: Cultural Barriers to Perceived "Procedural Justice" in Wonthaggi, Victoria. Cult. Stud. Rev. 16, 119.

Knudsen, J.K., Wold, L.C., Aas, Ø., Kielland Haug, J.J., Batel, S., Devine-Wright, P., Qvenild, M., Jacobsen, G.B., 2015. Local perceptions of opportunities for engagement and procedural justice in electricity transmission grid projects in Norway and the UK. Land Use Policy 48, 299–308. doi:10.1016/j.landusepol.2015.04.031

Lukes, S., 2005. Power: A Radical View, 2nd ed. Palgrave MacMillan, London.

McLaren, D., Krieger, K., Bickerstaff, K., 2013. Justice in energy system transformations: the case of carbon capture and storage, in: Bickerstaff, K., Walker, G., Bulkeley, H. (Eds.), Energy Justice in a Changing Climate. Zed Books Ltd, London, pp. 158–181.

Oteman, M., Wiering, M., Helderman, J.-K., 2014. The institutional space of community initiatives for renewable energy: a comparative case study of the Netherlands, Germany and Denmark. Energy Sustain. Soc. 4, 11. doi:10.1186/2192-0567-4-11

Pasqualetti, M.J., 2011. Opposing Wind Energy Landscapes: A Search for Common Cause. Ann. Assoc. Am. Geogr. 101, 907–917. doi:10.1080/00045608.2011.568879

Radtke, J., 2014. A closer look inside collaborative action: civic engagement and participation in community energy initiatives. People Place Policy 8, 235–248.

Rezaei, M., Dowlatabadi, H., 2016. Off-grid: community energy and the pursuit of self-sufficiency in British Columbia's remote and First Nations communities. Local Environ. 21, 789–807. doi:10.1080/13549839.2015.1031730

Robbins, P., 2012. Political Ecology: A Critical Introduction. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester.

Rowe, G., Frewer, L.J., 2005. A Typology of Public Engagement Mechanisms. Sci. Technol. Hum. Values 30, 251–290. doi:10.1177/0162243904271724

Sandel, M.J., 2009. Justice: What's the right thing to do? Penguin Books, London.

Schlosberg, D., 2007. Defining Environmental Justice: Theories, Movements, and Nature. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Seyfang, G., Park, J.J., Smith, A., 2013. A thousand flowers blooming? An examination of community energy in the UK. Energy Policy 61, 977–989. doi:10.1016/j.enpol.2013.06.030

Shrader-Frechette, K., 2002. Environmental Justice: Creating Equity, Reclaiming Democracy. Oxford University Press, New York.

Simcock, N., 2014. Exploring how stakeholders in two community wind projects use a "those affected" principle to evaluate the fairness of each project's spatial boundary. Local Environ. 19, 241–258. doi:10.1080/13549839.2013.788482

Simcock, N., 2012. Imposition or "the will of the people"? : procedural justice in the implementation of community wind energy projects. Lancaster University, Lancaster.

Smith, G., 2009. Democratic Innovations: Designing Institutions for Citizen Participation. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Sovacool, B.K., Sidortsov, R.V., Jones, B.R., 2014. Energy Security, Equality and Justice. Routledge, London.

Stirling, A., 2014. Transforming power: Social science and the politics of energy choices. Energy Res. Soc. Sci. 1, 83–95. doi:10.1016/j.erss.2014.02.001

Toke, D., Breukers, S., Wolsink, M., 2008. Wind power deployment outcomes: How can we account for the differences? Renew. Sustain. Energy Rev. 12, 1129–1147. doi:10.1016/j.rser.2006.10.021

Vermeylen, S., Walker, G., 2011. Environmental Justice, Values, and Biological Diversity: The San and the Hoodia Benefit-Sharing Agreement, in: Carmin, J., Agyeman, J. (Eds.), Environmental Inequalities Beyond Borders. MIT Press, London.

Walker, G., 2012. Environmental Justice: Concepts, Evidence and Politics. Routledge, London.

Walker, G., Cass, N., 2007. Carbon reduction, "the public" and renewable energy: engaging with socio-technical configurations. Area 39, 458–469. doi:10.1111/j.1475-4762.2007.00772.x

Walker, G., Devine-Wright, P., 2008. Community renewable energy: What should it mean? Energy Policy 36, 497–500. doi:10.1016/j.enpol.2007.10.019

Walker, G., Devine-Wright, P., Barnett, J., Burningham, K., Cass, N., Devine-Wright, H., Speller, G., Barton, J., Evans, B., Heath, Y., Infield, D., Parks, J., Theobald, K., 2011. Symmetries, Expectations, Dynamics and Contexts: A Framework for Understanding Public Engagement with Renewable Energy Projects., in: Devine-Wright, P. (Ed.), Renewable Energy and the Public: From NIMBY to Participation. Earthscan, London.

Walker, G., Devine-Wright, P., Hunter, S., High, H., Evans, B., 2010. Trust and community: Exploring the meanings, contexts and dynamics of community renewable energy. Energy Policy, The Role of Trust in Managing Uncertainties in the Transition to a Sustainable Energy Economy, Special Section with Regular Papers 38, 2655–2663. doi:10.1016/j.enpol.2009.05.055

Warren, C.R., McFadyen, M., 2010. Does community ownership affect public attitudes to wind energy? A case study from south-west Scotland. Land Use Policy, Forest transitionsWind power planning, landscapes and publics 27, 204–213. doi:10.1016/j.landusepol.2008.12.010

Wolsink, M., 2010. Near-shore wind power—Protected seascapes, environmentalists' attitudes, and the technocratic planning perspective. Land Use Policy, Forest transitionsWind power planning, landscapes and publics 27, 195–203. doi:10.1016/j.landusepol.2009.04.004

Wolsink, M., 2007a. Planning of renewables schemes: Deliberative and fair decision-making on landscape issues instead of reproachful accusations of non-cooperation. Energy Policy 35, 2692–2704. doi:10.1016/j.enpol.2006.12.002

Wolsink, M., 2007b. Wind power implementation: The nature of public attitudes: Equity and fairness instead of "backyard motives." Renew. Sustain. Energy Rev. 11, 1188–1207. doi:10.1016/j.rser.2005.10.005

Young, I.M., 2000. Inclusion and Democracy. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Young, I.M., 1990. Justice and the Politics of Difference. Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Zografos, C., Martínez-Alier, J., 2009. The Politics of Landscape Value: A Case Study of Wind Farm Conflict in Rural Catalonia. Environ. Plan. A 41, 1726–1744. doi:10.1068/a41208