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Contested natural-cultural landscapes in the Anthropocene: Connecting community identity, heritage and influence within the North York Moors National Park

Thomas Michael Ratcliffe

PhD

2021

Contested natural-cultural landscapes in the Anthropocene: Connecting community identity, heritage and influence within the North York Moors National Park

Thomas Michael Ratcliffe

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Northumbria at Newcastle for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Research undertaken in the Faculty of Arts, Design and Social Sciences

Abstract

The Anthropocene has instigated unprecedented changes to the human and natural environment interactions in National Parks in the UK. In the North York Moors National Park, changes to rural working life and in environmental attitudes over the last thirty years, together with an increasing dependence on human decision-making, have made these spaces politically and socially contested between different groups of people. Out of these contests over land management, use and ownership, alternative kinds of landscape and new community groups have arisen which put pressure on human-nature interactions in the National Park. The thesis aims to demonstrate how contests in a landscape have been triggered by the shifting of a nature-culture axis by active forces: *movemen*t, *perception*, *time* and *voice*. The overarching argument of this thesis is that people's identity with and influence on the management, use and ownership of a protected landscape, underpinned by these four forces, shapes the nature-culture axis within the landscape thereby affecting how landscapes are contested.

Using the Anthropocene as an academic framework, with few UK protected area studies hitherto framed by this tool, this AHRC-funded research project investigates the identity and influence of new community groups and the valorisation of alternative landscapes in the – as yet – under researched North York Moors National Park. Through landscape and heritage processes, the project explores how people connect with a protected landscape, the role communities have in influencing landscape change or protection and community representation within the power structures of these politicised, contested landscapes. *Dwelling* theory and non-representational tools enable the project to investigate the everyday experiences and decisions of humans in these relational spaces.

By carrying out walking interviews, rarely used in UK National Park academic research, combined with other mixed qualitative methods, with a range of key stakeholders across the National Park, the project investigates three different types of landscape in the North York Moors: Fylingdales Moor – a heather moorland focusing on improving wildlife conservation; adjacent to Fylingdales Moor; the Woodsmith Mine – a polyhalite mine bringing a futuristic, industrial construction to this National Park landscape; and two heather moorlands in Goathland managed for driven grouse shooting.

The findings of the thesis demonstrate the large amount of power that landowners and land managers have in this National Park over residents' and visitors' perceptions and experiences of the landscape by means of the everyday decisions they make on land management. The thesis argues that North York Moors communities could be better represented in landscape change and management negotiations.

Adopting a deliberative, systemic thinking approach – a developing research area in the Political Sciences, the thesis recommends a co-operative, communication system, which amalgamates key decision makers and residents and involves a wider range of stakeholders in the landscape decision-making process. It is proposed that this system can lead to more integrated landscape management and strategic planning where the ordinary citizen has more influence over decisions.

Table of contents

Abstract 1
Table of contents 2
List of figures and tables 6
Abbreviations 10
Acknowledgements 11
Chapter 1 – Introduction 13
Growing up in a heritage-landscape 13
1.1. The contestability of Anthropocene National Park landscapes 14
1.2. Connecting landscape and heritage 19
1.3. North York Moors National Park 20
1.4. Key research questions, methods and analysis 21
1.5. Thesis structure 24
Chapter 2 – Purple heather, landscape and heritage: deconstructing concepts and theories in contested National Park spaces 27
2.1. Introduction 27
2.2. Purple heather (*Calluna Vulgaris*) and contestation 29
2.3. Landscape 34
2.3.1. Temporality and perception of landscape – inside and outside a landscape 36
2.3.2. Moving through a landscape 41
2.3.3. Interactions and interrelationships in a National Park landscape 43
2.3.4. Politicised landscapes 45
2.3.5. Participation in a landscape 48
2.4. Natural-cultural landscape 52
2.4.1. Nature-culture axis 52
2.4.2. Anthropocene landscape research 55
2.4.3. Ideas of rewilding / wilding places 60
2.5. Heritage 64
2.5.1. Heritage, landscape and community 66
2.6. National Park heritage-landscapes in the Anthropocene 69
Chapter 3 – Purpose, governance and ownership structures in the North York Moors National Park 71
3.1. Introduction 71
3.2. Setup of the National Park system and formation of the NYMNP 73
3.3. Identifying and defining a National Park 77
3.3.1. Living, working landscapes 77

3.3.2. Identities 80
3.4. Community representation in North York Moors decision-making processes . 83
3.4.1. Planning and statutory purpose 83
3.4.2. The socio-economic duty 85
3.4.3. Community consultation 86
3.4.4. Governing the landscape of the NYMNP 89
3.4.5. National Park Authority Management Plan 91
3.4.6. Landowners and land managers as decision-makers 93
3.5. Land ownership in the NYMNP 93
3.5.1. Land ownership and power 93
3.5.2. Ownership: Private organisations and individuals 96
3.5.3. Ownership: Public bodies and conservation charities 100
3.5.4. Ownership: NYMNPA 102
3.6. Ownership, changing attitudes and influence 104
Chapter 4 – Movement: designing methodological approaches to understand the connection between communities and the natural-cultural landscape of the North York Moors National Park 107
4.1. Introduction 107
4.2. Background to the research design and methods 110
4.2.1. Epistemology 110
4.2.2. Positionality 111
4.2.3. Case study design: three landscapes within the NYMNP 112
4.2.4. Pilot research in the LDNP 116
4.2.5. Interview schedule and participant guidance 118
4.3. Primary research methodology including reflections on the approach 120
4.3.1. A mixed methodological approach 121
4.3.2. Selecting a sample and recruitment 123
4.3.3. Walking and interviewing 131
4.3.4. The selected path 132
4.3.5. Walking and ethics 135
4.3.6. Why a walking interview? 136
4.3.7. Human-landscape relationships on a walk 141
Being present in a landscape 141
The power of stories and narratives 142
Apprenticing ourselves to a place 143
How we represent our experiences 145
4.3.8. Sedentary and strategic interviews and a focus group 145

4.3.9. Observational research at meetings 146
4.3.10. Reflective summary of methods 147
4.4. Data analysis 148
4.4.1. Data analysis framework 148
4.4.2. Three analysis chapters and 'reflections and recommendations' chapter 148
Chapter 5 – Perception: moorland landscapes and management in the North York Moors National Park 151
5.1. Introduction 151
5.2. An anthropogenic landscape 153
5.3. Perception 155
5.4. Human intervention 156
5.5. Human-nature interactions and systemic approaches 164
5.6. Local taskscapes and dwelling – '*It's my home*' 172
5.7. Beauty in the Anthropocene 176
5.8. Identity and perception 180
5.9. Balancing nature and culture 183
Chapter 6 – Time: the Woodsmith Mine and Fylingdales Moor 185
6.1. Introduction 185
6.2. Landscape change 188
6.2.1. Time 188
6.2.2. Modernism, landscape change and the polyhalite mine 193
6.2.3. Modernism and perceptions of future landscapes 197
6.3. An alternative moorland 202
6.3.1. More-than-human landscapes 202
6.3.2. Fylingdales Moor and its management 205
6.3.3. Perceptions and experiences of Fylingdales Moor 219
6.4. Crossing the B1416 224
Chapter 7 – Voice: community influence, power and upland management 226
7.1. Introduction 226
7.2. Community in the North York Moors in the Anthropocene 228
7.2.1. Defining voice and the composition of a community in the Anthropocene 228
7.2.2. Community attitudes towards the management of the countryside 231
7.3. Community voices in National Park landscapes – The Goathland Moor Regeneration Group (GMRG) 237
7.3.1. The landowner and the community 237
7.3.2. The National Park Authority 242
7.3.3. The Goathland Moor Regeneration Group (GMRG) 246

7.3.4. Participation and the future of the uplands 250
7.4. Voices 254
Chapter 8 – Reflections and recommendations 258
8.1. The nature-culture axis 258
8.2. Four forces 260
8.2.1. Movement 260
8.2.2. Perception 260
8.2.3. Time 261
8.2.4. Voice 262
8.3. A co-operative communication system 265
8.4. Future research into land and local communities in a National Park 271
8.5. Multiple futures, alternative futures 271
Appendices 274
Appendix A – Walking interview schedule 274
Appendix B – Sedentary interview schedule 281
Appendix C – Participant information sheet and consent form 288
Appendix D – Pilot interview schedule 293
Appendix E – Pilot Interview participant information sheet and consent form 296
Appendix F – Audiences who participated in the research project 301
Appendix G – Data analysis framework 303
Appendix H – Transcript examples 308
Appendix I – Tables of themes 322
Appendix J – Example of a summary of a theme 329
Appendix K – Land Ownership in the North York Moors National Park 331
Appendix L – Synopsis of whole estate plans in the South Downs National Park 336
Bibliography 337

List of figures and tables

Figure 1 - The NYMNP area is shaded in light brown. The three landscapes that the thesis focuses on are labelled on the map (OS maps 2020). 20
Figure 2 - Walking across Fylingdales Moor in the NYMNP with interviewees for the research project (Photograph by author 2020). 23
Figure 3 - Ling, cross leaved heath and deep dark pink / purple bell heather dominate the vistas in the NYMNP (Photograph by author 2020). 29
Figure 4 - A land manager burning the heather near Roseberry Topping in the North York Moors. The burning season in the North York Moors runs from 1st October to 15th April (Teesside Gazette 2018). 31
Figure 5 – Fell running and sheep farming on Goathland West Moor and Howl Moor (Lambert 2020). 42
Figure 6 - A diagram of human interactions with landscape. Reworked from Roe (2019: 404) and based on the main discussions in this chapter. 43
Figure 7 - Wild Ennerdale in the LDNP (Photograph by author 2020). 62
Figure 8 - The plaque on the entrance to Sheffield Town Hall celebrating the impact of walking groups on the UK National Park system. It commemorates those who campaigned for National Parks and public access in the 1930s and the Countryside and Rights of Way Act (CROW) Act enacted in 2000 (Waymarking 2018). 74
Figure 9 - A map of national, regional and district, and local stakeholders who are making, implementing and influencing key decisions in the moors landscape. Many of the named organisations are taken from the NYMNP Management Plan and from a phone conversation with a NYMNPA staff member (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2020). 91
Figure 10 - A map of some of the names of landowners and their land boundaries in the NYMNP (Shrubsole, pers. comm. 2020; Orbital Witness 2020). 99
Figure 11 - Research Diary: Walking and reflecting on collecting land ownership data in a National Park 103
Figure 12 - The majority of the walking interviews started at the bottom of this dale at May Beck Forestry Commission car park. We climbed out of the valley through forestry plantation and bracken and up on to the heather moorland of Fylingdales Moor. This view looks back on the starting point of the walk (Photograph by author 2020). 108
Figure 13 - The three landscape case studies in the NYMNP – Fylingdales Moor (1), the Woodsmith Mine (2) and Goathland (3). The lines drawn here and on Fig.14 are based on the Goathland parish boundary, the Fylingdales Moor boundary and the mine head site (OS maps). 113
Figure 14 - Fylingdales Moor (1), the Woodsmith Mine (2) and Goathland (3). The yellow lines indicate the route where most of the walking interviews took place. The Fylingdales Moor route saw the most walking interviews conducted during the fieldwork stage (14 interviews) (Google Earth 2020). 113
Figure 15 - Four pilot interviews took place on Birkby Fell in the Western Lake District (Photograph by author 2020). 116
Figure 16 - The mixed methods approach utilised in this research project. 121

Figure 17 - The NYMNPA posted this message on their Young Explorers Facebook page on behalf of the project (North York Moors Young Explorers 2019)..... 127
Figure 18 - An advertisement for the project in the PLACE 2019 Summer Newsletter, a local landscape and culture charity group (PLACE 2019). 128
Figure 19 - The lowest number of people interviewed who live in the National Park were in the 16-24 and 25-34 age bands which is in keeping with the small number of young people who take up residence in the National Park. The age of those who took part across all the interviews was skewed towards those who were 35 and above because of the types of job roles and organisations that were interviewed, which were also more likely to adhere to an older type of person. Moreover, a walking interview attracted a certain demography – those who were retired and perhaps had the time to partake in this type of interview. However, two respondents who were on work shifts were also interviewed..... 129
Figure 20 - Feedback from 11-17 year olds captured by the NYMNPA education team (Photograph by author 2020). 130
Figure 21 - This map was sent to participants before the walk and shows the chosen route for the May Beck walking interview (OS Maps 2019)..... 132
Figure 22 - The May Beck walking route (highlighted in yellow), Fylingdales Moor and the Woodsmith Mine construction site (Google Maps 2019)..... 133
Figure 23 - Walking across Sneaton Low Moor with interview participants (Photograph by author 2020). 136
Figure 24 - Walking Interviews were recorded on a ZOOM audio recorder with a wind blocker to ensure high quality sound. All participants had to give their consent for the interview to be audio recorded. A Samsung phone was also used to record sedentary interviews (Photograph by author 2020)..... 137
Figure 25 - Interviewing a farmer in a tractor on Sneaton Low Moor (Photograph by author 2020). 138
Figure 26 - Stopping at the top of the climb to catch our breath and to discuss the surrounding vistas (Photograph by research participant 2020)..... 142
Figure 27 - An ecologist I was interviewing discovered a Fox Moth caterpillar on the heather during a walking interview (Photograph by author 2020). 144
Figure 28 - Fylingdales Moor (Photograph by author 2020)..... 155
Figure 29 - A map of moorland and woodland (deciduous and coniferous) in the National Park showing the extent of the heather moorland habitat (NYMNPA 2016: 7)..... 161
Figure 30 - Ugglebarnby Moor (Photograph by author 2020). 167
Figure 31 - Fen Bog near Goathland managed by the Yorkshire Wildlife Trust (Photograph by author 2020)..... 171
Figure 32 - Fen Bog in August 2020 with Goathland East Moor in the background. There is a varied mosaic of grassland, heather and woodland as shown in this photograph on the Fen Bog land (Photograph by author 2020). 172
Figure 33 - Tranquillity map of the National Park showing that the greener, more tranquil areas dominate the National Park (Almost 90% of the NYMNP is categorised as relatively tranquil) (Northumbria University & Campaign to Protect Rural England 2007). 180
Figure 34 - Looking over Fylingdales Moor from Brow Top with the Woodsmith Mine site being constructed in the background (Photograph by author 2020)..... 186
Figure 35 - The B1416 running in a south-east direction splits the Woodsmith Mine with the start of Sneaton Low Moor which then becomes Fylingdales Moor (Google Maps 2020). . 188
Figure 36 - The extraction and transportation system of the mine (Mining.com 2016)..... 191

Figure 37 - The mine head site south-west of Whitby with the lengthy tunnel, across the North York Moors, connecting this site to an intermediate shaft (an interchange point) at Lockwood Beck and then on to the materials handling facility at Wilton International Complex, Teesside. The very large area of the mineral polyhalite is shown by the red line (Mining Weekly 2020). 191
Figure 38 - The Woodsmith Mine in its construction phase (Fircroft 2019). 193
Figure 39 - Overlooking Sneaton Low Moor, the cranes of the Woodsmith Mine can be seen on the skyline. The B1416 road runs parallel to the tree line (Photograph by author 2020). 202
Figure 40 - Ugglebarnby Moor near to Fylingdales Moor and the Woodsmith Mine (Photograph by author 2020). 203
Figure 41 - A map showing where driven grouse shooting does not take place on the moorland in the NYMNP – highlighted by the red lines. Fylingdales Moor, in the east of the National Park, is the biggest extent of moorland in the National Park without grouse shooting (NYMNPA 2016: 7; Landowner / Moorland Association, pers. comm. 2019). 206
Figure 42 - A large extent of the land in the NYMNP is designated as a SSSI (in green) (DEFRA 2021). 207
Figure 43 - The boundary of Fylingdales Moor in red and the parish in black. The accuracy of the boundaries were confirmed in an email with Fyling Court Leet (Ramsdale 2020). 208
Figure 44 - Common land and The Manor of Fyling Court Leet 210
Figure 45 - Heather burning on the Howdale Moor area of Fylingdales Moor. The heather burning season in the uplands demonstrates a cyclical form of time, from 1st October to 15th April, when there are no birds nesting and the soil is wet (Photograph by author 2020). ... 214
Figure 46 - Thick, tall heather on Fylingdales Moor (Photograph by author 2021). 217
Figure 47 - From estimated satellite data, this map evidences that the intensity of burning from the 2015-16 season to the 2019-20 season is less on Fylingdales Moor in the east compared to the central, western and northern moors of the National Park (Lees et al. 2020). 218
Figure 48 - The map demonstrates that the intensity of heather burning on Fylingdales Moor from 2015-2020 is less than Goathland West Moor (Lees et al. 2020). 218
Figure 49 - Walking across Sneaton Low Moor towards Fylingdales Moor (Photograph by author 2020). 219
Figure 50 - An old grouse butt on Fylingdales Moor covered over in grass, no longer used for shooting (Photograph by author 2021). 221
Figure 51 - The village of Goathland surrounded by heather moorland to the west, east and south. Cow Wath Bank is labelled on the map. The village is located in the middle of the National Park (Google Earth 2020). 237
Figure 52 - A panoramic view of Goathland East Moor from the top of Cow Wath Bank looking down into the village of Goathland (Photograph by author 2020). 237
Figure 53 - The Duchy of Lancaster own most of the land in and around Goathland village (c.5,000 acres). The estate is neighboured by the Egton Estate, Rosedale and Westerdale Moors, Forestry Commission land to the south and MoD land (RAF Fylingdales) to the east (Shrubsole pers. comm. 2020; Orbital Witness 2020). 239
Figure 54 - The view over Goathland East Moor looking down into the village of Goathland with Goathland West Moor in the background (Photograph by author 2020). 240
Figure 55 - Heather burning on nearby Westerdale Moor (Source: Ban Bloodsports on Yorkshire's Moors, pers. comm. 2020) 240

Figure 56 - A North Yorkshire Police poster in a local shop in Goathland promoting the Operation Owl campaign which the police force launched in February 2018 to raise awareness about raptor persecution (Photograph by author 2020). 247
Figure 57 - Capturing community voices in the North York Moors National Park..... 256
Figure 58 - A diagram of the contested landscape process with the nature-culture axis and the four forces which affect the axis. The lines on the diagram derive from Ingold's 'meshwork' of interwoven lines which represent relationships between 'things' (Ingold 2011). 259
Figure 59 - The index of themes which came out of the data analysis with an assemblage of references under each node (a node is a collection of references under each theme) (Photograph by author 2020). 305
Figure 60 - Mapping the themes against the four key research questions (Photograph by author 2020). 305

Table 1 - A table showing where the members come from and how many there are on the NYMNPA Board (Source: NYMNPA 2019)..... 88
Table 2 - A comparison of the percentage of land out of the total area of the NYMNP owned by different types of landowner against the Edwards Report and the DEFRA news release (Source: Edwards Report 1991, DEFRA news release 2002, NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2020). 96
Table 3 - Private land by percentage of total area in English National Parks (Source: DEFRA 2002; Hodge 2016: 170). The table does not include the New Forest and South Downs because they were designated after this data was made available. 97
Table 4 - The eight largest private landowners in the NYMNP by percentage of total area of NYMNP (see Appendix K for list of sources). 98
Table 5 - Percentage of land out of total area of National Park owned or leased by public bodies, conservation charities and the National Park Authority (see Appendix K for list of sources). 101
Table 6 - A table showing the type of method implemented, the quantity of each method type (e.g. number of walking interviews) and the location. 123
Table 7 - A table showing the organisations who participated in the fieldwork. 301
Table 8 - A table displaying the themes which emerged from the data with an example of an attributed quotation against each theme. The number of different data sources used (sources) and number of quotations listed (references) against each theme are also detailed. 322
Table 9 - A table showing the name of the land area, the landowner and the amount of land owned or leased by the landowner (in acres and % out of whole National Park). 331

Abbreviations

ANT – Actor Network Theory

AONB – Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty

AWG – The Working Group on the ‘Anthropocene’

CAP – Common Agricultural Policy

CNP – Campaign for National Parks

DEFRA – Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

ELC – European Landscape Convention

ELM – Environmental Land Management scheme

FC – Forestry Commission

GMRG – Goathland Moor Regeneration Group

HLS – Higher Level Stewardship scheme

IUCN – International Union for Conservation of Nature

LDNP – Lake District National Park

LDNPA – Lake District National Park Authority

MoD – Ministry of Defence

NE – Natural England

NP – National Park

NPA – National Park Authority

NYMA – North York Moors Association

NYMNP – North York Moors National Park

NYMNPA – North York Moors National Park Authority

PLACE – People, landscape and cultural environment of Yorkshire group

SAC – Special Area of Conservation

SES – Social-ecological systems

SPA – Special Protection Area

SSSI – Site of Special Scientific Interest

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

YWT – Yorkshire Wildlife Trust

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The thesis is written in memory of my Auntie Chris, a proud Yorkshire woman. It is dedicated to her and to my Nan, an eternal shining light.

Author's Declaration

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work. I also confirm that this work fully acknowledges opinions, ideas and contributions from the work of others. Any ethical clearance for the research presented in this thesis has been approved. Approval has been sought and granted by the Department of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee on 15/1/2019.

I declare that the word count of this thesis is 84,229 words.

Name: THOMAS MICHAEL RATCLIFFE

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Chapter One

Introduction

Growing up in a heritage-landscape

Walking out on to Fylingdales Moor through the Forestry Commission conifer plantation, incited memories of my first interests in landscape and the outdoors. From an early age I would play in the local woods with my brother and a handful of friends who lived on my street. We built bases, climbed the branches of trees and created imaginary games. Being totally immersed in the outdoor environment, I valued the open air, the friendships I made, but most of all the freedom and the landscape.

Ownership influenced which wooded areas we could explore. A wall in the middle of one wood acted as a boundary separating the public land from a private school. When new houses started to be built on the land where we played, we had to move from our beloved set of woods to another place nearby. Even though it felt free, wild and adventurous, I had a feeling that a higher power was controlling the land and its use. The spaces where we could explore diminished as we grew older. Later in life I started to reflect on my childhood and ask questions; who was managing and developing the land? What were these landscapes for? Who had a voice in the creation of these landscapes?

I visited many landscapes throughout the country, including protected landscapes, such as National Parks and continuously pondered these questions. I wanted to understand if people had an influence on the landscapes which surrounded them, how they valued these landscapes and if their values made a difference to changes that were made in the landscape. (Fieldwork Diary 2019-2020)[1]

[1] I recorded my experiences of the research process in a fieldwork diary. Extracts from this diary will be used in the thesis to show my reflections on the research. A further discussion of the role of the diary in the research is included in 1.4 and 4.3.

1.1. The contestability of Anthropocene National Park landscapes

Seventy years on from the original legislation that created the first National Parks in England and Wales[2] is an appropriate time for a research project to study society's role in contested landscapes in National Parks and the changing human relationship with the natural world.

Community life in United Kingdom (UK) National Parks has changed over the last thirty years. The rural economy has shifted from an agrarian economy towards more tourism focused industries. Second home ownership and holiday homes have become increasingly popular in National Parks which, in turn, has seen house prices rise in these areas (Goss 2019; Greenfield 2020). Young people look to other ventures away from the countryside where they can afford their own home with little aspiration to work in traditional industries and low paid tourism employment (The Yorkshire Post 2020). Many rural amenities and services (i.e. pubs and schools) have closed or changed to become more tourism orientated, no longer necessarily servicing residents. The decision by the UK to leave the European Union is starting to already have a challenging impact on tourism, land conservation and its governance, farming life and communities in these rural places (Cowie *et al.* 2018; Wallace & Scott 2018; Hodge 2019; Neal *et al.* 2021). Society has become increasingly dependent on mobile phones and broadband connectivity, yet there is poor mobile and broadband coverage in some National Parks such as the North York Moors (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2021).

The COVID-19 pandemic which began in 2020 has also had major implications on the way humans and nature interact in UK National Parks, with humans seeking more refuge in their local green spaces. A Natural England survey (2020) highlighted the importance of nature in making people feel happy during the pandemic.[3] Simultaneously, the pandemic has prevented access for certain communities to natural places leading to a loss in human interaction with distant landscapes. In particular this occurred during the first and third lockdowns in the UK when the National Parks advised people to only travel into these areas if it was deemed essential travel, in alignment with the UK government guidance for people to remain in their local areas. Furthermore, the pandemic has caused pressure within rural communities,

[2] The National Parks in Scotland were designated much later with Loch Lomond and the Trossachs designated in 2002 and the Cairngorms in 2003. There are currently no National Parks in Northern Ireland.

[3] In the Natural England survey (2020), 85% of adults reported that being in nature made them happy during the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic. Data was collected for the survey from April to July 2020 and these natural spaces include green spaces, the countryside, the coast and visits of any duration. They do not include gardens. Although the positive contribution of the natural world and protected areas to mental and physical health is well known and has been widely researched (Fuller *et al.* 2007; Ward-Thompson *et al.* 2010; Shanahan *et al.* 2016; Naidoo *et al.* 2019; Hardman 2020; Jones *et al.* 2020; Jorgensen & Sheffield, 2020; Dobson *et al.* 2021; Jones 2021) it seems that people have become more aware of the benefits of access and use of local green spaces during the COVID-19 pandemic (Rousseau & Deschacht 2020: 1149).

provoking a ‘stay away’ reaction from local people in protected areas who have felt threatened by visitors bringing the virus to remote areas and putting local people at risk.

UK policy concerning protected areas and the environment is also in a state of flux which will have far reaching consequences on the relations between communities and nature in National Parks. The government’s 2019 Landscape Review, a new Environment Bill, the new 25 year Environment Plan, the new Ten Point Plan and the proposed new Environmental Land Management (ELM) scheme, as well as an ecosystem services consideration amongst landowners has started to see the scrutiny upon landscapes increase and the purpose and future of many landscapes being questioned. This thesis, therefore, is written at a time when land ownership, land management and land use and the way people interact with their environments is increasingly being freshly analysed under the framework of the Anthropocene, across multiple academic disciplines, with literature emerging concerning protected areas.[4]

Landscapes are hybrid spaces where the human-natural environment synergy meets. Ever since the wide-ranging concept of the Anthropocene was introduced by Crutzen and Stoermer (2000) to suggest the beginning of a new geological epoch, the human-natural environment synergy has received attention from across the academy, including the natural sciences and the arts and humanities. The Anthropocene has seen unprecedented changes by humans to landscapes throughout the UK including to land in statutory protected landscapes,[5] while at the same time, humans are reliant on landscapes for resources and ecosystem services (Harden *et al.* 2014: 5). As humans increasingly examine their interactions and role in landscapes, this newly defined epoch raises critical questions about how people value and identify with their landscapes.

Entangled within this natural-cultural axis[6] are tensions or ‘contests’ occurring in all landscapes; between humans, between nature and between humans and nature. Contests are defined for the purpose of this thesis as the ideas and debates within social relations in a landscape. They are encompassed by power structures, ownership, governance, policy and

[4] See Cumming, 2016 for the role of protected areas in the Anthropocene. See Palomo *et al.* 2014 for a social-ecological approach to National Park management in this epoch, focusing on the Galapagos islands. See Krauss, 2019 for nature-culture debates in Northern Friesland, Germany.

[5] In law, a statutory protected landscape in the UK includes National Parks and Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB). There are 15 National Parks in the UK and 49 AONBs in England, Northern Ireland and Wales. Scotland has 40 National Scenic Areas, in place of AONBs. A protected landscape is defined by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) as ‘a clearly defined geographical space, recognised, dedicated and managed, through legal or other effective means, to achieve the long-term conservation of nature with associated ecosystem services and cultural values’ (IUCN 2021). UK National Parks are designated as Category V protected landscapes by the IUCN.

[6] The thesis argues that nature and culture are a binary compound represented in this thesis by the hybrid term ‘natural-cultural axis’ or ‘nature-culture axis’. The term is analysed in 2.4.

everyday community relationships. These contests concern local debates and participation in a landscape but are also interlinked to profound national and global environmental challenges including climate change, pollution, ecosystem loss and lowering levels of biodiversity. Due to the climate change and ecological emergencies[7] and living on an uncertain, increasingly urbanised Anthropogenic island,[8] many landscape decisions are urgent (Gillson 2015: 9). There is a need for decisive action because of the speed of change, in itself pressurised by national and global direct drivers such as land use, climate change and technological change (Commission for Rural Communities 2010: 23; Palomo *et al.* 2014: 184). These drivers of change sit within human social, political, cultural and economic systems which pervade all aspects of this thesis. Hence, the thesis will look to widen understanding of contests, drivers of change and how these systems operate within a National Park context by addressing the following questions about National Park landscapes:

- Who is making these urgent decisions about contests?
- Who is influencing how people experience National Park landscapes and how does their influence affect people's identity and perception of a landscape?
- Do local people have a role to play in future landscapes?

Every single decision made by a land decision-maker (i.e. a landowner, a land manager or a community) within these systems can impact on the landscape and influence the way the landscape looks and feels, with their choices having direct effects on these drivers of change and the human-natural environment relationship. Human–nature interactions manifest in four active forces – *perception, movement, time and voice* – arising as four main themes from the data. People's identity and influence towards a protected landscape is underpinned by these four forces, shaping the culture-nature axis and, subsequently, instigating contested identities within National Park spaces. Contests in a landscape between decision-makers are affected by people's subjective values, perceptions and interpretations of a particular place (Garcia-Martin *et al.* 2017: 2133). The thesis will argue that more diverse values and identities, including those from the natural world, need to be considered to achieve an integrated management of the landscape that better represents National Park stakeholders and communities (Garcia-Martin *et al.* 2017: 2133). A co-operative communication system based

[7] According to the State of Nature report (2016: 6), the UK ranks as one of the most nature depleted countries in the world. 56% of species have declined between 1970 and 2013 with 40% demonstrating strong or moderate declines. Here I am not separating the ecological emergency from the climate emergency because the two emergencies are intertwined.

[8] I say uncertain future because the COVID-19 pandemic has caused a type of future where humans are rethinking their relationships with the natural world.

on deliberative, systemic thinking will be explored in the thesis, which aims to enable everyday dialogue to feed into formal landscape decision-making processes.

People's identities, their participation and influence in protected landscapes have been studied before and – to a certain degree – in a UK context, for example:

- Dougill *et al*. (2006) who focus on participatory work in the Peak District concluding that a range of participatory approaches with multi-stakeholders can facilitate more inclusive land use decision-making;
- Hewlett and Edwards (2013) who outline concerns with wider community engagement in the management and planning of the New Forest;
- Dinnie *et al*. (2012) have researched an identity study on the Cairngorms in Scotland where they argue that the separation between 'the Park' and the National Park Authority creates contested spaces;
- Individual National Park surveys and consultation work, especially those which research National Park special qualities.

However, there are still many gaps in the research which look at people's experiences of protected landscapes, and few UK protected area studies have been framed by the Anthropocene. Thus, the main aim of the thesis is *to use the Anthropocene as a framework to investigate how people identify with and influence the management, use and ownership of a protected landscape in the UK to provide a greater understanding of the human-natural environment synergy.*

The UK's National Parks provide an opportunity through which to expand our understanding of the perceptions, identities and decisions within dynamic social-ecological systems (SES) in these landscapes (Berkes *et al.* 2003; Berkes 2004). These under researched areas of land make up 9.3% of the land area in England, 19.9% in Wales and 7.2% in Scotland (National Parks UK 2016). They are living and working landscapes and protect natural beauty and wildlife, and as such exemplify the benefits and tensions – the contests – of humans existing alongside nature. These protected areas demonstrate the intensification of human life affecting the land but also where land can be protected against the types of different, intense land use (e.g. urbanisation, industrial farming techniques, poor land management and inappropriate development) which put pressure on ecological systems and biodiversity. Protected for their landscape character created by the interaction of people and nature, they are different from National Parks in other countries because their biodiversity has been hugely influenced by the land use and management of humans (Hodge 2016: 169). Thus, they are

critical study areas to understand the Anthropocene because they are reliant on human decisions in the landscape and the combination of human and natural heritage.

Recent UK government reports have highlighted the importance of National Parks as fundamental to the protection of nature, especially the creation of ecological networks because they are larger areas than other wildlife sites (Lawton *et al.* 2010; DEFRA 2019). Yet, how much buy-in does the protection of nature and its contribution to National Parks' special qualities have from the largely privately owned National Park landscapes? How much power do communities and other public bodies, such as National Park Authorities and Natural England, have in influencing land use and management? The audience focus of this thesis is on National Park communities; nevertheless, it will also aim to reveal the power that landowners and public bodies have in National Parks.

These pressures and contests are heightened on the uplands of the North York Moors National Park (NYMNP) – the focus of this thesis – where different groups of people present polarised interpretations of upland management and landscape. The moorland is the defining feature of this National Park reflecting the everyday land management decisions of land managers[9] and the complex 'meshwork' (Ingold 2011) of power relations between multiple stakeholders including landowners, Natural England (NE), North York Moors National Park Authority (NYMNPA) and local people. The debates over grouse shooting on moorlands (or no grouse shooting in the case of Fylingdales Moor) and a new polyhalite mine on the North York Moors (the Woodsmith Mine) provide exemplar case studies for this PhD to research the impact on communities' identities and their influence in a contested National Park setting. These are emotional debates about access, wildlife and habitat conservation, land management, industrialisation and local job opportunities, which stimulate the feelings, values and narratives behind a natural-cultural landscape in a National Park.

Within this context, the thesis will look to add to existing critical analysis by demonstrating that certain National Park communities are passionate about the land and look to have an influence in their landscape's future. By combining the ways that communities care for and have local knowledge of their environment with land managers' expertise, a new method of landscape decision-making could be possible, one which is forward thinking and looks to benefit all sections of society, rather than just the specific, present interests of landowners or managers. This co-operative communication method will enable land to deliver more ecosystem services and provide a healthy, beneficial Anthropocene which has positive impacts on drivers of change and the systems they sit within. Therefore, the research project, although not primarily

[9] Those who work with, lease and own the land are defined as land managers for the purposes of the thesis.

policy-focused, will offer certain policy-driven recommendations on communities being more involved in landscape management and management planning.

1.2. Connecting landscape and heritage

Landscape and heritage, as processual, politicised concepts, offer a prism through which this thesis can view people's relations with cultural and natural systems across multiple temporalities as decision-makers in National Parks select which landscape-heritage aspects to protect and not to protect. Embracing these two concepts – and taking a contemporary sociological angle towards the research project – means that the thesis will look at the debates associated with present-day landscapes and offer new understanding of human-environment systems. From a social constructivist perspective (Bryman 2012: 33-35), these concepts help us understand what factors can make the people-environment connection more resilient and sustainable in this rapidly changing environmental future.

This is because landscape and heritage consider the ordinary interactions between people and place. Therefore, the two concepts, which have become more grounded in community orientated research, will allow the thesis to identify the everyday values, meanings, emotions, and narratives people assign to the North York Moors from multiple, subjective perspectives. Together with more personal, local values, national identities in these nationally contested spaces will also emerge. Through the heritage-landscape synthesis a wider, diverse range of stakeholder values and their connections with the environment can be better understood with this knowledge contributing to the collaborative decision-making process proposed by the thesis.

These active processes also together connect to multiple temporality research including a developing body of research into investigating 'future' environmental land management issues (i.e. rewilding) which is critical to a study applying the Anthropocene as a framework and a new kind of mining landscape in a National Park as a case study (Harvey & Wilkinson 2019). 'Future' studies have also research overlap here with notions of memory and affect, and more-than-human studies which shall be discussed in the thesis.

Heritage and landscape studies also intersect with the negotiation and justification of power structures in the North York Moors. These are areas of land where decision-makers, who are often in a land management role, have leverage over the types of landscapes that are shaped, whilst land regulation happens through the National Park Authority's planning system and government bodies policy and legislation. Ownership, use and management of these spaces is contested through heritage-landscape claims by public, private and voluntary actors. By

researching these claims the thesis can further understand how the identity and influence of communities in the North York Moors and stakeholders from outside its boundaries affect the culture-nature axis within the National Park.

1.3. North York Moors National Park

The thesis is built upon the case study of the NYMNP, located in North Yorkshire in the north east of England (Fig.1). It takes this protected landscape as the principal study area to concentrate on the landscape and heritage debates within this National Park, with small amounts of primary and secondary data drawn from other National Parks. Concentrating on three specific landscapes within one National Park[10] – Fylingdales Moor (1 on Fig.1), the Woodsmith Mine (2) and Goathland (3) (Goathland West and Goathland East Moor) – enables the research project to be manageable within the remits of a PhD thesis. The three landscapes provide a vehicle for discussions about changes to land, land use, land management and community interactions with a landscape.

Figure 1 - The NYMNP area is shaded in light brown. The three landscapes that the thesis focuses on are labelled on the map (OS maps 2020).

[10] Fylingdales Moor is a heather moorland focused on improving wildlife conservation. Adjacent to Fylingdales Moor, the Woodsmith Mine is a polyhalite mine being constructed in the National Park at the time of this thesis' writing. Goathland West and Goathland East Moor are two heather moorlands managed for driven grouse shooting.

Heritage and landscape have been studied together in UK National Park settings before but often it is the Lake District National Park (LDNP) in the UK towards which academics' recent heritage and landscape lens is drawn (Whyte 2002; Olwig 2018; Readman 2018; Tanulku 2019; May 2020). The development of the conservation movement in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the LDNP's designation as a United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) World Heritage site in 2017 has attracted researchers to write about many of the nature-culture debates through this lens.

There is a dearth of research written on contemporary society from a landscape and heritage perspective in the NYMNP. A landscape-heritage book by Spratt and Harrison (1989) was the last book to look at the National Park taking a historic landscape viewpoint from its prehistory to the 1980s. This thesis aims to fill this void in the literature by investigating how people identify with landscapes within the NYMNP and the role that communities have in influencing decisions about landscape change and protection. Thus, it asks people what landscapes mean to them in the NYMNP and what residents in the moors want from their surrounding landscapes. It researches how people value, engage with and use the three specific landscapes in the National Park, and what types of people influence these landscapes. The study ascertains how people perceive certain landscapes in the NYMNP and the interconnection between their decision-making and actions in response to an ever changing natural-cultural environment.

The thesis sits within the discipline of Social Science because it is a qualitative study of people's viewpoints and their values. It is then able to draw upon research on community identity from this subject area, as well as heritage studies and landscape studies to examine community representation within the power structures in these politicised, contested landscapes. The main arguments I put forward in this introduction and throughout the thesis are framed by the underlying, complex and unequal nature of land ownership and power in the North York Moors and how landowners and managers can shape people's thought processes on the environment through the decisions they make on land use and management.

1.4. Key research questions, methods and analysis

Using the three selected landscapes in the North York Moors and primary and secondary data from wider National Park contexts, the research project addresses four key research questions and three sub questions, which are in accordance with the main aim of the thesis and built on the questions outlined in 1.2:

1. How do people perceive and experience landscapes, land management and land use in the NYMNP?
    - What identities are established through perception and experience of the NYMNP?
2. How do people identify with and influence the Woodsmith Mine and Fylingdales Moor landscapes?
3. Who influences people's perceptions and experiences of the NYMNP heritage-landscapes?
    - Who are the key decision-makers in the National Park landscape?
4. How much agency do communities have in influencing the management, use and ownership of the NYMNP landscape?
    - What role do communities have in conserving the National Park landscape?

The development of these research questions was also informed by the next two chapters of the thesis, observations and conversations in the NYMNP and the LDNP, pilot interviews in the Lake District and my own personal experiences of National Parks. Primary data to address these questions was collected from semi-structured qualitative interviews with representatives from key stakeholder organisations and a wide range of communities across the NYMNP in 2019 and 2020. As well as more formal interview methods, such as sedentary interviews, phone interviews and focus groups, I used walking interviews as my primary research method (Fig.2), with the variation in interview type ensuring accessibility for all participants. Twenty two such walking interviews were carried out. Walking interviews allow the researcher to investigate the everyday, embodied experiences of humans in these relational, contested spaces. They are a new method of carrying out academic research in this National Park but have started to become a more popular method in landscape research on long distance footpaths (Wylie 2005; Sidaway 2009) and city parks (Moles 2008), as well as featuring in popular media (i.e. Claire Balding's Ramblings Podcast, Countryfile, Britain's Best Walks with Julia Bradbury, Winter Walks). They have not been utilised before in academic research on the NYMNP, nor across many UK National Parks.[11]

[11] See Macpherson 2008 for use of the walking method in the Lake District and Peak District and Lund 2005 for mountaineering methods in the Scottish Highlands.

Figure 2 - Walking across Fylingdales Moor in the NYMNP with interviewees for the research project (Photograph by author 2020).

Adopting a methodology that attains present thoughts, lived / living experiences and the transitory, ever-changing nature of landscape means that the opinions captured by the methods represent a certain moment in time which cannot be replicated, giving the thesis a unique standpoint on landscape, heritage, community life and identity in the North York Moors. A walking approach also facilitates 'more-than-visual' heritage-landscape values to be collected from research participants, allowing a more vivid perception of a natural-cultural landscape to emerge which corresponds with the 'more-than-representational' theories emerging in landscape studies (Lorimer 2005; Waterton 2019). Its informal nature added to the richer collection of everyday conversation rather than the formal dialogue of a 'sit down' interview.

Three forms of analysis run as threads throughout the thesis in order to answer the four key research questions:

1. Theoretical analysis of primary and secondary literature

In an attempt to understand the nature-culture relations in a landscape under the broad ranging term ‘Anthropocene’, the theoretical analysis of primary and secondary literature takes a multi-disciplinary approach, drawing mainly on landscape and heritage perspectives and theory from academia and practice, but also from politics, anthropology, cultural geography, ecology and history.

2. Data analysis

Following a mainly inductive process, the data analysis framework applied thematic analysis to the data. Out of these themes, arguments developed which were evidenced by the data – also considering alternative or counter arguments (Mason 2018: 214). The analysis process is explained in Chapter 4 and Appendix G. A range of quotations originating from the data are disseminated throughout the thesis to reflect the views of NYMNP communities with interests in the three case study landscapes and people who live further afield with an affiliation to the National Park.

3. Self-reflective analysis

In conjunction with the research project’s requirements and its academic rigour, the thesis is also a personal journey about the control and management of heritage-landscapes and whether rural communities which identify with these places have a ‘voice’. The empirical way I approach this subject includes a core thread of reflexivity which runs through the thesis in relation to my positionality, my interest in the subject and my conscious and unconscious biases which, in turn, challenges me to re-examine the literature and the developing arguments. A fieldwork diary helped me record my thoughts and decisions throughout this process. Accounts from the diary, as seen at the start of this chapter where I explained my connection with landscape from an early age, will be used throughout the thesis to demonstrate my experiences of being in the North York Moors landscape alongside research participants and in the analysis stage of the project to assess the validity of my findings (Harding 2019: 115).

1.5. Thesis structure

The whole thesis follows the logical order of the research process with the project taking place from October 2017 to September 2021 – although there was flexibility within this and sometimes the data analysis, the methods and the application and discussion of theoretical concepts all developed concurrently. For example, data from the fieldwork, although mainly concentrated on in the three analysis chapters (5, 6 and 7), is also intertwined into Chapters 3 and 4 of the thesis.

The thesis begins with **Chapter 2** which provides a theoretical literature discussion about the conceptual development, the connection and the role of landscape and heritage within the thesis in alignment with the main aim of the thesis and the four key research questions. The chapter investigates theoretical debates and contemporary themes within landscape and heritage studies, including dwelling theory, taskscapes, the Anthropocene, nature-culture relations and community participation, which are relevant to the thesis and discusses how they can be applied in later chapters.

A review of how community identity and influence is embedded in the historical, policy and governance background of the National Park is contained in **Chapter 3**. The chapter covers how communities feature in the formation of the National Parks system and the North York Moors. The chapter also explores both what a National Park is and the extent of community representation in contemporary National Park decision-making processes, governance and operations. The final section of the chapter builds on Guy Shrubsole's data collection on land ownership in the National Park (Shrubsole & Powell-Smith 2018), which provides a quantitative study of 'who owns what land and how much land in the North York Moors', offering a unique perspective on decision-making and power structures within the Park.

Resulting from the data analysis and critical reflections of my fieldwork, Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 are themed around the four documented forces which developed as responses to the four key research questions and affect a nature-culture axis: *movement*, *perception*, *time* and *voice*.

Offering initial responses to the first key research question, the first active force – *movement* – is investigated in **Chapter 4** which looks at the mixed methodological approaches of the thesis, largely focusing on the walking interview method. The chapter details the background to the research design and methods, reflections on the mixed primary data collection approaches and an explanation of the data analysis framework.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 provide the bulk of the data analysis and research findings focusing on how people identify with the National Park landscapes, how a National Park landscape can be perceived and how people can have an influence on these landscapes. These three chapters are organised around the four key research questions and the three selected landscape areas. Each chapter is structured to respond to a specific key research question of the thesis with the three case studies used, when relevant, to answer a particular research question. These three selected landscape areas are connected to the current and future, local, national and global challenges that the Anthropocene brings.

Chapter 5 examines *perception* and people's experiences of the NYMNP landscape, with particular attention drawn to the three landscapes studied, to offer an understanding of how people connect with these landscapes. People perceive the moorland plateau as consistent and timeless, where change happens subtly and these small changes are made by the day to day decisions of moorland managers where, as a result of an anthropogenic attitude, culture takes precedence over nature.

Chapter 6 takes the concept of *time* and investigates its effects on the nature-culture balance within two alternative landscapes in the National Park, the Woodsmith Mine and Fylingdales Moor, which contest nature-culture and heritage relations in the National Park. The chapter argues that through longer-term, more integrated landscape conservation, which considers past, present and future temporalities, land managers and local communities can better understand landscape change.

Chapter 7, through *voice*, continues these politicised landscape debates in Goathland, by investigating how perception and experience is influenced in these landscapes and how communities, here, have actively expressed their opinions on landscape use and change. Proposing a co-operative communication platform, this chapter argues that communities in the North York Moors, through linking community perceptions and identities to landscape visioning and planning, could be better represented in landscape management.

The thesis concludes with **Chapter 8** – a reflections and recommendations chapter on the thesis' main findings, arguments, concepts and unique contributions to knowledge examining the nature-culture axis and analysing the four forces which impact on this mutual relationship. The chapter also provides future recommendations on enhancing wider landscape participation by communities in the North York Moors.

Chapter Two

Purple heather, landscape and heritage: deconstructing concepts and theories in contested National Park spaces

2.1. Introduction

This chapter has two roles. Firstly, to serve as a critical analysis of the academic debates concerning the use of landscape and heritage in the research project and their connection; the two processes which underpin the primary research in this thesis. Secondly, to explore, through these processes, how the thesis can understand people's perceptions, values, influence and participation in the NYMNP. Thus, its purposes as a chapter are to:

- Challenge and question the theories and debates which define landscape and heritage and suggest how these processes and the pertinent theoretical debates will be used together by the research;
- Understand how the two processes are contested in the NYMNP;
- Draw attention to the central nature-culture theoretical debates in the Anthropocene which, in conjunction with landscape and heritage, will support the primary research of this thesis;
- Consider the multiple temporalities manifested in heritage and landscape processes when underlined by an Anthropocene framework;
- Provide a foundation for the methodological stages of the research including the development of the main aim and the four key questions of the research.

Taking each process in turn, the discussions will enable an exploration of the different understandings of these broad processes and the varying methods of and discussions within the research areas which have developed over time to create the diversities in opinion amongst academics. This chapter aims to pull the concepts of landscape and heritage together from a range of disciplines, and seeks to understand how they connect with community identity and influence. Through these concepts, it will also provide context to the four documented forces – *movement*, *perception, time,* and *voice* – which affect the nature-culture axis.

To enable a focus when investigating these two very complex and also much-used concepts, the chapter will analyse specific theories connected to heritage and landscape which are

relevant to the debates in the NYMNP and reveal how they will be applied and are beneficial to the main aim and the four key research questions of the thesis. This will allow the primary data analysis in further chapters to be set into a wider academic context.

Landscapes today are hugely contested and politicised, and the chapter will scrutinise a selection of the current, controversial issues within protected landscapes, specifically concentrating on game shooting, heather burning and rewilding. Some of these debates will be continued in later sections of the thesis.

The structure of the chapter is as follows (with sub sections under each of these headings):

- Purple heather (*Calluna Vulgaris*) and contestation (2.2);
- Landscape (2.3);
- Natural-cultural landscape (2.4);
- Heritage (2.5).

The chapter starts by exploring the heather moorland habitat – the prominent landscape of the NYMNP – an ecosystem which underlines how landscape and heritage converge and how the uplands in these protected areas are contested between groups of people.

2.2. Purple heather (*Calluna Vulgaris*) and contestation

Figure 3 - Ling, cross leaved heath and deep dark pink / purple bell heather dominate the vistas in the NYMNP (Photograph by author 2020).

The NYMNP is a widely diverse landscape with a high heather moorland plateau, pastoral farmland, deciduous woodlands, conifer forests and a rocky coastline. The moorland plateau is divided by deep narrow dales created by its Jurassic geology.

The open heather moorland landscape (Fig.3),[12] which covers 30.8% of the land within the National Park boundary, is the largest area of continuous heather moorland in England and Wales (NYMNPA 2018b). The moorland – the focus of two of the key landscapes in this thesis – produces a unique habitat across the National Park, consisting of a mix of wet and dry heath, blanket bog, flushes, bracken and acid grassland (NYMNPA 2013: 1). The heather itself provides food for sheep and red grouse and is a nesting area for ground birds (NYMNPA 2018). Its conservation is crucial to the upkeep of the National Park's special qualities; 88% of the National Park's moorland habitat is recognised by a variety of international designations

[12] At the time of fieldwork, in 2019 and 2020 a beetle infestation and dry weather meant the heather had struggled to bloom.

including a Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI), a Special Area for Conservation (SAC) and a Special Protection Area (SPA) (NYMNPA 2013: 3). It is also open access land and 'the wide sweeps of open heather moorland' are considered a National Park special quality in the National Park's Management Plan (NYMNPA 2016: 8).

The moorland plateau comprises of spaces where 'humans are very thin on the ground' (Sampson 2001: 10) with few residents living on the plateau and a small number of tourists visiting during peak visitor seasons[13] (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2021). Most of the 23,135 North York Moors population are based in small villages in the valleys of the moors, on scattered farmsteads or on the edges of the National Park in the towns of Pickering and Helmsley (ONS 2020).[14] The moorlands are also landscapes which are very much subject to human management via the continuous stewardship of land management practices which attempt to preserve the ecosystems of the plateau. UK government agri-environment scheme payments support the work of many land managers including graziers on these moors.

Private landowners own the vast majority of the NYMNP with the National Park Authority owning a very small amount of land (see the next chapter for a more detailed discussion on land ownership in the National Park). Landowners decide how the land is used and managed in the moors. Shooting is one of the predominant uses of land in the National Park alongside agriculture and forestry. Much of the land in the National Park is used for grouse, pheasant and partridge shooting and the infrastructure of the moorland – the tracks, the butts and lodges, for instance – are created around the purposes of shooting. Shooting of game has been hugely contested in recent years,[15] not only in the North York Moors but also across northern England and Scotland, with political debates over whether shooting has positive or negative impacts on the environment. The moorland plateau acts as a contested landscape where polarised voices are heard on its management and use. Many of these arguments have taken place on social media domains and via various research reports published by organisations such as the Moorland Association and the RSPB, to give two examples.

One of the main discussion points in grouse moor management is heather burning (Fig.4), a key upland management technique which is prevalent throughout the moorland plateau. As

[13] There is no empirical data to suggest this but the National Park visitor survey (NYMNPA 2016b) and discussions with the National Park Authority (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2021) indicate that this is likely to be the case.

[14] The National Park boundary goes through Helmsley and Pickering so parts of these towns are outside of the National Park.

[15] Bradford Council voted to end grouse shooting on Ilkley Moor in 2018 and in Hebden Bridge in West Yorkshire campaigns against grouse shooting have occurred. An online petition to ban driven grouse shooting ran from 2017 to 2018 and received nearly 50,000 signatures. The previous year, the petition against grouse shooting had received over 120,000 signatures leading to a parliamentary inquiry. Most recently there have been recent calls by organisations such as the RSPB to license driven grouse shooting. Pheasant and partridge shooting have also come under pressure from various parties.

stated in the NYMNP Management Plan (2016: 90), 'The majority of the National Park's moorland is managed for grouse' which involves rotational heather burning by estate gamekeepers who burn small patches of the heather when the stems are too tall and are growing out of control (NYMNPA 2018a). The burning reduces the risk of fires (NYMNPA 2016: 45) and also increases the grouse population on the moorland as more grouse are able to feed off the new, shorter shoots of heather. The intensity at which the burning takes place depends on the grouse moor itself. For example on Fylingdales Moor (one of the three case studies) where grouse shooting does not take place, the heather is burnt on a less intensive scale as the moorland is not necessarily looking to increase its grouse population.

Figure 4 - A land manager burning the heather near Roseberry Topping in the North York Moors. The burning season in the North York Moors runs from 1st October to 15th April (Teesside Gazette 2018).

Controlled heather burning has been the subject of recent debates. Conservation groups argue that the burning of heather is damaging to ecosystems and peat bogs, lowering the amount of carbon stored in the soil and simultaneously increasing the amount of carbon in the atmosphere. However, landowners and land managers of driven grouse moorland in the Park find that this process of 'swaling' has many associated benefits, encouraging the regeneration of the moorland vegetation (The Yorkshire Post 2015), and conserving a 'wild' habitat in particular for wader birds such as lapwings, golden plovers and curlews. They claim that this

management technique enhances the biodiversity of the landscape. Furthermore, *Peatland Protection,* a recent report by the Uplands Partnership (2020), highlights how burning can have a positive effect on carbon capture with blanket bogs which are burnt accumulating carbon.[16]

The burning of moorland is closely linked to the debates for and against grouse shooting because heather is the primary sustenance for the North York Moors grouse population, and heather burning increases the surplus of grouse living on the moorland. George Monbiot (2014: 68) believes that heather is not 'an indicator of the health of the upland environment, as many do, but…a product of ecological destruction'. It is synonymous with a cultural landscape which is looked after by humans rather than existing as a natural, wild landscape which Monbiot strives for in his writings on the notion of rewilding. Mark Avery (2015: 79), making a case to end grouse shooting in the uplands, supports Monbiot's viewpoint, argues that grouse management for grouse shooting 'depends on completely subjugating the land to the interests of just one species'. The land is drained and burned by humans and grazed by sheep to allow heather to flourish which then provides a nesting and feeding ground for the red grouse (Avery 2015: 79). The killing of raptors who feed off the red grouse is also closely linked to the controversy around predator control management on driven grouse shooting moorland.

The Game and Wildlife Conservation Trust counter these arguments by stating that grouse shooting improves the conservation value of heather moorland and its management 'both directly and indirectly support the species that depend on or thrive on it' (GWCT 2018). Organisations such as the Moorland Association stress the beneficial social and economic impacts of grouse shooting. A UK wide research project, looking at socio-economic circumstances of grouse shooting in upland areas, found that there are health and well-being benefits for those involved in shooting including a high level of 'community', and direct financial benefits including job opportunities, and expenditure during the shooting season (Denny & Latham-Green 2020: 4-5). The activity represents a strong countryside identity interlinked with rural heritage and was described by this research report as a 'seasonal ritual which was shared across generations' (Denny & Latham-Green 2020: 22). A shooting culture is closely affiliated with certain villages and settlements in the North York Moors. The people in these upland communities tend to be involved in 'the shoot' through jobs such as gamekeeping, beating driving and catering (Landowner / Moorland Association, pers. comm. 2021). The

[16] However, in January 2021 the UK government announced it would be banning heather burning on blanket bog areas (over 40cm in depth) on SSSI's, which also must be designated as SPA's or SAC's, to protect peatland formation and habitats as the government look to restore England's peatlands as a natural storage for carbon.

activity also attracts a broad UK and international audience which can bring money into the local tourism economy. There are c.20-25 grouse moor shooting estates in the North York Moors (Landowner / Moorland Association, pers. comm. 2021). Many of these shooting estates in the moors run at a loss and are subsidised by the landowner or the sporting tenant (Denny & Latham-Green 2020: 40).

Without going too far into the complexities of the science, as well as the social and economic factors within these debates, it can be argued here that a multifaceted conflict emerges with differing claims concerning land use between – landowners who manage their estates for shooting purposes and rural communities who are actively involved in shooting – and campaigners who oppose game shooting, heather burning and raptor persecution. The contest types between these community groups help researchers to understand what a moorland landscape means to the communities who engage with these environments. As Arler and Mellqvist (2015: 273) argue in their writings on landscape democracy (and which is pertinent to the uplands of the North York Moors):

> '*The more attached we get (to landscape), the more reason we have to make our views known, but there is also more to quarrel about. The more aware we become of how significant a part the landscape plays in our lives, the more likely it is to become a contested subject*.'

These groups will have their own meaningful connection with the North York Moors landscape. Whyte illustrates these differing identities, in a rare article which investigates community contests in a UK National Park setting.[17] Focusing on the Lake District National Park (LDNP), he shows how these conflicts between different groups of people have a strong influence on the landscape which develops (Whyte 2002: 2). Through these debates, new questions are raised about the present and future protection of National Park spaces which consider themes such as power, ownership and management of the landscape: who has ownership within these landscapes and who should be shaping the landscape? Amid a concentrated, antiquated pattern of private land ownership in these 'national' spaces are the voices of community groups heard in the NYMNP? How can the voice of community groups be heard? Do specific groups who campaign against the heather burning and the grouse shooting on the moors value this landscape differently to those who shoot grouse as an activity – or is there more cross over in terms of value than implied?

[17] Also, see Suckall *et al*. (2009) for an article on these types of divisions in the Peak District National Park.

Understanding the landscape and heritage values that groups attach to their surroundings, and if any of these values are shared, are central to these debates and many of these identities are revealed through disputed narratives and perceptions of a space. Using the concepts of landscape and heritage as processes to identify how these groups experience and perceive the heather moorland will enable the thesis to provide recommendations on community influence in these landscapes. Social divisiveness over landscapes and cultural heritage is often based on the complex web of relationships between people and place. In National Parks these relationships are often heightened because of the internal and external pressures that surround nationally protected areas. Some groups prioritise change and evolution in these National Park landscapes whilst others pursue its conservation and protection, taking two very different perspectives on the same landscape.

I shall revisit these contests throughout this chapter and later in the thesis as two of the case studies are areas of moorland. The research now turns to explore the terms landscape, natural-cultural landscape and heritage from a theoretical perspective, reflecting on the central debates which envelop these concepts and have repercussions in the NYMNP.

2.3. Landscape

As a National Park, the North York Moors has the highest degree of landscape protection, defined by a set of special qualities. Landscape in the National Park is therefore an inherent term intertwined with its management and is a significant concept for understanding people's perceptions and experiences of place. The latest NYMNPA Management Plan cites the European Landscape Convention's (ELC) definition of landscape as establishing a framework for land management in the National Park (2016a):

> '*An area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors.*' (Council of Europe 2000: 2)

The ELC definition clearly shows the influence of human perceptions, decisions and relationships, as well as the natural world, on the formation of a landscape's character. Drawn from this definition and the literature reviewed in this chapter, landscape can be identified as a dynamic, ever-changing process which embodies a complex set of interactions with everyday surroundings – people, nature and ecosystems. This section will demonstrate how landscape acts as a prism for interpreting the relationships between people and place through senses, perceptions and memories. Moreover, landscape is panoptic, encompassing various forms of the four forces – time, perspective, movement, interaction, voices, identity and participation – which affect the culture-nature axis, as each sub section will reveal.

Nature and culture are integrated within a landscape in this thesis with the ELC's definition showing how landscape is affected by the dynamic relationship between natural environments and cultural practices. The ELC definition fails to recognise that people's identity and influence in a landscape can affect ideas of nature and culture. This type of integrative and reciprocal relationship between nature, culture and landscape is evidenced in phenomenological and post phenomenological approaches such as dwelling theory, Anthropocene research, social-ecological system frameworks and post-environmental debates which will be discussed throughout this chapter, and specifically section 2.4 in relation to the natural-cultural landscape. Certain post environmental debates and assemblage theory suggest for current research to look beyond and move on from the debates between culture and nature (Ogden 2011; Tsing 2015; Krauss 2019). However, there is tension between this blurring because nature and culture can also be contested amongst communities where they can prioritise a cultural landscape over a natural landscape or vice versa. Those with power to make decisions regarding the landscape in the North York Moors will have more control over the culture-nature contests. The debates between nature and culture still retain a discursive power which will be evidenced in the data in further chapters because they provide the thesis with an understanding of the interactive relations and contests between people and place as nature and culture shape one another (Wylie 2007). This understanding also offers a potential balancing of these nature-culture interactions to generate a sustainable environment in the National Park.

Because of the setting, a more 'westernised' understanding of landscape and the culture-nature debates within it emerges from the literature drawn upon in this chapter. Inevitably because a National Park is a globally recognised space it can be used by a diverse range of cultures, some of which are from outside the western world. As the stance I take examined local influence and identification with landscape, I tended to find that most of the research participants who were residents of the Park were more likely to be from more westernised cultures, although I attempted to recruit people from other cultures:

I interviewed a few people from non-western backgrounds, but none lived within the Park and it was extremely difficult to get a take on landscape from people who had not been immersed in western culture. The nature of its isolated rural communities made the North York Moors feel like it had its own distinct culture in certain places. (Fieldwork Diary 2019-2020)

2.3.1. Temporality and perception of landscape – inside and outside a landscape

An astute starting point for a comprehensive understanding of the term 'landscape' is Tim Ingold's pioneering paper *The temporality of the landscape*. Writing in 1993, Ingold, whose writings influence much of the thinking in this thesis, attempts to bring together the fields of archaeology and anthropology by exploring the concept of time to offer an idiosyncratic consideration of landscape. Through the lens of the *dwelling* perspective, Ingold calls the landscape a 'story', perceiving landscape to be an enduring record of, and testimony to, the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it and have therefore left in the landscape something of themselves (Ingold 2010: 59). Ingold's analysis of landscape is comparable with W.G. Hoskins description of landscape that it is a 'palimpsest on to which each generation writes its own story while at the same time erasing parts of the remnants of earlier stories' (Hoskins 1955: XVII; Rowley 2006: XII). This description hints at landscape's close connection with the terms *heritage* and *time*; all three are a continuous process of selecting and preserving narratives to take forward into the present and the future whilst simultaneously losing other remnants of the past. It is these narratives combined with memories, feelings, identity, imagination and movements that can influence how we perceive a landscape, the knowledge that is shaped around a landscape and the decisions which are made in managing a landscape.

The dwelling perspective is a theory concerning human embeddedness in the world which began with Heidegger (1978) and then was later developed by Ingold (2000) to consider landscape. Heidegger states that the 'relationship between man and space is none other than dwelling, thought essentially', describing dwelling as 'the basic character of *Being* in keeping with which mortals exist' (1978: 335-338). In other words dwelling is where the world continually comes into being around the inhabitant and the inhabitant takes on significance through their incorporation into a regular pattern of life activity (Ingold 2000: 153). People live and/or work in the National Park landscapes, 'thus their immersion in them is temporal…' and this temporality is fundamental to everyday living (Jones 2011: 879). This stresses the importance of the inclusivity of the 'insider' in shaping landscapes – all people immersed in a landscape are everyday agents in landscape change.

Seldom addressed by academics in landscape studies directly, time is a major consideration in landscape and heritage studies and will be looked at in further detail in Chapter 6 as a force which affects the relations between culture and nature. The importance of temporality to landscape studies had a major influence on Ingold's writing. He believed that the past, present

and future were all interlinked (Ingold 2000: 196). Sauer also contemplated the importance of linear time in his work stating that 'the character of a landscape is determined also by its position on the timeline' (1996: 307). The fusion of multiple temporalities in a landscape affects human and non-human relations with landscape, with Jones stating 'we don't just live in the moment but in a progressing compendium of interacting lived moments' (Jones 2011: 880). The memories of these moments affect our interactions and perceptions with space (Jones 2011: 880).

Merleau-Ponty argues that time for him is not a 'real' process before making the case that he cannot see time and it only occurs because 'I am situated in it' and 'time flows through me' (1962: 412-427). For Merleau-Ponty, time is the bonds between a person and 'things' as we are all insiders (1962: 412) – the subject is conjoined to the world and the world is at one with the presence of the subject (1962: 430). John Wylie highlights the considerable impact of Merleau-Ponty's work on landscape studies when he states:

> *'Landscape moves from a particular type of knowing (a way of seeing), to a specific mode of being (a seeing with) – from a Cartesian spectatorial epistemology to a phenomenological ontology.'* (2007: 152)

Merleau-Ponty's conception of being embodied in the world rather than looking upon the world has influenced many understandings of landscapes (Meinig 1979; Jackson 1984; Wylie 2007; Ingold 2010) and will influence much of the rationale behind this thesis. By reflecting on Ingold and Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological ideas we can discover the 'account of space, time and the world as we live them' as meaning appears from these living places (Merleau-Ponty 1962: VII). An example is found in the purple heather of the NYMNP which exists as a present, everyday milieu; practised and produced by daily encounters. The all-encompassing notion of dwelling becomes apparent as community groups, such as the land managers of moorlands are fully immersed in the moorland rather than living separately from this landscape and perceiving it across a void. Both of the 'insider' and the 'outsider' (which is explored subsequently) debates in landscape studies are encompassed by the movement of temporality as time shifts from the past, to the present and then into the future.

Naturally, criticisms of Ingold and Merleau-Ponty's theories have developed, with the phenomenological approach they take being seen as overly centred on the subject (a focus on the individual in certain scenarios) and too humanistic which leads to a disregard for political, economic and social contexts (Foucault 1994: 342-343; Wylie 2007: 180-185). Instead of taking an 'insider' stance on landscape, academics have also considered an 'outsider' viewpoint, that endeavours to absorb the contexts which embrace landscape. Wylie

(2007: 41), in his critique of landscape writing (its understandings and definitions) contemplates whether landscape is something humans look at or is it the world humans live in. Influenced by John Ruskin's theories and new ideas from human geography, Daniels and Cosgrove in *The Iconography of Landscape* took the external, outsider perspective – defining landscape as a 'cultural image' and 'a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolising surroundings' (1988: 1). This 'cultural Marxist conception of landscape', as dubbed by Wylie (2007: 67-68), suggested that landscape is what you see – an image which is created in your head.

The distinct emphasis on landscape being visual is a long-standing approach that academics have taken within the field of cultural geography (Cosgrove 1984; Daniels & Cosgrove 1988; Jackson 1989). Cosgrove argued 'that the landscape idea represents a way of seeing' (1984: 1). This representational perception is also expressed in Raymond Williams' ground-breaking writings where he states that the 'very idea of landscape implies...observation' (1973: 120). More recently, Robert MacFarlane, in his mountaineering narratives, states that landscapes are *imagined* and read by our experiences and our shared cultural memory, 'through a filter of our associations' (2003: 18), again separating the landscape from the subject.[18] This is found in the opinion of the visitor to the North York Moors who is often unaware that these are managed, culturally dominant landscapes for the purposes of shooting. Instead they view and 'imagine' an open, wild moorland and an unmanaged landscape organised by little cultural infrastructure. This is very different to the perceptions of local people who live and work inside a landscape, and are likely to become more of an insider the longer they live in a landscape (Atha *et al.* 2019: XXV; Howard 2019: 56). Even though this thesis establishes philosophically that humans are all immersed within environments, once they are 'in' a landscape some of these groups can be visiting from outside the National Park boundaries which can lead to the formation of different perceptions to the lives of those who reside within the Park. Alluding to representational debates, Howard discusses how this can lead to conflicts between external experts and local people, depending on differing circumstances (2019: 56).

By reading into these detached perceptions, researchers have argued that they are able to understand the mind, the subjective interests and the beliefs of the perceiver (Crumley *et al.* 2017: 882), uncovering the raw emotions that a human response to landscape can trigger. Representational theory also underlined that landscape has observant meanings linked to ideology, power structures and decision-making by those on the outside; the subject.

[18] It Is interesting to note here that MacFarlane, in an introduction to a recent edition of Nan Shepherd's *The Living Mountain*, gives his support of Merleau-Ponty's views that 'our minds are shaped by the bodily experiences of being in the world' (2011: XXVII–XXXIII) which is at odds with his previous sentiments towards representationalism.

Landscape would become a process that 'is part of the way in which identities are created and disputed, whether as individual, group or nation-state' (Bender 1993a: 3). This outside way of thinking has most importantly for the framing of this thesis, politicised the concept of landscape in National Park spaces which are loaded with internal and external perceptions.

In the 1990s and 2000s, the criticism of 'representationalism' which emerged amongst scholars centred around ocularcentrism, that the theory '…framed, fixed and rendered all that ought to be most lively' (Lorimer 2005: 84-85). Ingold gives a strong critical rejoinder to the outsider's viewpoint of landscape being experienced visually when he expresses that 'the landscape, I hold, is not a picture in the imagination, surveyed by the mind's eye' (2010: 61). Academics influenced by Ingold's work and other scholars, such as Nigel Thrift, saw the landscape and all its past, present and future elements as something which is experienced, embodied and dynamic rather than something from an outside perspective which is motionless (Lea 2009; Ash & Simpson 2016; Waterton 2019). In these two decades there was a shift in perception and theory regarding 'landscape' which has led to agents in landscape today – now deemed as human and non-human – being seen as active components in landscape; defined as 'human and non-human living spaces' (Tsing *et al.* 2017b: G1) within post-phenomenological work (Lea 2009; Ash & Simpson 2016). These more-than-human worlds (See 2.4.2) have been brought to the fore by non-representational[19] models where everything is part of an embodied, sensory practice and performance within the world rather than taking place outside the world (Wylie 2007: 164) and post phenomenological work which has decentred the emphasis on the human (Lea 2009; Ash & Simpson 2016; McCormack 2017). Scholars, who support non-representation, argue that ideas of affect, embodiment and sensory seen in the theory's principles have been long-standing amongst philosophers and theorists including Merleau-Ponty, Heidegger and Ingold. The difference non-representational models have made is they have brought the theories of academics together and enabled them to become established under a comprehensive theoretical 'banner' (Waterton 2013: 66-73).

Scholars, such as Hayden Lorimer (2005) and Emma Waterton (2019), have coined the term 'more-than-representational theory' which has grown out of non-representation literature and started to become a popular term in landscape and heritage circles (deriving from the fields of cultural and political geography). The thinking involved here continues to be about the everyday routines, ordinary (perhaps often perceived as mundane) activities and the emotions of life that occur in a landscape (Lorimer 2005: 83-90), as well as life's richness and its intricacies (Jones 2011: 882). It can also be about the unexceptional rather than only focusing

[19] Non-representational theory is a set of arguments which developed in the mid to late 1990s and was influenced by Tim Ingold's work (See Thrift 1996 – although it is not a survey of all non-representational theories).

on the special meanings that as a researcher we expect a landscape to be made up of (Lorimer 2005: 83). The theory builds on Whatmore's (2006) emphasis on 'affect' because by taking a more-than-representational stance will allow the research to see how the everyday person interacts, engages and practises in National Park landscapes, which is interlinked with all four key research questions of the project.

Through a more-than-representational model, the thesis will look to apply a phenomenological approach to landscapes in which they are more than a form of iconography; landscapes are organic and changing, they are part of a living or life process which has been evidenced by many scholars (Inglis 1977: 489; Mitchell 1994: 1; Ingold 2000: 20; Ingold 2010: 59). Therefore, as this thesis has extracted from Merleau-Ponty (1962), Cosgrove and Daniels (1988) and Ingold's (2010) work, landscapes are the worlds, the spaces, the places and the surroundings which humans but also, from a post-phenomenological perspective, non-humans or more-than-humans are entirely submerged and embodied in (Lea 2009; Ash & Simpson 2016; Tsing *et al.* 2017a). This total immersion is poignantly described by Nan Shepherd who recognises the role of the senses when writing about the Cairngorm Mountains in Scotland:

> *'Here then may be lived a life of the senses so pure, so untouched by any mode of apprehension but their own, that the body be said to think.'* (Shepherd 2011: 105)

Here, landscape, in alignment with more-than-representational thinking, is seen as a performed and embodied concept, placing emphasis on all of the senses (Gerodetti & Foster 2016: 810) because landscape is 'affective' and 'multi-sensual' (Edensor 2017: 597). A definition that the NYMNP Management Plan (2016: 23) provides is that landscape is 'the combination of attributes that define an area in terms of sight, sound and smell'. Interacting with a landscape is not only about what one views in a landscape but what one hears, smells, tastes and touches (Waterton 2019: 95) – the other senses are often undervalued. Not every human can observe or build an image in their head of their 'surroundings'. Garner supports this premise stating that 'we tend to over emphasise the visual, forgetting how powerful soundscapes, smellscapes and touchscapes can be' (2001: 133). With this multi-sensory, multi-temporality, immersion into a landscape, perception of a landscape and its ecosystems is no longer as straightforward as something which we view, as representational theory advocates (Waterton 2019: 96). It is a relational, affective process as narratives, memories, feelings and identity flow through human and non-human interactions with surroundings.

2.3.2. Moving through a landscape

Movement is key to the more-than-representational theory outlined as the everyday, continuous ‘doings’ of humans and non-humans ‘affect’ a landscape. The body is always in motion and is never still. It is in constant connection with other human and non-human agents as it traces paths through time and space which ‘intersect with those of others in a complex web of biographies' (Thrift 1996: 8). For Ingold, ‘everything is suspended in movement’ (Ingold 2000: 200) and it is how people experience and perceive landscape and how, through lived experiences, meaning is constructed (Waterton 2019: 95). The paths created by movement reveal ‘the accumulated imprint of countless journeys that people have made…as they have gone about their everyday business’ (Ingold 2000: 204). The network of movements as an activity of a community is an example of Ingold’s theory of *taskscapes* (2000: 204). Ingold (2000: 195, 2010: 68) describes the taskscape ‘as an array of related activities’ in an environment on an everyday scale. He then broadens his description by saying that ‘the taskscape exists not just as activity but interactivity’ (2010: 68) and because the forms of the landscape are generated by movement (2010: 67) these *tasks* defined as ‘any practical operation, carried out by a skilled agent in an environment, as part of his or her normal business of life’ (2010: 64) – are interconnected with landscapes. These related activities take place within the concept of ‘space’, which for Tilley is socially produced and ‘cannot exist apart from the events and activities within which it is implicated’ (1994: 10). Taskscapes relate to landscape practices – the management and forms of use of a landscape – are ‘constantly shaping the landscape as well as our perceptions of it’ (Vik 2017: 406). Taskscapes are a multi-sensory engagement with landscape through different forms of movement, for instance on a moorland this could be leisure activities such as running or walking or work tasks such as heather burning or sheep farming (Fig.5) (Edensor 2017: 597). It is through these embodied activities that the landscape is intimately known to inhabitants (Edensor 2017: 597) and this is the empirical knowledge which is critical to answering the project’s research questions.

Figure 5 – Fell running and sheep farming on Goathland West Moor and Howl Moor (Lambert 2020).

Taskscapes demonstrate how human movement and activity through our countryside has always shaped National Parks and how we view them – they are made by the people who engage with them, and in making landscapes, the people themselves are made (Smith 2008: 13-14; Bender 1993: 1). In an attempt to capture how the subject moves through changing landscapes, I will apply a relational-focused methodology to this thesis that fully engages my research with the network or rather a 'meshwork', as labelled by Ingold,[20] of movements across landscapes. This interactive, relational approach incorporates a consideration of the non-human or more-than-human elements to a landscape. We are reminded by Robert MacFarlane (2003: 278) on the final page of *Mountains of the Mind: A History of a Fascination*, that wildlife moves across these landscapes in particular ways which can affect human movements and influence landscapes themselves. He writes:

> *'I stayed on top of the mountain for a while and let the others walk on ahead to begin the descent. I thought about the snow hare; about how for an animal like this to cross one's path was to be reminded that it had a path too – that I had crossed the snow hare's path as much as it had crossed mine*.'

[20] Instead of a network of interconnected points, Ingold citing the work of the philosopher Gilles Deleuze describes relationships as a 'meshwork' of interwoven lines (2011).

Chapter 4 describes a walking interview methodology which takes research participants into landscapes where they are fully immersed in the surroundings and that fully engages the research with the 'meshwork' of movement across dynamic, evolving National Park landscapes. This method placed the interview process in an existing, present National Park landscape giving the interview participant the ability to discuss the current landscape as they experience it. This is especially important when discussing the current changing aspects of the landscape in the National Park. This can help the interviewer 'to understand the immediate and multi-sensory aspects of engagement with the landscape' (Ward-Thompson 2019: 28) as more methods have become increasingly about accessing the 'now' of experience (Waterton 2019: 98) and the everyday perceptions, practices and actions of people in a place.

2.3.3. Interactions and interrelationships in a National Park landscape

Landscapes are dependent on this 'meshwork' of movements and interactions influencing our feelings, perspectives and memories (Waterton 2013: 70). The dynamic emotions that all of our senses trigger when one is walking amongst the purple heather of the North York Moors are based on values, memories and relationships actively generated at the time of passing.

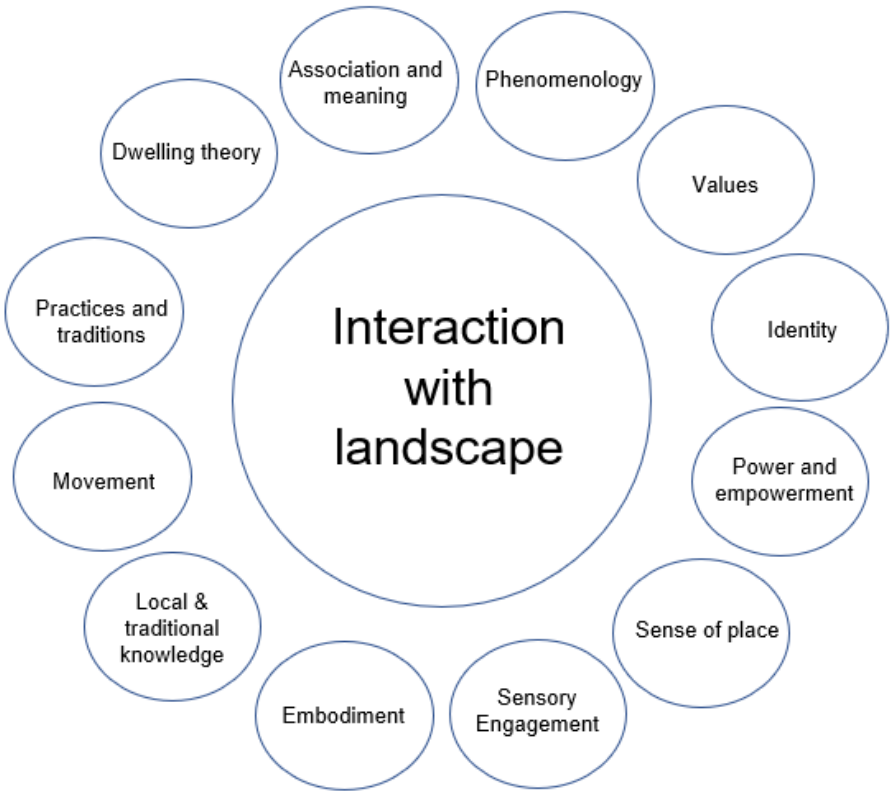


Figure 6 - A diagram of human interactions with landscape. Reworked from Roe (2019: 404) and based on the main discussions in this chapter.

As we are immersed, Emma Waterton, importantly for the research in this thesis, acknowledges that 'it is not just a matter of understanding how we think about the landscapes that surround us, but how they in turn force us to think' (2013: 69). MacFarlane writes about this reciprocal relationship with landscape when he asks:

> *'…what do I know when I am in this place that I can know nowhere else? And then, vainly, what does this place know of me that I cannot know of myself?'* (2012: 27)

It is clear from Waterton's outlook on the 'affect' of the landscape and MacFarlane's two questions that people's identity is formulated through landscapes as many different values emerge out of being embodied in a landscape. People respond and engage in multiple, wide-ranging interactions with landscape evidenced throughout this chapter (Fig.6). One example here is that mountains with their deep time heritage and their size can make the human race feel very insignificant. Another example from the North York Moors is that grouse shooters manage this landscape as an embodied practice; they affect the moorland and the moorland affects their workings. This has similarities to James Rebanks accounts of hill farming in the LDNP where he claims that 'we shaped this landscape and we were shaped by it in turn' (2015: 3). Here, an important point that emerges is that every living thing 'responds' to landscape, they are ecosystems (and a supplier of ecosystem services) (Arler & Mellqvist 2015: 273), and in fact these interactions within ecosystems, according to Antrop's (2006: 35) take on holism, mean that landscapes are part of:

> '…*a complex whole that is more than the sum of its composing parts. This indicates that all elements of the spatial structure of the landscape are related to each other and form one complex system.*'

Although there is a danger of missing components within a landscape with this contextual argument, it also divulges that an infinite network of interrelationships exists throughout a landscape. These can be 'simple or complicated, direct or hidden, strong or delicate, temporary or very long lasting' (Le Guin 2017: M15). One of these connections being that humans affect landscape and landscapes affect humans, signified by the Anthropocene geological epoch. This reciprocal bond between people and the land means that landscapes are dynamic, forever changing and are places in which people identify themselves and their lives; they are a body of relationships and practices. These interactions are only ever-increasing in UK National Parks as the population grows and green spaces become more significant than ever before, such as following the outbreak of COVID-19 in 2020. Landscapes are 'relational phenomena' between humans and their environments (Gailing & Leibenath 2017: 339) and human society is dependent on these relationships for its resources,

ecosystem services and its survival (Harden *et al.* 2014: 10-11). In this epoch of ever-changing processes on the Earth's surface, understanding and reacting to these interactions between humans and landscapes is key to answering some of the planet's challenges. Through investigating contested power structures within these relationships, the thesis looks to construct an understanding of the identities and values which underlie many of the key decisions towards a National Park landscape.

Studying landscape interactions represents an accessible source for identifying the components of a culture and the factors that have influenced a culture (Küchler 1993: 85; Butler 2016: 240) within a National Park landscape. This is because, as W.J.T. Mitchell argues in his renowned book *Landscape and Power*, a landscape is an instrument of cultural power (1994: 1-2); social and cultural interactions and values are constructed as every element of a landscape is affected by the energies of humans.

2.3.4. Politicised landscapes

While landscape is experienced through human senses (Butler *et al.* 2018: 881), it is also interpreted subjectively with humans using their knowledge, background, experience and values to consciously, subconsciously and inadvertently understand their surroundings. Scholars respected the influential work of Cosgrove and Daniels who, by developing outsider theories of how people view landscape, advanced landscape as no longer a neutral term but something which is humanist and associated with ideology (Thompson *et at.* 2013: 2). Wylie notes 'how our gaze, our way of looking at the world, is always already laden with particular cultural values, attitudes, ideologies and expectations' (Wylie 2007: 7). Landscape can be judged from a variety of perspectives which means that these values take different forms associated with the landscape's characteristics (Hodge 2016: 5). Often values can be the goods and services that a landscape provides which include commodities, ecosystem services and natural capital. Many land managers treat landscapes as a type of market which are imperative for financial gains to their rural business aspirations – these markets have the scope to change as the landscape changes. Ecosystem services, the resources and benefits of the countryside (Hodge 2016: 56), are listed in the North York Moors character area profile as storing carbon in soils, preventing its loss to the air and water, holding rainfall in these wetland habitats and slowing the flow to major rivers and providing an expansive, open landscape, long views and a sense of remoteness (NE 2012: 3). Ecosystem services evidence that values are not only cultural, as Wylie previously determined, but also form a natural valorisation interlinked to 'people's shared cultural and natural heritage' (Olwig & Mitchell 2007: 529-530). These values can also be intrinsic and 'independent of the value of humans'

(Hodge 2016: 5) considering the non-living aspects of the environment. In addition the landscape can be a source of inspiration and have positive impacts on our wider health (the latter being harder to quantify) (Hodge 2016: 4), as many have found out to their benefit in the COVID-19 pandemic.

Over time, landscapes take on particular meanings and connotations which are reproduced, altered, created and transformed (Tilley 1994: 2, 25-26), especially as a community's composition in a National Park can be in constant flux. Understanding a specific landscape relies upon those who engage and identify with or experience that place, resulting in multiple, subjective perceptions of the same landscape (Butler 2016: 241) with each aspect being of equal importance to the next aspect (Matless 2005: 12). Taylor argues that people see and make landscapes as a result of a shared system of beliefs and ideologies (2008: 2). Indeed, this can mean that landscapes are often highly political and contested as Olwig and Mitchell (2007: 530) affirm:

> *'The landscape is not simply the visible forms of the land, it is the social, material and economic processes that produce what we have called the political landscape. It is the relations of power that ultimately shape this landscape…'*

Neither landscape nor heritage are politically neutral or apolitical, they are both politicised as they are mutually inclusive or exclusive in their power relations with communities. Matless (2005: 10) reveals some of the tensions which exist within landscapes between different user groups when he says '…if landscape is a site of value, it is also a site of anger'. Power exists in every landscape management decision and the levels of power vary from decision-maker to decision-maker. Power is inclusive for some groups in society whilst it can marginalise and restrict others (Calderon & Butler 2020: 158). Where a complexity of meanings exist, there are people which come together because of the identities and values which they share – and a National Park landscape can be a factor in the shaping of this shared identity especially amongst dominant social groups – but there is also 'marginalisation and resistance' amongst others (Jackson 2014: 203).

Differences emerge towards valorising a landscape because the concept relates to multiple, constantly changing, versions of identity which Graham *et al*. (2000: 32) list as nationalism, gender, sexuality, race, class, colonialism and post colonialism. For Daniels (1993: 8), landscape is a highly complex discourse in which a whole range of economic, political, social and cultural identities, as well as international, national and local identities, are encoded and negotiated. All these variations of identity are interwoven in an ever-changing, dynamic landscape. Identities, values and meanings become more apparent when there are attempts

by individuals or groups to protect their values when changes to the landscape impact upon their daily lives.

Landscape is politicised and research into landscape is simultaneously political (Gailing & Leibenath 2017: 338); the political power-landscape nexus will form a critical component of this thesis. This thesis will investigate how these values manifest within contested, politicised landscapes. In particular, the establishment of the Goathland Moor Regeneration Group in Chapter 7 will evidence these differences of values in a contested landscape and how conflicting representations of a landscape can provoke the formation of a new type of community participation in a landscape.

It is also especially true when a certain dominant group is making the key land management decisions, the landscape in ownership represents their exercise of this power (Greider & Garkovich 1994: 14). Using a case study of Argyll in Scotland, research by Karen Syse (2010: 482) into the role of experts in these decisions illustrates that the most powerful stakeholders in a landscape can define values and include or exclude the participation of others through their management practices. Sometimes this could be the result of a conscious decision to exclude others whilst other times this could be an unconscious choice. This divergence of people is also evidenced by Gailing and Leibenath (2017: 343) who state that on the one hand landscape is the result of powerful social relations and on the other hand landscape influences those who own land; again another example of a reciprocal relationship between humans and land which valorises the landscape.

In the case of the North York Moors, the National Park is politically contested as different stakeholders and communities within its boundaries attempt to negotiate different interpretations and visions of the same landscape (Smith 2008: 14). Conflict over competing interpretations and visions are ‘not fixed’ and they change over time as attitudes alter or disappear (Hodge 2016: 12-13). The moorland in the NYMNP is used differently by international, national and local groups which each have their own set of changing beliefs, identities and values. A Management Plan in the NYMNP must take into account a multitude of tastes, values and desires (Butler 2016: 239; Edensor 2017: 595), which can often be in conflict with one another – as will be discussed in 3.4.5. Decision-makers in the NYMNP, such as land managers, should have the ‘ability to recognise, legitimise and engage with different and conflicting values and interests’ (Calderon & Butler 2020: 159). This also means an appreciation of the everyday, more mundane values which have become increasingly

researched in landscape and heritage studies, since non-representational ideas (Thrift 1996) and Laura Jane Smith's Authorised Heritage Discourse theory surfaced (2006).[21]

Seeking to understand how people engage with the NYMNP landscape, through research methods demonstrated in Chapter 4, could enable the contests in these landscapes to be discussed in an open, comprehensive manner. Participatory approaches in landscape management which involve all interested stakeholders and investigate value systems bring a wider, integrated understanding of how people perceive the complexity of landscapes. As Berkes (2004: 628) articulates:

> *'To ground conservation effort, we need a more nuanced understanding of the nature of people, communities, institutions, and their interrelations at various levels.'*

2.3.5. Participation in a landscape

A growth in literature on landscape democracy and participation over the last twenty years has prompted landscape to move from an area of practice and power to a democratic entity with knowledge and values of all people fundamental to its management and sustainability (Calderon & Butler 2020: 153). Scholars have recognised the importance of 'engagement and collaboration with people from communities associated with the landscape, as well as those that are not as closely linked' (Taylor *et al*. 2015: 6). 'Landscape democracy', a very complex term, centres on the notion that spaces exist where all people form values and attachments towards a landscape. Landscape underlies this practicing of democratic rights and 'for engaging with the plurality of values of those who constantly construct and reconstruct its meaning' (Calderon & Butler 2020: 155). Jones (2007: 616) argues that empowerment sharing within community participation should complement the decision-making processes, enabling all stakeholders who have claims on a landscape to have a voice. Palomo *et al.* (2014: 186) in their writings on protected landscapes in the Anthropocene, highlight the importance of different value systems and knowledge sources to manage and 'govern complex adaptive systems', especially within a multifaced National Park governance, as described in the next chapter. In the article, the authors state:

[21] Smith's Authorised Heritage Discourse discussed how traditionally in heritage studies there was a dominant set of ideas which 'privileges expert values and knowledge about the past and its material manifestations' (Smith 2006: 4). She proposed that official representations of heritage excluded the general public from having a role with a focus on the significant, versions of heritage rather than the quotidian, intangible connections between people, object and place (Smith 2006).

> *'To achieve this goal, we should foster the engagement of stakeholders in real participatory processes to enhance communication among decision-makers, protected-area managers, and protected-area users.'*

The Anthropocene has shone a light on the wider, global issues at stake in managing a landscape which requires a broader, more diverse perspective and new sources of knowledge. For instance, new spaces for debate and understanding which can develop new and alternative values are integral to wider public participation, propose Gailing and Leibenath (2017: 346). Recent practical examples may include citizen assemblies (e.g. UK Climate Assembly which happened in 2020) but true deliberation, one of the three values of landscape democracy[22] (Mansbridge *et al.* 2012), seeks to understand conversation in ordinary, less structured places. Deliberative thinking combined with 'social-ecological' systems (SES), the whole systems approach that has been established in ecology (Levin 1999; Berkes 2004), offers opportunities for wider public participation and a broader co-production of knowledge. Drawing on Levin's work (1999: 1), systemic deliberation endorses the interconnected process of landscape viewing the earth 'as an integrated physical and biological system…with characteristic flows of material, energy and information'. Out of the political sciences, systemic theories in deliberative democracy have recently emerged with deliberative theorists seeking to integrate everyday, community-led conversations into formal decision-making (Mansbridge *et al.* 2012). A deliberative, systemic approach looks at examining and bringing together these everyday interactions across the system as a whole and is defined by Mansbridge *et al.* (2012: 4-5) in their article as:

> *'A deliberative system is one that encompasses a talk-based approach to political conflict and problem solving – through arguing, demonstrating, expressing and persuading. In a good deliberative system, persuasion that raises relevant considerations should replace suppression, oppression, and thoughtless neglect. Normatively, a systemic approach means that the system should be judged as a whole in addition to the parts being judged independently.'*

Within deliberative frameworks it is critical that these wider public opinions are robust, 'supported by the best scientific, moral and aesthetic arguments available' (Jones 2016: 121) and 'citizens must justify wishes and positions in relation to common decisions' (Arler & Mellqvist 2015: 277). An informed approach can then develop where public participation processes can be 'more about acknowledging and addressing differences and conflicts

[22] There are three values of landscape democracy: 'co-determination and participation', 'self-determination' and 'respect for arguments and the quest for deliberation' summarised in Arler & Mellqvist (2015) and Jones (2016).

present within a landscape' (Calderon & Butler 2020: 159) to advise future landscape decision-making.

Here the calls for deliberative democracy (investigated further in Chapters 7 and 8) have been suggested in the light of a complex governance system (See 3.4.4) and wider engagement with residents and visitors in the NYMNPA, yet an essential question needs to be asked (and one of the main challenges) in landscape democracy and participation research – whose is the dominant voice? The process of landscape shows that certain values are emphasised whilst others are excluded to the detriment of certain individuals or groups. Hardin's (1968) famous paper shows how individual interests in common land can lead to a 'tragedy of the commons' but the thesis will demonstrate that it is often land-owning individuals in the NYMNP who are making many of the final decisions regarding land management. The culture and traditions prioritised in their business decision-making have shaped the environment (Hodge 2016: 180) and the NYMNP environment is a consequence of their behaviour towards the landscape over time. Therefore, should the public be involved at all? If this is a yes, then how and at what stage of the democratic process should they be involved? If it is a no, then who should have the influence over the National Park landscapes? With the multiple interpretations of a NYMNP landscape from different parts of society, when it is contested, Arler and Mellqvist ask, should influence be distributed equally (2015: 273)? These are all considerations for the research and led to the development of the key research questions '3' and '4'.[23]

Reworked from Jones (2007: 627-629) and Zachrisson (2004: 13) which adapted Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation (1969), this thesis puts forward six different levels of participation in a landscape:

1. Non-participation where people are not offered opportunities to participate in decision-making.
2. Participation controlled by the state or private owners (e.g. informing, consultation and co-operation).
3. Communities advising on formal decisions (e.g. advisory committees or management boards).
4. Communities involved in official partnerships with landscape organisations.
5. Joint control, co-creation and co-production between communities and land managers.

[23] The third research question is 'who influences people's perceptions and experiences of the NYMNP heritage-landscapes?' and the fourth research question is 'how much agency do communities have in influencing the management, use and ownership of the NYMNP landscape?'.

6. Participation where the community has control over land decision-making and has the final say.

At each level, the different levels of participation increase the quantity and quality of participation, engagement and democracy. Through these types of participatory interactions with landscape (and heritage), there are opportunities for more sustainable and democratic living in landscapes for humans (Roe 2019: 402) but is a collaborative approach, working down the ladder to level six, more beneficial for the whole landscape, how it changes and its biodiversity? As Jones emphasises (2016: 124), there is a challenge in combining deliberative / participatory democracy involving social movements, activists and local community groups with the decision-making made through representative democracy (e.g. National Park boards or partnerships) or by private individuals. This type of wider participatory democracy can reduce the power of boards, individuals and experts (e.g. land managers) and can be perceived by all as time consuming and costly (Jones 2016: 125). How far do these participatory processes represent local and community interests? Are individuals who make key landscape decisions acting on behalf of their localities, the statutory purposes of a National Park, or for their own separate agenda? Should they be given more influence over a landscape? Within a country with an extremely high level of private land ownership, are landscapes themselves treated equally and deliberatively?

Roe (2019: 402, 412-413) highlights that there are still gaps in landscape decision-making research which include areas of rich cross disciplinary potential into landscape participation and democracy, most importantly because they are critical in light of the climate change emergency and the ecological emergency. Despite the popular coverage of 'participation' in landscape related publications since the ELC in 2000 (Wylie 2007; Jones 2011; Scott 2011; Arler & Mellqvist 2015; Hodge 2016; Jones 2016; Roe 2019), the development of SES (Berkes 2004) and other community orientated policies in the UK (such as the Localism Act in 2011), examples are rare in UK National Parks and there are very few cases, if any, which research 'on the ground' community participatory movements. From a landscape studies perspective, Jones (2016: 125-126) highlights the importance of future research exploring the role of grass-roots social movements and 'for research that critically examines participatory approaches and their outcomes'. Thus, by asking 'who influences people's perceptions and experiences of the NYMNP heritage-landscapes?' and 'how much agency do communities have in influencing the landscapes of the NYMNP?', the thesis can provide an original perspective on landscape participation research in a National Park.

Moreover, very little literature exists as a place-based landscape study in UK National Park settings with local and wider knowledge used to comprehend the environmental interactions and influence of residents. The special qualities, alongside Landscape Character Assessments, define a fixed connection between people and place in the National Park Management Plan but they do not necessarily capture the changing, everyday connections between people and place in a National Park (as well as the debates surveyed in this chapter), especially towards specific landscapes in a National Park.

The research will also implement participatory approaches, through a more-than-representational theoretical grounding and a methodology that seeks to equalise the power between researcher and research participant and by applying a mixed methods approach which gives communities wide-ranging opportunities to voice their thoughts. Participatory research has its benefits; it can help communities feel empowered (Berkes 2004: 627).

2.4. Natural-cultural landscape

By arguing in the previous section that landscape is an all-encompassing, immersive concept, nature and culture are at one within this debate encapsulated by the term 'natural-cultural landscape'. As the ELC distinguishes, landscape is formulated from the interactions between nature and culture or humans and the environment (Fairclough 2008: 411). The well-established arguments in academia and practice circles that, in the Anthropocene, nature and culture are integrated rather than perceived as separate phenomena in a landscape provides further evidence (Harden *et al.* 2014; Krauss 2019; Saul & Waterton 2019; Thompson 2019). Yet, this is not to say that there are no ontological differences between the two concepts, as 'deep ecologists' believe (Thompson 2019: 553). Instead, the two interdependent phenomena are a binary compound: a hybrid nature-culture axis.

2.4.1. Nature-culture axis

> *'Up on the plateau nothing has moved for a long time, I have walked all day and seen no one. I have heard no living sound. Once, in a solitary corrie, the rattle of a falling stone betrayed the passage of a line of stags. But up here, no movement, no voice. Man might be a thousand years away. Yet, as I look round me, I am touched at many points by his presence. His presence is in the cairns, marking the summits, marking the paths, marking the spot where a man has died, or where a river is born.'*
>
> (Shepherd 2011: 76)

As Nan Shepherd describes her walking ventures through the Cairngorms in Scotland in the 1930s and 1940s, it seems at first in her account that she is immersed in wilderness and can find no visible trace of humans. Then, from a further assessment of her surroundings, she notices the man-made influences, such as the stone markers, in this far flung corner of the Scottish mountain range. Even though these signs of human activity are subtle it is reflective of most landscapes in the UK where culture has affected the natural environment.[24]

Today within academic research it is widely accepted that nature and culture are interlinked. The emergence of the Anthropocene as a concept has highlighted and intensified the thinking around nature-culture debates. The heritage scholar Rodney Harrison puts forward the argument that there is no dichotomy between the natural and cultural elements of a landscape because of a connection which exists between all things generally referred to by anthropologists as 'totemism' (2015: 29-31)[25] where everything (humans and the natural world) is part of a continuously, evolving ecosystem. This chimes with Urry and Macnaghten's conclusions that there are no distinctions between nature and society because they are intertwined with multiple types of 'natures' existing rather than a single nature (1998: 29). As Cronon states, 'human beings have been manipulating ecosystems for as long as we have records of their passage' (1995: 25). The nature-culture axis is even considered by Donna Harraway (2008) as 'naturecultures', without a hyphen, suggesting how the relationship is conjoined. However, Harvey and Wilkinson (2019: 178) advocate the use of the hyphen because the punctuation mark reflects the critical spaces and relations between nature and culture. Indeed, the hyphen could be seen to represent the axis itself. Therefore, by understanding the actions of the hyphen is it only then that we can truly comprehend how this nature-culture axis works? The thesis will research the relational workings of the hyphen by investigating the factors which affect the connections and spaces between nature and culture – movement, perception, time and voice.

Influenced by these debates, the integration of nature and culture is also found in dwelling theory which focuses on the togetherness, intimacy and embodiment between humanity and nature. Humans are a part of ecosystems through dwelling (Berkes 2004: 623). Cloke and Jones (2001: 651) make the case that:

[24] This is becoming even more so in the twenty first century with a global increase in urbanisation, technology and development affecting our connection with landscape (Taylor *et al.* 2015: XII). It raises two questions: whether wilderness in landscapes exists in the Anthropocene? And what do we mean by true wilderness?

[25] Harrison is cautious that variations on the term 'totemism' exist throughout different societies in the world (2015: 29). Many indigenous tribes adopt this term and throughout history they have perceived nature and culture as inseparable.

'…dwelling is about the rich intimate ongoing togetherness of being and things which make up landscapes and places, and which bind together nature and culture over time'

The interconnectedness of the dwelling theory has seen nature perceived as 'a collection of always localised and relational phenomena embedded in particular times and spaces' (Obrador Pons 2006: 964) making it sit comfortably alongside culture.[26] The notion of dwelling works as an inclusive thought process, which seeks to deter any notions of oppositions, blending any sign of division between culture and nature. The integration and interconnection of culture and nature is also found in SES frameworks, where humans are deemed to be embedded within the Earth's biosphere (Folke *et al.* 2016).

In spite of all of this, nature and culture can be torn between particular conflicts in a landscape, especially if people believe that the two concepts are separate; arguing for either culture or nature to prevail in a National Park (Krauss 2019: 68-71). The term 'cultural landscape' is often utilised to describe the UK National Park system (Tree 2018: 4) and the uplands (Commission for Rural Communities 2010) with the land recognised by a variety of major actors in UK National Parks as primarily managed for culture over nature, for some evidenced by the LDNP's inscription as a World Heritage site (Monbiot 2017; Convery *et al.* 2020). Whilst other writers such as Taylor *et al.* recognise that 'cultural landscape' encapsulates 'how we perceive and interact with nature' (2015: 4) which is in alignment with the International Union for Conservation of Nature's (IUCN) Category V definition of a UK National Park and UNESCO's 'cultural landscape' category. The nouns 'culture' and 'nature' are highly complex words and, akin to landscape, have multiple meanings to various individuals and groups of people, having a bearing on one's viewpoint on the composition of a natural-cultural landscape which again can cause tension.[27]

Contest is often underlined by nature-culture debates in the NYMNP where there are attempts by global, national and local actors to manage and control this relationship (West *et al.* 2006: 251). The connections between culture and nature in this thesis reveal how identity within a culture is made and negotiated socially in places, spaces and landscapes (Mitchell 2000: XIII). An improved understanding of the nature-culture axis in the NYMNP can be achieved by researching the complex set of interdependent relationships, everyday processes and the

[26] Through a dwelling perspective nature, as an agent of change, is seen as an active participant 'in the unfolding of life' (Wylie 2007: 159). For further debates on the definitions of 'nature' see Urry and Macnaghten (1998) and Franklin (2002).

[27] This thesis does not have the scope to define the hugely contested terms of 'culture' and 'nature'. For instance culture is described by Raymond Williams as 'one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language' (1976: 76). Therefore, this section provides a short synopsis of some of the discussions which will be continued to be investigated throughout the thesis, in particular in Chapter 5.

attached values and identities that exist locally between communities in the National Park and the natural environment, which manifest in a heritage-landscape.

2.4.2. Anthropocene landscape research

The term 'Anthropocene', first used by Crutzen and Stoermer (2000), describes the current geological time interval in the Geological Time Scale where humans, as 'keystone species', are the main driver[28] in changing chemical, physical and biological conditions and processes on Earth (Zalasiewicz 2017; Subcommission on Quarternary Stratigraphy 2019). Humans in the Anthropocene are 'a globally geological force' and the main determinant of the planet's environment (Steffen *et al.* 2011: 843; 2015: 93-94). Even though it has yet to be formally ratified by the International Commission on Stratigraphy (Subcommission on Quarternary Stratigraphy 2019), the term has spread widely across the academy, integrating conversations, most importantly for this thesis, between the social sciences and other academic subjects such as the natural sciences. The term has brought the nature-culture connection closer together by arguing that humans and nature cannot exist separately in landscape environments, including UK National Parks.

Under the IUCN Category V designation, UK National Parks are protected areas where the interaction of people and nature over time has created a distinct type of character in these landscapes (IUCN 2020). It is the interrelations between culture and nature that have formed the landscape of the NYMNP, its geomorphology, geology and biosphere. These are areas where human life works alongside the natural environment which means even though they are so called 'protected areas'; they are protected for humans because they depend on human presence (Hodge 2016: 180), demonstrated by the ecosystem services framework (Palomo *et al.* 2014: 186). The IUCN categorisation is very much in standing with areas of land (and water) increasingly designated to be protected as a response to the Anthropocene's modern progression,[29] especially in the second half of the twentieth century and the twenty first century thus far (Palomo *et al.* 2014: 181). In the UK these are expanses of land that, in this geological epoch, depend on the balance of the nature-culture axis for their future sustainability and resilience.

[28] Bruno Latour argues that some human groups and cultures (e.g. indigenous people) hold less responsibility than others for shaping the planet in the Anthropocene (Latour 2017: 39).

[29] Saul and Waterton state that 'it is common to locate modernity, with its capitalist underpinnings, as the main cultural motivator of the Anthropocene' (2019: 143). It is in the human world that humans via future thinking look to progress which has implications on the non-human world, multiple temporalities and the development of the Anthropocene (Tsing 2015: 21).

Coinciding with the Anthropocene, researchers allude to a 'landscape crisis' (Lemaire 2002; Antrop 2006, 2019) interlinked with the 'sixth' extinction when discussing this geological epoch and the rapid changes to the landscape that have come to accompany it:

> *'The profound transformation of most landscapes since the Second World War is characterized by a loss of diversity, an increasing homogeneity and a fundamental break with the past. New landscapes are created without history and without ecological links to the natural context.'* (Antrop 2006: 28)

Increasingly past landscapes are swept to one side and 'refused' as new, human orientated landscapes are being constructed and the Great Acceleration, the increasing rise of socio-economic activity since the middle of the twentieth century (Steffen *et al.* 2015), takes charge. Human influenced alterations to the environment are occurring at an exponential rate and magnitude (Steffen *et al.* 2015: 91) producing new dynamic connections within SES. People also forget what certain components of the landscape existed like before 'due to a lack of memory, experience, and / or knowledge' – known as the shifting baseline syndrome (Tsing *et al.* 2017b: G6; Soga & Gaston 2018: 222). This present crisis is simply echoed by Anna Tsing (2015: 19) when she says that 'humans have made a mess of our planet'. The pressures and demands that humans have put on the environment means that the human race is at a turning point in what it requires from landscapes (such as National Parks) and how it adapts and seeks opportunities which are better at balancing and sustaining the nature-culture axis in the Anthropocene. Evidently it is a critical and uncertain time for natural-cultural landscapes in UK National Parks with the rapid unmanageable, unsustainable changes which have transformed landscapes. The government's recent *Landscapes Review*, an assessment of the current English National Parks and Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB) systems, reflects upon the multiple effects of humans on landscapes through pollution, intensification of farming and climate change (DEFRA 2019: 7):

> *'Our country is changing fast. It is becoming more diverse. More urban. Much busier. New forms of farming, carbon emissions, the sprawl of housing, new technology and social shifts have changed the relationship between people and the countryside, and left nature and our climate in crisis.'*

The UK population is growing within this already densely populated island[30] and there are housing demands in National Parks, energy pressures and land use intensification including calls to increase levels of agricultural production (Hodge 2016: 14). The human pressure on

[30] The UK's population density is 727 people per mile^2.

UK protected landscapes has only increased in 2020 and 2021 with the COVID-19 pandemic, especially the number of people visiting 'honey-pot' locations in National Parks. There have been negatives outcomes of the pandemic with the abuse or misuse of the landscape as people visit National Parks, sometimes without a thought for the consequences of their visit (e.g. traffic, litter and damage to pathways). On the other hand, the pandemic has raised our awareness about the significance of nature and, for many, restored their connections with the natural environment. Forest schools, rewilding projects, an interest in gardening and discussion of a natural history GCSE have seen '…increasing numbers of us reaching out in different ways for the natural world' (Harrison 2020). A dichotomy arises here where mental and physical health benefits for people require more access to nature whilst enhancing accessibility to natural spaces can lead to negative human impacts on the environment (Tree 2020). It will be interesting to observe if a post-COVID 19 pandemic world leads to more sustainable opportunities for landscapes in the Anthropocene and ways of reimagining the human-nature relationship through 'experimentation, attentiveness and innovative action' (Saul & Waterton 2019: 148).

Pragmatic attempts are emerging which consider the balance of the culture-nature axis and making it sustainable within 'complex adaptive systems' described by Levin (1999: 15). For example, the Landscapes Review asked for more land to be protected and recently the government pledged to protect 30% of land in the UK by 2030 (UK Government 2020). In addition, although not officially designated as National Parks, there have been innovative National Park city movements – as seen in London[31] – to promote 'greener, healthier and wilder living' (London National Park City 2020). Behind these attempts are broader questions, such as 'how much land must we set apart to protect ecosystems, biodiversity, and the related ecosystem services for the long-term?' (Palomo *et al.* 2014: 181). Schama (1995: 13) follows this with, how do we go about restoring the balance between humans and the rest of the organisms with which we share the planet? And from a humanist perspective, as these are landscapes affected by culture, to what extent do we maintain and also protect forms of culture (Hodge 2016: 173)?[32]

Landscapes might be in crisis but it is integral for researchers, practitioners and the general public to look for solutions and examine how the human-nature synergy can work together to address these issues. This may enable landscapes to no longer 'be regarded as a simple resource to be exploited' (Roe 2019: 413) and deemed more than, merely, a commercial

[31] London was confirmed as the first National Park city in July 2019.

[32] The Sandford Principle will have some impact on National Park decision-making towards these three questions by attaching greater weight to the National Park purpose of conserving and enhancing the natural beauty, wildlife and cultural heritage of the area.

commodity. Therefore, heritage-landscape research from a social constructivist perspective is paramount to study the global drivers of change (e.g. land use, climate change and technological change) before humans worsen 'the mess' (Tsing 2015: 19).

In combination with a social constructivist viewpoint, Krauss (2019) suggests the importance of a post-environmentalist position, where nature and the environment are intertwined with human society, rather than an environmentalist position (i.e. the protection of nature from human society) to research the dynamic relationships between society and nature and the drivers of change.[33] Promoting the reactive nature of post-environmentalism to global challenges, Krauss (2019: 71), citing Laura Ogden, praises how the thought process can take a landscape beyond the culture and nature philosophical debates to investigate the 'assemblages of relations'[34] within it – the SES. These assemblages or networks sit within complex adaptive systems, as discussed by Levin's research, which change into new systems under new pressures and land managers must be mindful of this so resilient ecosystems can be created in the biosphere (1999: 15).

So far, the argument has mostly concentrated on the human, social constructions of landscape as the focus of the thesis is on human perceptions of National Park landscapes. However, the concept of post-environmentalism leads the thesis towards a consideration of a non-human interaction with landscape which is evidenced in ecology by complex adaptive systems and SES and accentuated by the relational changes to these systems brought about with the shift from the Holocene to the Anthropocene.

There is a consensus across landscape scholars today that a landscape includes all living organisms and non-living elements, underlined by the Anthropocene. A landscape is the networks and patterns in the biosphere but also in the hydrosphere, lithosphere, geosphere and the atmosphere.[35] This makes it an extremely flexible and multifarious process in alignment with the Earth and its 'spheres' being complex, adaptive systems (Levin 1999: 12-15). This wider perspective on the concept of landscape has been labelled as a 'more-than-human world' by scholars (Whatmore 2006; Tsing 2015; Tsing *et al.* 2017a) with an alternative landscape focus where humans have equal significance to non-humans; a collective,

[33] Shellenberger and Nordhaus (2009) advocate the term 'post-environmentalism', a paradigm which promotes a wider outlook on 'the environment', so the concept includes the role of humans, correlating with the human impact in the Anthropocene.

[34] Tsing (2015: 22) and Krauss (2019: 63) both find the concept of 'assemblage' a useful term to define ecological communities which include humans and non-humans in the living world.

[35] It is also important to recognise that an investigation of landscape must not only consider what is on the Earth's surface but take into account a vertical perception of the taskscapes that occur below and above the ground. Tim Edensor in his writings highlights the continuous interpenetration between underground, surface and atmosphere (2017: 597). This thought process is clearly important for a thesis that has a case study focusing on a polyhalite mine, a piece of infrastructure which extracts resources from the Earth's core.

landscape democracy of humans and non-humans, as proposed by Latour (2004), that has aspirations of less human intervention in future geological epochs. To the anthropologist, Anna Tsing (2015: 152), the interactive nature of landscape means that the role of the human is in connection to all the other elements of the living world when it influences the world; interlinked with 'meshworks' or 'assemblages' of human and non-human actors. She argues that through a more-than-human way of thinking incorporating multispecies interactions, 'landscapes are radical tools for decentering human hubris' (2015: 152). Even though this thesis focuses on the many human constructions of a landscape, influenced by Tsing's writings, I also recognise the implications of a biocentric perspective where there is much more ecological complexity to a landscape than human beings and their role. Landscapes are poignantly described by Tsing, in her ethnographic writings, as 'the overlapping world-making activities of many agents, human and non-human' (2015: 152) and 'an open-ended assemblages of entangled ways of life' (2015: 4). More-than-representational theory allows the thesis to look beyond the aesthetics of a landscape and consider its ecosystems and habitats – a larger set of environmental relationships. The next step for landscape research is to continue to enhance its interdisciplinary nature and specifically draw on more thinking from ecology and environmental geography to better understand the 'meshworks' and assemblages in a National Park.

Thompson (2019: 560) writes that 'human beings can be located not only as a human community, but also as part of a larger ecological community'. Rather than centring on the human, it takes the debate to an everyday level for every aspect of the environment, recognising that these relations or assemblages are fragile, vulnerable and precarious. Tsing argues that 'only an appreciation of current precarity as an Earth-wide condition allows us to notice this – the situation of our world' (2015: 4). In accordance with the debates in 2.3.1, it is an 'insider' way of thinking that has more concern for the means in which heterogeneous elements of a landscape function and less regard for what a landscape looks like aesthetically.

The Anthropocene is an effective contemporary framing concept for landscape and heritage processes, interlinking what is happening at an everyday, local level in the thesis's case studies with global drivers of change. The framework conveys negative ideas of a landscape crisis on a global scale with the concept often associated with the causes of climate change and ecological emergencies, but it can also bring people together to collaborate, better understand and work with these drivers of change in National Park landscapes. Furthermore, its extensive time frame gives researchers a long-term perception of multiple temporalities and a visioning of the future. Through an opportunist lens when viewing the concept, land managers can draw on 'the past, present and future to look for inspirational ways to proceed:

revitalising certain relationships with heritage' (Saul & Waterton 2019: 141). For the aim of this research, it applies an overarching framework to nature-culture landscape relations to view how humans, as part of a wider ecosystem, respond to the opportunities and challenges brought about by living in a National Park in the Anthropocene.

2.4.3. Ideas of rewilding / wilding places

Over the last twenty years there have been attempts by land managers in the UK to move certain landscapes towards the natural world so they are less influenced by human activity and the presence of humans – as evidenced, for example, in Nan Shepherd's writings – is reduced. Within the context of the Anthropocene, people have started to question the role of the 'human' in the landscape. Land managers have started to perceive the landscape in different ways with alternative approaches developing to create resilient landscapes and healthy ecosystems. One of these which challenges the 'anthro' and may change our perceptions of the natural-cultural axis within a landscape is the debated ideas of 'rewilding' or 'wilding'[36] a landscape. Alongside shooting, rewilding is a key, topical issue in the NYMNP at the time of this thesis. While there are no promoted rewilding projects in the NYMNP, there are areas of land which are less humanly intervened upon, such as Fylingdales Moor, and the idea is putting pressure on land management in the Park. The term has many meanings but here it is defined by Carver for this thesis (2016: 2):

> *'Rewilding…is a conservation approach aimed at restoring and protecting natural processes in core wild areas, providing connectivity between such areas, and protecting or reintroducing keystone species (which may or may not include large herbivores and/or predators). Rewilding projects may require active intervention through ecological restoration, particularly to restore connectivity between fragmented protected areas, and the reintroduction of species of plants or animals where these are no longer present.'*

Rewilding is fundamentally 'giving back the land to a state of nature after possibly millennia of human control and modification' (Carver 2019: 467). George Monbiot who brought popular media acclaim to the term says 'it has no view about what a 'right' ecosystem or a right assemblage of species looks like' (2014: 9-10).[37] This alternative form of landscape promotes the natural environment and the non-human alongside the human diverging from a managed,

[36] Since 2016 there have been certain moves towards the use of the term 'wilding' instead of 'rewilding', particularly encouraged by Carver (2016) and Tree (2018), to some extent, using discourse which looks forward into the future rather than back to the past.

[37] The term rewilding can also be used for reversing the process of domestication of the human being – for example a human's return to a primitive hunter-gatherer type of state.

cultural landscape to bring ‘an enhanced opportunity for people to engage with and delight in the natural world’ (Monbiot 2014: 11). Responding to the landscape crisis, it is a different management approach to nature conservation in the Anthropocene. One which encourages the benefits that this type of landscape can bring to ecosystem services – meaning there is very much a public policy debate in the UK over its function and use at present.

Referring to rewilding projects across Europe, Drenthen finds that rewilding could be seen as forming ‘new cultural landscapes’ that reflect human’s postmodernist ideals of the natural world (2015: 321). He reveals the conflicts that exist within rewilding type landscapes ‘between rewilders who want to return to a wilder state and those who want to protect the cultural heritage landscape’ (2015: 321) – suggesting the political contests again between the aspirations of those who seek change and those who wish to conserve. There is a fear amongst those who wish to protect the cultural heritage that the historical past in the traditional, English countryside might be lost in a rewilded landscape (Tree 2018: 299). Rewilding confronts the cultural valorisation which underpins the UK’s National Park system and questions the purpose of a National Park landscape.

Theoretical debates have also been raised by Carver (2019: 469) over whether decisions made towards rewilding landscapes are argued to be anthropogenic or biocentric – these are debates forged by the subjective nature of a landscape. The anthropogenic argument focuses on the benefits for humans (e.g. economic or ecosystem goods and services) and a type of rewilding which is more human-controlled. In contrast, a biocentric argument looks at the advantages for nature, and is based on Aldo Leopold’s land ethic where there is a social conscience and care for the health of the land (Leopold 1989, 1993; Carver 2019). Furthermore, these arguments become more complex in protected areas because there are also global, national and local interests at stake.

The rewilding (Vera 2009; Fisher *et al.* 2010; Monbiot 2014) or emerging wilding debates (Carver 2016; Fisher & Parfitt 2016) challenge the relationship between humans and landscape (Drenthen 2015: 321). Carver states that ‘as humans we have modified and shaped nature to suit our own needs but this hasn’t altered the laws of nature and the natural processes that govern the natural world’ (2016: 4). Here Carver implies that nature has its own laws and own control which should be set aside from cultural interventions. Tree, taking a biocentric approach to the concept, says ‘rewilding is restoration by letting go, allowing nature to take the driving seat…allowing natural processes to happen, and having no pre-determined targets to meet’ (2018: 9).

Figure 7 - Wild Ennerdale in the LDNP (Photograph by author 2020).

Due to the actions of landowners and volunteers, both large scale and smaller scale wilding and rewilding projects in the uplands and lowlands have started to develop in the UK.[38] Avery (2019) argues for the implementation of more rewilding projects, especially in UK National Parks, stating that 'National Parks are ideal places for nature to flourish…and are obvious testing grounds for the benefits of rewilding'. One such example of a rewilding project in a UK National Park is Wild Ennerdale, an innovative upland rewilding area in the LDNP which challenges nature-culture relations (Fig.7). The valley is unusual for the National Park because it has no public access through road 'and was forested by Sitka spruce and other non-native species in the 1940s' (Carver 2019: 471). Wild Ennerdale's vision is 'to allow the evolution of Ennerdale as a wild valley for the benefit of people, relying more on natural processes to shape its landscape and ecology' (Wild Ennerdale 2018). The project is not trying to recreate how the natural environment was in the past but is allowing the uplands to develop freely over

[38] 238,205 acres have been rewilded in England, Wales and Scotland with 38 projects at the time of writing (Rewilding Britain 2020).

an open-ended time span (Carver 2013: 391). Here, rewilding can be observed as a forward-thinking process where nature is given more control in the formation of the landscape.

For rewilding to work appropriately many organisations including Rewilding Britain (who promote and campaign for the concept in the UK) advocate a whole landscape initiative – a 'rewilding network' (Rewilding Britain 2020) – to strengthen the nature-culture axis to work with the drivers of change this planet faces. Krauss (2019) stresses the importance of the production of space to truly understand the relationship between culture and nature which fits with Antrop's emphasis on the importance of contexts for the valorising of a landscape (2006: 35). Building on the government's 25 year Environment Plan (DEFRA 2018) and the Lawton report (Lawton *et al.* 2010) where conservation is thought of as 'bigger, better and joined up', a whole landscape initiative, using National Parks as exemplars, can enable spaces where 'meshworks', assemblages, interactions and biodiversity can start to be better supported. Nature recovery networks, set out in the 25 year Environment Plan, can be linked together across landscapes, thus connecting landscapes and species through corridors of movement, interlinked with the whole systems approach towards the composition of the natural world (Berkes, Colding & Folke 2003; Berkes 2004). The thought process makes a call for creating more space for nature within landscapes but connection within these networks is also vital. The thesis is in agreement with Carver (2019: 466) that without connectivity 'smaller isolated pockets of wildland are in danger'. The Landscapes Review highlights that the connectivity between ecological networks, especially between designated protected areas, could be enhanced – and a suggestion by Carver is 'mapping the linkages between our natural areas, improving those that already exist and identifying gaps and the opportunities for bridging these' (2019: 471). One example of an ecological system which is coming to the fore is *wildbelts*, an interconnected network to support nature's recovery, proposed by the Wildlife Trusts (2020).

The network approach requires strong and better planning for biodiversity (Hodge 2016: 194) but it has rich potential to lead to the enhancement of the biodiversity net gains laid out in the government's 25 year Environment Plan (DEFRA 2018) and can work in tandem with the Environmental Land Management (ELM) scheme,[39] the new agricultural system and an ecosystem services approach. If improved ecological networks are to materialise in the future, then visions of landscapes should be drawn up between different land managers and include input from local people who understand the closeness of the nature-culture relationship (Carver 2019: 464).

[39] The new ELM scheme should provide incentives for landowners' actions to care for the environment.

Ultimately a change of land use ends with land ownership and power dynamics within a National Park. With the National Park Authority in the North York Moors having limited powers and owning very little land (See 3.5), decisions over land use are in the hands of landowners and key decision-makers. The ownership and control of these landscapes, and land managers' perceptions and values of the land, has a major impact on landscape change and nature-driven projects, as will be evidenced throughout this thesis:

> *'It is those who take managerial decisions about land, whether they are politicians, policy-makers, farmers, planners, landscape architects, property developers or foresters who ought to examine their characteristic values and reflect on their actions the most closely.'* (Thompson 2019: 562)

2.5. Heritage

Heritage, in conjunction with landscape, enables the thesis to consider the deliberated connections between people and the environment because the concept is a relational process interwoven with community life in the NYMNP and the designated protection of a cultural landscape. A holistic, more accessible kind of heritage has developed over the last twenty years to help comprehend the synthesis between people and place, influenced by the emphasis from practitioners and academics in the heritage sector on the concept being perceived as something for everyone, and that every person has the right to participate actively in it (Council of Europe 2005; Schofield 2015: 418). The concept, academically and to a certain degree practically, has also attempted to shift itself from only being about those places which hold exceptional value (Schofield 2008: 18; Smith 2006: 29-34) to a focus on the ordinary, tangible and intangible[40] aspects which make up our communities and surroundings. These efforts to 'normalise' heritage have had some success with heritage becoming more of an everyday concept not only as *official heritage* but as *unofficial heritage* labelled by Harrison where he describes this to mean 'things' which are not recognised by legislation (2013: 14-20). The word 'thing' tends to be used by Harrison here because of the ambiguity of heritage which suggests the challenge in defining this concept. Yet, Schofield (2014: 3) argues that cultural heritage is not a 'thing' but a construction or a process which is used to facilitate the management and interpretation of 'things' – comparable to how 'landscape' was earlier defined in this thesis. Heritage, therefore, is not something which is stagnant, but a process vibrantly on the move (Harvey 2001: 335; Smith 2006: 2), and thus has a strong connection

[40] In 2003 UNESCO recognised the field of intangible cultural heritage through the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Intangible cultural heritage is defined by UNESCO as including oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts (2018b).

with landscape. Often it is the people-nature relations with everyday aspects within this process that can form a person's perceptions and experiences of a National Park.

The widening of the concept of heritage has also seen a recognition of the importance of natural heritage assets, such as biodiversity, ecosystems, air and water, and the complex fusion of these kinds of nature with human lives (Papayannis & Howard 2007). The term 'cultural landscape', used to inscribe UNESCO World Heritage sites such as the LDNP, evidences the interactions between culture and nature which formulate a National Park's heritage. Natural heritage acknowledges that humans have a responsibility for the upkeep of a concerning future for the natural world (Papayannis & Howard 2007: 300). It is important that the relationship between cultural heritage and natural heritage is viewed as a hybrid axis to counter any tensions between heritage interest parties, improve dialogue and generate a more integrated approach between culturally-focused organisations (i.e. Historic England / English Heritage) and nature conservation organisations (i.e. Natural England). Landscape can provide a platform for these kinds of heritage to connect mutually and wider participatory dialogue, underlined by a deliberative, systemic approach (discussed in 2.3.5) to occur. In turn, this will allow organisations and communities to better understand the human impact in the Anthropocene on biodiversity and climate change and nature to be accepted as more than a commodity. The fact that heritage is now widely depicted by many heritage scholars as a contemporary process through which societies engage with and make use of their pasts to inform the future (Harvey 2001; Smith 2006; Harrison 2013) has helped to link the concept with these current global issues. Harrison also supports this future making nature of heritage by portraying the concept as:

> '*an active process of assembling a series of objects, places and practices that we choose to hold up as a mirror to the present, associated with a particular set of values that we wish to take with us into the future.*' (2015: 309-310)

Many academics recognise that heritage studies, similar to landscape studies, is underpinned by a range of values and meanings which are made by humans (Hall 1997: 61; Graham *et al.* 2000: 2-3; Smith 2006: 11), some of which are carried forward into the future whilst others are left behind. Heritage does not have fixed meanings but has multiple, active meanings, associated with its spatial surroundings, which gives a place a sense of identity (Hall 1997: 61; Graham *et al.* 2000: 3). This valorisation can be contested within the heritage process over use, conservation, ownership and interpretation but ultimately meanings are charged with emotion and care (Smith 2021). Emotion and meaning can be best understood when heritage is exposed to a type of change, whether this is a risk to it or its complete erosion (Harrison

2013: 7). Harrison writes that heritage is often defined when there is a protest over the potential loss of something perceived to be of value by somebody, 'within a broader discourse of conservation or preservation' (2013: 26). Heritage acts as a contextual arena for local and broader debates over meanings and protests to take place, as the thesis shall investigate when new identities were displayed in the discussions over moorland management in the Goathland case study.

Akin to the concept of landscape, this thesis views heritage as a space and a thought process where multiple temporalities – past, present and future – assemble. The multi-temporal disposition of heritage supports an understanding of people's relationships and identities within the rich, lengthy heritage of the NYMNP, evidenced by the special quality of the Park – 'a wealth of archaeology from prehistory to the 20th century' (NYMNPA 2016a: 8). Harvey argues that heritage, reminiscent of the Anthropocene, has a long timeframe because 'heritage has always been with us and has always been produced by people according to their contemporary concerns and experiences' (2001: 320). The thesis agrees with Harvey that humans are constantly attached to heritage which is, therefore, evolving throughout time. With visioning becoming increasingly important in National Parks and the Anthropocene framework instigating long-term perspectives, the thesis will utilise heritage, alongside the Anthropocene, as an instrument to consider the roles and relations of the past, present and future elements of a landscape as they intersect with community identity and influence beyond current community livelihoods.

2.5.1. Heritage, landscape and community

Heritage and landscape have a profound connection, accentuated by Schofield when he states that 'landscape is heritage; heritage is landscape' (2014: 2). Landscapes are attached to an infinite quantity of narratives and memories (which they evoke) belonging to people, meaning that people value the places their lives encounter (Schofield 2014: 2) with people fully immersed and embodied in these landscapes, demonstrated by non-representational and phenomenological approaches to landscape research. Heritage is one of these attributes which distinguishes a place and gives a place a sense of identity. It is described as a spatial phenomenon with the process of heritage happening within these spaces and also within landscapes (Graham *et al.* 2000: 3), as the NYMNP management plan indicates. Landscapes have their own cultural and natural heritage and, similarly, heritage can have its own cultural and natural landscapes, suggesting a shared, relational process. In parallel to the culture-nature axis, they are hybrid concepts following the move towards relational work within these subjects and hybridity research in the social sciences and geography (Whatmore 2002;

Harvey & Wilkinson 2019). The repositioning of the term's heritage and landscape as holistic, all-encompassing entities has seen them become closer, often with people at their core. This is demonstrated by the ELC's definition of landscape, but also now more of a consensus is developing to increasingly support a role for non-humans shown by the practical work (such as the Ryevitalise Heritage Fund project in the NYMNP) and research on natural heritage (Papayannis & Howard 2007; Byrne & Birgit Ween 2015; Harrison 2015) and signposted in Harrison's definition of heritage (2015: 28):

> *'A series of diplomatic properties that emerge in the dialogue of heterogeneous human and non-human actors who are engaged in keeping pasts alive in the present, which function toward assembling futures.'*

Comparable to Schofield and drawing on work from Casey (1996), Emma Waterton finds that the creation of heritage, identity and landscape are interwoven with the lives of communities (2005: 317) incorporating assemblages of ecological communities (Latour 2004). As landscape and heritage are dynamic, shifting concepts, the way that humans and non-humans integrate with these concepts can provide a better understanding of ourselves and our world around us. They can offer a contemporary analysis of the connection between people and the environment, of being in the world, of affect, experience and perception in the North York Moors, as landscape and heritage in the Park are constructed, deconstructed, reconstructed and negotiated (Harvey & Wilkinson 2019: 177). Thus, Graham Fairclough, a leading landscape archaeologist, argues that the means in which communities utilise heritage and landscape can direct key decision-makers to have a 'say on where the world is going and why we do or don't want it to go in that direction' (2014). The sustainability of NYMNP communities is reliant on the future of its heritage-landscapes – their assets, how they are managed, their use and purpose (Commission for Rural Communities 2010: 9).

Waterton, citing Casey, writes 'landscapes hold the power to 'gather' experiences, histories, memories and thoughts, and figures in the way of life of many communities, thus somehow making it a seemingly general and universal category, but emphatically remaining specific and singular to particular locations' (Casey 1996: 32; Waterton 2005: 317). It is these unique values and meanings from a local to a national scale which the landscape-heritage relationship can survey with a value system now embedded in both subject matters.

The literature examined in this chapter has revealed that the interactions between people and their surroundings 'has made a space for an understanding of landscape-heritage that acknowledges the materiality of being in the landscape' (Harvey 2013: 155). Harvey (2013: 156), citing Pearson (2006), argues that through the practice and performance of living or

‘dwelling’ in landscapes and the world – ‘heritage is invoked’. Methodologies which are active and dynamic in accordance with these processes, investigate issues of affect and emotion (Harvey & Waterton 2015: 907), and are representative of human responses to landscape and heritage, will provide a better understanding of how the landscape-heritage relationship can progress and how each field can learn from the other.

Recently academics have recognised that there is a close relationship between heritage and landscape (Harvey 2013; Harvey & Waterton 2015) demonstrated by a special edition of the Landscape Research journal titled *Landscapes of Heritage and Heritage Landscapes* (2015). However, scholars also acknowledge that this conceptual terrain is not complete with a need for further discussion and dialogue between the two fields (Harvey & Waterton 2015: 909) which can have ‘consequences for the study and understanding of both landscape and heritage’ (Harvey 2013: 153). As heritage studies has progressed most recently with new vibrant scholarship on critical heritage studies and heritage futures, there is a small but growing field of literature between landscape and heritage research, highlighted by the ‘…‘processual’ notion of heritage sitting comfortably alongside recent work on ‘relational’ understandings of landscape’ (Harvey & Waterton 2015: 906) and more-than-representational theories (Waterton 2014). An increasing number of academics from landscape and / or heritage studies are acknowledging the closer symmetry between the two fields highlighted by the recent emergence of environmental literature interested in the Anthropocene which includes themes already covered in this chapter, such as climate change and rewilding, and, a new concept to introduce here, biocultural heritage. Again, these themes suggest the strong growing interest concerning future thinking in both landscape and heritage studies (Harvey & Wilkinson 2019: 177) and the importance of considering alternative types of futures which can lead to resilient, sustainable human-nature interactions in protected areas.

Biocultural heritage interlinks the landscape-heritage hybrid and has developed as a conceptual and methodological approach to landscape research and management. The biocultural heritage framework offers an integrated biodiversity-cultural heritage approach which includes all tangible and intangible, material and non-material aspects in the landscape. It has been defined by Lindholm and Ekblom as an understanding of landscapes in the Anthropocene as the result of long-term biological and social relationships, shaping the biological and material features of the landscape together with communities’ memories, experience and knowledge (Lindholm & Ekblom 2019: 2). Biocultural heritage enables ecological and landscape visions to be informed by heritage, local connectivity with nature to be celebrated and local traditions and uses to be valued (Rotherham 2015: 3425-3426). For the purposes of this thesis, it is a concept which is particularly useful for Chapter 5 where it

has the ability to intersect the relationship between cultural and natural values and interactions in the NYMNP, where biodiversity has often become dependent on the intervention of humans (Hodge 2016: 169).

2.6. National Park heritage-landscapes in the Anthropocene

The landscape-heritage relationship has been defined as a continuously active, living and working process, where humans and non-humans dwell and move across space and time. The process, when combined with dwelling and movement (or taskscapes), triggers certain quotidian meanings, feelings and experiences amongst individuals and groups when interacting with their surroundings. Through the valorisation and relational characteristics of the heritage-landscape process, the research project can enhance its understanding of community identity and influence. Often these interactions are easier to comprehend when social and/or political divisiveness around a particular issue arises. Rodney Harrison's writings (2013) and the key land management debates in the NYMNP, such as heather burning, grouse shooting and raptor persecution as well as rewilding, illustrate that identities, relationships and influence within cultures are revealed when there are attempts by individuals or groups to protect their everyday lifestyles against forms of change or when they support changes to their landscapes.

The debates in the North York Moors show how these protected, politicised landscapes are deeply embedded with contest in an oscillating, complex 'meshwork' of political, social and ecological relations between humans and the environment. In fact, contest manifests in the changing of these landscapes as ecosystems, taskscapes and those who dwell in them evolve through time. These contests are encompassed by a nature-culture axis, incorporating four forces, which will frame much of the thinking towards identity and influence in the analysis chapters. This chapter has considered how people-place relationships are constructed, negotiated, and deconstructed in heritage-landscapes through multiple temporalities, wide-ranging perceptions, infinite networks of movement and a systemic, participatory approach, underpinned by the Anthropocene.

Indeed, everyday contests are accentuated by an anthropogenic induced 'landscape crisis', and, as landscape designations, National Parks are being challenged by alternative futures, such as rewilding, which look to tackle this crisis by anticipating the consequences that drivers of change bring to these protected spaces. Alongside different land uses, future contests between land managers and communities are paramount in facing up to the ecological and climate emergencies. With the democratisation of landscape and heritage studies, community participation in National Park landscapes, a much under researched area as highlighted in this

chapter (and especially grassroots participation movements such as the Goathland Moor Regeneration Group case study), adds more accountability to these contests bridging an understanding of the epistemologies, identities and actions of local people interlinked to land and offering a wider consideration of sustainable, future visioning for humans and non-humans alike in the NYMNP.

Chapter Three

Purpose, governance and ownership structures in the North York Moors National Park

3.1. Introduction

The development of a conservation movement, largely in the Lake District National Park, had initiated new attitudes towards the protection of, interest in and engagement with rural landscapes in the nineteenth century. This chapter will investigate the emergence of a UK National Park system by a more extensive movement across the following century with the chapter's attention directed towards the NYMNP. It will look at how the twentieth century conservation movement led to the formation of the NYMNP and the purpose, governance and ownership structures of the NYMNP today to gather an understanding of how people identify with and influence this National Park landscape.

The aspiration of this chapter is not to provide an in-depth historical account of the pre 1949 set up and the post 1949 development of the UK National Park System to the present day, which has been well documented (MacEwen 1982 1987; Blunden & Curry 1990; Sheail 2002, 2010; Hodge 2016; Reynolds 2016; Wilkinson 2019). Instead, the chapter will draw upon historical context to continue to discuss how communities' voices, which were integral in the setup of the National Park system, are represented and embedded within governance, policy and ownership. This chapter will build on the fleeting and sporadic historical accounts of society, politics, economics and landscape in the North York Moors since its designation in 1952.

The majority of this thesis looks at people's emotional, value-driven responses to landscapes in the National Park. This chapter investigates the background to some of the formal legal / policy protocols and processes that underlie how people identify with a landscape, continuing the argument that communities should continue to have wide consultation opportunities to voice how they value landscapes within the National Park system to further understanding of the contests within landscapes. Community identity and influence in a landscape needs to be put into wider policy and governance contexts for the thesis to gain richer insights into how people connect with the National Park landscape. The chapter offers an understanding of social, political, economic and cultural systems which operate within a National Park, setting the background for the following methodology and analysis chapters, and placing the findings from the primary data analysis in a wider policy context.

The chapter suggests evidence that the NYMNP landscape is negotiated by a wide and diverse range of people demonstrating the multiple viewpoints on how people perceive and experience the process of landscape and heritage in a National Park context. Those who own land in the Park tend to have more authority to control the *taskscapes* which occur across the moors landscape, affecting the management and perception of the National Park land.

This chapter continues to draw together research from landscape and heritage studies literature but, as its focus is on the National Park system and the North York Moors, the discussion also brings together work from environmental historians, environmental campaigners, policy makers and those who have written about the British countryside. In addition, the chapter is supplemented by the data analysis for the thesis, primary historical documents and National Park strategic plans and planning legislation.

The chapter is split into four key sections:

- Setup of the National Park system and formation of the NYMNP (3.2);
- Identifying and defining a National Park (3.3);
- Community representation in North York Moors decision-making processes (3.4);
- Land ownership in the NYMNP (3.5).

Section 1 looks at the valorising of the cultural landscape that underlies the pre and post 1949 setup of National Parks and offers new perspectives on the formation of the NYMNP. The second section defines the anthropogenic character of a UK National Park for this thesis. Section 3 investigates community agency within decision-making and governance in contemporary North York Moors society. The fourth and final section of the chapter continues the themes of power structures in a *politicised landscape* by investigating who owns what land, the amount of land and land boundaries. This quantitative survey in conjunction with qualitative anecdotes from the research fieldwork interconnects with the fourth key research question: 'who influences people's perceptions and experiences of the NYMNP heritage-landscape?'. This section gives an original perspective on who the decision-makers are in the Park that are influencing the characteristics of the landscape and the power structures within the National Park.

A final section (3.6) – 'Ownership, changing attitudes and influence' – brings the discussions across the chapter together, concluding with one of the key findings of the thesis that landowners and land managers have a large influence over people's perceptions and experiences of the NYMNP landscape.

3.2. Setup of the National Park system and formation of the NYMNP

The rising interest in rural landscapes in England in the nineteenth century had emerged through a backlash against the human race's 'own ruthless exploitation of nature' (MacEwen & MacEwen 1982: 3) as urbanisation and industrialisation took hold in the nineteenth century. In turn, this enhanced the cultural and natural meaning of the countryside (Readman 2018: 14) to new populations which saw a newly discovered interest in rural tourism develop with the Picturesque and Romantic movements and working class populations seeking to escape their everyday lives from industrial cities, especially in the north of England (Reynolds 2016: 68).[41] Questions around public access to these landscapes were also being raised by groups such as the Commons Preservation Society which as the oldest conservation group in England (founded in 1865) was making attempts to prevent common land being enclosed (Reynolds 2016: 22). The opening up of the countryside for recreation in conjunction with the protection of the landscape dubbed by John Sheail as 'the third force' in managing the countryside (alongside forestry and agriculture) emerged (Sheail 2002: 115).

Over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the roots of the National Park system were established. They developed out of an increasing unease from conservation and leisure groups over the protection of natural beauty and rights of access (often for recreation) in rural spaces. As people from different segments of society became more involved in visiting and using the countryside, their voices contributed to the debates around use, management and accessibility. This is evidenced by the formation of many voluntary organisations such as the Ramblers' Association, the Youth Hostels Association and the action groups involved in the Kinder Scout Trespass[42] representing a young, working class movement (Fig.8). Middle class and upper class viewpoints on the future of rural landscapes also surfaced with the formation of the National Trust in 1895 and the Picturesque and Romantic movements which had come before. Local societies such as the Friends of the Lake District were gaining supporters and the growing use of the motor car had 'thrown the country open to the older generations' (Committee on Land Utilisation in Rural Areas 1942: 26). Moreover there were organisations, such as the Standing Committee on National Parks[43] established in 1936 to review the ideas materialising regarding a UK National Park system, which brought many of these groups together (MacEwen 1982: 7). The government at this time were also widening

[41] It also must be recognised that many tenants who had land rights within manors left for towns and cities as the Enclosure Acts changed the land ownership system in the countryside.
[42] Organised by the British Workers' Sports Federation, this walking trespass in the Peak District National Park in 1932, alongside a number of other protests by ramblers' organisations in the 1920s and 1930s, demanded improvements to the 'right to roam' over land. The trespass was one of the major factors which led to the declaration of a National Park system in 1949.
[43] Today the organisation is known as the Campaign for National Parks.

their interests in land use control by developing a national town and country planning strategy (Sheail 1975: 47).

The roots of the National Park system came about by these campaigns and the development of various committees and reports. The Addison report, published in 1931, took an innovative stance on the feasibility of a UK National Park system by laying the groundwork for 'the principle that the state should protect the environment and ensure rights of access' (Kelly 2017: 115). This was followed by the report of the Scott Committee in 1942, which looked at land utilisation in rural areas, and John Dower's significant report titled *National Parks in England and Wales* in 1945. Dower defined the meaning of a National Park concept and proposed a main list of ten National Parks (with a first instalment of six of these) and a secondary list of twelve others.

Figure 8 - The plaque on the entrance to Sheffield Town Hall celebrating the impact of walking groups on the UK National Park system. It commemorates those who campaigned for National Parks and public access in the 1930s and the Countryside and Rights of Way Act (CROW) Act enacted in 2000 (Waymarking 2018).

The wide range of communities from inside and outside the Park areas with different visions for the protection of the countryside influenced the National Park idea and their attitudes were

brought together in Dower's report. Dower wrote that the Parks were of 'national' importance for everyone and should privilege nobody whilst stressing that 'the well-being of those who live and work within them must always be a first consideration' (1945: 13). This signified that National Park residents should be prioritised alongside visitors in these spaces. Curiously, however, local communities did not feature prominently in his definition of a National Park in the report and they would not be fully acknowledged in statutory policy until the socio-economic duty was introduced in 1995.

In July 1945, influenced by the breadth of voices, post war pressure and inspired by the setup of the American and Canadian National Park Systems,[44] the protective and recreational attitudes became formally recognised by the Labour Government. A new National Parks Committee, known also as the Hobhouse Committee, was set up following the submission of Dower's report. This resulted in the UK Parliament passing the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act in 1949 to 'protect' ten National Parks in England and Wales[45] – the Peak District, the Lake District, Snowdonia, Dartmoor, Pembrokeshire Coast, the North York Moors, the Yorkshire Dales, Exmoor, Northumberland and the Brecon Beacons – and initiate the idea of AONBs.

The 1949 Act had two main purposes, which arose directly out of the social apprehension concerning the protection of natural beauty and accessibility: the preservation and enhancement of natural beauty; and to provide opportunities for open air recreation (UK Government 1949). The system was long overdue, halted by an economic recession and a World War, but Dower and the Hobhouse Committee had recognised the considerations of many conservation and recreation groups representing a diverse breadth of society to create a system where, despite the use of the term 'natural beauty', they would differ from their American and Canadian counterparts. Human influence (mainly agricultural) on the landscape was to be protected and celebrated as the Peak District was designated the first National Park in 1951. The system recognised the deep anthropogenic impact on the landscape which would continue to shape how people identify with these landscapes into modern times. The establishment of the National Parks was viewed by Matless as an 'assertion of preservationist cultural authority' (1998: 85), where these landscapes were protected for having a fixed cultural heritage.

[44] Yellowstone in the USA was the first National Park to be established in the world in 1872. Banff National Park in Canada followed in 1885.

[45] Today there are 15 National Parks in England, Wales and Scotland. The Norfolk and Suffolk Broads was designated a National Park in 1988. Following the Scottish National Parks Act in 2000, the Cairngorms and Loch Lomond and the Trossachs were designated as the first National Parks in Scotland. In 2005 the New Forest became a National Park and in 2010 the South Downs became the latest National Park to be designated.

The North York Moors was not included on Dower's proposed list of areas of land in England and Wales to be selected as one of the first six National Parks.[46] Instead it was incorporated on a list for possible future National Parks (a proposed third instalment of National Parks) alongside eleven other areas in his report. The North York Moors gets very little attention in the reviewing of a protected area system prior to 1947, with no mention in Vaughan Cornish's survey of National Parks in 1930, nor any detailed description in Addison and Dower's reports. It was not until 1947, when the Hobhouse report was published and included a description of the North York Moors, that the area's value as a National Park was recognised at state level. In the report, it was shortlisted alongside three other potential National Parks in the proposed third instalment of National Parks. On the 28th November 1952, the North York Moors became the sixth National Park to be designated, following the Peak District, the Lake District, Snowdonia, Dartmoor and the Pembrokeshire Coast.

> *'The North York Moors are now selected on their intrinsic merits as an area of beautiful and unspoilt country and magnificent coast with a wealth of architectural interest.'* (National Parks Committee 1947: 11)

The moors were designated for a variety of reasons.[47] One of the main reasons was because the area reflected a certain type of landscape – the heather moorland – which was 'the central core of the park' (NYMNP Designation Order 1952). The open moors, the dales and the coastline, all highly regarded by the Hobhouse Committee, were described as 'beautiful and unspoilt country' (1947: 11). This is synonymous with Dower's general definition of National Parks in England and Wales as a 'beautiful and relatively wild country' (1945: 6) which were accessible from urban areas.

Cultural heritage was another reason for its designation, as outlined in the Hobhouse report in 1947.[48] In terms of conservation and natural beauty, the Hobhouse Committee placed emphasis on the North York Moors heritage by focusing on its cultural aspects – the prehistoric, roman and medieval past – and the importance of protecting the area's vernacular

[46] The Lake District, Snowdonia, Dartmoor, The Peak District and Dovedale, The Pembroke Coast and the Cornish Coast were suggested areas for the first instalment of National Parks by Dower. By the time of the Hobhouse Report in 1947 the recommended areas for the first instalment of National Parks had been reduced to four: The Lake District, North Wales, The Peak District and Dartmoor.

[47] The reasons for the designation of the North York Moors are not always clear, depending on the source consulted. However, there were threats emerging to the North York Moors landscape which would have stimulated the urgent needs for protecting this area of land. These included a construction of a reservoir by the City of Hull in Farndale, smaller reservoirs in Bransdale and Rosedale and tree felling in Hackness (National Parks Committee 1947: 111).

[48] It is surprising that it took until 1995 for the cultural aspects of National Parks to be recognised legally in the Environment Act. The omission of cultural heritage in the statutory purposes in the 1949 Act was highlighted by the Countryside Commission guidelines in 1986 and the Edwards Report in 1991.

architecture, its 'beautiful villages'[49] and monastic / castle ruins (National Parks Committee 1947: 110-111; NYMNPA 2015: 34). The Committee wished to protect the anthropic influences on the landscape and safeguard the cultural, national heritage maintaining a sense of continuity with the rural past in the face of modern changes (Readman 2018: 15).The report wrote 'on these high lands man has lived and hunted since the Stone Age' (National Parks Committee 1947: 110). The word 'hunted' accurately depicting today's current grouse and pheasant shooting forays, but intriguingly neither of these Victorian originated pursuits were specifically mentioned in the Committee's description of the National Park. The Committee (1947: 112) also expressed its potential for recreation including walking, cycling and country and adventure activities. It was also seen as significant for its agriculture practices with the beauty of the landscape to be found in the anthropogenic, pastoral lifestyles shaping the heather moorland and the dales in these landscapes.

The Committee told the reader about 'the wooded seclusion of Hackness, the astonishing Hole of Horcum, the wild daffodils of Farndale, the 'nabs' standing out in a sea of heather, the valleys around Hawnby' (1947: 110). However, the life of these ecosystems was not a priority, with the Committee seemingly valuing the landscape from an aesthetic perspective by focusing on its 'amazing wealth and variety of beauty'. Interestingly, in general, the report mentions very little with regards to the natural environment, ecology and wildlife in the moors. The attention on the aesthetics of a landscape is synonymous with the designation of other National Parks at the time, such as the Lake District, where the Picturesque and Romantic movement had established a 'representational' culture of people observing a detached landscape for its beauty.

3.3. Identifying and defining a National Park

3.3.1. Living, working landscapes

The purpose of the National Parks to protect natural beauty (as laid out in the 1949 Act) was in effect safeguarding this cultural landscape because these were landscapes which humans had produced. The NYMNP designation would not change the extent to which the land was to be continuously managed by humans. National Park landscapes were being protected as 'generally anthropic pastoral landscapes' (Kelly 2016: 220). The British geographer, Vaughan Cornish who played a major role in the growth of the National Park concept with his survey of

[49] As National Parks were being chosen for designation in the late 1940s, the Hobhouse Committee reported of the North York Moors that 'the area is remarkably free from disfigurement and recent planning has been wisely directed and administered' (National Parks Committee 1947: 111). The North York Moors was unaffected by housing sprawl and suburbia because of the progressiveness of the authorities in North Riding to create planning schemes which would bring strict controls to housing developments after the 1932 Town and Country Planning Act (Spratt & Harrison 1989: 218).

landscapes for potential British National Parks in 1930, drawing on experiences of North America and South Africa, encouraged the significance of beauty in these rural areas. This is shown by his views on agriculture:

> *'Whereas every feature of wild landscape in Britain can be matched or excelled in other countries, the unspoilt parts of agricultural England have a beauty which is unique in the scenery of civilisation…'* (Cornish 1930: 4)

The government's Scott Report in 1942 developed Cornish and Addison's ideas by stating that the countryside 'must be farmed if it is to retain those features which give it distinctive charm and character' (Committee on Land Utilisation in Rural Areas 1942: 47), suggesting that human use and management of the countryside in the 1940s had brought about the natural beauty in the British landscape. Alongside the picturesque and the sublime these aesthetic lenses drove a 'scenic conception of landscape and indeed of nature' (Brook 2019: 42) which can be said to have happened in the designation of the National Park system. Underneath these lenses exist multiple processes – ecological, cultural, morphological, geological and their relationships impact upon the natural beauty of these landscapes (Brook 2019: 45). Yet, how far were these processes forgotten with the urge to protect natural beauty in the National Park system?

The Scott report had insisted beauty derived from traditional farming and the report's influence is seen in the setup of the National Parks in the handing over of power to the farming industry. Hobhouse and Dower adopted Scott's ideas by basing their recommendations on the expectation that the town and country planning system, combined with an economically strong agriculture system, would provide for sufficient protection of National Park landscapes (MacEwen 1982: 10-11). Sheail (1975: 50) states that 'the Hobhouse committee avoided recommending any specific limitations on the agricultural use and management of land' wishing for the need of a 'prosperous and progressive farming industry which precluded any statutory controls' (1975: 50).

The state's post war focus on planning (e.g. Town and Country Planning Act 1947 and the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949) left agriculture and also forestry out of the planning system (Kelly 2017: 116) and the meaning of development in the General Development Order (MacEwen 1982: 11). The state wanted to minimise the impact of the new National Park system on agriculture to preserve the heritage of these farmed landscapes (Kelly 2017: 115-116). National Park Authorities' relationships with the farming community would be built on trust with the land managed in co-operation with these communities. MacEwen (1982: 11) acknowledges that 'this exemption has been modified over time, and the

larger farm or forestry buildings are no longer exempt from control, but the basic philosophy behind the exemption has not greatly changed'. In the North York Moors, the lack of complete control over farming by the National Park Authority would see the agrarian industry influence the landscape and not always in positive ways (Spratt & Harrison 1989: 219). In general, farming traditions would continue to influence the areas of 'natural beauty' in UK National Parks into the twenty first century as these areas of 'virtually no natural wilderness' (Spratt & Harrison 1989: 219) were preserved in 1949 for their aesthetic appeal and to maintain traditional farming lifestyles.

The archetypal American wilderness model never took hold in the smaller, inhabited national parks of the UK. The UK National Park designations differed from the U.S. and other international counterparts where 'most of the American and African Parks are continuously 'virgin' country, whether of high mountains, forests or jungle' (Dower 1945: 6) with very little areas of the UK system owned by the state. Dower recognised that the National Parks in England and Wales were living, working landscapes which 'have long supported some settled population' and were 'of relatively wild country' (1945: 6). It is debatable whether any type of wilderness existed in UK National Parks at the time of Dower's report. Dower believed that the National Park areas were 'the joint product of nature and of human use over many generations' (1945: 19), reflecting the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) Category V protected landscape designation for all 15 UK National Parks models today. Thus, the UK National Parks were anthropogenic when they were designated, and this character remains seventy years on as acknowledged by the IUCN designation:

> *'a protected area where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant ecological, biological, cultural and scenic value: and where safeguarding the integrity of this interaction is vital to protecting and sustaining the area and its associated nature conservation and other values'* (IUCN 2020)

The mere decision to classify these landscapes as a 'National Park' frames them within certain cultural parameters (Schama 1995: 7) with these areas shaped to fit human demands including tourism and leisure purposes, mineral extraction (as seen with the case study of the Woodsmith Mine in Chapter 6) and agriculture. This identification process also highlights how important the human perspective on landscape is when designating these areas (of landscape designation in the UK). As Sheail writes 'however pristine in condition, National Parks were never closed systems' (2010: 4) to be left to natural processes in which humans would desert. Humans make management decisions over these areas for preservation and change (Sheail

2010: 4), and therefore, human requirements from the land in their different forms will occur in these landscapes as recognised in the recent Landscapes Review:

> '…*every acre of our landscape has been modified by human activity.*' (DEFRA 2019: 27)

Today UK National Park landscapes are managed for the relationship between nature and culture because they have 'environmental qualities that are a consequence of human uses' (Hodge 2016: 169), which means they act as strong case studies for investigating the nature-culture axis in the Anthropocene. Hodge (2016: 172) poses two critical questions for the thesis in terms of balancing this axis:

> '*is it necessary to maintain a particular form of human culture, associations and activities in order to protect the environmental quality? Further, does this extend to the protection of those human activities in their own right?*'

3.3.2. Identities

> *'There is no single definition of National Parks – no one blueprint for their development, however important any particular model may have been. Rather the parks have been continuously adapted to the circumstances of time and place.'* (Sheail 2010: preface)

The 'distinct character' and sheer diversity of UK National Parks today reflects the differences between landscapes across the UK but also the differences in how governments, management organisations, landowners and rural communities perceive National Park landscapes (Sheail 1975: 41). Every National Park in the UK has its own special qualities and landscape character and each person who experiences that place will in turn find it different to the next person who encounters its landscape. With no single, unitary definition, how do National Parks differ from other landscapes outside these areas of land? How do they diverge from a landscape designated as an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty? Is the land in a UK National Park unique? In fact the MacEwens incite a debate over the naming of these landscapes questioning whether they should be called a 'National Park' when very little of the land is nationally owned and some parts of the land are inaccessible to visitors (MacEwen & MacEwen 1987: 3; Hodge 2016: 169). The omnipresent character of National Parks – as well as their continuous evolution by drivers of change such as land use or climate change which leads to variations in landscape, people, wildlife and heritage – makes them extremely challenging to define leading to contested purposes, as expressed by a member of the Landscapes Review Working Group:

> *So if you live in a National Park and you might think they are not doing enough for local communities and maybe they are not and if you care deeply about nature which a lot of people at National Parks do to so you might say why is the natural environment not in better condition and so sometimes that mix of challenges is what makes them amazing. And sometimes I think it allows them to slightly get away with a lack of clarity as to what exactly they are supposed to be doing*. (Landscapes Review Staff, visitor, M, 45-54)

Differing landscape purposes can emerge through an understanding of certain communities who engage with these places whose identities are interwoven with the landscape character. Even though the physical boundaries are not always noticeable, National Park boundaries can create a common sense of identity between communities who reside in National Parks, and also concurrently create borders in some cases tangible, in other cases intangible, between people who live inside the National Park and those who live outside its boundaries (Dinnie *et al*. 2012: 460).[50] For example, people who can afford the rising house prices in National Parks[51] are often of a ABC1 socio-demographic which means that only a certain type of person can often afford to buy a property in a National Park. Since the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has led to more working from home type lifestyles, there has been an increasing demand for houses in the countryside which has driven a rise in country house prices (Kollewe 2020).

In turn, National Park boundaries also add significance to cultural and natural elements of the landscape, as demonstrated by the protection of the vernacular architecture in the North York Moors. This significance can be interlinked with a national identity which assigns the landscape, many of its features and its special qualities with value to the whole nation. 'National' brings to the fore nation-wide priorities in these areas – that they are landscapes which follow central government policy for instance. They were created by the nation-state and therefore 'are provided for the nation they should clearly be provided by the nation' (Dower 1945: 14).[52]

National and international communities attach value to these landscape types because of their national and globally renowned status. Everyone is entitled to a stake in and a perception of

[50] Furthermore, National Park boundaries, determined by DEFRA, are subject to change as shown by the extension in 2016 of the Yorkshire Dales by 24% and the Lake District by 3%.
[51] The average house price in the NYMNP in 2020 has increased by 10% since the previous year (Rightmove 2021).
[52] The National Park Authorities are funded by the UK government (DEFRA) through a National Park Grant; the NYMNP received £4.3 million in 2018/2019.

these landscapes – a hugely democratic assertion from a political perspective. Wordsworth's illustrious, well-recited words about the Lake District can be echoed here:

> *'They deem the district a sort of national property, in which every man has a right and interest who has an eye to perceive and a heart to enjoy.'* (1981: 92)

Constructing nationhood within certain boundaries has created contests between national and local attitudes and demands which has been a regular conflict throughout the history of British National Parks (Statham 2010: 82). One of these tensions is that '*a sort of national property*' has mislead certain people into thinking that National Park land was held in public ownership (Shoard 1987: 92) when the National Park Authorities actually have only ever owned very small proportions of National Park land.[53] Often in research interviews for the thesis, participants assumed that the North York Moors National Park Authority (NYMNPA) has power over land use and its management:

> *A lot of people think that because we are a National Park we own it so there's that message as well land ownership and um how we fit in to that so there's all of these things which misconceptions or lack of information you know. I'm sure it's because people don't particularly take much notice of some of these things.* (NYMNPA Ranger, local resident, M, 55-64)[54]

Most of the land in UK National Parks is held in private ownership as evidenced in 3.5 in this chapter. As nationally valued landscapes, this has often created a dichotomy between those who own land in these spaces and the state. When the National Park system was set up, there was unhappiness from those who worked with the land across the country about the national values associated with these landscapes being formally recognised in a National Park 'state' system:

> *'Landowners and farmers attacked the very notion of a National Park, insisting the original designations had created a false impression that the land was in public ownership and this gave the general public untrammelled rights of access.'* (Kelly 2017: 125)

Farmers and landowners involved in recreational sports, such as grouse shooting and deer stalking, did not want large parts of the population impacting on their work or pastimes

[53] The largest National Park Authority landowner is the Brecon Beacons who own 13.5% of the land in this National Park (Brecon Beacons National Park Authority 2012).

[54] Demographic information on research participants was included with quotations. 'NYMNPA Ranger' is the job title or the current background of the research participant, 'local resident' is where they live in relation to the NYMNP, 'M' for 'male' is the gender and '55-64' is the age bracket they fall under.

(Vergunst *et al.* 2019: 31). They advocated 'relatively wild country' (Dower 1945: 6) that was to be protected for natural beauty and from people to safeguard their rural heritage. Paradoxically, the National Park system would protect their countryside traditions. One example of this in the NYMNP is that driven grouse shooting, a Victorian pastime, has continued since the North York Moors designation. Although public access has increased in England since the Countryside and Rights of Way Act was introduced in 2000, shooting communities can still block off access to land temporarily while the shoot takes place.

In general, the purpose of the UK National Park system was not about creating barriers to stop people from visiting these landscapes, they were established to give people nationally or internationally, who perhaps do not live or work in a park, a sense of identity linked to a rural existence. This is evidenced by Thompson when she says 'in a society where it is increasingly difficult to own a home in the countryside National Parks play a critical role in ensuring that people feel they still have a place in the countryside' (2010: 3). Readman (2018: 9) in his writings brings attention to David Lowenthal's (1993) argument that the landscape most valued by the English is the rural countryside and its layers of natural and cultural heritage.[55]

3.4. Community representation in North York Moors decision-making processes

3.4.1. Planning and statutory purpose

The identity and purpose of a National Park landscape can also be investigated through researching the responsibilities of its National Park Authority and its relationships with National Park stakeholders including local people. In these protected areas, one of the main roles of National Park Authorities is to carry out planning functions including development control and strategic planning. They were given this sole responsibility following the 1995 Environment Act. After this Act, National Park Authorities were established as independent legal entities – executive bodies independent of county councils – and were subject to the 1972 Local Government Act in relation to their decision-making. However, the Parks do not have responsibility for other services that local authorities outside National Parks provide, including schools and waste collection (DEFRA 2019: 131).

The National Parks were established in 1949 for the dual, overarching purposes of conservation and recreation which the conservation and access movements, outlined in 3.2., had lobbied for. Since the National Parks were designated in the 1950s, the town and country

[55] There are a number of scholars who have studied the relationship between landscape, heritage and national identity such as Wilkinson and Harvey (2019), Readman (2018), Matless (2005) and Lowenthal (1991).

planning system rather than state ownership of the Parks would look to achieve and balance these two purposes. All National Parks in England and Wales, apart from the Norfolk Broads, comply to the following two statutory purposes and duty:

1. Conserve and enhance the natural beauty, wildlife and cultural heritage.
2. Promote opportunities for the understanding and enjoyment of the special qualities of National Parks by the public.

When National Parks carry out these purposes, they also have the duty to:

- Seek to foster the economic and social well-being of local communities within the National Parks.

National Parks are valued not only because people view their landscape characteristics as unique but because they offer integrated opportunities between conserving the environment (the natural beauty, wildlife and cultural heritage), promoting enjoyment of their special qualities by the public and socio-economic development (Thompson 2010: 4). These national purposes have to be continuously balanced with local needs and aspirations (Cullingworth *et al.* 2015: 388) which is a challenge because socio-economic development is only recognised as a legislative duty rather than a statutory purpose, as will be further discussed in the next section.

Planning is the primary regulatory mechanism through which the National Park purposes are accomplished with other areas of activity usually relying on discretion, facilitation and partnership (Thompson *et al.* 2014: 69). The local plan sets out planning policy for the NYMNP and delivers the statutory purposes and duty of a National Park. Local people are consulted on the local plan giving them an opportunity to influence local policy. There tends to be tighter planning restrictions in these protected areas compared to outside a National Park as 'greater attention is given to the quality of development proposed and to the sensitivity of particular locations' (Hodge 2016: 176). Planning is also impacted upon by the National Planning Policy Framework and the Planning Inspectorate which will often have the final say on any major decisions in the National Park.

Since the setup of National Parks, the town and country planning system restricts the regulatory powers of planners regarding land management (Thompson *et al.* 2014: 68) including agriculture and forestry, as evidenced in an interview with a NYMNP staff member:

> *At the end of the day we don't have the overriding power to say yes or no to land use change that isn't part of the statutory town and country planning system*. (NYMNPA Director of Planning, lives near to NP, M, 55-64)

There are few regulatory means of influencing agricultural practices in law and policy beyond special types of designation, such as the SSSIs which Natural England monitor in the North York Moors under the Wildlife and Countryside Act and Habitats Regulations. Thus, National Park staff have to work outside the statutory planning system through partnership working using statutory management plans to cooperate with farmers and encourage farmers into positive environmental activities, mainly through pillar two of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) (Thompson *et al.* 2014: 68).[56] The National Park Authority's planning system has only a minor impact on some of the main types of land use in the Park (e.g. farming and forestry) (Shoard 1987: 386; Hodge 2016: 177-179). Therefore the public, which through the planning system are given an opportunity to have their say on planning policy and applications, have very limited formal consultation methods via the NYMNPA of impacting on a decision regarding land use which sits outside the town and country planning system.[57] This is a critical point for this thesis which argues that all sections of society, rather than only land managers and landowners, should have the ability to have a voice on any land use matter.

3.4.2. The socio-economic duty

Local community representation has been enhanced over time by the socio-economic 'duty' gaining more prominence through the second half of the twentieth and the first half of the twenty first centuries.

The National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949 tended to focus on conservation and recreation rather than on the local communities who live in National Parks. Whilst the Sandford Committee in 1974 proposed a third purpose of the promotion of social and economic well-being, the 1949 Act set a precedence for a lack of recognition of the economic and social aspects of those who lived in National Parks. It was not until the 1995 Environment Act that communities were recognised as part of National Park purposes in England and Wales, when the socio-economic duty was added. It does remain a 'duty', however, and can be superseded in decision-making by the two statutory purposes. Currently the socio-economic responsibilities for the National Park are also represented by the York and North

[56] CAP is to be replaced by the ELM scheme which is due to be rolled out in 2024.

[57] There are situations where the public are consulted outside of the planning system through Parish Councils. For example, on Forestry England's Forest Design Plans (which are revised every 10 years) and the NYMNPA's own woodland creation schemes (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2021).

Yorkshire Local Enterprise Partnership and local district councils with councils having specific community plans for their areas (e.g. Imagine Ryedale Community Plan), and the principal duty for these plans coming out of the Local Government Act 2000.

There are current debates around whether the duty should become upgraded to a statutory purpose and the National Park Authorities should take more responsibility for sustainable community development and the economic well-being of these spaces. These debates were highlighted by some of the research interviews in the National Park:

> *You can't really separate them [the two statutory purposes and the duty]. You lot go and make a load of decisions and all you need to worry about is the first and second statutory purposes...give a little thought now and again to the err umm socio-economic but don't worry about it too much…it's not our problem…that doesn't work as a sustainable model going forward.* (Landowner / Moorland Association, local resident, M, 45-54)

> *There is a tension between the two statutory purposes and the duty*. (NYMNPA Director of Planning, lives near to NP, M, 55-64)

The Landscapes Review highlighted that the duty is too vague leading to variable interpretations of its use and purpose and therefore appealed for the duty to become a statutory purpose alongside the two other National Park purposes (DEFRA 2019: 109). For Thompson *et al*. (2014: 68), the duty is central to the 'conservation versus development' debate, with some critics wanting the duty elevated to a purpose because there is insufficient focus on socio-economic development in National Parks. Whilst others debate that the duty is taken advantage of by developers and they could use it to override the other two purposes, especially if the duty became a statutory purpose, potentially leading to even more of an anthropocentric focus in the Parks.[58]

3.4.3. Community consultation

With the economic and social well-being of local communities as a duty, the general public are able to give their viewpoints on the NYMNP through the following participation methods,

[58] There perhaps needs to be a change in terminology as well to include 'sustainable' alongside 'communities', as seen in the Scottish National Park system statutory purposes. In Scotland one of the four aims of their National Park system is to promote sustainable and social development of the area's communities which was passed in 2000 by the National Parks (Scotland) Act. This does not exist as a main purpose in England and Wales and therefore is not given the same prominence that is found in Scotland.

although these methods are not supported by a legal community consultation framework for the National Park:

- Parish Council and quarterly parish forums;
- Public meetings (i.e. in Goathland as described in Chapter 7);
- National Park Management Plan and other local plan consultations;
- Volunteering;
- Planning consultations;
- Project consultations;
- Stakeholder forums facilitated by the NYMNPA (e.g. access or conservation);
- Membership of lobbying organisations such as the North York Moors Association (NYMA);
- Moors Messenger (NYMNP biannual newsletter);
- Social media including Twitter, Facebook and Instagram;
- Neighbourhood plans introduced by the 2011 Localism Act giving communities greater control over development in their local area. One example is the proposed Parish of Ingleby Arncliffe Neighbourhood Plan;
- Commoners meetings. 16% of the National Park is also common land. Common land can be publicly or privately owned with commoners having rights on the land. Farmers have grazier rights that go with the individual buildings they live in near to the common.

These are opportunities for communities to give their perspective on how they value the NYMNP landscape, enhancing communication between local people and the local authority. The twenty-eight special qualities of the Park also capture the interaction of humans and the environment and the heritage of this relationship which has created the landscape character. The National Park Authority sets out a policy in its Management Plan of raising an awareness of these special qualities.

Community involvement is represented in the NYMNP Management Plan in the vision for the National Park – ‘a place where communities are more self-sustaining and economic activity engenders environmental and recreational benefits’ (2016: 8) and in three specific policies (2016: 101):

- Local views will be sought in developing policies, priorities and activities in the National Park;
- Opportunities for volunteering will be created;

- Communities will be involved in plan-making and in delivering services, facilities and projects where appropriate.

Communities can have an influence on the National Park landscape through their interactions with the National Park Authority, an example of landscape democracy in practice. Local, regional and national interests and decisions in the National Park are represented by twenty members at the NYMNPA with members serving on various committees. Nearly half of the members (9) are appointed by national government and the rest are from County and District councils within the National Park (11) (Table 1). Five members are appointed by the Secretary of State for the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) to represent wider, national interests. To ensure local involvement on National Park matters, elected Parish Councillors or the Chairs of Parish Councils are represented on the National Park board. Board members meet quarterly and are responsible for making decisions in relation to the functions of the National Park Authority, determining the Authority's policies and ensuring that resources are properly allocated (NYMNPA 2019). The NYMNPA board attempts to balance local communities' needs and national government requirements. The engagement of communities by the Authority is seen as creating support for their decision-making and the special qualities of the Park (Hewlett 2010: 107).

Members	**How many on the NYMNPA board?**
Local Authority Members	
North Yorkshire County Council	4
Scarborough Borough Council	2
Redcar and Cleveland Borough Council	2
Ryedale District Council	2
Hambleton District Council	1
Secretary of State Appointed Members	
Parish Members (elected by Parish Councils)	4
DEFRA	5
Total	20

Table 1 - A table showing where the members come from and how many there are on the NYMNPA Board (Source: NYMNPA 2019).

There are plentiful opportunities for the wide range of interested groups in a National Park to be active in their feedback and dialogue on the future of changing landscapes and to be

treated as active voices in landscape management. The multiple interpretations of a landscape by different stakeholders, recognised in the previous chapter, should be acknowledged through these opportunities. Currently these opportunities are mainly organised by the National Park Authority with fewer communication means organised by private landowners, with the exception of Court Leet[59] and commons meetings. One unique example of public participation is in Goathland, the case study of Chapter 7, where a public event organised by the Heather Trust gave a platform for the landowner and the local people to voice their opinions on land management.

Even though an increasing amount of opportunities have emerged in National Parks for community involvement in planning and the development of a National Park, a report on upland communities in 2010, which included research on the North York Moors, found that communities felt disempowered and distant from decision-making (Commission for Rural Communities 2010: 67). There was little appreciation amongst decision-makers, such as private owners and public bodies, for local knowledge nor did they feel that they had an ability to influence decisions (Commission for Rural Communities 2010: 67). The research will assess if this scenario has stayed the same or changed in the NYMNP since 2010.

3.4.4. Governing the landscape of the NYMNP

The governance of the North York Moors landscape is multi-layered, including interconnected networks of organisations / stakeholders from the public, private and voluntary sectors. Stakeholders have local, regional and national (and sometimes international) interests with a combination of different organisations delivering services within the National Park. These services can have a legal role, or they can have an emotional attachment to the National Park landscape. Different stakeholders place distinct emotional values on the National Park landscape as will be investigated in the three analysis chapters of the thesis. Interests and services can also shift which means that governance models are in flux and can be described as ‘a permanently shifting contest between different stakeholders to coordinate their actions and influence the character of the benefit streams that arise from the countryside and to gain access to them’ (Hodge 2016: 345). Contests emerge in governing a National Park over a variety of issues including, for example, access to land, land ownership or development. The governance structure may also be challenged itself.

[59] Court Leets act as a court of justice making and informing rules to govern the commons. They are a traditional form of land management and Fylingdales Moor still has a Court Leet today. See Chapter 6 for further details on the role of a Court Leet in the NYMNP.

A governance map (Fig.9) shows the number of stakeholders involved in the management and administration of the NYMNP landscape is large and diverse incorporating the different scales of interest or services they offer. The formal and informal power relationships and networks between organisations are multifaceted. From an Anthropocene standpoint, increasing human demands made towards the land has seen more organisations involved in its governance.

> *Even if you take one piece of moorland there's a lot of people wanting things from that one piece of land. There's a lot of organisations and designations. There's a lot of different opinions and needs from one piece of land so it is complex*. (NYMNPA Woodland Officer, lives near to NP, F, 35-44)

The convoluted governance reflects the number of different stakeholders who value the National Park landscape. It also shows the number of non-state actors involved in a protected landscape. The international (European), national and local interests of organisations involved in the governance adds to the multitude of different purposes and perceptions bestowed upon the land. They hold different amounts of power and influence within the landscape and exercise their power in varying practices. There has been criticism of this complex governance system amongst upland communities, cited by an upland community research report, with confusion around decision-making, differing policies and relationships between organisations and some organisations being seen as more responsive to local people's needs than others (Commission for Rural Communities 2010: 67).

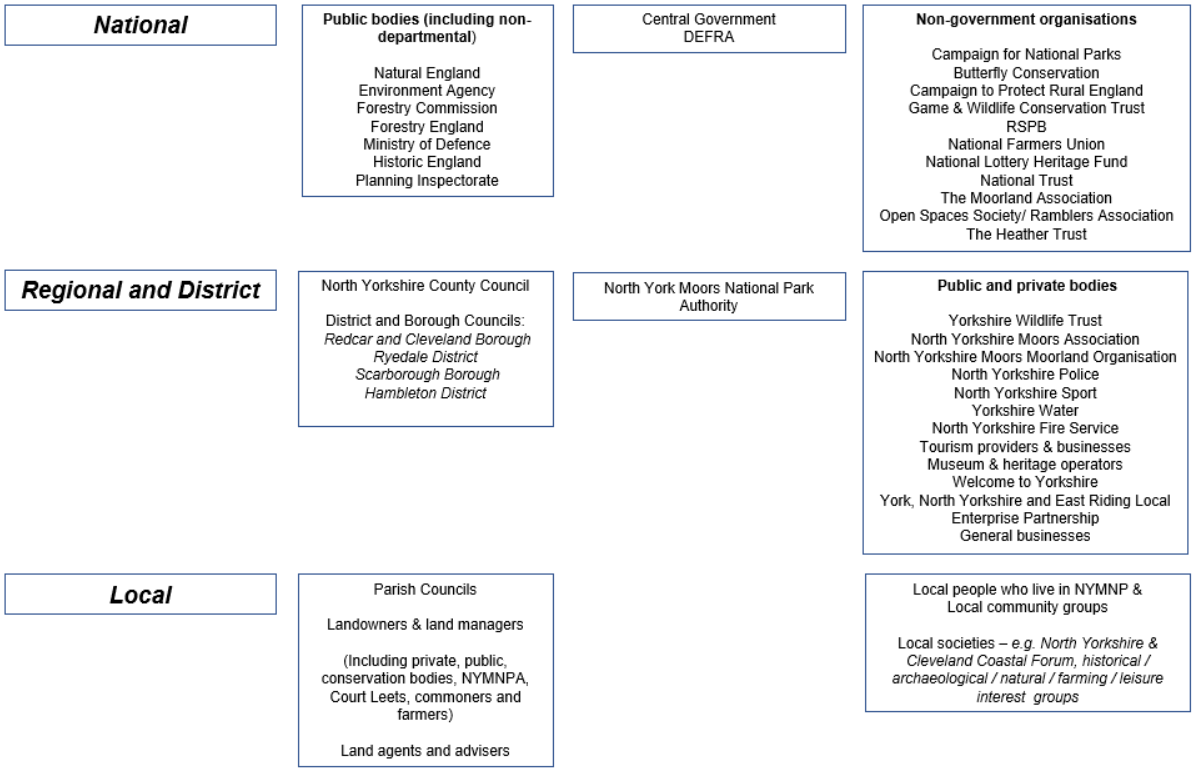


Figure 9 - A map of national, regional and district, and local stakeholders who are making, implementing and influencing key decisions in the moors landscape. Many of the named organisations are taken from the NYMNP Management Plan and from a phone conversation with a NYMNPA staff member (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2020).

3.4.5. National Park Authority Management Plan

Unlike other local planning authorities, National Park Authorities have a statutory duty to implement management plans, in which they deliver current and future management of the National Park as well as setting policy (Thompson *et al.* 2014: 67). In the North York Moors, the National Park Authority's Management Plan is used as the overarching framework, put together through consultation with all National Park stakeholders, to bring the governance of the organisations, described in 3.4.4., together.[60] The National Park Authority facilitate these relations through partnership working – interacting with a range of partners plans and strategies to achieve the vision of the National Park (NYMNPA 2016: 10):

> *'The Management Plan is not only important for the National Park Authority but for all organisations who operate within or have an impact on the National Park.'* (NYMNPA 2016: 6)

[60] A new NYMNP Management Plan was being developed in 2021 as this research project was ending.

> *No matter what you say about how you want this landscape to develop, to change, to stay the same to become a better place, it's about working in partnership with people to deliver a shared vision.* (NYMNPA Director of Planning, lives near to NP, M, 55-64)

It is a strategy document which attempts to be all inclusive and bring together all stakeholder organisations in the National Park, adhering to the Authority's facilitator role acting as a bridge between organisations. A member of staff from the NYMNPA said, '*it's not just the National Park Authority Management Plan, it's very much the National Park Management Plan*' (NYMNPA Woodland Officer, lives near to NP, F, 35-44). The plan attempts to meet the different purposes connected to the Park balancing the national, regional and local demands; the state, statutory, county council, local district, landowner and local community needs (Clark & Clarke 2011: 316). It is able to do this through national or local agreements and partnerships – which is common in many areas of public policy (Hodge 2016: 36) – between the NYMNPA and other bodies which include Natural England, the Environment Agency, the Forestry Commission and Historic England (NYMNPA 2016: 17).

However, the Management Plan does not state that these agreements are in place with landowners (except those who own land previously listed above, such as the Forestry Commission). The National Park Authority are limited in their powers and control over the whole National Park landscape and have shrinking budgets to manage the land.[61] Therefore, the National Park Authority – to achieve the vision for the Park – lobby, negotiate and work co-operatively with landowners including engaging landowners with the Management Plan and other strategic plans objectives (e.g. the Local Plan). It is then anticipated that the National Park Authority's purposes and vision crosses over into estate management plans (if they exist) and agri-environment schemes.

Furthermore, the Management Plan is key to determining identity and values in the North York Moors through an understanding of its special qualities. The document acknowledges that values play a role in determining how people engage with the Park's landscape, especially after the introduction of the Localism Act in 2011 which 'introduces powers for local communities to identify assets of community value' (NYMNPA 2016: 104).

[61] From 2010/2011 to 2015/2016 the North York Moors budget from DEFRA was reduced by 35% (£5.7 million to £3.7 million) (CNP 2015). There is little evidence in the Landscapes Review that funding to National Parks will increase in the future, although the government has committed to funding through ELMs and the Nature for Climate Fund.

3.4.6. Landowners and land managers as decision-makers

With National Park Authorities owning very little tracts of land within National Parks (See 3.5.), local landowners and land managers have a large amount of power within this governance structure to make decisions over land management, land use and changes to the landscape. From the research fieldwork in the National Park, the landowners and land managers are perceived to be the dominant decision-makers in the North York Moors landscape:

> *At the end of the day our [NYMNPA] impact is quite minimal because the people who have the biggest impact in my personal view are the landowners and the land managers but the landowners in particular. At the end of the day it's their land and they might have certain restrictions from the planning authority or Natural England or any designations with what they can do to the land but at the end of the day its theirs to decide if they want to plant trees or not to plant trees or manage it this way or that way. It's their decision. They are the ones that decide it.* (NYMNPA Woodland Officer, lives near to NP, F, 35-44)

Given that the land in the North York Moors is predominantly in private hands and that the management and governance of this National Park happens through 'the regulation and provision of incentives for private landowners and users' (Hodge 2016: 169), diplomacy is key. One example given by a NYMNPA staff member was that the National Park Authority may offer grants to landowners for woodland creation. Land management could also involve multiple landowners and the involvement of external types of organisations (i.e. Natural England) making a decision about a specific area of land. Meetings between landowners are often the context within which these decisions are made with some of these forums organised by the NYMNPA. Shared values and perceptions are negotiated in these meetings, but conflicts are also a feature of the National Park's governance.

3.5. Land ownership in the NYMNP

3.5.1. Land ownership and power

The perceptions of landowners and land managers and the decisions they make towards land management are significant to how the public perceive and experience a National Park landscape. Aldo Leopold (1993: 145-146) acknowledges that those who use these landscapes generate tension and collaboration, which are both required for conservation to entail. Land is a finite resource and there are many demands of land as seen by different landscape initiatives, such as industrialisation, rewilding and Heritage Fund projects (e.g. Ryevitalise and Land of Iron in the NYMNP) where one land use can compete or collaborate with another.

National Parks cover a relatively high proportion of land in England (9.3%), Wales (19.9%) and Scotland (7.2%) (National Parks UK 2016). Therefore, landowners in National Parks have a large responsibility, with owners' decisions impacting on the contests between humans and the natural environment.

People's perceptions and experience of landscapes and their influence in a National Park are all interlinked to the people who own land within National Park boundaries. It is many of the decisions that these landowners make that affects the individual and collective values attributed to the elements of a National Park landscape. Shrubsole asserts that, 'to see the world through the lens of land ownership is to survey a landscape of power' (2019: 22). Through owning these assets and property rights, many landowners possess huge amounts of influence in the National Park and they have the power to decide how their land is to be managed and to be used only partly restricted by the town and country planning system, public access and conservation designations.

This section of the thesis captures who owns what land and how much land they own within the NYMNP.[62] The quantitative data is then compared against the data on land ownership contained in the Edwards Report (1991: 29) and a DEFRA news release (2002). They were the last two publicly accessible documents I could obtain on land ownership in National Parks in England and Wales. Most ownership of land in the National Park is known by national and local government organisations, such as Natural England and the NYMNPA, but detailed information on ownership is not publicly available (Natural England, pers. comm. 2020). According to Hodge, ownership data is 'notoriously scarce' (2016: 41) – land ownership details are available at the Land Registry but at a cost. Furthermore, it has only been compulsory for owners to register their land in England since 1990 and not all land has been sold since then (Hodge 2016: 41).

Research into land ownership enabled the thesis to consider which decision-makers are in a position to influence the types of values and perceptions of the natural-cultural landscape and how power structures work within the National Park. The research also reveals who the land managers are making key decisions regarding certain National Park landscapes, which in turn

[62] A more detailed table on land ownership research in the National Park is included in Appendix K.

allowed the research to begin to investigate who influences perceptions and experiences of the NYMNP landscape – a key research question of the thesis.[63]

It was thought by some research participants that, by collating this land ownership data, it would make it easier for landowners and other organisations to take a landscape scale approach to enable the marrying of common goals as to what they want to achieve from the whole National Park landscape. This includes nature recovery networks laid out in the government's 25 year Environment Plan and proposal four in the Landscapes Review, especially as increasingly more landscapes are in flux because of drivers of change. More open, publicly accessible information about land ownership would have its benefits leading to closer discussions between landowners over land management issues and ecosystem services as outlined in an interview with an Environmental Campaigner:

> *Having that transparency [about who owns what land] would surely aid discussions around wildlife corridors or linking up catchment management programmes…linking them up better to create better catchment solutions for flooding that would be surely beneficial so having that fundamental baseline transparency.* (Environmental Campaigner, visitor, M, 25-34)

However, it is also important to mention here that I also experienced attitudes that knowing who owns what land was trivial; land ownership could be perceived sometimes as unnecessary knowledge. People were apathetic and indifferent towards the subject:

> *I'm definitely not bothered by who owns it [land] but I want to know that they are working together well and they have some big common purposes and at the same time local difference can be encouraged.* (Landscapes Review Staff, visitor, M, 45-54)

Landowners can be local, regional and national stakeholders which include companies, trusts, the local authority, public organisations and charities, individuals and the Crown (Table 2).[64] From the research there are three categories of land ownership covering the 354,560 acres in the NYMNP:

- Private organisations and individuals

[63] Furthermore, this preliminary groundwork into land ownership, together with the mapping of stakeholders (in 3.4.4.), also benefitted the interview recruitment stage of the project as it revealed the specific landowners, land managers or organisations whose viewpoints were significant to the research project's aim and research questions. Their names were then added to a sample framework of individuals and organisations for data collection. The recruitment process is described in more detail in 4.3.1.

[64] The landowners listed are subject to change as well as land boundaries and the amount of land they own.

- Public bodies (including ministerial and non-ministerial government departments) and national and regional conservation charities
- NYMNPA

Type of landowner	% owned or leased in 1991 (Edwards Report)	% owned or leased in 2002 (DEFRA news release)[65]	% owned or leased in 2020
Private	79.9	79.9	80
Public / Conservation	18.3	18.3	15.2
Local Authority	0.6	0.5	0.4
Water Companies	0.1	0.1	0.1
Other[66]	1.1	1.1	Unknown

Table 2 - A comparison of the percentage of land out of the total area of the NYMNP owned by different types of landowner against the Edwards Report and the DEFRA news release (Source: Edwards Report 1991, DEFRA news release 2002, NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2020).

3.5.2. Ownership: Private organisations and individuals

Private ownership was clearly the proposed ownership model for National Parks from the early beginnings of the Parks system being set up. Landowners were praised by the Addison Committee for their preservation of the quality of landscapes and the public access they provided (1931: 61). Addison in his report in 1931 expressed that:

> *'Nationally managed land in comparison to American National Parks would not greatly enhance the value of places like the New Forest, Dartmoor, the Lake region or certain mountainous areas in Wales and Scotland.'* (1931: 61)

However, despite these early reports supporting privatisation, the original authors would not have foreseen the extent to which small groups of private owners would come to control these protected landscapes. Dower (1945) promoted public acquisition by local authorities or government departments as a means of control to enable the purposes of a National Park, but today there are rarely examples of local authorities or government departments buying land in National Park. They are far more likely to be selling off land.

[65] The DEFRA news report uses the term 'land occupation' rather than land ownership or leased. For the research purposes here, it is presumed that there is no difference between the terminologies.
[66] In the Edwards Report and the DEFRA news report I was uncertain what landowners were being defined as 'other' therefore the percentage of land owned or leased in 2020 is labelled 'unknown'.

English National Park	% of private land
Yorkshire Dales	94.9
The Broads	86.5
North York Moors	79.9
Exmoor	77.1
Peak District	70.1
Lake District	58.7
Dartmoor	57.3
Northumberland	56.4
Average	72.7

Table 3 - Private land by percentage of total area in English National Parks (Source: DEFRA 2002; Hodge 2016: 170). The table does not include the New Forest and South Downs because they were designated after this data was made available.

As shown in the DEFRA news release (Table 3), a large majority of land is in private ownership across all National Parks in England (72.7% average – excluding the South Downs and the New Forest) whether large, medium or small scale areas of land. Land in England has been owned by private individuals since the Norman invasion in 1066 and this landed aristocratic ownership model is still very much in place today with 'huge tracts of land concentrated in a small number of hands' (Cahill 2001: 137-138). In general, the proportion of private ownership will vary from park to park but 56% or more of the land was in private ownership in each of the eight English National Parks. There has been a very slight decrease in private ownership in English National Parks up to 2002, from a 73.9% average in 1991.

Name of land or estate	Landowner	Amount of land owned or leased (in acres)	% owned or leased
8 largest private landowners in NYMNP			
Nawton Tower / Pennyholme Estate, includes Bransdale Moor	Peter Wilkinson	19,000	5.4
Danby Estate	Viscount Downe (Wykeham Trustees Ltd)	17,500	4.9
Mulgrave Estate	Marquess of Normanby	15,000	4.2
Hawnby & Arden Estate (Mexborough estate)	Earl of Mexborough	14,000	3.9
Westerdale and Rosedale	David Ross	12,000	3.4
Helmsley Estate / Duncombe Park Estate	Baron Feversham	11,984	3.4
Spaunton Estate	George Winn-Darley	7,000	2
Fylingdales Moor	Sir Frederick Strickland-Constable	6,800	1.9

Table 4 - The eight largest private landowners in the NYMNP by percentage of total area of NYMNP (see Appendix K for list of sources).

The North York Moors mirrors the dominance of private landowners in National Parks with a large proportion of its land (80%) owned or leased by private organisations and individuals (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2020). As an interviewee from the National Park Authority remarked, '*this isn't our land*' (Farmer / NYMNPA board member / landowner, local resident, M, 55-64). The National Park was designated with a high proportion of private ownership in place and this has remained stagnant, demonstrated by the Edwards Report in 1991 showing 79.9% of the National Park owned by the private sector and thirty years later this figure is 80%. This is also evidenced by a member of staff at the local authority:

> *Land ownership has remained fairly static throughout the time we have been designated a National Park…every now and again the big estates will change hands.* (NYMNPA Woodland Officer, lives near to NP, F, 35-44)

In 2002, the NYMNP was the third highest out of all the National Parks in England for its amount of private land (DEFRA 2002). The land in the National Park is owned in large tracts by a handful of very big estates with just over one-quarter (29%) of the National Park owned by eight different private estates and six estates owning over 10,000 acres each (Table 4).[67] A very high proportion of the heather moorland is owned by private estates[68] with c.89% of the moorland used for grouse shooting (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2019). The private estates within their freehold land also may have a 'bundle of property rights' (Hodge 2016: 27) including owning buildings (including farms) in the National Park in which members of the local community can be tenants of the estate (if they are residing in these buildings). Other individuals and organisations may also hold rights over the land on an estate in the moors, such as shooting rights or rights to extract minerals from beneath it (Hodge 2016: 27). This may indicate that some of the estates are extremely wealthy and understandably will have the financial power to manage their land self-sufficiently without additional funding from Environmental Stewardship, Countryside Stewardship or future ELM schemes.

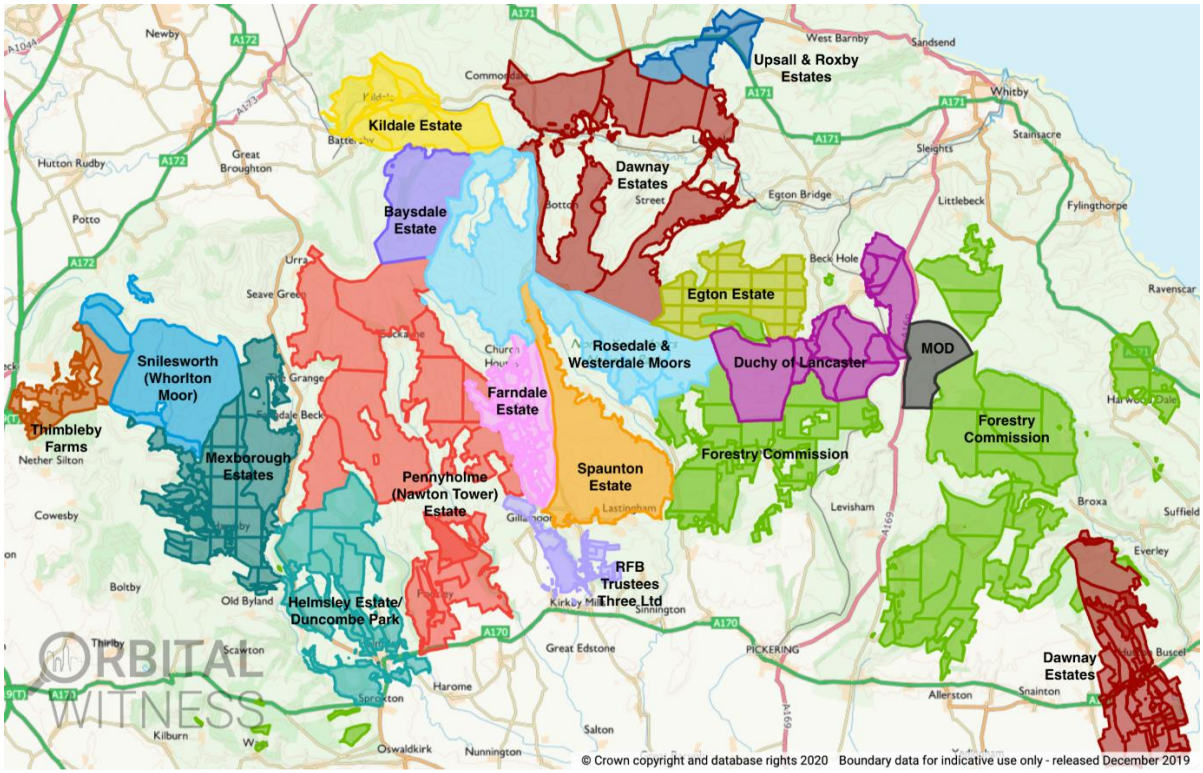


Figure 10 - A map of some of the names of landowners and their land boundaries in the NYMNP (Shrubsole, pers. comm. 2020; Orbital Witness 2020).

[67] The Nawton Tower / Pennyholme Estate (which includes Bransdale Moor) is the largest private estate in the National Park with 19,000 acres (See Table 4).

[68] c.97% of heather moorland (section 3) in the NYMNP is in private ownership (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2021). Section 3 moorland is defined as 'heather, moor, heath, down' (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2021).

It is clear from this data and a map of land ownership in the moors (Fig.10) that private landholders hold a large amount of power over the landscapes of the North York Moors, in particular the heather moorland. Shrubsole alludes to an enduring sentiment that these big landowners (those with old money dubbed 'the aristocracy' by some interviewees) 'are the rightful guardians of our countryside' (Shrubsole 2019: 89), accentuated when their land is within an area which has significant national and international interest. Parcels of land in the moors have been passed down from generation to generation following primogenital succession which gives their land ownership a lengthy heritage of protecting the land (Shrubsole 2019: 89). Because of this, some of the estate owners in the National Park are from the nobility, therefore insinuating that a particular class of person owns land in the National Park. Yet in the moors there are also examples of where 'new money' has invested in land ownership, demonstrated by the two digital entrepreneurs' of the Nawton Tower / Pennyholme Estate and the Westerdale and Rosedale Estate. In terms of land management, these types of estates are commercially focused often with a short-term view of the purpose of the land, in comparison to the long-standing estates who take a longer-term perspective on land decisions (Natural England Conservation and Land Management Adviser, lives near to NP, M, 55-64). In a research interview, an Estate Director revealed that 'new' money estates or shooting tenants can be less sympathetic to the National Park statutory purposes than 'old' money estates (Estate Director, lives near to NP, M, 65-74).

There are also smaller private landowners including farmers who own small patches of land and Yorkshire Water, as a private organisation, own 0.1% of land in the National Park.

3.5.3. Ownership: Public bodies and conservation charities

The research (Fig.11) evidences that land owned or leased by public bodies and conservation charities has decreased by 3.1% from 1991 to 2020 (18.3% in 1991 and 15.2% in 2020). This decrease is owing mainly to the decline in the amount of land the Forestry Commission own in the National Park from the 16.6% stated in 1991 and 2002.

The Forestry Commission is still the largest landowner in the National Park (13.1%), with Dalby Forest, Cropton Forest and Langdale Forest covering a large proportion of the National Park in forest.[69] This echoes the Forestry Commission's position as the biggest public sector

[69] The Forestry Commission also own freehold land at Harwood Dale, May Beck (Newton House), Boltby and Silton, Ingleby Greenhow, Kilburn, Deerpark and Eastmoors. Some of the land in Dalby Forest is on long-term leases to the Forestry Commission (FC, pers. comm. 2020). 23% of the National Park is woodland (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2021).

landowner in England (Shrubsole 2019: 171).[70] The Forestry Commission began to take possession of land in the North York Moors from 1919 and over the following decades (Walker 2018: 83). This included the Newton House / May Beck forestry plantation in the National Park which was designed by landscape architect Dame Sylvia Crowe in the 1960s[71] (Walker 2018: 84) and is where many of the walking interviews took place. From 2002 to 2010, various parcels of land were sold off by the Forestry Commission to help fund the business which has reduced the amount of land the Forestry Commission (FC) still have ownership over (FC, pers. comm. 2020).

Other public bodies and conservation charities which own land include the Ministry of Defence (MoD) which owns 2,000 acres of land at RAF Fylingdales, the National Trust which owns 5,205 acres of land, with their largest expanses of land at Bridestones and Bransdale, and the Yorkshire Wildlife Trust which also owns small parcels of land (Table 5).

Name of land or estate	Landowner	Amount of land owned or leased (in acres)	% owned or leased	% owned or leased in DEFRA News Report (2002)
Public / Conservation				
Various - listed in Appendix K	Forestry Commission	46,455	13.1	16.6
Various - listed in Appendix K	National Trust	5,205	1.5	1.2
RAF Fylingdales	MoD	2,000	0.5	0.5
Various - listed in Appendix K	Yorkshire Wildlife Trust	370	0.1	Unknown
Local Authority				
Levisham Estate	NYMNPA	1,445	0.4	0.5

Table 5 - Percentage of land out of total area of National Park owned or leased by public bodies, conservation charities and the National Park Authority (see Appendix K for list of sources).

[70] Shrubsole says that 'technically the public forest estate is registered in the name of the Secretary of State for the Environment, and the Forestry Commission administers it' (2019: 171).

[71] In the 1960s and 1970s, heather moorland was lost to this 'reclamation' of land by forestry and new types of farming particularly in the triangle of land between Pickering, Whitby and Scarborough (Statham 2010: 13-19).

3.5.4. Ownership: NYMNPA

The National Park Authority owned 0.6% land within the National Park boundaries when the Edwards Report was published in 1991 and in 2020 this figure has declined to 0.4% (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2020). Land has become an increasingly expensive commodity that National Park Authority budgets are unlikely to be able to afford. National Park Authorities selling off land is in alignment with public land being sold off and becoming more privatised since the late 1970s.

The National Park Authority own the Levisham Estate which they bought in 1976 because they were concerned about the loss of moorland occurring at the time due to changing land management practices (increase in forestry and farming), with ownership of the land being the only form of protection (DEFRA 2002).

Figure 11 - Research Diary: Walking and reflecting on collecting land ownership data in a National Park

As I walked over Fylingdales Moor and Goathland Moor in my leisure time a number of questions would run through my mind about land ownership: who is the landowner of this land (in some places it was fairly obvious with a Forestry Commission sign or a National Trust board signifying who had control over the land – or that was how it was meant to be interpreted)? How did a landowner know where their boundary lines were? Who is the biggest landowner in the National Park?

(Fieldwork Diary 2019-2020)

Inspired by my walking endeavours, Guy Shrubsole's work on *Who owns England*? (2019) and a lack of publicly accessible information to collated ownership data, I undertook my own research on who owns the NYMNP. Here I explain the research techniques I implemented as well as some general reflections.

The Edwards Report (1991) gave me some background to the types of organisations who owned land in the North York Moors but I wanted to acquire more specific, recent information on how the National Park land is divided up. I started my research by emailing the NYMNPA and Natural England to see if they could provide any information on who owns what land in the Park. Neither organisation was able to provide any maps of land ownership boundaries in the Park stating 'we don't hold a complete list or map' (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2019). However, the NYMNPA provided a list of the major landowners in the National Park which gave me a solid starting point, although they did not stipulate how much land each individual landowner owned. Analysing this list against the *Who Owns England?* blog on grouse moors which mapped out many of the large estates in the North York Moors involved in grouse shooting, I was able to research how much land was owned by each estate (Shrubsole & Powell-Smith 2018). I followed this up with further desk-based research on the internet for land ownership records examining a variety of sources, such as an estate's website or a media article. Estate websites also included contact information and I directly contacted some of the larger estates to see how much land they own and some of these came back with figures.

During the fieldwork stage of the project, I also asked research participants who lived in the Park 'who owns this land?'. Most of the time local people, who were not land managers, were uncertain or told me that the Land Registry or the National Park Authority hold this information:

> *I'm not 100% sure, I think both the moors Goathland East and Goathland West are owned by the Duchy but I would have to check 100% on that.* (Goathland Moor Regeneration Group, local resident, F, 45-54)

The NYMNPA, Forestry Commission, the National Trust, the MOD, the Yorkshire Wildlife Trust and Yorkshire Water all provided data on how much land they owned in the National Park. I chose not to approach the HM Land Registry because of the expensive costs that they charge to find out registered land ownership – £3 for a title of land (with many estates split up into lots of parcels of land on the HM Land Registry INSPIRE polygon dataset).

3.6. Ownership, changing attitudes and influence

Coinciding with the anticipated start date of the Anthropocene, the setup of the NYMNP tended to put significance on human presence, its cultural heritage and landscape aesthetics in preference to its ecological condition. However, more attention has been drawn towards the state of the environment in these spaces over the last twenty-five years, tied in with how landscapes are transitioning because of drivers of change (e.g. climate change, land use and technological innovation). A range of communities now have a voice in National Parks following wider opportunities in the planning system,[72] a partial right to roam in England and Wales introduced in 2000, the addition of the socio-economic duty after the 1995 Environment Act and the popularity of social media in society. With these platforms established, an ecosystem services concept in place and a changing National Park governance system to tackle new human-nature demands (Hodge 2016: 348), the valorising of the cultural elements of the nature-culture axis is being increasingly contested. For example, the decision to construct a polyhalite mine in the North York Moors was very controversial amongst communities inside and outside the Park (See 6.2.2) and alternative land use types, such as rewilding, have emerged to overturn the long-established notions of cultural dominance in these areas. To investigate these kinds of contests and their causes the thesis, by analysing primary data from NYMNP communities in the following chapters, will research the perceptions

[72] Albeit public consultation can be very limited in land use and management decision making which falls outside of the National Park Authority's planning system, specifically in agriculture and forestry (See 3.4.1).

and experiences of people who interact with the natural-cultural elements of a landscape – questioning who engages with this landscape, why do they value it and in what ways (Waterton 2005: 318)?

The complex nature, multiplicity and diversity of the groups involved in the setup of the NYMNP – and how this has grown and developed to the current, extensive range of local, regional and national stakeholders making claims towards this diverse landscape – suggests the wide-ranging value system of a heritage-landscape and the challenges that land managers and the National Park Authority face in understanding these values. The methodology, described in the next chapter, attempted to capture the range of intrinsic values by selecting three landscape areas, each with different characters, within the NYMNP.

Ownership of these spaces in the North York Moors by mostly private landowners means that it is often this group of people, the land managers they employ or tenants leasing the land which have a strong influence over the tangible and intangible values people place on the landscape and in shaping perceptions of natural-cultural landscapes. The extent to which natural capital and the statutory purposes of the Park are considered is dependent on the landowner. As Hodge states, landowners 'have long established property rights and expectations and demands for the incomes that the natural resource base can deliver' (2016: 180). They may rely on the financial viability of the landscape and therefore not every owner will work towards the vision and purposes of the National Park if they perceive that this vision means they will lose out monetarily:

> *…a lot of the failure is that the fact that National Parks are privately owned not every landowner, by any means, is going to be signing up to a vision that is going to make them poorer….and that isn't also in line with the best way to manage it for National Park purposes and conservation purposes. So that's the dilemma really.* (NYMNPA Director of Planning, lives near to NP, M, 55-64)

Landowners own the physical aspects of the land and they are able to affect people's values towards a landscape through their everyday land management decision-making but they do not possess ownership over people's sense of identity with a landscape. Landscapes are more than places in which humans consume, human identities are attached to these places which no individual nor group has possession of – although inevitably identity within society can be manipulated.

Ultimately those who make claims towards the National Park, certainly should always be asking who is making the final decision on the character of landscapes. This chapter has

offered some unique insights towards understanding this. As discussed in the previous chapter and in future chapters, a more deliberative democratic process with systemic thinking would distribute power more equally (Mansbridge *et al.* 2012: 5) in the North York Moors streamlining the community engagement process into management protocols and plans, and reaching out to audiences who are considered non-participants. A systemic approach would allow organisations such as the National Park Authority to view where the participatory gaps are in the system and how it can be improved to produce a healthy, integrated decision-making environment (Mansbridge *et al.* 2012: 4). The involvement of many land managers (especially farmers) and local people in the ELM scheme clearly tied into a targeted Management Plan focusing on the 'landscape crisis', which includes the climate change and ecological emergencies, is a suggestion for a clearer path forward for contested landscapes.

In the 1980s the MacEwens (1987), who provided National Park literature with an intellectual grounding with their pioneering writings, argued that National Parks should be viewed as 'green prints' for landscape management. Their argument is still poignant today for National Parks to face up to the challenges that the Anthropocene present and a post Anthropocene future bring.

Chapter Four

Movement: designing methodological approaches to understand the connection between communities and the natural-cultural landscape of the North York Moors National Park

4.1. Introduction

The methodology applied a mainly qualitative approach to this thesis that looked to understand the emotional engagement between people and the NYMNP natural-cultural landscape. It considered the active, changing environments that communities live in, the power relations within the landscape and the biophilic nature of particular humans by taking the interview process out into the landscape. With heritage and landscape studies both moving towards investigating everyday life processes, this relational methodology attempted to comprehend how human values, narratives and identities are attached to our surroundings, spaces and places in which people are totally immersed. Thus, a research methodology was constructed to explore the ordinary experiences of humans in deeply contested, relational spaces and why a natural-cultural landscape, such as a National Park, matters to all types of people.[73]

Walking interviews, the principal data collection method for the research project, were utilised alongside sedentary interviews and observational work to capture how humans relate to landscape through movement in a National Park setting. This mixed methodology derives from the influences demonstrated in Chapter 2 including the wider social sciences, pilot research conducted in the Lake District National Park (LDNP), networking with staff members at the NYMNPA and the LDNP Authority and my previous experience as a researcher. These methodological techniques looked to answer the four key research questions outlined in Chapter 1.

The walking interview method, where interviewees were interviewed outdoors in the National Park whilst on a short walk, capitalises on the multi-sensory nature of the landscape (Gerodetti & Foster 2016: 810; MacPherson 2016: 426; Edensor 2017: 597), enabling the interview to be affected by the landscape as we (the interviewer and interviewee/s) moved through it (Fig.12).

[73] Jennifer Mason (2018: viiii) proclaims that 'qualitative research is quite remarkable. What other research orientation can really claim to get inside how life is experienced, or why and how things matter, or the meaning of change and the fascinations of time and space? What other approach can even begin to explain and evoke the sensations, atmosphere and narratives of life itself?'.

I argue in this chapter that walking or movement through a place brings the interviewee and interviewer closer to the landscape, allowing people to fully immerse themselves in their surroundings. As Tim Ingold's *taskscape* theory reveals (and argued in 2.3.2), landscape is effectively connected to humans and non-humans that dwell within them through their movements and practices (Ingold 2000: 200-204, 2010: 67). Being 'in' the landscape provokes ideas, beliefs and opinions about a specific landscape, which may not have emerged if the interview had happened away from this place. By starting to address the first key research question,[74] the chapter suggests how networks of movement, as a force that affects the nature-culture axis, impacts on the relationship between human identity and landscape.

Figure 12 - The majority of the walking interviews started at the bottom of this dale at May Beck Forestry Commission car park. We climbed out of the valley through forestry plantation and bracken and up on to the heather moorland of Fylingdales Moor. This view looks back on the starting point of the walk (Photograph by author 2020).

In this chapter, I take a critical stance regarding the mixed methods model which was applied to this project. I introduce the methods which were implemented throughout the research

[74] The first key research question is 'how do people perceive and experience landscapes, land management and land use in the NYMNP?' with the sub question 'what identities are established through perception and experience of the NYMNP?'. Chapter 5 will build on this chapter's response to the first research question.

project and evaluate the successes, challenges and failures of the overall approach. The chapter also utilises extracts from my interview diary in which I captured my experiences of the research process and uses photographs and quotations from the interviews. The chapter adopts a personal, operational style as it covers my experiences of the practicalities of the fieldwork. From these experiences, the chapter also presents some basic analysis of the data, specifically reflecting on the walking interviews.

The overall research approach adopted in this chapter is formulated from the main aim: *to use the Anthropocene as a framework to investigate how people identify with and influence the management, use and ownership of a protected landscape in the UK to provide a greater understanding of the human-natural environment synergy* and the four key research questions (See 1.4). The chapter is divided into three sections which follow the order of the research process:

- Background to the research design and methods (4.2);
- Primary research methodology including reflections on the approach (4.3);
- Data analysis (4.4).

The aims of the chapter are to:

- Outline the epistemology which drives the methodological process;
- Describe the positionality of the researcher and the research project including any influences on the research;
- Provide the rationale for why the NYMNP and three specific landscapes were chosen as the focus for the research;
- Explain and evaluate the research process (the mixed methodological approach), including the pilot research which took place in the LDNP, participant recruitment and the types of audiences interviewed, the walking and sedentary interviews and observational research;
- Describe the data analysis framework including, in Appendix G, I and J, the thematic analysis and the coding system applied to the data using NVivo 12 (the qualitative data software system).

4.2. Background to the research design and methods

4.2.1. Epistemology

The devised methodology is predominantly an inductive process to research. However the theoretical frameworks, other background research discussed in this chapter (e.g. pilot testing the interviews in the LDNP, networking with NYMNP and LDNP staff) and my own interests in National Parks have, to a certain degree, also influenced the key research questions.

The methodological process took a pragmatic approach where the original research questions which had emerged from the background research were then amended and verified by the data emerging from the study.[75] This also meant that the research questions were not entirely the work of the researcher; interviewees could determine and contribute to what was being researched. For example, at the end of the interview, interviewees were provided with the opportunity to voice their opinion on what was being asked. They were asked 'From the subjects we have discussed today, is there anything in particular you would like to find out from this research project?'. A flexible interview schedule allowed interviewees to discuss topics which were important to them within the interview framework. This participatory element to the research proved critical in maintaining the informality of the research process and making it closer to an everyday dialogue which would ultimately lead to a rich, detailed dataset. I wrote in my research diary:

I tried to make the interview feel like a natural process by involving the interviewee in the interview process which in turn made them feel more comfortable. As the interview went on, some participants who seemed less chatty at the start, began to open up and give more opinions. (Fieldwork Diary 2019-2020)

I wanted the power balance to be close to equal between researcher and participant whilst the interview was being conducted – this was also tied in with walking being an egalitarian activity (discussed further in 4.3). By positioning participants in less formal, familiar situations where the surroundings played a provocative role alongside the research questions, true data could then be acquired to inform the research project.[76] From an ontological viewpoint, the attitudes and opinions interviewees held would then determine, to some extent, how the NYMNP was being contested and if research participants were able to influence how the Park's heritage-landscapes are being shaped. Indeed, participant values and opinions may change as society

[75] Bryman writing about qualitative research argues that researchers begin with ideas that orientate the subject matter but as a result of collecting and interpreting data researchers possibly revise those concepts or new ones emerge (2012: 9).

[76] Howell writes that 'truth provides an understanding of reality at a given point in time' (2013: 3) highlighting the significance of conducting research in a present landscape facilitated by a walking methodology.

and landscape continuously alters (Tilley 1994), yet all of these attitudes were unique, subjective but also comparable as interviewees gave their knowledge on and interpreted the same case study area. The data would then provide evidence about any shared and differing identities within communities formulated around the landscape and how those identities are intertwined with the nature-culture axis. As discussed in Chapter 2, a phenomenological, interpretivist approach to the research, which draws on more-than-representational, dwelling, systemic thinking and participatory debates (underpinned by the Anthropocene), would position the research within an interconnected natural-cultural world where the research seeks to interpret people's perceptions and experiences of the NYMNP heritage-landscape (Mason 2018: 8).[77] This approach indicates:

> *'…a reality that is formulated by the human mind. Not a solipsistic reality but one that necessitates interaction between the world and human or mind in terms of being or becoming in the world.'* (Howell 2013: 72)

My interpretive judgement of the interactions between humans, non-humans and landscape in the data creates the knowledge which is generated out of this PhD research project and therefore I acknowledge that I am not an 'objective impassive analyst' (Howell 2013: 13). Thus, taking a self-reflective stance (See 1.4), I attempt to make the reader aware of my conscious and unconscious biases in the next section and throughout this thesis.

4.2.2. Positionality

Bryman argues that social research in relation to the whole question of values and bias cannot be value free and it is important to act self-reflectively about the process (2012: 39). In this next section I will acknowledge my role within the PhD research project and how my background and experiences influenced the whole research process, leading to my interests in the North York Moors.

I came into this research project with a wide and varied knowledge of social, tourism and heritage related research, having held job positions as a Tourism Researcher for a market research company and as a Heritage Consultant for a museum design and heritage consultancy in the private sector. I hope that these diverse professional experiences have allowed me to take an independent, open approach to the research process in this project.[78]

[77] Mason discusses the researcher as 'a critical epistemological thinker' (Mason 2018: 9). Not only in this section but also when analysing the data, I attempt to question the constitution of knowledge and how knowledge is generated.

[78] My professional career alongside my academic qualifications of a Masters in Cultural Heritage Management, a Masters in History and a BA Honours Degree in History and Archaeology have informed all the different elements of this research process but do not influence the data.

The ability to remain impartial throughout the research process has also been aided because there is no formal / working connection with any of the individuals interviewed for the project. The following statement was included in the participant information sheet to ensure that the research was independent and separate from any research being conducted by other organisations (e.g. the National Park Authority):

> *'The interview is not connected to any research being conducted by the North York Moors National Park Authority.'*

I have been a regular visitor to the NYMNP over the last ten years living within 40 minutes by car of the south-western boundary of the Park therefore I acknowledge that I am not a complete outsider to this National Park. I have invested interests through spending leisure time in the Park and working on previous projects with the NYMNPA which may put a certain bias on the research process. Throughout the interviews I was aware that my experiences and knowledge of the NYMNP could affect the nature of the interviews. Nevertheless, I feel that my experience and knowledge of the NYMNP landscape contributed to my ability to design the study and the interview process itself in a way to maximise meaning.

I also put myself outside of my normal, everyday social circles by conversing with people who had not heard of the NYMNP (even though some lived fifteen minutes from its boundary), widening the spectrum of opinions on the National Park and giving the project an insight into the thought processes of people from other backgrounds who have different relationships with the National Park.

4.2.3. Case study design: three landscapes within the NYMNP

As previously outlined in Chapter 1, the principal study area of the thesis is the NYMNP[79] with a particular detailed landscape attention on Fylingdales Moor, the Woodsmith Mine and Goathland (Fig.13 & Fig.14). A single National Park was chosen as the focus of the thesis to gain an in-depth understanding of three case studies in their everyday context and collect qualitative data in 'natural settings' (Yin 2012: 4-5), especially as much of the data collection took place outdoors.

[79] The rationale for studying this particular National Park is outlined in Chapter 1 of this thesis. The NYMNP has rarely been the subject of academic research, particularly within the disciplines of landscape and heritage studies.

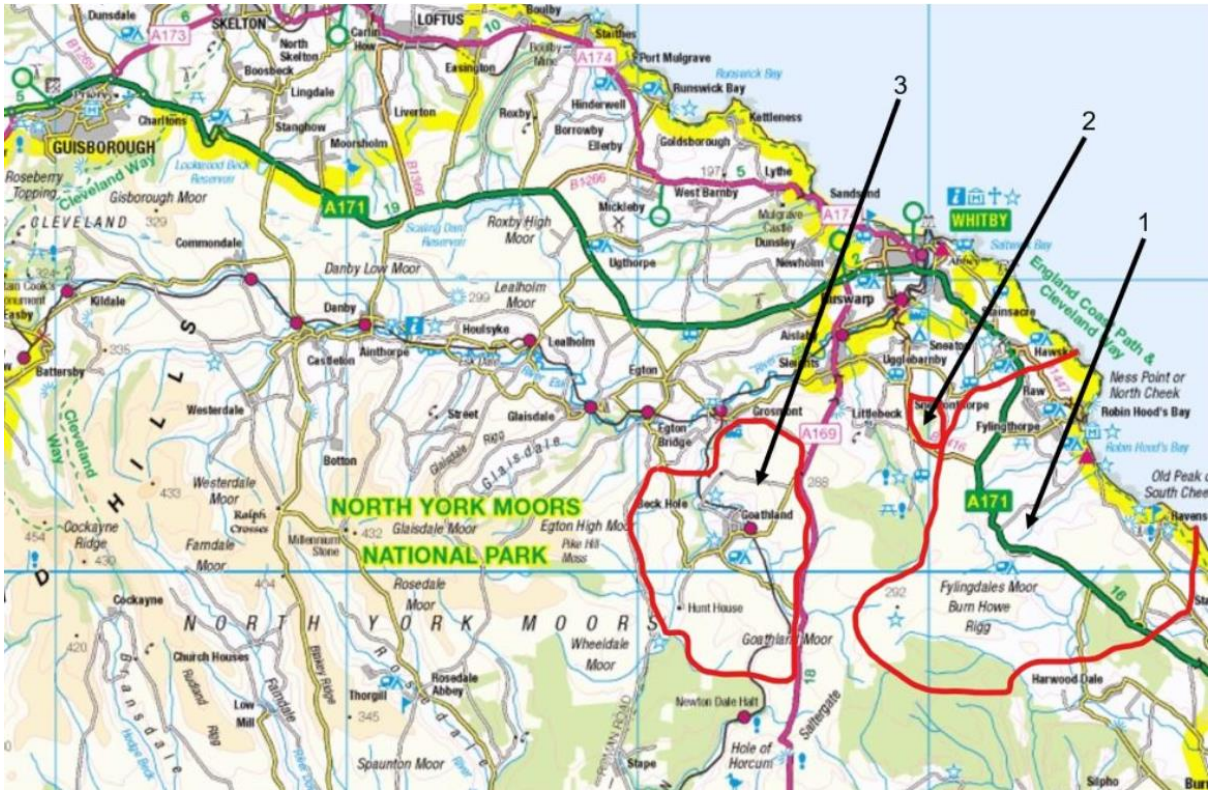


Figure 13 - The three landscape case studies in the NYMNP – Fylingdales Moor (1), the Woodsmith Mine (2) and Goathland (3). The lines drawn here and on Fig.14 are based on the Goathland parish boundary, the Fylingdales Moor boundary and the mine head site (OS maps).

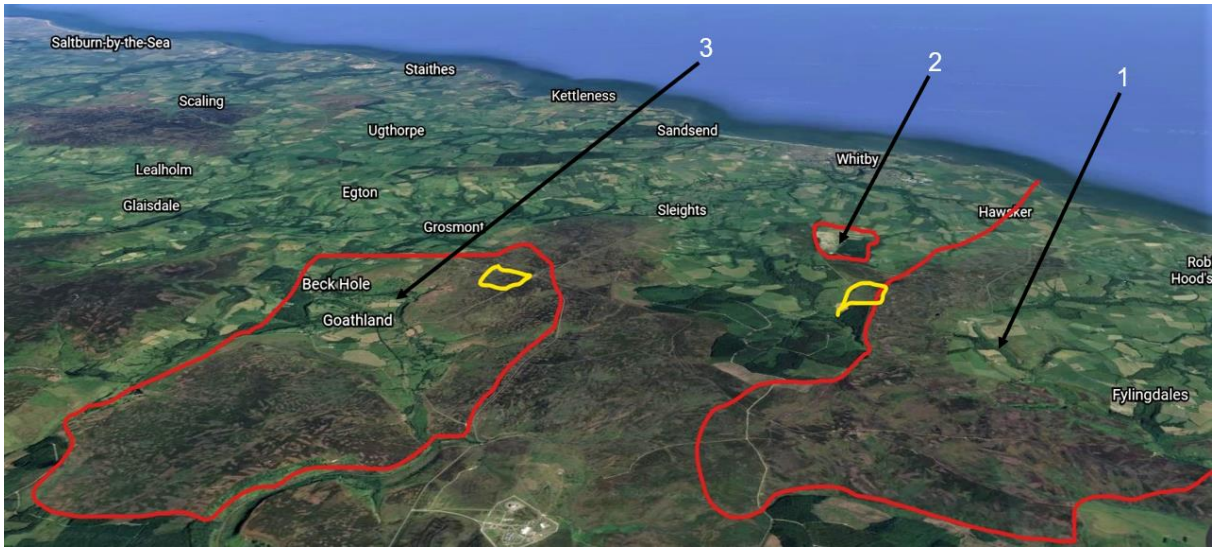


Figure 14 - Fylingdales Moor (1), the Woodsmith Mine (2) and Goathland (3). The yellow lines indicate the route where most of the walking interviews took place. The Fylingdales Moor route saw the most walking interviews conducted during the fieldwork stage (14 interviews) (Google Earth 2020).

By focusing on a single National Park and the three landscapes within it, the project concentrated on certain concepts and themes such as contest, conservation, access, land management, power and identity in a protected landscape context. Through examining these concepts and themes in more detail, the thesis refined its interpretations of these concepts and the complex network of factors which affect them (George & Bennett 2005: 19-20). All three landscapes in the study area incorporate their own unique, contemporary debates within the National Park which interlink with the discussions in Chapters 2 and 3. The breadth of insight into the connection between humans and landscape that the case studies bring also enabled the research to conduct a cross-case analysis of identity and influence between landscape areas leading ultimately to more robust patterns in the thematic data analysis (Gerring 2006; Yin 2009).

One of the main drawbacks of focusing the research project on a particular National Park, rather than a number of National Parks, is the risk that the findings may not be able to be generalised at a broader level (Yin 2012: 4-19). This potential drawback has been largely negated by the decision to pilot the research methods in the LDNP during a summer placement opportunity and by the usage of exemplars from other National Parks in the thesis.

To address the main aim of the thesis, I focused on three particular areas of the National Park for most of the walking interviews where debates, examined in Chapters 2 and 3 seemed prominent such as land ownership, use, management and change (including industrial development) and community interactions with a landscape.

The northern end of Fylingdales Moor was chosen as the main location for many of the walking interviews because it incorporates two out of the three landscape areas – the moorland of Fylingdales and the Woodsmith Mine – during a single walk. These two landscapes differ from the typical heather moorland landscapes and, as alternative landscapes, change the natural-cultural equilibrium established in the NYMNP as follows:

- **Fylingdales Moor** provides a rare example of an expansive area of heather moorland in the NYMNP which is not being used for driven grouse shooting. This landscape, which is managed less intensely than other moorlands in the NYMNP, has natural focused land management objectives, concentrating on enhancing wildlife conservation in the National Park;
- **The Woodsmith Mine** is a new polyhalite mine which received planning permission in 2015. Construction of the mine began in May 2017, so the mine was being built and the landscape was changing as the fieldwork took place. The mine had ignited controversy amongst various organisations and communities, with many local people

supporting the project whilst organisations, such as the Campaign for National Parks, the Campaign to Protect Rural England and the National Trust, were in opposition to the project (Campaign for National Parks 2015b). This is a strong example of a type of politicised landscape discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. The topicality of the mine meant that local people were able to have an active opinion on this landscape throughout the fieldwork phase of the research.

The location was also chosen for the walking interviews because of the differing environments encountered in this area and the multiple vantage points with a 360-degree view of these diverse habitats: the coastline (North Yorkshire and Cleveland Heritage Coast); the seascape; forestry plantations; valleys; agricultural fields and heather moorland. This gave the interviewee the opportunity to discuss broader landscapes within the NYMNP and to contribute to debates which were occurring in other landscapes – placing the specific landscape in which the walk took place within wider contexts. Also, the May Beck Forestry Commission Car Park where the walk started and ended has good access from the B1416 near to the A171 (Scarborough to Whitby road).

The third landscape investigated in depth was Goathland. Here the moorland is managed for grouse shooting, a common use for heather moorland across the National Park. In Goathland, the land management of the moorland was being contested by the Goathland Moor Regeneration Group. It was rare to find this type of modern tension between a community group and land managers in the NYMNP. Hence, this case study had the most potential to uncover new knowledge about people-natural environment relations and the influence of communities on a protected landscape. Walking interviews also took place on Goathland East Moor, again reaching a viewpoint overlooking the wider landscape (which included the village of Goathland). Using a third landscape which didn't border the other two landscapes meant that walking interviews couldn't take place in a single location, therefore these interviews tended to focus on the land management issues in Goathland.

4.2.4. Pilot research in the LDNP

Figure 15 - Four pilot interviews took place on Birkby Fell in the Western Lake District (Photograph by author 2020).

A key aspect of the research questions was the perception of National Park landscapes and how people value their surroundings. The aim was to conduct the interviews in the open air of the North York Moors to encourage participants to voice their thoughts and opinions within the landscapes which I was asking them about. By doing so, I hoped to elicit more specific information about how they valued these landscapes and how they engaged with local places and spaces as the interviewer and research participant moved through them.

Prior to the main fieldwork period beginning, several pilot interviews outdoors were undertaken in the LDNP (Fig.15) with LDNP Authority staff and volunteers to test the interview schedule. I attended a placement with the LDNP Authority as part of the PhD during August and September 2018. The pilot research phase was comprehensive and included all the steps in the interview process – deciding on a sampling frame, recruiting participants, designing an interview schedule, interviewing the participants via a walking or sit-down interview in the National Park and analysing the data from the interviews.

Before the interviews took place, I observed a LDNP Partnership meeting and a World Heritage Technical Advisory meeting which provided valuable strategic context about what was happening in the National Park and the future direction that the National Park Authority was taking. Observing three strategic meetings in the North York Moors was also undertaken as it was useful in providing background information, specifically on the NYMNP context, for the research.

Overall, 10 semi structured pilot interviews were conducted of 10-15 minutes in length. This was considerably shorter than the interviews later carried out in the NYMNP in the main fieldwork period. These interviews were shorter due, in the main, to the restricted availability of the staff and volunteers who were willing to take part. An interview schedule was prepared which covered three themes constructed from the four key research questions. These themes formed the basis for the final interview schedules used in the NYMNP:

- Landscape / National Park connotations and values;
- Having a say in National Park activity;
- Industrial development, value and identity.

After evaluating the pilot research, I revised and refined the interview questions and the overall interview schedule. Each individual question in the interview was assessed against the type of response given and the insights from this used to revise or disregard certain questions. Major changes were made to the interview schedule, with more open questions replacing closed questions to avoid biasing the interviewee's response. In addition, the pilot interview process made me realise how difficult it can be for respondents to understand the meaning of words which I used in the questions such as 'value', 'landscape' and 'heritage'. Other terms, such as 'community', they found easier to grasp.

Practical and technical interview skills were also improved from carrying out the pilot interviews. These skills and techniques were taken forward into the main fieldwork period and included:

- Remaining relaxed when asking questions;
- Letting respondents talk and waiting till the respondent has finished their answer before following up on what they have said;
- Deciding if the timing of the interviews is realistic. Some interviews can take longer than expected especially if high quality data is still surfacing from the interview;
- Encouraging participation in recruitment literature. Recruitment could be a potential challenge demonstrated by several LDNP volunteers showing no interest in taking

part in the research. This was mitigated to an extent in the main fieldwork period by indicating in an email or phone conversation to the participant how the research is relevant to the particular respondent;

- Using a mobile phone to record the interviews could be problematic in difficult weather conditions, especially because this equipment does not block out the wind when audio-recording. For the fieldwork in the NYMNP, I used a ZOOM audio-recorder with a wind blocker to enable a high-quality interview recording.

Interviewees were also given the opportunity to provide feedback on the questions they were asked and reflect on the interview process which again fits with the overall participatory nature of the research methodology. The following constructive comments were provided by participants:

- *Include easy warm up questions - as not everyone has been in an interview situation* (LDNPA Volunteer);
- *Don't worry about repeating questions* (LDNPA Volunteer);
- Use silence in certain circumstances to give a balanced, objective response rather than always positively agreeing with answers – *I used to work in the Met Office Police and we didn't always nod and agree with everyone we were interviewing* (LDNPA Volunteer);
- Include surprising questions which the interviewee doesn't expect to provoke different types of responses - *I often get asked some of these questions in and outside work so I have a set answer already prepared* (LDNPA Staff).

The pilot interview process allowed the research methods to be tested and amended to facilitate gaining the maximum benefits from the interviews. As Van Teijlingen and Hundley (2001: 1) state **'**one of the advantages of a pilot study is that it might give advance warning about where the main research project could fail, where research protocols may not be followed, or whether proposed methods or instruments are inappropriate or too complicated'. The pilot interviews made me feel confident that the research process was realistic and achievable. Where relevant, the findings from the pilot research are also drawn upon in the analysis chapters of the thesis.

4.2.5. Interview schedule and participant guidance

While the whole primary research method is a learning process, the pilot interviews provided an initial platform to review and improve the recruitment, interviewing and observational techniques and the interview schedule for the main fieldwork stage of the project. An interview

schedule was refined for the North York Moors fieldwork with separate interview schedules fashioned for the walking interviews and the sedentary interviews.[80] Both interview schedules were semi-structured, consisting of a set of initial open-ended questions, follow up and probing questions and allowed room for spontaneous discussion to mitigate against any potential bias built into the research and give the participant more independence during the interview. Most of the open questions were simple and gave a degree of flexibility. However, the rigor of some of the questions ensured that they were not all straightforward for participants to answer, so I could get to the very heart of the key research questions. The semi-structured nature of the interview also meant that I, as the interviewer, was able to ask spontaneous questions which were indirectly linked to the questions in the schedule. The schedules' questions were designed to provide unique insights, surprises, imagination or 'forms of enlightenment' in relation to the main aim and research questions (Mason 2018: 212-213).

Both walking and sedentary schedules started with an introductory question which asked about the participants' relationship with the NYMNP. The interview was then themed around five main topics, grouped around the main aim and the four key research questions and also informed by the theoretical discussions in Chapter 2, the background context in Chapter 3, networking with stakeholders in the North York Moors (See 4.3.1) prior to the commencement of the fieldwork and the pilot interviews:

1. '*National Parks, the North York Moors and identity*' – Participants were asked about how they identify with a National Park, what they think the purpose of a National Park is and how they value the North York Moors.
2. '*Landscapes, experience and perception*' – Covered the relationship between the participant, the current landscape the participant was in (if a walking interview),[81] the North York Moors landscape in general and landscape change. It also delved into the cultural and natural debates within a protected landscape and landscape management.
3. '*Community life and influence*' – Examined people's opinions on community life in the North York Moors, changes in community life, how much of a say communities have in a National Park and whether they have any suggestions for future methods of engagement with local people.
4. '*Contested landscapes in the NYMNP*' – Investigated contests and challenges in the landscape, the impact of the Woodsmith Mine and if the mine has changed people's perceptions of a National Park.

[80] The interview schedules, including the pilot interview schedule, can be found in Appendix A, B and D.
[81] This was the main difference between the walking interview schedule and the sedentary interview schedule.

5. '*Future development and sustainability in a National Park*' – Questioned the future and visioning of the NYMNP, the main challenges this National Park faces in the future and how landscape change is managed.

The final series of questions asked if the participant had any afterthoughts on the research and if there was anything that they would like to find out more from this research project. A set of closed demographic questions was included at the end of the interview. They asked about the interviewee's age, gender, ethnicity, disability or long-standing illness, postcode and affiliation with the NYMNP. This was to understand which audiences took part in the research and to ensure a wide range of views were being collected. From these questions, the demographic data provided the means to anonymise the respondent's identity, yet attribute quotations during data analysis in a meaningful way e.g. NYMNPA Ranger (job title or current background of research participant), local resident[82] (where they live in relation to the NYMNP), M (gender), 55-64 (age bracket).

Finally, I provided a participant information sheet (See Appendix C) to inform all interviewees that the data would be used for the purposes of this thesis and stored in accordance with university guidelines and the Data Protection Act 2018. All electronic data including the audio recording of the interview and the transcripts were stored safely and securely on Northumbria University's Microsoft OneDrive (Northumbria University's cloud system) which is password protected. The audio-recordings were kept anonymous and confidentially in accordance with the Data Protection Act 2018. Respondents were also presented anonymously within the research findings.

To participate in the interview the interviewee signed a consent form (which included consent for the interviewer to audio-record the interview). The consent form was stored separately from the other data provided and kept in locked storage to ensure anonminity and security.

Participants were also given the option of receiving a transcript of the interview to ensure that they were happy with the information which they were providing the research project. A summary of the project's findings was also offered to each participant.

4.3. Primary research methodology including reflections on the approach

This section introduces the different methods and looks at how a sample was chosen and recruited for the primary research methodology. Each method type is then examined in turn

[82] Some research participants were cited as 'lives near to NP' which meant they lived within 1 hour drive time of the NYMNP boundary.

and critiqued with an overall reflective summary included at the end of 4.3. The research design draws mainly from Bryman's (2012) *Social Research Methods*, MacPherson's (2016) *Walking Methods in Landscape Research* and Mason's (2018) *Qualitative Researching*.

4.3.1. A mixed methodological approach

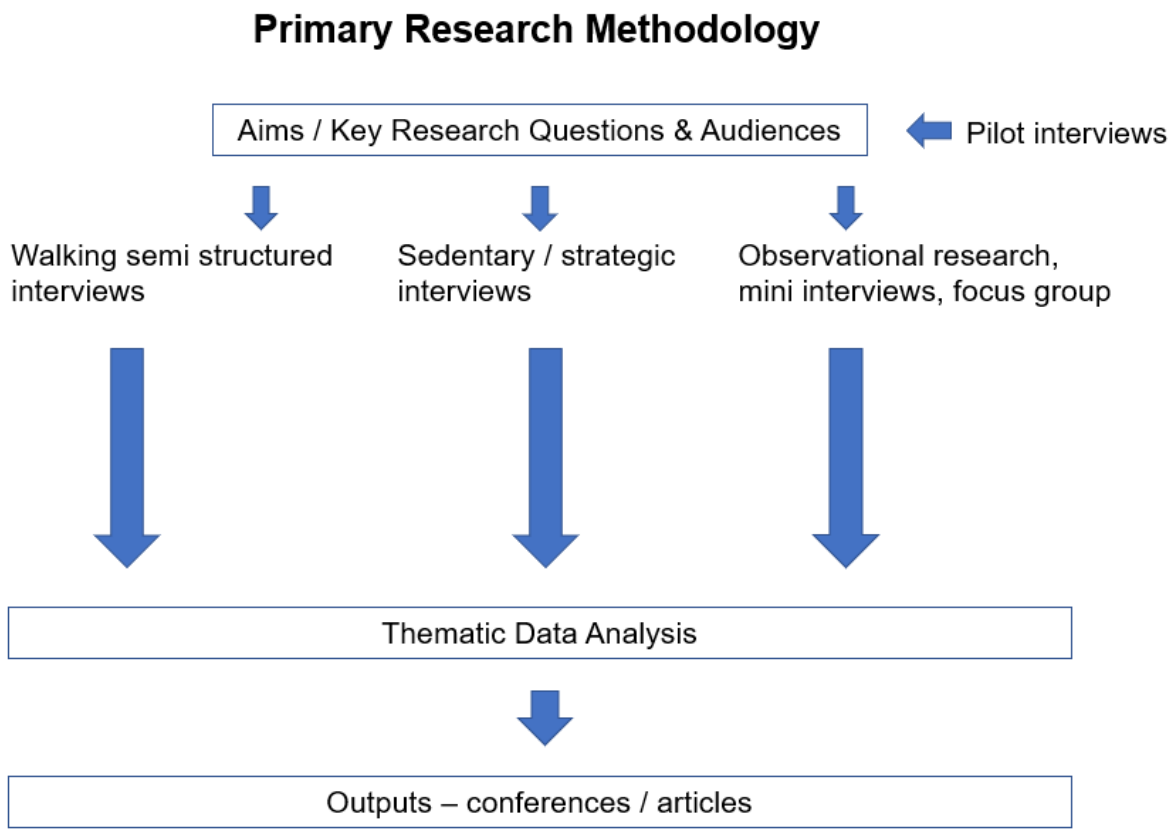


Figure 16 - The mixed methods approach utilised in this research project.

From the pilot interview lessons, the research project was then taken forward by designing a mixed methodology (qualitative and quantitative) in October and November 2018. The main focus of the primary research methodology was on a qualitative approach (Fig.16) to understand both strategically, and from a community perspective, the connection between people and landscape in the North York Moors. The methodology included a combination of walking semi-structured interviews, sedentary semi-structured interviews and observational research – all with key stakeholders. Interviews were the primary method for collecting data because they gave the researcher time to gain an understanding of the participants' perceptions and experiences of the anthropogenic landscape and to probe for additional meanings and values. Interviews provided an opportunity for the researcher to listen to the

views or experiences of one respondent for an extended period of time and to ask probing questions to explore ideas further (Harding 2019: 44). An interviewee would also be able to offer the project additional material, corresponding with the project's collaborative philosophy. For instance, a landowner supplied a map of where driven grouse shooting does not take place on the moorland of the NYMNP (6.3.2).

The research project received ethics approval from Northumbria University Ethics Department in December 2018 complying with the policies, protocols and informed consent that were set out in the project's ethics proposal form and in Northumbria University's ethics guidelines. The fieldwork for the project then took place from February 2019 to June 2020. A variety of audiences and organisations were targeted to ensure a wide range of people who live and engage with the NYMNP were included in the research project.

After every interview I captured, in my fieldwork diary, my thoughts on how I felt the interview went, any thoughts on the methodological approach, any challenges or issues which arose and a synopsis of the interview. This helped with the analysis of the data – giving any reflections on the research at the time of the interview and providing context to the interview. It also allowed me to trace and assess methodological techniques, evaluate and resolve any issues or challenges which had developed and make any required changes to the research process. The diary also assisted as a record for the writing of this chapter.

Overall, fifty-eight interviews took place (walking, sedentary, context / strategic, phone, mini interviews) (Table 6). In addition, data was collected from one focus group, three observational meetings, feedback from 11-17 year olds (via the NYMNPA education team) and ten pilot interviews (as discussed previously).

At around fifty interviews, further interviews with participants were no longer required because no new themes were emerging from the data and respondents' answers were frequently being replicated.

All data collected for the research project		
Method type	**How many?**	**Location**
Walking Interview	22	14 x May Beck Forestry Commission Car Park (2 interviews with 2 x people) 1 x Jugger Howe, Fylingdales Moor 1 x Brow Top, Fylingdales Moor 1 x RAF Fylingdales 1 x Spaunton Moors, nr Hutton-le-Hole 2 x Goathland East Moor 1 x Danby Dale 1 x Mulgrave Estate
Sedentary Interview	8	NYMNPA headquarters, Helmsley NYMNPA visitor centre, Danby One person's home
Context / Strategic Interview	9	Work offices, London Café, London Work offices, York
Phone Interview	14	-
Focus Group	1	Botton Village, nr. Castleton
Strategic Meeting	3	NYMNPA headquarters, Helmsley RAF Fylingdales Goathland
Mini Interview with local residents and visitors	5	Beacon Ice Cream Farm Caravan and Motor Home Club Scarborough Islamic Society Worker at Chinese food shop, Middlesbrough
Feedback from 11-17 year olds	20	NYMNPA visitor centre, Danby
Pilot Interview	10	LDNP

Table 6 - A table showing the type of method implemented, the quantity of each method type (e.g. number of walking interviews) and the location.

4.3.2. Selecting a sample and recruitment

At the very start of the research project, I networked with staff members at the NYMNPA to find out about the background of certain organisations and individuals in the National Park. Contact was also made with the Hawk and Owl Trust and the Court Leet, two of the management teams of Fylingdales Moor at the time, to understand who uses the moorland where the walking interviews were taking place. I wanted to speak to a range of people in North York Moors communities who had prior knowledge of one (or more) of the three landscape areas. Additionally, I wanted to make these organisations aware that I was conducting research on three landscape areas in the National Park.

There was clear recognition that not every segment of the National Park society could be contacted: there had to be a selective approach to research participants. From this initial consultation and preliminary research into NYMNP governance and land ownership (See 3.4.4 and 3.5), I created a sample framework of the following individuals and organisations to be recruited:

- NYMNPA;
- Forestry Commission;
- North Yorkshire Moors Association;
- Landowners and land managers;
- Parish Council representatives;
- Farmers;
- National Trust;
- Sirius Minerals PLC (acquired by Anglo-American in March 2020 after my interview with them);
- Local residents in the parishes of Fylingdales, Sneaton and Goathland;
- Local walking groups / history groups / nature groups which use Fylingdales Moor and Goathland Moor.

Certain national and regional strategic organisations which had vested interests and were involved in decision-making in the NYMNP were also chosen, with names, in some cases, provided by the National Park Authority and revealed by the governance research. These included Natural England, the government's Landscapes Review working group, Rewilding Britain, the Campaign for National Parks, the Heather Trust, Yorkshire Wildlife Trust, Ban Bloodsports on Yorkshire's Moors and academic researchers (from the University of Leeds, University of York and York St John University). Even though a walking interview was offered to the representative from these organisations, the distance of the NYMNP from their base location and the busy nature of their profession meant that it was rarely taken up; in most cases a sedentary interview was carried out at their office location.

The general quotas set for the sample framework were a mix of staff levels (from directors to volunteers), ages, genders, ethnicities, and must have been in their current role for more than six months. I also set a quota to interview more people who lived inside the Park than those who lived outside as the project's focus was on NYMNP communities.[83] At the start of the research, these quotas were allowed to fall out naturally (i.e. I was not strict in implementing

[83] 60% of all the people interviewed lived in the National Park. Others lived close to the boundaries, were visiting or had visited previously.

the quotas) and they were constantly assessed throughout the research project to ensure that the thesis was meeting the intended quotas. Conditions for participating in the walking interviews were simple. The respondent needed to have an affiliation with one of the three landscape areas in the NYMNP. This could be from living close to one of these areas or working on projects within one of these areas.[84] The condition for participating in a strategic interview slightly differed, with participants requiring only an affiliation with the NYMNP. Interviewees from a particular organisation were also selected to be reflective of that organisation to ensure representation within the data. A table of all the audiences who participated in the research is located in Appendix F.

From the very first interview with a representative from the North Yorkshire Moors Association snowball sampling started to occur. For example, a National Park ranger who had a vast network of contacts in the National Park offered to mention the project to their contacts or provide the contact details of other potential interviewees. I recorded the following in my research diary about the snowball recruitment method:

I was happy to give my contact details to interviewees to pass on to other people but I needed to be wary that this meant I might only be talking to a certain part of the North York Moors public. (Fieldwork Diary 2019-2020)

I recognised that the snowball method was useful in promoting the research project but had the potential to bias the sample framework because it would frame the research within specific professional networks and social circles within the Park. I wanted the project to reach out to a broader range of organisations and individuals to gain a wider viewpoint on the National Park landscape and its natural-cultural relations. Therefore, I also targeted other key informants who I did not already have a relationship with, recruiting these participants by making phone calls and sending emails.

It was clear from the pilot interviews and previous research experiences that recruiting participants was going to prove a challenge for the project with certain contacts not replying to emails or not having the time to take part. Many people had to be contacted more than once to encourage participation. Some contacts decided to reply up to six months after I had first contacted them, showing how important a lengthy project timescale is. There were also certain user groups of the National Park, highlighted in the pilot phase, that I recognised would be challenging to recruit including younger people (under 16s and 16-24 year olds), ethnic

[84] This is as well as having the time and the willingness to kindly participate in the research project.

minority groups and certain types of land managers (See Chapter 7 for further discussion on this point).

Subsequently, the project required advertising, principally to target certain audience types where the quotas were not being achieved. The project was promoted through the following channels:

- Goathland Village Facebook Group;
- Ryedale Walking Group newsletter;
- North Yorkshire Scouts newsletter;
- NYMNP Young Explorers Facebook Page (Fig.17);
- NYMNP Volunteering webpage;
- Forestry Commission email circulated around the volunteers;
- People, Landscape, and Cultural Environment of Yorkshire, independent charity newsletter (PLACE) (Fig.18);
- Word of mouth.

The promotions and recruitment emails had varying levels of detail about the project tailored to the audience being contacted. For example a staff member at the NYMNPA would perhaps need more information about the project compared to a family who took part in the Young Explorers Club. When publicising the project to the Young Explorers on their Facebook Page, I was told by the NYMNPA 'to write a very short synopsis of the research project to catch their attention' (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2019).

All of the promotions and recruitment emails comprised of a web link to the research project webpage giving people an opportunity to find out more about the project. This webpage alongside the use of my university email address highlighted my university affiliation, acting as evidence to audiences that the project was legitimate.

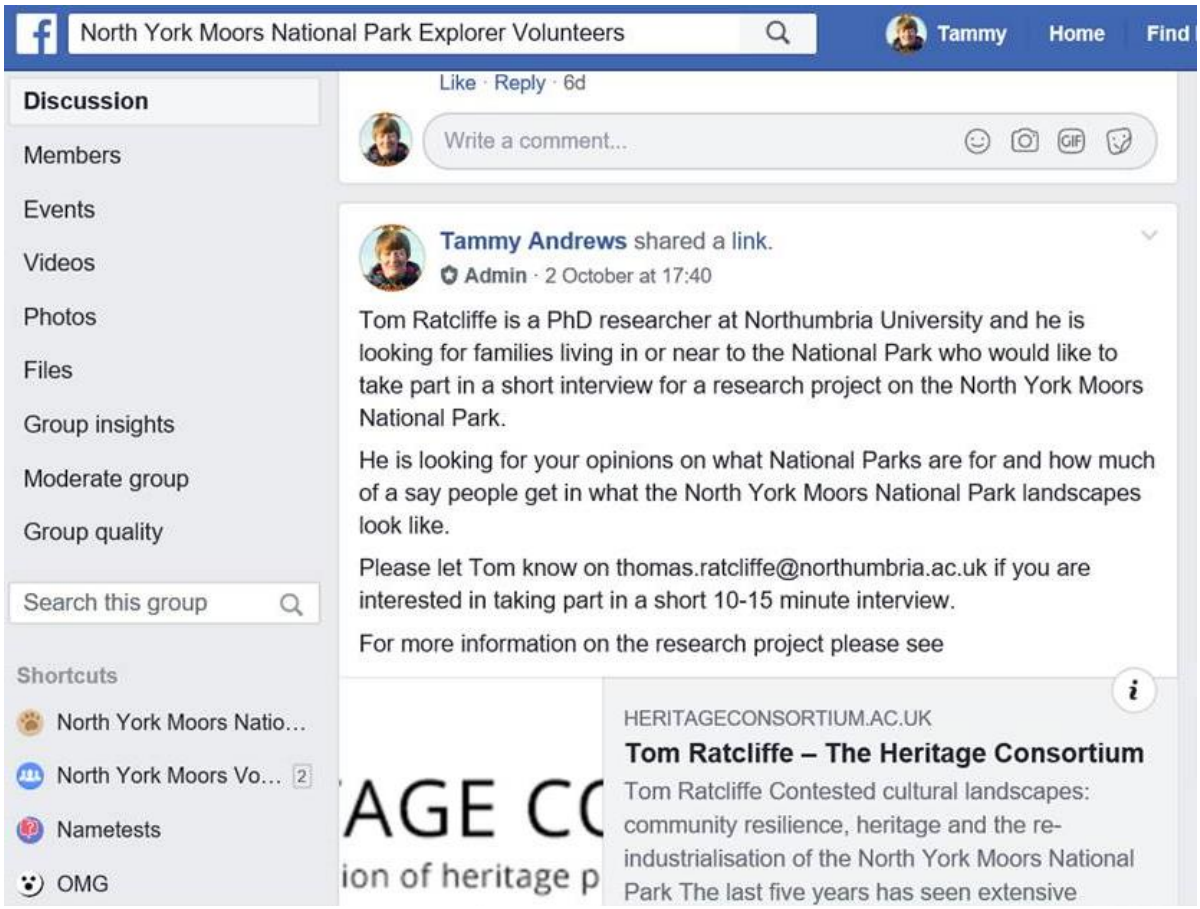
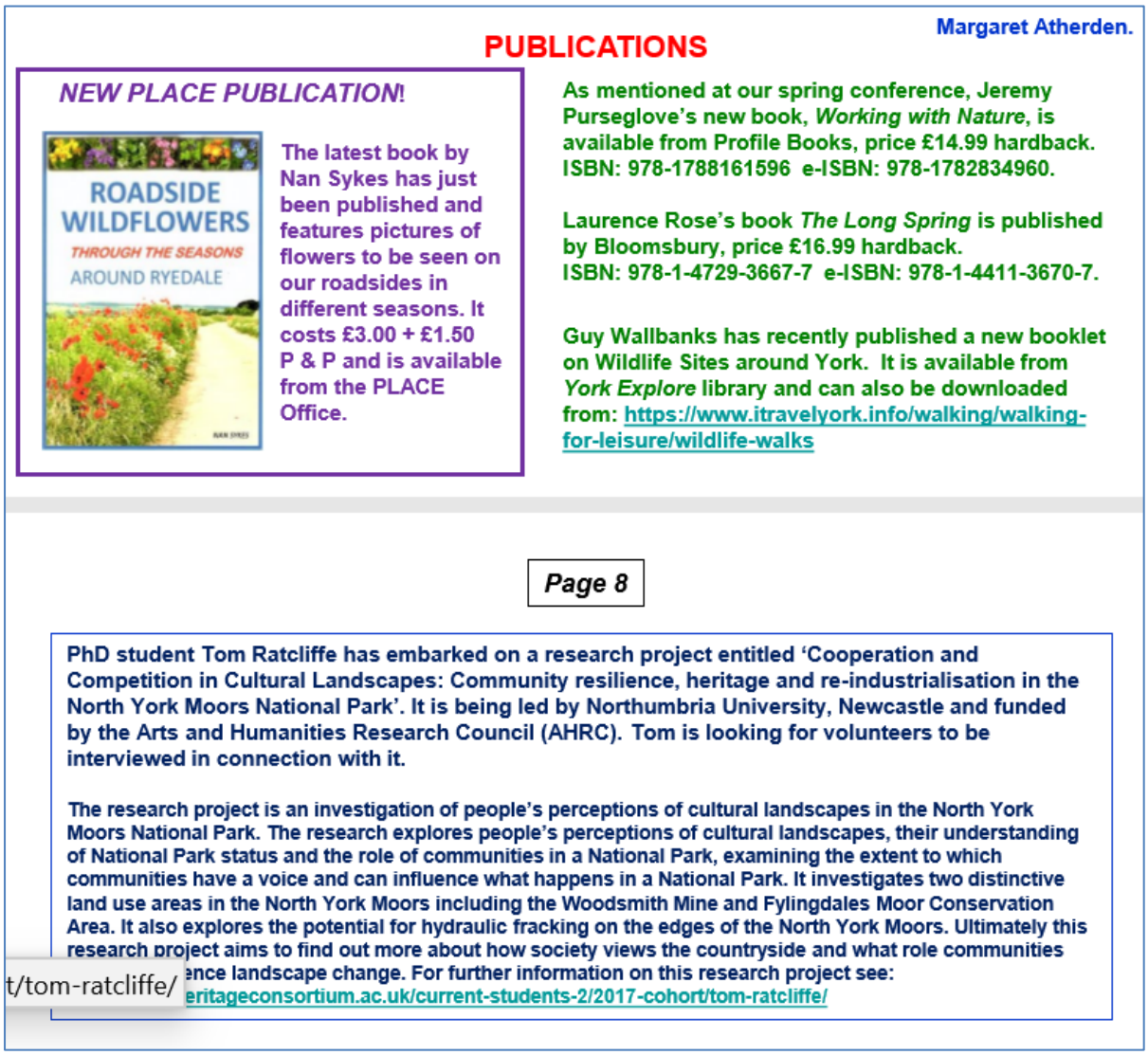


Figure 17 - The NYMNPA posted this message on their Young Explorers Facebook page on behalf of the project (North York Moors Young Explorers 2019).



Margaret Atherden.

PUBLICATIONS

NEW PLACE PUBLICATION!

The latest book by Nan Sykes has just been published and features pictures of flowers to be seen on our roadsides in different seasons. It costs £3.00 + £1.50 P & P and is available from the PLACE Office.

As mentioned at our spring conference, Jeremy Purseglove's new book, *Working with Nature*, is available from Profile Books, price £14.99 hardback. ISBN: 978-1788161596 e-ISBN: 978-1782834960.

Laurence Rose's book *The Long Spring* is published by Bloomsbury, price £16.99 hardback. ISBN: 978-1-4729-3667-7 e-ISBN: 978-1-4411-3670-7.

Guy Wallbanks has recently published a new booklet on Wildlife Sites around York. It is available from *York Explore* library and can also be downloaded from: https://www.itravelyork.info/walking/walking-for-leisure/wildlife-walks

Page 8

PhD student Tom Ratcliffe has embarked on a research project entitled 'Cooperation and Competition in Cultural Landscapes: Community resilience, heritage and re-industrialisation in the North York Moors National Park'. It is being led by Northumbria University, Newcastle and funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). Tom is looking for volunteers to be interviewed in connection with it.

The research project is an investigation of people's perceptions of cultural landscapes in the North York Moors National Park. The research explores people's perceptions of cultural landscapes, their understanding of National Park status and the role of communities in a National Park, examining the extent to which communities have a voice and can influence what happens in a National Park. It investigates two distinctive land use areas in the North York Moors including the Woodsmith Mine and Fylingdales Moor Conservation Area. It also explores the potential for hydraulic fracking on the edges of the North York Moors. Ultimately this research project aims to find out more about how society views the countryside and what role communities
t/tom-ratcliffe/ ence landscape change. For further information on this research project see:
eritageconsortium.ac.uk/current-students-2/2017-cohort/tom-ratcliffe/

Figure 18 - An advertisement for the project in the PLACE 2019 Summer Newsletter, a local landscape and culture charity group (PLACE 2019).

It was clear from the early stages of the project that the research would struggle to engage with young people who lived in or near to the National Park. In general, National Park communities in England and Wales are composed of an older population (DEFRA 2019: 18) and young people are often found moving away from the NYMNP for work or education purposes (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2021). One quarter of the NYMNP population is under 30 years old (25%) compared with 31% in North Yorkshire and 37% nationally (NYMNPA 2020: 28).

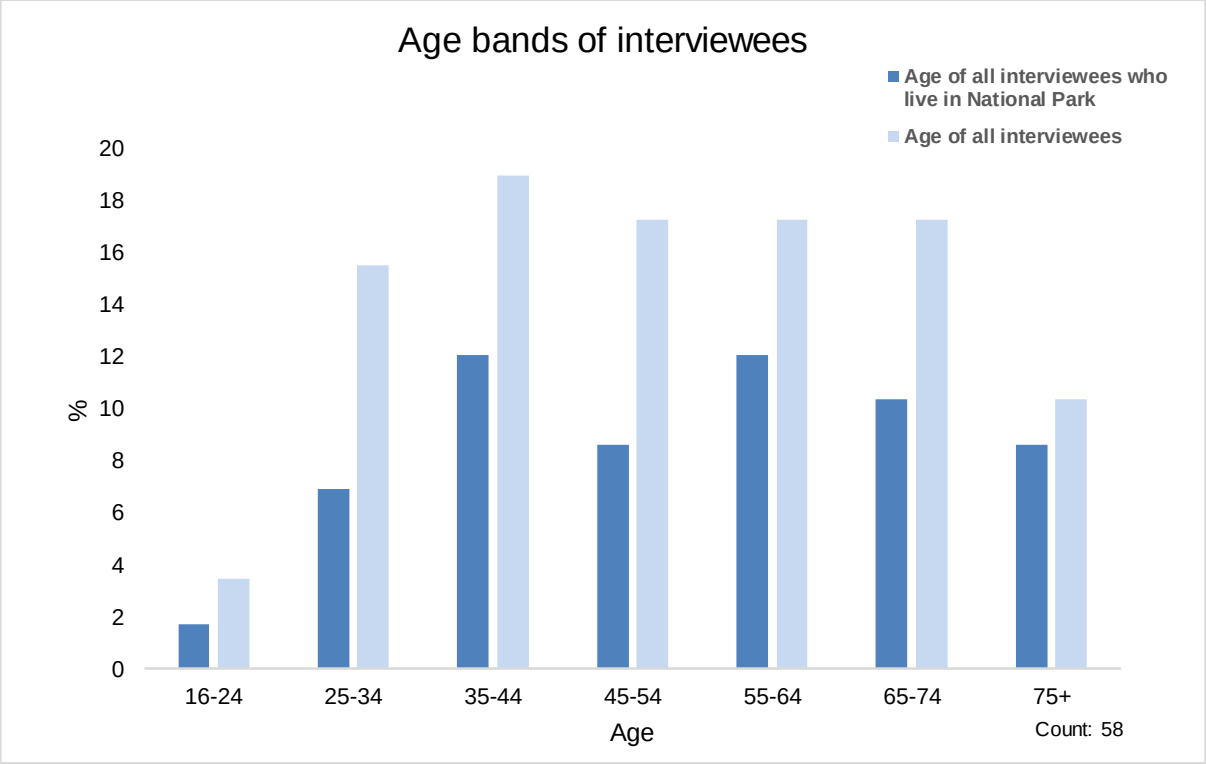


Figure 19 - The lowest number of people interviewed who live in the National Park were in the 16-24 and 25-34 age bands which is in keeping with the small number of young people who take up residence in the National Park. The age of those who took part across all the interviews was skewed towards those who were 35 and above because of the types of job roles and organisations that were interviewed, which were also more likely to adhere to an older type of person. Moreover, a walking interview attracted a certain demography – those who were retired and perhaps had the time to partake in this type of interview. However, two respondents who were on work shifts were also interviewed.

To appeal to younger people, the NYMNPA volunteering service and education team were contacted. The project was promoted by these contacts on the NYMNP volunteering webpage, the Young Explorers Club Facebook Page (managed by the NYMNPA) and in the North Yorkshire Scouts newsletter. The research participants were also asked if they were aware of any people aged 18-44 who might be interested in participating in the research.

It was the aim of the research project to allow younger people to have a say in the research and publicising the project in various channels led to more people under the age of 45 being interviewed (Fig.19). The education team at the NYMNPA also ran a session with 11-17 year olds involved in its Young Ranger Scheme on tailored research questions from the project including: what is the purpose of a National Park; how would you describe the National Park; what does the North York Moors mean to you; do you think you have a say in what happens in a National Park and who controls what the National Park looks like. The feedback given by

the young people in response to the five research questions was collated on flip chart paper and is analysed in the findings section of this thesis (Fig.20).

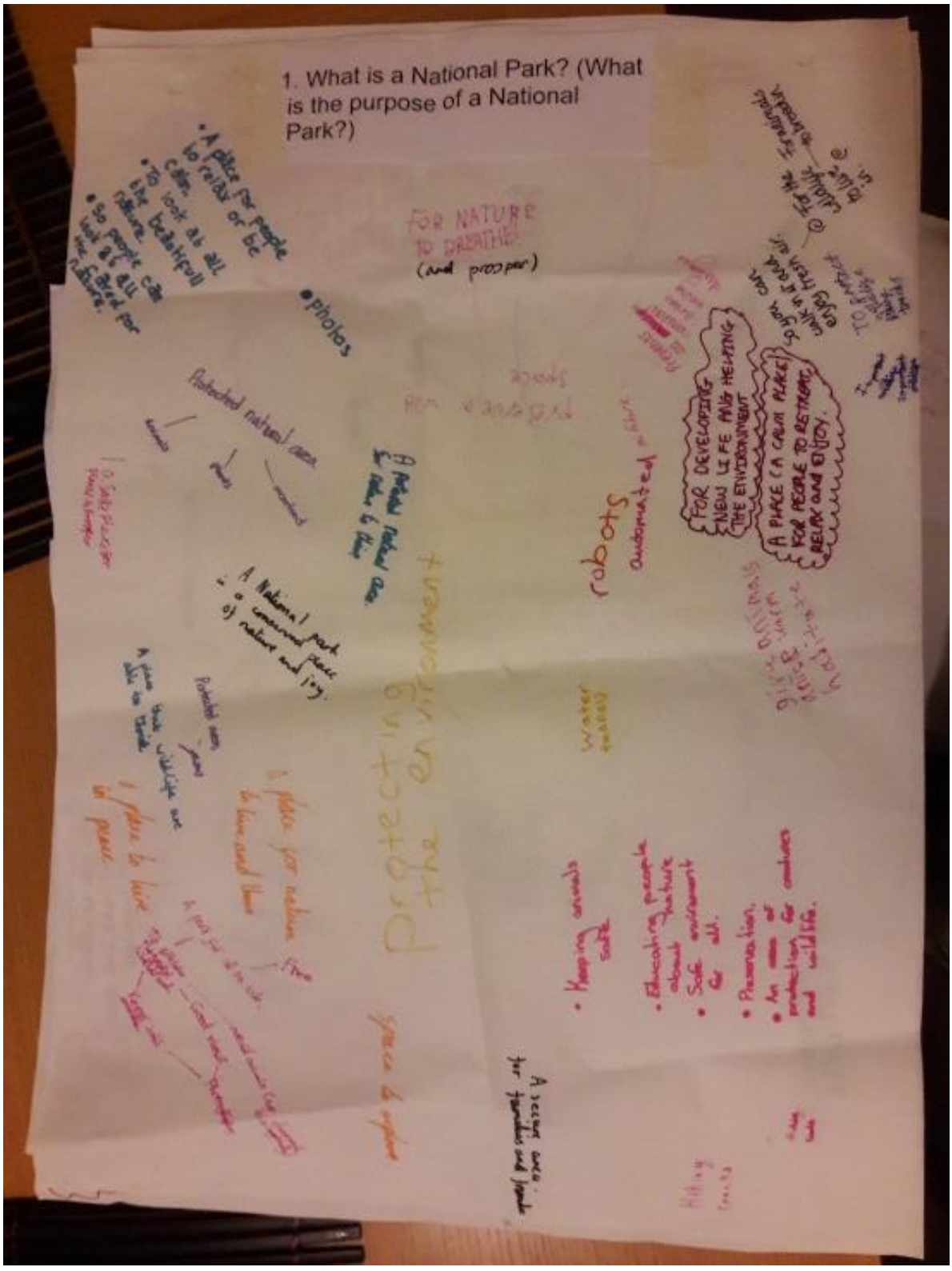


Figure 20 - Feedback from 11-17 year olds captured by the NYMNPA education team (Photograph by author 2020).

There was a similar challenge in recruiting people from ethnic minority groups with the project receiving very little attention from these groups. The 2011 Census states that 2.9% of NYMNP residents are from ethnic minority groups which compares with 14% of the whole of England and Wales (Office for National Statistics 2011). To counter it, contacts already identified were asked if they were aware of any people who were not of white British origin who lived in or near to the National Park. However, no one was able to offer any interview contacts. Subsequently, I targeted societies and groups on the edges of the National Park who may include ethnic minorities. This proved to be a successful recruitment tactic and 5% of my interviews were from non-white ethnicities, although they were all residents who lived outside the National Park. They included the Scarborough Islamic Society, the Chinese Methodist Church in Middlesbrough and the Tees Valley of Sanctuary, an Asylum Seeker organisation which organises visits to the National Park. However, I was unable to recruit and interview anyone from an ethnic minority group who was a NYMNP resident.

4.3.3. Walking and interviewing

> '*The moorland landscape is ideal for walking. The surface is usually dry with springy turf, there are numerous tracks and footpaths and the sequence of panoramic views gives a 'roof of the world' character to the walker.'* (Spratt & Harrison 1989: 214)

Walking methodologies[85] (also known as accompanied visits or go-alongs in certain academic circles) have become an increasingly popular approach in landscape perception research to consider how people's lives and identities relate to different landscapes, spaces and places (Jones *et al.* 2008; Evans & Jones 2011; MacPherson 2016; Rybråten 2019). Inspired by Sheller and Urry, who developed a new mobilities paradigm (2006), and research into the culture of walking (Edensor 2000; Lorimer & Lund 2003; Ingold & Lee 2006; Ingold & Vergunst 2008), movement, and specifically walking, has received more attention in the social sciences and the arts over the last decade. This has seen a plethora of researchers dedicating their work to researching walking interviews and they have become a more popular, yet underused method to understand communities in landscape and heritage studies.

Across human and non-human networks, walking is not only about understanding human reactions to the landscape but also how the landscape and its non-human elements shape humans and the body (MacPherson 2016: 427) connecting with the reciprocal, affective and sensory interactions between landscape and agents in non-representational thinking (Waterton 2013: 69). Rybråten *et al*.'s study (2019: 63) on everyday walking in a medium-

[85] Here I recognise that not every human is able to walk. Therefore, the term 'movement' is utilised where possible.

sized town in Norway endorses this viewpoint that the landscape is both formed by humans and forms humans as they move through it. MacFarlane highlights the challenge in researching the impact of a landscape on human perception and behaviour when he says 'we are adept, if occasionally embarrassed at saying what we make of places – but we are far less good at saying what places make of us' (2012: 27). MacPherson finds walking methodologies to be 'a method of opening up relational spaces of self and landscape' (2016: 431) with the walker having embodied interactions with the landscape. It is clear from the mobilities paradigm and the other literature cited here that movement sees the total immersion of the human in an anthropogenic National Park which is constantly being shaped and reshaped by human involvement. Building on the landscape-heritage synthesis work of Harvey and Waterton (2015) and Harvey and Wilkinson (2019), the use of movement as an innovative, active methodological approach, in compliance with the processual notions of landscape and heritage, brings an embodied perspective to researching quotidian emotions, identity and influence within NYMNP communities.

4.3.4. The selected path

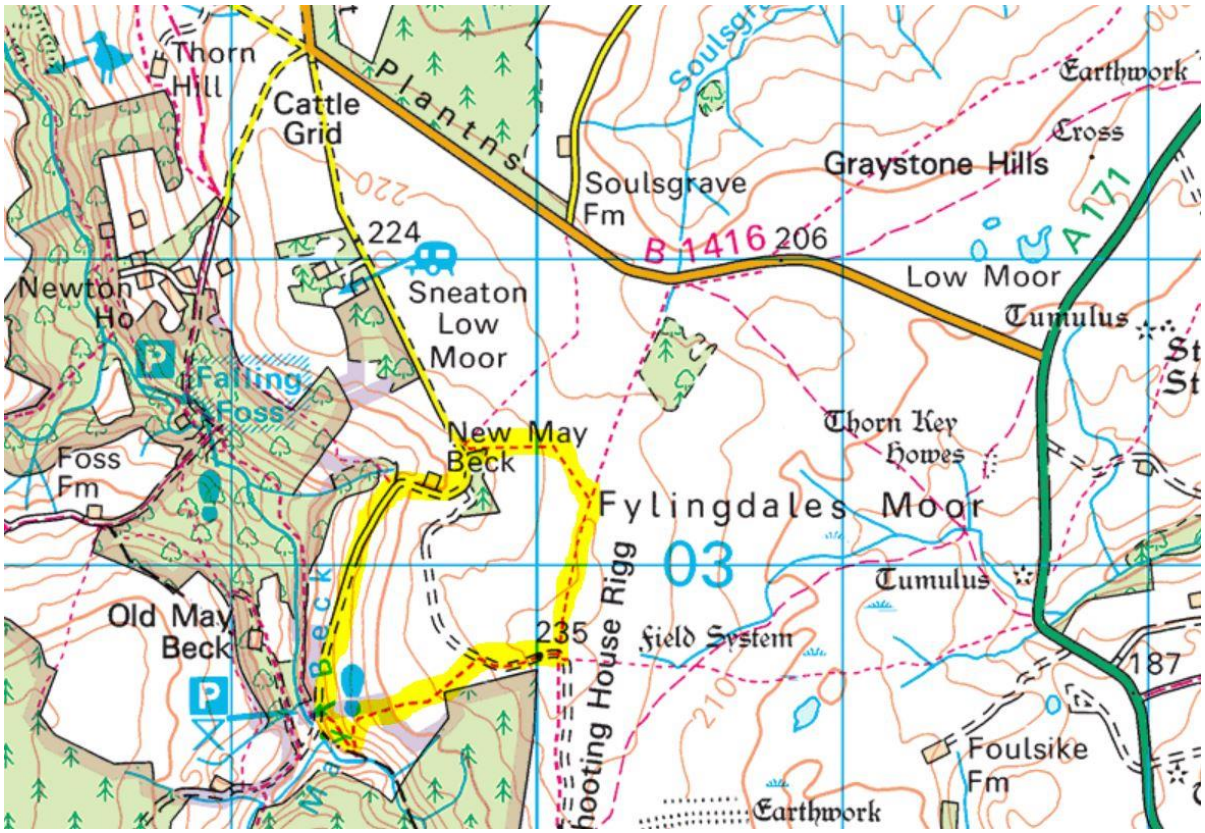


Figure 21 - This map was sent to participants before the walk and shows the chosen route for the May Beck walking interview (OS Maps 2019).

Figure 22 - The May Beck walking route (highlighted in yellow), Fylingdales Moor and the Woodsmith Mine construction site (Google Maps 2019).

After assessing three different routes in the North York Moors, a circular 2.3 mile route was chosen as the main route for the walking interviews, starting and ending in May Beck Forestry Commission car park (Fig.21 & Fig.22).

I piloted the route in January 2019 to test out its suitability for achieving the research project's aim. When I originally walked it, I felt the selected route was a strong representation of the different types of terrain which encompass the NYMNP. My diary description of the route reads:

The walk started in the forestry plantation crossing the bridge over the beck (which runs from Falling Foss) and then on to a footpath which winds its way through the bracken up a sharp hill, over a stile into a farmer's field which included a ruined farm building, then across the field on to the heather moorland of Fylingdales Moor and to the highest point of the walk on the moorland where panoramic views of the National Park could be seen including the moorland plateau, the coast and the Woodsmith Mine. It then followed a footpath running north which ran parallel with a stone wall over the moor and then a turn off in a north westerly direction with the route curving around across Sneaton Low Moor, taking in a very small section of Alfred Wainwright's Coast to Coast walk, until it met the road. The road then arched back

down to the May Beck Car Park. The route includes views of the Woodsmith Mine construction site and most of Fylingdales Moor. (Fieldwork Diary 2019-2020)

The walking route was selected because it was short and even though there were a few boggy patches, the terrain was mostly hard under foot (even in the winter months). Participants were sent a map of the route beforehand and the length of time the walk would take approximately. I briefed research participants on the route before we set off and I would also describe the route as it progressed – 'we will follow this wall along to the Coast to Coast sign and then we will go into the next field heading towards the road' (Fieldwork Diary 2019-2020). Participants were made aware of the location they were in, particularly for those who were new to these footpaths. Some participants were already familiar with the route.

Participants were taken on this set route whilst questions were being asked. I made some of the decisions (e.g. which route we followed and the questions asked in the interview), although the participant had the opportunity to stop the researcher at various points of the walk and point out and converse about various aspects of the surroundings.

The walk was timed to last one hour at an average walking speed, however the timing of each interview was different depending on the pace of the interviewee and the content of the discussion. Most interviews included stops or a slowing of the pace and often this coincided with the participant wanting to give a strong opinion on a certain topic. Furthermore, two of the rangers interviewed fixed some of the signage on the walking route, whilst other interviewees picked up litter which slightly extended the interview process.

I tried to repeat the same walking route every time for consistency and fourteen interviews occurred on the 2.3 mile route from May Beck car park. Two walking interviews were held in Goathland. Flexibility was also given to interviewees with the option of conducting the walking interview in an alternative location or as a sedentary interview. I still wanted to capture the thoughts of participants who were unable to meet at the May Beck car park location or could not participate in a walking interview. Some interviewees preferred to meet in a different part of the North York Moors citing that it was too far to travel to May Beck, they were too busy to travel or it was easier to do the interview in another location. One interviewee could not meet at May Beck car park because their organisation had a lone working policy in place. Therefore, eight walking interviews took place in alternative locations on the moors which included:

- Jugger Howe, Eastern side of Fylingdales Moor;
- Brow Top, North Eastern side of Fylingdales Moor;
- RAF Fylingdales;

- Spaunton Moor, near Hutton-le-Hole;
- 2 x interviews on Goathland East Moor;
- Danby Dale;
- Mulgrave Estate.

Other interviewees favoured a sedentary interview because they were too busy or they were based too far away from the moors.

The walking interviews started in February 2019 and ran through to February 2020 with the majority occurring in spring and summer when the weather tended to improve, although some still took place in winter and autumn. For each interview, the weather forecast up to the day of the interview was studied, the interviewee was updated on the weather conditions and we looked to reorganise the date of the interview if the weather was poor. In addition, the option of interviewing in my car was considered as an alternative location if the weather was worse than expected on the day. Several of the interviews did take place in wind and light rain but, with resilient recording equipment and many of the interviewees familiar with this weather on the moors, this did not tend to have a major impact on the walking interviews. The only effect the weather may have had was on the mood of the participant. From my observations, it seemed that those who were interviewed in the rain took pleasure from walking in harsher weather conditions relating to how this made the landscape feel authentic:

> *When the drizzle sets in, this is the true moors.* (NYMNPA Ranger, local resident, M, 55-64)

4.3.5. Walking and ethics

As Jones *et al.* emphasise in their article exploring space and place with walking interviews, 'mobility takes the research process out of a fixed, safe and controlled environment and introduces a range of new issues to consider' (2008: 8). Ethically, confidentiality is an important consideration of walking interviews because they are occurring outside in public locations therefore it was unfeasible to maintain complete confidentiality (Holden 2016; Kinney 2017). Steps were made to mitigate this; participants were made aware that they could be seen alongside the researcher, although because the interview was occurring in an isolated area there was a very low risk that members of the public would hear the conversations. In certain interviews staff from the Forestry Commission and the NYMNPA were dressed in uniform so again to protect their anonymity they needed to be aware that the interview was occurring in a public place. If we encountered someone that the participant knew during the interview, they were asked to give a general response about being on a walk with a student.

This was discussed beforehand with the participant so as to minimise the risk of the encounter being linked to the research project.

As stated previously, the research participant was also provided with a participant information sheet with details regarding the project's ethical procedures.

4.3.6. Why a walking interview?

Figure 23 - Walking across Sneaton Low Moor with interview participants (Photograph by author 2020).

Throughout the interview process I was never once asked the questions '*why a walking interview?*' or '*what are you doing walking interviews for?*'. While this section aims to reveal the rationale behind a walking methodology and the outcomes of this interview process it is important to note that a walking interview was straightforwardly accepted by interviewees as a logical research method. The interviewees were sometimes unaware that they were taking part in a walking interview, the only item reminding them was the ZOOM audio recorder I held in my hand to record the interview on (Fig.23). Even though participants were briefed on the details of the walking interview and that they were being recorded, to some this appeared to

be quickly forgotten or not recognised; they merely enjoyed the idea of going for a walk in a National Park (in good and bad weather!) (Fig.24).

Figure 24 - Walking Interviews were recorded on a ZOOM audio recorder with a wind blocker to ensure high quality sound. All participants had to give their consent for the interview to be audio recorded. A Samsung phone was also used to record sedentary interviews (Photograph by author 2020).

It became clear that 'the walking interviews felt natural and ordinary' (Fieldwork Diary 2019-2020) to the participants as walking was an everyday physical practice for those interviewed. It presented a different type of method to the traditional 'one-on-one' interview which sometimes can feel quite abstract and demanding for interviewees, with a certain burden of pressure added to those participants who are unfamiliar with this process. Many of the interviewees were accustomed to walking on a frequent basis; walking in their day jobs or in their free time, many for leisure purposes. I interviewed two people from the Lyke Wake Walk

Club and one person from the Ryedale Walking Club. Here, I also recognise that not every human is able to walk and not every person interviewed wanted to walk. When I offered the option of walking to a local, semi-retired farmer, he replied '*We are not doing that, I don't walk anywhere, we're getting in my tractor!*' (Farmer, local resident, M, 75+). However, the tractor still provided a medium with which we could move through and engage with the landscape (Fig.25).[86]

Figure 25 - Interviewing a farmer in a tractor on Sneaton Low Moor (Photograph by author 2020).

While acknowledging that not everyone has the capability to walk nor an interest, walking is still seen as a very inclusive, democratic activity because it is a normal practice fundamental to social life (Ingold & Lee 2006: 67). Walking as an egalitarian activity reduces the power imbalance between interviewer and interviewee as the researcher walks alongside the

[86] Differing forms of movement relate to the land in various ways with each movement producing its own experience and relationship with the landscape (Árnason *et al*. 2015: 36).

participant. Although on most occasions I set the route for the walk, I did not feel like I controlled the walk. The interviewee having been sent the map beforehand and the route discussed before we set off would often walk in front and 'I let them lead the route' (Fieldwork Diary 2019-2020). The NYMNPA Rangers had already spent time on these paths and 'they knew the landscape, the paths and the footpath signage better than I did' (Fieldwork Diary 2019-2020). One interviewee attempted to take us on a different path because he thought it would be easier under foot than the normal route we had followed on previous interviews. I allowed the interviewee to walk on this path because I wanted them to have a voice in the research – making the approach seem nearer to participatory research.

As I walked along with the interviewees, it was noticeable that the casual and relaxing nature of walking made it easier to connect with the participants and, as a consequence, the conversation felt normal. This was confirmed by feedback received via email from an interviewee:

> *It is such a good idea to do the interviews while outdoors, and so much better than an impersonal office or tea-shop location.* (Staintondale & Ravenscar Local History Group, pers. comm. 2019)

Even though the interview schedule was semi-structured, it felt less like being in a structured interview and more like being involved in a conversational dialogue. I wanted the interview to be informal, notifying the interviewees beforehand that it would be a 'conversation whilst walking on the moors', which positioned the interview in an everyday, more common situation. I let the conversation take its own course which, at times, felt as if this increased the rapport between interviewer and interviewee. The participant and I would sometimes talk about other subjects which might not have been directly linked to the interview schedule side tracked by a feature in the landscape – the history of fell running after observing a runner go past us or the number of lapwings on the moors from glimpsing a sight of this bird. Interviewees also asked me questions – '*how do you use the moors?*' and '*what's the main research question of your thesis*?' as their trust in the research process increased.

In general, we were walking at the same pace and rhythm across a landscape and I could sense the flow of thoughts happening between myself and the interviewee generated by the questions being asked, the answers of the research participant but also the surroundings as we moved through them. Walking is a very simple activity, sometimes perceived as mundane, but it can inspire the most complex of thoughts, suggesting the strong connection between embodiment in a landscape and the mental stimulation. Rousseau (1953: 158; Solnit 2001: 19) in *The Confessions*, wrote:

> '*Never did I think so much, exist so vividly, and experience so much, never have I been so much myself – if I may use that expression – as in the journeys I have taken alone and on foot. There is something about walking which stimulates and enlivens my thoughts. When I stay in one place I can hardly think at all; my body has to be on the move to set my mind.*'

Walking gave the time for the participant to think deeply about their relationship with the heritage-landscape and in certain cases reveal new perceptions about the landscape. This profound, slower way of thinking corresponds with Rebecca Solnit's (2001: 10) passion for walking:

> '*I like walking because it is slow and I suspect that the mind, like the feet, works at about three miles an hour. If this is so, then modern life is moving faster than the speed of thought or thoughtfulness.*'

There were also periods of silence on the walk and I would not necessarily interrupt the silence with a question because I viewed it as thinking time for the interviewee – perhaps the moment for the participant to take in where they were on the walk, a time of reflection on what we had discussed so far, or just a time for myself or the interviewee to catch their breath after a sharp hill.[87] This was also aided by the paths taken being extremely quiet, despite encountering sporadic Coast to Coast walkers or the occasional car passing by on the road to May Beck Car Park. Many of the early Romantic walkers championed the solitary values of walking and the autonomy and thoughtfulness that walking brings. It moves a person away from their everyday ties at work into an independent, free environment where they don't have to think about certain aspects of life.

Cited by Edensor (2000: 84), Duerden (1978: 1) finds that walking is widely conceived as a 'valuable and enjoyable antidote to the increased uncertainty and tension that unfortunately are so often features of modern life' and the Anthropocene, as the activity acts as a form of escapism. With many interviewees distinguishing this type of interview as a leisure activity, it is the endorphin-induced positivity from walking, which MacPherson finds in her research (2016: 430), that needs to be carefully considered when analysing the data. Hence, 'walking is not a benign or neutral approach to researching landscape' (MacPherson 2016: 431) but

[87] Often a sign of tiredness was deep respiration. If the participant was tired, we would take a minute to stop, perhaps converse and then I would let the interviewee decide when they wanted to continue with the walk. This shows how the type of terrain and the practice of walking itself as a 'taskscape' can influence how a landscape is perceived (MacPherson 2016: 428–429).

then again the positive demeanour from walking indicates that landscape is not a neutral concept; its affective, relational components can generate positive thoughts.

4.3.7. Human-landscape relationships on a walk

Writing about the intricate, complex relationships of humans, landscape and a place, Wattchow writes that there are four general approaches of learning about these constantly changing relationships:

1. Being present in a landscape;
2. The power of stories and narratives;
3. Apprenticing ourselves to a place;
4. How we represent our experiences.

(Wattchow & Brown 2011; Wattchow 2013: 93-95)

These four approaches are applied here to the process of a walking interview to reveal natural-cultural identities from the people-place encounters in the National Park.

Being present in a landscape

> '*Walking is – "present" – that is, it belongs to me currently – when I am walking.*'[88] (Hadot 1998: 136)

If we take the first approach, a walking interview positions the interviewee 'in' an existing landscape. 'Walking is a way of being in the world' (Edensor 2000: 104) and therefore the person or people walking in the present can affect any component of that world including the past and the future. The interviewee is placed in the now and can discuss their perceptions and experiences of the current landscape and their current actions and decision-making. Being in the moment as interviewees walked through changing landscapes was crucial to the questions which I asked and the responses which interviewees gave. For example, when asked '*how would you describe the North York Moors landscape?*' participants were able to point and discuss features in the landscape such as the May Beck forestry plantation (Fig.26).

Wattchow (2013: 93) writes that 'we need to become attentive to our surrounds and how they influence every decision that we make; where and how we travel, where we pause, to what

[88] Being present is very much a characteristic of Stoicism, an ancient Greek philosophy, where being present is found to be that which is happening in terms of current actions and current events (Hadot 1998:138). The thoughts on the stoic notions of the present are also captured here by Hadot (1998: 135) – 'They do not know that the present is the only point at which they are truly themselves and free. The present is the only point which, thanks to our action and our consciousness, gives us access to the totality of the world.'

we direct our attention'. This can help the interviewer 'to understand the immediate and sensual aspects of engagement with the landscape' (Ward-Thompson 2019: 28) as more methods have become increasingly about accessing the 'now' of experience (Waterton 2019: 98). This was also important when we are discussing aspects of the landscape in the National Park which are currently changing, such as the construction of the Woodsmith Mine. The findings from all the interviews represented a certain point in time and I was able to capture those present moments through walking conversations.

Figure 26 - Stopping at the top of the climb to catch our breath and to discuss the surrounding vistas (Photograph by research participant 2020).

The power of stories and narratives

Stories were a fundamental element to the walking interview process with most interviewees having a personal story or a memory connected to the National Park landscape or triggered by being in a similar type of landscape. Several interviewees were not familiar with this particular walk but all interviewees had been to the National Park and being in this landscape prompted memories and experiences from other comparable landscapes.

Interviewees who were familiar with the case study areas, such as the National Park rangers and volunteers, had a detailed understanding of these spaces with the ability to read the layers of history, linking aspects of what they saw and felt to wider stories. They had walked sections of these paths many times gaining knowledge of landscape change first-hand. One older interviewee said:

> *I know this path very well...this used to be horrendously boggy and the Parks are doing a damm good job here…you are on the old smugglers trod route*. (Former NYMNPA Ranger / Author, local resident, M, 75+, W).

The stories were examples of a walking interview bringing together past, present and future contemplation with the interviewee not only conversing with regards to memories but also considering the present-day experiences and values. Interviewees would hurdle across the spectrum of time; the sight of an old military bunker on Fylingdales Moor leading to stories of the military presence on Fylingdales Moor during the Second World War and of the current RAF Fylingdales Radar Station, an early warning station for ballistic missiles which monitors future security on a global scale. The construction of the Woodsmith Mine provided a discussion point for what the future of the UK's National Park landscapes might hold. It is clear that the process of heritage is being practised in these interviews as the interplay between past, present and future is at work. Harvey and Wilkinson (2019: 179) recognise a non-linear temporality approach to heritage-landscape studies, where an orderly chronology ceases to exist when discussing past, present and future ideas. Heritage-landscapes are never complete 'but are always subject to contestation and renegotiation, using materials, signs and activities from its various pasts as they are projected into diverse futures' (Urry & Macnaghten 1998: 168). It was clear from the interviews that the stories of taskscapes and movement shape and construct perceptions of and nature-culture relations within these heritage-landscapes in the future.

Apprenticing ourselves to a place

'Apprenticing ourselves to a place', according to Wattchow, is the blending of narratives and sensory immersion (2013: 94). An interview outside in the North York Moors landscape presents an opportunity to understand the sensory reaction of the interviewer to their surroundings. Interviewees talked about the cry of the curlew which they could hear in the distance being carried by the wind. Life was circulating around the interviewee as they gave their opinions, told their stories and reacted to their surroundings or the surroundings responded to our moving presence. For example, a grouse squawked and then hovered off into the distance as our steps got closer to where it was nesting. On one walk, we also saw a

slow worm sleeping on the path. A professional ecologist I was walking with pressed on its skin to check that it was still alive (Fig.27). Robert MacFarlane writes that the paths people walk offer '*not only means of traversing space, but also ways of feeling, being and knowing*' (2012: 24). It is only by *apprenticing ourselves to a place* that one can truly know and learn its landscape. Indeed, this does not mean that the interviews constantly focused on the surroundings, but, through an exploration of this land, the landscape was affecting what was being conversed. The form of mobility brought interviewer and interviewee closer to the landscape (which saw the production of local knowledge in these spaces) and, in turn, the landscape became closer to these human movements.

Figure 27 - An ecologist I was interviewing discovered a Fox Moth caterpillar on the heather during a walking interview (Photograph by author 2020).

How we represent our experiences

As interviewees were present in the landscape it became easier for respondents to immediately discuss their experiences of a landscape whilst moving through it. They could talk about their emotions and feelings with the landscape and their relationships with other people who were involved in the management of that landscape. I also gave interviewees the opportunity to contact myself if they had further thoughts on the landscape, giving interviewees time to reflect on their thoughts.

Movement was utilised here as a tool to generate deeper representations of nature-culture relations within a National Park. Therefore, Wattchow's fourth and final approach of *how we then represent our experiences* also signifies the data analysis component of the thesis, the culmination of all the lessons from the data and how this data from the walking interviews is interpreted to explore the interviewees' relationships with the National Park landscape. The process and the structure of the analysis is discussed further in 4.4 and Appendix G. Representation through experience, perception and influence in a landscape is also analysed throughout the last four chapters of the thesis.

These experiences also led to recommendations on a public participation scheme (See Chapter 7 and 8) which wasn't the initial intention of the research but developed out of the data from the four key research questions as the research fieldwork progressed. By offering future participatory solutions, based on discussions in the National Park, could potentially further co-operation across these landscapes which is critical in working with the drivers of change in the Anthropocene.

4.3.8. Sedentary and strategic interviews and a focus group

Those participants who did not have the time to complete a walking interview, were based too far away from the National Park or were not mobile enough to take part in the walk were offered the option to take part in a sit-down interview in a location of their choice.[89] In this instance, maps and photos of the landscape were used alongside the questions to replicate the walking element of the interview and to act as prompts to the interview. Again, these interviews followed a semi-structured format and lasted around one hour depending on the answers the participant gave. If participants did not have time to complete an in-depth interview, participants were given the option of a shorter version of the interview which lasted between fifteen and twenty minutes.

[89] Depending on the audience type, this was most likely to be where they work or where they are staying.

Sedentary interviews also included nine strategic interviews with stakeholder organisations to gain a wider picture on the National Park. Through this method, I spoke to a handful of decision-makers in powerful positions who made decisions regarding communities in National Parks. For example, government officials including the Landscapes Review working group and Natural England. Although the research questions were not policy focused, National Park policy, governance and power structures as discussed in the previous chapter would influence some of the research questions and therefore it was important to understand the viewpoints of those who had a more holistic perspective on community engagement and identity within the National Park landscape. These interviews provided a contextual grounding for the more intimate detail which would materialise from being in a landscape during a walking interview.

Those who could not take part in a one-on-one meeting were offered the opportunity to complete the interview by phone. Fourteen phone interviews were undertaken following the same structure and format as the sedentary interviews. This became the only form of data collection once restrictions were brought into prevent people from meeting in person due to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in March 2020.

Additionally, I moderated a small focus group with three people with learning disabilities at Botton Village, Danby Dale to gather the views of 'a group virtually ignored by landscape perception research' (Ward-Thompson 2019: 32). Following the semi-structured nature of the interview process, I shortened the interview schedule to ask one open question from each of the five main topics. I also ensured that I repeated these questions for clarification purposes and to ensure that I kept the group on track with the subject matter, as they tended to diverge from the questions with their answers. A manager in the village also sat in with the group and asked questions; sometimes rephrasing the questions on the schedule to these participants to ensure that they understood. Having this support gave the participants confidence to give their opinions and enhanced their concentration. The group were able to put forward some strong opinions on the landscape, although I would have favoured holding the focus group as a walking group in the National Park landscape, yet I was advised the attendees did not have the time required to participate in this.

4.3.9. Observational research at meetings

I observed the decision-making of stakeholders' groups with interests in the North York Moors by sitting in on three meetings which were affiliated with the landscape case study areas being researching:

- A conservation meeting at RAF Fylingdales;

- A National Park Planning Committee meeting at the NYMNPA;
- A local community meeting in the Goathland.

All of the meetings were formal (although they had differing levels of formality) and planned in advance with agendas 'to create order and organisation of various kinds' (Brown, Reed & Yarrow 2017: 16). They were also all regular meetings rather than 'one off' meetings. The meetings were participant-led and provided an insight into everyday decisions and power relations of the taskscapes in a landscape. This type of ethnographic fieldwork was used to gain an understanding of people's actions, the decision-making behind these actions (Banks 2009: 58) and the various types of knowledge, practices and agendas constituted and negotiated. Meetings, as 'prescribed spaces for coming together, are important administrative, supervisory and collaborative actions' (Brown, Reed & Yarrow 2017: 10), building on the thesis insights in Chapter 3 on the governance and power relations between individuals and organisations in the National Park.

For the observational research, consent was given by the organisers of the meetings I attended for any recording or note taking. I also remained silent in these meetings, avoiding influencing the proceedings whilst also protecting an independent perspective as a researcher. Detailed accounts of my observations at the meetings were then written up.

4.3.10. Reflective summary of methods

In all the described interview formats (and the focus group), participants used their experiences, memories, knowledge, values and beliefs of their surroundings within the interview process to rationalise the responses they gave to the interview questions. The mixed methodology generated different kinds of very useful primary datasets from a range of viewpoints on the four key research questions. This diversity and richness in responses was driven by a method which encouraged everyday, participatory dialogue and interactions with surroundings, wider thinking (than merely straightforward interviewing) and movement as part of the 'meshwork' of a dynamic, changing National Park landscape. In particular, the walking interviews benefitted from the multi-sensory nature of the environment as a stimulus and context for discussion (MacPherson 2016: 426).

Mobile methods relate back to the phenomenological frameworks (dwelling, non-representational, more-than-representational and systemic theory) within landscape studies, analysed in Chapter 2, of humans practising as embodied, active components of networks within environmental systems. Moving through a landscape is regarded 'a more intimate way' to engage with its nature-culture relations offering profound insights into place, power

structures and management issues within that landscape (Solnit 2001: 13; Evans & Jones 2011: 850; MacPherson 2016: 431). As argued in this chapter and by Hitchings and Jones (2004) in their research on walking as a methodology in human-plant encounters, interview participants felt more comfortable in expressing their attitudes and articulating their feelings when they were immersed in a landscape. Being inside, a sedentary interview lacked the dynamic interactions with a landscape – especially when an interview was being conducted away from the landscape such as a strategic interview in London – and the conversational, informal style of a walking interview. More walking interviews could have been of benefit and I could have pressed people to participate in the walking interview. Yet many, especially those who took part in strategic interviews, did not have the time to travel to the landscape area and then to participate in what was perceived a longer format of interviewing.

There is also potential for this method to be replicated in other National Parks or landscape settings, both in and outside the United Kingdom. Moreover, a longer fieldwork timeframe would allow this type of project to focus more on changes over time in values, perceptions and identity within an anthropogenic landscape and how these interactions have an effect on people's influence in landscape conservation.

4.4. Data analysis

4.4.1. Data analysis framework

The previous section on the primary research methodology comprised of my early interpretations of the interviews during the data collection stage. Following on from these interpretations, the formal part of the analysis, as I worked through the data I collected, is described in detail in Appendix G. The appendix includes the approach to transcription, data analysis and data validity checks. I used two pieces of software, oTranscribe and NVivo 12, to assist the project with the data analysis. Thematic data analysis was applied to all of the collated data from the mixed methodology which has similarities with the Framework Method, developed in the late 1980s for large scale social policy research (Gale *et al.* 2013: 2).

4.4.2. Three analysis chapters and 'reflections and recommendations' chapter

The subsequent three chapters analyse this data by investigating the four key research questions of the thesis. Each chapter is structured to respond to one or two key research questions with a focus on a particular case study. Chapter 5 investigates the NYMNP at a broader level, Chapter 6 concentrates on the Woodsmith Mine and Fylingdales Moor and Chapter 7 explores the Goathland case study. The three chapters present a comprehensive interpretation and discussion of the research findings from the methodology. A range of

quotations stemming from this data continue to be disseminated throughout the analysis chapters representing the wide range of people with interests in the three case study landscapes.

Through three forms of analysis (theoretical, data and self-reflective),[90] the three chapters explore people's values and identities towards the NYMNP heritage-landscape. Drawing on the Anthropocene framework and other tools such as dwelling and more-than-representational theory, the chapters investigate how human-landscape relations in a National Park have social, political and economic implications on the management, use and ownership of contested landscapes. In these chapters, the thesis comprehends how communities perceive, interact with and influence certain landscapes to offer further learning of the workings of the nature-culture axis in a National Park.

Models exist which assess the values of landscapes including intangible values, such as landscape assessments or those in academia (Soini 2001; Stephenson 2008). Yet, this thesis in the following chapters explores these transient, contested meanings more widely and openly than through a set, fixed paradigm. In addition, the subjective nature of landscape means that there is no single framework to understand how it is valued and there are multiple perspectives on what a landscape can be (aesthetic, spiritual, community / social, environmental / ecological, political).

By beginning to offer analysis to the first key research question, this chapter has established how movement acts as a force between people and landscape in these multi-relational National Park spaces and how this force is fundamental in human valorisation of landscapes. The thesis will continue to evidence how people's identity and influence, underpinned by the next three forces - perception, time and voice – affect nature-culture relations and lead to contests in the North York Moors. A final reflections and recommendations chapter reviews these four forces and their impact on the nature-culture axis.

The Anthropocene and its effects on the nature-culture equilibrium bring many global challenges to the NYMNP demonstrated across the next four chapters. Frequently these challenges in a National Park are linked to climate change (and the increase in releasing greenhouse gases into the atmosphere), nature / ecosystem loss and sustainability (including biocultural heritage loss), coastal erosion and flooding. Finding solutions to these challenges

[90] See 1.4 for further detail on these three types of analysis which run as threads throughout the thesis.

to enable 'sustainable development'[91] – as set out in the NYMNP Management Plan – can only be done through sets of complex, but also in some cases simple, decisions for many governments, organisations and individuals. The subsequent four chapters provide insights into public responsibility and participation towards these challenges as drivers of change (different land use, new technology and climate change) are increasingly being recognised at a local, community level. The chapters will show how the convergence of landscape and heritage, and the nature-culture axis, in the Anthropocene can offer new types of futures and solutions, which are 'more-than-human' (Whatmore 2006; Lorimer 2012), 'co-operative' and 'systemic' in a culturally dominant National Park setting.

[91] Sustainable development in the NYMNP 'is about ensuring a better quality of life for everyone, both now and for generations to come. Within the National Park, conserving and enhancing the landscape, biodiversity, cultural heritage and tranquillity and natural resources and public understanding and enjoyment of these should lie at the very heart of developing a strong economy and sustaining thriving communities' (NYMNPA 2016: 14).

Chapter Five

Perception: moorland landscapes and management in the North York Moors National Park

5.1. Introduction

Perception in a landscape can be defined as the relationships and engagement between people and place driven by the senses (Bell 2012; Ward-Thompson 2019). The human perception of a landscape is the information and feelings taken from the senses and their organisation and interpretation which forms the human relationship and engagement with a place (Bell 2012). This perceptual process can be determined by our own personal thought processes (i.e. memory) in addition to external, contextual factors such as socio-cultural influences (Ward-Thompson 2019). In this chapter the term 'perception' is utilised to depict how interviewees experienced and understood the North York Moors landscapes with a particular focus on the three case studies. Drawing on dwelling theory, taskscapes and a post-phenomenological approach to the research, the emphasis in this chapter is that humans perceive the world through their everyday being, sensory existence and movement in that environment. Through perception the chapter can understand human behaviour, actions and decision making (Ward-Thompson 2019).

The processes of landscape and heritage are attached to the contests in human, embodied perception (Wylie 2007: 160). The heterogeneity of perceptions in a heritage-landscape is activated by multiple beliefs, memories, tangible and intangible values, and the biocultural heritage that an individual or a group interact with. Many demographics can impact upon perception including age, gender, ethnicity, place of residence, education and socio-economic position (Xu *et al.* 2006: 363). A group can engage with a range of common perceptions to come together, as was discovered with the Goathland Moor Regeneration Group (See Chapter 7). On the other hand, differing perceptions between groups of people, specifically towards culture and nature, can lead to a contested National Park landscape. Groups attempt to negotiate opposing interpretations of the culture-nature axis in a landscape and these interpretations can change over time. The landscapes in the NYMNP, which can involve intense management procedures on the heather moorland plateau, represent the perceptions of the people who make everyday land management decisions. This chapter will suggest how power structures and social relations underpin these politicised landscapes.

Through the perceptions and experiences materialising from the research, this chapter looks to add insight into the complex dynamic between culture and nature systems[92] in the NYMNP influenced by the effects of the Anthropocene and suggests how the relationship can be readdressed through a systemic approach to land management. It does this by focusing on the key research question (1) and its sub question:

- How do people perceive and experience landscapes, land management and land use in the NYMNP?
    - What identities are established through perception and experience of the NYMNP?

This chapter investigates the moorland communities' perceptions and experiences of the National Park landscape, mainly concentrating on the management of the moorland plateau, through the following sections of analysis which are derived from the themes in the datasets:

- An anthropogenic landscape;
- Perception;
- Human intervention;
- Human-nature interactions and systemic approaches;
- Local *taskscapes* and *dwelling* – '*It's my home*'[93];
- Beauty in the Anthropocene;
- Identity and perception;
- Balancing nature and culture (chapter summary).

This chapter demonstrates that there is a long-established perception amongst those who work with the land that their cultural identity is deeply rooted in the North York Moors uplands. Whilst nature and culture are interrelated, this perception implies that culture takes prominence over nature in this National Park setting. Land managers,[94] alongside organisations such as Natural England (NE) and the NYMNPA, have control over experiences and perceptions of the nature-culture relations within this National Park landscape.

[92] A systems discussion is detailed in Chapter 2. The Earth functions as a system and 'understanding components of the Earth system is critically important', especially in the Anthropocene epoch where the Earth's systems have shifted towards being more human influenced (Moore III 2000: 1-2).
[93] Taskscapes are the everyday activities carried out by humans in a landscape (See 2.3.2). Dwelling theory is the immersion and embeddedness of human lives within a landscape (See 2.3.1).
[94] Those who work with, lease and own the land are defined as land managers.

5.2. An anthropogenic landscape

> '*We are dealing with a closely populated and highly developed country, where almost every acre of land is used in some degree for the economic needs of man and has its place in a complex design of agricultural, industrial or residential use. Yet it is just because this is a densely populated and highly industrial country that the need for National Parks is so pressing. Four-fifths of the population dwell in urban areas, many of them in the smoke-laden atmosphere and amid the ceaseless traffic and bustle of our industrial towns and larger cities. They need the refreshment which is obtainable from the beauty and quietness of the unspoilt country*.' (National Parks Committee 1947: 7-8)

Since the middle of the twentieth century, humans have altered the environment at an exponential rate and magnitude which had not been seen in human history before (Steffen *et al.* 2015: 91). The creation of a post Second World War National Park system in the second half of the twentieth century coincided with these alterations becoming increasingly intensified and the start of what is now known as the Anthropocene epoch.[95] The Hobhouse Committee established that the human-nature balance tilt towards human management of the landscape throughout the country provided the rationale for a new National Park system to protect certain areas of the rural countryside, as suggested in Chapter 3. In response to the escalating urban and industrial forces, a National Park system would enclose areas to protect their natural beauty and improve rights of access. The Committee (1947: 7), reiterating John Dower's thoughts (1945: 6), acknowledged that the anthropogenic, human impact would continue in National Parks. They identified that these would be spaces where communities would remain living and working and where human heritage would be protected, setting culture alongside nature.

Such a focus on the Anthropocene, which has been understudied in protected areas in the UK, sees the merging of natural and cultural processes and temporalities (Hamilton, Bonneuil & Gemenne 2015: 6). As discussed in Chapter 2, now that a deep connection between culture and nature has been established in Anthropocene landscapes (Bakker & Bridge 2006; Wylie 2007; Holden 2016: 228), scholars have speculated that the Anthropocene provides a potential framework for the end of the dualisms between culture and nature. Bruno Latour contemplates whether the effects of the Anthropocene will lead to 'the final rejection of the

[95] In 2019, the Anthropocene Working Group (AWG) confirmed the results to some key questions regarding the Anthropocene. The AWG voted 'Yes' (88%) to the question 'Should the primary guide for the base of the Anthropocene be one of the stratigraphic signals around the mid-twentieth century of the Common Era?' (Subcommission on Quarternary Stratigraphy 2019).

separation between nature and human' (Latour 2015: 146). This is because culture and nature are co-constituted, co-produced and dynamically co-dependent (Tolia-Kelly 2016: 786). Academics (Ogden 2011; Tsing 2015; Krauss 2019) argue that it is time to move away from the nature-culture dichotomy towards multi-relational, assemblage theory which blur the symmetries between culture and nature. However this thesis, whilst taking into account the importance of this interactive philosophy which coincides with more-than-representational theory, finds it is still valuable to understand the relationship between culture and nature within the context of a contested heritage-landscape.

People who work in the landscapes of the North York Moors do not always take a holistic, integrated approach towards the relationship between person and environment within landscape management. I argue in this chapter that by applying dwelling theory alongside systemic thinking and using the Anthropocene as a tool, nature and culture are unified within an anthropogenic landscape, causing a more cohesive perspective towards landscape conservation. As a consequence, future landscapes can be perceived as a whole[96] (including not only what happens across the Earth's surfaces but also the archaeology, geology, geomorphology and the atmosphere) incorporating natural and cultural heritage processes and memories (biocultural heritage). The Earth as a total entity is experiencing a systemic shift from the Holocene with the Anthropocene reflecting these changes to all of the Earth's systems (Hamilton, Bonneuil & Gemenne 2015: 2). Those who dwell in these social-ecological systems (SES), including land managers, perceive and experience the changes to land first-hand and their perceptions and experiences influence the decisions which affect natural and cultural processes.

[96] In systems thinking the world is made up of systemic relationships, 'which means that phenomena are understood to be an emergent property of an interrelated whole' (Flood 2010: 269). The sense of the 'whole' is also seen in Buddhist writings where they hold a worldview that everything is interrelated (Rasheta 2016: 72–75). Actor Network Theory is another theoretical model which supports the viewpoint of human and non-human totality.

5.3. Perception

Figure 28 - Fylingdales Moor (Photograph by author 2020).

As I took the first of many walks across the Fylingdales Moor landscape (Fig.28) in the company of the people being interviewed, I came across intrinsic signs of human beings affecting all different aspects of the multi-layered landscape (and seascape)[97] – the sheep, the planted conifers, patches of burnt heather and the Woodsmith Mine in the distance. The main three types of land use in the National Park – farming (predominantly hill farming), forestry and game management – as well as the new mining company, are all anthropogenically shaping the moor, its surrounding landscape and its ecologies. Whilst simultaneously landscape elements are affecting human practices in these spaces, as discussed by Emma Waterton in her article on non-representational theory (2013). Each walking interview participant, including those who work with the three main types of land use, are moving through and interpreting the landscape independently but affecting the landscape interdependently, constructing elements of place and identity. Applying more-than-representational thinking, interview participants' perceptions, experiences and values are

[97] The North Sea could be viewed towards the east from the vantage points on the walking interviews from May Beck.

affected by this reciprocal relationship. They use not only the visual but multiple senses to interact with the surroundings and formulate identity by means of perception and movement across the moors. Indeed, my role as a researcher was to interpret these unique, personal perceptions to put together an understanding of communities' everyday values and meanings towards the National Park landscape.

The subjectiveness of a landscape is shown by the diverse interpretations of individuals and groups with many multiple variations of identity interwoven into the landscape and appearing from the landscape in perceptions, values and decisions. The range of perspectives on the landscape, '*meaning different things to different people*' (NYMNPA Director of Planning, lives near to NP, M, 55-64), leads to land managers making decisions where they are *'managing for different objectives'* (FC Ecologist, local resident, F, 35-44) and '*everyone's trying to take it in different ways*' (Estate Director, local resident, M, 35-44). The extent of privatised land in the National Park with a variety of landowners, three main land uses and large estate owners, instigates many different land management priorities, often driven by economic interests, conservation interests and the requirements of Environmental Stewardship and Countryside Stewardship schemes, if the land is tied into such a scheme.

5.4. Human intervention

Within these wide-ranging perspectives, certain land managers in the National Park tend to prioritise anthropogenic rationale over biocentric values, leading to debates regarding the purpose of how a landscape should be managed between different groups. It is not that culture and nature exist separately here within the anthropogenic and biocentric debates, it is that there are larger expectations, needs or demands which propel one of these concepts forward, instigating opposing viewpoints between individuals and groups within the National Park.

This is illustrated by two separate anthropogenic answers by an estate owner and a farmer, from Danby Dale, to the question 'what type of landscape is the NYMNP?'. Both interviewees emphasise the human management impacts on the whole of the NYMNP landscape:

> *The North York Moors National Park is a managed landscape, Tom. It is not natural. It's managed and it's always been managed.* (Estate Owner, local resident, M, 35-44)

> *It's not natural at all, no. It is completely man made. If it was natural all the moors' tops would be wood, forest…people come here and think ooh what a wonderful natural environment. Mankind has felled all those trees. It's completely and utterly man made. There isn't a single element of the National Park that is natural still. I guess you could argue the coastline potentially.* (Farmer in Danby Dale, local resident, M, 25-34)

The estate owner and the farmer present a state of permanence towards the cultural influence of human intervention over the landscape. Spratt and Harrison in their late 1980s writings about the North York Moors agreed that the heather moorland landscape gives 'an air of permanence', despite their acceptance that 'heather was a nineteenth century creation' for grouse shooting (1989: 18). The two interviewees here make strong ownership claims that humans have complete 'culture control'[98] over this environment with their livelihoods dependent on the continuation of the present form of land management. A volunteer ranger supported this viewpoint, again highlighting the cultural dominance of the landscape over its natural elements by quelling the prominence of the natural environment in terms of influence.

> *It is not a natural landscape. It is a managed landscape. It has evolved to a particular degree through man managing it in farming, accepting that there is heather there, putting sheep on it to graze for a degree. Umm err it is not a natural place. The hand of man has been virtually everywhere on the moors.* (NYMNPA Volunteer Ranger, local resident, M, 65-74)

Even within a dwelling theoretical framework, where nature and culture are adjoined, some research participants tend to perceive culture as the predominant force in this setting, suggesting how the countryside maintains a human orientated lifestyle which existed centuries before the area was designated a National Park. The designation of the National Park in 1952 only reinforced the perception of a living and working way of life in these landscapes, whilst also protecting this very perception.

> *Most of it is a working landscape and most of it is sheep farming or cattle. They are pretty intensely managed. They are cultural because people have been using a landscape like that for a huge amount of time. Certainly, the medieval times with the abbeys and that kind of stuff. They are cultural because they support a way of life that is deeply ingrained in things, like the monthly cattle market, which are really important culturally for the farmers because most of the farmers live a pretty lonely life most of the time.* (Ecologist / Retired University Lecturer, lives near to NP, M, 75+)

It was clear from all the interviews (and even the walking interviews on Fylingdales Moor which is not managed for grouse shooting) that human intervention has had a huge impact on how research participants perceived and experienced the North York Moors landscape. The landscape and its ecology reflect the movements and practices of human taskscapes and the ideologies of the decision-makers within these landscapes. The common remarks amongst

[98] The prominence of culture in this National Park was described as '*culture control*' by an interviewee (University Lecturer, lives near to NP, M, 45-54).

local interviewees that the National Park, as an authority, represents a planning and development authority (rather than an ecology / wildlife focused organisation) which has permitted a polyhalite mine to be built within the National Park boundaries only adds to this human orientated perception.

Most residents of the National Park agreed that the landscape is 'man-made' or 'managed' for human resources (e.g. agriculture, timber or gamebirds) corresponding with the constituents of what the Anthropocene epoch represents. These are landscapes which are regulated by cultural structures, with 'protected' and 'maintained' regularly cited by most interviewees when discussing land management in the Park. Human history is profoundly linked to the National Park landscape's biocultural heritage and '*the Park was designated with many of its current land uses in place*' (University Lecturer, lives near to NP, M, 45-54).

> *They are cultural landscapes for what they are protecting. They are not protecting the geology, the geomorphology and the err nature. They are protecting the recent history of humanity, the history that overlays the geology and the geomorphology. The fact that there is some interesting habitats and species within that matrix is just a happy coincidence of the long history of human land use.* (University Lecturer, lives near to NP, M, 45-54)

Incessantly cultural and social meanings and values were reinforced by those research participants who worked with the land, constructing the idea of a *cultural landscape* in the North York Moors. Many interviewees tended to explain the landscapes as '*living*' and '*working*' in accordance with how the National Park system was set up in the 1940s and 1950s. The interviewees who live in the Park were aware that it is a human-managed landscape which is *'hard at work'* (Farmer / NYMNPA board member / landowner, local resident, M, 55-64) and '*being shaped by humans trying to survive*' (Musician, local resident, F, 16-24). A gamekeeper from Snilesworth Moor referred to the North York Moors prehistoric heritage, and the felling of the forest vegetation from c.8000bc by the first farmers, establishing the longevity of cultural practices in determining the landscape (Spratt & Harrison 1989: 14). The gamekeeper elevates the role of the human in the formation of the moors and uses the process of heritage to safeguard its current landscape characteristics:

> *The North York Moors wouldn't be here if it wasn't for Bronze age man with his farming techniques. He cleared the hills. It was a nicer place to live. It was drier. It was cooler temperatures. Shaped the North York Moors by burning the heather and creating this this landscape for grazing sheep and animals and cows and this went on thousands of years. Red grouse have evolved on the moors of England, evolved from the willow*

> *grouse and became a species of its own that's totally unique to Britain because of the man-made actions of the bronze age man and so on and so forth.* (Gamekeeper, local resident, M, 45-54)

It is a landscape deeply tied to rural industry in the area.[99] For instance, red grouse shooting is a central component of the National Park's living, working cultural heritage, with the pastime taking place on these moors (including the Goathland moors) since the middle of the Victorian period, binding the wildlife to the culture of the moorland. The Galliformes bird is very much affiliated with moorland landscape identity with certain community livelihoods and the infrastructure of the moorland (e.g. tracks, grit stations and shooting butts) built around the activity:

> *It's [grouse shooting] an important part of the landscape because it is the reason why it is the way it is.* (FC Ecologist, local resident, F, 35-44)

Over a quarter (27.5%) of the National Park's land is managed for the sport with grouse only living on the heather moorland landscapes (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2019) and *'The heather moorland is managed predominantly for grouse'* (NYMNPA Natural Heritage Officer, lives near to NP, M, 16-24). According to a report by National Parks England (2013: 37), the sport provides revenue, expenditure and job opportunities to the local economy, benefits community life in the countryside and is part of the Victorian cultural heritage of the uplands – the sport precedes the designation of the North York Moors as a National Park in 1952.[100]

Moorland managers consider the moors to be a conserved, 'wild' landscape with high levels of biodiversity, asserting the importance of their management practices to protecting the state of the natural environment. They advocate these practices as sustainable land management techniques, having been implemented since the Victorian period. Non-grouse shooting moors, such as Fylingdales, were perceived by moorland managers on grouse shooting estates as

[99] Some interviewees did claim that traditional rural industries are wavering, as according to these interviewees, fewer local people shoot and farm or are involved in jobs in these industries.

[100] The Valuing England's National Parks report (2013) provides the most recent data on the economic impact of moorland management on the National Park. For the North York Moors, the report states that 'moorland management also brings significant economic benefit to rural communities, employing 45 full time keepers and over 560 days work for local contractors. The 130 shoot days each year bring an additional 3,000 days work for local people. Shooting in the moors also provides benefits in terms of expenditure on accommodation, eating and drinking in local establishments (National Parks England 2013: 37). The Moorland Association state that grouse shooting across England 'creates 42,500 work days a year and is responsible for over 1,500 full-time posts' (2020). A significant amount of international money is spent on driven grouse shooting, especially via tourists with shooting interests prior to the pandemic (Landowner / Land Consultant, pers. comm. 2020). There are no current figures publicly available on the monetary value of driven grouse shooting to the local economy in the NYMNP. The National Park Authority receive a small income for shooting from their sporting tenant on the Levisham Estate which they own (Landowner / Land Consultant, pers. comm. 2019).

lacking in biodiversity when compared to the moors which were managed for driven grouse shooting purposes.

> *In the world, probably Great Britain, one of the longest lasting management practices still in operation and still very relevant to the modern world. It's more important today, more than ever, to have these habitats at the level of conservation where we have got it because the intensive farming that we are seeing in the rest of the country does nothing to um conserve our natural area. So these wild shoot areas are the premier places or the last stronghold for a lot of our native species.* (Gamekeeper, local resident, M, 45-54)

> *I think it's a shame it [Fylingdales Moor] is not managed for shooting because it would make it much more biodiverse than it is.* (Estate Director / Moorland Association, lives near to NP, M, 65-74)

Swaling, or heather burning, is key to producing better grouse shooting conditions whilst also maintaining the landscape of heather moorland which is synonymous with the Park's identity (and name). Therefore, the underlying perception felt by landowners, the National Park Authority and local communities is that the heather moorland is a managed landscape through heather burning, heather cutting and sheep farming, with the moorland acting at a local level as a symbolic and dominant element of these management practices. The moorland's conservation designations again support this perception:

> *They [landowners] do have to work with the National Park and NE to manage the landscape. Yes they want to manage it for grouse to maximise grouse but at the same time it's all protected landscape, you know SSSI, SPA and so on and that status has to be maintained really you can't just do what you like with the moorland and obviously it needs to be managed. There's a, a debate to be had, about how you do that but the North York Moors is designated because of its bird nesting, its bird population, ground nesting birds and its very rich in some species that maybe declining. So lots of lapwings and golden plover and curlews.* (NYMNPA Coastal Ranger, local resident, M, 55-64)

> *It is no coincidence that nearly every driven grouse shooting moor is a SSSI. And I have been working with NE to maintain the special qualities of those landscapes and to have a successful grouse shoot. The two run hand in hand. So these SSSI exist not in spite of grouse shooting but because of it.* (Moorland Manager, lives near to NP, M, 55-64)

For an Estate Owner, *'…the moorlands are the jewel in the crown'* (Landowner / Moorland Association, local resident, M, 45-54). These are the elements of the National Park landscape most valued by those who manage the land where moorland their lives are acted out.[101] Nearly a third (31%) of the 554 square miles of the National Park is heather moorland – the largest, continuous expanse of heather moorland in Britain (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2019) (Fig.29). The moorland's landscape value, accentuated by being in a National Park, means that the moors are politicised spaces. Heather burning, a controversial management technique, as outlined in 2.2, is an example of power being contested in these spaces.

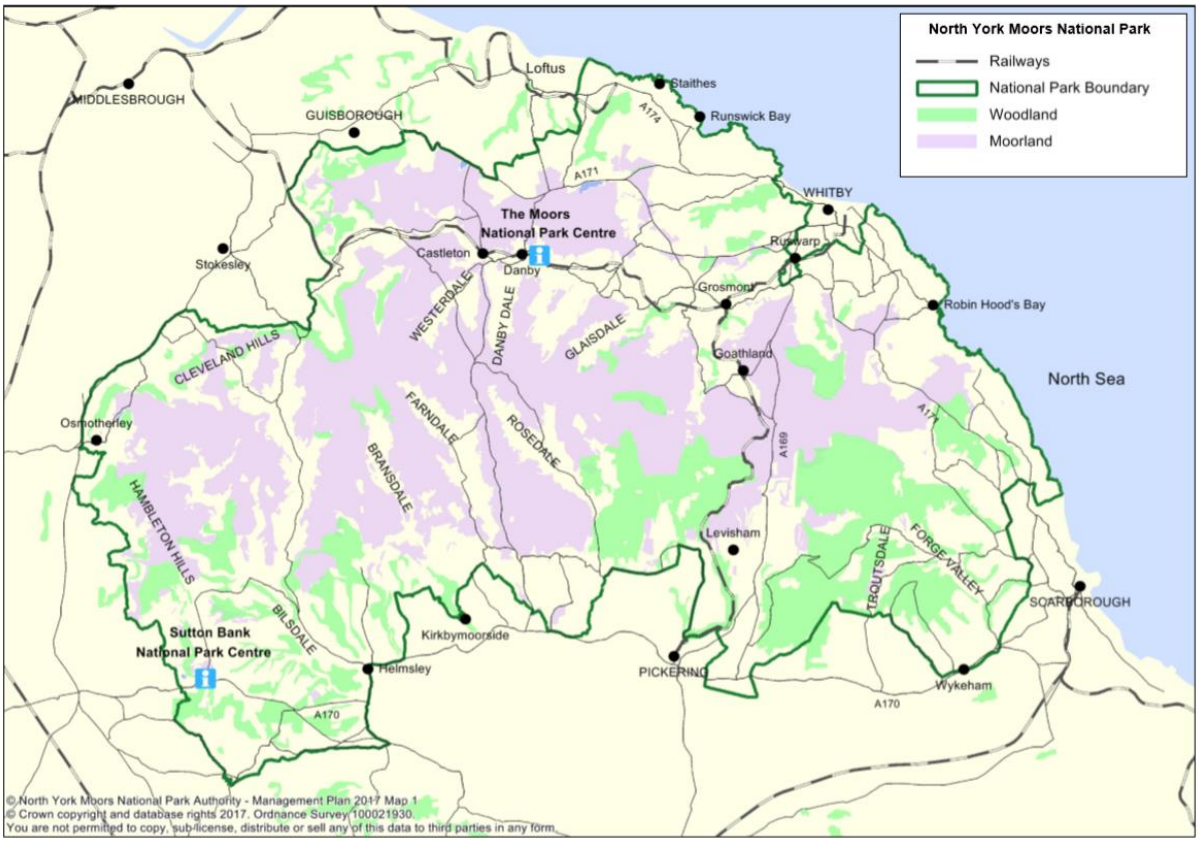


Figure 29 - A map of moorland and woodland (deciduous and coniferous) in the National Park showing the extent of the heather moorland habitat (NYMNPA 2016: 7).

Land managers who support this technique demonstrated in their interviews that there is a passion amongst those who work with conserving the heather moorland for managing this type of habitat. Natural England expressed that there is a *'determination to manage the heather'* (NE Conservation and Land Management Adviser, lives near to NP, M, 55-64), one

[101] The heather is also a tourist attraction and *'for many people particularly foreigners they come to see the great expanse of purple heather for what two or three weeks a year.'* (PLACE/ retired university lecturer, lives near to NP, F, 65-74).

of the Park's original reasons for its designation to National Park status and why most of the moorland is designated at international level as a SPA, SSSI and SAC (NYMNPA 2016: 48). Moorland managers present the moorland environment to be in a healthy state and their management practices build a habitat for a diverse range of wildlife (e.g. wader birds). This viewpoint is very different to the state of nature reported by the Campaign for National Parks (CNP) in 2018. This report concluded that the state of SSSI's which are in a favourable condition in the North York Moors (11.4%) is lower than the national average (38.5%) (CNP 2018: 19). Natural England use the state of SSSI's monitoring to measure the levels of biodiversity in the National Park (as well as rare species monitoring) (NE, pers. comm. 2021). The two differing anthropogenic and biocentric perspectives on the National Park's environmental condition surface again here.

Two landowners described the moorland as a successful conservation project which doesn't have to rely on subsidies to be viable (although many moorland landowners acquire funding from DEFRA). It takes intensive management through heather burning, heather cutting and sheep farming to maintain the moorland habitat and to stop it from developing '*into something else*' and '*keeping it in a fixed state*' (FC Ecologist, local resident, F, 35-44). This well-structured type of management is deemed as mandatory and has become normalised amongst most moorland communities, 'with significant sums of money going into upland areas' (Denny & Latham-Green 2020: 4). Most upland managers and farmers I spoke to advocated that the main purposes of land management and conservation were to '*increase the amount*' and '*enhance the quality*' of the heather, working with DEFRA and Natural England to achieve these purposes. According to the data, the heather creates a constant, uniform type of habitat which dominates the plateau of the National Park.

> *In terms of the moorland landscape there's not a lot of change that goes on in the National Park. It's been the way it is for centuries. It's an extensively managed area of land...it's a very fragile landscape [moorland]. Other land is versatile. The moors you can't just change them over night. (Land Agent, lives near to NP, M, 35-44)*

There is a debate within moorland management on the North York Moors that this human intervention '*creates a plagioclimax community'* (Fylingdales Moor ESS Education Officer, pers. comm. 2021) with habitat succession unable to develop. Heather was depicted by two research participants with ecological backgrounds as a '*temporary habitat*' (FC Ecologist, local resident, F, 35-44) and '*a very late vegetation type in the big vegetation sequence out there*' (NE Historic Environment Advisor, lives near to NP, F, 55-64). Heather was therefore perceived by some as a thin veneer of the National Park's deep time heritage. Prior to the

Anthropocene there would have been a time when humans did not control and shape the landscapes of this National Park. In deep time nature would have been dominant and in previous geological epochs there may have existed a separation of the nature-culture axis where nature entirely looked after itself with no human involvement. Thus, while the moorland exists conceptually in the present, for some land managers it draws together visions of an imagined past that a constant, orderly moorland has always been there, interlinked to the shifting baseline syndrome equating to a misunderstanding of the moorland's natural heritage and its past issues (e.g. loss of certain species and habitats). Contests over landscape change are apparent here between those who perceive this as an evolving landscape wanting successional habitats to be allowed to develop into different climaxes, and those who see landscape as a fixed, regulated entity, organising the moorland for its permanence and persistence.

Land managers adhered to longevity and perpetuity characteristics in their everyday practices in spaces where change often works at a slow speed. There were examples of long-established, strong relationships between people and place on some of the old money estates where '*gamekeepers on our estate are connected with people, they know what's going on. They are talking to people.'* (Estate Director / Moorland Association, lives near to NP, M, 65-74). The relations of local communities with an estate could also be influenced if they are a tenant of an estate, as many of the estates own large amounts of housing and farmsteads:

> *We own 80% of houses in the villages, we meet with Parish Councils regularly, we do a lot of community events, we sponsor a lot of things, we pay for a lot of [community] things.* (Estate Director, local resident, M, 35-44)

A local member of a history group, when discussing certain estates in the National Park, associated the enduring nature of rural activities with '*making it very difficult for tenants to protest and speak out about anything*' (Staintondale & Ravenscar Local History Group, local resident, F, 75+). Restricted changes to the landscape, a dominant shooting heritage and its involved taskscapes, which are all intertwined with land ownership of the moorlands can be seen to restrain communities from having a voice on land management (See Chapter 7 for further evidence):

> *Sometimes it feels like we are not looked down on but looked over because it is Duchy land [the Duchy is the landowner in the Goathland Parish] and it feels as though we are restricted and that's the Duchy not the Park.* (Goathland community member, local resident, F, 55-64)

It's difficult when you are in a local community. Broxa, I've got some friends who are keen birders there and I know that [a celebrity's] son has just bought a local estate which was previously not shot, not a heather moorland. And he is releasing pheasants. They are frightened to speak because the local community just wants the money just wants the money and the jobs. (British Trust for Ornithology, local resident, M, 55-64)

Yeah I think the biggest trend is that people are quite afraid to speak up about things. If people live in the NP, they live there for a reason because they care about the location and because their jobs are tied into the location. But if you look at it, a lot of those jobs are tied into the landowners. We found that quite a lot of people are afraid to speak up about and they will whisper to us yeah bird of prey persecution wrong, burning grouse moors wrong. We are starting to see people are being braver about speaking up about it. (Ban Bloodsports on Yorkshire's Moors, lives near to NP, M, 25-34)

The moorland management decisions by landowners and land managers impacts on how local people perceive and experience the National Park land. If local people have a limited contribution towards this decision-making process then they are being prevented from affecting perceptions and experiences of the National Park, including its special qualities.

5.5. Human-nature interactions and systemic approaches

The whole National Park environment was also considered by some research participants to be a combination of natural and cultural influences, defining the landscape as 'semi-natural'. Their viewpoints reflect the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) category V protected landscape designation of the National Park.

It is natural. It is managed. It's organised by generations of people since the 1600s and 1500s. People were very active and able to manage landscapes... (Farmer / NYMNPA board member / landowner, local resident, M, 55-64)

I love moorland, but it's a semi natural habitat. (Landowner / Moorland Association, local resident, M, 45-54)

These people, who tended to be in roles connected with ecology or conservation, discussed the importance of working with, and understanding, nature to enhance biodiversity levels in the National Park. Wilson's ideals of biophilia – of humans having an innate connection with the land – and Leopold's biocentric, social conscience towards the health of the land are evidenced in their attitudes:

> *It is about honing nature. You take nature by the hand and go with her and go look after her but go against her and she's a proper beast. I think the danger we are in is losing that connection and seasonality you know.* (Farmer / NYMNPA board member / landowner, local resident, M, 55-64)

An acceptance was shown to be developing in the data that organisations such as the Forestry Commission (FC) no longer require a landscape to be managed as 'tidy'. It is more important to prioritise a functioning, healthy, changing environment which can be managed as 'messy' (FC Volunteer, lives near to NP, M, 65-75). A less organised type of environment was found on Fylingdales Moor – '*Fylingdales is not as tidy as the grouse shooting moors, which have a quilt effect to burning*' (Hawk and Owl Trust, lives near to NP, F, 45-54). At Fylingdales Moor the type of management style did face criticisms from local villagers who expected a well-kept moorland landscape which villagers had experienced on other moors in the National Park. Influenced by the cultural management of the moors in the National Park, local people had developed preconceptions that a moorland should be administered to create a certain appearance of 'neat' mosaics of heather for grouse to feed off (Fylingdales Moor ESS Education Officer, pers. comm. 2021). Fylingdales Moor challenged these representations of moorlands as symbols of cultural identity because the moor is not managed to increase its grouse population (which a driven grouse shooting moor would be looking to achieve) and looks to benefit grouse, sheep and other types of wildlife, which feed off the heather.

A volunteer and former ecologist with the Forestry Commission, giving prominence to the role of nature in these arranged spaces, stated that '*the environment wants to change*' (FC Volunteer, lives near to NP, M, 65-75). Whilst a walking club member agreed that the management '*can't embalm the place because you can't make an entire landscape stand still*' (Lyke Wake Walking Club member, local resident, F, 45-54). Moorland managers were seen by some interviewees to be prioritising the protection of the current functionality of the National Park land and its ecosystems over successional habitat change and the adaptation of landscapes.

Some respondents were able to give examples of small pockets of habitat in the moors which are not currently under any management. The Court Leet[102] at Fylingdales Moor described the land use changes at Ugglebarnby Moor (Fig.30) (also known as Littlebeck Moor by respondents) which has seen a diversity of trees and other plants grow in the area and has,

[102] See Chapter 6 for further details on the role of a Court Leet in the NYMNP.

in turn, become a ‘wilder’ perceived space in the National Park. This area of land could be viewed from the walking interviews across Fylingdales Moor.

> *When I left school in 1968 that was a grazed moor with sheep on it. You look at it now and you will see what I mean. It’s totally overgrown by trees, birch, willow, everything. There’s been no management there since the sheep were drawn up in the 70s.* (Fyling Court Leet member, local resident, M, 65-74)

> *And yet if you leave nature alone and there’s a classic from Redgate’s Corner where you turned off the main road and there’s a road down to Falling Foss. The land on either side as you go down that road is now dense with trees. When I lived at Newton House it was open moorland, that bits never been burnt, never been managed in any way so young trees have a chance of developing otherwise the burning would destroy any small seedlings. If the sheep graze it they will nibble off young shoots but get the sheep off stop the burning and before you know where you are. I wind some people up by saying, I think we will have the whole North York Moors covered in trees before long if we can get rid of these bloody grouse shooters which is what it was*. (Former NYMNPA Ranger / Author, local resident, M, 75+)

Figure 30 - Ugglebarnby Moor (Photograph by author 2020).

Perhaps in the future more areas such as Ugglebarnby Moor will develop in alignment with one of the commitments of the North York Moors nature recovery programme which 'identifies zones to deliver concentrated habitat enhancement and improved functionality' (Fox 2021). Discussions at policy level have seen a wildlife / nature discourse rise up the political agenda with the role of protected areas seen as vital in tackling the climate change and ecological crises. As a consequence, ecological strategic thinking is being encouraged by the NYMNPA in their new management plan and by the development of a Delivery Plan for Wildlife (Fox 2021). The feedback from young rangers recognised the protective role that these spaces have for wildlife (Young Ranger, 11-17) and this insight needs to be accurate and evidenced across the Park with wildlife proven to be cared for but also enhanced through the monitoring of SSSI's and other biodiversity surveys. A natural-cultural landscape perception may then override the dominance of the cultural landscape where culture no longer takes the prominent role.

> *So when we talk about National Parks now I think there is more of discourse about what is the health of them ecologically. It's not just that they are places for recreation*

> *and places to get away and get some fresh air. That is absolutely as vital now as it was in 1949 but I think there is this other dimension to it which is what was seen as a chocolate box landscape is not enough to be able to guarantee the ecological health of that place…it certainly feels to me that there are a growing number of people who do care and are interested and concerned about what happens in our National Parks and our uplands.* (Environmental Campaigner, visitor, M, 25-34)

The wider value of nature to certain sections of society (evidenced in the next three chapters) counters David Lowenthal's anthropogenic viewpoint that 'however deeply we may love nature, most of us identify more easily with human relics and rise more readily to their defence' (2005: 86). The Anthropocene framework 'represents a very public challenge to the modern understanding of nature, as a pure singular, stable domain removed from and defined in relation to urban, industrial society' (Lorimer 2012: 593). This epoch does not separate culture from nature, it affects them both as they are interconnected (Krauss 2013: 76; Tolia-Kelly 2016: 786).

A local musician, who had grown up in the North York Moors, had difficulties telling the difference between the cultural and the natural elements in a landscape – '*I don't know what is natural and what has been made to happen [by humans]*' (Musician, local resident, F, 16-24). It is often difficult to distinguish to what degree humans have influenced a landscape and to what extent it is the natural elements that have created how people perceive and experience a landscape. There is a perception evident here that in a living, working landscape, such as a National Park, every object of material cultural is also an object of nature, with 'every aspect of nature altered by human action' (Lowenthal 2005: 85). These biocultural entities can disappear whilst others remain with their heritages departing 'from the Earth at varying tempos, but none endures for ever' (Lowenthal 2005: 85). Indeed an individual's outlook on nature-culture relations is determined by how they discern culture and nature as the definitions of these concepts affects the perceptions towards the nature-culture axis in a landscape.[103] Otherwise they may take a post-environmentalist perspective which looks beyond nature-culture binaries, as seen in the musician's integrated comments on the nature-culture axis.

Some residents in the NYMNP struggle to take this perspective, not being able to consider the National Park landscape as a whole natural-cultural system with its diverse assemblages and ecosystem components. I interviewed a builder who had lived in the Park for 45 years and asked him what he liked or disliked about the North York Moors landscape. He told me '*I don't*

[103] What are contemporary understandings of the concepts of nature and culture in a National Park? To answer this question fully is beyond the scope of this thesis but the thesis will continue to attempt to offer some insights.

know like, I just get on with my job' (Builder, local resident, M, 45-54). A land manager on Fylingdales Moor took the attitude that the most significant part of his day job was caring for Fylingdales Moor showing very little interest in the other landscapes of the National Park. Some interviewees who worked with the land were impervious to bigger picture thinking and content to carry on with their daily working lifestyles. I asked further questions to prompt them into considering other landscapes and it was only then that some interviewees started forming opinions towards the broader National Park landscape.

The data also demonstrated that there was evidence of certain organisations in the National Park taking a systemic perspective to balance nature-culture interactions. Private land ownership is prevalent across the North York Moors but there were examples of land managers looking after the landscape for the purpose of a wider commitment at a National Park scale rather than for their own personal ambitions:

> *I always hope that I manage the Forestry Commission's land with a sense of humility, that it wasn't mine.* (FC Volunteer, lives near to NP, M, 65-75)

> *We have an annual estates meeting at the National Park Authority every year and we discuss topics whether that's heather burning, tourism, planning or access, whatever is topical at the time. We also have meeting between the estates.* (Estate Director, local resident, M, 35-44)

Adopting an integrated view to nature-culture relations encourages a holistic SES approach to landscape management involving multiple interest individuals and groups working towards the multi-functionality of a landscape at '*landscape scale – rather than site based*' (University Lecturer, lives near to NP, M, 45-54). It shows how important it will be in the future for landscapes to work together as a whole system, with many assemblages and ecosystem components, highlighted by nature recovery networks[104] seen as a priority in the government's 25 year Environment Plan and in the Landscapes Review.

> *So getting that change in attitude which says let's look at the whole landscape, the whole ecosystem...it's a wholly 'natural' landscape and a wholly 'cultural' one and it's got to be wholly both…* (PLACE / retired university lecturer, lives near to NP, F, 65-74)

An example in practice in the North York Moors is at the Yorkshire Wildlife Trust's (YWT) site Fen Bog (Fig.31) where a 'living landscape' concept is being applied to the site's management. This is a site which focuses on habitat enhancement but the YWT's work also considers the

[104] Strategic plans for nature recovery networks are currently being compiled by local authorities in protected landscapes and will also be integrated into National Park Management Plans.

wider landscape in their management. The nature reserve, near Goathland village, is a mixture of mire in the main valley and the higher ground of the sides of the valley, and the heath and moorland plateau. Land management techniques include sheep grazing, bracken control, control of injurious weeds and common reed. On an annual basis, they also assess the amount of scrub and tree cover that needs managing in the mire habitat. The site is managed as a living landscape based on the principles of landscape-scale conservation viewing the landscape and the environment holistically as 'a dynamic, complex and linked system' (Lawton *et al*. 2010; YWT 2020; YWT, pers. comm. 2020). The site has less management interventions on it than an average grouse moor with no heather burning which means that the land management differs from some of the surrounding moors managed for grouse (Fig.32). This again suggests that different pieces of land are managed in line with different objectives in the National Park. One participant questioned whether landowners who have differing purposes for land could work together to ensure that the levels of biodiversity at nature reserves such as Fen Bog could be better integrated into surrounding landscapes through nature corridors:

> *From these nature reserves, could what makes them unique ooze out into the surrounding areas*. (Ryedale Walking Club, lives near to NP, M, 65-74)

The living landscape concept at Fen Bog is an example of a systemic approach where the landscape is viewed as a whole with people collaborating further between land boundaries and considering diverse forms of land management. The concept also will have a focus on nature recovery networks through the Environmental Land Management scheme which could be important steps in making improvements to the ecological and climate change crises. These nature conservation connections should be facilitated by a strong National Park Authority which has the power to encourage this through visioning, spatial planning of landscapes (especially Section 3 land) and partnership work:

> *To my mind one thing a National Park should do is when there's such a thing as an endangered species whether it's a bird, a vole or whatever surely, within the vastness of a National Park, there should be somewhere that they can say right if there's a particular species we are likely to lose or something like a nature corridor we can put in over a road I see it as their job to at least work with you might say the Owl's Trust, or a particular other society realise that there's a need, it's the National Park's job to try and co-ordinate it. In Canada we've seen a big tunnel over a road for the animals to travel over…and clearly the National Park have put it in because there is a recognised need.* (Lyke Wake Walking Club member, local resident, F, 45-54)

> *I think they [the National Park Authority] have an overarching responsibility for the whole area, looking at the landscape scale of things. A lot of landowners see their patch but they don't understand it on the scale of the landscape. Having the larger picture and connect things up. They can see a farmer over here has this and a farmer over there has that. Is there any way they can join those by working with the landowner in the middle?* (FC Ecologist, local resident, F, 35-44)

The NYMNPA, supported by its management plan and its systemic understanding of the landscape and its people, can link landowners and land managers together (and local communities as described in Chapter 7 and 8) to generate a more diverse knowledge base about the environment that can support wider, sustainable land management across ownership boundaries.

Figure 31 - Fen Bog near Goathland managed by the Yorkshire Wildlife Trust (Photograph by author 2020).

Figure 32 - Fen Bog in August 2020 with Goathland East Moor in the background. There is a varied mosaic of grassland, heather and woodland as shown in this photograph on the Fen Bog land (Photograph by author 2020).

5.6. Local taskscapes and dwelling – '*It's my home*'

People are immersed into moorland life through activities such as grouse shooting or sheep farming which are the *'…natural order of things or the way that we interact with the landscape'* (Environmental Campaigner, visitor, M, 25-34). As argued in the previous chapter, human-environment interactions are made closer through taskscapes, movement, and what Ingold terms 'embodiment' (2010: 63). They were happy with the arrangement, traditions and customs of their daily lives and are not seeking change. Here, this human-environment immersion includes a spatial order where activities take place within land boundaries – certain actions (or non-actions) occur on certain types of land at the discretion of the owner (or Natural England). Cloke and Jones (2001: 661) discuss how this organisation of different spaces can bring about a distinct sense of the local within a place:

> '*Closed intimate spatial boundedness is a key way in which such stable familiar idylls or dwellings are imagined to be formed. This kind of oneness and rootedness, like authenticity to which it is closely linked, has, then, a powerful appeal and intuitively*

seems best delivered within intimate, stable, local sets of relations. Like authenticity, these characteristics are seen "to be destroyed by the spread of technology, rationalism, mass production, and mass values". To be rooted is to have a localness, to be rooted in a local space that is distinct.'

I found a deeper human-land connection occurred on my walking interviews than in the sedentary interviews. As walking interviewees interacted with the multi-sensory environment, the interview discussions were enthused by myself and the interviewees being living participants within a present landscape. Corresponding with Wattchow's 'the power of stories and narratives' approach (2013) to understanding relations in a landscape, interviewees were able to converse with distinct knowledge about the different elements of the locality, for example I wrote in my research diary account:

These people who are local to the area felt comfortable on the walk, there were very few questions about what to wear and what to bring with them, they were familiar with the place, the forestry plantation and the moorland. They were used to walking these landscapes and enjoyed pointing out and describing recognisable features in the landscape – the sea, trees, birds, local villages to name a few. They also enjoyed telling stories linked to the land. (Fieldwork Diary 2019-2020)

As the interviewees and I travelled together on muddy tracks across heather moorland, the fluid processes of dwelling and taskscape were in operation as we actively engaged with our surroundings. Interviewees frequently mentioned the freshness and cleanness of the air – there is '*more oxygen*' (NYM Young Explorers) and '*the thing which I like about Botton is the beautiful landscape and the fresh air…because you have got clean air to breathe in*' (Botton Village Community member, local resident, M, 35-44). There are health implications here in the way that a National Park landscape can impact on people's feelings and well-being.[105] Interviewees described living in Goathland as a heathier lifestyle detailing the openness of the moorland spaces and cleaner air (when land managers are not heather burning and the smoke is spreading down into the village).

This outdoor experience combined with the movement of walking made them feel alive in a Rousseau type manner – '*I love just being out here in this weather, at one with the landscape'* (Staintondale & Ravenscar Local History Group, local resident, F, 75+). They are connected by the air (and its atmospheric components / atoms) – an intangible substance – to all different

[105] The role of National Parks in public health has also been vitally important in the COVID-19 pandemic and will continue to be in a post COVID-19 world. A study by the University of York showed the positive impact the North York Moors has on health and well-being for visitors and volunteers, estimating that every £1 invested by DEFRA generates £7 of health and well-being benefits (Linsley & McMurray 2018).

aspects of the multi-layered landscape – the sheep, the planted conifers, patches of burnt heather and the Woodsmith Mine in the distance. Echoing the reciprocal relationship between human and landscape in more-than-representational works (Waterton 2013), Ingold's words (2010: 61) can be heard uttered here – 'through living in it, the landscape becomes a part of us, just as we are a part of it'. Participants' perceptions were being constructed in the present through movement as interviewees lives encountered the landscape during the walking interviews. Ingold builds on this by saying that 'perception is fundamentally about movement' (Ingold 2011: 11) where feelings towards a landscape are composed through the continuous, infinite movements of SES.

These present motions across the National Park shape their formation and how people experience and perceive these landscapes. Interviewees' perceptions were affected by being accustomed to this type of landscape and how it is structured. Cloke and Jones (2001: 661) define this as a 'local taskscape', and it was evident in many of the interview encounters, as a 'particular dynamic of dwelling formed of rich, dense, local relation between people and environment'. Those who work on Fylingdales Moor and other moorlands implicitly inherit a strong, active connection with the landscape – generating an intricate understanding of its movements, its living and non-living habitats and its changes. They have worked this landscape from one generation to the next in often cyclical patterns of work and are perceived by many as '*custodians of the land*' (Environmental Campaigner, visitor, M, 25-34) (College Teacher, local resident, F, 35-44)[106]; owning, arranging and ordering the land. Through this notion of inheritance, they deem their working connection with the land as a form of privilege.

> *I managed the land for twenty seven years and it was an honour.* (Estate Director / Moorland Association, lives near to NP, M, 65-74)

> *Being a custodian of an estate is that you hand it over to the next generation in better condition than what you inherited it.* (Land Agent, lives near to NP, M, 35-44)

For the people who work with the land, the landscape is a large part of their local identity and their everyday routine. They live in these landscapes and they distinguish them as home. The ordering of the moorland landscape brings a sense of familiarity to interviewees where they feel comfortable in these stable spaces. When asked the question, 'What does the NYMNP mean to you?' interviewees frequently replied about the value of 'home':

> *To me it's my home…it is my farm and my livelihood.* (Farmer / NYMNPA board

[106] An Uplands Partnership report states that 'all grouse moor owners and leaseholders surveyed believe it is very important that they leave a positive legacy, and an environment better than the one they inherited' (Denny & Latham-Green 2020: 6).

member / landowner, local resident, M, 55-64)

Well it is home so I have a fondness for it. I grew up round here. (Pub Manager, local resident, M, 35-44)

We travel a lot worldwide nowadays but it's always great to come back home…its obviously influenced me without me realising over the years…no desire to live anywhere else. (Former NYMNPA Ranger / Author, local resident, M, 75+)

I feel at home here. It is a feeling I get from it. (Musician, local resident, F, 16-24)

The National Park landscape is where communities dwell, where they live and where they have grown up; it has individual and collective values. It was clear from the data that most have a care and consideration for these landscapes. Indeed, they also may participate in leisure activities but differing from the visitor market, they are here because this is where their lives are situated.

You are born here. You're not here because you like the outdoors. (Shop Worker, local resident, F, 25-34)

For all these interviewees, even those who have passive relationships with the land, when they are 'in' these spaces, they are absorbed by the landscape. The ontological process of dwelling – a mode of being in the landscape (Heidegger 1978; Ingold 2000) and a concept that has a history of being closely affiliated with landscape studies as discussed in Chapter 2 – is present here. North York Moors community members are fully immersed in the landscape through their daily routines. Cloke and Jones (2001: 651) illustrate the dwelling concept in their writings:

'*Dwelling is about the rich intimate ongoing togetherness of beings and things which make up landscapes and places, and which bind together nature and culture over time. It thus offers conceptual characteristics which blur the nature-culture divide, emphasise the temporal nature of landscape, and highlight performativity and non-representation.*'

The interactions of human and non-human agents who dwell in these spaces, beside the practices of taskscapes (Cloke & Jones 2001: 650-654), produces the character of National Park landscapes. Within dwelling theory, nature and the environment have critical roles 'in the unfolding of life, as both agents of change and that which is changed' (Wylie 2007: 159). By being embedded in a landscape, culture does not exist separately from the landscape. A

strategic research participant demonstrated that nature and culture converge together within the landscape:

> *Natural and cultural – it's both and you can't separate the two really.* (PLACE/ retired university lecturer, lives near to NP, F, 65-74)

Applying a dwelling perspective it is clear that culture is intertwined with nature, agreeing with Cloke and Jones (2001: 661) that people and landscape are combined in these spaces. Through taskscapes and dwelling, and the contexts they create across these landscapes, people actively develop meaning, identity and knowledge in a National Park anthropogenic environment. Often due to land managers being fully integrated with their practices in a landscape, those who are immersed are content to see the landscape remain the same. It is only when agents of landscape change impact upon communities' daily lives, such as the Woodsmith Mine and the changes in moorland management in Goathland (as will be investigated in the next two chapters) that individual and collective interactions with a heritage-landscape, as well as new perceptions of a landscape, are found to be best revealed.

5.7. Beauty in the Anthropocene

Beauty in a landscape is an extremely subjective, personal and human orientated term which has the ability to change over time and place (Suckall *et al.* 2009; Reynolds 2016; Brook 2019). The term is bound up in tentacles of power, identity and values. A desire for beauty within a landscape has existed in visitors' and policy-makers' minds since the National Parks were first designated in the 1950s. For some locals in the North York Moors aesthetic values holds little significance as they undertake their everyday practices whether that be grouse shooting, sheep farming or other types of rural work across the National Park. The local population's sense of place and identity is ingrained in the landscape which can occasionally lead to their blindness or a difference in understanding of its beauty, demonstrated in the following conversation between a staff member from Natural England (NE Conservation and Land Management Adviser, lives near to NP, M, 55-64) and a farmer who he was visiting in Bilsdale in the NYMNP:

> *How do you live with that amazing view?* – NE Staff
>
> *What view?* – Farmer

Beauty can be disguised from those who work on the land because they are immersed in the landscape through taskscapes, where their everyday activities are intertwined with the environment. This leads to differences in perception between those who live and work in the

Park – especially those who have grown up in the moors and have lived there all their life – and those who are from the outside (visiting or have moved in and have only lived there for a short period of time). Indeed, this suggests how insiders' perceptions of a landscape differ to those who are visiting from outside the National Park boundaries because they are fully immersed in the landscape. Isis Brook comments further on this insider viewpoint, 'people who live in an area can be blind to its aesthetic qualities or they can be deeply aware of and appreciate them in a way that an outsider cannot experience' (2019: 46). For those who work with the land it was found that their sense of value and ownership of a place is based on its management objectives, management plans (less likely to exist on NYM private estates), their everyday practices (e.g. looking after their flock of sheep) and the cultural heritage of the land.

Visitors' perceptions, on the other hand, are often driven by the aesthetics of these designated landscapes – shown by two-thirds (77%) of visitors in a 2016 NYM visitor survey citing 'natural beauty' as the quality which makes the National Park special to them (NYMNPA 2016). There is a certain misconception amongst visitors that the National Park is an intrinsically 'natural' landscape. This fits with the wider assessment of protected areas that 'they have increasingly become the means by which many people see, understand, experience and use the parts of the world that are often called nature and the environment' (West *et al.* 2006: 251). Visitors view the lack of human presence, urbanisation and modernity across Fylingdales Moor[107] and Goathland Moor and 'imagine' a National Park landscape to exist as a natural environment:

> *I think probably people look upon the Lake District for example or the North York Moors and imagine it to be natural or if they imagine it to be influenced by people in some way they see that as largely beneficial and the sheep grazing on it or the grouse being shot on it is part of the natural order of things, or the way that we interact with the landscape and they see it as much greener than any city.* (Environmental Campaigner, visitor, M, 25-34)

> *Although humans must have some influence. I think its natural and wild.* (Tourist, visitor, F, 65-74)

> *The truth probably is that the majority of hikers probably understand that the moor is [used for grouse shooting]. People new to it, people coming from cities probably don't.* (FC Volunteer, lives near to NP, M, 65-75)

[107] The next chapter describes the use of cranes to build the Woodsmith Mine which can be observed from Fylingdales Moor, suggesting the existence of human activity. However, the mine will become concealed behind a treeline once the construction phase is complete, and the activity at the mine will no longer be within view of the general public.

They accept that the National Park is a living, working landscape impacted upon by cultural and technological actions but they often experience moorland landscapes empty of tangible human presence (in their view). In contrast to those who live and work in the Park, visitors tend to highlight the natural elements of the landscape within their perceptions:

> *You would be surprised that so many people don't appreciate that it looks the way it looks because people manage it. They think it is natural. A number of people do. I've met people who thought the sheep were just wild animals.* (NYMNPA Ranger, local resident, M, 55-64)

> *It is a natural, beautiful landscape [describing the moorland].* (Tourists at caravan site, visitor, F, 65-74)

> *They [tourists] think the heather is a natural vegetation type.* (PLACE / retired university lecturer, lives near to NP, F, 65-74)

> *Lots of people think its wild and what have you but it's not. It's very managed. People need to sort of understand that.* (Landowner / Moorland Association, local resident, M, 45-54)

Central to how landscapes are perceived and enjoyed in the North York Moors are terms such as 'wild', 'unspoilt' and 'untouched places' (Local Historical Society describing Fylingdales Moor) with these assertions attracting visitors to the Park. Visitors staying at a Caravan and Motorhome Club site suggested the pleasure they get from nearby Fylingdales Moor's serenity and wildlife. The National Park has a very low population density (0.16 persons per hectare) where 'humans are very thin on the ground' with few residents living on the moorland plateau (Sampson 2001: 10), not many roads and the 8.38 million tourists a year to the National Park[108] tending to descend on villages, the town of Helmsley and Dalby Forest in the National Park rather than the moorland[109] (NYMNPA 2020c). The moorlands are remote and tranquil places[110] which are managed to preserve these special qualities (Fig.33). This landscape at Goathland and Fylingdales was described by residents as '*going back in time*' (College

[108] The 8.38 million visitors also includes visits to 'the influence area' which is defined as 'just beyond the National Park boundary (i.e. Whitby)' (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2021).
[109] There is no empirical data to suggest this but the National Park visitor survey (NYMNPA 2016b) and discussions with the National Park Authority (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2021) indicate that this is likely to be the case.
[110] Tranquillity, a NYMNP special quality, is defined by the National Park Authority as 'a state of peace and calm which is influenced by what people see and experience around them. It is most often found in places dominated by natural habitats which are free from human structures and the disturbances of traffic and busy daily activities. However, villages and groups of buildings can also be tranquil, especially where the built environment is pleasing and activity levels are low. Tranquil places usually include natural elements such as trees, grass or water. Such places foster a sense of 'belonging' and being connected to nature and history and are important to people's wellbeing' (NYMNPA 2017: 4).

Teacher, local resident, F, 35-44), '*time stood still*' (Local Parish Council / Fylingthorpe community member, local resident, F, 65-74) and '*the land of time forgotten*' (Shop Worker, local resident, F, 25-34). These perceptions are also escalated by the North York Moors not having as much commercial activity as other UK National Parks.

> *It's not as commercial. The Peak District feels so commercial, really big tourist attractions over there. It doesn't feel like they have got it here…it does feel like the Park here is a bit behind.* (Estate Director, local resident, M, 35-44)

While focusing on the Lake District National Park, Convery *et al*.'s argument here is relevant to the NYMNP. They argue that humans should look past a static perception of beauty in these landscapes towards a central focus on biodiversity by 'reimagining' the landscape as a dynamic ecology encouraging an alternative attitude to natural-cultural relations (Convery *et al.* 2020). In SES, land is not a commercial resource but is an intersecting point for nature-culture interactions which constitute its biodiversity. It is a living landscape, as the YWT concept suggests for not only working humans and their cultural heritage but ecological habitats and natural heritage. More-than-representational thinking, alongside systemic thinking, promotes a more holistic, relational approach to landscape, understanding the functions and connections of these wider SES rather than focusing on the subjective nature of beauty in a landscape. Suckall *et al.* query whether a change in attitude to landscape decision-making could face challenges as they argue that land managers fear changes which may make the landscape less aesthetically desirable (2009: 1197). As well as land managers creating a plagioclimax community, Suckall *et al.* question whether the landscapes are being preserved for their tranquillity and natural beauty to create 'a contrived landscape' which is not understood nor used by visitors (2009: 1197) but still attracts them to the area. A couple of interviewees whilst walking across Fylingdales Moor suggested that the moorland is purposefully managed to create this misunderstanding in perception that it is a wild and natural environment. This has created an 'imagined' close connection, especially amongst visitors, between the concepts of wilderness and the UK National Park system (Dinnie *et al.* 2012: 453).

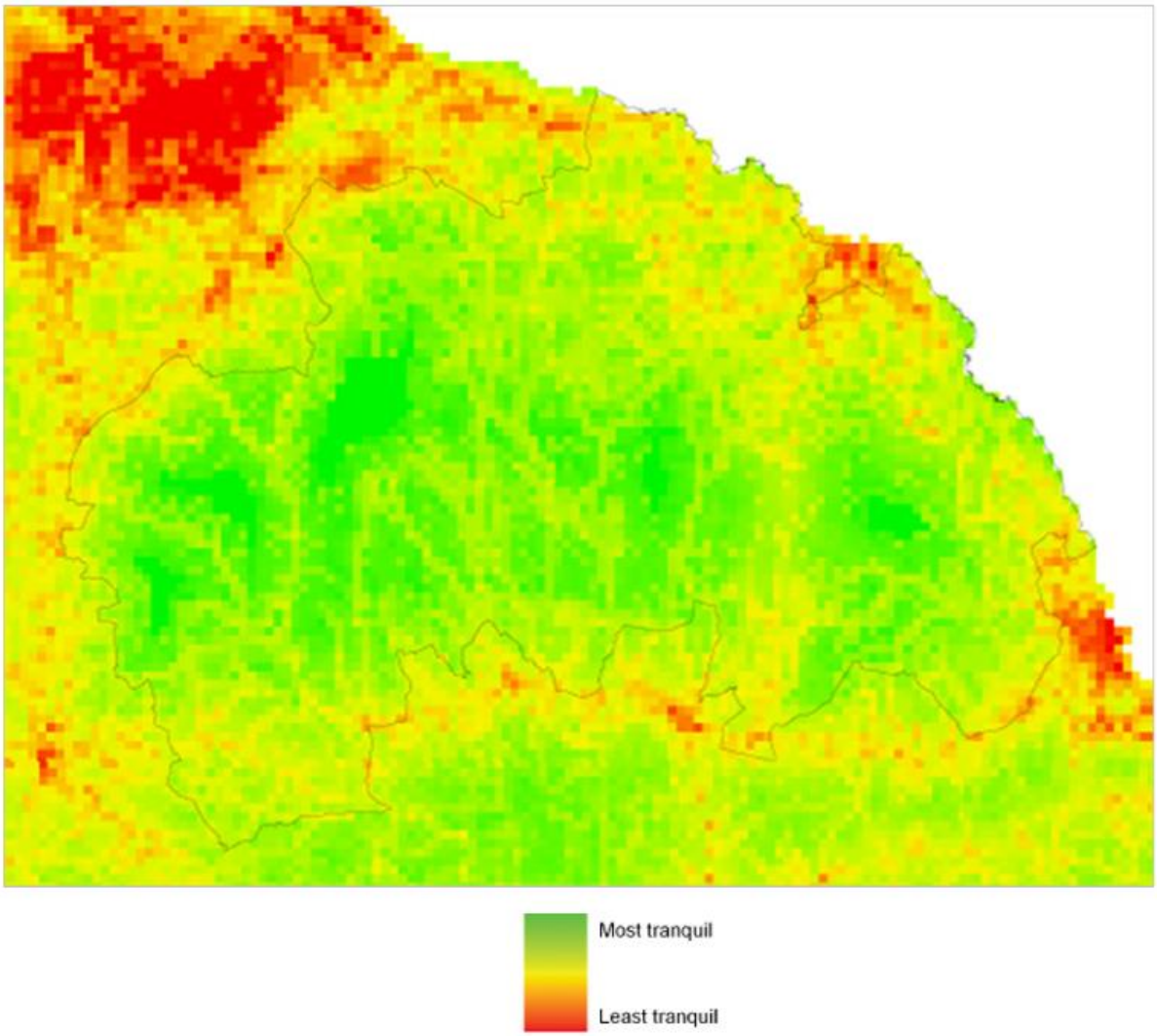


Figure 33 - Tranquillity map of the National Park showing that the greener, more tranquil areas dominate the National Park (Almost 90% of the NYMNP is categorised as relatively tranquil) (Northumbria University & Campaign to Protect Rural England 2007).

5.8. Identity and perception

Many residents felt a sense of pride and ownership towards the NYMNP environment. They told stories on the walks based on their memories and experiences of landscapes interlinked with the biocultural heritage of the place. The stories that local participants described helped them to retain a sense of identity and belonging affected by the surrounding landscape. Movement through spaces brings to life 'spatial stories' with people connecting their lives to surroundings forming narratives (Tilley 1994: 28) and their intrinsic knowledge of the moorland. For Green (2000), nostalgic reminiscence about a place is essential as a means through which individuals and groups negotiate social, economic and cultural change. These

memories make a landscape feel familiar, comfortable, personal and local – some of the characteristics evidenced in 5.6 which identify a landscape as a 'home'.

> *It's easier to be still in it and to be yourself. There's something about the silence.* (Musician, local resident, F, 16-24)

According to some interviewees the nature of local identity was strong in individual dales or estates. However, the National Park's geology with uninhabited moorland between the dales meant that a collective identity struggled to connect across communities in the National Park. Geology was also shown to shape the way communities interact in other National Parks, such as the Lake District, discovered through the pilot interviews for the research project. I asked interviewees if there was a shared sense of community identity across the NYMNP. The responses received included:

> *Difficult to say as a park because people are so spread out, in their particular areas and valleys, yes*. (NYMNPA Volunteer Ranger, local resident, M, 65-74)

> *It's not a homogenous area. You've got a deeply affluent and deeply rural southern end of the Park, into the Esk Valley and beyond, it's out of North Yorkshire and into the north east and it's a different geology, different sort of person, different accent and different living conditions and different jobs and a different outlook on life*. (NYMNPA Director of Planning, lives near to NP, M, 55-64)

> *I don't think there is a National Park community. I don't think I feel any community sense with the people of…I can't think of somewhere…say Goathland. There nothing to do with me. I don't think the National Park gives any community umbrella in that sense.* (Country, Land and Business Association Director, local resident, F, 65-74)

Even though much of the land in the National Park is privately owned by large estates, people who were born in close proximity to Fylingdales and Goathland Moors believe that they obtain a possessive right to aspects of these individual landscapes, evoking personal meaning. A young ranger responded to the question '*Who controls what the National Park looks like?*' with '*We do, because we decide our actions'* (Young Ranger, 11-17). Through dwelling theory, as shown in 5.6, a sense of belonging towards the landscape emerges from those who live and work in these places.

> *So it's comfortable and it's yours, it's what your used to. If you use it you have got ownership. What you don't realise is that the people before had a different view to that and the people in the future will have another completely different view on it. You can*

only do the here and now. (Lyke Wake Walking Club member, local resident, F, 45-54)

It's what you have grown up with you own. You live in it, you own that landscape. (Ryedale Walking Club, lives near to NP, M, 65-74)

Whilst many of the local research participants were not landowners in the National Park, they felt that their taskscape activities (e.g. working in one of the three main land industries in the NYMNP or being involved in leisure activities) and their use of these landscapes gave them a sense of ownership towards these spaces, only heightened by the 'national' status of the protected area. Because of the designated status and the idea that the English countryside represents national identity (Matless 2005), there were also research participants who lived outside the National Park who felt they had a similar stake in the North York Moors landscape:

I love the Yorkshire Dales too but it's not somehow mine in the same way the Yorkshire Moors is. (PLACE / retired university lecturer, lives near to NP, F, 65-74)

There's all sorts of ways that people in the country think of landscape or the countryside as you might call it or bits we protect as National Parks. Some of it will be experiencing it by going there or growing up in it, some of it is a sense of what England is, an idea of the countryside as national identity or different times through different types of cultural forces such as the National Trust, people will have different ways to connect with and some people don't and one of the things the review sort of talks about is the people who don't have that connection who might gain a lot from it. (Landscapes Review Staff, visitor, M, 45-54)

This notion of land belonging to someone else (e.g. a custodian) is not necessarily accepted by people in a National Park context which have nationally shared interests from many external individuals and organisations. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 3, the National Parks, by their designation in the middle of the twentieth century, represent certain values to the whole nation which can sometimes come into conflict with local values.[111] Local and national ownership of these places and their access is contested between different groups in these highly valued protected areas.

…what we have got is considered to be very valuable by a huge number of people and for a very wide range of interests. (Landowner / Moorland Association, local resident, M, 45-54)

[111] The Covid-19 pandemic has brought new visitor pressures to these areas.

This discussion of belonging and dwelling in nationally protected spaces is undermined by private land ownership in the North York Moors because those who make decisions about the management of the land affect the values, meanings and relations of those who interact with the landscape (See 3.5). These are spaces in which humans imagine they have a personal relationship with but often they may lack direct power to influence their composition. Therefore, this questions how much control the general public have over their affiliated identity with the landscape in these spaces and whether their sense of belonging is misconstrued in a mostly privately owned National Park?

5.9. Balancing nature and culture

This chapter has discussed the permanence in perception of many moorland managers, seeing their culture as long established and unchanging – this mentality was true especially amongst the older estates. In the NYMNP landscape, nature is still a force but a strong anthropogenic perception and local identity amongst land managers has shifted the nature-culture balance towards a culturally dominated landscape. This cultural type of landscape is epitomised by the heather moorland which spreads across the National Park protected by its conservation designations, the National Park status and the heritage of upland management, with land managers reinforcing its historical significance to the current landscape. Many of the everyday decisions by moorland managers have a major influence on nature-culture relations within the moorland plateau. The power structures in place in the National Park determine how people's perceptions of and communities' identities with landscape are formulated. The chapter has evidenced that through dwelling and taskscapes, people are integrated into these moorland cultures – those immersed can be passive in their thoughts on a landscape, they are content without change, and can fear speaking out against decision-making in the Park. Many visitors misunderstand the cultural dominance, admiring the landscape for its natural features. It is only when noticeable large-scale change such as the Woodsmith Mine or major adjustments to land management techniques as seen in Goathland occur that voices are more likely to be activated.

A systemic approach to landscape management was given as an example of an answer to the readdressing of the nature-culture axis, bringing a more cohesive perspective to the landscape and interconnecting the passion and intimate knowledge of land managers with local people's ecological understanding. Within this approach, land managers need to continue to reflect upon the functionality and purpose of every National Park landscape to ensure a sustainable, resilient National Park landscape. The next chapter will continue to look at the balancing of the nature-culture axis and how people's identity with and decisions and

actions within alternative land management procedures and uses shapes the natural-cultural landscapes and impacts upon the drivers of change.

Chapter Six

Time: the Woodsmith Mine and Fylingdales Moor

6.1. Introduction

As discussed in the thesis so far, the dominance of cultural influence from humans has created a consistent, timeless landscape for many people on the North York Moors. In these 'permanent', protected landscapes, incremental change mostly happens 'subtly' whilst routine taskscapes, in situ before the emergence of the Anthropocene epoch and the designation of the landscape as a National Park, permeate the landscape's biocultural heritage, ingrained as everyday interactions between people and place. This has led to a perception of a uniform, 'cultural' landscape character to the moorlands, underlined by the protected status of the National Park.

This chapter looks at areas of land which differ in terms of use and management from the typical moorland landscapes that define the National Park. It will examine how people perceive and experience experimental landscapes which have the potential to readdress the relationship between culture and nature in National Park spaces and offer visions of future types of landscapes in a protected area.

The two case studies (Fig.34), the foci of this chapter, are examples of non-uniform, alternative landscapes in the NYMNP. These alter the natural-cultural axis, introducing new relationships between humans and the natural environment in the Anthropocene.

- The first case study – **the Woodsmith Mine**, where the mine head site is located – is an example of landscape change because the mine shafts and buildings at Dove's Nest Farm, which began construction in 2017, were being built at the time of writing of the thesis.[112] The mine extracts polyhalite, a type of potash used as an agricultural fertiliser, from beneath the National Park surface where the world's largest known high grade deposit lies. It is a modern industrial development in a National Park landscape where the 'cultural' landscape has started to supersede the natural-cultural equilibrium in this liminal space. This human infrastructure is digging into the Earth's core at a time when humans are recognised to be a major geological force – the mine and its affiliated structures and surroundings are therefore a new type of anthropogenic landscape;

[112] The shafts and affiliated buildings are expected to be completed by 2021. The timescales are subject to change since a new company, Anglo American, has taken over the management of the site from Sirius Minerals Ltd.

- The second case study – **Fylingdales Moor** – has had the opposite effect on the landscape. Across this large area of landscape fewer sheep on the moor, less predator control and no grouse shooting are indicative of a different type of landscape management. Although not necessarily deemed a 'rewilding' type project, this area has been identified by some as a 'wildlife conservation area' which is less influenced by cultural infrastructure than other moorlands in the National Park; thereby contributing to the maintenance and enhancement of the moor's biodiversity (Fylingdales Moor / Natural England 2009).

Figure 34 - Looking over Fylingdales Moor from Brow Top with the Woodsmith Mine site being constructed in the background (Photograph by author 2020).

In previous chapters, I have argued that, in the Anthropocene, culture and nature are integrated in these spaces. This chapter will build on the unification of these two concepts by demonstrating that there are active forces at work which push the natural-cultural axis towards either nature or culture. In the previous two chapters, the thesis investigated *movement* and *perception*. This chapter explores the force of *time* – a significant mechanism to understand

how people perceive and derive meaning from the nature-culture relations in these alternative landscapes. Interlinking time with the forces of movement and perception and also, notably, the process of heritage, helps to discern the connection and engagement between people and the multiple temporalities and transitions in the landscape – past, present and future. Some anthropologists, such as Peter Pels, acknowledge that the future has not been studied to the extent it should be (2015: 779). Thus, Pels reveals the usefulness of the epistemology of multi-temporality (2015: 780). For this thesis it can be applied to investigate how pasts and presents are used to develop future strategic thinking around the use and purpose of National Parks and their ecosystem services output under the new Environmental Land Management (ELM) schemes. Drawing on Ingold's *The temporality of the landscape,* Bender's *Time and Landscape* and influenced by discourses on heritage as a future making process (Holtorf & Hogberg 2015; Armitage & Guldi 2014) (See Chapter 2), this chapter will argue that longer-term, more integrated landscape conservation, which takes into account multiple temporalities and perceptions, gives land managers and communities a wider understanding of landscape change.

This chapter takes a more concentrated approach towards the processes of landscape, heritage and land management than the previous chapter by responding to the key research question (2) which addresses two of the case studies:

- How do people identify with and influence the Woodsmith Mine and Fylingdales Moor landscapes?

The chapter is structured around the two case studies. The first half of the chapter, entitled *Landscape change* (6.2), takes a balanced approach to the Woodsmith Mine, neither arguing for or against the mine but presenting reactions to this new, transitioning landscape, how communities' (predominantly from the NYMNP) identity can emerge from this development and their role in influencing landscape change. It investigates the following themes:

- Time and its relationship with perception and experience;
- Modernity, landscape change and the polyhalite mine;
- Modernism and perceptions of future landscapes.

The second case study considers the role of humans in these landscapes and their connection with nature. *An alternative moorland* (6.3) explores the decision-making, management and perceptions of Fylingdales Moor through the subsequent themes:

- More-than-human landscapes;

- Fylingdales Moor and its management;
- Perceptions and experiences of Fylingdales Moor.

6.2. Landscape change

6.2.1. Time

Figure 35 - The B1416 running in a south-east direction splits the Woodsmith Mine with the start of Sneaton Low Moor which then becomes Fylingdales Moor (Google Maps 2020).

As I continued to walk with interviewees through the heather moorland of Fylingdales Moor, a participant commented about the paradox that the concept of time generates in this landscape. On one side of the B1416 road (Fig.35), two deep mine shafts (and their associated buildings) of the Woodsmith Mine were being constructed, representing near future visions of how this landscape will change for local people and visitors to the area. Whilst on the other side of the road, Sneaton Low Moor and Fylingdales Moor felt as though '*time stood still*' (Local Parish Council / Fylingthorpe community member, local resident, F, 65-74) with only the odd Wainwright Coast to Coast walker or appearance of a lapwing bringing any motion to the heather moorland. A note in my fieldwork diary recorded that '*sometimes it feels as though nothing ever moves*' (Fieldwork Diary 2019-2020). Here, the perception of landscape is entangled within the echelons of time, accelerating on one side of the B1416 road with the mine construction site and slowly moving (if moving at all) on the moor on the other side of the road – the road acting as a divider of this temporal paradox. I wrote in my fieldwork diary:

Walking across the heather moorland, it feels that time stagnates and then I glance to one side and I see the polyhalite mine being constructed with the cranes above the tree line. I glance back to the heather moorland to stop time from speeding up. (Fieldwork Diary 2019-2020)

Time is interwoven with perception, experience and more-than-human movement such as the Coast to Coast Walker and the lapwing, constructing these shifting landscapes. Landscape and time are both subjective. Time can depend on the space which the perception of landscape is considered within. As Bender articulates, '…different people, differently placed, engage with the world in different ways' (2002: 106). People, both personally and as a collective (consciously or subconsciously), assign changes in the landscape to intangible moments in their lifetime – an event, a memory or a story – depending on the space they experienced these moments. Through memory there is a temporal connection between people and place (Bender 2002: 107). An example of this is when an interviewee measured the changing nature of the landscape against time, recounting their previous memory of the Woodsmith Mine, '*There were two cranes we saw then [in the walking interview]…there were about six or seven last time*' (Landowner / Moorland Association, local resident, M, 45-54). In fact, time means that 'the landscape is perpetually under construction' (Ingold 2010: 67) and, as a process, every component of a landscape has a life cycle – some as lengthy as geological epochs, others as short as a microsecond. Interrelated multiple pasts, presents and futures all merge, especially in the mine's liminal landscape – where time can be seen moving from the present to the future.

Time in a landscape does not necessarily follow a linear pattern or a certain chronology (Bender 2002: 103-104) and 'exploring the past of a landscape is also an emergence of its present and future' (Vergunst *et al.* 2019: 27-28). Time, now and then, can be unruly, chaotic, arbitrary and unconventional, somewhat contrary to the orderly methods involved in moorland management. Bender and Vergunst *et al.*'s comments suggest the value in a long-term viewpoint on landscape which takes into account multiple temporalities – to think beyond a human's lifetime and use the Anthropocene, and heritage, as tools to consider a long-term perspective of time – a *longue duree* (Hamilton *et al.* 2015: 11; Tsing *et al.* 2017: G5). Those landowners who have a long-standing heritage of ownership and conservation in the North York Moors confirmed a similar outlook to Bender and Vergunst *et al.* on time:

> *We are family owned. I am not a tenant so I'm an owner occupier, so I've got a long-term view…The landowners are the ones that have a long-term view ultimately*. *(Estate Owner, local resident, M, 25-34)*

Long-term or deep time thinking is integral to landscape management, but it needs to be incorporated into multi temporal thinking to ensure that it does not miss the specifics of land management, especially those specifics which exist in the present to allow changes in a landscape to be better understood. This is because time reveals the gradual changes which encompass many of these landscapes. It is attached to these landscapes through the biological life cycles of organisms as life flows from generation to generation. Here, it is helpful to return to Ingold's *The temporality of the landscape* essay in which he finds organisms including humans to impact upon time (Ingold 2010). Ingold concludes that 'the temporality of the taskscape, while it is intrinsic rather than externally imposed (metronomic), lies not in any particular rhythm, but in the network of interrelationships between the multiple rhythms of which the taskscape is itself constituted' (2010: 66). The combination of time and taskscape exists in the 'meshwork' of multiple rhythms and movements of life through a landscape, structuring how landscape change is perceived and experienced. The walking interviews had an entwined relationship with time because the research method placed the interview in a present landscape space with ideas of multiple pasts and undetermined futures, giving the interviewees a longer-term perspective on these landscapes.

> *The North York Moors are a hybrid of the natural environment and modern man. Rosedale being the classic case. If you go back there many many years when the Rosedale mines were active, it was the hive of industrial activity and I'd have loved to have seen it. There's been alum mining, jet mining, iron, lead and it's carrying on now with the mine up ahead, potash.* (Lyke Wake Walking Club member, local resident, F, 45-54)

Temporality is influenced by modern technology and the mine introduces an unfamiliar, new type of cultural landscape to the area.[113] The Anthropocene has introduced modern, progressive inventions to landscapes and to communities who may not have encountered these forms of modern technology before. Saul and Waterton (2019: 143) explore this dualism between modernity and the Anthropocene, finding that 'it is common to locate modernity, with its capitalist underpinnings, as the main cultural motivator of Anthropocene landscapes'. There is a dynamic sense of time here which is 'intrinsic to modernism' (Armstrong 2005: 19), reordering past, present and future heritage in this new, transitional landscape.

[113] Albeit the North York Moors has a history of extractive industries which includes the current Boulby Mine, a working polyhalite mine further up the coast in Loftus. The infrastructure is not as expansive at Boulby and does not include a long tunnel with a conveyor belt underneath the National Park.

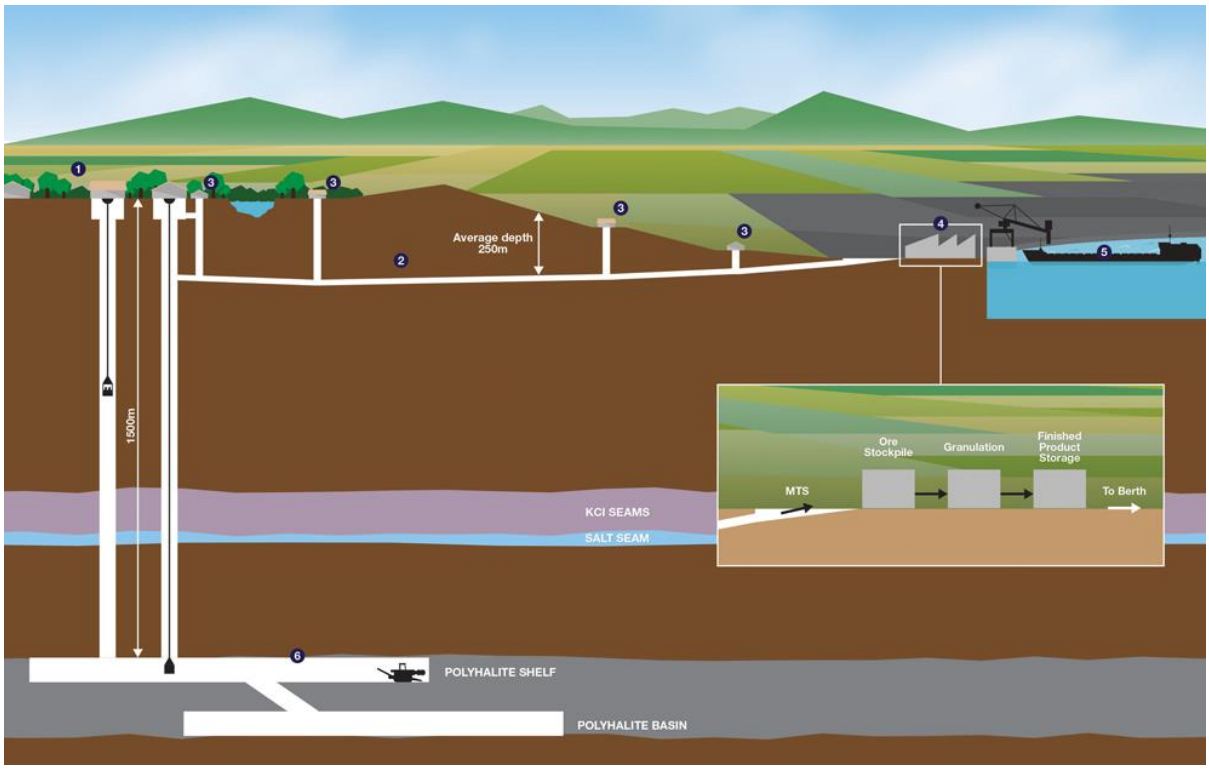


Figure 36 - The extraction and transportation system of the mine (Mining.com 2016).

Figure 37 - The mine head site south-west of Whitby with the lengthy tunnel, across the North York Moors, connecting this site to an intermediate shaft (an interchange point) at Lockwood Beck and then on to the materials handling facility at Wilton International Complex, Teesside. The very large area of the mineral polyhalite is shown by the red line (Mining Weekly 2020).

Time brings purpose and perspective to the Woodsmith Mine landscape, suggesting how the future is looking to unify nature and culture in these increasingly anthropogenic spaces. The notion of modernity has been organised to cooperate with nature at the mine, with some interviewees arguing that the developers take an eco-modernist stance towards the mine. By focusing on an environmentally sensitive construction (Smith 2020), the mine was not viewed to be obtrusive to the environment by some interviewees. A mineral transport system, taking the product from the mine to Teesside in a 36.5 km tunnel below the surface of the National Park containing a conveyor belt to transport the ore, was being built to minimise 'above ground' effects on the National Park environment and prevent the infrastructure being visible. The tunnel and the two shafts which venture 1,600m into the Earth's crust and over 62,270 acres of mineable area extending under the North Sea (Fig.36 & Fig.37) are examples of humans, as the dominant agents of geological change in the Anthropocene, increasingly having an impact below the Earth's surface. Landscape can be perceived vertically (Edensor 2017: 597), giving a sense of a deep geological time where landscapes are not only the taskscapes which occur on them but also the activities below the surface which shape a landscape. Movement in this landscape will be occurring underneath the ground in the form of the miners and the polyhalite mineral being extracted from two deep seams and then transported on a conveyor belt to the port in Teesside.

Furthermore, temporality is intertwined with changes to perception as many of the research participants' viewpoints which are described in the next sections of this chapter can alter over time. Many locals invested in shares that Sirius Minerals, the previous owners of the mine, were offering prior to the takeover from the current owners, Anglo-American. The takeover by Anglo-American in 2020 has seen the share price drop causing a different perception to develop amongst shareholders towards the mine, since these interviews for this thesis were conducted. This study does not research this potential change in perception but it is understood that this hopeful, optimistic attitude which is demonstrated in this chapter was only transient from the evidence at the time.

6.2.2. Modernism, landscape change and the polyhalite mine

Figure 38 - The Woodsmith Mine in its construction phase (Fircroft 2019).

The arrival of the Anthropocene with modern human technology using resources from the landscape has put increasing pressure on National Park spaces to change over the last seventy years.[114] The National Park Authorities, Friends' organisations and community groups have had to fight for these places to uphold their protection mandate and to adhere to the purposes of a National Park. The dominance of human influence in the North York Moors has seen campaigns unable to stop certain modern interventions in these working, living landscapes. Two prominent 20th century development projects were the construction of Fylingdales radar stations and the Boulby Mine which are examples of multi temporalities existing across the Park. In this landscape, multi temporality is connected with the changing importance and use of certain industries in the Park over time.

The RAF constructed radar stations on Fylingdales Moor in the 1960s and 1990s, serving as early ballistic missile warning systems. These structures connect Fylingdales Moor to past, present and future temporalities due to their roles as predictors of the future. The current radar station is an iconic part of the moorland landscape and is the continuation of military influence

[114] Another example of recent pressure from developers in the North York Moors is from the hydraulic fracking industry. In 2017 and 2018 developers applied for licences to develop fracking sites outside the National Park to frack for shale gas horizontally within the National Park's southern boundary.

in this area of the National Park after Fylingdales Moor was utilised for Second World War military training.

The Boulby Mine opened in 1968 to originally mine potash and since 2018 mines potash from underneath the Park and the North Sea. Its use has changed over time and its presence acts as a reminder of (and a connection to) past industrialisation which has occurred across the centuries in the National Park and the working, economic landscape of the Moors. Industrial development is part of the NYMNP geographical area's heritage long before it was designated National Park status with most areas of the Park having been influenced by some type of industry (Spratt & Harrison 1989: 183). The landscape was used in the twelfth century for agriculture by the monasteries and small scale industrial working including stone quarries, coal and ironstone (NYMNPA 2015: 29). These industries continued throughout the centuries and there was a huge explosion of industry in the nineteenth century, in particular ironstone mining, with the introduction of the railways and the demand for new materials (See Spratt & Harrison 1989: 159–183 & NYMNPA 2015). With this expansion the ironstone industry saw a reconfiguration of the North York Moors landscape with the growth of new settlements and transport links and new people arriving to the area (NYMNPA 2015). The ironstone industry's importance then diminished over the 20th century with the loss of these industries and the closure of most of the ironstone mines by 1929 (NYMNPA 2015: 17). However its evidential value remained and the National Park's industrial heritage story is today celebrated through the Land of Iron, National Lottery Heritage Fund Landscape Partnership project, suggesting that this multi temporal heritage has value and interest to particular North York Moors communities today.

The Woodsmith Mine (Fig.38) adds to the multi temporal, industrial narrative in this National Park reiterating the control that humans have over these nature-cultural landscapes. This mine is a unique development project because it is a rare example of a National Significant Infrastructure project given planning consent to be built in a National Park setting, which has the highest level of landscape and scenic beauty protection (Ministry of Housing 2019: 49). The Major Development Test, which has been in place since the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949, albeit amended on several occasions, prioritises the conservation of the landscape in the National Park over major development. The test does not give precedence to developmental change on the scale of the Woodsmith Mine, only if it is in exceptional circumstances and in the public interest (DEFRA 2010: 11). As a result, the polyhalite mine was a very controversial development project and instigated tension inside and outside the National Park amongst certain groups of people because it went against the Major Development Test. There were objections towards the mine being built in a National

Park from twenty nine different national and regional organisations, which included the Campaign for National Parks (CNP), the Campaign to Protect Rural England, the National Trust, RSPB, the Yorkshire Wildlife Trust and the North York Moors Association (NYMA).[115] These objections deemed the National Park designation as a protected area supported by the Major Development Test, arguing that the development would damage the special qualities of the National Park (CNP 2015b). The CNP (2013) stated that they would foresee the project causing a 'number of detrimental impacts on the environment, landscape and recreational opportunities'. Objectors also believed that the mine development may set a precedence for other development projects protected areas, especially as the project had a national agenda being coerced by an 'outsider' organisation.

> *Once you say you can chip away at a National Park in the national interest then the next such project comes up it becomes that much easier to say yes because they have got a precedent so I think inevitably it sets a precedent, that's one of the worries. It may not be a polyhalite mine next time.* (PLACE / retired university lecturer, lives near to NP, F, 65-74)

The project was perceived by these objectors as prioritising job creation over protection and conservation of the National Park (NYMNPA Planning Committee 2015: 37). The decision to support the mine was made by the National Park Authority, rather than at government level. It was approved by an eight to seven majority by members of the National Park planning committee in 2015.

Landscape change on this type of scale is rare within National Park spaces. When walking through Fylingdales Moor many interviewees were happy to accept that this landscape in the National Park stays the same, or that there is '*slow progress over time*' (Estate Manager - Farmer / Local NFU group, local resident, M, 25-34):

> *I think largely the same but there are some small changes such as those trees over there.* (Farmer, local resident, M, 75+)

There is an underlying notion that small changes are always existent in a landscape – it may not be experienced by the human senses, nor treated as significant change, but as a landscape is an active process, the interactions between social-ecological systems (SES) which make up the National Park landscapes are always in motion. Even though these spaces can feel fixed and static, in actuality time and landscape are constantly evolving and 'never

[115] For a list of all twenty nine organisations and their objections see the Campaign for National Parks (2015b), *Say no to world's largest potash mine* letter.

stand still' (Bender 2002: 103). Local people were happy to only experience small changes because they considered these environments to be protected areas with special qualities, adhering to the second statutory purpose of a National Park. Large scale landscape change was perceived as damaging to these special qualities.

> *If you want to have areas of landscape which are unspoilt and remain attractive areas of the countryside where the landscape is really something special then you can't massively change it…You have to be careful with areas of landscape which have this type of protection and you need to maintain that protection. In fact, you need to strengthen that protection, so it doesn't become weakened.* (NYMA, local resident, M, 75+)

Over a human's lifetime, change in these rural areas can be minimal.[116] People were accustomed to stable landscapes where in a dwelling sense they are integrated into moorland cultures and are comfortable without change, especially those who work in the uplands where taskscapes are cyclical (i.e. the heather burning commences annually on 1st October).

> *It's a continual 12 months, 52 weeks, 7 days a week thing. Every day of every year I pretty much do the same thing because its seasonal. The nature kind of insists that's what has to be done.* (Gamekeeper, local resident, M, 45-54)

Being protected areas with a traditional way of life often deters modernity, in the form of development, from encroaching upon these rural spaces. Thus for some, who are not familiar with change and modernity in a landscape which rarely produces major change, it is a struggle 'to extract the future from the past' (Armstrong 2005: 6). The only notable differences in interviewees' lifetimes were an increase in tourist numbers and fewer farms (and thus less sheep) on the moors. Respondents were asked what changes they had seen generally in the National Park in the last ten years:

> *There's the new mine which is on Park's land. That's 15 miles from here. That is the obvious change… It's the biggest thing that has happened in the area since I was a kid that I'm aware of. It's had the most impact on lives.* (Pub Manager, local resident, M, 35-44)

> *The landscape of the North York Moors changes fairly slowly and a lot of people would have the opinion that it probably hasn't changed at all. Some people would say that in*

[116] From the data, there were demands to see landscapes change in the National Park including less intensive management of the moorlands (See Chapter 7) and more affordable housing.

> *their lifetimes or they would pick small examples of change but obviously the mine itself is a major industrial development within a National Park so it's obviously a big thing and it's a version of rapid kind of accelerated change bringing modernity to the National Park.* (Estate Manager - Farmer / Local NFU group, local resident, M, 25-34)

As the Woodsmith Mine was constructed it brought a faster rate of change clearly visible to the human eye in an area which is unaccustomed to large, modern development. A landowner questioned, '*Does anyone want a greater pace of life in the National Park? Then it's ok to have a mine'* (Estate Owner, local resident, M, 25-34). Very few interviewees, however, feared the change of pace which raised the following questions: does a rural society want components of modern growth in the countryside? Is the National Park seen as more progressive and modern by the construction of the Woodsmith Mine? Interviewees perceived this type of landscape change as human-controlled, with an acceleration in time driving cultural changes to the nature-culture axis.

> *It's control change. We're all a little bit frightened of change. We all like to see it happening. Maybe not President Trump and that sort of thing. We all want a bit of change. It's almost like change too fast can be a little bit discomforting.* (Lyke Wake Walking Club member, local resident, F, 45-54)

This comment suggests the juxtaposition that people face when considering future changes; there is uncertainty around the consequences of this type of landscape change – '*it's pretty much an untested procedure*' (Shop Worker, local resident, F, 25-34). A learning from a pilot interview in the Lake District was that a National Park is very much about '*managing the unknowns, having been an evolving landscape for thousands of years'* (LDNP staff, Lake District Resident, F, 35-44). To handle this uncertainty and ensure that the special qualities and landscape character of the NYMNP are not harmed, the interviews displayed the importance of understanding what local people desire from a landscape, as the next section will examine.

6.2.3. Modernism and perceptions of future landscapes

For most local people, modernism involves a 'fundamentally dynamic temporality' (Armstrong 2005: 6) where potential ideas of a future landscape can be perceived and understood by communities. The mining company provided the local population with these visions through community consultation, which local people labelled a 'heart and minds' campaign to gain the trust of communities.

> *We have been very open. It has been very, very important right from the outset to be communicating about what we are doing before it actually happens and if people have got an issue they know how to contact us. That's not to say we have got it right all the time…we take the community side of it really, really serious*. (Sirius Minerals Manager, lives near to NP, M, 45-54)

The mine needed to be proven to be in the interests of the public before it could proceed as a major development planning application (DEFRA 2010: 11). People were able to have a say on the development through the planning portal. The results from a pre-application consultation survey on the planning portal demonstrated that the mine gained a high level of support from local people especially for its economic and social impacts (NYMNPA Planning Committee 2015: 29). 95% of those who completed the survey thought that the project would have positive or a neutral impact (NYMNPA Planning Committee 2015: 29). Local people felt that they were involved in the setting up of the project and there were very few protests raised from the local community. The only concerns they listed in the interviews for this thesis were traffic, noise and light pollution.

The mine gave people a beacon of hope and aspiration for the future and brought the future closer to communities' everyday lives (the longstanding, stable taskscapes of the moorlands), rather than an obscure, distant concept. For the younger population, who have often been left behind in National Park spaces,[117] this major development project enabled them to consider a vision and future in the National Park and the Whitby area. For example, Sirius Minerals offered fifty engineering apprenticeships to young people in the local area (Sirius Minerals PLC 2018: 2).

> *Its potentially going to be amazing, one of the biggest polyhalite mines in the world. How many square miles are there on Earth and for it to be there it's a crazy thing really*. (Ice Cream Business Worker, local resident, M, 25-34)

> *I have no difficulty with the new mine, it's economically important, it may provide some local jobs, helps the national economy. Our National Parks are cultural landscapes. Bit of modern culture within it, you know doesn't bother me.* (University Lecturer, lives near to NP, M, 45-54)

[117] The average age of the National Park population is 50 years and Scarborough District is 44 years, which covers the towns and villages along the coast near the Woodsmith Mine, compared to 39 years at a national level (NYMNPA *et al*. 2017: 9).

Let's hope that the future generation will get benefits from it…it's also providing vital work for this area. The seaside towns are desperate for work. (Fyling Court Leet member, local resident, M, 65-74)

Although interviewees appeared uncertain over what type of future the mine may bring, local people supported the mine because of the local and regional job opportunities they thought it could bring to a deprived coastal area of the country. According to the Index of Multiple Deprivation (2015), the Scarborough District, which covers the towns and villages along the coast near the Woodsmith Mine, is the most deprived district in North Yorkshire, ranking 90th out of 326 lower tier local authorities in England. An interviewee stressed the economic value of the decision, which had offered up to nine hundred direct jobs with two-thirds of people employed from the local area (Sirius Minerals PLC 2018: 2), in a remote coastal area which lacks job opportunities. In addition, the mining company won over the support of the landowning community for the project by offering royalty payments to landowners to take minerals from under their land.

It was promising real high-quality jobs in a part of the country where there aren't any jobs or not many jobs. You can see why the planning authority made that decision. (Ecologist / Former University Lecturer, lives near to NP, M, 75+)

We engage with landowners. We've got 450 agreements with landowners…when we mine underneath their land they will get a payment. Its undoubtedly helped with relations. They will benefit financially from the project. (Sirius Minerals Manager, lives near to NP, M, 45-54)

The population in the National Park is declining and ageing with increasing numbers of young people, aged 15-19 years old, moving away from the National Park having little ambition to work in low paid rural industries (The Yorkshire Post 2020) nor tourism employment (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2021). Young people perceive the mine as an entity which moves forward time, paving the way for a brighter future, or at the very least a 'future' divorced from the present inequalities within the local area.

You can't stay stuck in time. It has stayed stuck in time and that's why the population is going down. (Estate Director, local resident, M, 35-44)

If you are living in the town unless you've got a business or there's not much industry left…mainly tourism industry round here. I mean the fishing has absolutely collapsed, farming is not particularly thriving at the moment so for people in and around the area you see, it shouldn't always be about money at the end of the day, but, people I guess

get excited about. People have to live don't they? A job on the doorstep and a bit better way of life they see this company coming in and oh well there's potential there to get a job up there and next yes in years potential for my kids to get a job there. (Ice Cream Business Worker, local resident, M, 25-34)

The National Park has significant economic needs with a declining, local population that requires job opportunities. A landowner responded to the question '*What does the NYMNP mean?*' with '*I think as far I am concerned it's to foster economic growth for those that live within it and I'm in it*' (Estate Owner, local resident, M, 25-34). The landscape has been worked and lived on by humans across many centuries and the more contemporary National Park designation was evidenced in Chapter 3 as protecting this cultural heritage. The Woodsmith Mine project was seen as meeting the socio-economic duty of the National Park by supporting local communities (NYMNPA Planning Commitee 2015: 54).

Then you can't stop everything because you're sitting on a working environment. People have lived and worked this land long before any National Park. Long before living memory. (Lyke Wake Walking Club member, local resident, F, 45-54)

People forget how much industry there was around here. As I was saying before we've always had industry to a degree everywhere which a lot of people saw as intrinsic to the environment. Now its subsequently extrinsic. There has always been people work [working] land around here so there's not been many for a couple of generations people just don't see it anymore. So I don't think there's anything wrong with having industry on the moors if it's done in a sympathetic environmentally friendly way, even if it is in private hands. (Shop Worker, local resident, F, 25-34)

Don't think it changes my perception towards potash mine…I've always had that approach towards industry in the Parks…some industries are acceptable if managed and controlled and so on where others are not. After all farming is an industry and look what they have done to the landscape. (Former NYMNPA Ranger / Author, local resident, M, 75+)

It is a future which is in alignment with national and nation-state economic agendas – driven by the potential of selling polyhalite fertiliser to a global market (with the market still to be established) resulting in economic benefits that are vital nationally. These state demands are looking to be met in a nationally prominent landscape. It puts the landscape's finite resources on a global and national scale of importance.

> *There was definitely a pressure to make some money to help the country.* (NE Conservation and Land Management Adviser, lives near to NP, M, 55-64)

In an area which is now consumed by low paid employment in tourism as the main industry, succeeding a waning fishing industry, communities are moving from their traditional, local pasts and norms towards a national, contemporary project. The mine was seen to push the National Park towards a progressive, modern future which remains undefined but was perceived as supporting local communities in an area where '*life is hard*' (Estate Manager - Farmer / Local NFU group, local resident, M, 25-34). A Coastal Ranger talked about the openness and flexibility of the NYMNPA to these modern changes.

> *Quite possibly the National Park benefitted from that. The fact that it did go through because people could see that we weren't just, you know, we weren't just blinkered in saying we are a National Park and no just no. And people do have their own views and say it just shouldn't be allowed on principle whether it looks nice it just shouldn't be allowed in a National Park.* (NYMNPA Ranger, local resident, M, 55-64)

The mining landscape with the heather moorland separated by the B1416 road – described in 6.2.1 as a temporal paradox – is similar to what Krauss discovered in his research into the conflicts over the designation of a National Park in northern Friesland in northern Germany with an 'over-protected area side by side with a technological area, both united in one' (Krauss 2013: 84). The waves of modernism co-existing alongside the long-established landscapes of the purple heather offer a post-anthropogenic future for local people in the National Park. This is a future where spatial landscape planning is integral to ensure that distinct spaces can work alongside one another, specifically those which have nature connectivity benefits (as outlined in the Landscapes Review) and Section 3 land.[118] Future generations may look at the Woodsmith Mine and use it as an exemplar of a National Significant Infrastructure project in a National Park:

> *People will probably say look that's how you do a big industrial development in a protected landscape as a shining example…but there's a long way to go yet.* (NYMNPA Director of Planning, lives near to NP, M, 55-64)

On the other side to the B1416 was the treeline and a fence acting as physical barriers to accessing the site (unless by organised visit) (Fig.39). This meant that the walking interviews were not able to take place on the site. Interviewees were therefore slightly detached from the

[118] Section 3 land are areas of land which are particularly important to conserve under the Wildlife and Conservation act 1981.

mine's landscape taking an external, outsider perspective to the development project (Daniels & Cosgrove 1988) and demonstrating how inaccessible land prevents complete engagement with and immersion in a landscape. After the construction phase of the site, the general public will no longer be able to see the site being constructed above the tree line, making the mine invisible to the human eye at ground level. The impact of the changes to the landscape will be concealed from the general public making it an imagined landscape to those who are aware of its existence.

Figure 39 - Overlooking Sneaton Low Moor, the cranes of the Woodsmith Mine can be seen on the skyline. The B1416 road runs parallel to the tree line (Photograph by author 2020).

6.3. An alternative moorland

6.3.1. More-than-human landscapes

The fast-moving effects of the Anthropocene occupying National Park spaces has forced landowners to assess the role and influence of humans in this setting. The quickening decline

of ecosystems and biodiversity loss or alterations in the UK's National Parks[119] has led some organisations and communities to question how humans and nature can be better integrated to maintain and create sustainable, future landscapes without threatening their special qualities. Rewilding (or wilding) projects (See 2.4.3) have questioned the interrelationships between humans and the natural world – proposing a less human-controlled environment in protected areas. The concept of rewilding returns the thesis to the longstanding political debates in National Parks, seen in the Woodsmith Mine arguments, between those who seek change and those who wish to conserve and protect these landscapes in situ.

Figure 40 - Ugglebarnby Moor near to Fylingdales Moor and the Woodsmith Mine (Photograph by author 2020).

Rewilding projects do not tend to exist in the NYMNP, especially at a large landscape restoration scale. There are no rewilding projects in the National Park comparable to the example of Wild Ennerdale in the Lake District National Park. One interviewee established that '*there are accidental bits where parts are just left but not really rewilding'* (University Lecturer, lives near to NP, M, 45-54). Ugglebarnby Moor (See 5.5) was given as an example

[119] There are also examples of biodiversity gains in the NYMNP, such as nature's reclamation of post-industrial features in Rosedale (e.g. there has been an increase in Ring Ouzels in the dale) (NYMNPA Natural Heritage Officer, lives near to NP, M, 16-24), but overall the state of nature is declining across UK National Park landscapes.

of '*a small pocket of wilderness*' which has been left unmanaged (Former NYMNPA Ranger / Author, local resident, M, 75+) (Fig.40).

Land managers who wish to experiment and innovate with the environment, even on a smaller scale, have faced challenges in this culturally managed landscape. The North York Moors is a living, working landscape and its land managers wish to conserve the landscape for its beauty 'at a specific point in history regardless of today's views' (Suckall *et al.* 2009: 1197). Some land managers take the position that the landscapes they manage for conservation purposes are '*staying the same throughout a [human] lifetime'* (Gamekeeper, local resident, M, 45-54). Each generation attempts to conserve the landscape using practices and knowledge of land management, as described in the previous chapter, which are passed on from the previous generation. They look to protect the landscapes from accelerated change through the longstanding cultural heritage of uphill sheep farming and heather burning which have shaped many of the North York Moors landscapes, suggesting how heritage can act as a barrier to those who wish to implement change. Land managers on the moorlands were critical of alternative, future landscapes, such as rewilding, identifying with the anthropogenic value of the landscape in alignment with the IUCN Category V designation of these landscapes being dependent on human presence (Hodge 2016: 180). Humans feel they have ownership over the landscape and that nature taking over is not in keeping with their traditional management practices and an efficient use of land.

> *Believe it or not people do not like trees. What they really love is open spaces. People get on to the moor top and they get the open view. People love the view. If we rewild the moor all we will have is a jungle, it will revert back to trees and people might think that is wonderful but it isn't...it will be impossible to manage the sheep. It wouldn't become a place for people.* (Gamekeeper, local resident, M, 45-54)

> *If rewilding and the definition of that is something that is allowed to go back to nature then I would gladly show you this area of ground because it is covered in bracken, it is covered in gorse, it is heavily trespassed, has off-road vehicle driving all round it. That's what happens when you remove management unfortunately. Its lovely to have this vision to think that there's going to be ten million curlews start nesting there and there is going to be every species known to man. Sadly nature and wildlife doesn't work like that.* (Land Agent, lives near to NP, M, 35-44)

Not every land manager in the National Park follows the progressive stance that the Forestry Commission (FC) take that '*the environment wants to change'* (FC Volunteer, lives near to NP, M, 65-75) and is in consistent evolution. Another interviewee from a local walking club

echoed the post-environmentalist stance of the Forestry Commission that landscapes are a set of changing, more-than-human, more-than-representational interactions:

> *Humans in any country will always change and move things for good and for bad. The Park has to balance yes but it can't stop and it can't embalm the place because you can't make an entire landscape stand still because mother nature doesn't make it standstill and the balance is always shifting. There is no such thing as a balance in nature so it's always a shifting sand. And a National Park should be exactly the same. There are areas which you can preserve, you can say we are going to have a number of footpaths, a number of wild spaces but why they should always be the same I don't see any argument for that. This particular area would be better if its managed and this area would be better if it's not managed and it's trying to work out what you want for the future.* (Lyke Wake Walking Club member, local resident, F, 45-54)

Inevitably, certain areas of land in the National Park will need more management than other areas, but, a number of landowners and communities, described in the next section and the next chapter, have pushed back against more intense moorland management in an attempt to initiate more dynamic, healthier landscapes in terms of biodiversity. Whilst some land has been left to fend for itself with modest human interference by landowners because not every part of a landscape can be managed, the thesis finds that at Fylingdales Moor the less intensive land management style (when compared to other moorlands in the National Park) and its natural landscape diversity means that this managed moor is valued for its wildlife conservation (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2021). This moorland has been identified by the Hawk and Owl Trust, who were involved in the management of the area from 2005 to 2019, as a 'conservation area' in terms of its wildlife and the management, perceptions and experiences of this landscape will be analysed next.

6.3.2. Fylingdales Moor and its management

With most of heather moorland in the National Park used for driven grouse shooting and perceived as uniform in landscape character, Fylingdales Moor, located on the eastern side of the Park, exists as an alternative landscape (Fig.41). Driven grouse shooting does not take place on this moor and nature and wildlife are priorities as it holds protected designations as a SSSI, SAC and SPA. The moorland area is designated as a SSSI (along with the rest of the heather moorland in the National Park) (Fig.42) for its nature conservation interest, the international importance of its bird assemblage, its mire and heather moorland vegetation (Fylingdales Moor / Natural England 2009).

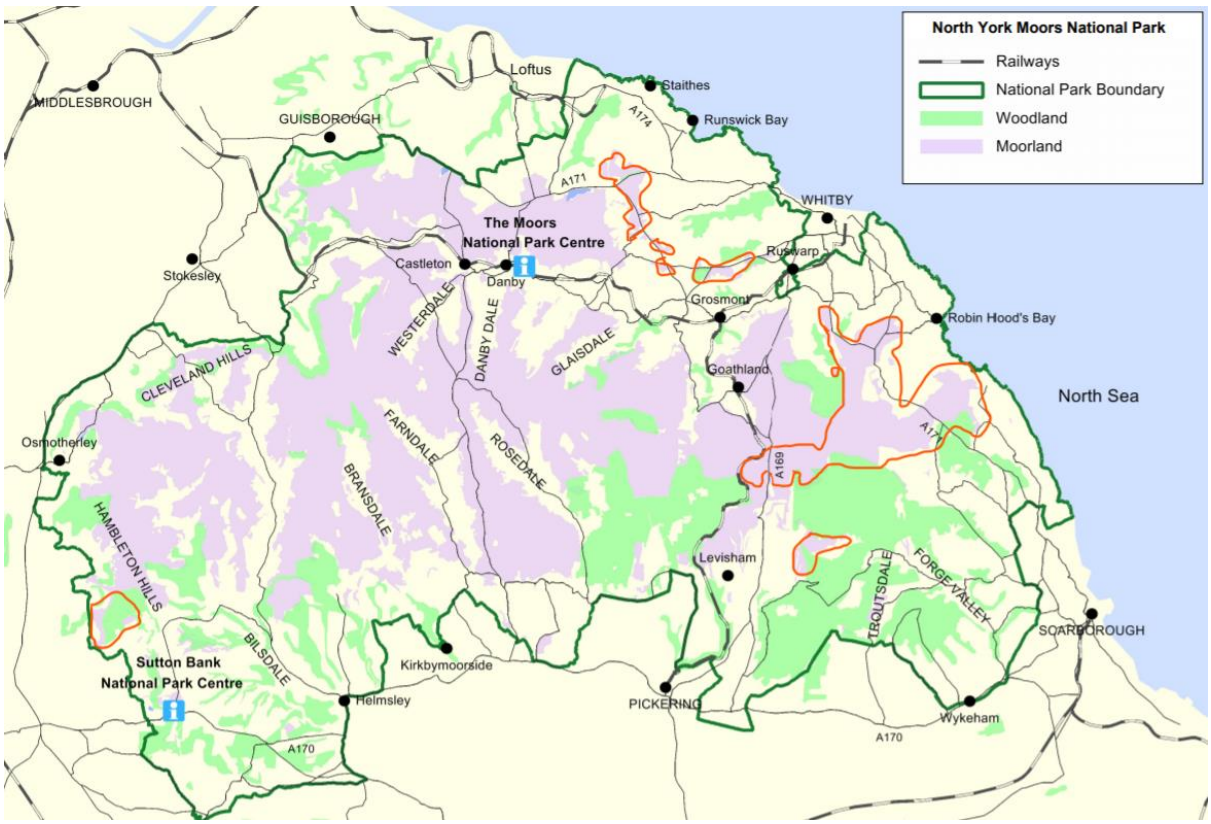


Figure 41 - A map showing where driven grouse shooting does not take place on the moorland in the NYMNP – highlighted by the red lines. Fylingdales Moor, in the east of the National Park, is the biggest extent of moorland in the National Park without grouse shooting (NYMNPA 2016: 7; Landowner / Moorland Association, pers. comm. 2019).

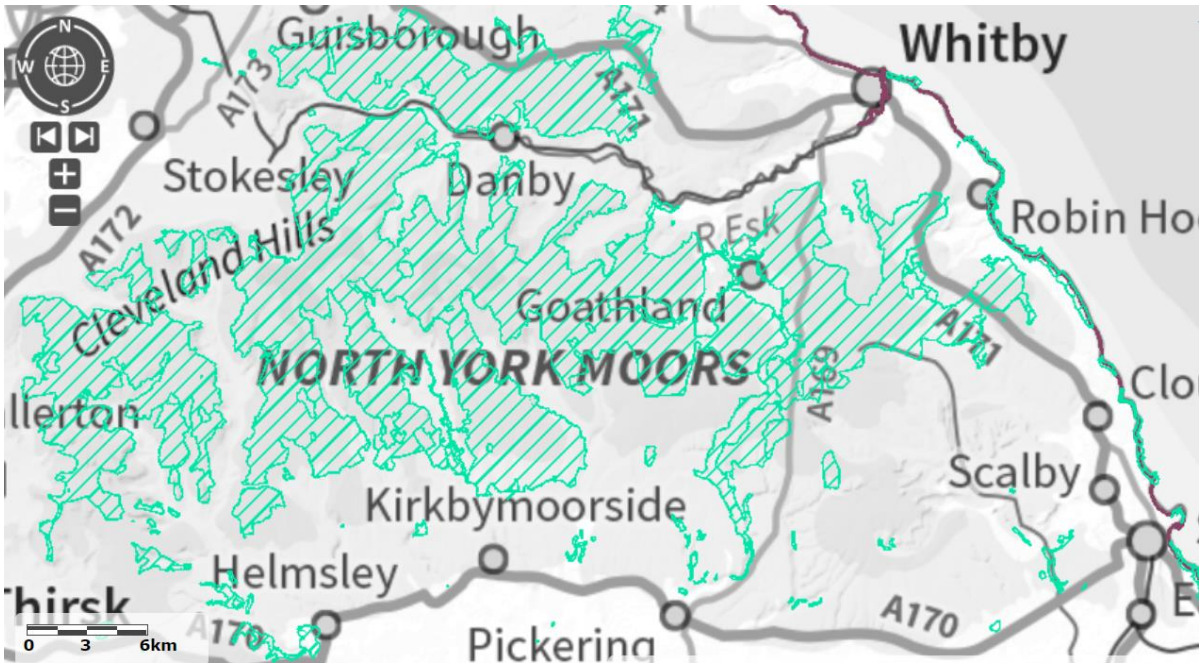


Figure 42 - A large extent of the land in the NYMNP is designated as a SSSI (in green) (DEFRA 2021).

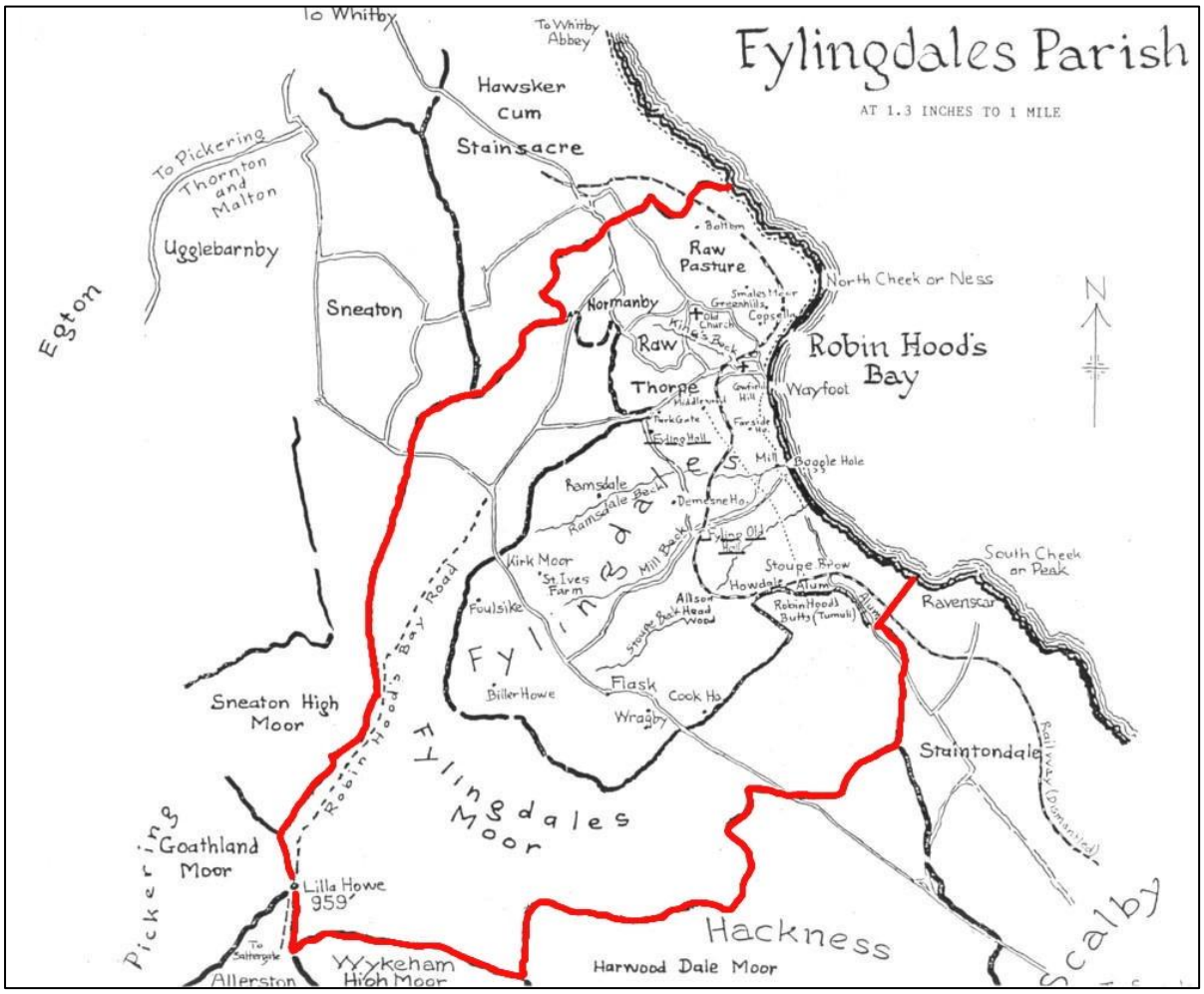


Figure 43 - The boundary of Fylingdales Moor in red and the parish in black. The accuracy of the boundaries were confirmed in an email with Fyling Court Leet (Ramsdale 2020).

The moor receives funding through the Higher Level Stewardship (HLS) scheme as part of Environmental Stewardship which after 2024 is likely to move into the proposed ELM schemes (NE, pers. comm. 2020).[120] The scheme started in 2009 and is a 10 year plan drawn up in partnership between the landowner, graziers and Natural England (NE, pers. comm. 2020). The scheme is currently extended a year at a time on a rolling basis up to June 2022 (Fylingdales Moor ESS Education Officer, pers. comm. 2021). Fylingdales Moor ESS limited was formed as part of the scheme and, at a local level, they manage the everyday management decisions on the moorland (Fylingdales Moor ESS Education Officer, pers. comm. 2021). Fylingales Moor ESS limited is made up of the landowner, Fyling Court Leet representatives and the sheep graziers (Fylingdales Moor / Natural England 2009). The 6,800 acres of common land are owned by the Strickland-Constable family (Fig.43) and the family

[120] The moor is mainly funded through the HLS scheme, although they do receive small amounts of funding through other schemes. For example, in 2020 they were receiving a small amount of money for the Slow the Flow scheme which is funded by DEFRA through the Yorkshire Wildlife Trust.

have owned the moor privately since c.1800 (Fyling Court Leet member, pers. comm. 2021). Fyling Court Leet manage the commons in the manor, which they have a legal responsibility for, as of the administration of Justice Act 1977 (For further information on the Court Leet see Fig.44). The sheep graziers are the commoners which exercise their common rights on the moorland.[121]

[121] Only 4 common rights holders out of the 43 holders with grazing rights activated their sheep grazing rights on Fylingdales Moor, suggesting the lack of influence from commoners on this particular landscape (Fylingdales Moor / Natural England 2009).

Figure 44 - Common land and The Manor of Fyling Court Leet

There are three Court Leets in the NYMNP: Danby, Spaunton and Fyling. Even though all three operate slightly different, they all act as a court of justice for each manor – making and informing rules to govern the commons of the manor. Through the judicial court system, the Court Leets uphold 'the protection of the common land space…and the protection of common rights' (NE, pers. comm. 2020). At Fylingdales Moor, there are 48 registered right holders with 43 having grazing rights (Fylingdales Moor / Natural England, 2009). These are rights which are attached to properties in the parish (e.g. grazing rights, turbary rights – the right to take peats or turf for your fire and to take stones) therefore the property owner / tenant acquires these rights (Fyling Court Leet member, local resident, M, 65-74).

A jury of sixteen local people who are from Fylingdales parish take up various positions on the Fyling Court Leet (Fyling Court Leet member, local resident, M, 65-74). The jury mainly consists of farmers but also other types of local traders such as builders and holiday site owners therefore involving the local community in land management decision-making (Fyling Court Leet member, local resident, M, 65-74). Although to what extent it is representative of the local community can be questioned by the fact that there are no female representatives on the Court Leet, with very strict rules to get on to the Court (Fyling Court Leet member, local resident, M, 65-74). The Court are also a public body under the CROW act and commons legislation with public duties for nature conservation interests and therefore, in principle, should have wider public interests (NE, pers. comm. 2020).

The Court Leet uphold any encroachments and misuse on the common (i.e. unlawful fencing put up by a commoner), and rights holders are fined for any encroachments and misuse. Encroachments may be allowed temporarily whilst a fine is paid to the Court Leet.

> *Our job is to manage the rights holders…there are 48 rights holders on Fylingdales Moor who have grazing rights to put livestock out on the moor predominantly sheep and our job is to manage them and check that they are putting stock out and the right number of stock out.* (Fyling Court Leet member, local resident, M, 65-74)

The landowner will have the final say on land matters at Fylingdales Moor (within Natural England's requirements for the moorland) but from the interviews it felt that the Court Leet have a close relationship with the landowner who may choose to 'consult' with the Court for certain matters such as greater grazier knowledge (NYMNPA Woodland Officer, lives near to NP, F, 35-44) (Fyling Court Leet, local resident, M, 65-74).

Figure 44 - continued.

This enables local graziers and other representatives to have an influence on the management of the moorland:

> …*technically speaking if the Lord of the Manor wants to do anything on the common he has to ask our permission…assuming the Lord of the Manor said I want to plant this area here in trees. He would have to apply to us and say give his full reasons why and everything obviously. It would be discussed in great length. But he can't just say Im going to plant them in trees and make an application to Natural England. He has to come before us in the first place.* (Fyling Court Leet, local resident, M, 65-74)

The Court Leet and the landowner are part of Fylingdales Moor ESS Limited, a company which allows them to enter into the HLS agreement with Natural England (Fylingdales Moor / Natural England 2009). A spokesperson from Natural England argued that:

> *The Court Leet is often very wrapped up with the interests of the landowner anyway (some graziers on the Court Leet may be tenants etc).* (NE, pers. comm. 2020)

The Court is a traditional forms of land management which is unique to the National Park, again establishing the permanence and rich heritage of the commons management system in the park. It is a medieval form of law and the Fyling Court Leet has records which date to 1560 (Fyling Court Leet member, local resident, M, 65-74). This form of commons administration is rare to find within UK National Park boundaries because many Court Leets disbanded in the 1920's and 1930's when many estates were split up because of death duties.

The perception of the Court Leet amongst local people, who are aware of it, is a private, historical system embedded in the past which is in keeping with the governance of many of the moorlands:

> *If there doing anything on the land we need to speak to the Court Leet. It is medieval. At Danby there is a court room. It is quite feudal. The moorland is an old fashioned world. If you look at Downton Abbey you can still see that in some of the people will deal with.* (NYMNPA Ranger, local resident, M, 55-64)

There are also regional and national levels of influence on the moorland. The National Park Authority had a part in the setting up of the scheme and their current role is as a planning authority and an advisor on conservation and access matters (See 3.4 for further detail on the role of the NYMNPA). Natural England monitor the moorland on a 6 year 'rolling' condition assessment using national criteria for conditions of the SSSI and following the aims of the scheme, namely 'the indicators of success', as set out in the Moorland Management Plan. Over the ten years of the scheme, Fylingdales Moor ESS limited has been awarded £1,787,635 and has been paid £1,085,918.15 (Powell-Smith 2017). The main management aims of Fylingdales Moor, in alignment with the HLS Scheme management options, are to:

- deliver and maintain favourable conditions for all the habitat and wildlife interests, including the features for which the SSSI, SAC and SPA have been designated;
- conserve and enhance the Scheduled Ancient Monuments and Historic Environment Record features;
- strengthen the landscape character;
- increase local community and public understanding and appreciation of the moor.

(Fylingdales Moor / Natural England 2009)

The objectives of the HLS Scheme show little regard for a wider landscape level viewpoint with other landscapes that border Fylingdales Moor and landscapes across the National Park. This is demonstrated in the HLS handbook:

> *There are no management options aimed specifically at 'the landscape', but it is nevertheless very important that all of the chosen options respect the character of the area.* (Natural England 2013: 13)

Here the handbook reintroduces the discussion point that developed in Chapter 5; a wider, landscape overview is not always considered by land managers who focus on their own land interests.[122] The National Park's purposes and special qualities are also not mentioned in the Moorland Management Plan for Fylingdales Moor. The National Park Authority is also not referred to in the Moorland Management Plan. However according to a NYMNPA member of staff the National Park Authority did help set up the HLS agreement in 2009, acting as a facilitator / third party between interest groups to help access the money (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2020). Yet, they have no ongoing legal involvement in the scheme because the agreement over the moorland is between Natural England and Fylingdales Moor ESS limited.

[122] The Court Leet anecdotally mentioned about working with neighbouring landowners and gave a future hen harrier rearing scheme as an example of collaboration between landowners.

Most of the moorlands in the NYM are tied up in Environmental Stewardship and Countryside Stewardship agreements directly with Natural England, and therefore, the National Park Authority has taken a less active role towards moorland management over the last two management plans (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2021).[123] How can objectives be created which are in synergy with the whole wider landscape of the North York Moors if there is a lack of continuous partnership working between the National Park Authority and moorland managers?

It seems that out of the HLS scheme arrangement at Fylingdales Moor develops another contested narrative between the ambitions of the National Park movement being about public benefits and the private interests of the landowners. Furthermore there seemed to be a lack of evidence that the HLS scheme was scrutinised by the wider public; those communities who live in the nearby parishes and visitors to the moor – both significant audiences to the National Park landscape.[124] A NYMNPA staff member described how the landowner, working with Fylingdales Moor ESS limited, will make many of the final decisions on the moorland and thus have control over the landscape perceptions of commoners, Court Leet, residents and visitors who engage with Fylingdales Moor:

> *The balance of power is swung to the landowner, even where you have got common land…the landowner is very much in control of what happens*. (NYMNPA Woodland Officer, lives near to NP, F, 35-44)

[123] The exact number of moorland estates in these schemes was unknown by the NYMNPA (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2021).
[124] Those who own common rights on the moorland were consulted as part of the scheme (Fylingdales Moor ESS Education Officer, pers. comm. 2021).

Figure 45 - Heather burning on the Howdale Moor area of Fylingdales Moor. The heather burning season in the uplands demonstrates a cyclical form of time, from 1st October to 15th April, when there are no birds nesting and the soil is wet (Photograph by author 2020).

Sheep grazing at Fylingdales enables the moorland to be maintained and regular controlled burning and cutting enables the creation of new heather (Fig.45). Therefore, even though the moor prioritises the protection of nature, the HLS scheme acts as a reminder that the landscape is still organised by humans which is in keeping with the culture control and protection of the National Park, outlined in the previous chapter.

The moorland is not run as a traditional, commercial grouse moor with no active grouse shooting taking place on the land since 1980 (Court Leet, pers. comm. 2021). For conservation purposes, the decision was made by the Strickland-Constable family to not allow grouse shooting on this landscape, highlighting that landowners often make the final decision on a moor's land use. The family made this decision because there is no active interest in shooting within the family and shooting was never a big part of the identity of those who managed Fylingdales Moor in the twentieth century (Court Leet, pers. comm. 2021). The current practices on the moorland have no financial gains for the Strickland Estate, apart from the potential royalties that the polyhalite mine may bring for mining underneath the estate's land.

> *The estate here gets no income whatsoever from the moor unless they get some benefit from the potash mine. They will get benefit from the royalties eventually. From the surface of the moor the estate gets nothing.* (Fyling Court Leet member, local resident, M, 65-74)

> *Fylingdales Moor ok he's decided he will do that. He will manage it for conservation but it must be costing him cause he won't be getting any income to speak of. And you look at this moor, that's only a tiny pin prick of all the grouse moors, um, it would cost phenomenal amounts to buy out the grouse moors so you could manage them as he does. You know you've gotta be practical.* (Former NYMPNA Ranger / Author, local resident, M, 75+)

The estate is 'managed for wildlife and conservation' (Court Leet, pers. comm. 2019) for purely ethical reasons and the land was also overseen by the Hawk and Owl Trust (until 2019), a conservation charity, who have a conservation ethos towards their surveillance and vision for the land. The moor is still a human managed landscape but the heather burning and grazing is less intense than on a grouse moor (NE, pers. comm. 2020) (Fig.46). '*They leave patches of old heather*' (Hawk and Owl Trust, lives near to NP, F, 45-54) unlike a commercially operated grouse moor in the Park (Fig.47 & 48). It also differs from other grouse moors because it is managed by fewer gamekeepers keeping control of certain species (e.g. crows, magpies and foxes) and '*the predator control is much less intense than on a commercial grouse moor*' (NE Conservation and Land Management Adviser, lives near to NP, M, 55-64).

> *The biggest difference you would see between Fylingdales Moor and other moors is probably the length of the heather. The frequency of the burning so the rest of the moors is managed for grouse shooting so it is burnt on a much tighter rotation so the vegetation so there won't be as much long heather on the rest of the moor as there will be on Fylingdales. There will be a more substantial amount of longer heather in general. The heather will be of a more mature nature whereas on the other bits of moorland it will be burnt on a more frequent rotation so the heather will be shorter err and there will probably be more grouse because of that.* (NYMNPA Woodland Officer, lives near to NP, F, 35-44)

In general, there is less human management of the moorland than on a typical grouse moor as there is no economic pressure for the gamekeepers and the farmers to increase its grouse population. There are, therefore, fewer demands on the landscape from its governance. Nevertheless, there are similar natural-cultural debates to a grouse shooting moor over the management of the heather:

> *The source of the River Derwent. It's left unmanaged. It causes a lot of hassle between the sheepmen and the environmentalists because there's heather up this height and getting the sheep out of it is difficult. But I think there's a move now to split it into two or three areas and burning one or two in the middle to make it more manageable from the sheep point of view.* (Fyling Court Leet member, local resident, M, 65-74)

Even on a non-grouse shooting estate, the management of heather and its height triggers debates between two vested interest groups about how it should be managed. Ornithologists desire tall heather for the nesting of merlin populations and some burning for the wader populations (NE, pers. comm. 2020). An officer from the Hawk and Owl Trust praised the taller, older heather giving the moor 'a quilt effect' which couldn't be seen on '*more tidier grouse shooting moors*' (Hawk and Owl Trust, lives near to NP, F, 45-54). Farmers want shorter heather, for their stock to have access through the moor (NE, pers. comm. 2019) and there was concern that longer heather may cause another outbreak of a moorland fire which was the case in 2003. Natural England have tried to address these debates with at least one annual meeting of all parties (NE, pers. comm. 2020). The debates are evidence of the conflicts between a managed landscape and a landscape which has less human intervention.

A British Trust for Ornithology representative asked, '*the challenge is how far do you manage habitat? Heather moorland is a point in time of a development of an area*' (British Trust for Ornithology, local resident, M, 55-64). Therefore, when does excessive management no longer make it a wildlife moor? What are the moors managed for – grouse or wildlife or both? The ornithologist makes the point that historically this heather moorland in the National Park was not always managed as moorland, which is echoed by Natural England:

> *I'm always really bemused by the ecologists' determination to manage all this heather which is actually very late vegetation type in the big vegetation sequence out there. From my perspective that causes some interesting tensions.* (NE Historic Environment Adviser*,* lives near to NP, F, 55-64)

Here in the Anthropocene, deep time thinking can cause contests in the landscape because a moorland manager's perception of a constant moorland which has always been worked by humans is contrasted by the ornithologist's view of the moorland as a later habitat type. The differences in perception suggests the subjectivity involved in a landscape when negotiating an 'imagined' natural-cultural heritage.

Figure 46 - Thick, tall heather on Fylingdales Moor (Photograph by author 2021).

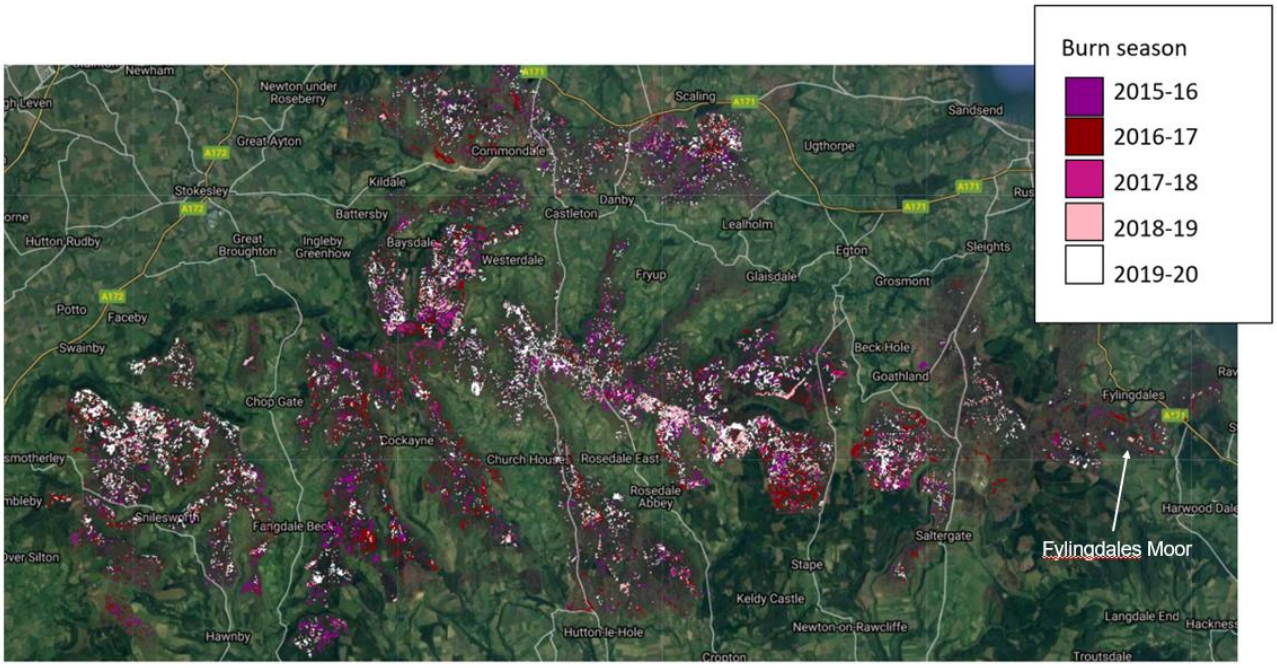


Figure 47 - From estimated satellite data, this map evidences that the intensity of burning from the 2015-16 season to the 2019-20 season is less on Fylingdales Moor in the east compared to the central, western and northern moors of the National Park (Lees et al. 2020).

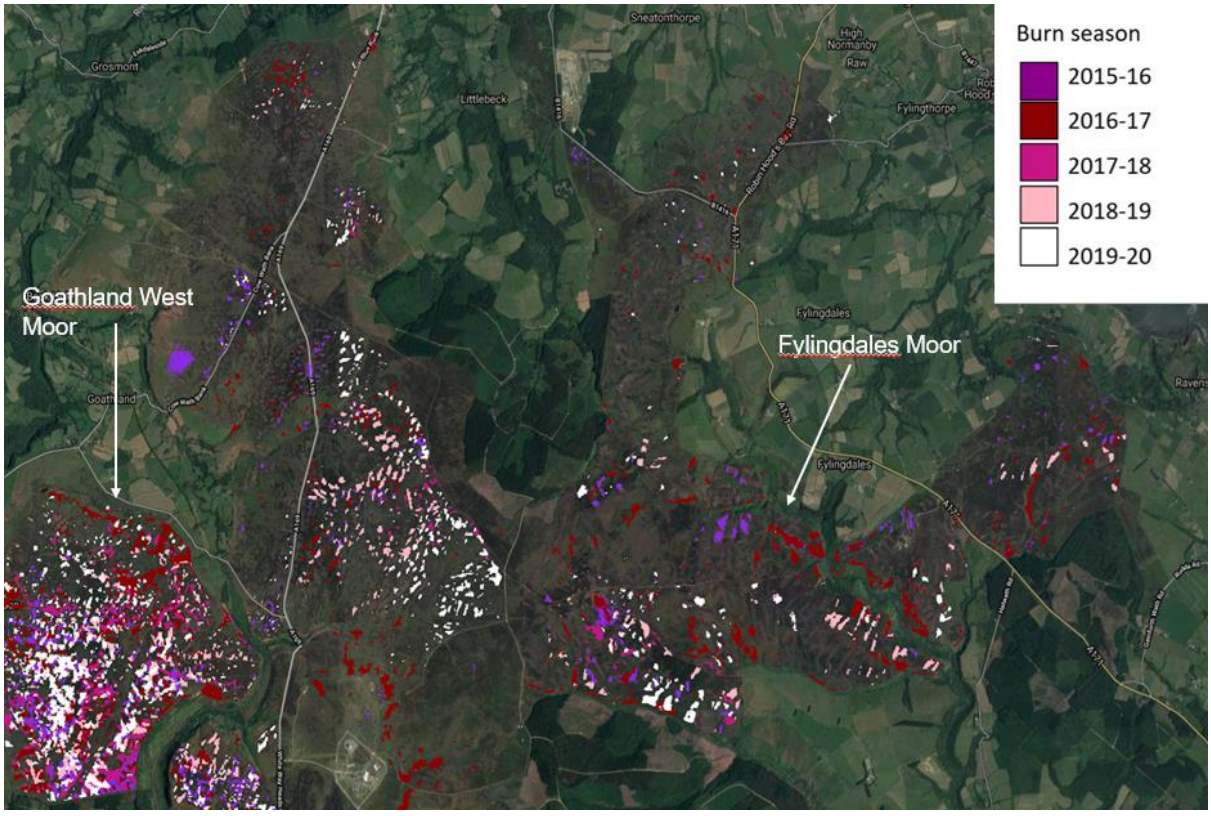


Figure 48 - The map demonstrates that the intensity of heather burning on Fylingdales Moor from 2015-2020 is less than Goathland West Moor (Lees et al. 2020).

6.3.3. Perceptions and experiences of Fylingdales Moor

Figure 49 - Walking across Sneaton Low Moor towards Fylingdales Moor (Photograph by author 2020).

Respondents were asked what they thought of Fylingdales Moor (Fig.49). They praised the big skies, the openness of the moorland and the wildlife witnessed whilst on the walks. Embracing more-than-representational sentiments, Fylingdales Moor felt more alive with biocultural processes than other areas of heather moorland in the National Park. During the walks, there were encounters with a slow worm, a fox, a roe deer and different types of birds. I was told about a group of Merlins, the UK's smallest bird of prey, which were nesting in some of the wilder, less managed pockets of heather located on the east side of Fylingdales Moor. The biodiversity was summed up by an interview with a member of Fyling Court Leet, '*the marvellous thing about the moorland is that you get a real variety of life on it*' (Fyling Court Leet member, local resident, M, 65-74). Avifauna research on the moor demonstrated that bird life has improved over the HLS scheme 'with a cumulative increase in the number of species recorded on the moor' seeing the biodiversity levels of the moorland enhanced (Edwards 2018: 23). Most interviewees, who had prior knowledge about the management techniques on Fylingdales being different to a commercial grouse moor, agreed that the moorland felt more natural and diverse:

> *It is an example of a part of the moorland that isn't managed like other parts of the North York Moors…and it is as a matter of fact in a better condition as a SSSI than other parts of the moorland*. (NYMNPA Director of Planning, lives near to NP, M, 55-64)

> *It's really great to have an area that is managed more gently like Fylingdales is. They will support different types of habitat. Some birds in particular really like that short*

rotational heather. Waders and other assemblages of birds like the longer heather. It will be certainly more diverse within the North York Moors. (NYMNPA Woodland Officer, lives near to NP, F, 35-44)

There are large areas such as Derwent head over the skyline there where it's totally left unburnt. They are Merlin nesting areas. [points to where it is on the skyline]. Source of the river Derwent. Its left unmanaged. (Fyling Court Leet member, local resident, M, 65-74)

Land managers have a deep sense of care for Fylingdales and they recognised the value of their management of these moorland spaces to human livelihoods. One interviewee described the mental and physical health benefits of '*getting out here in that fresh air. It is relaxation and peacefulness. It brings a different mindset connecting with nature. I get something to take home*' (Support worker for asylum seekers, lives near to NP, M, 35-44). A land manager from the Hawk and Owl Trust described how people use the landscape to relax their minds and escape from the world whilst also recognising the harshness of this landscape, especially in the winter months.

It is a harder landscape to manage…hidden away…like the contrast [of the landscape] and freedom and emptiness, find it calming. Can feel a bit empty in winter, its more lively in summer. (Hawk and Owl Trust, lives near to NP, F, 45-54)

Figure 50 - An old grouse butt on Fylingdales Moor covered over in grass, no longer used for shooting (Photograph by author 2021).

A sight of a disused grouse shooting butt (Fig.50) on the walks only added to the perception that very little human management activity occurs on Fylingdales compared to the well maintained infrastructure that can be found on other grouse shooting moors in the National Park where the management of the landscape is set up to support the activity. The shooting butts are ruins of a bygone industry and their attached memories represent the former struggles in keeping the shooting lifestyle alive in this particular landscape where gamekeepers had difficulty in producing the quantities of grouse seen on other moorlands in the National Park. Their memories reflect the changes in land use and identity evidencing the transitory nature of moorland landscape. Grass now covering the former grouse butts is a reminder that natural reclamation processes have occurred over time in this landscape, signifying how nature has been given a form of control challenging the cultural, seemingly permanent, dominance of the heather moorland in the NYMNP. Fylingdales Moor is no longer integrated into the strong grouse shooting identity and culture which is widespread across the moorlands. The moor is perceived amongst some landowners as being unusual because it is

managed for different purposes with no demand to create a surplus number of grouse on this moor.

> *So the majority of the moorland in the National Park are grouse shooting moors and Fylingdales is laughed at times because it isn't a grouse shooting moor…I think other grouse moor owners find it difficult to understand how the owner can turn down the possible massive income from a shot moor.* (Fyling Court Leet member, local resident, M, 65-74)

Nonetheless, there were very few people, including other landowners who were interviewed, arguing against how the land was being used at Fylingdales. Some land managers from other moorlands disagreed that there was more wildlife on Fylingdales Moor compared to their moorland, but they did not condemn the management practices (which were similar to other moorlands). Research participants, who were aware of how it was being managed, tended to be content with a less intense approach of management being implemented on this moorland to achieve the main priority which is landscape conservation.

> *We are very pleased to have diversity across the moor [Fylingdales] as a whole umm it's nice to have some areas which are managed in different ways.* (NYMNPA Woodland Officer, lives near to NP, F, 35-44)

> *It's a bit of variety…bit of conservation…economically it's a lot worse.* (Landowner / Moorland Association, local resident, M, 45-54)

Some interviewees, especially those who were not involved in moorland management, did not have a strong connection with Fylingdales Moor and did not identify with the wildlife of this particular moor and the wildlife was not associated with the culture of the place – like red grouse is on a grouse shooting moor. They could not be specific about how Fylingdales Moor differed from another heather moorland and what the purpose of the landscape was. They often perceived the whole of the moorland as a uniform, homogenous plateau rather than having knowledge of the differences between specific moors.

Those participants who did not regularly engage with the Fylingdales landscape (e.g. through activities such as walking) were less likely to be aware of grouse shooting not occurring on this moor, the differences in the intensity of land management and the purposes of the land management. Whilst walking across the moor they did not observe any differences between habitats on Fylingdales and other heather moorlands in the National Park. Not all local people had a consideration nor appreciation of how the Fylingdales moorland landscape is used by land managers.

I've never really noticed that it's not an active grouse shooting moor. (Lyke Wake Walking Club member, local resident, F, 45-54)

What I can't tell you is there a difference in the wildlife between this moor and other moors…I'm sure there is. (NYMNPA Volunteer Ranger, local resident, M, 65-74)

They were apathetic to having an opinion on the landscape and accepting of the viewpoints of those who manage the land. Perhaps they consider that others with more expertise and active opinions on land matters will provide a voice so there is no need for themselves to be involved. This contrasts with those local communities who offer very active opinions on the land management of Goathland East and West moors in Chapter 7 and have found other channels to put forward their views. Under private ownership, research participants perceived that the landowner and land managers make the final moorland management decisions in these spaces. As described in 6.3.2, there also seemed to be a lack of opportunity for the wider public to be involved through formal consultation procedures, such as the setting up of the HLS scheme management plans, with public engagement tending to occur through informal discussions (Fylingdales Moor ESS Education Officer, pers. comm. 2021).[125]

Mostly, perhaps, there is just indifference about the landscape issues because just as elsewhere people have their lives to live with other priorities. They are possibly looking to others to raise these issues. (NYMA, local resident, M, 75+)

Time is considered slower in moorland spaces because change is marginal and the shifting baseline syndrome causes people to forget the state of natural heritage on the moorland. Local people are passive with their opinions of these landscapes because they think that these environments have remained the same with very little to give a viewpoint on:

People think that this is how it is, this is how it was, this is how it will always be. (NYMNPA Volunteer Ranger, local resident, M, 65-74)

It's like the land of time forgotten here. (Shop Worker, local resident, F, 25-34)

It's like going back in time. I love it. (College Teacher, local resident, F, 35-44)

[125] The Court Leet ensured me in an interview that '*local people can have a say in the management of the moor by approaching the Court Leet with suggestions, which are discussed at the meetings and either acted on or dismissed*' *(*Fyling Court Leet, pers. comm. 2020). This is in alignment with the aims of the management plan which were to 'increase community and public understanding and appreciation of the moor' including 'a programme of community and education work' (Fylingdales Moor / Natural England 2009) which was being delivered by the Hawk and Owl Trust at the time of interview.

Here, the temporality of a landscape is also associated with the voices of those whose movements and perceptions intersect these landscapes. Time is the interface in which the voices of these human and non-human agents can be heard.

6.4. Crossing the B1416

As time passes by, National Park landscapes are continuously changing, although landscape characteristics are sometimes perceived as aeonian when change is marginal. The landscapes in the NYMNP have changed as this thesis was written and will continue to modify and alter long into the future, affected by the nature-culture axis. Most of the landscapes in the North York Moors change gradually but some, such as the Woodsmith Mine, are an example of a more accelerated form of large-scale change where time acts as a force in the construction of a cultural, human-controlled landscape.

As the biodiversity of UK National Parks becomes increasingly threatened by the scale of unprecedented human change in the Anthropocene, viewing the landscape through an opportunistic, future lens is a resourceful management approach in this geological epoch. Alternative futures and unconventional values are brought about by different land management practices and it is only by taking management risks and working with change that National Park landscapes will embrace a healthier future (and provide further health benefits to those who visit them). Considering multiple temporalities, perceptions and the opposite and complementary relations between landscapes can help guide land managers and communities towards a wider understanding of how the special qualities and values of landscapes change, so they can make informed decisions and influence future proceedings.

A sense of progressive land management and use is arranging both landscapes. Even though Fylingdales still implements traditional management practices, the absence of intensive heather burning is perceived as a different and innovative style of managing a heather moorland in this National Park. Whilst the Woodsmith Mine is a new anthropogenic landscape typifying a form of capitalist extraction for human needs which reveals the tensions between the protection of the National Park and the economic demands of a living, working landscape. Local pragmatic attitudes towards the mine demonstrate the importance of future aspirations and visioning in a landscape in combination with present and past temporal thoughts. Through their dynamic interactions over time (labelled as ‘phases’ in the building of the mine), the shared relationship between the conservation moorland and the construction site reorganises the myriad of past, present and future heritage relations in this area of the NYMNP.

The changes to both landscapes, discussed throughout the chapter, are not always visible to

people. The Woodsmith Mine infrastructure will be concealed behind the treeline after the construction phase, and is a place that many residents may never visit with the developer controlling access to this National Park landscape. Whilst the ecosystem changes on Fylingdales Moor are slow and not always noticeable to the human eye (or a prior ecological understanding of the landscape is necessary to view these changes). Through an Anthropocene lens of deep time, this demonstrates how people struggle to identify with landscape change, especially on Fylingdales Moor where time is perceived as 'stationary' and change is observed as either incremental or not developing at all. With little consideration of the future of the moorland plateau, local people are inactive in voicing their opinions of the moor where there is an expectation that this landscape remains stagnant over time.

The B1416, which divides the Woodsmith Mine from the heather moorland is equivalent to 'a gateway through time' which resembles people crossing from one timezone to another, forming differences in attitudes between varying temporalities. Observing the Woodsmith Mine landscape, most research participants are concerned with the future, prompting strong viewpoints around its construction. Here, the thesis again demonstrates the temporal nature of landscape, an understudied area of research in landscape studies which this chapter has investigated.

Time, perception, movement and voices all assemble to construct these ever-changing alternative landscapes.

Chapter Seven

Voice: community influence, power and upland management

7.1. Introduction

In the previous chapters of this thesis, discussions have emerged around power, ownership and the management of the North York Moors landscape. There have been debates around who 'owns' this landscape and who shapes the heritage-landscapes in the National Park. Critical questions have been raised around the roles that local people who live within the North York Moors landscape have and which voices from within community groups are heard in these spaces. Which voices should be heard on landscape-heritage processes? Which voices are disregarded? Ultimately, where does the balance of power lie within a National Park in the landscape-heritage nexus and through what processes should landscape management decisions in a National Park be made?

Chapter 7 endeavours to address these questions by exploring *politicised* landscapes, the socio-political connections between people and landscape and how people's perceptions, relationships and values are considered in landscape governance, management and decision-making by landowners and the National Park Authority. This chapter adds further to Chapter 3's analysis of how communities are represented in landscape and National Park governance, management and ownership.

Through the concepts of time and perception, the previous two chapters examined how people perceive, experience and value National Park landscapes in the North York Moors. This chapter investigates how people put forward their perceptions of the landscape to offer a 'voice' on landscape change in the National Park. It explores what opportunities local communities have (and what actions they take) to make their voices heard and how effective their voices are in decision-making. Within this context, the chapter looks to respond to the final two key research questions (3 & 4) and sub questions:

- Who influences people's perceptions and experiences of the NYMNP heritage-landscapes?
    - Who are the key decision-makers in National Park landscapes?
- How much agency do communities have in influencing the management, use and ownership of the NYMNP landscape?
    - What role do communities have in conserving the National Park landscapes?

The chapter takes the following structure, exploring the subsequent two themes:

- Community in the North York Moors in the Anthropocene (7.2);
- Community voices in National Park landscapes – The Goathland Moor Regeneration Group (GMRG) (7.3).

It would be a considerable task to understand these power relations and community representation discussions across the whole of the NYMNP in one chapter (and beyond the scope of the thesis). Hence, the chapter concentrates on the case study of Goathland village and the villagers' attachments with their immediate moorland environment, with comparator evidence also drawn from the other two case studies in this thesis.

The land management of Goathland East and West Moor is a prime example of a contested landscape in the Park where competing ideas towards conservation, biodiversity and ecology co-exist.[126] The land managers who oversee the land, primarily driven by the needs of commercial grouse shooting, deem that their land management practices improve the upkeep of the moorland, retaining its wildlife and protecting the peat. However, their policy and practice of heather burning is controversial amongst some sections of the community. Land managers argue that such practice reduces the risk of fires spreading because the heather is kept short. They reason that heather burning regenerates the moorland vegetation, providing a habitat for wading and nesting birds, which in turn enhances the biodiversity and ecological richness of the moorland. They also claim that heather burning improves the carbon storage potential of the soil. In addition, they argue that game shooting brings social and economic benefits to the local communities.

Whilst there are people in the Goathland area who support these views, there were also members of the local community who were unhappy with the intensity of management methods such as rotational heather burning and the drainage of the moorland. They claim that the land is primarily managed for the purposes of commercial shooting with managers looking to produce high surpluses of game birds. They believe that these intensive management practices limit the amount of conservation management which takes place, thereby endangering the protection of upland wildlife, peatland and moorland biodiversity. Some claimed that the heather burning practices affects the ability of the peatland to store carbon. They were also concerned about the debates connected to predator control management on these moors which would impact on the raptor population.

[126] See 2.2 for background information to the contests over the management of moorland across the North York Moors in general.

These contests on display in Goathland demonstrate the different value systems that exist across this community which will be highlighted throughout this chapter. Goathland Moor Regeneration Group has been formed to address these debates. Its members are concerned with how the management of the local moorlands might impact on wildlife, biodiversity levels and future ecology of the moors. The group are challenging the power dynamics of how moorland landscapes are managed in a National Park. The Goathland case study looks at human responses to anthropogenic environmental change which Chin *et al.* describe as a key challenge of the Anthropocene epoch (2017). Here is an example of a community initiative to change the intensity of landscape management processes in order, they feel, to improve the protection of their local environment. The case study, applying again the framework of the Anthropocene, focuses on local landscape-heritage issues which are interlinked to more globally pressing human-environment debates.

The chapter presents the argument that North York Moors communities could be better represented in discussions on how landscapes are perceived, valued and managed. The data suggests that there should be more diverse types of opportunities for these rural communities to have an informed, active voice. Powerful and highly influential landowner interests in the North York Moors should consider local communities' voices and perceptions far more than they do and strive to encourage local democratic interactions to occur. The National Park Authority should look to improve their relationship and understanding of local communities to harness the relationship between land managers and the wider public. Landowners, the National Park Authority and communities should work in tandem to create and enhance platforms and forums, which are integrated into a co-operative communication system (described in this chapter and Chapter 8), where communities feel confident to put forward their opinions and knowledge. Decisions on landscape management can therefore be a shared, inclusive process, developing stronger community relations and a collective identity within the National Park.

7.2. Community in the North York Moors in the Anthropocene

7.2.1. Defining voice and the composition of a community in the Anthropocene

Stewart *et al*. notes that both a community and its voice are directly affected by the process of heritage and communities' relationships with the environment, events and memories (2004: 316). 'Community' is an extremely challenging term to define but for the purposes of this thesis it can be expressed as a collective of humans and / or non-humans, known as social-ecological systems (SES), adjoined by common attitudes or by the places in which they dwell. Communities can be local, national or global populations. The voice of a community embodies

active, shared perceptions, identity, social capital and future visions that are presented in these collective spaces.

A community's composition in the North York Moors is never homogenous, each differing from one dale to the next across the National Park. A key finding from the data was that this heterogeneity was reflected by the diversity of opinions across the three case studies for the research project. People were interviewed who were content with the current management methods utilised on the moors, as well as those who were nonchalant towards moorland management and interviewees who were frustrated with moorland managers. No one voice is the same which shows how community voices are heterogenous within the power structures which affect whose voice is heard and whose voice is active. This chapter will discuss some of the inequalities between communities and how this effects a community's 'voice'.

Human decision-making and intervention is having more impact than ever on global environments, as human impacts change landscapes at unprecedented rates (Harden *et al.* 2014: 5). This chapter will demonstrate that certain communities who live in the North York Moors show care and concern in their voices towards the impact of management practices on the environment in the National Park. The Anthropocene has seen people move into and live in the North York Moors whose line of work has no direct connection with 'traditional' land industries but nonetheless they arrive with a care for the environment and its biodiversity.

> *This is all part of this whole need to get the environment right, the habitats right, if we are going to stop, or halt or anyway reverse climate change…There's got to be a real hard look on whatever we do on every piece of land.* (GMRG, local resident, F, 55-64)

Indeed, this level of sensitivity towards the environment is not the case in every community in the North York Moors. Outside Goathland, I rarely came across a strong environmental-conscious mindset at a collective level within a single village or town in my fieldwork (I only experienced an environmental collective concern amongst environmental interest groups). People who had lived and worked in the North York Moors for many years had not seen this type of collective environmental grouping develop before and the GMRG were not aware of any similar active community groups in the moors.

> *I haven't seen a type of community group raising issues about the moorland before, perhaps the Parish Council.* (Estate Director, lives near to NP, M, 65-74)

> *I can't hand on heart say that there's any other sort of concentration of issues quite as vociferous as the Goathland community. The tensions are quite unique.* (NYMNPA Woodland Officer, lives near to NP, F, 35-44)

Many people who dwell in the moors accept the traditional moorland management and do not question its positive or negative implications on biodiversity. Some people were content with the current management schemes, recognising land managers to be the experts in control of these landscapes and '*have other life priorities and look to others to raise these issues*' (NYMA, local resident, M, 75+). Being fully embedded in the landscape, they also perhaps have become accustomed to the 'shifting baseline syndrome', forgetting what encompassed the biodiversity of the moorland and lacking memories or experiences if it was more or less biodiverse in its current state than in the past (Tsing *et al.* 2017: G6).

If certain communities, such as in Goathland, are questioning SES and recognising humans as the driving forces in this time of geological and ecological change, then understanding more about our multispecies entanglements[127] with these living environments and the interactions between communities of humans and non-humans (all things) is key to the emergence of resilient post-anthropogenic landscapes:

> *'Our continued survival demands that we learn something about how best to live and die within the entanglements we have'* (Tsing *et al.* 2017: M4)

For informed decisions on multispecies entanglements to be made, organisations which represent non-humans (e.g. RSPB, farmers, British Trust for Ornithology) have to be given a voice where non-human requirements are spoken for (Latour 2004; Convery *et al.* 2020). Latour explores this idea in his book, *The Politics of Nature: how to bring the sciences into democracy*, proposing the emergence of a collective, democratic assembly where humans and non-humans are a community (2004). From a pro-democratic environmental angle, John Barry advocates a democratic debate about non-humans interests and their relationship with humans with 'no one group of citizens…assumed to be the true representatives of non-humans' (1999: 222). This participatory notion is also seen in Aldo Leopold's land ethic where the idea of land is a community rather than something which belongs to humans – as the word 'ownership' entails.

> '*We abuse land because we regard it as a commodity belonging to us. When we see land as a community to which we belong, we may begin to use it with love and respect*' (Leopold 1989: viii)

[127] The multispecies entanglements are supported by Actor Network Theory (ANT) which demonstrates interrelations between humans and non-humans over space and time (Allen 2011: 277). Using the framework of dwelling theory, the formations of these interrelations are 'places' which is not acknowledged in ANT (Cloke & Jones 2001: 652).

Arising from a biocentric perspective, the passion, care and concern for the environment and biodiversity from multiple voices who see themselves as working with non-humans (and as demonstrated in the proceeding case study) needs to be tapped into by landowners and the National Park Authority. It is through human and non-human energies that different landscapes which readdress the human-natural environment connections and preserve ecosystems and habitats, as seen in some of the previous chapters, can emerge in the Anthropocene.

7.2.2. Community attitudes towards the management of the countryside

Walking across the North York Moors landscapes, I frequently encountered local people in the interviews who had very few working ties with the land. Many villagers are employed in other industries rather than those which 'work the land'. The last thirty years has seen a shift in rural society and its identity with the data in this thesis suggesting that certain communities in the North York Moors are less involved in 'traditional' countryside industries, such as agriculture and shooting with farming mainly reliant on family labour (Hildreth 2018: 11). According to the data, this has led to less residents in specific villages having working, professional relationships with landowners and estates. People have become more involved in tourism labour with the National Park economy, in general, taking more of a focus on tourism (NYMNPA 2003: 18).[128] Interviewees who had lived in the North York Moors over the last thirty years recalled these employment and lifestyle changes to these long-standing communities.

> *…because if you look back traditionally the communities we are talking about…I mean if you were to take Danby Dale for example all the farms at one time were owned by the Dawnay Estate and the Dawnay Estate. I think the number of farms they own now is down to about two round this area. If that, maybe even only one. So they were tied communities in a way that's been traditionally the case that you wouldn't hear a voice against what they do because they were tied in the farms and err the link from the farms to sort of the villages was quite strong really because a lot of people had children who married villagers but didn't farm and remained living in the village. So a close knit community. So landowners could do more or less what they like I suppose.* (NYMA, local resident, M, 75+)

[128] The tourism industry is a large business for the National Park which receives 8.38 million tourists per annum generating a spend of £730 million (NYMNPA 2020c). The tourism industry supported 11,290 full time equivalent jobs in 2019 which is 1.4% higher than in 2018 (Global Tourism Solutions 2019). Goathland has a long-affiliated history with tourism from its spa connections in the nineteenth century to the filming of the Heartbeat series and Harry Potter (The Goathland station was filmed as Hogsmeade station).

> *There was always a tradition of people in the village [who] were involved. They were always involved in the shoot. They were always involved in the estate and I think what's happening with the NP is there has been a radical change I think those estate workers those people who have lived and breathed in the villages for years have died off.* (Estate Owner, local resident, M, 25-34)

Rather than being employed in traditional rural industries such as farming with 'long hours, hard work and poor profitability' (Hildreth 2018: 60), younger people have looked towards more comfortable, easier lifestyles and employment away from the North York Moors (including college and university) and within the National Park itself including tourism-related job opportunities (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2021).

> *So as people have become more prosperous umm houses have become available because there is no work for the local people and to be fair the local people probably weren't interested in the work either…My son left to go to university and he said to me, Dad this is amazing you can walk out of your house and buy a pizza. You don't need a car. Life is easy.* (Gamekeeper, local resident, M, 45-54)

Local people, especially younger people aged 15-19, have become less interested in working with the land and, with less local job opportunities and finding themselves spatially isolated, many have left the National Park, sometimes priced out of a high-cost housing market (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2021). People are not as connected to traditional industries in the North York Moors working landscape amongst the younger generations than previous generations.[129] However there was hope from interviewees that the Woodsmith Mine may bring more local job interest amongst young people attracting them to stay in the National Park in the future and supplying them with higher paid jobs, providing more opportunities to afford property on the local housing market.

> *I wish I could say people are really passionate about the NP in my age, especially now. I don't think they are. The older generation seem to have ties to the land. They used to go out and play when they were younger. They worked outside. Members of their family were farmers.* (Shop Worker, local resident, F, 25-34)

> *I guess them allowing something like the mine project to go ahead has allowed a lot of job opportunities to come which might help maintain some of the younger core in some*

[129] Although some farmers in the research data were positive about a new generation of younger farmers emerging.

of these rural villages and towns within the Park. (Estate Manager - Farmer / Local NFU group, local resident, M, 25-34)

As well as younger people lacking interest in land-based employment, new people (mostly aged 40-70) have come to live in the National Park with very few working attachments to traditional land management practices (NYMNPA, pers. comm. 2021). This has created new types of communities in the National Park. They have arrived in a National Park and are detached from the cultural heritage of the driven grouse shooting and pheasant shooting communities. They are dubbed as 'incomers', 'outsiders' or 'dreamers' and many wish to live out their retirement dream in a National Park, sometimes owning second homes in these spaces and then moving to them to live this dream permanently. These incomers have over the last five to ten years, with more information about the environment immediately available, started to question some of the traditional, controlled moorland management practices, leading to reservations in some communities (e.g. Goathland) towards how the rural countryside is managed.[130] The 'world of wounds' is no longer as 'invisible to the laymen', which Aldo Leopold once declared (1993: 165):

When I first came. I came 30 years ago and it was very much a dark art what happened in the countryside you know. There wasn't anybody here to challenge it…definitely over the last 5 years there has been the biggest jump in attitudes. Definitely over the last ten years you saw signs of it happening, but you go back 20 years and there was only a sniff of it. (Gamekeeper, local resident, M, 45-54)

…you know grandson Jimmy doesn't want to live there because he's busy on his Nintendo he then sells the property to someone seeking a dream of living in a NP and that person who comes and lives in that village. What's shooting? I didn't know this went on? This is cruel. I'm happy buying my free-range chicken that's not from Sainsburys, that's £4.50, but I'm not eating that it's got feathers on it. I'm not eating that it's too expensive or its too cheap. That's what's happening. (Estate Owner, local resident, M, 25-34)

In today's society where information is freely available through the internet, social media etc. people are more knowledgeable about what goes on in the countryside and it's no longer hidden anymore. (University Lecturer, lives near to NP, M, 45-54)

[130] Those who live in tenanted homes which belong to the landowner were less likely to speak out according to some interviewees (University Lecturer, lives near to NP, M, 45-54, W).

> *I suspect that the problem here [in Goathland] is that people move into an area and aren't prepared to accept practices which have gone on for a long time.* (Country, Land and Business Association Director, local resident, F, 65-74)

In turn, this has led to increased local environmental and access concerns over land use and management. Communities such as the GMRG, have challenged the long-established natural-cultural axis in this protected landscape and the quasi-feudal, traditional power dynamic in the National Park. One example is the tensions around the heather burning in villages such as Goathland in the National Park:

> *We have had more complaints about heather burning the last 4 years than we have ever have. You never ever had a complaint. It's just a different crop. Our crop is heather and grouse shooting is a by-product of the sheep farming. Just because it looks a bit rougher and looks a bit wilder and the fact that's its managed for wild birds and if you manage a farmland in the same way you would have lot of wildlife there.* (Gamekeeper, local resident, M, 45-54)

> *Heather burning has been berserk. I mean every single day huge areas were being burnt and a lot of smoke around. Every day practically…fills up the dales with smoke.* (NYMA, local resident, M, 75+)

There seemed to be more awareness and more information available to the wider public about the significance of wildlife, environmental protection and the effects of climate change. Local people have wider access to information and are better informed with more appreciation and higher levels of local knowledge that 'we are mixed up with other species; we cannot live without them' (Tsing *et al.* 2017: M4). They '*look at the ecology and land management through a very different filter*' (University Lecturer, lives near to NP, M, 45-54).

> *I think it is a lot to do with the wider awareness of climate change, of biodiversity of the environment impacts and particular things and protests...a lot of it is influenced by what is going on in the wider society.* (NYNPMA Member, lives near to NP, F, 45-54)

Without going too far into wider epistemological debates, the type of local environmental knowledge which I came across on the moors was based on values, perceptions and beliefs (discussed in the last two chapters), derived from traditions, scientific rationale or personal / collective experience. All of these ways of attaching meaning to a place are constructed through 'multidimensional human-environment interactions' (Garcia-Martin *et al.* 2017: 2148). Communities which interrelate with ecosystems on a daily basis and over extensive periods

of time possess the most relevant and resourceful local knowledge of SES dynamics, in conjunction with related management practices (Berkes *et al.* 2000; Folke 2004).

For example, those who have lived in Goathland for a longer period of time were able to talk about their experiences of incremental landscape changes over time from an observational perspective – describing to me that they have seen less sheep on the moorland and more tourists in the village. Locals in Goathland experienced these changes first-hand through their everyday movements in the landscape (e.g. walking, cycling, driving etc). These experiences support Emma Waterton's more-than-representational theoretical argument that landscapes 'force us to think and feel' (2013: 69) in a 'meshwork' of interwoven lines (Ingold 2011) or an infinite network of connections (Le Guin 2017: M15) between human and non-human species; an interconnected 'nature' which ANT endorses (Allen 2011: 278).

> *People always love the moors and walk the moors…and are interested in the wildlife of the moors…always have been. But now there is now a general, modern greater awareness of wildlife and managing wildlife and protecting wildlife so there are some people who are now in the village who are very anxious about anything that goes on on the moors that might affect natural wildlife*. (Goathland Community member, local resident, F, 65-74)

Their voices on the environment are also augmented by the ecological and climate change crises taking place in 'national' spaces where those who move in, as well as interest groups from outside the Park, feel they have an intrinsic voice on matters inside the Park. Here the Anthropocene demonstrates that landscape is not only a local process but is interlinked to a larger national and global scale. Local voices are intertwined with national and global anthropogenic issues on landscapes which stimulates future, longer-term thinking about the effects of drivers of change on future generations and landscapes. Again time is a force here interlinked with considerations of alternative futures (seen in the last chapter) and the importance of connecting local voices with wider landscape visioning and planning in a National Park as landscapes evolve.

Those who own and work with the land hold the perception that these incomers and some local people have very little comprehension of the way the countryside works, and they misunderstand that these are IUCN protected areas designated for their anthropogenic characteristics (See discussion in 5.7). Land managers do not accept that this new generation of people living in the countryside is more informed and knowledgeable of rural practices:

People move into this chocolate box landscape…that's how they want to retire. But it's still real life and a hard-working life, they don't always understand this community. (Estate Owner, local resident, M, 25-34)

…the percentage of the rural population has almost no connection with management of the countryside. (Landowner / Moorland Association, local resident, M, 45-54)

People don't know how anything works [in the countryside]. (Gamekeeper, local resident, M, 45-54)

What people don't understand very often is that the heather is managed. It's not wild. It's a managed landscape. It's created like that. I think that people don't appreciate that. They move into the area thinking I've got this wonderful wild moorland and don't know what goes on there and that it's a managed habitat. (Country, Land and Business Association Director, local resident, F, 65-74)

Land managers view themselves as the 'custodians of the land' (Denny & Latham-Green 2020: 6) and with this comes the responsibility of being the experts in this environment. Yet their powers as 'experts' are starting to be questioned by the Goathland community with the emergence of differing perceptions of the purpose of the North York Moors landscape, the social and economic shifts described in this section, wider environmental awareness and knowledge and the willingness of the group to put forward their opinions.

7.3. Community voices in National Park landscapes – The Goathland Moor Regeneration Group (GMRG)

7.3.1. The landowner and the community

Figure 51 - The village of Goathland surrounded by heather moorland to the west, east and south. Cow Wath Bank is labelled on the map. The village is located in the middle of the National Park (Google Earth 2020).

Figure 52 - A panoramic view of Goathland East Moor from the top of Cow Wath Bank looking down into the village of Goathland (Photograph by author 2020).

As I drove down Cow Wath Bank, with Goathland East Moor on either side and Goathland West Moor on the horizon, the village of Goathland appeared at the bottom of the hill. The village is encircled by extensive wet and dry upland heather moorland, blanket bog, flush and spring fens and upland acid grasslands (with a small gap in the moorland towards Beck Hole

and the Esk Valley where the heritage railway cuts through the land). Goathland East Moor and Goathland West Moor are designated a SSSI, a SPA and a SAC. (Fieldwork Diary 2019-2020)

Goathland East Moor and Goathland West Moor (Fig.51 & Fig.52) are moorlands in the National Park where the people of Goathland and the landscape interact and which have recently become places of tension in the community as human interventions on the moorland by land managers have intensified according to local people.

The majority of this landscape in the village and the surrounding Wheeldale, Howl and Goathland Moors is owned by the Duchy of Lancaster[131] (approximately 5,000 acres – see Appendix K on land ownership). Individuals and sporting agencies can lease the sporting rights[132] from the landowners for sporting purposes including driven grouse shooting and pheasant shooting.[133] They, in turn, may employ land managers to manage the moorland. The leasing of this land to an individual or a sporting agency acts as an income stream for the landowner, with land acting economically as a primary factor of production. The heather moorland on the Duchy of Lancaster's land is managed for driven grouse shooting. The Duchy of Lancaster Estate is surrounded by two shooting estates with grouse shooting to the north at the Egton Estate and to the west on Rosedale and Westerdale Moors (Fig.53). Pheasant shooting also takes place at Hunt House Valley, south west of Goathland (Young 2013: 42). The moorland management at Goathland West is being funded by the Higher Level Stewardship scheme as part of Environmental Stewardship (NE, pers. comm. 2021). Goathland East Moor is entering the Countryside Stewardship Higher Tier (NE, pers. comm. 2021).

[131] The Duchy of Lancaster title is held by the current monarch. The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster administers the estates and rents of the Duchy of Lancaster, and is a member of the cabinet – the Chancellor is, after the Prime Minister, the most senior minister in the Cabinet Office (UK Government 2019).

[132] It is difficult to research who owns the shooting rights for estates but at the time of writing it is believed W&G LLP have the rights to Goathland West and Wheeldale Moor and Robert Adair leases the rights to the shoot on Goathland East Moor (Ban Bloodsports on Yorkshire's Moor, pers. comm. 2020).

[133] A *profit a prendre* is granted by the landowner to individuals and sporting agencies to carry out these sporting activities over the landowner's freehold land (Thomson Reuters Practical Law 2020). A landowner may own land but not have control over the exercise of the sporting rights (Lawyer Monthly 2018). Here, the law and landscape are intertwined with the landscape acting as a legal and political entity (Olwig 2005: 294).

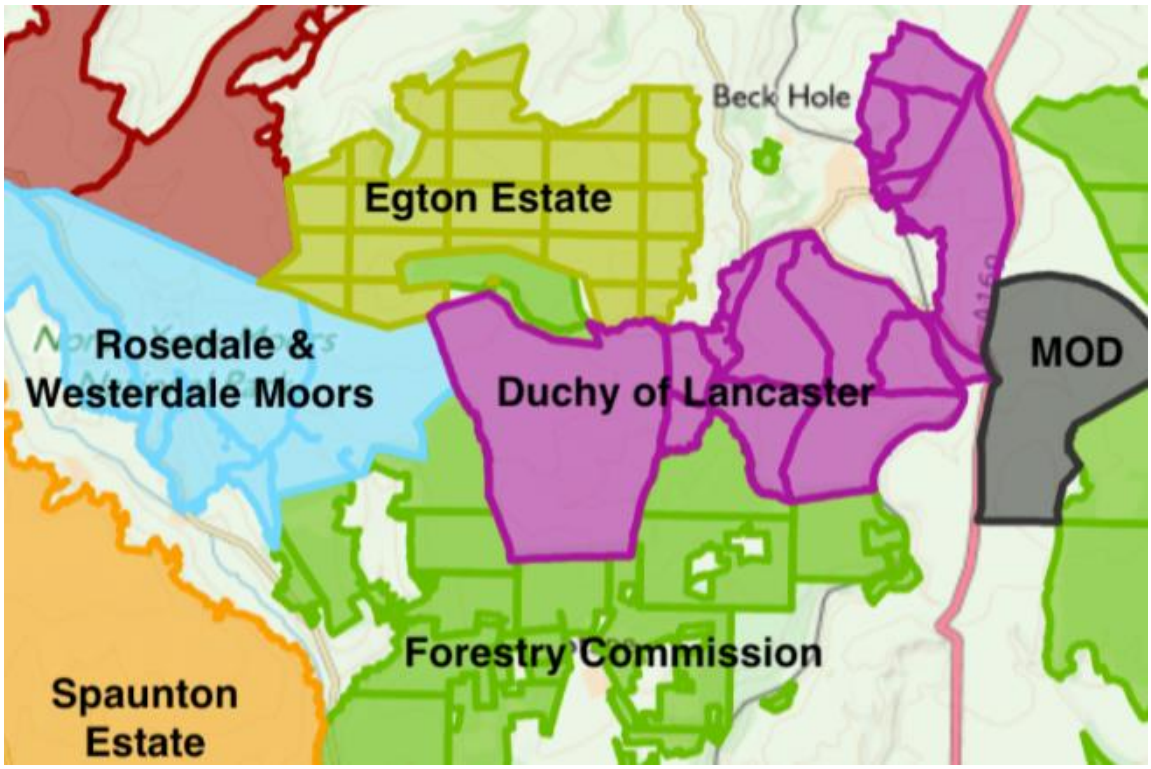


Figure 53 - The Duchy of Lancaster own most of the land in and around Goathland village (c.5,000 acres). The estate is neighboured by the Egton Estate, Rosedale and Westerdale Moors, Forestry Commission land to the south and MoD land (RAF Fylingdales) to the east (Shrubsole pers. comm. 2020; Orbital Witness 2020).

Figure 54 - The view over Goathland East Moor looking down into the village of Goathland with Goathland West Moor in the background (Photograph by author 2020).

Figure 55 - Heather burning on nearby Westerdale Moor (Source: Ban Bloodsports on Yorkshire's Moors, pers. comm. 2020)

I was visiting the village on a freezing March evening to sit in and observe a meeting of the GMRG. The wind was swirling and the rain was lashing down on the tin roof of the new village community hub[134] *as I entered the meeting venue. The tumultuous weather perhaps warning me of the emotions in the meeting room from the community that would materialise over the next hour and a half. We were meeting to discuss the setting up of this new community group.* (Fieldwork Diary 2019-2020)

The perceived changes in the land management of the surrounding Goathland East Moor and Goathland West Moor[135] (Fig.54) and the professed intensive treatment of the landscape by land managers had aggravated members of Goathland's small village community.[136] In 2018 and 2019 villagers had voiced individual complaints, often through phone conversations or emails to the landowner, in relation to moorland management issues including the rotational burning of heather moorland (Fig.55), the draining of the bogs using artificial drainage including ditches, and access being denied to certain paths. However, these members of the community thought that their voices were not being heard by the gamekeepers, people who own the sporting rights and the Duchy. As local people who frequently engage with these places, some villagers felt that they were not able to have an opinion on the shaping of the upland landscapes in the National Park, feeling ostracised from the decision-makers.

> *One of the worries which you have as a resident here is how do you have any influence, if you can, on anything.* (GMRG, local resident, F, 55-64)

From the data collected it appears as though decision-making on the Goathland Moors seemed to be far from community led. According to the GMRG, land managers determined how the uplands should be managed with limited engagement and input from local villagers. Therefore, land managers, in particular sporting agencies, are perceived as removed and exclusive from the local communities who actively use these landscapes. This also makes it very challenging for the land managers and gamekeepers who do live in these communities and who come under pressure from those who they live alongside. An interviewee expressed

[134] The construction of a community hub gave Goathland village an impetus for further community action in the local area. I witnessed this snowball effect amongst communities in the Lake District National Park where parish councils in the south west of Cumbria campaigned against the development of electricity pylons as part of the North West Connections project. Following the campaigns, these communities were then galvanised to form the Southern Boundary Partnership Group to propose an extension to the southern boundary of the National Park. This proposal was submitted by the Friends of the Lake District to Natural England on behalf of the parishes in 2019. They were able to take the impetus from one community led action and direct it towards a broader community issue across the National Park.

[135] The new community group looks at Goathland West Moor and Goathland East Moor because it has links to the Parish Council and these are the two areas of moorland that the Parish Council cover.

[136] The village has a population of 438 as of the Census 2011.

how certain land managers have very little consideration for local people because they are not from and do not live in the area:

> *When the shooting rights are owned by a sporting company…they don't really care at all about what anyone in the village [of Goathland] thinks I shouldn't think, they don't have to, they don't live there they just come for a couple of months a year, if that, a couple of weeks a year.* (GMRG, local resident, F, 45-54)

Land managers are seen to be disconnected from village residents with a top-down, paternalistic approach to moorland management with villagers' heritage-landscape values overlooked by those who manage the land. Community values are perceived as thwarted by the hegemonic system of local politics where local people are confined to an antiquated system with few consultation opportunities between the land manager, who makes many of the decisions regarding how the land is managed, and local people.

> *Almost feudal approach, you're the local serfs you know, we're the landowners, you work for us. In this day and age that doesn't buy a lot of the time.* (GMRG, local resident, M, 65-74)

> *There's a real sense of an imbalance of power and influence. I hate to use the word corruption buts its bordering on that which is a big worry to a lot of us in this area.* (GMRG, local resident, F, 55-64)

Even though land ownership is fairly concentrated in the National Park, the complexity of private land ownership and sporting rights ownership also adds to a lack of clarity around who communities should communicate with if they want to make their voices heard in the National Park. Villagers tended to contact the landowner or the National Park Authority about land management issues rather than those who own the sporting rights on the moorland.

7.3.2. The National Park Authority

Formal participation methods have been established for local communities to engage with the National Park Authority and give their viewpoint on the National Park (See 3.4.3), aided by policy developments at a local authority level moving towards greater community participation in the 2000s and early 2010s. The variety of consultation opportunities given prior to the approval of the Woodsmith Mine highlighted how the developer and the National Park Authority closely involved local people. However, in general, most of the community members spoken to in Goathland felt that they receive minimal support and engagement regarding moorland management issues from public bodies such as the National Park Authority. The

tensions between the community and the land managers exist in Goathland with very little outside control from the National Park Authority. The National Park Authority do not feature in everyday dialogue and activities in Goathland which was also a finding from the pilot research in the Lake District National Park (LDNP).[137] From the data, this reflected the general disconnection that local communities felt towards their relationship with the National Park. This detachment made some interviewees direct their voices straight towards those who own the land through email and phone conversation and the creation of the GMRG group.

> *Do they [the* National Park Authority*] have any relationship with the village? No not really. They have consultations which mean sweet FA. It's all about planning at the National Park.* (GMRG, local resident, M, 65-74)

The National Park Authority has control as a statutory planning authority over the built infrastructure in the National Park but they have limited statutory legislative powers over land management and nature conservation decisions and own only a small amount of land (1,445 acres) in the National Park. They are not able to override certain land management decisions made by landowners which are not liable to planning legislation. As discussed in Chapter 3, most decisions are made through agreements and co-operation between the National Park Authority, NE, the landowner, land managers, farmers and gamekeepers to achieve land management aims (aims and agreements are written up through Environmental Stewardship and Countryside Stewardship schemes). National Park staff work outside the statutory town and country planning system to negotiate these decisions but are often less active in the Stewardship schemes with NE taking the lead role. The National Park Management Plan also includes partnership agreements in the form of policies between certain stakeholders and the National Park Authority.

> *Those ways would have to involve compromise. We already work very closely with landowners um and within Natural England and there are quite a lot of environmental schemes that are drawn up in order to provide a sort of balance for what the moorland owners require set against the value of the moorland as a habitat, as a wildlife habitat, as a carbon sink…we do have relatively good relationships with the big landowners, with all the landowners from my perspective*. (NYMNPA Ranger, local resident, M, 55-64)

In the North York Moors, there are no regular, formal consultation methods for communities regarding land use and management, which sit outside the town and country planning system

[137] A National Park Authority volunteer in the Lake District stated that '*the National Park doesn't figure in day to day life apart from planning applications'* (LDNP volunteer, local resident, M, 65-74).

and the overall regulatory power of the National Park Authority is limited in terms of land management. They do not hold statutory powers over land use and changes to land use if they fall outside the planning system. Landowners are able to have more influence than the National Park Authority over upland management according to interviewees across the National Park. Natural England will hold a certain amount of legislative power over designated sites in the National Park, but the landowner will make many of the final decisions on land use and landscape change.

> *The National Parks really have nothing. In many respects, the National Parks roll over when landowners come along. There's no doubt about that.* (GMRG, local resident, M, 65-74)

> *The estates round here hold a lot of power. The shooting estates because they own a lot of the land and a lot of the farms. They tenant the farms out but their primary aim is the grouse moor and the shooting and that. They hold an awful lot of power in terms of how the landscape looks and how the landscape would change. They own a lot of the farms so they would say how certain farms should be run and they could say that has to be dairy farm or that's got to be low input farm and things like that.* (Estate Manager - Farmer / Local NFU group, local resident, M, 25-34)

> *At the end of the day our [NYMNPA] impact is quite minimal because the people who have the biggest impact in my personal view are the landowners and the land managers but the landowners in particular. At the end of the day it's their land and they might have certain restrictions from the planning authority or Natural England or any designations with what they can do to the land but at the end of the day its theirs to decide if they want to plant trees or not to plant trees or manage it this way or that way.* (NYMNPA Woodland Officer, lives near to NP, F, 35-44)

Instead of concentrating on landscape conservation from a systemic, integrated perspective that was discussed in the previous two chapters, there is also an impression amongst the Goathland community that the National Park Authority take a parochial viewpoint by focusing on the 'beauty' aspects of the first statutory purpose of a National Park; 'conserving and enhancing the natural beauty, wildlife and cultural heritage'. They prioritise the aesthetically pleasing façade of a landscape rather than focusing on the health and biodiversity of its ecosystems and wildlife, which aligns with how the National Park was set up in 1952 (See 3.2). According to people in Goathland, there seemed to be less recognition for the state of nature in these areas which are designated nationally for their landscape value rather than the protection of biodiversity and nature. This is demonstrated by the state of SSSIs (of which

include Goathland West and Goathland East Moors) in the National Park which have been found to be in a poorer state than those nationally (CNP 2018: 19).

> *It sometimes feels like the National Parks are more concerned about the 'look' and scenery of the countryside than how diverse it really is.* (GMRG, local resident, F, 45-54)

The comment displays that the Goathland community feels that the National Park Authority views the landscape designated area from an 'external, outsider' perspective – seeing landscape as a fixed 'cultural image' (Daniel & Cosgrove 1988: 1), rather than the embodied, dwelling perspective that many of the walking interviews encouraged where landscape emerges from a mixture of relations between culture and nature (Roe 2019: 403). Instead of an interconnected, immersive sense of being in a landscape (Cloke & Jones 2001), there is an outsider perception that the National Park landscape is about preserving its cultural heritage and the living, working landscapes for their aesthetics. Thus, presenting an idyllic version of the English rural countryside which tourists seek to experience, rather than concentrating on its issues with the natural world (e.g. climate change, nature depletion and raptor persecution), as detected in other interviews in the National Park:

> *National Parks seems to be more about preserving a landscape than necessarily the habitats and wildlife...its nice dry stone walls, farmed landscape in the North York Moors and about landscape* heritage*…less about the environment.* (National Trust, lives near to NP, M, 35-44)

> *In my opinion the purpose is absolutely nothing to do with conservation or what lives here. It is about what is built here or what has been built here and preserving it. More cultural than natural.* (GMRG, local resident, M, 45-54)

The perspective here is also found in the original National Parks designations to protect 'natural beauty' in the post war period (See Chapter 3). This again feeds into the anthropogenic debates that these are National Park landscapes which were designated and are now manufactured to be managed and protected by humans and simultaneously produce the heather moorland – the setting for grouse shooting, a wildlife haven (according to certain local people – often those involved in traditional industries) and a tourism attraction in the summer months.[138] Land managers place great significance on the anthropogenic control of

[138] James Rebanks , the Lake District farmer and author, agrees that many of the human interventions seen in the Lake District National Park have led to this landscape being perceived as a 'scenic playground for the rest of Britain' (2015: XVII).

these moorlands but is this type of control being held to account? How does accountability work in spaces which are mostly privately owned and have this juxtaposition of being for the nation whilst the National Park Authority yields limited powers? Natural England have the power to prosecute landowners who misuse designated land but to what extent are they monitoring the activities of moorland managers and ensuring that these landscapes are tackling the climate change and ecological crises?

> *We could have a lot more nature in National Parks. National Parks could be richer in nature. We could be more demanding of land managers in terms of what they do and be stronger in enforcement of existing legislation. The National Park Authority doesn't have that much legal power to actually deliver things which it probably already has a commitment to delivering.* (NYMNPA Former Director of Conservation, lives near to NP, M, 35-44)

7.3.3. The Goathland Moor Regeneration Group (GMRG)

The build-up of these adverse feelings towards how the land is being managed led to individuals in the village coming together to form a residents' association – the GMRG. The group had been set up as a Goathland Parish Council sub-committee in October 2018, '*representing a portion of the local community*' (GMRG, local resident, F, 45-54), to stand for the village's local environmental concerns and issues. The group had been established:

> *'To preserve and enhance the biodiversity of our local moors, waterways and woodlands and our continued access to them [which] we have historically enjoyed'* (GMRG 2020)

Many in the group had strong feelings that Natural England and the National Park have not held landowners with shooting rights to account for constructing tracks, draining the bogs on the moors and the intensification of heather burning which in turn has brought an increased amount of smoke into Goathland (GMRG, pers. comm. 2019).[139] Additionally, there was concern over the high-profile debates on illegal raptor persecution (linked to predator control) on moors managed for driven grouse shooting (Fig.56).[140] These concerns were local,

[139] A research participant noted how the issues of smoke instigated by heather burning spreading into places where people live has become even more problematic since the COVID-19 pandemic began.

[140] North Yorkshire has more confirmed incidents of raptor persecution than any other county and the illegal killing and disturbances of birds of prey is associated by various organisations, such as the RSPB, with land managed for driven grouse shooting (RSPB 2018; NYMNPA 2020a). Ban Bloodsports on Yorkshire's Moors reported that a Hen Harrier went missing on Goathland East Moor on 18th August 2005 (Ban Bloodsports on Yorkshire's Moor, pers. comm. 2020). In May 2020, a Goshawk was reported to have been killed, caught in a trap on Howl Dale Moor (Newton 2020).

everyday matters which correspond with wider environmental debates nationally and globally, which is also amplified by these debates transpiring in a National Park.

Figure 56 - A North Yorkshire Police poster in a local shop in Goathland promoting the Operation Owl campaign which the police force launched in February 2018 to raise awareness about raptor persecution (Photograph by author 2020).

The local community group do not necessarily advocate driven grouse shooting to be banned on the moors (although a couple of interviewees from Goathland village wished to see a ban of grouse shooting implemented), but they have been inspired by the accountability that large landowners on other estates in the county of Yorkshire face. For example, in the west of the county, Yorkshire Water are reviewing shooting on their land (e.g. the Bronte Moors near Haworth) when an existing shooting lease comes up for renewal (Yorkshire Water 2019). On Yorkshire Water estates, new land tenancies would include stricter requirements to restore and improve the natural environment; heather burning in only exceptional circumstances and a zero-tolerance to wildlife crime (Yorkshire Water 2019).

It wasn't the shooting as such per se. I thinks it's the means to the end that is the problem so you know I don't want to go shooting, I don't like shooting but I accept that some people might want to do that. To achieve the goal they want which is loads and loads of birds to shoot at means the destruction of so much else. (GMRG, local resident, F, 55-64)

I think quite a lot of people think that it [the shooting] has gone too far and it has become too commercial. There's maybe less people who think it should get banned and there is probably a handful of people who maybe think well the moorland is pretty fake anyway. (GMRG, Local resident, F, 45-54)

In Goathland, the GMRG believed that the surrounding moors have changed in character in recent years with '*more flooding, more burning, bigger grouse bags*' (University Lecturer, lives near to NP, M, 45-54) which has led to a biotic homogenisation of the landscape's ecosystems including a '*heather monoculture*' (University Lecturer, lives near to NP, M, 45-54) dominating the upland landscape. In an interview with a GMRG member, the participant talked about how he thought that upland management techniques and practices had damaged the moorland ecosystems:

The moors are now overburnt, there's no trees allowed to grow where there should be trees there and no raptors and no predators and you need that for the little guys, it just works as an ecology, you need the whole system. (GMRG, local resident, M, 45-54)

There was a lack of trust of the land managers amongst the community group because the current moorland management techniques were perceived by the group as harmful to its biodiversity.[141] Cultural intervention had become excessive to the degree that people were prompted to voice their strong emotional feelings on how they value the landscape, the land changes they have witnessed and their belief in the importance of its biodiversity. The tensions on display in Goathland are a mixture of conservation conflicts (Hodgson *et al.* 2018) and access issues. Conservation conflicts can be defined as 'situations that occur when two or more parties with strongly held opinions clash over conservation objectives and when one party is perceived to assert its interests at the expense of another' (Young *et al.* 2016: 196).

The creation of the group has given local people an opportunity to voice their common concerns to others. The community can put forward their opinions on the local landscapes because landscape is a process – never fixed and always moving with humans integrated in

[141] Young *et al*. study (2016) provides evidence that increased trust through 'fair' participation processes enhances conflict resolution which is a vital learning from conservation conflict resolution literature.

this process. Akin to the concept of time, investigated in the previous chapter, it is an arbitrary space which gives communities a window to propose their viewpoints. With few land management consultation opportunities, the GMRG through the development of the group and various talks and discussions have put pressure on the Duchy, those who hold shooting leases on the land and the gamekeepers to change their conservation methods.[142]

> *There isn't a way for the village to have a say…this group allows it to have a voice.* (GMRG, local resident, F, 45-54)

As evidenced in Chapter 5, a dominant cultural heritage and powerful land ownership has restrained other communities from speaking out in the moors. The GMRG were aware that their active opinions could cause tension between the community and land managers, but the group realised that a collective voice could challenge the long established cultural *taskscapes* on the moorlands and the strong moorland culture.

> *It's quite refreshing what we saw in Goathland. Most local communities accept the moorland management. They have grown up with it and it is just the culture of their local area. Kids and teenagers will go beating on grouse days and get a bit of money like that, heather burning doesn't really bother them.* (Heather Trust, visitor, M, 65-74)

> *You do think to what extent are we bringing the wrath of the powerful people down on us if we rattle the cage, but equally the choice for me is if you can't do anything about this do you just leave?* (GMRG, local resident, F, 55-64)

> *… we are all expected to bow down on one knee and do as you are told, well it doesn't quite work like that and for too long the villages have sat about and muttered and moaned and complained individually but as soon as you become a collective.* (GMRG, local resident, M, 65-74)

Residents' identities are intertwined with these moorland landscapes and they felt they should have an input on the management of the surrounding landscape which impacts upon their daily lives, being and feelings. Ordinary interactions with the surrounding village and moorlands can have an important impact on the landscape (Vergunst *et al.* 2019: 32) and when these taskscapes are influenced by other human activities it can be a trigger for contest. They value the landscape for its freedom and openness and when these values are detracted by human interference, they fear a sense of loss of these landscape values.

[142] On 21st September 2020 the GMRG were featured in a Channel 4 news story about raptor persecution on the Goathland Moors.

I walk my dog on the moorland for the fresh air and if this is no longer the case because of intense heather burning then it effects my wellbeing. (GMRG, local resident, F, 55-64)

7.3.4. Participation and the future of the uplands

Listening is key to all voices being heard including marginalised voices. Communities know 'what matters and why and know the impact of development and change on the places they hold dear' (Schofield 2014: 8). This wider listening has started to occur in Goathland with the emergence of collaborative events instigated by the formation of the community group. For example, a public event called 'What are Britain's uplands for?' was organised by the Heather Trust in the village in September 2019 with a range of speakers from different stakeholder groups. Public meetings have given the villagers the opportunity to put their perspectives across:

At the public meetings everyone has been able to have their say. They have been well advertised within the village. Everyone can go...there is every opportunity to be heard. (Goathland Community member, local resident, F, 65-74)

The development of these public meetings are an example of fairness in public participation 'which means that all those affected by certain decisions are represented and, importantly, that procedures enable them to have an input into the format and content of discussions' (Young *et al.* 2016: 196). Fairness, critically, has two aspects; an independent process which is unbiased and a process of influence that gives those involved a voice (Young *et al.* 2016: 196). Through the open public meetings involving a variety of stakeholders there has been more even-balanced engagement between land managers and the local community. The polarised tensions between land managers and the community have led to these forums where people feel confident to share their opinions on moorland management. Tensions have been known in conservation conflict resolution literature to increase an understanding of different landscape-heritage values and perceptions (Young *et al.* 2016: 196).

The concept of community, a unified, shared identity, can include a diverse range of people and voices. The wide scope of objectives set by the group shows the range of viewpoints and interests within Goathland village. This brings to the fore the subjective nature of the term 'landscape' and how each individual values and perceives National Park landscapes differently to the next person. Tensions over land use, management and ownership were all at work throughout the meeting and in many of the interviews for the thesis. Identity is interwoven into these arguments with contested debates over the interpretation of the

biocultural heritage of the politicised landscape. Certain identities and social norms become affiliated with specific groups such as the illegal killing of predators on a heather moorland with gamekeepers and the grouse shooting community. The tensions 'become heavily value-laden with different normative perceptions of what or who is acceptable' (Hodgson *et al.* 2018: 332). These interpretations can provoke contest between groups in this setting 'as different stakeholders and communities try to negotiate different interpretations of the same landscape' (Smith 2008: 14). People with shared values and identities are more likely to come together to oppose decision-makers who perhaps hold differing perceptions of and future visions for the landscape, although there are perhaps undiscovered commonalities between these social groups which can be revealed through integration and participation.

With their environmental concerns, the GMRG are representing a certain section of the community in the village but also recognise that not everybody in the village may hold this opinion, as the Goathland village community has divided perceptions and values towards upland landscapes:

> *Some of the people who are in the parish are gamekeepers, some of them are married to gamekeepers, some of them are sisters, brothers, offspring…um so there is um quite a difference of opinions…I don't think everyone would be necessarily be clear enough about what their opinion is maybe because we all kind of rub along with each other despite being different.* (GMRG, local resident, F, 45-54)

Generally, understanding what people value in the landscape, why and what should be protected (Waterton 2005: 320) are essential to avoiding these divisions from occurring and enables decision-makers to balance different perspectives and work towards a collective purpose for a National Park landscape. The following three questions need to be continually asked. Firstly, what are our landscapes for? Secondly, which is the best form of management for this particular landscape? Thirdly, what do we want from these landscapes in the future? Stakeholders in a National Park setting could begin by increasing their listening to these three questions to shorten the disparities between local community and management organisations in the National Park.

With the pressure from the group and the public meeting events, the GMRG acknowledged that relationships with the landowner had improved and the landowner had started to listen.

> *The relationship was very good, then horrible then its resurgence [relationship between landowner and communities]. Anyway, the Duchy have taken it all back in house again*

> *[the management of the moors]. They are extremely keen to make sure the community has its voice and its voice is heard.* (GMRG, local resident, M, 65-74)

The question here is whether the Duchy is having the same conversation with those who manage the land – are the land managers understanding of what communities want from their surrounding landscapes? Are they willing to share power, control and decision-making? Are they willing to empower communities with agency? Is there enough evidence to say that a more collective voice will benefit sustainable landscape outcomes (e.g. ecosystem services or sustainable development as set out in the NYMNP Management Plan)? Maggie Roe, a landscape planning and design researcher, raises a critical question '…does participation actually provide more sustainable landscapes?' (Roe 2019: 412). Incontrovertibly, landowners have every right to ask how wider public participation adds value to landscape and moorland management. When I put this question to a land manager in the Goathland area, he stated that dialogue with certain communities does not always benefit their land management procedures. The land manager wished for positive, informed contributions from communities to enhance decision-making:

> *It's quite difficult identifying the people who are really interested and have a view umm and want to genuinely engage and understand as opposed to those who have a misunderstanding and want to impose an idea that actually is not going to work. And the land managers, the farmers can see that that's not going to work at which point you end up with a confrontational situation and it's trying to work out and knowing in advance which people are. Anybody would be quite happy to engage with the first group [those who will engage] and would [not] go to extreme trouble to engage with the second one [those who have a misunderstanding], because no good is going to come out of it or very unlikely any good is gonna come out of it. Much more likely you know there's going to be conflict, disappointment and an unpleasant and unenjoyable experience for all concerned*. (Landowner / Moorland Association, local resident, M, 45-54)

Denying some people a voice is more of an authoritarian stance on decision-making and follows Laura Westra's argument that not all people can be trusted to make environmentally sensitive decisions (1998). From the data collected, land managers are not wanting to get drawn into extensive community participation and to change their ways because they are happy with the current engagement process. The land managers, interviewed, agreed that regarding community engagement '*there is always more that could be done*' (Landowner / Moorland Association, local resident, M, 45-54) showing that they were not against further

community engagement, yet it needed to be proven to be an effective resource in decision-making, especially as it can be expensive, time consuming and can decrease the power of experts (Jones 2016: 125) (See 2.3.5). Some landowners had people working in community engagement / education type roles on their estates. Therefore, how much community engagement takes place within certain landscapes is dependent on the specific landowner. However, I did not come across a representative from the estate in a community orientated capacity in Goathland.

> *It very much depends on the attitude of the landowner themselves [if they consult with communities]. If there's a legal responsibility to them they will but over and above that it will depend on the personality of the landowner. So, it is very variable across the Park.* (NYMNPA Woodland Officer, lives near to NP, F, 35-44)

It is argued here, and throughout the final reflections chapter, that a co-operative communication system,[143] based on deliberative, systemic thinking, emerging from the case study and participatory literature research (See Chapter 2) which rises above these tensions and can produce useful, equitable knowledge needs to be reviewed by land managers. Identities and perceptions of landscapes, researched throughout this thesis, could be collated through a system which is built into National Park strategic planning including, for example, the NYMNPA management plan, the NYMNPA local plan and any estate planning. This would require community input in decisions being implemented (or not implemented if the knowledge base lacks rigour and rationale) and would see power and knowledge increasingly shared. The community should at the very least be given additional communication platforms to enable this dialogue to occur which in turn can build stronger connections between communities, landowners, the National Park Authority and other stakeholders. This is within recognition that there will be more passive communities in the moors, evidenced on Fylingdales Moor, who are perhaps not looking to put their voices forward. Yet wider input should be available for those who wish to utilise these options whether the platform is a Parish Council, an active community group - seen in this case study, improved consultation on the National Park Management Plan or more localised strategic plans. The communication system across the National Park should look to better connect the complex layers of the NYMNP governance for open dialogue to work between the correct decision-making organisations.[144] Organisations such as the National Park Authority should be given the resources to understand local

[143] Co-operative communication is a term first coined by Robert Bacal to define an environment where shared listening and dialogue are encouraged (1998).

[144] The multifaceted nature of the governance of NYMNP stakeholders provided a challenge for the GMRG to embed themselves within current social and political networks.

communities through similar public events to that seen in Goathland,[145] especially at the start of projects so communities can be built into working relationships and land managers can look to understand what local people want from their National Park landscapes (NYMNPA Woodland Officer, lives near to NP, F, 35-44).

The meeting ended, the rain started to thin, and I thought back to a previous conversation a couple of weeks earlier I had with a local builder who was born in Goathland village. (Fieldwork Diary 2019-2020)

> Interviewer: *Do you think communities have much of a say on what happens in a landscape in a National Park?*
>
> Builder: *I don't think so, no. I really don't but maybe this [referring to the GMRG group] might change a few things.* (Builder, local resident, M, 45-54)

7.4. Voices

The voices on display in Goathland have shown that the discontent in how the environment is being managed can provoke strong feelings amongst local people who are not involved in its management in a National Park. Although active community groups organising to challenge the moorland management are rare in the North York Moors, restricted by the strong perception that the power estates hold over an area of land and its use is undisputable, local people appreciate the importance of the biodiversity of a landscape and look to protect their landscapes through voicing their thoughts on the nature-culture balance. The case study suggests that there is a local, public awareness of environmental and biodiversity issues in Goathland which looks to encourage landowners to see the importance of these issues at a local level through more informed, open participatory dialogue. Currently, across the National Park, the amount of engagement between the landowner, land managers and local people is dependent on the perceptions of individual landowners or land managers who hold a huge amount of power over the land, often seen to be prioritising their private interests.

Conservation conflicts or tensions,[146] demonstrated in the Goathland case study, can be viewed as an opportunity to build stronger relations between land managers and the National Park community. These discussions can be taken forward to develop care, consideration and passion for the landscape so this is integrated across all interested parties. Local

[145] There have been consultation events occurring in landscape partnership schemes, but the application needs to be park wide.
[146] Some in the village may not consider these discussions to even have reached a 'tense' stage, depending on their perceptions of the debates.

environmental epistemologies are vital, especially amongst those who continuously interact in their cultural practices with ecosystems over long periods of time (Berkes *et al*. 2000: 1251; Folke 2004). This knowledge should be reviewed for its rigour (it may not follow a stringent research methodology but it could be traditional knowledge inherited from previous generations), reliability, quality and its benefits but it should be given an input into the application of land management decisions and actions.[147]

The evidence in this case study does not make a case for public participation leading to better, more sustainable decision-making on the management of landscapes. Evaluation research into the outcomes of the Goathland case study in terms of its impact are still to be followed closely and this could be a future area for research which would correspond with the conservation conflict resolution literature. The evidence here suggests that public participation, with the application of a systemic, deliberative approach that gives the local community a communication platform on land management issues, can bring the local community closer to land managers in terms of beneficial knowledge and trust and interconnect community identity with landscape planning and visioning.

As discussed in Chapter 2, research into grassroots community movements in National Parks is sparse in landscape studies. This chapter has demonstrated the significance of a community's role in future landscape management procedures and the value in this type of research (Fig.57).

[147] Here, I am not stating that a certain type of knowledge is more informative than another type of knowledge.

Figure 57 - Capturing community voices in the North York Moors National Park

Applying participation-based methods to the research by visiting Goathland and attending everyday 'taskscapes' such as walks with respondents and sitting in on a meeting of the Goathland Moor Regeneration Group, enabled the thesis to comprehend the values that people attach to a landscape and the relationships humans forge with their surrounding environments. I recorded how they perceived the landscapes through observations and semi-structured interviews.

As argued in Chapter 4, the research process being immersed in the landscape brought the interviewer and the research participant closer to the landscape. Through the everyday practices of taskscapes and dwelling (Ingold 2000, 2010), I was able to formulate multi temporal narratives (past, present and future representations of heritage) closely affiliated with the networks of human and non-human movement. These narratives are interwoven with sensory immersion, characterised as *apprenticing ourselves to a place* (Wattchow 2013: 94), into the politicised landscape in Goathland revealing what people care about in these landscapes and how they are contested grounds between people with shared perceptions, values and identity.

Throughout the data collection phase I wanted to ensure that I remained independent and didn't bias the feelings of one particular community or group. In a contested area, I was careful how the thoughts and feelings of landowners, the GMRG and the National Park Authority were presented. Recruitment of landowners and gamekeepers provided a challenge to the representation of the data in this chapter.

It was very easy to recruit participants from the GMRG and local Goathland villagers and collate data from these participants by emailing the group and putting an advertisement for the research project on the Goathland Village Facebook page. The GMRG and others in the community were active in voicing their strong opinions. It was harder to recruit gamekeepers and landowners for the research. These opinions were sought from other sources – for example Natural England, the NYMNPA and the Moorland Association. I faced similar problems to the GMRG in understanding which organisations I should contact to find out more about these debates on Goathland West and East Moor. Often the complexity of private landownership and trying to understand who owns sporting rights on the land added to a lack of clarity around who to communicate with in the National Park. I spoke to a number of contacts in the moors to identify the landowner and the sporting agency. Replies to emails from these contacts were not always received. Furthermore the Duchy of Lancaster, the landowner, stated 'we are still developing our long-term strategy for moorland management at Goathland so do not feel it would be useful for the Duchy to comment at this time' (Duchy of Lancaster, pers. comm. 2020).

Limited access to land managers who worked in the Goathland Parish area meant that this chapter focused on the perceptions and attitudes of the GMRG whilst utilising the thoughts of one land manager who worked on Goathland Moor and land managers from other areas of the park who had indirect relationships with Goathland.

Chapter Eight

Reflections and recommendations

> *'What should be conserved if multiple futures are possible? Who should decide and through what processes?'* (Lorimer 2015: 144)

This chapter serves as a final reflection on the key themes of the thesis – the nature-culture axis, the four active forces, the co-operative communication system – and the main concepts, central arguments, key findings and unique contributions to knowledge of studying three case studies in the NYMNP. Furthermore, the chapter provides a set of recommendations on improving community participation in land management decisions in the National Park. These final reflections and recommendations have originated from the three strands of analysis[148] of the four key research questions[149] and the main aim of the thesis - *to use the Anthropocene as a framework to investigate how people identify with and influence the management, use and ownership of a protected landscape in the UK to provide a greater understanding of the human-natural environment synergy.*

8.1. The nature-culture axis

Using the Anthropocene, dwelling theory and systemic thinking as frameworks, this thesis has argued that the National Park landscapes focused upon are symbiotic and multi relational; nature and culture cannot exist separately in these spaces. Fixed as an interdependent axis, the two concepts fundamentally work together. As identified from the data, forces such as *movement*, *perception*, *time* and *voice* shift the axis towards culture or nature in these changing landscapes (Fig.58). Indeed, one force may have a more powerful impact, or the shift may be a combination of all four. The four forces highlighted have emerged from the main themes in the datasets, but there are possibilities for others to affect the nature-culture axis, with the use of a hyphen in the axis representing the affective relations and spaces in the binary compound. The shifting of this axis by these forces causes landscapes to become contested[150] with examples of anthropogenic and biocentric debates over development,

[148] See 1.4 for a description of the three forms of analysis and 4.4 for further details on the project's data analysis framework.

[149] The four key research questions are: 1. How do people perceive and experience landscapes, land management and land use in the NYMNP? 2. How do people identify with and influence the Woodsmith Mine and Fylingdales Moor landscapes? 3. Who influences people's perceptions and experiences of the NYMNP heritage-landscapes? 4. How much agency do communities have in influencing the management, use and ownership of the NYMNP landscape?

[150] For this thesis, contests were defined in Chapter 1 as the ideas and debates within social relations in a landscape.

conservation, insider and outsider perceptions, access, the purpose of a landscape and its land management evidenced throughout this thesis. Contest is a result of this process; the outcome of different interpretations, feelings and meanings developing towards a subjective heritage-landscape. Therefore, how people identify with and influence landscape shapes the nature-culture axis and its relationships with these forces.

This axis approach has repercussions for all four key research questions of the project. By researching the affecting factors and their connections with culture and nature in heritage-landscapes, the changing and continual relations between people and the environment can be better understood and balanced.

The previous four chapters investigated each of these forces in turn with the three analysis chapters responding to the four key research questions. The key findings from each of these chapters, as well as integrating background research findings from Chapters 2 and 3, are summarised next.

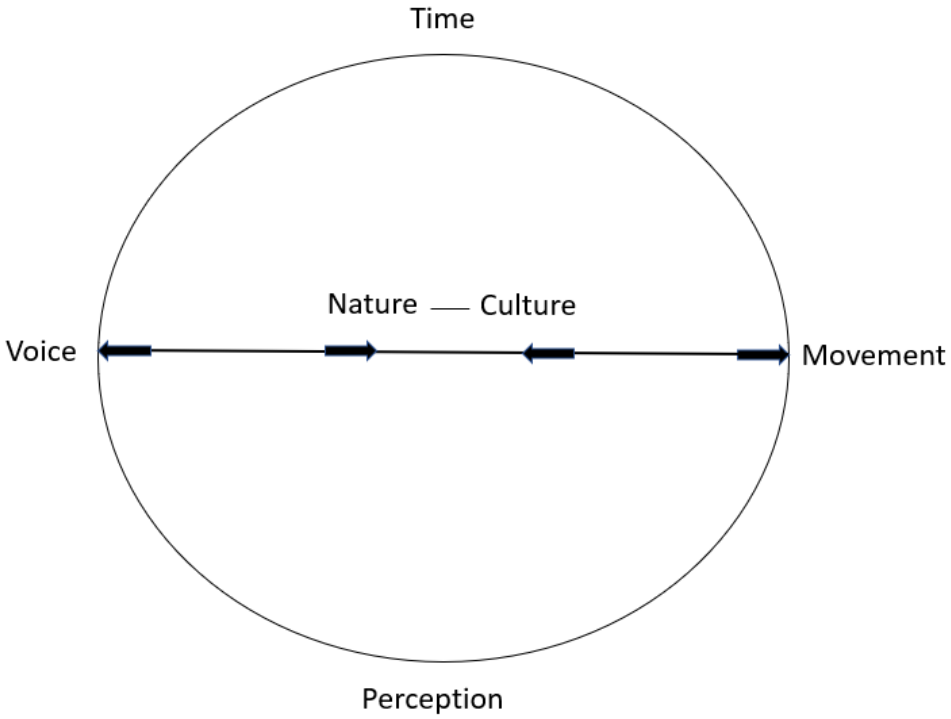


Figure 58 - A diagram of the contested landscape process with the nature-culture axis and the four forces which affect the axis. The lines on the diagram derive from Ingold's 'meshwork' of interwoven lines which represent relationships between 'things' (Ingold 2011).

8.2. Four forces

8.2.1. Movement

Through using walking interviews as the primary methodological approach, research participants were fully immersed and embodied in the environment facilitating a more intimate interview process with the landscape. Participants were integrated into a present landscape, engaged with multiple temporalities (the interplay between past, present and future) and contests within this present landscape, as the process of heritage was being practiced. Chapter 4 demonstrated how people's movements shape the nature-culture axis in a landscape whilst simultaneously impacting upon the feelings and perceptions of those who are moving through the 'meshwork' of relationships in a multi-sensory environment, corresponding with 'more-than-representational' thinking. Drawing on Ingold's work (2000: 200-204, 2010: 67), the research highlighted how people value and identify with a landscape through their taskscapes and dwellings of being 'in' this landscape. By applying this new academic research method in the NYMNP as part of a mixed methods approach, the thesis demonstrated how people's values and relations, from a certain point in time, are interwoven with the heritage-landscapes of the North York Moors, and the social, political, cultural and economic systems which construct these landscapes. Any restriction of human or wildlife movements or improved access to these movements (i.e. better access for visitors or nature recovery networks) by decision-makers impacts upon the nature-culture interplay and the SES that exist in these National Park spaces, which should be a consideration in the future planning of nature recovery programmes.

8.2.2. Perception

The perceptions of land managers, Natural England (NE) and the NYMNPA influence the many different land management decisions made every day which affect the natural-cultural axis, therefore influencing people's experiences and perceptions of the landscape. These managers were not always seen to be taking a holistic viewpoint of the moorlands, instead, for example, focusing on economic viability and / or nature conservation of the land in their everyday management routines. Through the perspective of dwelling theory where nature and culture are combined, Chapter 5 argued that a more systemic approach can lead to a better integrated system of land management. This also involves land managers and the NYMNPA, through the new management plan, working collaboratively at a wider landscape scale to address the 'cultural control' in the National Park by balancing nature-culture relations.

The heather moorland, the main habitat of the National Park, is a symbol of culture dominating this landscape, representing the perceptions of its landowners and managers. The moorland

plateau is anthropogenically perceived by land managers as a permanent, long-established habitat with humans responsible for this environment by protecting its living, working cultural practices and this plant community. Subsequently this long held perception shifts the axis towards culture in this setting. Even though I argue that these are landscapes where nature and culture merge, many interviewees would use the term 'cultural landscape' to describe the North York Moors. In management terms, the natural heritage is renounced at the sake of a human-controlled moorland environment. Yet the natural heritage still exists through the manufacturing of a narrative that the moorland is a 'wild' landscape and a conservation project. This can create misconceptions over the naturalness of the landscape, especially amongst the visiting population.

The power of the land-owning gentry, their strong cultural heritage and living memory of moorland management and shooting and their custodian role of protecting the land, often makes it challenging and restrictive for residents of the National Park to voice their opinions on land management. Without any activist culture contesting moorland management techniques and the general lack of awareness of the incremental changes made to the moorland, communities tend to remain quiescent and passive.

8.2.3. Time

Chapter 6 examined the Woodsmith Mine and Fylingdales Moor, two alternative kinds of landscape which differ from the typical landscapes found elsewhere in the National Park. The former, an industrial landscape and the latter, a conservation orientated moorland, are juxtaposed on either side of the B1416 road.

Alternative landscapes adjust nature-culture relationships by being different from the typical land management and use that defines the National Park. The results of the data from Fylingdales Moor and the Woodsmith Mine established that local people support these different types of landscapes for the heterogeneous, new opportunities they bring to the National Park but they can also cause tension to local people's perceptions and experiences of the purpose of a National Park landscape. By affecting how time is perceived in a landscape these different approaches to landscape management challenge and coerce the nature-culture axis. For example, the Woodsmith Mine brought large scale, modern changes offering visions of the future to spaces which are accustomed to small, more traditional adjustments, demonstrated by the subtle types of wildlife and human created change on Fylingdales Moor, an area which prioritises ecological well-being. Using the Anthropocene framework for its long-term viewpoint on time, the chapter argued that through researching multiple perceptions and temporal thinking, encompassed by heritage processes, land managers and communities can

better understand landscape change, interdependent landscapes and relations in the culture-nature axis. In both these landscapes, culture and nature co-exist and they could be seen as an example of how a moorland landscape and a modern development in the Anthropocene can emerge side by side.

Time also demonstrated in the chapter how perceptions of a landscape can change as many of the opinions towards the Woodsmith Mine were only temporary. The transitory nature of landscapes means that capturing these perceptions at a certain moment in time, through a methodology which encouraged present thinking and current experiences, made the primary data collected unique. This is accentuated by the relationship between time and landscape being an understudied area of research in landscape studies.

8.2.4. Voice

As illustrated by the unique review of NYMNP land ownership in Chapter 3 and Chapter 7, the management and control of large areas of the moors – in particular the heather moorland plateau – is in the hands of mostly private owners (80%).[151] This means that it is the private landowners or estate land managers who will make many of the key decisions over the future of the North York Moors landscape, how change is controlled and how people will perceive and experience the landscapes. In agreement with Greider and Garkovich (1994), the thesis argues that the landscape that dominates the National Park is the landscape type that represents the landowning groups. Owners and land managers of estates hold a huge amount of leverage in decision-making over land in the National Park. Whilst much of the National Park policy rhetoric is about community involvement and representation, landowners do not formally have to consult with the general public on land management decisions. In addition, there are no laws or policies to hold these landowners to account regarding a land management decision if the land is not designated as a SSSI, SAC, or SPA (or there are other 'landscape restrictions' which are ascribed to National Parks and AONBs) (NE, pers. comm. 2021) or the changes are the result of a planning system decision or impacting upon a designated heritage asset. In the future, if the current laws and policies remain in place, the findings suggest that a wide variety of peoples' viewpoints on land use and management may not be taken into account by landowners. Landowners and land managers will continue to make the final decisions over land use, management and change and these decisions will not be as transparent if they are not in the public domain. Many of the larger estates will have the financial power to fund these decisions even if they are not supported by future agri-environment schemes. Those with vested powers will continue to take a long-term perspective

[151] Although the Forestry Commission, a public body, is the largest landowner in the National Park.

on the management of the land, although this will not necessarily be in alignment with the National Park vision, especially if the National Park vision undermines the financial viability of the landscape.

Many of the landowners and land managers in the National Park have vested management powers and they have a strong cultural heritage which gives them a lengthy timeline of authority over land management and land use derived from their ownership of land in the Park. The implication of this power dynamic means that the current status quo of power relations remains in the Park and is rarely challenged. The research in this thesis suggests that landowners and land managers can be reluctant to involve the general public in land management decision making because they have no need to engage with this audience. The evidence highlights that landowners and land managers have their own self-interests to look after and often they are making decisions for their own purposes. They are not always likely to subside their decision making and transfer this power to the public to involve a wider range of communities, limiting the capability and proficiency of a co-operative communication system. There would have to be incentives on offer (i.e. through future agri-environment schemes), changes to the law and policy or a recognition of the value of community interaction for landowners and land managers to change their current consultation methods.

Underpinned by this power structure, a key argument of the thesis is that North York Moors communities could be better represented in land management discussions. This study shows that the extent to which land managers discuss the future of a landscape with local people depends on who the landowner or land manager is, their identity and world views. A land manager's values can impact upon their perceptions of the natural-cultural landscape, as demonstrated in Chapter 5. Differences in perception can shift the nature-culture axis, provoking contests in a landscape:

> *…most conflicts come about because people have different world views, different belief systems, different things they care about and they are very difficult to reconcile under those circumstances, very difficult.* (Ecologist / Former University Lecturer, lives near to NP, M, 75+)

Conservation contests have also provided building blocks for active, informed consultation between different parties to integrate values with actions where there have been opportunities to think critically and dispute land management practices, as observed in the Goathland case study in Chapter 7.

Demonstrated by the findings in this thesis, this case study was an example of a rare challenge against the long-held perception in rural communities that the power that estates hold over a piece of land and its use is absolute and landowners are 'custodians of the land'.[152] The estate's power dynamics and its land management were questioned by the active voices of local people who felt disempowered and excluded from the decision-making process. The community group demonstrated a considerable amount of care for the environment and its biodiversity.[153] According to people in the village, the moorland has become increasingly affected by more intense management practices. The community felt they were not able to have an influence over the immediate upland landscapes. A community interest, in the form of a formal group, has developed in land ownership, management and the environment. The community looked to voice their viewpoints on these issues, leading to greater scrutiny of the landowner and land managers. The landowner is currently considering their long-term strategy for moorland management (Duchy of Lancaster, pers. comm. 2020) and they should consider working together with the community group and the Parish Council on this.

Within this strategy there could be an opportunity, suggested by interviewees, for a more regulated system of land management where landowners are liable to the legislation of Natural England (and DEFRA) and answerable to the viewpoints of local people. Community participation in National Park landscape decision-making, a newly investigated area of academic research by this thesis, was suggested as a form of accountability to the contests in the NYMNP, especially those contests which involve the climate change and ecological emergencies. Landowners who abide by these forms of accountability could then receive further financial rewards through agri-environment schemes.

> *When you have a large amount of carbon locked up in your soils or the potential to enhance the biodiversity value of your land maybe there should be a bit more by way of scrutiny or pressure put on you*. (Environmental Campaigner, visitor, M, 25-34)

Local community groups such as the Goathland Moor Regeneration Group are a new form of accountability to land management in the National Park providing a different perspective on upland management. Through open, deliberative dialogue, the case study suggested an alternative strategy to challenging dominant landowner and resident assumptions about land management in the National Park. As seen in Goathland, public engagement events can

[152] Whilst the GMRG were challenging the moorland management and a lack of public participation in the Park, they were not challenging the type of ownership in place. People disputing the type of ownership in the North York Moors was not revealed in the analysis of the datasets.

[153] Here, I am not meaning to suggest that the landowner and land managers do not have concerns for the environment and biodiversity.

enhance the relations between land managers and the local community and offer opportunities in a co-operative system for democratic, debating platforms. The community group brought to these types of events a wider human perspective on the land introducing new, local knowledge to decision making and actions which is much needed in this time of climate change and the biodiversity crisis. The group serves as an exemplar model for other community groups and highlights that land management can be challenged in the National Park.

8.3. A co-operative communication system

Chapter 7 proposed that a co-operative communication system, supported by a legal framework (i.e. a community interaction plan), could be built into the NYMNP Management Plan, the Local Plan, landscape character assessments, community engagement frameworks and other strategic plans between communities and land decision-makers (i.e. landowners and land managers) enabling a wider range of stakeholders to affect and influence formal decision-making processes, the Farming in Protected Landscapes Programme and the Environmental Land Management (ELM) scheme. Here, the thesis builds on this recommendation to propose participatory platforms which facilitate rich, continuous conversation(s) between NYMNP communities that understand the values, narratives and special qualities attached to a landscape and, based on this understanding, support those involved to take action. Public engagement about landscape change needs to be ongoing, as landscapes and their ecosystems are in constant flux. Landscape decision-makers need to work closely in alignment with societal influences / changes to understand the relationships between a complex society and the natural world in a landscape. This type of approach will ensure that communities feel that they have empowerment and ownership over influencing landscape conservation through this partnership work.

Participatory dialogue needs to be mutually respectful within this co-operative system, with consultation opportunities from an early stage widely advertised to include those audiences who are hard to reach or disengaged (with the support and resources for National Park Authorities to enable this to occur (Bunker *et al.* 2021)). Current systems enable the public to be involved in the National Park Management Plan, the Local Plan and through standard planning application processes. Yet many of the decisions about everyday estate management, which are critical to the state of nature and climate change locally, do not involve these processes. The public are not always consulted in locally defined plans in the NYMNP such as Environmental Stewardship, Countryside Stewardship schemes or general estate management plans (if they exist) and can feel detached from landscape management decision-making, and specifically the objective-making of the estates which is perceived not

to consider their concerns. Local needs are therefore bypassed in land management. It is only in more active, organised local communities, such as Goathland, where people are willing to make their voices heard, that participatory dialogue has materialised.

Rather than disingenuous consultation where power is only distributed amongst certain groups (Arnstein 1969: 216), a co-operative communication system needs to provide opportunities for a diverse range of communities' viewpoints and be built on fairness, trust, and credibility amongst multiple stakeholder groups which attach values to a particular place.[154] The thesis advocates the opening of honest, transparent dialogue about values and identities between communities and land managers, guided by the National Park Authority and Natural England. The dialogue should include openness about existing power structures and discussion about any exclusivity within these structures that is occurring (Calderon & Butler 2020: 160). The data has demonstrated the significant knowledge land managers and local people on the ground hold about their relationships with the land and these epistemologies, especially those with lived experience, need to be put forward into public domains. With the forthcoming introduction of ELM schemes in 2024, if land managers are serious about delivering public goods in their landscapes via natural capital to ensure positive SES benefits from the drivers of change (climate, land and technology change), then local knowledge is vital in providing a wider steer on the complexity of landscapes. In 'national' spaces which are meant to be protected on behalf of the nation and are funded by taxpayers across the country, land managers will need to recognise the importance of wider voices and opposing viewpoints, especially as the ELM schemes are based on 'public money for public goods'. Subsequently, this can also ensure stronger, resilient communities within these remote spaces where everyday life is often described as 'hard'.

Landscape is multi-layered with a wide variety of complex stakeholder involvement. As demonstrated throughout the thesis, a single landscape brings different perspectives and debates. Evidence from a study of the New Forest National Park by Hewlett and Edwards, which investigated community engagement and disengagement in decision-making processes concluded that a large number of stakeholders involved in a National Park, with multiple local and national objectives and lines of accountability, leads to '…an unattractive and complex setting for engagement' (2013: 58). A similar complex governance structure in the North York Moors landscapes was demonstrated in Chapter 3. An example of the misunderstandings caused by a wide variety of interest groups involved in a protected landscape is that some

[154] An example of distributing power across communities from Scotland is the Community Empowerment Act in 2015.

research participants thought that certain issues with land management in the National Park were the fault of the NYMNPA when the responsibility lay with the landowner.

This research project itself has researched an abundance of values and identities towards the NYMNP landscape. The subjective nature of a heritage-landscape means that 'all beholders' possess mixed as well as personal viewpoints, and thus an infinite multiplicity of responses and perceptions' (Fairclough 2008: 409). A participatory system would receive a similar number of responses. These viewpoints on landscape management would then need to be assessed, discussed and debated, and then decisions would need to be made. The community engagement process in National Parks needs to be simplified and popularised, especially for those who are considered non-participants to enable further engagement from more detached groups, and for decisions to be streamlined. A shared vision for a landscape and also the National Park as a whole that encapsulates change, contest and wide-ranging values can then be a unifying principle for these debates.[155]

Chapter 5 argued that drawing on a dwelling and a systemic perspective brings a more integrated approach to multi-stakeholder involvement at a whole landscape level (rather than site specific). This can give a wider perspective on nature-culture relations where nature conservation is spoken for and given a central role in National Park landscapes with National Park Authorities taking chief responsibility, supported by government legislation. To enable this, the NYMNPA should have more of a prominent role in ELM schemes than it does under the current agri-environment schemes. The move towards National Park Authorities administering the Farming in Protected Landscapes Programme is a promising start. Landowners could also be incentivised to work together via additional payments as part of agri-environment schemes (Hodge 2019: 7). As a result of spatial planning, landscape mosaics and the living landscape concept, landscapes can be linked to land outside the National Park boundary to encourage nature recovery networks through ELM schemes, as supported in the Landscapes Review. This approach to communities and nature also coincides with place-based approaches, including place-based narratives, which have been well utilised in landscape (Wattchow 2013) and heritage management (Graham *et al*. 2009) and were cited in the upland communities report as a way of achieving vibrant, sustainable

[155] At Exmoor National Park, a new vision has been drawn up by a range of partners of the National Park's Nature Conservation Advisory Panel to deliver 'a nature-rich Exmoor National Park' which tackles the climate and nature emergencies (Exmoor National Park Authority 2020). The nature recovery vision is in alignment with nature related targets with the core target being that at least 75% of the National Park will be in nature-rich condition by 2050 (Exmoor National Park Authority 2020). Through the mentioned community consultation work in 8.3, the NYMNPA in their new Management Plan (adopted in 2022) can look to formulate a landscape vision which has a clear direction to confront the ecological and climate change emergencies and enhance relations between National Park communities.

upland communities (Commission for Rural Communities 2010). As observed in the South Downs National Park (See Appendix L), estate managers could look to create whole estate plans which are in alignment with wider National Park statutory purposes, National Park visioning, the preservation of the special qualities in the Park and public needs. The adoption of whole estate plans has enabled landowners in the South Downs to engage more with local communities and understand their requirements from a more holistic, landscape perspective.

A co-operative communication system is one which moves towards deliberative systems and systemic thinking, looking at the interactions[156] between organisations on a larger scale level and moving consultation dialogue to a variety of settings where decisions can occur (Mansbridge *et al.* 2012: 2). Mini-publics, citizens' assemblies,[157] whole estate plans which include public consultation and youth councils are strong examples of equitable, democratic platforms for debate, but dialogue should also occur in less formal settings. Examples proposed by this thesis are:

- *Walking groups* – as examined in Chapter 4, walking interviews were critical in this thesis to take decision-makers and local people out into the landscape, bringing the interactions closer to the natural-cultural environment. An interviewee from the Heather Trust, who had set up public events about UK moorlands including the 'What are uplands for?' event at Goathland, stressed the importance of taking people outside:

  The trick is you have to get people outside...take people out on to a farmland or a moorland and discuss an issue. (Heather Trust, lives near to NP, M, 65-74)

  Walking interviews can act as a method of information gathering for land managers in National Parks to interact with local communities and understand the relationships between people and landscapes and the synergy between humans and the natural environment;
- *Digital platforms* can enhance communication. Online community forums, community workshops and other social media options provide ready-made and easily accessible opportunities. Land managers themselves are more aware of and able to liaise on social media for business purposes and may already have a social media presence. This is especially true as online discussions have become more frequent since the outbreak of COVID-19;

[156] The term 'interaction' rather than engagement is used here because, according to Roe (2019: 405), the term has a 'transformative quality' and 'feels progressive'.
[157] A citizen service selecting community representatives for the main National Park Authority boards was referenced in the Landscapes Review (DEFRA 2019: 141).

- *Citizen Science* projects – the general public are given opportunities through these participatory projects to voluntarily collect information for research purposes and the collated data can then inform landscape debates and discussions. An example of a current Citizen Science project is the Look Wild project in 2021 focusing on wildlife and biodiversity across all 15 UK National Parks.

Consequently, integrating everyday conversations into this interlinked system can reach a shared, practical judgement (Owen & Smith 2015: 215, 228) within which power is more evenly distributed across the system – advocating mutual respect (Mansbridge *et al.* 2012: 5, 11):

> *'A healthy deliberative system is one in which relevant considerations are brought forth from all corners, aired, discussed, and appropriately weighed*.' (Mansbridge *et al.* 2012: 11)

Continuously, the question which needs to be asked is 'what action do we take?'. A co-operative communication system is dynamic, active and co-produced with the citizen at the core (Owen & Smith 2015: 233). This system should be informed by values and perceptions, including local knowledge, which have rigour and rationale, as discussed through the thesis, which will enhance the quality of the decisions made. Those values and perceptions need to come from not only the dominant groups but also those who are underrepresented and new groups or individuals. Less privileged values and perceptions need to be accepted even if they are in conflict to the agenda of the dominant groups.

Unquestionably, as demonstrated over the course of the thesis, landscape is *politicised*; 'the political dimension emphasises the idea of landscape as a space of constant struggles, fuelled by differences, conflicts and power' which can often be neglected in landscape planning research (Calderon & Butler 2020: 156). Conflict over landscapes will occur between parties and the thesis is in agreement with Calderon and Butler, 'that a well-functioning landscape democracy calls for a vibrant clash of positions' (2020: 159). Nevertheless, ensuring that well-resourced and funded platforms are in place, to recognise and value both national and local contests and differences, can reveal the most important elements of a landscape. The alternative landscape case studies – Fylingdales Moor and the Woodsmith Mine – suggest that unconventional, concealed values exist in a landscape; these can be exposed by inclusive, deliberative, multilateral thinking and the consideration of new consultation methods which differ from the standard, formal procedures normally applied to strategic planning.

Inevitably, community consultation on a wider scale can only occur to a certain extent and landowners may feel that they don't want to spend their valuable time engaging with local

people who they feel have little to add to a deliberative discussion. They may also not have the money nor the funding to involve communities in landscape decisions and may not be willing to hand over their decision-making powers to the wider public, as suggested in 8.2.4. The sheer number of national, regional and district and local organisations involved in the governance of a National Park may result in the belief that there are plentiful community engagement opportunities and there is no room for innovative consultation methods. In participatory action, communities can often feel their power is restrained and struggle to vision a future for a landscape (Bunker *et al.* 2021) with many of these communities, as shown on Fylingdales Moor, content with their present, daily lives. Some may not think they have strong connections with National Park landscapes which was occasionally revealed in the datasets. Moreover, a community is a transitionary concept including voices and attitudes which are temporary. Certain parts of the community can prove difficult to consult with, as was the case with this project when trying to engage with young people (especially under 16s and 16-24 year olds) and those from ethnic minority groups.

There is also an argument that decisions need to be more immediate concerning our landscapes as they are increasingly modified by drivers of change; this means that wider consultation with its necessary time period may be considered to be detrimental to this need for action. Here, there is a recognition that a wider participatory system is not necessarily faultless and there is still further research to be conducted on whether wider participation delivers more sustainable, resilient landscapes with healthier ecosystems (Roe 2019). Different landscapes will require different systems – highlighted by the variety of ownership models in place in a National Park and the diverse National Park local governance systems in place across the UK – but ultimately a system which brings together a wider range of viewpoints with significant knowledge on a landscape can only benefit the climate and nature emergencies that the planet faces.

It is with these suggestions that the thesis has aimed to contribute towards a more integrated, collective approach to landscape management and the relations between culture and nature. National Parks should be central to locality (and localities should be central to National Parks) as places of dialogue for everyone – epicentres of care, consideration and collective identity. Education of landscapes at a local level should continue to be widely promoted to create a wider awareness of the value of the environment and how it is managed on an everyday basis so that people develop a connection with what our landscapes are currently doing and their purpose in the future. It has been evidenced in various studies that an individual's affiliation with nature is influenced by regular outdoor play during childhood (Soga & Gaston 2016: 100). Children should have more opportunities to spend time in protected landscapes to enhance

their relationship with National Parks, as advocated by the Landscapes Review (2019). The value of education is epitomised by a quote by Derek Statham who worked as a National Park Officer in the North York Moors:

> '*The conclusion I draw is that there is and remains a great need for those of us who love the wildness of the Parks, in the CNP and the Park Societies to make our voice heard in government, nationally and locally, and perhaps, even more importantly, in our schools and universities.*' (Statham 2010: 82)

8.4. Future research into land and local communities in a National Park

There needs to be a clear strategy to achieve participation for wider audiences and specifically local communities. The implementation of a long-term strategic plan for communities in a National Park which aims for continuous dialogue needs to be reviewed to ensure that there is broad community participation across the North York Moors. This review could be put into action by the National Park Authority and funded by the UK government. It would be further supported if the socio-economic duty were to move to a statutory purpose, which the Landscapes Review calls for. This could take place alongside further research into how many residents are engaged in decision-making processes across the National Park to show what levels of participation are occurring. Moreover, a survey of landowners and land managers could investigate to what extent they engage with local communities.

Using comparative studies between National Parks, future research could also examine the attitudes, decisions and actions by landowners and land managers that impact biodiversity change and the sustainability of landscapes. Again, replicating the methods implemented in this thesis, which has shown the value of examining these decision-making processes in a National Park, forthcoming work could further explore alternative land ownership and land use models which support ecological restoration and improvements to biodiversity levels. A co-operative communication system integrated into this management of an alternative landscape could be continued to be investigated in these contexts.

8.5. Multiple futures, alternative futures

Throughout this thesis the Anthropogenic discussions have questioned what the future might hold for the human-nature relationship in the NYMNP and how the National Park is able 'to bring about sustainable human-environment futures' (Preiser *et al*. 2017: 86). The Anthropocene has been seen in this thesis to be more than a crisis concept but a framework which SES work with to bring potential positive, beneficial futures for UK National Parks.

Over the course of working on the thesis, I repeatably heard about local biodiversity, climate and loss of species targets which were not being met, although these opinions came less from those who worked with the land in traditional rural industries. The government has set a net zero greenhouse gases target by 2050 and the new Environment Bill will set out long-term, legally binding targets for biodiversity. With these targets and the introduction of the ELM schemes, it is a critical time for land managers to work with changing landscapes with contested demands which may invigorate new values in the landscape. Land management requires flexibility, collective action and a long-term approach to enable effective carbon sequestration and habitat restoration (Hodge 2019).

For land managers, the Anthropocene acts as a tool for considering a long-term temporal perspective of a National Park landscape where humans and nature can both benefit from strategic land management that plans a dynamic, changing, living landscape with clear sustainability targets – which are met. The Woodsmith Mine next to Fylingdales Moor offered an example of an anthropogenic landscape functioning alongside a biocentric landscape.

As Gere claims (Gere 2019: 20), the environment which humans look to manage is the one which humans have access to and the one which has resources for the sustainability of the human race. Many decisions made towards the landscape are market orientated and 'are largely seen in terms of supply and demand logic, measured in terms of their economic contribution' (Calderon & Butler 2020: 157). The values of the rural environment have often been constructed around production and consumption but alternative types of values can emerge, as demonstrated by the case studies, when everyday connections with a place are researched (Vergunst 2016: 360-361) through a heritage-landscape lens, especially in understudied areas from this perspective such as the NYMNP. Moreover, alternative values can arise from an ecosystem services assessment (e.g. the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment) which, for land managers, can assist in balancing the economic, cultural needs of humanity in consumptive economic systems with the needs of the natural world. This is key to the sustenance and enhancement of nature-culture values in or outside National Park boundaries. The nature-culture axis can be used as a tool to understand the changing contests which are set upon a landscape and the connection between people and place to find out which ways future National Park societies can be inspired to work with nature and each other in a deliberative, systemic manner. Inevitably if these interactions do not take a co-operative stance, drawing on the force of *time*, the Anthropocene invokes the prospect of more-than-human worlds in a post-anthropogenic future with no longer a human dependency on or an unequal human dominance of landscape:

I don’t really understand how it has changed. I was told there would have been trees before the humans came and cut them down hundreds of years ago. But I don’t understand what happened to all the trees. Someone has come and chopped down all of the trees on all of the moors...my friend said that's not true. What were the moors like before humans? Is this what it looked like? And me and my friend were just stood looking out on the vast moors. I said to my friend, will it always look like this? Will it one day be land without humans? (Musician, local resident, F, 16-24)

Appendices

Appendix A – Walking interview schedule

Introduction

This interview is being conducted for my PhD research at Northumbria University.

This PhD research investigates people's feelings and connection with their community, their heritage and their landscape in a National Park setting. The research also examines the extent to which communities have a voice and can influence what happens in a National Park and the impact that industrial development can have on people's lives. In particular the research project focuses on the North York Moors National Park.

The interview is not connected to any research being conducted by the North York Moors National Park.

Today's interview will last between 40-50 minutes.

We will walk along a short route and I will ask a number of questions about National Parks.

Are you happy for me to audio record this interview? *Record consent of interviewee.*

The audio recording will be stored safely and securely on Northumbria University's Microsoft OneDrive (Northumbria University's cloud system) – the data will be password protected. All data will be stored in accordance with Northumbria University Guidelines and the Data Protection Act 2018.

Everything you say today will remain anonymous and confidential in accordance with University Guidelines and the Data Protection Act 2018. You can opt out of the interview at any time. Do you have any questions before we start?

I just finally want to check that you are happy to take part?

1. Could you just start by providing a bit of a brief background to your role in or at the NP / how you are involved with the NP

National Parks, the North York Moors and identity

2. What do you think of when I say the words 'National Park'?

- What values do you associate with a National Park?
- Who do you think National Parks are for?
- What do you think is the purpose of a National Park? Has this changed at all over the years? How?

3. What does this National Park mean to you?
    - How is the NYM linked to your identity and who you are?
    - How does NYM compare to other NP's? What makes it different to other NP's? what makes it unique?
    - How would you describe the NYM to somebody who hasn't visited before?

Landscapes, experience and perception

4. What do you think of when I say the word 'landscape'?
5. Have you visited the North York Moors before?
6. How would you describe the North York Moors landscape?
    - Has it been shaped in particular ways?
    - How do you engage with this landscape?
    - What do we want from this landscape? Who should benefit from it? Who is this landscape for?
7. Would you prefer landscapes to change or stay the same?
    - Do you think this landscape has changed at all? How? Examples? What is landscape change?
    - How do you think landscapes change? How is this monitored in National Parks?
    - Do you get a say on how these landscapes change? Can you shape landscape?
    - Has your perception of this landscape changed over the years?
    - Do decision-makers create different perceptions of the same landscape?

8. Would you regard our National Parks / North York Moors as a cultural or a natural landscape or both?
    - What do you think a ‘cultural’ or ‘natural’ landscape means?
    - Do decision-makers make it out to be a natural or cultural landscape?
9. What will this landscape be like in the future?

Community life and influence

10. Do you feel you are part of a community living in a National Park? How? Can you give some examples of community life in a National Park?
    - Do you think community life in the NP has changed at all in the time you have lived in the Park?
11. How do you give your opinion on what happens in a National Park?
    - What channels / forms of communication do people use to give their feedback on NP activity and the future of NP’s? Through public consultation? Through Parish Councils? By the local authority? Other ways?
    - How does the NP go about ensuring it captures the opinions of the communities which live in it? How does it involve communities in decision-making?
12. How much of a say do you think communities feel they have in what happens in the National Park?
    - Why / why not?
    - Do you feel involved or not involved in what happens in this National Park? Do you feel organisations are proactive about asking you about decisions in the National Park? Why?
    - Do you feel your opinion makes a difference? Why / why not? Do you think communities understand what the NYM does?
    - *Ask managers*: Is it a challenge to identify whom to engage with?
    - *Ask managers*: Do you take a bottom up or top down approach to engagement with communities?

13. Are there ways that the National Park could improve their engagement with communities who live in the Park? What approaches / methods?
    - How can improvements be made to work processes and practices to ensure communities are fully represented?

Contested landscapes in the NYMNP

14. Is there anything contentious about this landscape? What?
    - How do people contest this landscape?
    - What are the challenges this landscape faces?
15. Can you please describe what you think represents the industrial landscape of the NYM?
16. Have you been affected by any type of development or type of change in the National Park? How?
    - Recent / past development?
    - Has this been any large-scale industrial development?
17. Have you been affected by the Sirius Potash Mine?
    - How? What actions did you take?
    - Did you have a say in any of the decisions which were made?
    - Do you trust these developers?
18. Has this (or other mentioned) development had any impact on the communities?
    - Was this impact significant at all? Has it changed your community at all? How? Has it changed the landscape at all?
    - Have you had to protect your identity / your way of life?
19. Do these developments change your perception of a National Park? How?
    - How is the balance between development and protection / conservation upheld in the Park?

Future development and sustainability in a National Park

20. How do you plan for the future of this NP?
    - Is there a vision of what the National Park should look like?
21. How do you manage change in the Park?
    - How should cultural landscapes be managed in the future?
22. What are the main challenges this NP faces in the future?
    - Glover review? Brexit? Tourism increases?
23. Do you see the National Park changing at all in the future? In what ways?

Afterthoughts

24. Do you have any final thoughts on the topics / current issues which we have discussed today?
25. How do you feel the walking interviews went?
26. Is there anything else you want to find out more about from today's discussions?
27. Is there anything you don't want me to include in the research?
28. Would you be interested in taking part in a group discussion about the landscape in the future (where we would walk as a group around this landscape)?

    Yes ☐ No ☐

Profile Questions

29. Are you:

    Male ☐ Female ☐ Prefer not to say ☐

30. Which of the following age groups do you belong to?

    16-24 ☐ 25-34 ☐ 35-44 ☐ 45-54 ☐ 55-64 ☐ 65-74 ☐ 75 or older ☐

    Prefer not to say ☐

31. Which of the following best describes you? (Multiple choice)

    NP volunteer ☐ Local resident who lives in the NP ☐ Visitor ☐
    Local resident who lives outside the NP ☐ NP staff member ☐
    Parish council member ☐ Works in NP ☐
    Have children at home who are 16 or under ☐

    Have children who go to school in the NP ☐ Prefer not to say ☐

32. If staff member, how long have you worked for the NP?

33. How long have you lived in this NP?

34. What is your postcode or first four letters of postcode? Or country of residence?

    Prefer not to say ☐

35. To which of these groups do you belong?

    White / British / Irish background ☐
    Mixed / White & Black Caribbean / White and Black African / White & Asian / Any other mixed background ☐
    Asian or Asian British / Indian / Pakistani / Bangladeshi / Any other Asian background ☐
    Black or Black British Caribbean / African / Any other Black background ☐
    Chinese or other ethic Chinese group ☐
    Any other White background ☐
    Other (Please state)
    Prefer not to say ☐

36. Do you consider yourself to have a disability or long standing illness or health problem that can lead to you facing barriers to accessing daily activities?

    Yes ☐ No ☐ Prefer not to say ☐

Appendix B – Sedentary interview schedule

Introduction

This interview is being conducted for my PhD research at Northumbria University.

This PhD research project investigates people's feelings and connection with their community, their heritage and their landscape in a National Park setting. The research also examines the extent to which communities have a voice and can influence what happens in a National Park and the impact that industrial development can have on people's lives. In particular the research project focuses on the North York Moors National Park.

The interview is not connected to any research being conducted by the North York Moors National Park.

Today's interview will last between 40-50 minutes.

I will ask a number of open questions about National Parks followed by some closed demographic questions.

Are you happy for me to audio record this interview? *Record consent of interviewee.*

The audio recording will be stored safely and securely on Northumbria University's Microsoft OneDrive (Northumbria University's cloud system) – the data will be password protected. All data will be stored in accordance with Northumbria University Guidelines and the Data Protection Act 2018.

Everything you say today will remain anonymous and confidential in accordance with University Guidelines and the Data Protection Act 2018. You can opt out of the interview at any time. Do you have any questions before we start?

I just finally want to check that you are happy to take part?

1. Could you just start by providing a bit of a brief background to your role in or at the NP / how you are involved with the NP

National Parks, the North York Moors and identity

2. What do you think of when I say the words 'National Park'?
    - What values do you associate with a National Park?

- Who do you think National Parks are for?
- What do you think is the purpose of a National Park? Has this changed at all over the years? How?

3. What does the North York Moors National Park mean to you?
    - How is the NYM linked to your identity and who you are?
    - How does NYM compare to other NP's? What makes it different to other NP's? what makes it unique?
    - How would you describe the NYM to somebody who hasn't visited before?

Landscapes, experience and perception

4. What do you think of when I say the word 'landscape'?
5. Have you visited the North York Moors before?
6. How would you describe the North York Moors landscape?
    - Has it been shaped in particular ways?
    - How do you engage with this landscape?
    - What do we want from this landscape? Who should benefit from it? Who is this landscape for?
7. Would you prefer landscapes to change or stay the same?
    - Do you think this landscape has changed at all? How? Examples? What is landscape change?
    - How do you think landscapes change? How is this monitored in National Parks?
    - Do you get a say on how these landscapes change? Can you shape landscape?
    - Has your perception of this landscape changed over the years?
    - Do decision-makers create different perceptions of the same landscape?

8. Would you regard our National Parks / North York Moors as a cultural or a natural landscape or both?
    - What do you think a ‘cultural’ or ‘natural’ landscape means?
    - Do decision-makers make it out to be a natural or cultural landscape?
9. What will this landscape be like in the future?

Community life and influence

10. Do you feel that community life exists in a National Park? How? Can you give some examples of community life in a National Park?
    - Do you think community life in the NP has changed at all in the time you have worked with….?
11. How do communities give their opinion on what happens in a National Park?
    - What channels / forms of communication do people use to give their feedback on NP activity and the future of NP’s? Through public consultation? Through Parish Councils? By the local authority? Other ways?
    - How does the NP go about ensuring it captures the opinions of the communities which live in it? How does it involve communities in decision-making?
12. How much of a say do you think communities feel they have in what happens in the National Park?
    - Why / why not?
    - Do you feel organisations are proactive about asking communities about decisions in the National Park?
    - Do you think communities understand what National Park Authorities do?
    - *Ask managers*: Is it a challenge to identify whom to engage with?
    - *Ask managers*: Do you take a bottom up or top down approach to engagement with communities?

- Does National Park policy connect with communities in National Parks? Does policy represent how they view landscape?

13. Are there ways that the National Park could improve their engagement with communities who live in the Park? What approaches / methods?

    - How can improvements be made to work processes and practices to ensure communities are fully represented?

Contested landscapes in the NYMNP

14. Is there anything contentious about National Park landscapes? What?

    - How do people contest these types of landscapes?
    - What are the challenges National Park landscapes face?

15. Can you please describe what you think represents the industrial landscape of the NYM?

16. Have you worked with / been affected by any type of development or type of change in the National Park? How?

    - Recent / past development?
    - Has this been any large-scale industrial development?

17. Have you worked with / been affected by the Sirius Potash Mine?

    - How? What actions did you take?
    - Do you trust these developers?
    - Did you have a say in any of the decisions which were made?

18. Has this (or other mentioned) development had any impact on the communities?

    - Was this impact significant at all? Has it changed your community at all? How? Has it changed the landscape at all?
    - Have you had to protect your identity / your way of life?

19. Do these developments change your perception of a National Park? How?

- How is the balance between development and protection / conservation upheld in the Park? (Sandford Principle)

Future development and sustainability in a National Park

20. How do you plan for the future of this NP?
    - Is there a vision of what the National Park should look like?
21. How do you manage change in the Park?
    - How should cultural landscapes be managed in the future?
    - What are your thoughts on forms of less intensive landscape management (e.g.wilding or rewilding?) Do you think it will change people's perception of landscape?
22. What are the main challenges this NP faces in the future?
    - Glover review? Brexit? Increase in visitor number (eight point plan)? Rewilding concept?
23. Do you see the National Park changing at all in the future? In what ways?

Afterthoughts

24. Do you have any final thoughts on the topics / current issues which we have discussed today?
25. Is there anything else you want to find out more about from today's discussions?
26. Is there anything you don't want me to include in the research?
27. Would you be interested in taking part in a group discussion about the landscape in the future (where we would walk as a group around this landscape)?

    Yes ☐ No ☐

Profile Questions

28. Are you:

    Male ☐ Female ☐ Prefer not to say ☐

29. Which of the following age groups do you belong to?

    16-24 ☐ 25-34 ☐ 35-44 ☐ 45-54 ☐ 55-64 ☐ 65-74 ☐ 75 or older ☐

    Prefer not to say ☐

30. Which of the following best describes you? (Multiple choice)

    NP volunteer ☐ Local resident who lives in the NP ☐ Visitor ☐
    Local resident who lives outside the NP ☐ NP staff member ☐
    Parish council member ☐ Works in NP ☐
    Have children at home who are 16 or under ☐

    Have children who go to school in the NP ☐ Prefer not to say ☐

31. If staff member, how long have you worked for the NP?

32. How long have you lived in this NP?

33. What is your postcode or first four letters of postcode? Or country of residence?

    Prefer not to say ☐

34. To which of these groups do you belong?

    White / British / Irish background ☐
    Mixed / White & Black Caribbean / White and Black African / White & Asian / Any other mixed background ☐
    Asian or Asian British / Indian / Pakistani / Bangladeshi / Any other Asian background ☐
    Black or Black British Caribbean / African / Any other Black background ☐
    Chinese or other ethic Chinese group ☐
    Any other White background ☐
    Other (Please state)
    Prefer not to say ☐

35. Do you consider yourself to have a disability or long standing illness or health problem that can lead to you facing barriers to accessing daily activities?

    Yes ☐ No ☐ Prefer not to say ☐

Thank you very much for your time today.

Appendix C – Participant information sheet and consent form

Northumbria University NEWCASTLE

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

The AHRC PhD research project is titled **'Contested natural-cultural landscapes in the Anthropocene: Connecting community identity, heritage and influence within the North York Moors National Park'** and is being led by Northumbria University, Newcastle and funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC).

What is the project about?

The AHRC funded research project is an investigation of people's perceptions of landscapes in the North York Moors National Park and the role of communities in a National Park, examining the extent to which communities have a voice and can influence what happens in a National Park. It investigates three distinctive land use areas in the North York Moors including the Goathland Parish, the Woodsmith Mine and Fylingdales Moor Conservation Area. Ultimately this research project aims to find out more about how society views the countryside and what role communities have to influence landscape change.

Why have I been invited to participate?

The research project is looking to interview a variety of people who have invested interests in National Parks to gather a wide range of viewpoints on National Parks, Land Management and Industrial Development.

What will happen if I take part in the interview?

The interview will be a one on one interview with the researcher which will last between 40-50 minutes, depending on the answers you provide.

The interview location will vary depending on the interviewee. Some interviews will take place outside (eg. in a National Park) and will consist of a short walking route. Other interviews will take place in other locations such as staff offices. All chosen locations will be private to ensure that the interview is confidential. The interview will be arranged for a time and day which will suit the interviewee.

The interview will consist of a set of open questions about National Parks and a set of closed demographic questions at the end of the interview which ask about the interviewee's sexuality, age, affiliation with the National Park, postcode, ethnicity and whether the interviewee has a disability or long standing illness. The questions asked can also be determined by the answers given by the interviewee. There are no right or wrong answers to the interview questions.

The interviewer will audio-record the interview on a chosen device to ensure that all the information provided by the respondent is recorded. To participate in the interview the interviewee will sign a consent form (which includes consent for the interviewer to audio-record the interview).

What will happen to the data I have provided?

All data will be stored in accordance with University Guidelines and the Data Protection Act 2018.

The consent form the interviewee has signed will be stored separately from the other data provided and will be kept in locked storage. The interviews will be typed up as transcripts.

All electronic data including the audio recording of the interview and the transcripts will be stored safely and securely on Northumbria University's Microsoft OneDrive (Northumbria University's cloud system) which is password protected. The audio-recording will be kept anonymously and confidentially in accordance with University Guidelines and the Data Protection Act 2018.

As a research project at Northumbria University, this information will be used to conduct research to improve the management of landscapes and the countryside. Therefore the data will be used in the ways needed to conduct and analyse the research study.

The interviewee is not under any obligation to answer any of the questions. For all of the demographic questions there is a 'prefer not to say' option included so the interviewee does not need to answer these questions if they wish. The interviewee will not be personally identifiable by any of the questions asked and this data will not be disclosed to any third-party individual in accordance with the Data Protection Act.

The demographic questions in the study are being asked to enable the research project to gain a representative sample and allow the project to connect its findings with certain demographic types or to make comparisons with the data between similar or different demographics (eg. Younger people aged 16-24 tended to think…).

The name of the organisation the interviewee is affiliated with will be used to attribute findings to an organisation (e.g. North York Moors National Park Volunteers generally had the following thoughts…). The interviewee has the option to give their consent for this to occur in the consent form.

What will happen to the results of the research project and could personal data collected be used in future research?

All information and data gathered during this research will be stored in line with the Data Protection Act and will be destroyed 12 months after the conclusion of the study in 31/12/2022. If the research is published in a journal or presented at a research conference it may be kept for longer before being destroyed. During that time the data may be used by members of the research team only for purposes appropriate to the research question, but at no point will the interviewee's personal information be

revealed. During the project the findings may also be shared with other organisations/institutions that have been involved with the study.

The researcher can provide the interviewee with a copy of a transcript and a summary of the findings from the study – an email address is provided below. After the project, the data which is included in the PhD will be made publicly accessible.

Further information:

- The interviewee is completely free to decide whether or not to take part in the interview, or to take part and then leave the study before completion. You are also free to withdraw certain statements or the whole data set you provide after the study by contacting the researcher.

- For collecting personal data, the research project will be transparent and the legal basis for university research projects is Article 6(1) (e) - "processing is necessary for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest".

- If you wish to provide additional information to the interview please email the researcher's email below.

- Participants have a right of access to a copy of the information comprised in their personal data; a right in certain circumstances to have inaccurate personal data rectified; and a right to object to decisions being taken by automated means. If participants have questions around this is in the first instance they should contact Departmental Ethics Lead Dr. Mary Laing on mary.laing@northumbria.ac.uk.

- This study and its protocol have received full ethical approval from Department of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee. If you require confirmation of this, or if you have any concerns or worries concerning this research, or if you wish to register a complaint, please contact the Chair of this Committee Dr Mary Laing on mary.laing@northumbria.ac.uk stating the title of the research project and the name of the student researcher.

- If you wish to receive feedback about the findings of this research then please contact the researcher at thomas.ratcliffe@northumbria.ac.uk.

Northumbria University
NEWCASTLE

CONSENT FORM

Project Title:

'Contested natural-cultural landscapes in the Anthropocene:

Connecting community identity, heritage and influence

within the North York Moors National Park'

Principal Researcher: Thomas Ratcliffe

please tick or initial where applicable

I have carefully read and understood the Participant Information Sheet.	☐
I have had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study and I have received satisfactory answers.	☐
I understand I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason for withdrawing, and without prejudice.	☐
I also consent to the retention of this data under the condition that any subsequent use also be restricted to research projects that have gained ethical approval from Northumbria University.	☐
I am happy for the interviewer to audio-record this interview.	☐

I am happy for the interviewer to name the organisation I am affiliated with in the research project and attribute any findings to this organisation. ☐

Signature of participant..... Date.....……. (NAME IN BLOCK LETTERS).....…….
Signature of Parent / Guardian in the case of a minor .....
Signature of researcher..... Date.....……. (NAME IN BLOCK LETTERS).....…….

Appendix D – Pilot interview schedule

Introduction

This pilot interview is being conducted for my PhD research at Northumbria University.

This PhD research investigates people's feelings and connection with their community, their heritage and their landscape in a National Park setting. The research also examines the extent to which communities have a voice and can influence what happens in a National Park and the impact that industrial development can have on people's lives.

The interview is not connected to any research being conducted by the Lake District National Park Authority.

Today's interview will last between 10–15 minutes.

We will walk along a short route and I will ask a number of questions about National Parks.

Are you happy for me to audio record this interview?

The audio recording will be stored safely and securely on Northumbria University's Microsoft OneDrive (Northumbria University's cloud system) – the data will be password protected. All data will be stored in accordance with Northumbria University Guidelines and the Data Protection Act 2018.

Everything you say today will remain anonymous and confidential in accordance with University Guidelines and the Data Protection Act 2018. You can opt out of the interview at any time. Do you have any questions before we start?

I just finally want to check that you are happy to take part?

Landscape / National Park connotations and values

1. How would you describe the landscape we are looking at today?
    - What does this landscape mean to you?
2. Do you regard this landscape which we look at as a 'cultural landscape'?
    - Why? How?
    - What do you think a cultural landscape means?

3. What do you think of when I say the words ‘National Park’?
    - What values do you associate with a National Park? Why do you attribute these particular values to a National Park?
    - How is an NP linked to your identity and who you are?
4. What do you think is the purpose of a National Park?
    - Do you think the NP’s purpose has changed at all? If so, how?
5. Do you feel you are part of a community living in a National Park? How?

Having a say in National Park activity

6. How do you give your opinion on what happens in a National Park?
    - What channels do you use? (Through public consultation? Through Parish Councils? By the local authority? Other ways?)
7. How much of a say do you feel you have in what happens in this National Park?
    - Do you feel involved or not involved in what happens in this National Park? Why?
    - Do you feel your opinion makes a difference? Why / why not?

Industrial development, values and identity

8. Have you encountered any type of development in the National Park which effects your everyday life?
    - Recent / past development?
    - Has this been any large scale industrial development?
9. How have the values of a National Park, which you named above (remind interviewee if required), been impacted upon by these developments which you mentioned?
    - Do these developments change your perception of a National Park? How?
    - Have they changed your community at all? How?
10. Do you have any final thoughts on the topics which we have discussed today?

11. Are you:

    Male ☐ Female ☐ Prefer not to say ☐

12. Which of the following age groups do you belong to?

    16-24 ☐ 25-34 ☐ 35-44 ☐ 45-54 ☐ 55-64 ☐ 65-74 ☐ 75 or older ☐

    Prefer not to say ☐

13. Which of the following best describes you? (Multiple choice)

    NP volunteer ☐ Local resident who lives in the NP ☐ Visitor ☐
    Local resident who lives outside the NP ☐ NP staff member ☐
    Parish council member ☐ Works in NP ☐
    Have children at home who are 16 or under ☐

    Have children who go to school in the NP ☐ Prefer not to say ☐

14. What is your postcode or first four letters of postcode? Or country of residence?

    Prefer not to say ☐

15. To which of these groups do you belong?

    White / British / Irish background ☐
    Mixed / White & Black Caribbean / White and Black African / White & Asian / Any other mixed background ☐
    Asian or Asian British / Indian / Pakistani / Bangladeshi / Any other Asian background ☐
    Black or Black British Carribean / African / Any other Black background ☐
    Chinese or other ethic Chinese group ☐
    Any other White background ☐
    Other (Please state)
    Prefer not to say ☐

16. Do you consider yourself to have a disability or long standing illness or health problem that can lead to you facing barriers to accessing daily activities?

    Yes ☐ No ☐ Prefer not to say ☐

Thank you very much for your time today.

Appendix E – Pilot Interview participant information sheet and consent form

Northumbria University NEWCASTLE

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

What is the study about?

This Arts and Humanities Research Council Funded PhD research project is an investigation of people's feelings and connection with their community, their heritage and their landscape in a National Park setting. The research explores how people value cultural landscapes and their understanding of National Park status. The research also examines the extent to which communities have a voice and can influence what happens in a National Park and the impact that large scale industrial development in and around the fringes of National Parks can have on communities and stakeholders. Ultimately this research project aims to find out more about how society views the countryside and what role it has to influence landscape change.

Why have I been invited to participate?

The research project is looking to interview a variety of people who have invested interests in National Parks to gather a wide range of viewpoints on National Parks and Industrial Development.

This is a pilot interview before the main research fieldwork begins in 2019 - although the findings from this interview could be used in the final research project and therefore we require your consent.

What will happen if I take part in the interview?

The interview will be a one on one interview with the researcher which will last between 10-15 minutes, depending on the answers you provide.

The interview location will vary depending on the interviewee. Some interviews will take place outside (eg. in a National Park) and will consist of a short walking route. Other interviews will take place in other locations such as staff offices. All chosen locations will be private to ensure that the interview is confidential. The interview will be arranged for a time and day which will suit the interviewee.

The interview will consist of a set of open questions about National Parks and a set of closed demographic questions at the end of the interview which ask about the interviewee's sexuality, age, affiliation with the National Park, postcode, ethnicity and whether the interviewee has a disability or long standing illness. The questions asked can also be determined by the answers given by the interviewee. There are no right or wrong answers to the interview questions.

The interviewer will audio-record the interview on a chosen device to ensure that all the information provided by the respondent is recorded.

To participate in the interview the interviewee will sign a consent form (which includes consent for the interviewer to audio-record the interview).

What will happen to the data I have provided?

All data will be stored in accordance with University Guidelines and the Data Protection Act 2018.

The consent form the interviewee has signed will be stored separately from the other data provided and will be kept in locked storage. The interviews will be typed up as transcripts.

All electronic data including the audio recording of the interview and the transcripts will be stored safely and securely on Northumbria University's Microsoft OneDrive (Northumbria University's cloud system) which is password protected. The audio-recording will be kept anonymously and confidentially in accordance with University Guidelines and the Data Protection Act 2018.

As a research project at Northumbria University, this information will be used to conduct research to improve the management of landscapes and the countryside. Therefore the data will be used in the ways needed to conduct and analyse the research study.

The interviewee is not under any obligation to answer any of the questions. For all of the demographic questions there is a 'prefer not to say' option included so the interviewee does not need to answer these questions if they wish.

The demographic questions in the study are being asked to enable the research project to gain a representative sample and allow the project to connect its findings with certain demographic types or to make comparisons with the data between similar or different demographics (eg. Younger people aged 16-24 tended to think…).

The name of the organisation the interviewee is affiliated with will be used to attribute findings to an organisation (e.g. North York Moors National Park Volunteers generally had the following thoughts…). The interviewee has the option to give their consent for this to occur in the consent form.

The interviewee will not be personally identifiable by any of the questions asked and this data will not be disclosed to any third-party individual in accordance with the Data Protection Act.

What will happen to the results of the study and could personal data collected be used in future research?

All information and data gathered during this research will be stored in line with the Data Protection Act and will be destroyed 12 months after the conclusion of the study in 31/12/2022. If the research is published in a journal or presented at a research conference it may be kept for longer before being destroyed. During that time the data may be used by members of the research team only for purposes appropriate to the research question, but at no point will the interviewee's personal information be

revealed. During the project the findings may also be shared with other organisations/institutions that have been involved with the study.

The researcher can provide the interviewee with a copy of a transcript and a summary of the findings from the study – an email address is provided below.

After the project, the data which is included in the PhD will be made publicly accessible.

Further information:

- The research project is being led by Northumbria University and is funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council.
- The interviewee is completely free to decide whether or not to take part in the interview, or to take part and then leave the study before completion. You are also free to withdraw certain statements or the whole data set you provide after the study by contacting the researcher.
- If you wish to provide additional information to the interview please email the researcher's email below.
- If you wish to receive feedback about the findings of this research then please contact the researcher at thomas.ratcliffe@northumbria.ac.uk. If you have any further queries about the interview please contact the Data Protection Officer at Northumbria University - dp.officer@northumbria.ac.uk

Northumbria University
NEWCASTLE

CONSENT FORM

Project Title:

'Contested natural-cultural landscapes in the Anthropocene:

Connecting community identity, heritage and influence

within the North York Moors National Park'

Principal Researcher: Thomas Ratcliffe

please tick or initial where applicable

I have carefully read and understood the Participant Information Sheet. ☐

I have had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study and I have received satisfactory answers. ☐

I understand I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason for withdrawing, and without prejudice. ☐

I agree to take part in this study and understand it is a pilot interview. ☐

I also consent to the retention of this data under the condition that any subsequent use also be restricted to research projects that have gained ethical approval from Northumbria University. ☐

I am happy for the interviewer to audio-record this interview. ☐

I am happy for the interviewer to name the organisation I am affiliated with in the research project and attribute any findings to this organization. ☐

Signature of participant..... Date.....……. (NAME IN BLOCK LETTERS).....…….
Signature of Parent / Guardian in the case of a minor .....
Signature of researcher..... Date.....…….. (NAME IN BLOCK LETTERS).....…….

Appendix F – Audiences who participated in the research project

Table 7 - A table showing the organisations who participated in the fieldwork.

Type	**Organisation type**
Local authority / council	NYMNP Parish council members in NYMNP Lake District National Park Authority South Downs National Park Authority Exmoor National Park Authority Broads Authority
Land managers in NYMNP	Private Estate Owners Private Estate Managers Farmers Gamekeepers Fylingdales Court Leet Land Agents Hawk and Owl Trust Forestry Commission
Local community / voluntary organisations	North Yorkshire Moors Association Moorland Association Chinese Methodist Church, Middlesbrough Tees Valley of Sanctuary Scarborough Islamic Society
Local history groups / museums	Fylingdales local history group Staintondale and Ravenscar local history group Robin Hood's Bay Museum
Local walking groups	Lyke Wake Walk Club Ryedale Walking Group
Local environment / activist groups	Whitby Naturalists North York Moors Merlin Study Group Ban Bloodsports on Yorkshire's Moors Goathland Moor Regeneration Group

National and regional organisations	The Heather Trust Rewilding Britain Campaign for National Parks British Trust for Ornithology Forestry Commission National Trust Country, Land and Business Association (CLA) Yorkshire Wildlife Trust
Government organisations	Natural England RAF Fylingdales Landscapes Review working group
Developers	Sirius Minerals
Community	Shop owner in Whitby Ice cream farm Local residents
Tourists	Tourists at Caravan and Motor Home Club Caravan and Motor Home Club
Education	University lecturers PLACE Local College

Appendix G – Data analysis framework

Transcription

All of the primary research interviews were typed up as transcripts (See Appendix H for examples) from the audio recordings using *oTranscribe*, a free open source transcribing software which assures data confidentiality. Typing the audio-recordings into written transcripts was the start of the data analysis process because I started to familiarise myself with the intricacies of the data. I was able to start to combine my knowledge of the data at the time of data collection with my understanding of the data as I transcribed from the audio-recordings. From this each transcription was summarised clarifying the key points to answer the four key research questions. In addition, I made an index of potential themes that I felt might be applicable during the thematic analysis stage.

Thematic data analysis

Following the transcription of the audio-recordings, I then applied thematic analysis to all the datasets (transcription verbatim, observation notes, other fieldwork notes and feedback) to identify themes. Complying with Bryman (2012), Mason (2018) and Harding's (2019) guidance, thematic analysis enabled the research project to put the data into categories (themes). The relationships between the datasets were examined and the constant comparative method was applied to the data. Drawn from Harding's work (2019), the constant comparison allowed an analysis of the data for similarities and differences (including between the three case studies) ensuring a balanced analysis and interpretation of the data.

I coded the data transcripts in NVivo to break down the large amounts of data produced in data collection by categorising the data under different nodes. As I read through all of the data in NVivo, I applied empirical coding categories drawing up an initial list of thematic categories (attaching labels to the data and building on the previous index of themes I had developed at the transcription stage) which I assigned sections of the data to and then revising these categories throughout the analysis process. These empirical codes identified points of commonality or importance in the data (Harding 2019: 148). The criteria for establishing a theme was taken from Bryman's *Social Research Methods* (2012: 580-581):

- A subject that relates to the research objectives / core questions;
- A common topic that is frequently repeated;
- An interesting, perhaps unique topic (something which is surprising);
- A topic that developed from my transcription fieldwork notes / the pilot research stage of the project;

- Similarities and differences in the datasets;
- Any clear gaps in the data;
- Any links to concepts / theory established in the literature discussions;
- Relevance to the methodology / case studies.

When establishing a theme, it required a link to the research aim or the key research questions to ensure that it was pertinent to the research project (Bryman 2012: 580). Some of the themes would change over the course of the project. I also checked through each node to ensure that the data had been assigned to the appropriate node. I allowed the same pieces of data to be allocated to more than one node because I wanted the data to be used flexibly throughout the thesis. See Appendix I for examples of coding selections and the number of coding selections allocated to a node.

I then ascertained findings from each coding category, directed by the research project's main aim and four key research questions, using the constant comparison method to cross reference similarities, differences and relationships in the data. Thirty main themes and two sub themes emerged from the data (Fig.59). Next, I created an emerging interpretations summary document for each individual theme (known as a memo in grounded theory analysis) which included a synopsis of the theme – including narratives and patterns in the data that this theme encapsulated – and some sample quotations from the theme. The summary documents (See Appendix J) allowed me to start to reflect on the categorised data. I then mapped the relationships between the themes and the research questions using a paper and pen exercise (Fig.60).

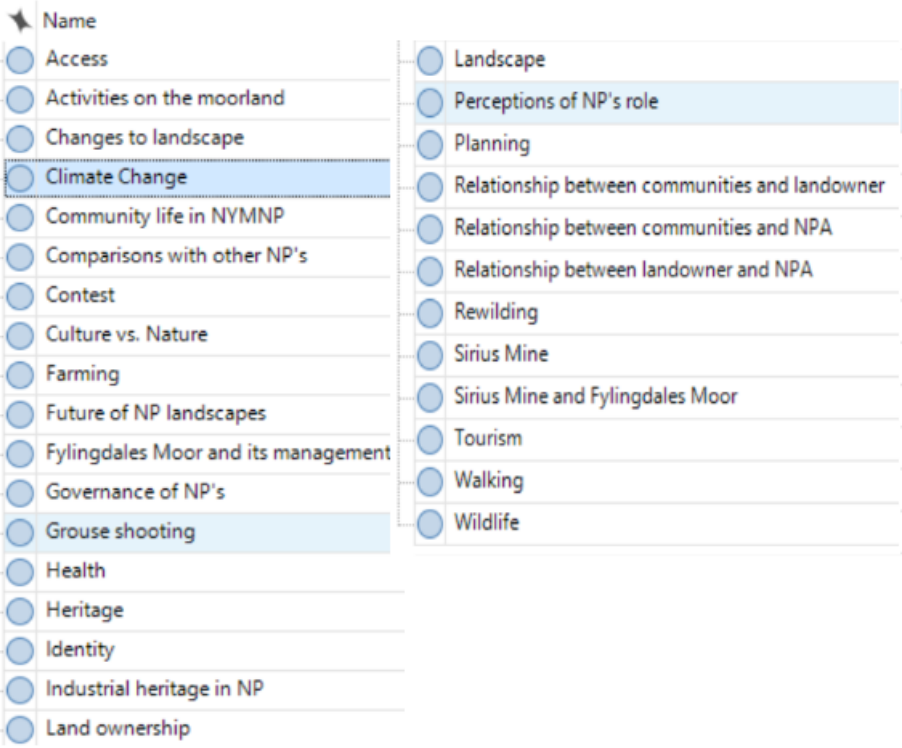


Figure 59 - The index of themes which came out of the data analysis with an assemblage of references under each node (a node is a collection of references under each theme) (Photograph by author 2020).

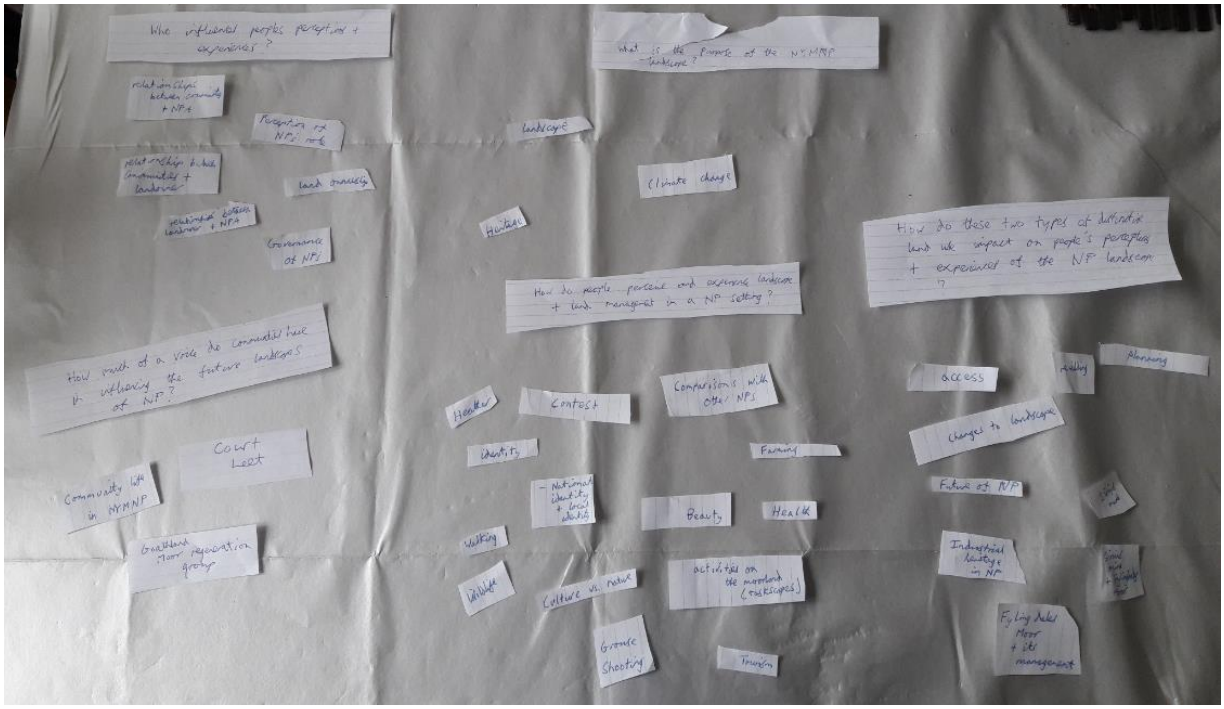


Figure 60 - Mapping the themes against the four key research questions (Photograph by author 2020).

The themes became the content for the three analysis chapters with each theme being allocated to one of the four key research questions that each chapter was answering. Some of the themes were used as headings for different sections of analysis across the three chapters. Each research question was then answered by the themes of the data. I also coded the data into categories based on the project's four key research questions because each data chapter referred to one or two specific key research questions.

The analysis took into account the non-verbal communications throughout each interview and observation including the body language of respondents, who said what, the nature of the dialogue, the language used, the tone and manner in which things were discussed and anything which wasn't mentioned that might have expected to be raised.

From the theme summaries and supported by the data, I started to develop experiential and interpretive arguments, focusing on human values, identity and social relationships within the landscape, considering alternative arguments and counter arguments (Mason 2018: 214, 222). This was in alignment with the main research aim and key questions and drawing on the theoretical concepts and debates from Chapter 2 and the power relations and governance research on National Parks from Chapter 3. It followed an inductive process where theoretical ideas were then developed out of the data. The data analysis, primary methodology, revisions to the research questions, discussion and application of theoretical concepts all developed concurrently.

Using NVivo also allowed me to compare the similarities and differences within the data by demographic as the software can calculate the number of times a node has been mentioned (and the percentage) by a certain gender or ethnicity, for example.

Reliability / validity

It was important for me to check the consistency, reliability and accuracy of my data to ensure that the data was robust, valid and true. Validity is defined by Jupp (2006: 311) as:

> *The extent to which conclusions drawn from research provide an accurate description of what happened or a correct explanation of what happens and why.*

As recognised in Chapter 4, interpretation of the data cannot be value free nor completely objective. However by providing clear rationale to the methodological approach, as well as exercising reflectivity during the whole research process, I justified the validity of the research (Harding 2019: 113-115).

In addition, I checked the validity of my findings by:

- Keeping a research diary which acted as a record of the research process described in this chapter and checking my findings against this;
- Creating theme summaries and an overall findings summary to break down the findings and test to see if the findings in the analysis chapters were consistent against these summaries;
- Sending an overall summary of my findings to a randomly chosen sample of research participants from my initial respondent pool;
- Comparing the findings from the pilot interview stage with the main research stage;
- Having a supervision team and colleagues (including friends and family) who are further away from the project who had a detached view read the results provided validity to the data interpretation;
- Presenting my findings at conferences and workshops;
- Testing arguments by creating a table to check commonalities or differences in the data.

On reflection, these validity checks enabled me to put forward a clearer, more coherent argument across the thesis.

Appendix H – Transcript examples

Walking Interview with an Ecologist from the Forestry Commission, local resident, F, 35-44.

Interview took place starting at the May Beck Car Park and walking up on to Fylingdales Moor on 16/7/19.

Interviewer: *What's your role in the National Park?*

Interviewee: *I'm the ecologist. That's my title. So I look after the environment and try to make sure we do everything as sensitively as possible and try to make sure we look for opportunities to improve things. I work alongside a lot of people, a lot of volunteers, a lot of partners, um a lot of colleagues.*

Interviewer: *How many people do you work alongside?*

Interviewee: *I work alongside a lot of people, a lot of volunteers, a lot of partners, um a lot of colleagues.*

Interviewer: *What is the purpose of a National Park?*

Interviewee: *To help ensure that the area stays as special as it is already for the environment and cultural and sort of landscape. To try and work with different land managers to um help them to understand the importance of the land that they are managing, helping to improve the environment.*

[Reacting to a slow worm on the path in front of us] are you alive? Your very still. I've never seen one do that before they are normally curled up. He was obviously warming up.

I think they [National Park Authority] have an overarching responsibility for the whole area, looking at the landscape scale of things, a lot of landowners see their patch but they don't understand it in the scale of the landscape. Having the larger picture and connect things up. They can see a farmer over here has this and a farmer over there has that. Is there anyway they can join those by working with the landowner in the middle?

Interviewer: *So, what does a National Park mean to yourself? Have you worked in National Parks before and how do you identify with National Parks?*

Interviewee: *This is the first National Park I've worked in and we do work quite closely in partnership with the National Park.*

Sorry, what was the question again?

Interviewer: *So, what does a National Park mean to yourself? Have you worked in National Parks before and how do you identify with National Parks?*

In my role I have a good knowledge of the National Park and what they do. I live in the National Park as well and I'd say in my personal circles there's not much knowledge of the National Park and what they do at all.

The National Park come into contact with the public through planning. The National Park is seen as stopping people doing things.

Interviewer: *Do you think there is a lack of understanding about the role of the National Park within communities?*

Interviewee: *I think there is. I think the difficulty with this National Park is that it seems to have that many changes of staff in the organisation especially in the countryside team because of cuts so it's hard to know what's going on and who is doing what. I think that's a difficulty that hopefully they are getting over.*

I think sometimes they are quite blinkered about moorland. Im obviously a bit tree bias! There are areas that they want to be moorland but doesn't naturally want to be moorland.

Are we going over there? Can you get over there matey [talking to her dog]?

Interviewer: *Yes just over to the trees. I think I'm sweating already. Straight up to the top then we will turn left then we will come back down the road. Are you one of the biggest landowners in the National Park?*

Interviewee: *Yes I think we are.*

Interviewer: *What are the differences between how you perceive a landscape (e.g. a forestry plantation such as May Beck) should be managed compared to a moorland estate? Is there tensions there or are you on the same lines?*

Interviewee: *I think we are managing for different objectives. We have three objectives – people, timber and wildlife. I often think that moorland managers have the one perspective which is the economy, money. Maybe aren't quite as open to wildlife and the people aspect. I think shooting does dominate the moors and I think that's becoming more so. I think the National Park, I don't think they [the National Park] are strong enough. I think they are intimidated by the shooters. They do bring money into the area, you know. But I don't know*

there was a meeting the other day that I did a talk at with moorland landowners held at the National Park and one of the things on the agenda was the increasing shooting in the area and what they were gonna do. So, there was like a massive turn out. They totally evaded the point of the issue. You could see National Park staff were very wary and dominated by the landowners. I don't think the issue was properly discussed because it just turned into the moorland people were just saying that they do have to kill everything because otherwise there wouldn't be wading birds so they um that we have. But the question was all about the intensification of it so you know you have got thousands of pheasants in a pen and what effect does that have on the ground and the nutrient enrichment and the invertebrate loss. If you were going to introduce any other species into the environment you would need a license from Natural England. It just didn't address any of those issues and I do think these are issues for this National Park. The amount of money which is in shooting and the amount of increase in shooting and therefore predator control. I do think the National Park Authority does have the responsibility to address this. They are this overviewing body. They have a responsibility to advise. It's difficult to know what their [North York Moors National Park Authority] role is really.

Interviewer: *Do you think shooting is likely to become more prevalent in this National Park?*

Interviewee: *It's certainly been growing so much recently. I don't know whether there is the capacity for it to grown anymore. I think it is an important part of the landscape because it is the reason why it is the way it is.*

Interviewer: *Do the landowners have the control of these landscapes if the National Park lack responsibility for these landscapes?*

Interviewee: *Yeah, what's the point in being a National Park if they have no control over the way [it looks].*

Interviewer: *Do communities get to have a say on landscapes within the National Park?*

Interviewee: *From a forestry point of view when we do the design plans um that there is always public consultation but I think it's very difficult because people are always very focused on little things which mean a lot to them. People are worried about the dog poo on a certain path rather than what the forest is going to look like over the next fifty years. So you might be giving them opportunities but whether they understand, they are very focused on their own little wants and needs.*

Interviewer: *Again the lack of a bigger picture.*

Interviewee: *When they [the National Park Authority] do the moors plan [the management plan] they do do consultation with communities whether it's through moors messenger.*

It's very difficult to engage with communities and make them see the bigger picture. Even with my volunteers they are all focused on a specific species.

Some people are bothered but they don't say anything and they just grumble away to themselves but they don't take the opportunity to express that when they get the chance.

I don't know if people do realise they are living in the National Park a lot of people. I used to live in Rosedale and you have some people who are passionate and involved and then others who just like to live there because its nice to live there and it wouldn't have mattered if they were in a National Park or not because they didn't have that connection with the National Park. I don't know how you break that barrier.

Interviewer: *We will just follow the wall to that sign. Is that ok?*

Interviewee: *Yep perfect.*

Interviewer: *Is your most popular site Dalby?*

Interviewee: *Dalby and Guisborough are most popular sites in terms of visitor numbers.*

Interviewer: *Is Falling Foss your site?*

Interviewee: *Yes.*

Interviewer: *That's quite popular when I have been down to the waterfall and the little café.*

I think that's probably one area where we clash with the National Parks, Falling Foss, because they want to see it developed and increased as a public recreation area, partly because its so close to the mine and it offsets the mine's impact. You have the area around Falling Foss which is Ancient Woodland and its whether you want to increase the pressure on that environment…that's a bit of an ongoing discussion. I think we might think to encourage more people to come to May Beck to spread people out. I think that might be the compromise going forward, don't know.

I think that's the difficulty isn't it in any special landscape is that you have these hubs, honeypots and its managing people without sacrificing what's special about the area.

Interviewer: *How do you go about consulting with communities then?*

Interviewee: *It's difficult to consult with everybody but we um we consult with parish councils, any local interest groups we are aware of. Then I suppose we are missing a chunk of community who aren't active in one body or another and you are only getting a select section of the community.*

Some communities and landowners don't care what their landscapes are. Some landowners are with it and open to suggestion of improvement and some aren't.

I think it will be interesting when you talk to visitors to find out what their perceptions of the Park are because that's a sort of a clash isn't it. They want to draw more people in to the area. The balance isn't it that is really hard to find between bringing people in so you have got a healthy economy but not happy with what you have got and that is part of the National Park's role. The right thing in the right place. People are being drawn to Falling Foss but is it the right place?

Interviewer: *How aware are the visitors that the majority of the moors are used for grouse shooting?*

Interviewee: *What are they thinking the purpose of the moors are? And whether they realise that they are actually so managed? Because my view of a moor in a lot of cases it's a temporary habitat, it's a successional habitat which wants to develop into something else so it takes a lot of management to keep it the way it is.*

Interviewer: *Is there anyway of telling how long it's been like this? Grouse shooting started in the 19th century, the 1820's, the 1830's perhaps.*

Interviewee: *It's such a large expanse. I don't know. It would have all been wooded with sort of patches of moorland as bits of wood blew over and then when people came to settle they would be clearing areas for firewood, for grazing, its developed over time. We are keeping it in a fixed state. You can see that where areas you clear the woodland and it says it's going to be open we don't manage it, we don't burn it, we don't graze it umm and you come back 5 years later it's a wooded land.*

Interviewer: *And the Rad Haz site?*

It has never been burnt or grazed, apart from the odd sheep which escape or deer, so it is quite an important site.

Interviewer: *Do you think we are more likely to find these less managed sites in the future?*

Interviewee: *It depends on subsidies because grazing is so heavily subsidised. But if that subsidy stopped and grazing reduces then we will.*

Interviewer: *Do you think people would want to see more of those sites popping up?*

Interviewee: *As long as it was a nice habitat to walk through people wouldn't mind. I think people like to see the purple heather but I don't think they look closely. When you look at a blank moorland if it had a bit more diversity, people would be fine with that as long as it still looks nice.*

I'd prefer diversity. I prefer on a walk to go through different habitats and see things. I wouldn't set off and just go for a day walk on the moors. It's a bit boring.

Interviewer: *One of the wonderful things about the National Park is it does have diverse landscapes including the coast*

Interviewer: *Were you consulted quite a bit on the Woodsmith Mine?*

Interviewee: *Yes we were but I was in the recreational team at the time. I didn't have any direct consultation with it.*

Interviewer: *Did you see it having any impact on May Beck or Falling Foss?*

Interviewee: *I don't think it does apart from the recreational side of Falling Foss. I think you see the cranes but they don't stick out that much.*

Interviewer: *Any environmental concerns?*

Interviewee: *I think they did a lot of surveys on the lights they have on at night so hopefully they have been mitigated.*

I'm not involved with the Woodsmith Mine.

The 106 money that the National Park got…we were able to tap into some of that…my beaver project in Cropton I'm getting £10,000 a year for monitoring that project going forward…There's a huge pot of money. I've no idea how they are going to spend it all. They seem quite relaxed about it. A lot of it is for woodland creation and they have a target for the amount of woodland that they have got to create but there's only so many landowners who will give over bits of their land. And if they want to maintain this open heather there's only so much land.

Interviewer: *How does your funding work?*

Interviewee: *We get income from timber, we get income from recreation and then we get money from the government.*

Oh, he's got a dead pheasant in his mouth [pointing to another walker's dog].

I have 17 SSSIs to manage and those things will never be self-sustainable that's where this payment for ecosystem services comes in, the government will pay us for the environmental work we do.

Interviewer: *Does the Glover Review have any impact on what you do?*

Interviewee: *I don't think so.*

Interviewer: *It will be an interesting time to see what the future for landscapes in National Parks will be.*

Interviewee: *A lot of landowners are in a state of what's going to happen with subsidies and the high level stewardship. That's one thing with the role of the National Park because a lot of the farmers struggle with understanding the systems for the schemes.*

Here, come, that doesn't mean walking into the middle of the road [interviewee talking to her dog]

They wouldn't know how to fill in a form or use a computer. There needs to be some organisation which assists people with that, whether its Natural England or the National Park.

I think the National Park used to do a lot of that…there used to be a mammal groups, this group and that, a lot of groups co-ordinated by the National Park. I think they concentrate more on planning issues. But they have recently employed a full time ecologist so hopefully they will be able to do other things apart from planning so that will hopefully help to re-establish these groups.

The groups need a purpose / structure.

Interviewer: *This would be in alignment with the more professional / business like mindset of the National Park Authority over the last 15 to 20 years?*

Interviewee: *Yes. This is seen in the Visitor Centres. They are now destinations to attract people. This has had a negative impact on the woodlands around. Big issue because of tourism.*

Interviewer: *Issue at Dalby as well?*

Interviewee: *Its massive. People get fed up with trails. It's a big issue everywhere and it's a difficult one to manage.*

Their focus [to tourism] does seem to have shifted.

Interviewer: *How closely will you work with NP statutory purposes themselves laid out in National Park policy?*

Interviewee: *I think we do. The grand plan forest plan will follow these but we have our own guidelines which dictate what we do. Some of it marries up with National Park principles. Because we are in a National Park, we do things differently. We look at the forest from a landscape perspective, get rid of the square straight lines, so it goes from heather to scrubby woodland to then plantation so you making the landscape and the habitat better.*

Interviewer: *Has your management towards these landscapes changed at all?*

Interviewee: *Been in the role since 2014. No I think the thinking with forestry initially started changing in the late 80s and then took on a massive change in the late 90s and 2000s. When it was set up we just had the primary objective of planting timber. The amount of habitats that we did destroy. A lot were lost because the main goal was timber and that was the government's order, our role. It's the centenary year this year.*

Interviewer: *Do you think people's perception of National Parks have changed over the time you have lived and worked in these environments?*

I think in some sectors of the community it has. Landscape projects like the land and iron project has the opportunity to engage with more people. In specific communities it has but in general, no, and that might be down to staff resource you know and where they have had opportunities have come through greater staff resource to engage with communities.

Interviewer: *Is there anything else you would like to say?*

Interviewee: *No I think I have said everything.*

Interviewer: *Is there anything you would like to find out from this research project?*

Interviewee: *Not at the moment but I will get in touch if there is.*

Sedentary Interview with a Pub Manager, local resident, M, 35-44.

Interview took place at a pub in the North York Moors National Park on 16/10/19.

Interviewer: *What is your background and job in the National Park?*

Interviewee: *Been here about 8 years, I grew up in the area, I went to school up the road, I worked away for a lot of years, had kids wasn't allowed to enjoy myself and came home. The pub is a B and B as well. I'm deputy manager here. We are massively busy…on three walks including the Coast to Coast. We can be full a year in advance. We've got a lot of foreign people walking through so they book it well in advance. It's been a good summer for us…weather has been fine. We have a massive beer garden so very weather dependent. It's been a pub 300 years was a farm before that but it all belongs to the local estate.*

Interviewer: *How do you use the National Park?*

Interviewee: *I walk in the NP. Tourism wouldn't exist without it. This time of year its lovely but it's not really conducive for walking weather. Tourism has increased massively. More older people especially over the last 4 or 5 years. In the winter now we get a lot of old folks coming. In the summer it's all ages. We have a large regular base. Very few people live in in this village - 40 or 50. A lot of it is holiday homes or B and B's.*

Like me everybody who I went to a school with is either a farmer or moved away. If you have any ambition most people leave at 18 or go to university.

I used to do a lot of beating for the shooters for a day out and a fresh air. A lot of farmers go beating for the social side of it. Farming is a very solitary existence so you don't really see other people. Only the big farms have staff.

Interviewer: *What is a National Park?*

Interviewee: *It's a protected area of beauty or interest or significance. Its increased in the number of tourists over my lifetime*

Interviewer: *What is the purpose of a National Park?*

Interviewee: *Oh that's an interesting one, hadn't thought of that. In a jokey way it's a bureaucratic nightmare. My ex in-laws from my first wife, they bought an eye sore derelict cottage and they bought it with the plan of doing it up in a traditional manner but there was just no leeway with the Parks. It costs them with the Parks bureaucracy 30,000 pounds more than it should. A lot to do with planning – there should be more leeway.*

Conservation is a massive one. I have a lot of friends and customers who are gamekeepers and um their conservation methods may differ. I'm not saying they are bloodthirsty or they go out to destroy protected species, they really don't. But if something is in the way of achieving a goal they will do what they deem necessary. The Parks are powerless to do or prove anything.

Interviewer: *Why are they powerless?*

Interviewee: *If there is a predator in the area it will be removed before the Parks even knew it was there.*

Interviewer: *Who do you think National Parks are for?*

Interviewee: *I'd like to think for the people but it probably isn't right. In principle I think it's a wonderful idea. It stops a valuable area being spoilt.*

Interviewer: *What does this National Park mean to you?*

Interviewee: *Well it is home so I have a fondness for it. I grew up round here. I have a lot of family and friends in the area. I think it is very pretty, it can be bleak in winter.*

Interviewer*: How would you describe the NYM to someone who hasn't been before?*

Interviewee: *It's pretty but it is quite desolate. It's rugged.*

Interviewer*: Is it a natural or cultural landscape or both?*

Interviewee: *Depends where you are, a lot of it is natural but the moors themselves are massively cultivated by the estates for shooting purposes.*

Interviewer*: Do you think people coming in the pub are aware of the shooting?*

Interviewee: *Most don't have a clue, especially the foreign tourists, they think that it's always been like that. They don't see any cultivation.*

Interviewer*: Have you seen much change to the landscapes over the years?*

Interviewee: *No, it's pretty much exactly the same as it was 40 years ago when I went to school. There is very little change.*

There's the new mine which is on Park's land. That's 15 miles from here. That is the obvious change.

Spent a fortune on hearts and minds campaign. Its flooded money in. At the moment there's not too many jobs for locals because they are all the skill jobs but when the mine's up and running there will be more.

One or two who are retired people are opposed to change but most people are pro mine, everywhere, Whitby, Egton.

Anything local they have thrown money at, could see it as buying approval from local people.

Massive conversation in the pub. Triggered a housing boom in Whitby, new estates going up

The guy who drinks in here – third in charge overall - they can refinance tomorrow if they wish to.

It's the biggest thing that has happened in the area since I was a kid that I'm aware of. It's had the most impact on lives.

Interviewer*: Has it changed communities at all?*

Interviewee: *Glaisdale gets middle management from Teesside. Very few local families of tradition live there anymore. Egton bridge – very few locals, all holiday homes. Not strong sense of community. Egton has more of a community.*

Several of the smaller villages and towns have lost their sense of community. Not sure why some have retained strong local roots and others haven't.

Interviewer*: What are the future challenges in the National Park?*

Interviewee: *Shooting is a dying industry. It used to be a day out for the rich land gentry. Shooting is massively under scrutiny. Corbyn says if he gets in, he will get rid of it. I beat, I support shooting, I made money out of it, it's a barbaric sport and the people who do it are mostly dickheads.*

Its outmoded. They just want to shoot anything that moves and then brag about it over a brandy with their friends and have no interest in the countryside.

Beaters, drivers, pickers up – it's a day out for them – social.

The actual shooters themselves have changed. It used to be landed gentry, very hoity toity toffs and they wouldn't care what they shot. They wouldn't go for low birds or slow birds. They like a bit of sport. It was again a social thing for them. A walk in the country, a talk with their friends. If they shot a pheasant for the pot it was great. Now it tends to be two types, either

younger folk who are networking and are not interested in the shooting at all, it's just climbing a social ladder or getting in with the boss or its people who just want to shoot 200 birds and don't care what happens to the birds. That's becoming more and more apparent so its turning a lot of people against shooting in the same way that the horse hunting foxes it got it outlawed and that was a good thing.

Shooters come from other parts of the country, other parts of the world.

We had a load of German, Austrian aristocrats and they were shooting everything. We wouldn't have them back. There was bullets flying round our head, the beaters. No degree of safety.

The networking people tend to be young people. You can tell them a mile off they don't know how to hold the gun. You have to babysit a lot of them. They don't even shoot half of them they just want to talk to the guy next to them. They are mainly from London. Some managers will have a shoot and he will bring several of his mates who claim to be interested in shooting. Interested in making deals. It's mainly men.

I don't think shooting as a business will last the next 10 / 15 years.

A lot of the groundskeepers who manage the moorland their wages are paid by grants from the Park or Natural England to maintain and conserve. If there's no shooting they won't be in a job. So you might see a decline in certain species and a rise in others.

Change won't be visible to your tourist walking through.

The next big change will be the end of the shooting

I've never understood the relationship between the landowners and the Parks…there has to be some give or take but that's way above what I know.

The Parks run the area but they are owned by aristocratic landowners who have had the land for centuries. So many places in England are out of bounds. They have the right to roam in Scotland.

Interviewer*: Do you think the National Park engage with communities in the NP?*

Interviewee: *Not particularly, other than the volunteers coming in for tea and coffee I wouldn't know. They advertise things at the moors centre. The moors centre is great, its free.*

On the actual parks themselves I couldn't tell you what's happening from one day to the next

I'm pretty sure if I went on their website they would list what they are doing but that would mean me being proactive. A lot of older folks in the area who aren't computer literate they wouldn't have a clue.

They are much more than a planning authority

People are not aware of what they do, they know very little

The perception round here especially amongst a lot of the land workers are that people who work for the National Park are very middle class and the volunteers don't help they are all very nice conscientious people but they tend to be retired people with money who do it because they enjoy it and they want to help and they are genuinely nice well meaning people but they don't come across well with to the farm hands and the young keepers who are working the land and come from working class backgrounds (farmers not the gamekeepers).

There is a massive perception that the National Parks are very middle class.

There is a lot of jobs for the boys in the Park. That's the impression I get from my customers.

NYM is a massive mixture of working, middle and upper class.

Interviewer*: The Sirius Mine, do you think it changes people's perceptions of how they see a National Park?*

Interviewee: *There is a lot of small mindedness among older farmers. It's quite hilarious really, they never look at a bigger picture. They say I wasn't allowed to build a shed but their allowed to build a mine there must have been a backhander. But apart from that I don't think there's much change.*

Interviewer*: Have you felt communities have changed at all within the National Park?*

Interviewee: *Whitby has changed massively. I wouldn't say out here has changed much. There's less people in farming. I know a lot of the big estates are taking land back off tenant farmers.*

Decision on how they manage that land is up to the tenant farmer rather than landowners

Interviewer*: Any other changes to community life in general?*

Interviewee: *It plods on. Little changes here and there. Long-term the mine will be necessarily beneficial for the area.*

Interviewer: *Is there anything else you wish to add?*

Like I say the main point is that shooting will be dead outside twenty years possibly sooner.

An interesting one for you is the Mulgrave Estate. Wife is a hippy news editor. First estate to go eco.

They have stopped shooting. All of this within the last 18 months. Lots of proactive stuff which takes them away from the traditional shooting.

Bit of opposition especially across the pro shooting groups. Trying to be a blueprint of future estates. Everyone is aware of the change…most are completely pro and sympathetic to the idea.

Interviewer: *Is there anything you would like to find out from this research project?*

Interviewee: *Nothing I can think of.*

Appendix I – Tables of themes

Table 8 - A table displaying the themes which emerged from the data with an example of an attributed quotation against each theme. The number of different data sources used (sources) and number of quotations listed (references) against each theme are also detailed.

Theme	Example	Sources	References
Access	*One is a more full right to roam in Scotland and also they have introduced community right to buy. In England and Wales in our NP's we don't have a full right to roam but obviously we have a pretty extensive right to roam within NP's. Firstly that is the place where the right to roam started I guess.*	4	5
Activities on the moorland (Taskscapes)	*Classic conflict – people trying to organise recreational events during bird nesting season (March to July). Start to come into conflict with SSSI regulations. Have to keep to certain regulations as a land manager.*	18	64
Changes to landscape	*So I completely understand that some people would oppose the idea of sudden imposed change on any landscape or any place they hold dear to them. Its whether we can get to a stage where we feel comfortable that some change is going to be good and that its going to be instrumentally useful it may be useful to a community in that attenuates flooding or it creates more tourism or it brings in different subsidies. I hope that that can be made to work.*	25	105
Climate Change	*I think being more comfortable with the idea of a dynamic landscape is I can't see how we can't. We have to understand how you know landscapes are going to change with climate change whether we like it or not and also probably having to change if we are going to mitigate climate change and adapt to some of its worst impacts so whether that's flood risk or greater risk of wild fires.*	6	8

Community Life in NYMNP	*There's a strong sense of community in the little towns and villages yeah. I found a big difference from moving from Sinnington…on the south edge of the NP...half of it's in the Park and half of its not in the Park. We were unfortunate enough to live in the half that was in the Park. But the sense of community up here I find is a lot stronger than it was there. I don't know why it is and whether its smaller farms and smaller schools everyone knows each other a lot more. Like in Sinnington, you go to school in Pickering which is a big school. Here you are in schools of 30 or 40. I think that generates a more sense of community. I think that's a unique thing amongst all the valleys and dales within the NP.*	31	111
Comparison with other NP's	*Peak District feels so commercial, really big tourist attraction over there...it doesn't feel like they have got it here. Manchester on one side of the peaks, more population going there. It does feel like the Park here is a bit behind. Lake District accommodation is everywhere...they seem to have really embraced it. Whereas here they don't want change they don't want development, they don't want new things. Its got to evolve otherwise its going to die.*	9	13
Contest	*On Goathland West Moor the two people who lease the shoot, one's a Russian oligarch who lives in Canada, billionaire and the other is an Italian multi-millionaire who lives in Monte Carlo. They obviously have very close working relationship with Goathland don't they? No. And because of that we are all expected to bow down on one knee and do as you are told, well it doesn't quite work like that and for too long the villages have sat about and muttered and moaned and complained individually but as soon as you become a collective. If one person has complained and then another written to complain. That's very easy to swot off....but if you then have a collective of eighty ninety people who get all of this lot into a hall and give them three shades of what for and tell them we arnt having this. I tell you the game changed that night. It changed the game. A lot of people took a lot of interest about we are about and we didn't actually go out to do that. What we are trying to do is reclaim or put into some form of perspective this isn't yours this is ours you own it but we have the right to excuse me f****** roam why should you shoot everything that moves why should I sit in my house as you burn the heather and my house is filled with smoke? I'm not having it! I'm not having you out in the moors lamping in the middle of winter with your headlights cause where I live beaming straight into my bedroom I'm not having it! Why should I put up with it? Would you? So why should we?*	18	31

Culture-nature	*I'm a huge advocate of moorland. I love moorland. but it's a semi natural habitat. Lots of people think its wild and what have you but it's not. It's very managed. People need to sort of understand that.*	40	122
Farming	*The moor has traditional types of landscape management…sheep grazing and heather burning.*	2	3
Future of National Park landscapes	*It feels like at the very least there should be a time for more experimentation in it right and actually opening what alternative futures could look like for the wider areas even if, even if people decide that's not the way they want to go, having some more variety, I mean having a more of a mosaic landscape in itself would be fantastic, would be much better for nature. Umm empowering and mandating NP authorities to do more of that sort of experimentation and that sort of ecological restoration with the small bits of land which they do own would be a great place to start.*	29	91
Fylingdales Moor and its management	*There are large areas such as Derwent head over the skyline there where its totally left unburnt. They are Merlin nesting areas. [points to where it is on the skyline]. Source of the river Derwent. Its left unmanaged. It causes a lot of hassle between the sheepmen and the environmentalists because there's heather up this height and getting the sheep out of it is difficult but I think there's a move now to split it into 2 or areas and burning 1 or two in the middle to make it more manageable from the sheep point of view.*	12	77
Governance of NP's	*They do have to work with the National Park and Natural England to manage the landscape. Yes they want to manage it for grouse to maximise grouse but at the same time its all protected landscape, you know SSSI, SPA and so on and that status has to be maintained really you can't just do what you like with the moorland and obviously it needs to be managed. There's a a debate to be had about how you do that but the North York Moors is designated because of it's bird nesting, its bird population, ground nesting birds and its very*	17	62

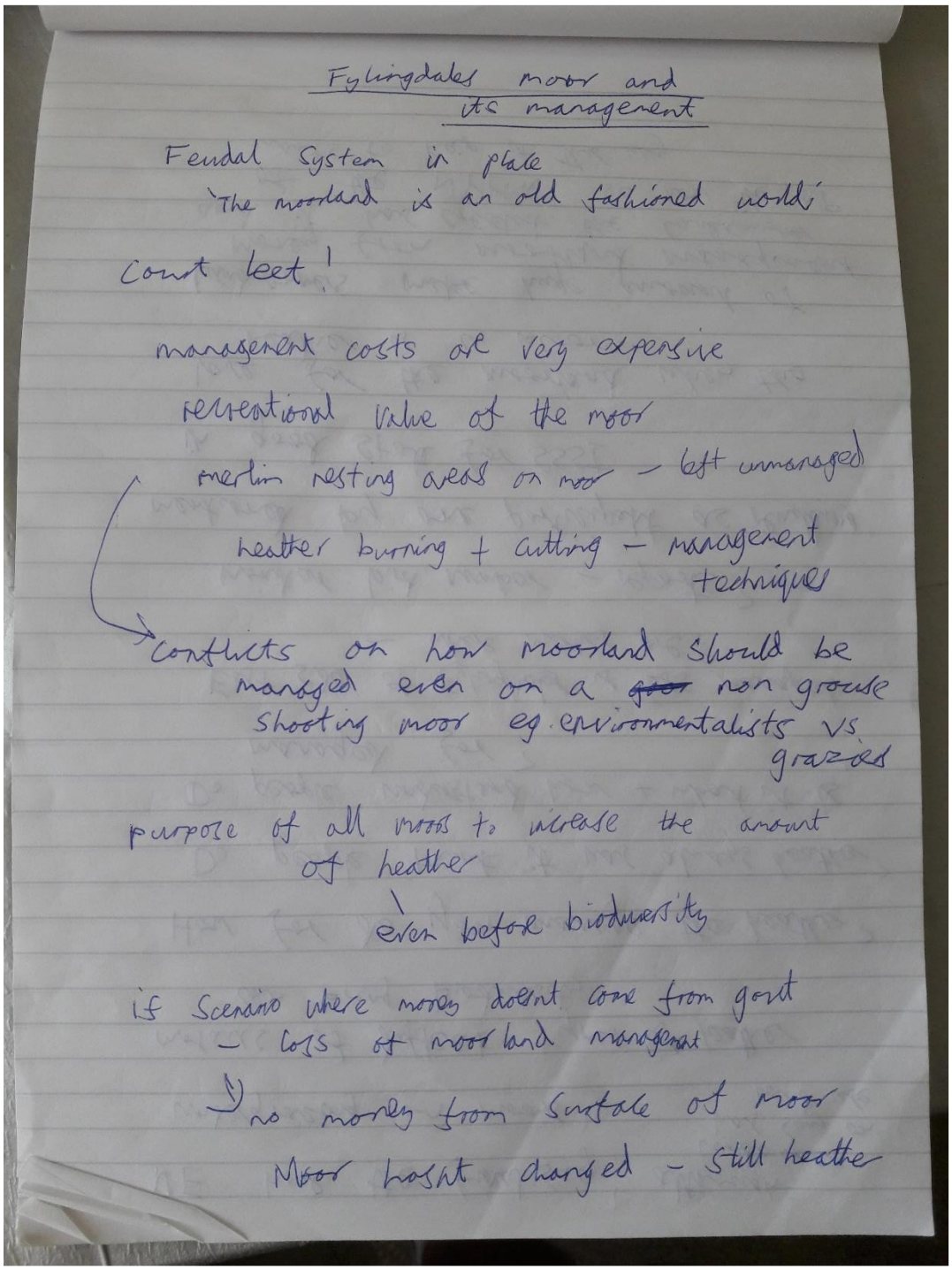
	rich in some species that maybe declining so lots of lapwings and golden plover and curlews.		
Grouse shooting	*The grouse shooting influence is still very strong. The tenant farmer with the sheep is always second fiddle. And that is still the big money spinner I guess. There's very little change in that front.*	32	124
Health	*The challenges ahead for us are about hearts and minds and people's health and well being, about enjoying nature and being outside and tranquillity.*	4	6
Heritage	*They are cultural landscapes for what they are protecting. They are not protecting the geology, the geomorphology and the err nature. They are protecting the near of humanity, the history that overlays the geology and the geomorphology. The fact that there is some interesting habitats and species within that matrix is just a happy coincidence of the long history of human land use.*	19	37
Identity	*So, it's comfortable and its yours, it's what your used to. If you use it [the landscape] you have got ownership. What you don't realise is that the people before had a different view to that and the people in the future will have another completely different view on it. You can only do the here and now.*	24	37
Industrial heritage in NP	*I think we have to appreciate everything is cyclical. We look back now at the history of the mines and there's people preserving kilns well at one time that was just another thriving mine. This is another thriving mine [potash mine]. At one time this will be gone. Its just another cycle and maybe in a couple of thousand years this will be something that is preserved.*	12	23

Land ownership	*We are not in total control of being able to manage the landscape in that we own a tiny proportion of the National Park which is privately owned basically and owners manage the land for making a living.*	30	100
Landscape	*Places where people can find an enormous amount of satisfaction, peace and pleasure. Landscapes become part of people's lives. Can be eye opening if going into different landscapes. It's an enormous part of their life, just to walk out there every day into a landscape.*	32	104
Perception of NP's role	*Its quite restrictive actually. I think if this estate was somewhere else like not in a NP, we wouldn't have half the problems that we do have. When we have got a lot of redundant buildings on farms and all around and planning restrictions are so tight, there's nothing we can do with them, it's a bit of a financial burden. You know a lot of them are listed buildings, we have got no use for them because planning restrictions are so tight. Most of the rest of the country has permitted development rights where you can build things, extend things within certain parameters without having to get any planning permission here within the NP its completely exempt, you can't do anything.*	30	76
Planning	*The next thing is planning, I think they [National Park Authorities] do their planning job really well. The planning bit is only one element of what they should be doing and its the dominant element and people and because its sort of their power and because its become the thing they feel is their job, a bit because of the lack of strategic leadership.*	17	31
Relationship between communities and landowner	*There was always a tradition of people in the village were involved. They were always involved in the shoot. They were always involved in the estate and I think whats happening with the NP is there has been a radical change I think those estate workers those people who have lived and breathed in the villages for years have died off you know granddaughter jimmy doesn't want to live there because shes busy on her Nintendo she then sells the property to someone eeking a dream of living in a NP and that person who comes and lives in that village. Whats shooting? I didn't know this went on? This is cruel. Im happy buying my*	16	41

	free range chicken that's not from Sainsburys that £4.50 but im not eating that its got feathers on it. Im not eating that its too expensive or its too cheap. That's what's happening.		
Relationship between communities and National Park Authority (NPA)	*The general perception [amongst public] is that the Park has a strong planning role and it likes to say no and that is a constraint to business.*	27	75
Relationship between landowner and NPA	*I think shooting does dominate the moors and I think that's becoming more so. I don't think they [the National Park] are strong enough. I think they are intimidated by the shooters.*	12	27
Rewilding / wilding	*There's a debate going on at the moment about where does rewilding fit in the context of ecological restoration…rewilding doesn't entirely fit within the circle of ecological restoration. Rewilding should focus on landscape scale rather than just site based. What people attempt to call rewilding quite often I would say no it isn't that's just restoration, so restoring natural process or using nature-based solutions so for example the slowing the flow project in Pickering. That's not rewilding, that's restoring certain ecological controls on river flow and run off. Reintroducing beavers to Cropton Forest as part of the Slowing the Flow experiment that's not rewilding because those beavers are not free range. They have been put there to do a job.*	9	25
Tourism	*It is by no means a natural landscape and if you take away intervention it will rewild not in ways that people necessarily want. The heather moorland is the great attraction for many people particularly foreigners they come to see the great expanse of purple heather for what two or three weeks a year.*	14	29
Woodsmith Mine	*From a personal point of view if the mine is happening and the impact from that can be kept as small as possible umm you know with the tunnel taking all the potash out of the NP rather than lorries. If you can reduce all that and mitigate the impacts of it and do some really good environmental work at the same time you know its maybe alright.*	36	138

Woodsmith Mine and Fylingdales Moor	*I own 50 odd acre of land over there and I have rights mineral rights on it and yes I signed up with them and I'm quite happy to draw 1000 pounds a year. I enjoy a little holiday off their benefit but there are three people in this area who flatly refuse to have anything to do with them. They are quite large landowners. They don't approve of it they say it can't work financially they say its not good for the area. They have very very strong views about it and I'm friends with them all.*	2	6
Walking	*It's difficult to say what I want [from a landscape]. I want to be able to walk, I want the freedom of walking about almost unrestricted. I do avoid the farmed areas if I can…its nice to be able to walk where you don't see anybody.*	3	8
Wildlife	*I think its hard because it's the way in which we see I think, generally we see landscapes we see rocky rugged aesthetically beautiful terrain like in the Lake District as being our example of what wilderness is but perhaps we don't look quite so much at the state of, the health of the wildlife that lives or doesn't live on it, the degree to which its all been deforested or nibbled down.*	26	59

Appendix J – Example of a summary of a theme



Fylingdales moor and its management

Feudal System in place
'The moorland is an old fashioned world'

Court leet!

management costs are very expensive

recreational value of the moor

merlin nesting areas on moor – left unmanaged

heather burning + cutting – management techniques

conflicts on how moorland should be managed even on a ~~grouse~~ non grouse shooting moor eg environmentalists vs graziers

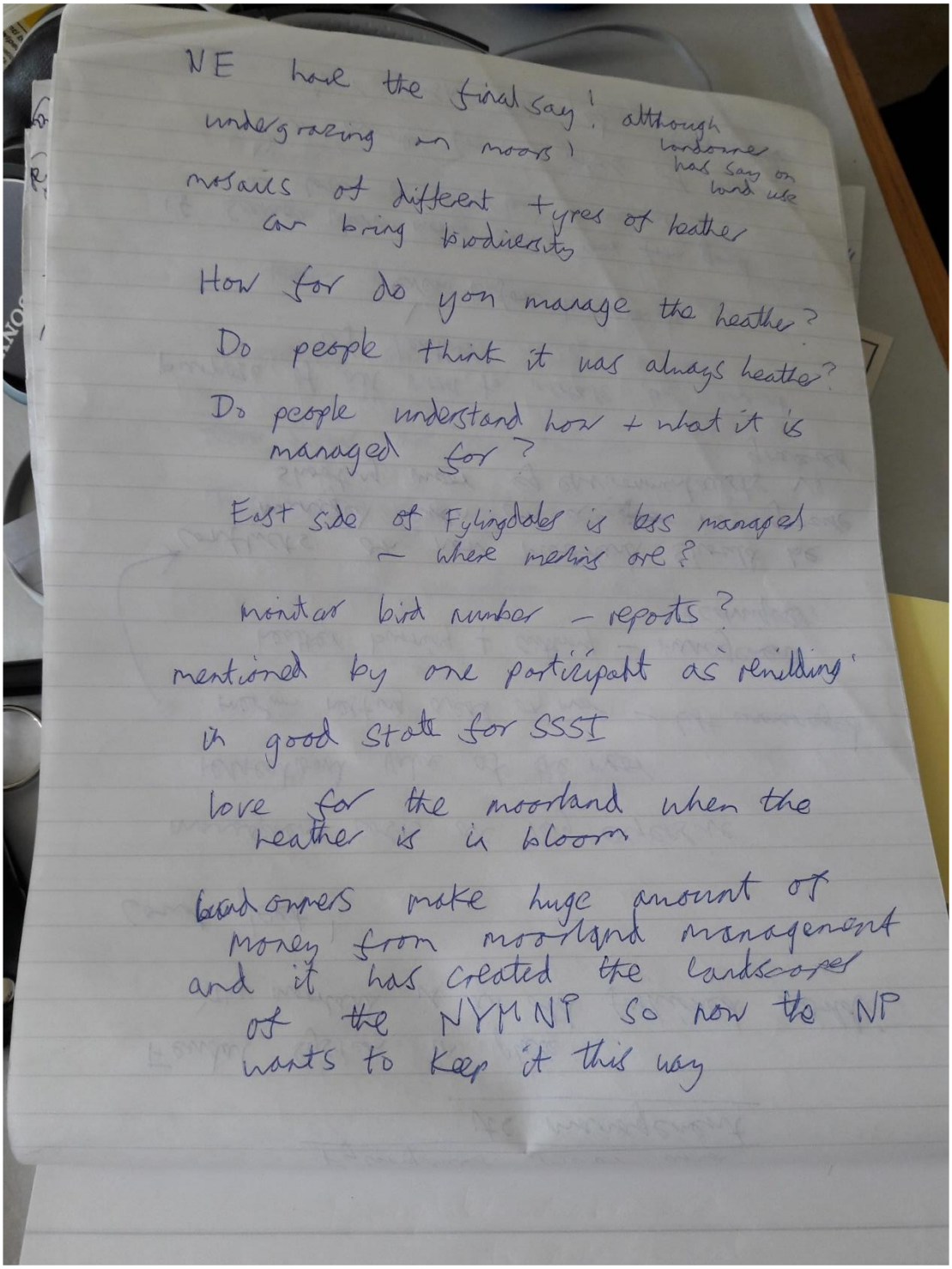
purpose of all moors to increase the amount of heather

even before biodiversity

if scenario where money doesn't come from grouse – loss of moorland management

no money from surface of moor

Moor hasn't changed – still heather


NE have the final say! although landowner has say on land use
undergrazing on moors!
mosaics of different types of heather can bring biodiversity

How far do you manage the heather?

Do people think it was always heather?

Do people understand how + what it is managed for?

East side of Fylingdales is less managed — where merlins are?

monitor bird number — reports?

mentioned by one participant as 'rewilding'

in good state for SSSI

love for the moorland when the heather is in bloom

landowners make huge amount of money from moorland management and it has created the landscape of the NYMNP so now the NP wants to keep it this way

Appendix K – Land Ownership in the North York Moors National Park

Table 9 - A table showing the name of the land area, the landowner and the amount of land owned or leased by the landowner (in acres and % out of whole National Park).

Land	Landowner	Amount of land owned or leased (in acres)	% owned out of whole National Park[158]	Source	Notes
Dalby Forest, Cropton Forest, Langdale Forest, Harwood Dale, May Beck (Newton House), Boltby and Silton, Ingleby Greenhow, Kilburn, Deerpark and Eastmoors	Forestry Commission	46455	13.1	Forestry Commission, pers. comm. 2020	Some of this land is long-term leased rather than owned.
Nawton Tower / Pennyholme Estate (includes Bransdale Moor)	Peter Wilkinson	19000	5.4	https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4980968/Millionaire-locals-war-closing-historic-pub.html	
Danby Estate (14,000) & Wykeham Estate (c.3500 in National Park)	Viscount Downe (Wykeham Trustees Ltd) - Dawnay Estates	17500	4.9	https://grousemoors.whoownsengland.org / Dawnay Estates, pers. com. 2021	
Mulgrave Estate	Marquess of Normanby	15000	4.2	https://whoownsengland.org/2017/08/13/the-marquesses-and-	

[158] These landowners may own more land in the National Park. These figures are just the known land which they own – i.e. a grouse moor.

				their-100000-acres/ Mulgrave Estate, pers. comm. 2020	
Hawnby & Arden Estate (Mexborough estate)	Earl of Mexborough	14000	3.9	https://www.iagrm.org.uk/content/57b58ea8bf9900.42338362.pdf	
Westerdale and Rosedale	David Ross	12000	3.4	https://www.tatler.com/article/best-grouse-estates-for-the-glorious-twelfth#:~:text=Westerdale%20and%20Rosedale%20boast%2012%2C000,shoot%20dinners%20and%20delicious%20breakfasts.	
Helmsley Estate / Duncombe Park Estate	Baron Feversham	11985	3.4	https://forestplans.co.uk/duncombe-park-estate/	This shooting site suggests it's even larger, 13,500 acres: https://www.shootinguk.co.uk/shooting/game-shooting/pheasant-shooting/top-10-game-shoots-in-yorkshire-46269
Spaunton Estate	George Winn-Darley	7000	2.0	https://grousemoors.whoownsengland.org	
Fylingdales Moor (Strickland Estate)	Sir Frederick Strickland-Constable	6800	1.9	https://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/latest-news/the-grouse-moor-where-the-guns-stay-silent-1-2294286	6742 acres in moorland management plan.
Whorlton Moor (Snilesworth Moor)	?	6749	1.9	https://www.ckd.co.uk/sporting-property-sales.php#:~:text=SNILESWORTH&text=An%20exceptional%20grouse%20moor%20and,6%2C749%20acres%20in%20total.	Changed ownership recently.
Egton Estate	Oliver Charles Foster	6000	1.7	www.egtonestate.co.uk/ https://grousemoors.whoownsengland.org	
Bridestones, Hayburn Wyke, Mount Grace Priory, Scarthworth Moor, Rievaulx Terrace,	National Trust	5205	1.5	National Trust, pers. comm. 2020	

Roseberry Common, Bransdale, Port Mulgrave and Runswick, Ravenscar, Farndale Woodlands, Robin Hood's Bay					
Wheeldale, Howl and Goathland Moor	Duchy of Lancaster	5000	1.4	www.duchyoflancaster.co.uk/tag/goathland-estate	
Rievaulx Estate	Justin Birkett	5000	1.4	https://www.rievaulxsporting.com/shooting	
Farndale Estate	Peter and David Barratt	4500	1.3	See s31.6 landowner deposit and https://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/news/the-city-diary-5475830.html	See also https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-york-north-yorkshire-23731229 and https://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/ryedale/10622728.farndale-villagers-call-for-trust-to-protect-homes/
Skelton Estate	?	4000	1.1	Skelton Estate pers. comm. 2021	Amount of land in NP is an approximate.
Baysdale Estate	Viscount Boyne (Burwarton Estates Company Ltd)	4000	1.1	https://baysdaleabbey.co.uk / https://grousemoors.whoownsengland.org	
Gisborough Estate	Baron Gisborough	3460	1.0	https://grousemoors.whoownsengland.org	
Roxby Estate / Grinkle Park Estate	?	3000	0.8	https://www.gunsonpegs.com/shoots/north-yorkshire/grinkle-park-estate-hotel	See also https://www.classiclodges.co.uk/grinkle-park/about-grinkle-park/ and https://www.shootinguk.co.uk/shooting/shoot-reports/grinkle-park-pheasant-shooting-from-north-yorkshire-48068
Urra Estate	John Reeve	2800	0.8	https://www.shootinguk.co.uk/shooting/game-shooting/pheasant-shooting/partridge-and-pheasant-shooting-at-urra-north-yorkshire-11126	

Ravenswick Estate	RFB Trustees Three Ltd (unclear who ultimate owner is)	2500	0.7	https://sometimes-interesting.com/2016/05/05/ravenswick-hall-disrupting-an-english-manor/	See also Land Registry Corporate & Commercial data.
RAF Fylingdales	MOD	2000	0.6	MOD pers. comm. 2020	
Levisham Estate	NYM National Park Authority	1445	0.4	NYMNPA pers. comm. 2019	
Thimbleby Estate	Andrew & Andrea Shelley	1334	0.4	https://grousemoors.whoownsengland.org	
Botton Village	Campbell Village Trust	600	0.2	https://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/analysis/just-what-s-so-special-about-botton-village-1-6769211	
Cawthorn Estate	?	524	0.1	https://gnb-user-uploads.s3.amazonaws.com/cnb/images/deatha/notices/10456/brochure/a4b4363a9945a54b4e6c55f714b0dfa1.pdf	Map of estate included in web link.
Newgate Estate	?	424	0.1	http://www.stephenson.co.uk/wp-content/files_mf/1493977221NEWGATEESTATEFINALBROCHURE.pdf	Is this affiliated with the Hackness estate?
Fen Bog, Ashberry, Little Beck Wood, Birch Wood, Birch Wood west of road, Ellerburn Bank, Garbutt Wood	Yorkshire Wildlife Trust	370	0.1	Yorkshire Wildlife Trust pers. comm. 2020	Birch wood, Fen Bog and Littlebeck Wood are nature reserves. YWT lease Ashberry, Birch Wood west of road, Ellerburn Bank and Garbutt Wood.
?	Yorkshire Water	198	0.06	Yorkshire Water pers. comm. 2020	
Lordstones Country Park	John Reeve (Urra Estate)	160	0.0	https://www.thenorthernecho.co.uk/news/10733455.strolling-stones/	Is this part of the Urra Estate?

Kildale Estate	Andrew & Emma Sutcliffe	?	?	https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/04626370/persons-with-significant-control	Limited info. on size of estate online.
Hackness Estate	Baron Derwent	?	?	https://www.gunsonpegs.com/shoots/north-yorkshire/whisperdale-and-hackness and https://handedon.wordpress.com/2013/05/29/hackness-hall-yorkshire-2/	Limited info. on size of estate online.
Lealholm Estate	?	?	?	?	Estate name provided by NYMNPA. Limited info. on size and owner of estate online.
Grosmont Estate	?	?	?	http://www.eskdaleside-cum-ugglebarnby-pc.org.uk/walks.php?template=2&id=425	Limited info. on size and owner of estate online.
Overall amount of land worked out (in acres)		**209,009**			
Overall amount of land in the National Park (in acres)		**354,560**			

Appendix L – Synopsis of whole estate plans in the South Downs National Park

Whole estate plans (WEPs) offer a potential opportunity to enhance the communication between landowners, the National Park Authority, local people and other National Park stakeholders. As non-statutory documents, they have been adopted by six different landowners / organisations in the South Downs National Park. They are documents which have been recommended by the South Downs National Park Authority (SDNPA) to landowners to cover four key areas of an estate:

- Developing a vision for the estate
- An asset audit of the estate
- An ecosystem services analysis of the estate's assets
- An action plan for the estate identifying targeted actions and specific projects to accomplish these actions

(SDNPA 2017)

The WEPs are long-term strategic documents which can utilise past and present thinking to consider the future of an estate, its successional planning, and any future changes to the estate. The document can provide background information for planning applications by a landowner (or other stakeholders involved in an estate) and planning decisions made by the NPA. This gives a wider audience, including planning departments, stakeholders and communities a more in depth understanding of estate's needs, aspirations, and assets and importantly the connections between these elements.

Those who have adopted the WEPs in the South Downs include a broad mix of different sized private estates, charitable trusts and publicly owned land with the plans themselves often involving all types of organisations from businesses to schools. The plans do not require a formal public consultation, however engagement with local people to contribute to the plan is endorsed by the National Park Authority. Compiling a plan may enable landowners to engage more with communities and understand their needs. Moreover, having the plan available for public access (for example on the NPA website) may allow the landowner to raise awareness of their social, environmental and economic actions on their estates. The plans encourage open, transparent dialogue presenting a whole, holistic picture of landowners' aspirations and issues.

(SDNPA, pers. comm. 2021)

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