

**COASTAL COMMUNITY RESILIENCE:
DISJUNCTURE, ANXIETY
& CHANGE CAPACITY
A NORTH NORFOLK CASE STUDY, UK**

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By

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Coastal Community Resilience: Disjuncture, Anxiety and the Change Capacity

Resilience has become a mainstay of climate change literature however it has long been interpreted to strengthen, support and perpetuate business as usual practices and beliefs; bouncing back to 'normal'. Moreover climate change narratives largely ignore the necessary changes required of countries such as the UK. These changes are not restricted solely to transitioning to low carbon economies, transportation systems and home-life, but relate to attitudes about the land beneath our feet. In the UK focus is most frequently directed towards flooding and although this is and remains a grave concern it is not the only problem. With increasing frequency and magnitude of storms and intensifying rainfall alongside sea level rise, it is not only lowland areas being affected but cliffed coastlines subject to accelerated and augmented erosion. These effects are especially noticeable along the eastern coast of England which is composed largely of glacial moraines, clays, silts and sands. I have focused here on two cliff-top communities in North Norfolk to explore how the communities affected respond and cope, or not, with the changes. Bounce forward resilience shows its usefulness here by including these human aspects and recognising that it is not always possible to 'bounce back', nor should you as the 'business as usual' option may restrict ability to change.

Through open interviews, reflective personal notebooks and interactive focus groups issues of disjuncture between control and fix-it tendencies and other social ideals, and the changes occurring are revealed. A triangular framework was employed to assess the extent of lock-in to particular practices and ways of living through open interviews, to explore participant emotional reactions using reflective personal notebooks, and finally undertaking focus groups to investigate capacity for change. Emotional dissonance is evident in witnessing the jarring disappearance of not just houses and landmarks but common understandings, and endeavours to maintain stability, continuity and reassert 'the norm'. This research further reveals the creation of spaces of anxiety out of fear of future risk and compound effects leading to blight both economic and emotional. Thirdly capacity for change is discovered to be crucial in thinking beyond the normal historically accepted attitudes and behaviours, and depends largely on how ready people are to accept change and through social endeavours and community spirit make good a bad situation. The extant issues in North Norfolk represent a larger picture of loss and change around the world, with the possibility for survival through innovation and change.

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*The myth of resilience, a story twisted and manipulated.
Is this a game of mastery and control, or a chance for creativity and innovation?
A process constantly changing to protect what's 'normal',
The life we lead is not the only life,
But we believe the story that anything else is a backwards step.
That progress has but one path.
We wear blinkers forged from social norms and past behaviours.*

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Abbreviations

BGS:	British Geological Survey
DEFRA:	Department for Environment, Food & Rural Affairs
HVW:	Happisburgh Village Website
IPCC:	International Panel on Climate Change
NNDC:	North Norfolk District Council
ONS:	Office of National Statistics
SLR:	Sea Level Rise
SMP:	Shoreline Management Plan

Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis covers a really important issue, that of the future survival of two villages in the UK which is only a small snapshot of the villages, towns and even countries that are threatened with erosion due to climate change. This chapter introduces some of the background to this research, discussing the climate change effects to the UK, the impact this has upon the vulnerable unconsolidated cliffs of eastern England, and the human consequences of these changes; including not simply the loss of house and home but place and a cultural landscape that has become engrained in the identity of the area. Next this chapter introduces the role of resilience as a way of exploring this human geography of climate change. To conclude this chapter presents an overview of the chapters to follow in this thesis.

Climate change effects are not solely elsewhere but affect the UK also. These effects include the combination of sea level rise, storm surge and glacial melt; increasing intensity of wind and rain; and accelerating erosion of increasing severity. Sea level rise is understood to be a global concern that is increasingly accelerating (Ranasinghe et al. 2012, p.6) with exceptionally high water level become up to 10 – 20 times more frequent by 2080 (Brooks & Spencer, 2012, p.12; FitzGerald et al., 2008, p.3; Hulme & barrow, 1997, pp.337-338; Lavery & Donovan, 2005). Some physical geographers and other scientists remain adamant that “there is no indication of a significant increase in storminess this century” (Zhang, 2004, p.1) and is as such often excluded from coastal modelling (Lee et al., 2001). This is despite extreme wave heights being observed in the North Sea and Atlantic Ocean (Dawson et al., 2009, pp.12-14) and Pacific Ocean (Ruggiero et al., 2010, p.13), and evidence by Brooks & Spencer (2010), Ranasinghe et al. (2012) and Brooks & Spencer (2012) that increased magnitude of extreme weather events with greater wave energy will impact considerably upon coastal erosion. The UK is situated in a high wind zone exposed to long fetch waves generated in the North Sea with complex wave refraction patterns that greatly affect the tidal range (Lee, 2008, p.3; Lowe & Gregory, 2005, p.7; Pethick, 2001, p.7; Senior et al., 2002, p.9). This is the same wind zone responsible for the 1953 storm surge named ‘the Big Flood’ (Baxter, 2005; Fielding, 2011; McRobie et al., 2005). Others have commented upon the increasing contribution of glacial, sea ice and snow melt towards sea level rise (Fisher

et al., 2012; Jacob et al., 2012), and intensification of rainfall and drought (Harvey, 2000, p.226; Lavery & Donovan, 2005, p.6) with the possibility of more convective rainfall which condenses upon adiabatic cooling resulting in high intensity rainfall and thunderstorms (Arnell, 2002, p.22; Newson, 1975, p.45).

Whether these effects are natural or anthropogenic they have the “potential to significantly endanger public and private resources (Brooks & Spencer, 2010, p.2) and as 2004 statistics tell us “over 2 billion people (37% of the global population) live within 100km of a coastline” (Cooper & Pilkey, 2004, p.2). These statistics in 2009 in relation to flooding in the UK, place an estimated 2.4 million homes at risk, 0.5 million of which are serious risk (Harvatt et al., 2011, p.3). The relationship between emerging hazards and people is being realised as very important to understand as losses grow physically and economically, and in pain and suffering (Harvatt et al., 2011, p.2). The implications of this are of increasing concern as higher cumulative emissions and weakening prospects of prompt mitigation raise the likelihood of mean warming of 4°C or more (Adger & Barnett, 2009b, p.2; Smith et al., 2011). These climate change effects therefore threaten the continued existence of numerous island nation states and coastal settlement globally (Adger et al., 2011a). It is less reflected upon that these same effects of climate change also augment and accelerate erosion and as such can affect settlement considered safe for decades given the combination of their height above sea level and previous coastal defence systems. This poses a great threat to the east coast of England due to its soft largely unconsolidated geology created through glacial, marine and fluvial deposits (Lee, 2008; Ward, 1922).

As such a major concern for Eastern England is erosion. Erosion along this coastline is in no way uncommon however it is rarely afforded the same focus that instances of flooding and storm surge receive. Erosion research is largely focused upon beach erosion, wetlands, saltmarshes and dunes (Brunel & Sabatier, 2009; Vega-Leinert & Nicholls, 2008; Kelley et al., 2009; Pethick, 2001; Ranasinghe et al., 2012; Zhang, 2004) or solely focuses on the physical aspects that initiate landsliding (Department of the Environment, 1994; Lee, 2008; Sidle & Ochiai, 2006; Ward, 1922; Zhang et al., 2006). In the UK understandings of coastal erosion commonly adhere to the Bruun Rule

(FitzGerald et al., 2008; Pethick, 2001; Zhang, 2004), a calculation that lacks understanding of the relationship between sea level rise and coastal recession (Ashton et al., 2011; Cooper & Pilkey, 2004) and which lacks accuracy (Cooper & Pilkey, 2004; Ranasinghe et al., 2012). This physical approach assumed linearity relying upon historically averaged rates of recession (Brooks & Spencer, 2010) despite wide agreement that recession is episodic (Hall et al., 2002; Lee et al., 2001; Masselink & Hughes, 2003) and non-uniform (Cooper & Pilkey, 2004) resulting, in some instances, in instantaneous coastal evolution (Clements, 1994; Grove, 1953; Lee, 2008; Masselink & Hughes, 2003; Steers et al., 1979; Thomas et al., 2011; Williams, 1956).

In addition to this erosion understanding long maintained sea defence has led to inferred unending protection (Crooks, 2004; Pethick, 2001) masking the fact that the soft Norfolk Cliffs are in a state of deteriorating stability and relict and dormant landsliding systems. By ignoring the episodic nature cliffed communities are traditionally viewed as safe (McRobie et al., 2005) despite previously great losses (Lee, 2008; Reid & Matthews, 1966) and knowledge that dramatic failures can develop in soft elevated cliffs (Department of the Environment, 1994; Petley & Allison, 1997). This perception of safety, along with toe protection provided by sea defences, has led to increased development atop coastal cliffs with little regard as to the increased loading putting stress on the cliffs (Rio & Garcia, 2009; Masselink & Hughes, 2003; Trenhaile, 2010). This increased loading through housing and infrastructure, as well as the effects of heavy goods vehicles on coastal roads and farmers ploughing to the edge of the cliff (Dickson et al., 2006), will greatly increase the shear stress exerted on the cliffs aiding its decline (Department of the Environment, 1994). These soft cliffs can only take so much; it is a delicate balance (Chowdhury & Flentje, 2003; Forster & Culshaw, 2004).

Other activities such as landscaping for beach access, or the removal of broken defences and other debris at the cliff foot, for aesthetic or health and safety reasons remove the restraining support of the cliff leading to accelerated erosion and often rotational slides as the cliff is steepened (Department of the Environment, 1994). These activities and their consequences are rarely considered with literature assuming a purely scientific perspective; separating human and physical processes. This focus centres primarily on sediment cells providing the basis for Integrated Coastal Zone

Management made up of individual shoreline management plans (SMPs) for each cell (Marchand et al., 2011). Through this singular focus a policy option of 'do nothing' is preferred with humans blamed for disrupting the balance with sea defences (Vega-Leinert & Nicholls, 2008; Marchand et al., 2011; NNDC., 2013). These plans have changed the coastal defence strategy for numerous villages from a policy of 'hold the line' or an intention to maintain defences at their current state and position, to 'no active intervention' which, although minor maintenance will be undertaken, is a policy of retreat.

This research therefore focuses upon two villages along this coastline that are witnessing this encroaching erosion accelerated by climate change and assesses the possible future resilience they may have, or indeed survival in its basest term. The story of this thesis has been many years in the making resulting from a culmination of personal experience and academic study. I grew up visiting various locations in Norfolk that hold attachments for my mother and stepfather. I formed my own connections; a combination of tourist and local, on top of these, embodied by my present and past experiences in these places. Through holiday photos, sketches and geography field trips I have seen the coastline change and witnessed its effects locally. These effects include; socio-economic changes as shops, pubs and attractions change and shut down. Made more visible by sporadic visitation, the physical alteration of the east coast of England through coastal erosion is the biggest change I have witnessed. Fence posts delineating coastal paths retreat with previous pathways and associated posts left truncated and hanging perilously over the cliffs; paths and fields no longer exist; the cliff edge encroaches upon churches and housing, and some houses and roads complete with plumbing and electrics lie upon the beach. The maps below demonstrate the locations of these two sites and fieldwork photos of a) Sidestrand and b) Happisburgh show the erosion experienced at each location.

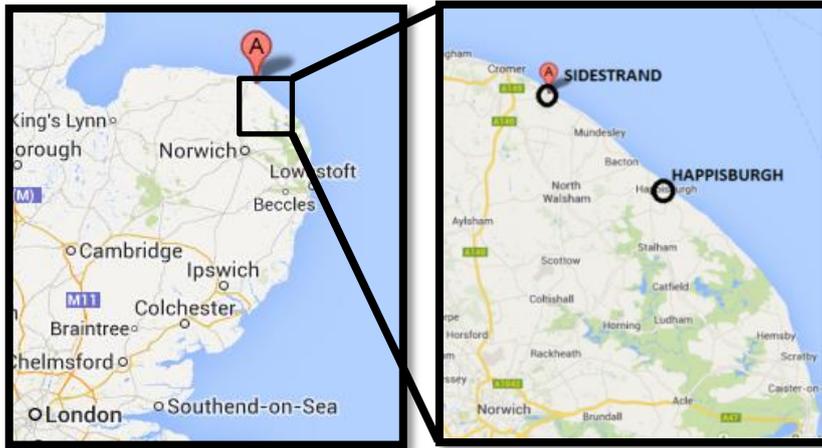


Figure 1: Maps demonstrating the fieldwork locations (Google., 2014)

a) Sidestrond





b) Happisburgh





Figure 2: Fieldwork photos of a) Sidestrand and b) Happisburgh

Due to my previous experience personally and academically in North Norfolk I was already aware of many social, economic and emotional ramifications of coastal change. There is a cultural geography of Norfolk whereby specific ideas of landscape and associated symbols (Edensor, 2002; Matless, 2014) come to represent Norfolk; a landscape of windmills, churches and flat fertile farmland. Norfolk is imagined in different ways due to various narratives (Daniels & Lorimer, 2012, p.2; Yusoff & Gabrys, 2011) as the perfect rural escape, traditional unspoilt 'heaven', and as timeless quintessential England. North Norfolk is referred to as being part of 'the heritage coast', promoted and given special protection (DeSilvey, 2012). This is incongruous when juxtaposed with the new coastal policies of no intervention and retreat. The National Trust claims to preserve this heritage 'forever and for everyone' (DeSilvey, 2012). This does not help understanding of the situation as such narratives suggest that action will continue to be taken and that heritage societies won't let the iconic buildings be lost. Their special status prevents their loss from being fully anticipated. This landscape appreciated as bucolic England is frozen in time like a postcard supporting and perpetuating the norm and the comfortable stability and continuity of

place (DeSilvey, 2012). Each village exists in a state of lived and anticipated ruination, a landscape of loss and ongoing decline haunted by past and future change (Edensor, 2005; Wylie, 2009).

Although ruins have been prevented from forming through demolition in Happisburgh numerous empty unsaleable properties suggest they are a future possibility. Haunting is not always negative as the time depth of both villages encompasses understandings of a shared gaze (Wylie, 2009), a shared experience through time in the Victorian school, the ageing pub and in the churches of both villages. Sitting with the ancestors in church, a living landscape, a living village is presented haunted by meaning and memory and peoples with ghosts; the invisible constituents of landscape. This shared continuance of gaze is marred or perhaps emphasised by the transformation and loss of the very same landscape; its absence present in the ruins beneath the waves. Moreover, Sidstrand romanticised and perpetually framed as the centre of Poppyland, is now bereft of poppies. Aside from lore and symbol, the wild poppies have all but disappeared; a casualty of modern intensive farming and removal of hedgerows. A landscape both preserved and already lost. Both villages are characterised as authentic Norfolk in that they somehow preserve some facet of something we are losing. It is thus not surprising that its maintenance is sought in order to protect this identity and representation of the area, and Norfolk itself, as an idea, from being literally eroded away.

People see and remake the land differently through time, but some ideas persist strongly, becoming symbols of regions and of nations (Cosgrove, 2012; Cosgrove, 1984). Those moving to the area buy into this representation of Norfolk and of village life, the quintessential English landscape, and maintain it in order to maintain an idea of self and understandings of reality as much as buildings and fields. This relationship is largely aesthetic focusing on the picturesque damage to which is perceived to alter the character of the place. The social dilemma represented in the retention and importance of these landscapes is the idea of fighting against perceptions that urban sprawl and more specifically large towns and cities are taking over ruining a way of life that people have chosen and perceive to be perfect. The human consequences of augmented and accelerated erosion as a result of the accumulation of climate change

effects include; loss of houses, loss of landmarks and attachments, and the potential loss of entire settlements to the sea.

This research as such is concerned with the long term survival of these coastal villages in north Norfolk whether it be by the erosion or through social fragmentation and abandonment due to anxiety. It is concerned with the question 'what next?' after the decision to alter sea defence policies and not provide any future compensation or rollback plan, and what the social and emotional effects may be for these villages and the communities threatened with erasure by the sea. This thesis presents therefore a human geographical understanding of what is usually thought to be a physical geography 'problem', bridging the gap between the physical understanding of climate change and erosion, and the socio-economic and emotional experience of potentially losing your village off a cliff. By delving into the assumptions and key understandings of climate change and erosion, evaluating the social and emotional reactions, and assessing the change capacity of these two village communities this thesis highlights the lived experience of threatened villages.

As a broad interdisciplinary concern this topic draws upon multiple bodies of work including human geography discourses of emotional geography; cultural geography; futures; social exclusion and marginalisation; rural and coastal geography; urban and rural planning; and of course the interdisciplinary discourses of climate science, climate policy, resilience and adaptation. This human geography of climate change is supported by Brace & Geoghegan (2010) who discusses this with regard to landscape, temporality and lay knowledges. A key part of this that I build upon in this thesis is demonstrating climate change at the local level and understanding how it alters the familiar landscapes of everyday life (Brace & Geoghegan, 2010, p.1).

This analysis looks also at landscape and time and considers wider society understandings rather than being restricted to lay knowledges. I recognise that landscape is a representation of society encompassing memory-scapes and the geographical imaginations associated. This includes time as an idea; a perpetual stasis, stable and enduring, a never changing set landscape. Change is uncovered as something perpetually placed in the future, an elastic time stretching comfortably into

the intangible future; a time that is unattainable and elsewhere. This thesis deals with common understandings embedded in our social everyday imbued with selected ideas of past and future. This is not some separate lay knowledge but everybody's knowledges. This thesis demonstrates that it is insufficient to focus solely on the physical factors of climate change at the coast as the human experience of loss, threat and anxiety in the face of these climate change effects alters how they're understood and acted upon. The change capacity, and therefore the long term resilience and ultimate survival of these villages, depends on seeking innovative and new solutions.

The human geography of climate change is revealed strongly within resilience discourse where the onus is upon human society to adapt to environmental change. This thesis promotes the idea of bounce forward resilience involving transformative adaptation. This understanding develops from situations such as these villages where return and repair are impossible and a different solution is needed whereby the previous assumptions and rules of the 'game' are discarded. Such transformation is largely discussed as a future necessity that is not needed yet (Cutter et al., 2008; Magis, 2010; Nicholls & Kebede, 2012; Park et al., 2012; Wilson, 2014). This thesis demonstrates the need for transformative adaptation right now encompassing both the physical and social impacts of climate change, erosion, and the social amplification of emotion causing contagious anxiety which makes present the future; a future that is otherwise marginalised and elsewhere. The concept of bounce forward resilience for these and by extrapolation other vulnerable villages or communities, is explored in this thesis through the sub concepts of disjuncture, anxiety effect, and change capacity. These form the basis of the three analysis chapter in this thesis. These theories drawn from the empirical data and associated literatures attempt to answer in short whether village communities vulnerable to erasure can in fact be resilient.

There are many key concepts that will be discussed in detail in the following literature review (**Chapter 2**). In short these are: the importance of a human emotional approach to climate change; understandings of climate change, resilience and adaptation outlining where this research is situated within current resilience literature; emotional geographies and discourses pertaining to anxiety and othering; key discourses on the temporality of climate change and coastal erosion as it pertains to the everyday; and

discussion of social imaginaries or baggage that shape and reproduce understanding and action on climate change especially as it alters valued aesthetics and what is deemed to be 'normal'. Additionally concepts developing as a part of this thesis will be introduced in order to frame the discussion to follow. These include; disjuncture and control reflex, anxiety effect and spaces of anxiety, and a felt geography of dying villages including a process of lived ruination and memorialisation.

This is followed by a methodology (**Chapter 3**) with discussion of the case study approach, the carefully designed three stage methodology specifically chosen to address each part of the theoretical framework, key fieldwork logistics and analysis techniques. In summary, to understand the current situation and their understandings loosely structured interviews were expanded inductively to gain a window into each village and the concerns of the villagers. To explore the sensitive emotional reaction to losing what they love individually and as part of a broader village identity and heritage, the participants were encouraged to reflect privately on their attachments and their eventual loss, and the impact this will have personally and socially utilising any creative method of their choosing, or simple writing. To conclude and answer whether the villages in question have the necessary change capacity for bounce forward resilience interactive focus groups were utilised involving both written reflection, group discussion and creative comic script exploration of what the participants believed to be the future for their villages. Each of these three phases were analysed utilising coding, thematic mapping, and demonstrated using both field and research poetry. The subsequent analysis discussion is divided into three chapters again reflecting both the thematic framework and key emergent theory. Each analysis chapter begins with a contextual discussion of the empirical data as it pertains to the theory introduced in the following discussion.

The first of these analysis chapters (**Chapter 4**) discusses the concepts of disjuncture, distancing and control reflex which enable the evaluation of the assumptions and lock-ins of the current situation. The second analysis chapter (**Chapter 5**) discusses the idea of an anxiety effect in relation to social and emotional blight occurring ahead of coastal change. The third and final analysis chapter (**6**) explores the capacity for movement from these assumptions and behaviours, towards continued resilience.

These discussions are then concluded (**Chapter 7**) providing analysis of the interaction of disjuncture, anxiety effect and the change capacity for each village studied, followed by a general conclusion and summary of the thesis. This is completed by a discussion of the research impact and further research application.

Chapter 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the pertinent literatures for this thesis. Firstly the climate change background is explained and discussed in relation to the research. This is followed secondly by a detailed discussion on the concept of resilience outlining the common understandings and definitions, new evaluation of a bounce forward resilience, and ideas of path dependency and lock-in. Community resilience is then discussed in relation to understandings of community, community spirit, social capital and defining what community resilience may entail. Thirdly the concepts of place and home are explored including sense of place and the concept of multiple home places. This discussion is extended fourthly to investigate the literatures and understandings pertaining to the Norfolk landscape and seascape. Fifth social understandings and imaginaries are overviewed, including concepts of nature, time and future, normality and the uncanny, and distance distancing and disjuncture. In light of climate change impacts, impact upon home, place, and understandings of Norfolk, nature, time and what is normal emotion is a crucial concept within this thesis. The concept of emotion is thus discussed in relation to how emotion is understood, defined and utilised, how emotion is used and discussed in reference to climate change, understandings of loss and grief, and contagious emotion and anxiety. Finally to end this chapter the research approach is outlined, providing a summary of the research gaps and the thesis aims and objectives. This research approach is then summarised in a triangular research framework demonstrated in figure 5.

2.1. CLIMATE CHANGE BACKGROUND

Climate change, whether it is agreed to be anthropogenic or not, is predicted to have numerous effects upon sea level rise, the frequency and magnitude of storm surges, and intense rainfall and wind strength. A recent publication by Sterl et al. (2015) suggests that the wind climate will not change beyond the large range of natural climate variability experienced in the past. That is not to say however, that the wind climate won't return to a relatively worse situation than we (humanity) have been used to. Moreover Dangendorf et al. (2014) consider the time period since 1843, excluding the extreme variations experienced in the medieval warm period that triggered numerous landsliding systems around the UK coastline (Cracknell, 2005).

Thomas et al. (2015) and Grabemann et al. (2015) however agree that there will be an increase in severe significant wave heights, and through thermal expansion and glacio-eustasy (increased water volume due to additions from melting ice) there will be increase in the mean sea level rise. This in turn “raises the baseline level of the water, meaning high tides, storm surges and waves reach higher” (Thomas et al., 2015, p.1) Moreover Kendon et al. state that; “the intensification of precipitation extremes with climate change is of key importance to society” (Kendon et al., 2014, p.1); although this study again focuses solely upon flooding.

These effects threaten to have significant impact globally suggesting possible annihilation for lowland countries such as the Netherlands, Bangladesh and the Principality of Venice, not to mention island nations such as Tuvalu. It is of no surprise therefore that Zhang (2004), Ranasinghe et al. (2012), Pethick (2001), Vega-Leinert & Nicholls (2008), Kelley et al. (2009) and Brunel & Sabatier (2009) have focused largely upon lowland flooding pertaining to beaches, sand dunes and saltmarshes. Due to these assertions UK coastal defence strategy has been reconfigured as part of Integrated Coastal Zone Management (ICZM) formed of individual Shoreline Management Plans (SMPs) for the multiple sediment cells around the UK (NNDC., 2013).

Although Brooks & Spencer (2010) attest to the significant endangerment of public and private resources and statistics presented by Cooper & Pilkey (2004), and Harvatt et al. (2011) calculate how many people and homes are considered to be at risk, there is little mention of the real human consequences of climate change. Where this effect is considered by Shaw & Theobald (2011); Liu et al. (2007); Adger et al. (2008); Pike et al. (2010); Eriksen & Brown (2011); Spence (2004); Barca et al. (2012); Engle (2011); Ansohn & Pleskovic (2010); and Adger et al. (2005), it is almost entirely regarding relatively poorer countries than the UK. The only instance where the real cost of climate change to humanity has been considered in relation the USA and UK was after Hurricane Katrina (see: Nigg et al., 2006). With higher cumulative emissions and weakening prospects of prompt mitigation, Adger & Barnett (2009a), and Smith et al. (2011) suggest it is unlikely to be only those less economically developed that are affected. As incidents of intense rainfall cause more flooding, erosion continues to be

accelerated and augmented, hurricanes and tropical storms become more common, and severe drought and fires become commonplace, every country will be affected not simply those poor and far away. It is here that the concept of resilience is important in assessing the future survival of coastal and rural settlements worldwide, and one that has become increasingly popular in the past decade.

2.2. RESILIENCE: LOCK-IN, PATH DEPENDENCY & BOUNCING FORWARD

Resilience is associated with a group of concepts outlining the ability of a system or animal or human community to adjust to environmental, economic and social change. These are; adaptation, vulnerability and adaptive capacity. Adaptation may then be either incremental or transformative. *Adaptation* is understood generally as a process within a system or community to cope with changing conditions, stresses, hazards and risks or otherwise moderate or avoid harm; or taking advantage of new beneficial opportunities (Smit & Wandel, 2006, p.6; Jacobs et al., 2015, p.7). As Dannevig and Hovelsrud (2015) discuss however adaptation can be undertaken to either maintain the status quo or to alter conditions dependent on the logic and perspectives of those adapting.

In order to identify where adaptation is needed the *vulnerability* of a community or system are first examined. Vulnerability is commonly defined as the level of exposure to hazards and risks, and the extent of susceptibility to harm; or an inability to cope with changing circumstances and associated adverse effects (Fatoric & Chelleri, 2012, p.1). Vulnerability as with adaptation is influenced by a variety of socio-economic and environmental factors (Dunford et al., 2015, p.2; Smit & Wandel, 2006, p.6) as well as social norms and practices (Nelson et al., 2007, p.3) of the society adapting.

Understanding of vulnerability is changeable dependent upon the social understanding ascribed to the community being analysed and those doing the analysis. In the UK vulnerability is often assessed purely by demographic statistics of age, education, wealth, population size and extent of urban infrastructure (Nelson et al., 2007). By this assessment western countries would be considered less vulnerable than elsewhere. However this is relative and does not suggest they are invulnerable. Emerging resilience discussions (Manyena et al., 2011; Wilson, 2014) suggest that systems of society, business and infrastructure in capitalist countries have created the problem

and are embedded in a way of life that once change occurs will perhaps find it harder not easier to change. By this new framing of vulnerability the UK would be considered vulnerable.

The ability of a system or community to outline their vulnerabilities and undertake adaptation is understood as *Adaptive Capacity* (Smit & Wandel, 2006). Pelling (2011) divides this capacity into three processes dependent on the magnitude of change and its predictability. These three processes are; Coping, Transition, and Transformation. Coping, Pelling (2011) suggests, occurs when the magnitude of change is small and predictable and adaptation can take place as incremental changes to existing ways of doing things. Transition is needed when change is sufficiently large and unpredictable to push current ways of doing things to their limits of capacity. Thirdly transformation is required when change is large and uncertain enough to require new ways of doing things (Figure 3). Mehmood (2016) further re-envision this concept calling for transformability defined as “adaptability or the ability of being flexible in the face of crisis or change” (Mehmood, 2016, p.9).

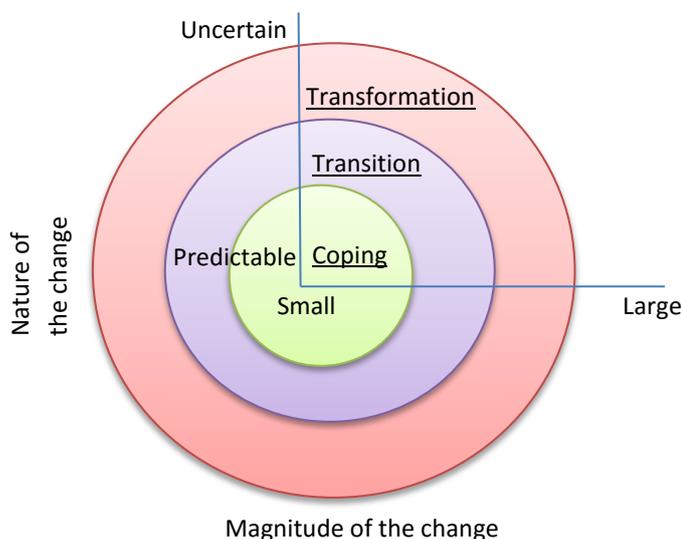


Figure 3: Levels of Adaptation (Pelling, 2011)

Adaptation can therefore be considered incremental or transformative dependent upon the understanding of the scale of the issue. This is subject to the norms and understandings of those adapting. It is tempting to minimise the expected changes and therefore assume that only incremental change is required. With CO₂ and CH₄ levels continuing to climb a transformational approach is appearing increasingly

necessary (Manyena et al., 2011). In summary, *Transformational Adaptation* prioritises flexibility towards change, seeking new and beneficial opportunities towards a new way of doing and/or thinking. Resilience therefore must include all aspects of these concepts and especially recognise the need for a transformational approach (Bounce Forward).

There however remains much confusion over what resilience means and how it can be applied. There are two main discourses in theory and in practice. The first is engineering resilience regarding the strength and fortitude of a substance or structure, able to withstand events and recover quickly, where the fundamental focus is that of bounce back. Second is the ecological stand point following models of hysteresis (Fingleston et al., 2012) regarding the recovery and, or transformation of an ecosystem after perturbation whereby an ecosystem is viewed as a system that can exist in multiple states (Nelson et al., 2007).

This is demonstrated by (Folke et al., 2010) as domains of attraction with various multiple attractors and perturbations can 'tip' the system over a threshold. These understandings of resilience are represented in the common definition of the term, discussed by (Adger et al., 2011a, p.2; Walker & Salt, 2006, p.xiii) as; the ability to withstand or absorb disturbances and perturbations and undergo change so as to retain the same working function, structure, identity and feedbacks. In recent years attempt has been made to combine these two discourses into a new approach called 'resilience theory'. In this Folke et al. (2010) recognise the ecological model can be applied to human socio-ecological systems (SESs), as social and economic, as well as ecological, systems have thresholds that form tipping points and possible transformations. This theory however still adheres to the bounce back and return narrative of the other two resilience approaches.

2.2.1. Bounce Back

Resilience as it is applied in academia and policy retains a propensity towards a persistent strength and recovery perspective encouraging persistence and the status quo, as evidenced by sea defence projects today (Folke et al., 2010, p.1). Moreover Fingleston et al. (2012) discuss a reliance on the status quo remaining the same, whilst

Williams & Jacobs (2011), Simpson et al. (2003), Mileti & Gailus (2005), Norris et al. (2008), and Moser & Dilling (2008), all attest to the ability to return to previous conditions or to the original location to rebuild. Nelson et al. (2007) notes the result of this in public agendas, such as the shoreline management plans (SMPs) where there is limited space for manoeuvre or considerable change.

This 'bounce back' attitude is strong and enduring and in many cases is not at fault, however to assume that this is always the general model is a mistake frequently made. O'Brien et al. (2009) and Mileti & Gailus (2005) recognise that most plans and procedures tend to favour this 'business as usual' pathway, as much as possible, reinforcing existing power structures and economic relations, social ideals and desired optimums. This according to O'Brien et al. (2009) is evidenced by the limited progress with emissions reductions according to SRES scenarios which is not likely to be sustainable in the long run, and therefore not resilient either. It is further suggested by Perrings (2006) and Bussey et al. (2012) that this attachment to business as usual is potentially due to companies trying to avoid short term loss of productivity, and political voting systems that avoid change wherever possible. Engle summarises that resilience in this sense represents a "sturdy, robust, or stalwart state of affairs" (Engle, 2011, p.5).

Beyond the politics of government and industry Adger et al. (2011a) and Williams & Jacobs (2011) suggest the desire for observable metrics and controllable predictable situations represented in the predominant econometric perspectives of hazard management, reinforces this propensity towards persistence (bounce back). This attitude has been recognised by Nelson et al. (2007) to cause the dismissal of events outside of quantifiable ranges, labelling them as low probability, in doing so opening us up to potential, hugely significant, surprise shocks. Spence (2004) concurs with this, further suggesting that this dismissal of uncertainties (outside of the quantifiable range) perhaps demonstrates the extent of control we (humans) believe we have. This approach has been criticised by Scholz et al. (2012) as potentially leading to robustness and a lack of flexibility, reducing resilience by impeding the ability to change. Robustness in terms of engineering bounce back resilience is usually considered to be the goal in order to strengthen against perturbation, however sometimes strength for

the sake of strength is counterintuitive as it leave no room for change or surprise. Harvatt et al. (2011) also concur outlining the impact this bounce-back attitude has upon general scepticism of climate change whereby the inability to accept low probability events potentially increases threat and vulnerability.

Wilson (2014); Folke et al. (2010); Gregory (2010), and Scott (2013), theorise this propensity as 'lock-in' whereby individuals, societies and businesses conform to certain patterns of thinking and behaviour that can become limiting. They further suggest these attitudes and behaviours inform action and decision making, creating path dependency (Figure 4). Scott (2013, pp.4-5) considers path dependency to be of increasing importance both to developing resilience strategies and local community resilience, as potential lock-in inhibits adaptive behaviour and capacity. Nelson et al., (2007) and Park et al. (2012) agree with this, adding that these norms and practices are thus projected into the future, maintaining status quo agendas.

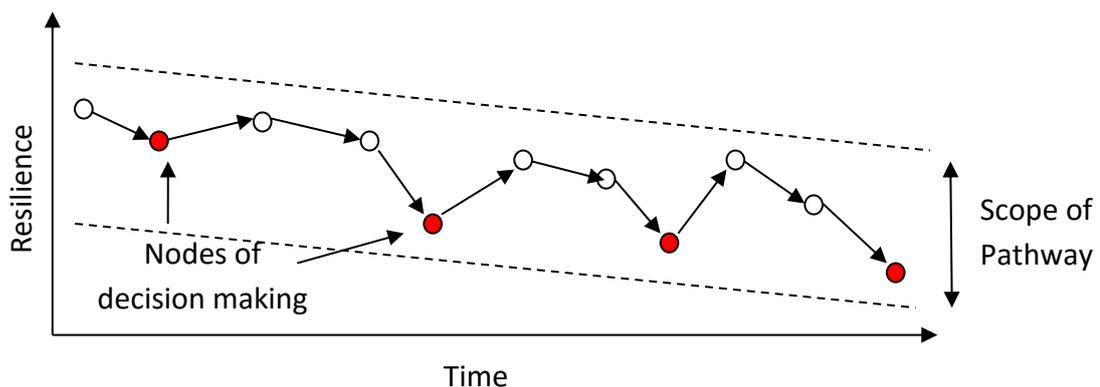


Figure 4: Diagram of Path Dependency (Wilson, 2014, p.8)

Lock-ins, it seems, largely depend upon how the world and a societies place in that world is understood. Paolucci (n.d.) compares this to Marx's 'camera obscura' whereby the world is viewed according to dominant power relationships and assumptions made through learnt behaviour and events. Banjaree (2010) and Depuis & Thorn (1998) further this, adding that historical and social understandings are applied to past events homogenising or normalising the events, in search of norms that reaffirm confidence in the world as it appears to be.

From this assessment, lock-ins are assumptions or practices that have become ossified and do not reflect the situation they relate to. Nelson et al. (2007) refer to this as high

adaptedness whereby adaptation to known threats and focussing on singular problems can lead to increased robustness. A robustness that, according to Adger et al. (2011a) far from being better, increases vulnerability to unknown or overlooked shocks (Adger et al., 2011a). This is recognised as “highly optimised tolerance” or ‘HOT’ by Folke et al. (2010). Smit & Wandel (2006) have recognised this singular focus in climate models used to plan many adaptation processes, changing one input whilst holding all other variables constant, however changes will likely affect other changes and little or nothing will remain the same. In extension of these bounce-back attitudes and locked in pathways, Liu et al. (2007), Shaw et al. (2010) and Bussey et al. (2012) moreover discuss the tendency to overlay false security upon high risk situations, known as risk transference, where inappropriate practices are perpetuated and expanded through persistence assumptions. This Shaw et al. (2010) elucidate, is demonstrated by the docklands developments after completion of the Thames Barrier. This process is recognised by Mileti & Gailus (2005), Walker & Salt (2006) and Manyena et al. (2011) as being the direct result of high adaptedness in decision making, or in other words adhering to the current pattern of behaviour and decision making.

This path dependency has been much discussed by Pike et al. (2010) and Eriksen & Brown (2011), in that it favours a particular optimal situation based on ossified economic, social and institutional outlooks. Although the focus is largely upon the US this may equally apply to the UK as it has systems and attitudes and are equally if not more established, rigid and harder to change. Within this discourse of resilience, lock-in, and path dependency there is a tendency to become too abstract and detached from the challenges on the ground. Walker & Salt (2006) have recognised this gap and state that resilience is dependent upon demographic, social, cultural, economic, and political factors which are dependent on the particular context.

2.2.2. Bounce forward

To account for this gap and attempt to revitalise this concept there has been a shift in thinking towards a bounce-forward approach. Manyena et al. (2011) propose that change is necessary and that returning to the original position is not change but instead, could reinstate the vulnerabilities and conditions that initiated disaster. Shaw & Theobald (2011) and Park et al. (2012) concur with this stance positing that radical transformation away from reliance on persistence, is needed by way of transformative adaptation; adaptation that beyond coping and redressing the balance, actively seeks change. Furthermore Shaw & Theobald suggest adoption of a “resilient ethos” (Shaw & Theobald, 2011, p.13), whilst Adger et al. talk of a “hazard attitude” (Adger et al., 2011a, p.8) and Wilbanks and Kates of “multi-threat resilience” (Wilbanks & Kates, 2010, p.1). This new bounce-forward approach to resilience is deemed important by Shaw & Theobald (2011), Scholz et al. (2012) and Adger et al. (2011a) in that it raises awareness of possible surprises from known and unknown unknowns. As such this approach seeks to rectify the high adaptedness and ‘HOT’ tendencies of bounce-back resilience models. Wilbanks & Kates (2010) suggest it is especially pertinent to climate resilience as it will be a ‘game-changer’ for communities where previous assumptions and rules of the game have been discarded.

It is thus that there is much debate between transformative versus incremental approaches towards adaptation in order to increase resilience, and avoid extreme climate change. The majority of resilience models and indeed climate mitigation models follow an incremental approach whereby as little is changed as possible; supporting return and recovery narratives and reinstating the status quo (Brown & Westaway, 2011). As such Nicholls & Kebede (2012) discuss transformation in reference to erosion set back zones in vulnerable coastal locations as a possibility, but no details are mentioned and it is discussed as a future necessity not a current process. Wilson (2013b), Cutter et al. (2008), Wilson (2014) and Park et al. (2012) all discuss transformation but it is continuously presumed that it is not needed yet, and extra time for radical change is always assumed. Although Magis (2010) states that; “resilience includes not only sustenance and renewal, but also occasional transformation [when] minor adaptations are no longer sufficient” (Magis, 2010, p.4).

Many scholars and as such policy consider transformational radical change as something that is needed after a disaster rather than a planned change (Amin, 2013; Nicholls & Kebede, 2012; Whittle et al., 2012; Wilson, 2013b). The transition town movement (Aiken, 2012; Hopkins, 2008) attempts to straddle this gap between incremental and transformative change, focusing upon finding a low to zero carbon lifestyle with the aim of mitigating climate change through social change. Smith (2011); and Trainer (2009) however remain unconvinced in the ability of these initiatives to make a significant contribution to climate mitigation unless the movement radically alters its vision and goals.

In answer to this shift in focus in resilience discourse MacKinnon & Derickson (2013) question the validity of resilience as a concept and propose the idea of 'resourcefulness' in its place. This complaint about the proliferation of resilience as a term is primarily its use in government and various policy committees which are predominantly 'bounce-back' in approach. This critique by MacKinnon & Derickson (2013) utilises definitions of resilience that focus solely on resistance or bounce-back resilience in response to external threats only. This is in fact one of their main critiques of resilience but an argument that fails to include the emerging bounce forward approaches of Manyena (2011), Park et al. (2012), Shaw & Theobald (2011), Adger (2011a), Scholz (2012), and Wilbanks & Kates (2010).

These do not depoliticize the situation or reinforce the current systems status quo as is argued about 'mainstream' resilience, but instead recognise the internal flaws, inequalities and conflicts that limit resilience to external threats, but also create conflict and disruption from within. Taking both external and internal factors into account, path dependencies and lock-ins that may serve to perpetuate the current status quo or 'business as usual', are identified, highlighting need for transformation. It is unfair to throw the tools away simply because they are being used incorrectly. The mainstreaming of a normalised conservative resilience needs to be countered with explanations of what is being done wrong and why they must approach it differently rather than simply introducing yet more terminology to confuse the policy makers. Moreover, Adger et al. (2011a) argues bounce forward resilience recognises that politics cannot and should not be removed from the situation, as even at the

community level, parish council, district council, county council and various other social structures and institutions limit and control how we respond to external and internal change.

Mackinnon and Derickson (2013) furthermore focus predominantly upon market stresses, economy and business in relation to escaping a neoliberal status quo. This stance, equal to bounce-back usages of resilience, is vulnerable to HOT (Folke et al., 2010) and pays no heed of Wilbanks & Kates (2010) calls for a multi-threat resilience. Resourcefulness as Mackinnon & Derickson (2013) outline, taking account of the communities' skill sets and expertise, fostering relational links across space, and enabling the imagination of feasible alternatives, appears very similar to ideas of change capacity, or pathways of the possible suggested by Wilson (2014), which move away from path dependency.

Many if not all definitions of resilience include some discussion of capacity and capacities. Walker et al. (2004) discuss the capacity of individuals, communities, or businesses, to act; with available and accessible resources to solve, or respond to, a particular problem. Walker et al. (2004) further outline the importance of having the power and agency to deal with a situation that affects their future wellbeing. Meyer & Stensaker (2006) moreover have applied this idea to business potential. Harvatt et al. (2011) have named this the 'capacity to act', which Folke et al. (2010) and Brown & Westaway (2011) have expanded to include the ability to influence the events that affect them and the future outcome. This power however is not enough to engender change and as such innovation and creativity are needed to envision a new future. Dale et al. (2010) and Berkes & Ross (2013) suggest a capacity to create is needed in order to see the opportunities and not just survive but thrive.

I suggest that resourcefulness can be understood as being part of the communities' 'change capacity' towards a bounce-forward resilience. As such Wilson (2014) suggests that the ability to change is a key element defining resilience, and as Folke et al. (2010) state; rather than a return to equilibrium after disturbance we must assume a state of constant change. It still remains that "applications of resilience in the field of climate change and development overwhelmingly support the status quo and promote

‘business as usual’” (Brown, 2013, p.4) supporting incremental change only and supporting the system that produced the threat initially. Although by the social norms currently accepted and practiced, this is the understanding of resilience. Coping, redressing the balance and technological fixes are lauded as resilient (Tompkins & Eakin, 2012, p.1), incremental change that supports a return to same. Disaster resistance is talked about as the same as resilience (Cutter et al., 2008, p.2). Persistence is used to mean resilience (Berkes & Ross, 2013; Bichard & Kazmierczak, 2012; Brown & Westaway, 2011).

In summary therefore the idea of bounce forward is approached timidly as transformation and radical change are scary and difficult, and only considered as a last resort future occurrence. This necessity is itself distanced as climate change is, by time and space, into the future, or if it should be now it is less ‘developed’ countries and small islands far away in miles and lifestyle. Bounce forward resilience accepts that change is needed here and now and more precisely that change needs to be drastic. Bounce back as it is commonly understood assumes return and repair, and solidity against perturbation. This bounce back is recognised as resistance to change and in situations where return to ‘normal’ cannot occur a new normal needs to be found.

The difference between bounce back and bounce forward resilience is more a difference of understanding rather than a dichotomy. Evans and Reid (2014) discuss this well in their book ‘resilient life’ referring to the common bounce back understanding of resilience as a “blending of the terms resilience and resistance” (Evans & Reid, 2014, p.8). In terms of critical tipping points and liveable thresholds bounce back is imperative and clear as to go beyond this point would equal catastrophe. This becomes unclear when bounce back is utilised to refer to bouncing back to x rather than away from y. This resistance resilience maintains what contributes towards tipping the balance of these critical thresholds. A different understanding is therefore needed, a way to bounce forward to a new way of living; to not simply continue but improve our existence. This Evans & Reid (2014) refer to as a “step change in direction” (Evans & Reid, 2014, p.9).

Bounce forward resilience through transformative adaptation can be achieved in many different ways. One way is through a process of acceptance, memorialisation and innovation. This is exemplified by the creation of the cathedral gardens where Coventry's old Cathedral stood as a remembrance and acceptance of the losses during the Blitz (Hubbard et al., 2003). This process helped Coventry recover and move on from the Blitz as through remembrance they were able to accept what had been lost. Remembrance furthermore helps maintain community and heritage whilst realising a need to change, seeking new opportunities and innovation to refresh the area. A further example is the Invictus Games begun in 2014 by HRH Prince Harry to give hope and the promise of new life to those whose lives and identities have been irrevocably changed through physical and or mental injury in the military (British Legion, 2016). Invictus provides opportunity to start again but maintains the pride and camaraderie associated with being in the military.

The Three Gorges dam development is a small example of bounce forward in practice (Jackson & Sleight, 2000). Although the region had been disadvantaged for decades its loss includes a large area of farmland, precious historical relics, rare flora and fauna, and the forces resettlement of local communities. As a way to bounce forward voluntary relocation was attempted however "no serious effort was made to respond to local concerns over matters of compensation, community break-up, economic recovery, or social adjustment in the new communities" (Jun Jing, 1997, p.74). Compensation was meant to be enough to relocate those affected to areas where they would be better off. Developers however absolved themselves of the responsibility to ensure that this occurred (Jackson & Sleight, p.7), and instead many ended up in "hostile communities hosting large groups of oustees" (Jackson & Sleight, p.3). Although this compensation was on an individual family basis it may have worked, especially as large groups of people relocated together.

A more successful example of bounce forward resilience is post-coal mining community regeneration. Although many examples of abandoned towns and villages exist some communities have sought to regenerate themselves using strong cultural capital to maintain and reinvigorate their unique heritage. In this example cultural and traditional heritage are utilised as a form or emotional regeneration (Stephenson &

Wray, 2005). This issue of how to successfully bounce forward is discussed in detail and applied to the case studies in this research in the conclusion to this thesis.

2.2.3 Community Resilience

There exists another discrepancy within resilience discourses over the issue of scale. For instance; Davoudi et al. (2013)'s research into evolutionary or bounce-forward approaches focuses upon pre-emptive action by all people and as such is not top down but collaborative, participatory or indeed grassroots. Many choose to use the framing of community to study this potential for action, including; Brown & Westaway (2011); Foster-Fishman et al. (2007); Rodima-Taylor (2012); Dale et al. (2010); Wilson (2013b); and Park et al. (2012). The majority of this focus however has been upon the power and willingness for local communities to act. Washington & Cook (2011) furthermore equate inaction with apathy suggesting people simply do not care enough. As such many new initiatives are aimed at trying to encourage people to care more.

It is imperative therefore to outline what community is. Community as with resilience has multiple definitions dependent upon the research perspective taken. Lesbirel (2011) refers to community as "a group of people who interact with one another and have common values within a shared geographical location at local, regional, national or even global levels" (Lesbirel, 2011, p.2). This is expanded further by Wilson (2013a) to "an affective unit of belonging and identity and a network of relations within a defined geographical space" (Wilson, 2013a, p.3). Amsden et al. (2011) argue that community is a spatial and symbolic concept encompassing both the physical space within which people interact and the symbolic, political or social perceptions of both place and associated interactions. This reflects an earlier discussion by McMillan (1996) where community is represented in symbol, story, music and other expressions that are transcendent and eternal, forming a community spirit.

Community Spirit

Community spirit according to Delanty (2010); McMillan (1996) and Amsden et al. (2011) is perceived to be too weakly defined; however in recent years there has been much re-examination of community in particular, community strength and spirit in reference to resilience and sustainable community. For instance; Scott (2013, p.5)

states that a sense of community spirit is important for stable adaptation and resilience bolstering social belonging, and engagement with community organisations. Scott (2013) furthermore suggests that being encouraged to be involved in community creates self-sustaining community spirit as perception is improved and built upon (M. Scott, 2013, p.5). This sense of community or perception of community spirit, Norris et al. (2008) suggest, is an attribute of resilient communities as it brings people together and mutual care encourages community orientated action. Mathbor, (2007) moreover has suggested that community spirit improves community capacity or community social capital.

According to Berkes & Ross (2013) the community level has until recently been relatively neglected but that it provides a useful snapshot of social and place interaction that is especially pertinent to studying the effects of environmental change on a village whilst remaining a manageable study size. Twigger-Ross (2013) concurs that a place-based focus to climate change helps highlight what is important to the people, cultures and identities involved. Moreover, Wilson (2013b) advocates a community perspective stating that macro-scalar government policies can act to restrict community-level decision making into specific pathways or transitional corridors with at times negative impacts on community resilience. By this brief assessment community resilience is defined by Adger (2000) as “the ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as the result of social, political and environmental change” (Adger, 2000, p.347).

This however is a very basic definition that fails to incorporate other aspects considered important for community resilience. These include, according to Cutter et al. (2008) the ability to be pro-active and capable to help themselves; with a motivation to act to maintain function/services despite disturbances, their physical loss or withdrawn support, finding a different or new way to continue or improve services. Furthermore, Dale et al. (2010) state that all communities have a level of community vitality that creates a centre for resilience adaptation and innovation; whereby they can thrive in the face of change and anticipate, design and redesign themselves.

McMillan (1996) has argued furthermore that a community can extend beyond the spatial boundaries of a settlement dependent upon the extent of the interactions, encompassing all who interact with others in the village and with the village itself. Villages as such are posited to have overlapping communities of social interaction, as social interest groups and labour markets. As such community can refer to the population within the boundaries of a village, any group within or across villages. A village can have multiple communities whose interests may or may not align. The concepts of social capital, social trust and collaboration are important here.

Social Capital

Social capital described by (Putnam, 1995) as the links, bonds and social bridges that hold together a community and provide the connections for social action and improvement; has experienced a revival in the past decade with Adger (2001; 2003); Pelling & High, (2005); Jones & Clark, (2013; 2014); Kizos et al. (2014), discussing the value of social capital in climate change adaptation and resilience.

These networks of bonding, bridging and linking capital Berkes & Ross (2013) argue are fostered by social support inclusion, sense of belonging. This social glue (N. Jones & Clark, 2013) or cohesion, Wilson (2013a) argues is a key ingredient for resilient communities. Pelling & High, (2005); Poortinga, (2012); and Kizos et al. (2014), further this, arguing that these social networks are dependent upon features of social trust, social norms, and cultural perceptions and values; and formed through reciprocity. Rodima-Taylor, (2012); Adger, (2003); Putnam, (1995); Skoglund, (2014) all agree that trust is a key component of developing and maintaining social connections. Berkes & Ross (2013) and Giddens (2012) claim that community resilience depends upon a community's ability to pull together. Ride & Bretherton, (2011) moreover state that; "community resilience refers to not just a collection of resilient individuals but a collective state" (Ride & Bretherton, 2011, p.7). In summary therefore, I define community resilience as 'the ability of groups or communities to cope with both external and internal stresses, whilst actively working together to anticipate change

and design new practices towards transformation as the result of social, political and environmental change’.

In order to anticipate change and break-out as it were from the straight jacket emotional reactions to loss and change need to be considered. Adger (2001) suggests that sense of belonging and acceptance in relation to ideas of social capital are important in creating and maintaining resilience. Twigger-Ross (2013) adds that as community places are threatened the identities created around them are also threatened.

Community resilience indicators

Community resilience is influenced by a wide variety of factors. To in part translate or make the qualitative data gathered in this thesis more translatable I utilise Cutter et al. (2008)’s Community Resilience Indicators that were developed to understand place-based community resilience to disasters. This incorporates many influencing factors that affect both the resilience and vulnerability of a place. Here below are their original influencing variables separated into resilience dimensions of ecological resilience, social resilience, economic resilience, institutional resilience, infrastructure resilience and community competence (Table 1).

This I adapt as a demonstrative tool to assist in the analysis of each villages resilience capacity. This is useful as these quantitative indicators help reduce complexity, measure progress, map, and set priorities crucial for decision making (Cutter et al., 2008, p.6). This not only will be pertinent to open up this research for policy application but also situates this research relative to Cutter et al. (2008)’s. work on community disaster resilience.

Table 1: Community Resilience Indicators (Cutter et al., 2008, p.7)

Dimension	Candidate Variables
Ecological	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wetlands acreage and loss - Erosion rates - Biodiversity - % Impervious surfaces - Coastal defence structures
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Demographics (age, race, class, gender, occupation) - Social networks and social embeddedness - Community values-cohesion - Faith based organisations
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Employment - Value of Property - Wealth generation - Municipal finance/ revenues
Institutional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participation in hazard reduction programs - Hazard mitigation plans - Emergency services - Zoning and building standards - Emergency response plans - Interoperable communications - Continuity of operations plans
Infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lifelines and critical infrastructure - Transportation network - Residential housing stock and age - Commercial and manufacturing establishments
Community Competence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local understanding of risk - Counselling services - Absence of psychopathologies (alcohol, drug, spousal abuse) - Health and well-being (low rates of mental illness, stress related outcomes) - Quality of life (high satisfaction)

2.3. PLACE & HOME

Place has undergone much re-examination in recent years, emerging from the apparent placelessness whereby it was perceived to be being conquered by space (Friedman, 2006; Massey, 1991). Place, Agnew & Livingstone (2011) outline as being a portion of space in which people dwell that is both assimilated into space (location), and separate from space having its own special qualities. Place is understood as particular or lived space (Agnew & Livingstone, 2011; Hubbard et al, 2005; Hubbard & Kitchin, 2010). It is not the scope of this thesis to delve too deeply into what space and place may be, but to outline the understandings and place relations that are affected by environmental change and loss. As such it is the concepts of a sense of place and place attachment that are of interest.

2.3.1. Sense of place, attachment and belonging

Sense of place is discussed by Devine-Wright (2009) and Vorkinn & Riese (2001), as being formed according to personal and collective memory and attached to specific objects, whether they are building, field or social event. These objects of attachment have received much attention (Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Burley, 2010; Lippard, 1998; Low & Lawrence-Zuniga, 2003; Manzo, 2005; Osborne, 2001; Rowles, 1983; Tuan, 1974), being described as memory markers formed of positive attitudes and topophilic attachments to place, and forming an emblematic landscape, or inscribed place full of mnemonics; a 'lieux de memoire' which acts as a palimpsest the loss of which would be disruptive. Rowles (1983) and Ashworth & Graham (2005) further suggest that these attachments, markers and bridges are part of an autobiographical attachment that come be shared creating collective memory and a collective identity. Mabey et al. agrees suggesting that these markers help maintain identity representing continuity with past events and past generations as "antiquity calling to you" (Mabey et al., 2009, p.64), a 'historical consciousness' (Smith et al., 2009, p.135), or a 'bridge to the past' (Manzo, 2005, pp.10-16). Ashworth & Graham's (2005) linear narrative and collective heritage is suggested by Hubbard et al. (2005) to be stronger in rural communities due to strong familial ties.

Moreover, Devine-Wright (2009) suggests that any change to these objects as such has the potential to disrupt peoples understanding of self, their own identity and ontology. It has been suggested by Verstraete & Cresswell (2002) however that such attachments are no longer as strong or indeed no longer exist due to the transience and mobility of modern life. New publications by (Devine-Wright, 2014; Mabey et al., 2009; Manzo, 2005; Manzo & Perkins, 2006) talk of a yearning for connection and continuity of place and community suggesting that it still has importance. Moreover analyses of the effects of change to coal mining communities by Bennet (2013) attest to its importance when threatened or the place understanding is changed. When the places of attachment both individual and collective are threatened with erasure we must again revisit this concept.

2.3.2. Home place(s)

Home has been discussed by Rubenstein (1989), Sheldrake (1989) and Lippard (1998) as being the house or another comforting space that is part of our everyday lives, which embodies life values and experiences, and is comforting, containing memories of loved ones and past occurrences within it. Cloutier-Fisher & Harvey (2009) suggest these attachments exist at different scales from micro to macro, from the home place or places to the village, city or indeed region. Carroll et al. (2009) have recognised that all scales or levels of home are important and damage at any level impacts upon the social relationships within them. Home is often associated with notions of bounded space which in today's world of multiple and interacting flows becomes untenable (Brickell, 2012; Massey, 1991; Massey, 1994).

Gustafson (2009) has responded to this introducing the idea of personal tapestries of home places that overlap with others' home places to form a collective tapestry. These home places can be a house, habitual coffee shop or pub, or football ground, a parent's village or a much loved holiday location. This idea builds upon Goodenough (1997) and Porteous (1976) ideas of collective identities in home places, as well as Tuan's (1996) understanding of a storied social landscape. Place in this sense is about inclusion and connectivity rather than being bounded and separated; and allows inclusion of favourite holiday locations within a persons' tapestry of home places.

Place attachment is influenced by myriad place understandings including place imaginations that contribute towards the production and reproduction of landscape and seascape ideas. In the context of North Norfolk this is especially pertinent given the potential loss of home, place and landscape meaning.

Loss of home, land and community are likely to have significant impact upon community and individual resilience. Home, land and community are linked in interesting ways. For instance Home as I have discussed is made up of mnemonic attachment creating home places and a tapestry of home. Important places personally and for the community I suggest act as anchors of home and identity, the loss of which would erode not just shelter and security but identity, familiarity and comfort. Loss of land is especially evocative as other losses you can return to the site of loss to process the grief and leave good memories instead of negative ones. Where it is simply gone through erosion the spatial relationship and its narrative are also lost. There is a sense that it is not only loss of settlement or parish but of Norfolk or even East Anglia; a domino effect of loss. As I have stated, a village community consists of many overlapping community identities that has an interest and places importance in the place. These connections go beyond the village proper to surrounding villages and town, and to tourist connections with the villages. These attachments are also threatened with loss. Loss of this community connection and interaction in sites of importance through fragmentation, outmigration, business loss and anxiety is likely to make relationships fraught potentially to the point of collapse. This collapse or perhaps runaway fragmentation will greatly reduce resilience. This is already evident in the case study villages with the apparent exclusion of the near permanent caravan members from the community perhaps to distance the erosion that cannot be distanced so easily upon the caravan park. How this links to discourses on loss of place, environment and home is discussed later in this literature review in an overview of loss and grief.

Given the potential importance placed on spatial relationships it is necessary here to discuss landscape and seascape attentions. Moreover understandings of time and nature are influential here requiring equal attention.

2.4. A NORFOLK LANDSCAPE/SEASCAPE?

2.4.1. Landscape

Originating as a visual representation of way of seeing the world (Clifford et al., 2008) landscape came to be recognised as a concept that itself was a sophisticated cultural construction (Cosgrove & Jackson, 1987). Matless (1998) further stated that ideas of landscape are closely bound up with imaginative and material geographies of nation and empire, and ideas of Englishness. Landscape has thus received much critique from feminist geographers such as Nash (1996) and Rose (1993; 1996) among others commenting on an outdated masculine understanding, representation and reproduction of landscape. This idea has however not been applied to the physical and social challenges of climate change, specifically place and landscape alteration through erosion, and the effect this may have. More recently landscape has enjoyed a revival revisiting landscape in reference to geographical imagination and ideas of Englishness and Norfolk-ness.

Franklin understands landscape to be “a particular cognitive or symbolic ordering of space” (Franklin, 2002, p.70), representing both current and latent or underlying understandings and values. Matless (2014) and Edensor (2002) propose that specific ideas of landscape and associated symbols have come to represent Norfolk. Daniels & Lorimer (2012) and Yusoff & Gabrys (2011) agree that Norfolk is imagined in different ways due to various narratives; as the perfect rural escape, traditional unspoilt ‘heaven’, and as timeless quintessential England. DeSilvey (2012) refers to this bucolic English landscape as frozen in time like a postcard, through time depth and continuity framed through selective remembrance to support and perpetuate the norm and the comfortable stability and continuity of place. This lasting imagination of England has been explained by Cosgrove (1984) as persisting ideas that remain through numerous visions and remodelling of the land through time, that have become symbols of region and of nation. Franklin outlines this understanding further stating that there is; “a mythology of Englishness as pegged to a cultured, unchanging, undying loveliness” (Franklin, 2002, p.108).

2.4.2. Seascapes

Corbin (1994) has outlined similar hang-ups in imaginings of the sea and humanities relationship to the sea. Key understandings are; of the sea as a monster or evil following medieval Christian traditions viewing the sea as a mysterious, unknowable abyss; a place for objective observation in order to discern the divine workings of nature; and the now prevalent imagination of the sea as something to be conquered becoming a place of knowledge and the collection and cataloguing of nature (Corbin, 1994; Howell, 1974; J. Mack, 2011; K. Mack, 2007). Stocker & Kennedy (2011) point out that it is not only science and philosophy that have influenced our imagination of the sea but popular culture and artistic representation. Further imaginations therefore include the romantic vision or 'invention of the sublime' whereby the sea became magnificent Howell (1974); the sea as a platform of maritime might (K. Mack, 2007) and supremacy, ruled by Britain (Mack, 2011), but otherwise largely irrelevant to everyday life (Peters, 2010). Through technological advances further understandings of the sea are introduced. These include; perceiving the sea as an obstacle and then something to be crossed (Klein & Mckenthun, 2004), and then as sea travel is surpassed, something one flies over (Steinberg, 1999b; Steinberg, 1999c).

Stocker & Kennedy state that the sea is viewed purely as a "backdrop to the social, political and industrial activities of humans" (Stocker & Kennedy, 2011, p.10). Lambert et al. (2006) suggest that as a result of this metaphor the sea and our relationship to and with it have become more and more invisible. Steinberg (1999a) concurs describing the sea as othered, emptied and socially invisible. Mack (2011), Stocker & Kennedy (2011) and Lambert et al. (2006) all discuss this growing abstraction of the sea as technological changes sought to keep the sea out or avoid it altogether.

These changing sea relationships have had significant impact upon the seaside being that liminal edge between landscape and seascape. Walvin (1978) and Corbin (1994) outline again that these relationships are dependent upon science, religion and fashion; changing from an unholy filthy places to places of cleansing and purification. Walvin discusses furthermore that after the introduction of bank holidays the seaside came to be viewed as a break from everyday life (Walvin, 1978, p.84). Air travel and

subsequent globalisation has taken this escapism elsewhere whilst also serving to remove the sea itself from the equation; remaining purely as something to sleep over on the plane. The sea and the seaside are thus related to through a lens of intertwined individual and collective memories of the nation at large. Corbin (1994) indicates that the sea and seaside are regarded as picturesque with paintings now representing the sea as tranquil and calm. Peters (2010) has revisited these understandings concluding that the 'supremacy of land spaces' and mind-sets created through decades of understanding the sea/ ocean as separate and removed remain and are actively reproduced. Tolia-Kelly (2007) have also revisited these understandings but in reference to the seaside, noting that; wider social meaning and understanding is encapsulated in the rural seaside landscape with the expectations both visual and emotional; a learnt relationship.

There is no discussion in the literature about relationships between landscape and seascape. This perhaps suggests that the expansion of land based ideas and reliance on technologies has reduced the beaches character as an in-between space. This in-between zone however is of great importance when considering the effects of climate changes upon coastal communities globally as what was land becomes sea. This research looks at this separation and the impact that it has in both village case studies; seeking to understand the changing relationship between landscape and seascape in locations altered by climate change. The meaning and story of landscape is changing.

2.5. SOCIAL IMAGINARIES

Social imaginaries and understandings are not confined to place making and the (re)production of seascapes and landscapes. Understandings that are of interest to this research are; nature and therefore also climate change; time and ideas of future; and ideas of normalcy and its effects. As Wright et al. discuss, social imaginaries are shared and incorporated by individuals in society and define what knowledge and information is, what relevance is given to it, and what response is expected (Wright et al., 2013, p.3). Yusoff & Gabrys comment that these "imaginings have histories" (Yusoff & Gabrys, 2011, p.12) and Banjaree indicates that these understandings are shaped by accepted social norms that are both the product of the institutions that structure our daily lives and the hegemonic ideas that support them (Banjaree, 2010, p.111). As such

is it agreed that past concepts, values and world views as well as future concepts are ever present in what I refer to as a palimpsest of understanding. Smith et al. (2009) suggest that this social memory or collective imagination influences not only our behaviours but our feelings (Smith et al., 2009). This has received much attention referred to as 'social baggage' (Roberts, 2014) and geographical imagination (Agnew & Duncan, 2014; D. Cosgrove, 2012; Frank, 2010; Yusoff & Gabrys, 2011), and as a concept has much to offer resilience and climate understandings.

2.5.1. Nature understandings

Cartesian dualism of nature and society is a dominant understanding of nature discussed by Braun & Castree, (1998); and Kidner, (2012), as a dichotomy focusing upon a Kantian visual observational interaction with nature. This stance has been questioned in recent years with Franklin (2002) remarking that observation sanitises experiences of nature and only touches upon the very surface of nature. Franklin however also recognises that this understanding remains in the social repertoire, as well as "romantic influences in green thinking that conceive of proper nature as that which is separate, distant and empty of human influence" (Franklin, 2002, p.87). It is suggested by Goldman & Schurman (2000) through the emerging notion of hybridity, that humanity is no longer seen to be separate from nature. This however does not fully extend to all aspects of nature with hybridity of global processes remaining elusive. In fact nature is now said to be "increasingly dependent on and shaped by the operation of a global society" (Franklin, 2002, p.19). This is echoed by Yusoff & Gabrys (2011) who comment upon a cultural turn in climate change whereby nature is viewed as ethical, societal and cultural reconfiguring geographic imaginaries of the world.

Despite continued reimagining of nature in academia the previous understandings remain and continue to influence approaches to nature and decision making. Threadgold (2012) have suggested that there is a dichotomy of short term personal and individual futures, and longer term global environmental futures. This has been affirmed by Giddens (2012), and Devine-Wright (2015), confirming separation of personal priorities of daily life and wider abstract global themes. Threadgold (2012) further suggests that this separation has become normalised so that to discuss these

separated topics together becomes almost taboo. Davidson (2012) moreover has suggested that this normalisation encourages 'little picture thinking' whereby climate change is viewed in compartmentalised terms with no integration, leaving knock-on effects and indirect impacts generally unconsidered. In this compartmentalised two track thinking nature is evidenced as being assumed to be slow and something that adapt endlessly to support humanity (Davidson, 2012), or something de-problematised (Hamilton, 2010) and abstract solely relating to CO₂; a threat that is intangible and disconnected from the everyday (Swyngedouw, 2010). Endfield and Morris (2012) further attest to this separation stating that; climate has become decoupled from culture with the attentions of peoples histories, daily lives, cultures and values influencing how climate change is comprehended and responded to.

This separation of nature and by association climate change has been discussed by Lorenzoni & Hulme (2009); and O'Neill (2009). Adam (1998) furthermore has described this as a progressive dissociation of humans and nature, whilst Soper (2010), and Anderson (2010b), state that nature is conceived of as an independent domain where human culture is absent. Lorenzoni & Hulme (2009) further state that climate change is generally assumed to be "distant in both time and space, affecting more vulnerable people and places elsewhere, or future generations" (Lorenzoni & Hulme, 2009, p.3) and "less serious' and 'less dangerous' to themselves than to other people" (O'Neill, 2009, p.8). Lorenzoni & Hulme furthermore suggest that it is due to this removal of self from the climate change equation that people often dismiss the likelihood of being personally affected (Lorenzoni & Hulme, 2009, p.3). Brace & Geoghegan (2011) have recognised the importance of these understandings and call for a cultural geography of climate change. I concur and hope this thesis goes some way towards advancing this discourse.

2.5.2. Understandings of time

Understandings of time and the future are also recognised by Morselli (2013) to be influenced and reinforced by societal values and by Adam (1998) to be heavily shaped by western industrial traditions of thought. One such understanding outlined in the literature is that of elastic time with an endless present and a disconnected future. Time is labelled as 'dislocated' (Yusoff & Gabrys, 2011), 'distant' (Bellamy & Hulme, 2011) and 'unsituated' (Brace & Geoghegan, 2011), and the future 'unreal' (Edensor, 2010). Nuttall (2012) speculate upon this attitude of separation as the 'locus of everyday life' or 'the locus of the human world with everyday life being confined temporally to the immediate present. Friedrichs moreover terms this 'temporal discounting' whereby "long term considerations are futile because life happens now, and not in some distant future" (Friedrichs, 2013, p.142). Harvatt et al. (2011) and Wilbanks & Kates (2010), suggest that climate change is placed within this future, future, due to its perceived uncertainty and the inability of individuals to conceive of a hazard that has not yet happened.

Knightley (2012) suggests moreover that the understanding of time has accelerated with the introduction and fast saturation of social media shortening the lived timescape as lives are "dominated by the logic of simultaneity or immediacy" (Knightley, 2012, p.7). Time as such is deemed to be relational to our social lives and environmental physical time is perceived to be separate from social time (Knightley, 2012, pp. 9,10). The imagination of the English landscape moreover has its own timespace (Adam, 1998) considered to be timeless, stable, continuous, and unchanging (Daniels & Lorimer, 2012; Matless, 2014). These time understandings will come into conflict when these landscapes begin to be altered by climate change, through erosion, inundation and subsequent social change. There is however no interaction with this idea in the academic literature.

Furthermore, Klinke (2012) discuss that the western understanding of a colonial one way history of progress, development and modernity assumes that the future will be better. Any negative future is thus largely considered to be disconnected and unrelated to everyday life. In failing to perceive of an end to modernity Edensor (2010)

points out that the end of the world will not be taken seriously, and that paradoxically “it is only belief in the end of the world that can prevent the end of the world” (Edensor, 2010, p.215). This linear narrative of time Yusoff & Gabrys (2011) point out is not the only ideology of time however it remains the dominant understanding. In order to overcome this Anderson (2012) has stated that there is a need to consider the future outside of what is and as a surprise rather than repetition of what has been. In reference to this the idea of utopia has been revisited by Kraftl (2007) who proposes that we must rework the idea so that emphasis is placed on disrupting such linear trajectories and opening up new ways of living and being.

Currently however there is a loss of utopian vision and static futurism stemming from the failure of past imagined futures, and an inability or lack of desire to conceive of a world radically different from the one we currently live, viewing the future as scary instead of positive (Fisher, 2012; Gunder, 2008; Lowe et al., 2006). Even to the point where radical dystopias are imagined but not the alternative. Edensor (2008); Wylie (2009); Anderson (2012); and McCormack (2012) all suggest that disaster is easier to imagine than alternative futures as spectres of known threats become seemingly set in concrete through scenario projection (Yusoff & Gabrys, 2011). It could therefore be suggested that there has been a death of utopia. This is very pertinent to climate resilience as if no better pathway can be imagined then it may be considered pointless to act, as nothing can be done. Thus reducing resilience and increasing vulnerability to the changes as no action is taken. As Yusoff & Gabrys discuss therefore “imagination not only shapes the perception of the climate change but co-fabricates it in ways that effect the possibilities to act on it” (Yusoff & Gabrys, 2011, p.5).

In the majority of resilience and planning documents and research however time remains elastic and the existence of more time is often assumed. Moser & Dilling (2008), claim that with patience and time the social change needed can occur however there is no indication of timescales or the fact that the future we aim to change is getting ever closer. This demonstrates an elastic view of time where it is inferred that there will always be time to act in the future. This has been raised as an important issue and limitation by Lowe et al. (2006) in their paper; ‘Does tomorrow ever come?’ Edensor (2010) highlights that planning models for future projects based upon cost

benefit analysis fail to account for accretion of costs and benefits over time, thus not taking the future into account. This is reflected in the report Americas Climate Choices (2010) whereby options that are immediately expensive and likely to negatively impact current ways of life are likely to be dismissed despite their potential to both decrease spending and improve the quality of life in the future. Furthermore Shaw & Theobald (2011) add that little attention is given to climate change matters in major council decisions and investments, including new development. Harvatt et al. (2011); Myatt-Bell et al. (2002); Kapke & O'Mahony (2011); and Tapsell & Tunstall (2008) all agree that individually we choose to respond to a hazard based on its understood severity and immediacy, as well as its priority among social and economic factors. These factors are recognised as being predominantly focused on the immediate present only.

O'Brien et al. (2009) has discussed the danger of assuming there will be some later time to act as dangerous threshold may become closer or even be surpassed before action is taken. This delay is evident in plans to wait to invest in the new Thames barrier "until uncertainties over climate change have abated" (Lavery & Donovan, 2005, p.1). DEFRA further demonstrate this elastic time stating that rollback of vulnerable settlement could be "achievable in the absence of restrictive delivery timescales" (DEFRA., 2011, p.116). It is however the march of time and accelerated erosion that is imposing the need for rollback. In concurrence with the linear narrative of continued progress Wall & Marzall (2006) note that the only positive futures imagined assume that technology will solve any and all resource and adaptation problems removing any sense of responsibility or urgency for action.

Moreover anticipation of future changes in line with the precautionary principle is usually understood as proactive thinking exhibiting optimism (Anderson, 2012). This depends however entirely upon what is being anticipated as a disaster can be anticipated if no alternative is envisaged. Anderson (2012) further comments that the future through anticipation overshadows the present and becomes present or manifest in the present. This analysis fails to incorporate this disaster anticipation or 'dread anticipation' whereby the future may become present and in doing so become absent; there being considered to be no future only death. Although, Arnocky et al. (2013) consider the impact of these understandings of time in relation to pro-

environmental behaviours such as recycling and home improvement this is rarely if ever applied to the anticipation of larger changes such as heatwaves, sea level rise and storm surges, and accelerated erosion.

2.5.3. Ideas of normalcy & the uncanny

These assumptions and underlying understandings have been commented upon as creating national cultural forms and practices as part of a symbolic material culture and national way of life (Edensor, 2002). This has been applied by Giddens (2012) to societal resistance towards the idea of climate change and entrenched fossil fuel economies and disposable cultures. Yusoff & Gabrys (2011) further consider this idea of normalcy in relation to dominant understandings and trajectories of societal development, supporting western colonial understandings of progress and modernity. Only recently has this normalcy been applied to discourses of resilience and adaptation as discussed in the bounce-forward resilience approaches. This is described by Morselli (2013) as normative social expectations and by Diamond (2005) as a creeping normalcy or landscape amnesia categorised by ossified norms.

Ideas of normal have otherwise received attention in terms of mainstreaming and othering (Crang, 2013; Little, 1999; Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2002). This is crucial in reference to north Norfolk as the villages in question experience rural marginalisation and the associated disadvantages and disinvestments (J. Davidson & Milligan, 2004; Kelly, 2009; Phillips, 2005). Moreover Smulian (2011) considers the English seaside to have an associated social pathology of local stagnation and decline. These discussions however all fail to include any anticipation of the potential compound effects of climate change upon ideas of normal and marginalisation. It is curious that discourses of social decline and ruination have highlighted these areas as sites of innovation and reinvention (DeSilvey & Edensor, 2012; Edensor, 2005).

This is however predominantly applied to abandoned industrial sites becoming sites of social activism and gentrification. The discourse of ruination however makes some points that could be interestingly applied in the context of accelerated erosion and toppling housing. These key points are; the understanding of ruination as a lived process (DeSilvey & Edensor, 2012) suggesting that the experience of ruination and

anticipation of ruination could be considered; discussion of language utilised in planning policy and law referring to ruins as 'locus horribilus', blighted, or anxious landscapes (Edensor, 2005) demonstrating the practice of othering that is likely to be augmented with the processes of accelerated and augmented erosion.

Although there is a history of loss along the East Coast of England little research has been conducted into this loss and transformation from ruination to revival or abandonment. Muir (1982), Driver (2008), Beresford (1999) and Vigar (1994) have studied this in detail in reference to historically lost villages of England through famine, plague, social change, and also storm surge. There has however been little attention paid towards the present experience and anticipation of loss with accelerated erosion. Wylie (2009) discusses ruination in terms of those buildings already abandoned and crumbling such as churches, old barns, empty houses and former factory sites.

Moreover there are interesting discussions by Edensor (2005), and Wylie (2009), into spectral geographies and understandings of order and disorder that raise important links with ideas of normalcy. For instance; although not considered as anticipated ruination Edensor (2005) discusses the correct placing of things and the threat of factors that uncentre and disorder understandings of a stable world, making messy social understandings of the world and our place in it. To clarify, half a house on the beach is not usually considered normal, thus its occurrence would characterise the space in which it exists as abnormal. Wylie (2009), and Holloway & Kneale (2008) both consider the effect of past events and happenings as haunting the present however neither then relate this to future haunting the present. Wylie (2009) however does suggest that such haunting can have the effect of making the present uncanny.

It is here that I must dip my toe into Freud as his understandings of the uncanny or 'unheimlich' meaning unfamiliar, unhomely, uncomfortable, nor normal, or even disturbing. Freud explained that something may become uncanny as "what was once familiar and comforting [undergoes] transformation [and] now inspires unease and becomes uncanny" (Freud, 1919, p.29), or something that tests understood world views and beliefs and does not fit in (Freud, 1919, p.32).

This idea of normal and abnormal has been applied in part to climate change effects as it pertains to leisure and tourism. For instance Horton & Kraftl (2014) and Nassauer (1995) comment that coastal locations experiencing damaging erosion no longer match the ideal market image of a beach, or seaside/ seascape. Change, Boland (2008) suggests highlights and reinforces place stereotypes. Mesch (2000); Jackson et al. (2013); and Holloway et al. (2003); have demonstrated this practice and suggested that national media, TV and other mediums highlight the presence of aspects outside the norm for the imagined space. Buzinde et al. (2010) furthermore refer to this as representational dissonance. Although reference in policy documents relating to North Norfolk (DEFRA., 2011) has been made to housing depreciation, outmigration, and disaster tourism, little attempt has been made to evaluate these reactions and the impact this may have both in Norfolk and elsewhere.

This idea of uncanny, abnormal and unfamiliar refers also to ruins and the process of ruination. Ruins are discussed by Dale and Burrell (2011) as challenging the created order imposed by planners and architects. Ruins therefore are regarded as marginal spaces even if they are in the centre of a city, spaces somehow outside the ordered sensory regulated urban environment, characterised as chaotic, dangerous and dirty (Edensor, 2007; Dale & Burrell, 2011). The study of ruins is largely confined to romanticised tourist sites or industrial and post-war sites (McClanahan, 2014, p.4). Order is regained in many instances by demolition and regeneration of the area, to regain order and control, and mitigate the unease generated by the uncanny.

Wholesale ruination of a landscape has been argued to affect the lives and identities of those involved with the landscape, being not just ruined buildings by a ruined spatial relationship (Dale & Burrell, 2011, pp.4-5). Ruins however are not just those buildings ravaged by war or destroyed in time after they become obsolete and abandoned. Ruins can relate also to the present decline or an area or the curtailment of future plans. These “recent ruins” (McClanahan, 2014, p.4) or perhaps lived or living ruins include; declining high streets with empty shops, boarded up houses, half built housing estates and holiday parks. Ruin suggests end or a completed process however these sites if they are still lived in could be said to be in a state of lived ruination with those living there bearing witness to its decline. Declining neighbourhoods with

graffiti, litter, abandoned broken playgrounds and empty homes could be described as being living ruins in relation to how they used to be or indeed be in a process of lived ruination.

This is an important distinction and this feeling and understanding of lived ruination will likely affect the identity of the area and the people living there. The case studies in this research can therefore be said to exist in a state of lived and anticipated ruination, a landscape of loss and ongoing decline haunted by past and future change (Edensor, 2005; Wylie, 2009).

Although ruins in the conventional sense have been prevented from forming through demolition, numerous empty unsaleable properties (or recent ruins) suggest they are a future possibility. Recent efforts to clear the housing debris from erosion and demolition strewn upon the beach are testament to the need to restore order as well as to maintain the place representation of a seaside tourist location.

2.5.4. Distance and Distancing

These narratives of separation in time and space echo discourses within geography on distance and distancing. Distance according to Watson (1955) was a guiding principle of geography, with geography referred to as a 'discipline in distance'. The focus traditionally has been upon measured distance as the factual extent of something or other, or the social aspects of economic and social distance based on wealth and class (Watson, 1955, p.9). This understanding is very much based on a bounded awareness of space. Holloway et al. (2003), more recently have suggested that bounded space no longer exists, boundaries are perceived as permeable and osmotic allowing the transference of people and influence between spaces. Through technology and global communications it is perceived that the world is shrinking (Harvey, 1996, p.299). Pirie has attributed this reconceptualization of distance to its "diminishing significance in human affairs" (Pirie, 2009, p.13). These changing perspectives on distance have been exclaimed by O'Brien (1992) as the 'end of geography'; and Cairncross (2001) as the 'death of distance'; and Friedman (2006) as the creation of a 'flat world'. Pirie conceptualises that distance remains "one of the key building blocks of human geography" (Pirie, 2009, p.1) and is finding a new lease of life in economic geography (Rodriguez-Pose, 2011) and energy production and consumption (Luna, 2008).

Distance moreover, is understood more and more in relation to 'distanciation' defined

by Pirie as "the process of distancing or separating places, people, or things from one another" (Pirie, 2009, p.15). This conceptual framework of separation can be seen as an extension of social exclusionary practice in separating the undesirables from the rest of society (Agier, 2011; Beiina, 2003) and social distance representing class based boundaries (Watson, 1955, p.9).

Pirie, (2009) further outlined how distance can be conceptualised in a variety of ways that can and do co-exist. These are; (1) *measured or traditional Geographical distance* discussed in terms of metres, miles, nanoseconds and other such measures; (2) *Relative distance* 'measured' by time in the car or on the train, or the number of stops on the tube; (3) *Cognitive Distance* is imagined distance based on mental maps of associated importance; last is (4) *Affective or Emotional Distance*, felt distance that is similar to the mental maps of cognitive distance but with emotional value. Within energy discourses distancing is further used by Luna, to mean the "separation of production from consumption" (Luna, 2008, p.2). There remains however little application of these ideas to climate change and more specifically the vulnerable coastal communities in question. These ideas have however received attention in psychology and sociology within discourses of denial. Kenrick, (2013); Weintrobe, (2013); Doherty & Clayton, (2011), and Corsini, (1999), describe denial as psychological act of hiding from something that is too difficult or scary to confront. Although collective denial discussed by Washington & Cook, (2011), and Zerubavel, (2006) as a social conspiracy as old as humanity that cannot be deemed solely psychological. Norgaard, (2011), furthermore states that denial can serve as a social justification or 'socially organised denial'.

The concept of distancing better reflects the social as well as the psychological responses to accelerated erosion. As Zerubavel (2006) discussed we may perhaps be conditioned not to see 'the elephant in the room'. These discussions however fail to consider the event whereby lock-in and social understandings are brought into question by new experiences. I suggest that the ideas of distancing may prove more useful along with what I refer to as disjuncture.

Disjuncture is used in a variety of discourses including climate change, planning and the application of policy at different scales (Kennet & Lendvai, 2014; Norgaard, 2011; Washington & Cook, 2011). This concept is utilised in at least two distinct ways with differing meaning. The first instance is the separation of one understanding or set of knowledges from another. This is perhaps the more common usage readily used to separate scientific, academic and policy understandings from lay or local knowledges. This first definition is commonly used to infer some lack of understanding between lay people and experts. A second understanding of disjuncture is the separation or departure from current ways of thinking and doing, or a philosophical rupture (Evan & Reid, 2014, p.10). Gibson et al., (2015) discuss this in reference to rupturing path dependency and initiating transformative adaptation. These are intentional ruptures however global environmental change itself challenges long held beliefs and understandings, creating disjuncture.

Disjuncture in both usages can occur and a variety of scales. In the first usages lay knowledge is usually understood to be at an individual or community level with expert scientific or policy understanding placed at a national or even abstract superior position. In the second understanding an individual can experience something that challenges how they previously viewed the world. Changing social concerns such as racism, transgender and homosexuality and many other issues challenge social understanding at a community and national level. Society and social understanding is created at all scales made up of community and individual understandings. Not all individuals or communities necessarily agree with the predominant understanding creating challenge, contest and disjuncture. Disjuncture and distancing as such display challenges to the predominant understanding or narrative and perhaps reveal how entrenched the understanding or understandings are; becoming the 'norm', the status quo, and business as usual.

Disjuncture as I use it in this thesis fits snugly within Evan & Reid (2014) and Gibson et al. (2015)'s understanding of philosophical rupture be it intentional or forced which causes unease and in turn distancing until such a time that it can be refuted no longer and a change in understanding must occur.

This thesis explores this idea further looking at what emotions and issues these conflicts between the accepted and the new raise, and how these practices affect resilience in these vulnerable coastal villages. Given the threat climate change effects have upon such social imaginaries, place attachments, ideas of landscape and seascape and home places it is imperative in this research to consider the emotional effects of these changes and the anticipation of change. Specific areas of importance are; place loss and change, grief, threat anticipation, understandings of emotion, anxiety as emotion, and contagious anxiety.

2.6. EMOTION

2.6.1. What is emotion?

Firstly it is important to discuss how emotion is understood. As with resilience emotion is understood in many different ways both intra and inter disciplinarily. Emotion in many discourses, and unfortunately as it pertains to climate change and environmental decision making, is considered separate from the mind and irrational. Lewis et al. (2008) point out that this disconnect of mind and body, or reason and emotion, cannot be upheld arguing that even in Plato's 'tripartite soul' emotion can be found and supporting Kants' assertions that "nothing great is ever done without passion" (Lewis et al., 2008, p.8). Cabanac (2002); Goldie (2007); Barrett et al. (2007), have revised this separation arguing that emotion is in every encounter, an embodied and cerebral emotion involved in both experience and reaction. Goldie (2007) further argues that emotion is not a separate category of being but a pervasive part of what it means to be living.

Parkinson (1995) has suggested that emotions are culturally shaped being evaluated and appraised in relation to several socio-cultural filters and self-perception.

Weintrobe (2013) builds upon this idea suggesting that self-perception norms in themselves, relating to- self categorisation, social grouping and positioning, influence emotion norms as people behave as is expected in their chosen cultural group in order to strengthen one's self definition. Meyer & Martin (2013) evaluate this idea further proposing that such norms relate to cultural ethics and values, for instance regarding what is judged to be good and fine, or bad and shameful. In extension of this socio-

cultural understanding of emotion Parkinson (1995); Davidson & Milligan (2004); and Mulligan & Scherer (2012), argue that this social framework is ever present and as such emotion can only be understood within the context it arises. A further understanding of emotion discussed by Cabanac (2002); Zemach (2001), and Lazarus (2006), is that it is a fundamental reaction to many varied circumstances relating to stimulus including; sensation, perception, memory recall, reckoning and imagination.

Recent debates in Geography and other social disciplines between emotion and affect are important here inasmuch as I wish to state where I stand. Jayne et al. (2010) outline affective geographies as primarily concerning bodily experiences and embodied relationships, with the mind as separate. Clifford et al. (2008), summarise affect as “something which is non-individual, an impersonal force resulting from the encounter, an ordering of relations between bodies” (Clifford et al., 2008, p.93).

Confusion over the blurriness of the distinction between emotion and affect is evidenced by some scholars choosing to use neither terminology and instead discuss feelings (Brown, 2011; Mulligan & Scherer, 2012; Pile, 2010). Brown (2011) discusses considering the emotions commonly named and known and feelings of anxiety, unease and insecurity. One area where affect is queried is in reference to collective feelings. Ahmed (2004) suggests that there is a mediated relationship between the psyche and the social, and between the individual and the social that causes collective feelings to take shape. Affect is suggested to transfer between and within bodies (Brennan, 2004), however emotions too are discussed by Jayne et al. (2010) as moving between people, residing in bodies and places, and existing as relational flows, fluxes and currents (Jayne et al., 2010, pp.4-5). It is this mobility of emotion, spreading person to person that I am interested in, as well as how social values and norms influence emotional feeling and reaction. In this emotion is individual and collective, personal and social.

In summary, I opted to use the language of emotion although there are a few crossovers in my understanding that could be referred to as affect. Affect remains very contested and abstract drawing upon non-representational theory that does not fit with my purposes. Emotion in my research is representation as it is crucially about the participants expressing their emotional response to the changes and challenges of erosion. It is then a matter of conveying this in an

authentic manner for which I chose research poetry. Emotion furthermore translates better for policy and was therefore useful to use throughout.

2.6.2. Emotion & Climate change

Research into emotion with reference to climate change largely discusses and investigates emotion regulation, keeping emotion in check and out of the way (Hartel & Zerbe, 2002; Lazarus, 2006; Smith, 2013) in line with understandings of emotion being separate from reason. In fact as Farbotko & McGregor (2010) outline, emotion is generally excluded from decision making in the climate change debate. This is despite Cabanac (2002); Compos (1984); and Goldie (2007), suggesting that emotion is the important adaptive factor in human decision making, a behaviour regulator significantly affecting human survival, acting as both motivation and demotivation for behaviour. Furthermore as Reser & Swim (2011), discuss, emotions impact both individual and social responses to challenging circumstances and most certainly do need to be accounted for, as humans are emotional, and in facing crisis and disaster emotions are likely to play an important role in resilience. Pain suggests that "feelings have transformative power of their own" (Pain, 2009, p.9) fostering positive or negative response. Lewis et al. (2008) concur stating that, positive responses can lead to creative problem solving and innovation. It is explained that emotions help build social bonds and address, and overcome social problems as social cooperation fosters positive emotions (Lewis et al., 2008, pp.456,459) leading to resilience through movement towards possible solutions and away from lock-in.

Moreover, Lazarus (1991), Lazarus (2006), and Reser & Swim (2011), all agree that emotion when shared can offer support, assisting with coping, stress and grieving, building enduring personal resources that make a family or community more resilient, reducing stress and aiding adaptation. Social norms of emotional response can also be negative, for instance; Wetherell (2012), comments that "potential lines of action and reaction [pathways to change] that are not socially supported or resourced recede, becoming less and less available, and no longer even imaginable" (Wetherell, 2012, p.105). Much discussion of emotion relates to coping and recovery in line with bounce-back resilience (Jabeen et al., 2010; Lazarus, 1991; Marris, 1974; Meyer & Martin, 2013; Reser & Swim, 2011; Shepherd, 2009; Whittle et al., 2012).

This as Brockhaus et al. (2013) have argued is, although being technically adaptation, in the short term is likely to result in return to unsustainable practices. Emotion therefore is crucial for any discussion of resilience that endeavours to look at the human consequences of climate change. There is however yet to be an emotional turn within climate resilience that applies to all peoples affected by its changes.

2.6.3. Loss and Grief

Coastal change through erosion and/or flooding can drastically alter affected places and Tschakert et al. (2011) argue that any change physical or otherwise to place attachments this way is likely to have profound cultural and symbolic impacts. Hubbard et al. (2005); Smith (2010); Carroll et al. (2009); and Kelly (2009), all discuss the impact such place change and loss can have, including placelessness, strong emotional responses and psychiatric trauma. Tapsell & Tunstall (2008); Fullilove (1996); Burley (2010); and Driver (2008) suggest furthermore that tangible social trauma can also occur resulting from alteration to the familiar. Moreover, Devine-Wright (2009); Wagner et al. (1999); Burley (2010); Albrecht (2005); Albrecht et al. (2007); Alkan (2004); Tuan (2009); Ashworth & Graham (2005); Davidson et al. (2005); Farrar (2009); Fullilove (1996); and Mabey et al. (2009), all highlight that through the alteration of place, identity becomes threatened and self-definition is diminished.

Such loss is most commonly researched in terms of grief. A recent publication by Walton & Shaw (2015) discusses the Kubler-Ross model outlining five stages of grief; 1) Denial, 2) Anger, 3) Bargaining, 4) Depression, 5) Acceptance. This is useful in that it provides an analytical framework to apply however, acceptance of loss and change as much as it could be a good thing, encouraging change and allowing people and societies to move on, could also be negative as acceptance of loss does not engender change but advocates getting used to the diminishment of what was. A sixth step of action or change may complete the model. Remembrance may perform a crucial part of this action stage to not simply accept loss and continued loss but process what is lost and enable movement on from this position. This research will in part add to this model.

Walton & Shaw may well agree with my analysis as they state that; “humanity has begun to grieve the demise of the economic, social and ecological environments” (Walton & Shaw, 2015, p.2) and ask somewhat angrily; “have we given up, and given into the ravages of late modern consumption practices, of capitalism in the face of impending death?” (Walton & Shaw, 2015, p.2). Grief has previously been discussed in reference to changes in the life-course by Marris (1974) whereby changes faced are in many cases death of what was and depending on the level of attachment, grief and bereavement to varying extents will follow, or indeed anticipate the change. For the most part however grief has been explored within geographical literature through examination of loss and mourning. Almost all discussion of loss, mourning and remembrance relates to physical death and is preoccupied with this material death and burial of the body (Madrell & Sidaway, 2010; Madrell, 2013).

Within the context of accelerating erosion and more frequent storm surges of higher magnitude, loss is irreversible. Shepherd argues that “grief typically occurs in response to the loss of something important” (Shepherd, 2009, p.5) and as such can be related to more than just the physical, medical death of a person; for instance loss of business, home and home-places and self-identity. There has been however little research that accounts for this visible tangible loss and anticipatory grief for place attachments that are threatened. Where anticipatory grief is researched it largely still pertains to human death resulting from long term illness (Fulton et al., 1996; Sweeting & Gilhooly, 1990). This has been revisited by Madge (2016) exploring the idea of ‘livingdying’ in anticipation of death. This autobiographical study of living with cancer is unsurprisingly focused on the body, physical death and disease but there are some very useful crossovers to this research where the villages are referred to as being on death row (EDP24., 2002) given a death sentence akin to a terminal diagnosis. Another key point of similarity is the language of remission and recovery however there is no recovery to what was, as you have been changed by the experience, you survive and create life anew.

Furthermore Madge discusses cancerous spaces, spaces of fear and anxiety to be avoided (Madge, 2016, p.11). This is another form of marginalisation of the uncanny where the presence of death or even the idea of death is offensive. This is highlighted

in Runswick-Coles' (2010) study on children living with a life threatening or altering illness or disability. Death, something that is understood as belonging to the distant future is seen to invade to the present, and this invasion is distanced social creating exclusion (Runswick-Cole, 2010). These children and their families live with death and experience social exclusion in life and in their physical death (Runswick-Cole, 2010, p.12). The village settlements and communities in this case study can be understood as one body or organism that is both living and dying or 'living dying' to use Madge's' (2016) term, themselves also experiencing exclusion.

Furthermore whilst place loss and degradation have been discussed by Devine-wright (2009) as causing psychiatric trauma, and by Albrecht et al. (2007) as causing solastalgia or the "sadness caused by environmental change, homesickness while still being at home, as well as a sense of powerlessness and injustice and lack of control" (Tschakert et al., 2011, p.2) no mention is made of anticipation of loss or any effects occurring before the 'event'. In locations of erosion this is important as the loss is visibly measured in each collapse and landslide. This is especially important as Kelly (2009) connect solastalgia as a contributing factor to social dysfunctions such as increased crime, addiction, and family and community breakdown. As such this is something to be mindful of in the discourse of resilience. Moreover Moser & Dilling (2007) and Grimm & Schneider (2011) have also commented that if loss is not reconciled and worked through it can provide a social tipping point towards reduced resilience and the potential collapse of both place and community.

Grief moreover is discussed by Wuthnow (2010) as being coped with through the performance of expected roles which keep people too busy to be overcome by their emotions. This however does not account for any situation whereby there are no expected roles and belief that no action can be taken. Where "cultural scripts" (Wuthnow, 2010, p.16) do not as yet exist. This reflects previous work by Marris (1993) which discusses how new experiences are understood through assimilation with familiar understandings that are similar. This again fails to account for what happens when new experiences are so at odds with the familiar understandings (or imaginaries) that they cannot be assimilated. This is where the concept of disjuncture is useful both

practically in understanding how climate change information may be understood and accepted, and emotionally in coming to terms with changing understandings.

In order to come to terms with loss the idea and practice of memorialisation is useful. In performing the acceptance stage of the Kubler-Ross model of grief, (Walton & Shaw, 2015) memorial is useful as an act of remembrance, acknowledgement of the loss and of moving on. Memorials aside from the physical grave or urn include personal tributes in tattoos, benches, trees; and public in the form of named parks, buildings, charities and monuments. Memorials can initiate change or they can erase or normalise events so as to reinstate order and control (Nevins, 2005). One negative example of memorial in processing loss and ruination caused by 9/11 in New York City is the building of the Freedom Tower taller and more imposing upon the site of the former twin towers. This I feel erases the site of grief rather than memorialises it. If the skyline were left empty and a garden created for reflection the gap would perhaps have 'stood' as remembrance of what happened and a reminder to act towards change. Filling it in eases transition back to business as usual however does nothing to encourage action towards change. In the context of this thesis memorial can be utilised towards bounce forward resilience if it is local, considered and initiates change (see: Chapter 6). This process if physical in the landscape creates its own 'deathscape', identified as very important as a way to process the grief and find a place for it in the new life or indeed find a new life beyond death, loss and grief (Madrell, 2013).

2.6.4. Contagious Emotion

Ahmed is convinced that feelings can and do leave impressions upon others (Ahmed, 2004, pp. 5, 6). This impression or transference of emotion has been analysed by Pain (2009) in reference to fear and moral panics, in that social norms and world views can develop into emotion cultures, for instance; a culture of fear exacerbating negative discourses. Thus becoming a lens for which to evaluate future events and causing a social amplification of emotion. This social amplification reaffirms emotional associations and the expected responses through activity and discourse. It has been remarked recently that as a nation the British are negative, perhaps a cultural world view that has become an 'emotion culture' (Pain, 2009). Livingstone et al. (2011) has

explored this idea further suggesting that emotion can in the form of these emotion cultures become contagious amplifying and spreading the emotion, transmuting it into various related emotions dependent on the persons' relationship to the event and their own personal perceptions of self. Such examples are panic, anger and on the positive side giggles and euphoria, a collective effervescence or shared mood. It is perhaps unhelpful however to use the term contagious as you cannot catch a sad or happy mood like you would a cold but perhaps there exists an emotional influence that rubs off to varying extents onto others and some are more susceptible to getting caught up in it than others.

Contagious Anxiety

This can and has been discussed in terms of anxiety by (Jackson & Everts, 2010) whereby anxiety is a feeling that can cause physical as well as psychological ailments whilst also being a feeling that is socially framed and mediated (Jackson & Everts, 2010, p.1). Brennen (2004) and Jackson & Everts (2010) have also commented upon the transference or transmittance of emotional distress, including anxiety through social associations and connections over space and time. As such people can get pulled into anxiety (Jackson & Everts, 2010, p.5) being communicated socially and spreading through a population (Livingstone et al., 2011). Sunstein (2005) has also noted this commenting that fear, anxiety and despair are contagious and lead to penetrating social impacts. Washington & Cook (2011) furthermore consider anxiety, sadness and despair as able to reproduce leaving hope as a casualty. Norgaard (2011) and Lazarus (1991) both assert that communal emotional responses can combine to amplify, and extreme emotional reactions can impede successful coping. Although as Pain (2009) states fear has become fashionable and is utilised in many discourses. Ahmed (2004) argues that fear can be faced and dealt with but it's more insidious cousin anxiety fostered by both external and internal forces persists and lingers having effects all its own.

Anxiety is often discussed in reference to panic attacks and anxiety disorders (Button et al., 2012; McGrath, 2008; Pattyn & Van Liedekerke, 2001) with some attention in recent years afforded to 'social anxiety' (Wilkinson, 2002) primarily regarding food

scares, infectious diseases and security (Anderson & Adey, 2011; Hinchliffe et al., 2013; Jackson, 2010; Jackson et al., 2013). However little research has been conducted upon threat anticipation and the anxiety effects this may cause. Anderson (2010) discuss anticipatory practice as being a positive process enabling action towards resilience but also recognise that it brings negative futures into the present. Although, as discussed in reference to social understandings of time, there has been some engagement with the emotions towards the future in analyses of pro-environmental behaviours (Arnocky et al., 2013), the focus remains on wider narratives of terrorism (Aly & Green, 2010; Massumi, 2007). Brugger et al. (2013) have considered the creation of 'climates of anxiety' in reference to communities witnesses the disappearance of glaciers in their mountain villages bringing a future negative perhaps thought to be 'unreal' into the present causing anxiety. This is a very useful study and comparisons can be made with the UK experience however the anticipation of potentially losing the village and place connections to the sea cannot be compared.

Anxious spaces

As threatened places and associated spaces have been discussed as becoming categorised as "places possessing potential danger" (Mesch, 2000, p.2) and anxiety has been commented upon by Pain (2009) as causing othering, it is not outrageous to suggest that spaces may become anxious or 'spaces of anxiety'. This idea has only previously been touched upon from the perspective of mental health disorders (McGrath, 2008), not as a social reaction to the creation of dangerous spaces to which we ascribe anxiety. Similar effects have been noted by Tapsell & Tunstall (2008) in villages threatened by increased flooding, although this is more in the experience of it, rather than the anticipation and in time appears to no longer apply.

I suggest that in order to control negative futures and the threat they pose new borders are created to manage these new spaces. This serves to distance the changes or otherwise seek to contain the threat within a specific manageable space, forming spaces of anxiety that become othered. As aforementioned rural and coastal areas already experience marginalisation and othering and as such any augmentation of this is likely to greatly affect resilience. Hinchliffe et al. (2013) has discussed a similar idea

in biosecurity in relation to diseases, notably regarding animals farmed for food and in terrorism. The threat in this instance is disease and the management or irradiation of it. The biosecurity serves to amplify the threat and therefore the feeling of vulnerability. The labelling of an animal or activity, or space as hazardous creates a narrative of fear and amplifies the expectation of a negative future. This anxiety is both emotional and social.

2.7. RESEARCH APPROACH

2.7.1. Summary of research gaps

This brief discussion of literature and conceptual framing demonstrates multiple research gaps. First is any focus upon the social impacts of erosion, accelerated by climate change; and also an integrated approach to climate change that understands how the interaction of coastal process combines to intensify the climate change effects. Second is a need to discuss the cost of climate change on humanity and particularly the UK bridging the gap between physical and human geography. Engaging with new emergent ideas about resilience I concur that there is a need to address lock-in however I also realise that beyond theory there has been little action in this area. The key gap or issue here is that bounce-forward approaches have largely focussed on grassroots projects to build capacity in developing countries. This concept however has much to offer threatened communities where traditional bounce-back repair and return narratives have become untenable. Erosion has been approached through hard engineering and as such the research reflects this bounce-back understanding. A need to not simply think outside of the box but jump out is hinted at however there is no evaluation as to whether or how this may be possible; the capacity for change. Whilst transition towns go some way towards shifting decision making pathways and behaviour they do not jump outside or rupture the pathway as theorised.

There is much literature as aforementioned on the tendency for persistence and focus upon the known and focus upon the known ahead and above of the unknown that business as usual is continuously reaffirmed. The gap here is in the application of evaluation of this behaviour on the ground as it were. A further related gap is the continued discussion of transformative radical change but as a future necessity. Again there needs to be an assessment of whether this would be accepted and how lock-ins

may impede this change. Another research gap highlighted is the application of community resilience to village communities traditionally viewed as resilient by bounce back understandings before change raised doubts. To reiterate I have defined community resilience as; 'the ability of groups or communities to cope with both external and internal stresses, whilst actively working together to anticipate change and design new practices towards transformation as the result of social, political and environmental change'.

Although discussions of place attachment often draw upon examples of rural England change to and loss of place has only been discussed in reference to flooding in New Orleans or environmental change or damage due to colonial resource exploitation (Albrecht et al., 2007). Place being lost altogether through erosion and the effect this may have is not considered. Drawing upon Gustafson's tapestries of home-places (Gustafson, 2009) it is logical to wonder how attachment to churches, pubs, and holiday locations in north Norfolk by not only locals but annual tourists influences reaction to such loss and change. Moreover, another key gap in the literature is the changing construction of place meaning through discussions of landscape and seascape. There remains little or no evaluation of changing relationships in this liminal zone where land becomes sea. This could be an important lens for understanding the place of climate change in the UK.

Social norms and understandings although recognised as influencing uptake of pro-environmental behaviours has largely been theoretical. Again it is important to apply these ideas to the case of climate change more concretely. Understandings of time and nature as it pertains to the continued separation of nature and society are very important and although commented upon as influencing the political lethargy on climate change more evaluation is needed on the impact this has in communities affected by environmental change. Moreover the anticipation of loss and negative futures having present effects is considered but otherwise ignored as it is assumed that preventative measures deal with it. Next, understandings of a contagious emotion and anxiety effect are an intriguing concept that deserves more investigation, especially as it pertains to coastal blight effects.

In summary this thesis straddles the gap between the physical and human geographies of climate change exploring cultural geography themes of landscape, social and geographic imagination and the idea of normalcy, as well as emotional geographies of place attachment and anxiety. This thesis further adds to future geographies of dread anticipation and hope. All of this will help further discourses of bounce-forward resilience at the community level in the UK.

2.7.2. Thesis aim and objectives

The main aim of this thesis is therefore to assess the community capacity towards bounce-forward resilience in two cliff-top village communities vulnerable to accelerated erosion in North Norfolk. In order to ascertain this it is necessary to break this down into three main objectives. These are; (A) To determine the extent of current lock-ins and social imaginaries, and attitudes towards change, (B) To evaluate the emotional aspects of physical and emotional loss that both hinder and help the process of change and their ability to cope and forge new futures, and (C) To outline the capacity for the two villages to change from the current situation and not just cope but thrive. Based on these three main objectives a triangular research design was created considering the key objectives both separately and in relation to one another (Figure 5).

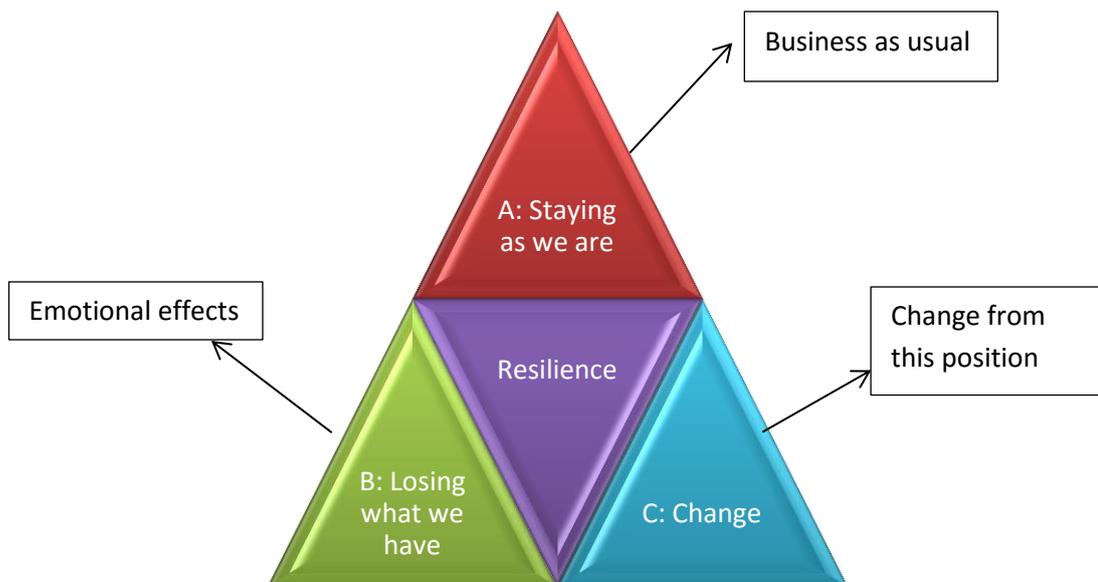


Figure 5: Initial framework

The sections pertaining to each objective were named, A: 'staying as we are' relating to the maintenance of assumptions and the status quo; B 'losing what we have'

relating to loss and anxiety; and finally C: 'change'. In breakdown I posit that the emotional effects of the changes and how the future is imagined could be antithesis to 'change' or perhaps act as a spur for sudden change as B or realisation of B may provide circumstances that enable lock-ins from A to be overcome, leading to C.

Chapter 3. METHODOLOGY

Following the objectives outlined at the start of this research it was decided that multiple phases of methodology were needed in order to fully examine the social understandings guiding behaviour and decision making; to explore the emotional ramifications of anticipated threat, ongoing change and loss; and assess bounce forward capacity. To evaluate this at the community level case studies were required. In each case study a three part research design involving interviews, participant notebooks, and focus group workshops was undertaken. This chapter firstly discusses the use of qualitative research in a case study setting, and provides details of the interviews, notebooks and focus groups, and their analysis. This analysis includes creative methodologies of artistic engagement and research poetry. Secondly research positionality and ethics are outlined due to the sensitivity of dealing with people's anxieties and the dread anticipation of home and village loss.

3.1. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1.1. Case study

A case study approach was chosen to recognise the complex interaction of social, political and other contexts in community resilience and demonstrate the lessons to be learnt within the community, and in relation to external influence (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Simons, 2009). Case studies are commonly undertaken to study the uniqueness of a case (Simons, 2009) and coastal change is not a unique problem, however, the connections, relationships and assumptions of each community are case specific dependent on contextual factors. As such case studies provide insight from the villagers' perspectives in a detail sometimes overlooked by other methods (Halkier, 2011). As aforementioned, cliff communities are often overlooked, save mention that erosion will accelerate but that it has always been an eroding coastline (Muir, 1982). Much research focuses upon coastal erosion but not however in any depth or from the community perspective. Lowland villages and communities at risk of flooding are excluded from this research as they have received much academic and governmental attention.

The two coastal cliff communities of Sidestrand and Happisburgh were chosen as case studies (Figure 6).

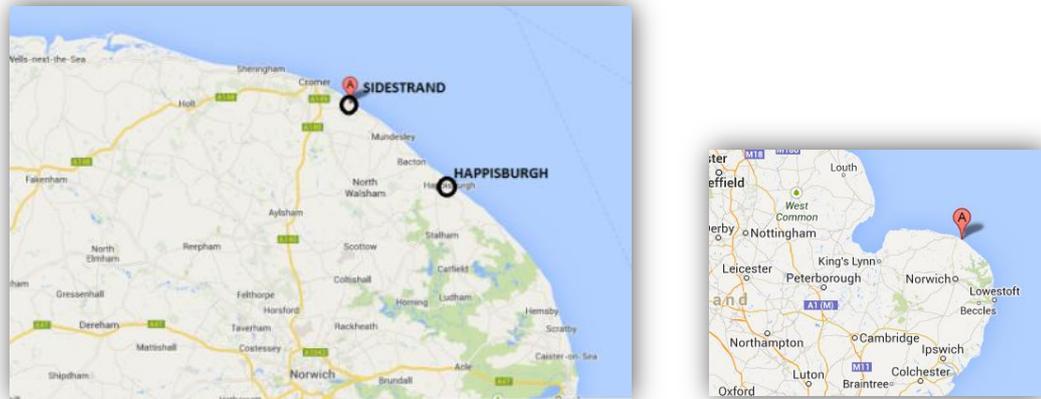


Figure 6: Map and location of Happisburgh and Sidestrand (Google., 2014)





Figure 7: Sidestrand Key Fieldwork photos (V. J. Brown, Unpublished)





Figure 8: Happisburgh Key Fieldwork Photos (V. J. Brown, Unpublished)

These villages were chosen due to their many similarities but also their differences, which influence how they respond and react to change. Firstly both villages demonstrate the extent of coastal change due to advancing erosion, as well as collision of local observation, academic, and political assessment. Each village has a church at its centre although each with its own story, and both have unique heritage features. Each was categorised ‘No Active Intervention’ (NAI) in the newly revised Shoreline Management Plans (SMP) (NNDC., 2013). This defence alteration is crucial to this research as settlements previously defended from the sea and slippage for their lived history, are now no longer protected. SMP consists of three main policies (Table 2).

Table 2: Table outlining the key SMP policies (NNDC., 2013).

Defence Policy	Explanation
Advance The Line (ATL)	Current existing defences will be improved and heightened taking into account new sea levels and wave heights.
HOLD THE LINE (HTL)	Where the coastal line as it stands is going to continue to be defended.
MANAGED REALIGNMENT (MR)	By allowing the shoreline to move backwards or forwards, with management to control or limit movement (such as reducing erosion or building new defences on the landward side of the original defences) or to make safe defunct defences.
NO ACTIVE INTERVENTION (NAI)	Where there is no maintenance or investment in coastal defences of operations.

All along the Norfolk coast this defence policy has been changed. In Sidestrand and Happisburgh the defence policy was altered from one of 'Hold The Line' (HTL) to 'No Active Intervention' (NAI). Although in Happisburgh campaigning has successfully change this to Managed Retreat it makes little practical difference. To find a way forward for coastal communities in 2009 local authorities were invited by DEFRA to apply to an £11 million funded coastal change pathfinder programme (DEFRA., 2011; NNDC., 2012). North Norfolk District Council secured £3 million to trial a range of initiatives which were evaluated for their effectiveness, the issues faced, and lessons learnt and reported back to DEFRA (NNDC., 2012). The projects covered were varied from whole region concerns, business projects and single village projects. These projects are detailed in the table here below (Table 3). This scheme was always a trial and ended in 2011. The future of the various projects is unclear and unfortunately may add to the communities' anxiety.

Table 3: NNDC Pathfinder Projects (NNDC., 2012, p.4).

Pathfinder Project	Intention and Outcome
1. To facilitate relocation of Manor Caravan Park	Dependent on finding an acceptable alternative site to both the site owner and the local community.
2. To facilitate relocation and demolition of 11 houses in Beach Road.	The owners of 11 houses were given 30-40% the original house value by the council to allow them to move and their houses subsequently demolished. New housing had not been planned in time and those families had to leave the area to find new homes. This the council stressed was not compensation however it is understood as such.
3. To establish purchase & lease back options	Investigated but abandoned
4. Create new ramped beach access (Happisburgh)	Made out of sand and requiring frequent re-digging.
5. Help the community record coastal change and the impact on heritage (Happisburgh)	Provided the beginnings of what has become the Happisburgh Heritage Society.
6. To remove redundant defences & cliff top debris (All locations)	Removed to tidy up the beach and clifftop to make them more desirable to tourism and reduce housing blight. This was a success however in many locations including Sidestrand and Happisburgh the erosion was accelerated jeopardising the continual existence of several rows of housing and greatly reducing crop acreage.
7. Relocate car park (Happisburgh)	Designed again to improve the desirability of the area for tourism and reduce blight. Some paths have since already eroded once again.
8. Re-provide public toilets (Happisburgh)	
9. Establish clifftop paths (all locations)	

These projects are displayed below. Photo A shows the creation of the Happisburgh beach ramp alongside the recently acquired rock armour. Photo B Shows the creation of the new Happisburgh car park after the houses were demolished and debris removed. Photo C shows the associated headlines with this clear up. Photo D shows the proximity of Happisburgh caravan park to the erosion. Finally photo E shows the last of the eleven houses to be demolished.



Figure 9: Pictures from the North Norfolk Pathfinder Project (NNDC., 2012).

The case study locations are of greatly differing size with Sidestrand being more a hamlet than village with a population of 370 in 2011 (Office for National Statistics, ., 2011). Sidestrand has no service provision save the church; however the adjacent village of Overstrand is very close and provides these services. Happisburgh is a medium sized village with a population of 889 at the last census (ONS., 2011), with services in the form of a shop/ post office, school and pub as well as the church. This was chosen purposefully to assess the effect this may have on the overall resilience regarding social and resource connections and maintenance provision as larger settlements are so often prioritised in cost benefit analysis (Cooper & McKenna, 2008). Involvement and social cohesion are also of interest as small rural communities are suggested to have more of a common purpose and therefore drive towards social action (Scott, 2013). It was interesting to assess whether there would be an optimum size village for this to occur or if they would be equally energised.

The villages have had vastly different reactions to the changes in defence policy with Happisburgh having a more activist reaction and Sidestrand having minimal to no reaction. It was interesting to understand the reasoning for this. Furthermore, Sidestrand is a linear settlement with fields between the main road and the cliff edge, whilst Happisburgh is a nuclear settlement with varied distance from the cliff edge. This distance to the witnessed erosion and as such the understanding, or indeed dismissal of vulnerability, was of great interest as was the difference in height and slight difference in cliff composition. Sidestrand has relatively high loosely consolidated silt and clay cliffs at approximately 50 metres high, whilst Happisburgh has low sand and silt cliffs at 6 to 10 metres (BGS., 2011). This difference was useful as it allowed assessment of a common understanding that the height of the cliffs although weak and largely made of mud offers protection from the sea.

Independently Sidestrand is immortalised as 'Poppyland' in the writings of Victorian journalist Clement Scott (c1900). Much of the village round-tower church is comprised of material from an earlier church that became too close to the cliff. The original church was demolished except for the old tower and churchyard which remained until they succumbed to the sea. This graveyard inspired Clement Scot's poem 'the garden

of sleep' (Scott, c.1900) Sidestrand cliffs although high are very active being described as one of the wildest parts of the Norfolk coast (Norfolk Museums., 2016).



Figure 10: Artist illustration of poem of 'Poppyland' (Literary Norfolk., 2014)

Happisburgh also has plentiful heritage, although sadly many now know it for its erosion. In fact the civil parish of which Happisburgh is a part shrank by over 0.2 km² in the 20th century, and more since (HVW. 2014). The original church was built in 1086 however the current one was built on the same site in the 15th century (HVW. 2014). The lighthouse proudly touted as the oldest working lighthouse in East Anglia was built in 1790, and Happisburgh Manor is a 19th century Arts and Crafts manor house (HVW. 2014). In addition to this the last remaining pub in the village of which there used to be several, is a 16th century coaching inn (HVW. 2014). Moreover there are some buildings that are thought to have been monastic and archaeologists have recently discovered it to be the first known settlement in northern Europe (N. Ashton et al., 2014; Trett & Hoggett, 2011).

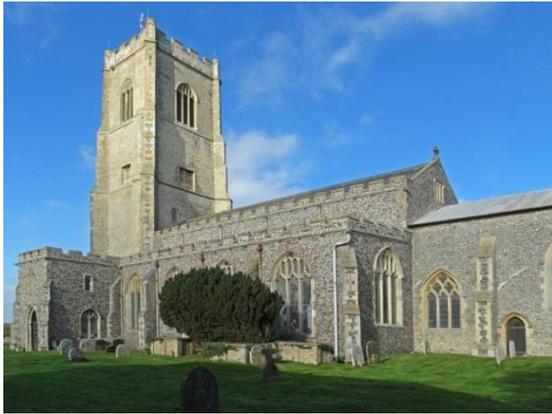


Figure 11: Village heritage photos (V. J. Brown, Unpublished)

Key Participant Information

As part of the research process key demographic data was gathered to enhance the similarities and differences of the two villages and evaluate whether these factors have any significant effect on the practical and emotional resilience of the village communities. This included gender and age, as well as savings, home ownership and housing type. Age and gender information was gathered to ascertain whether these factors impacted upon the social understandings, emotional effect and change capacity of each village. Age for instance has been discussed in relation to place attachment and the ability to adapt emotionally and practically to changing situations (Brown & Westaway, 2011; calarco 7 Gurvis, 2006; Yeung et al., 2012) (Figure 12 & Figure 13).

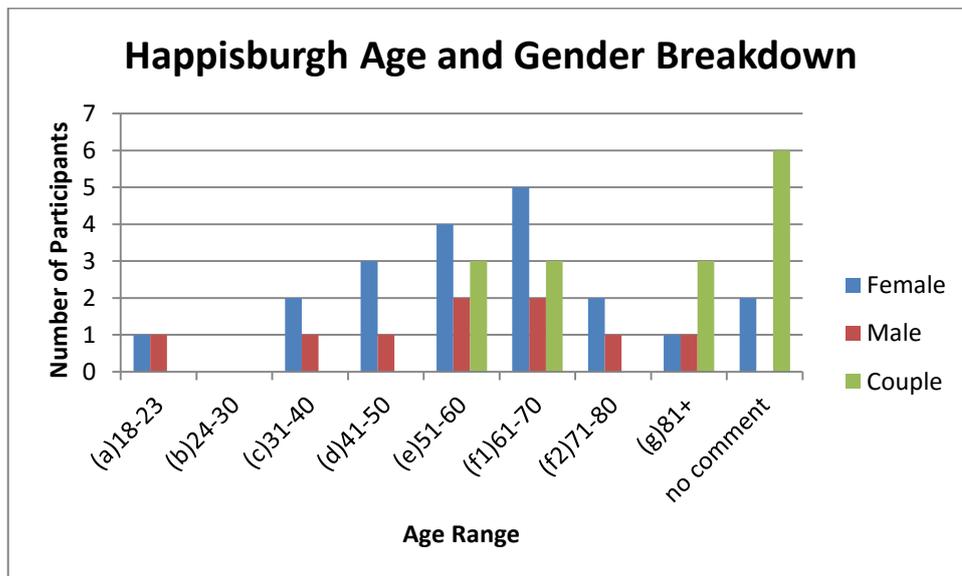


Figure 12: Graph displaying the number of male, female participants and participating couples in each age bracket in Happisburgh.

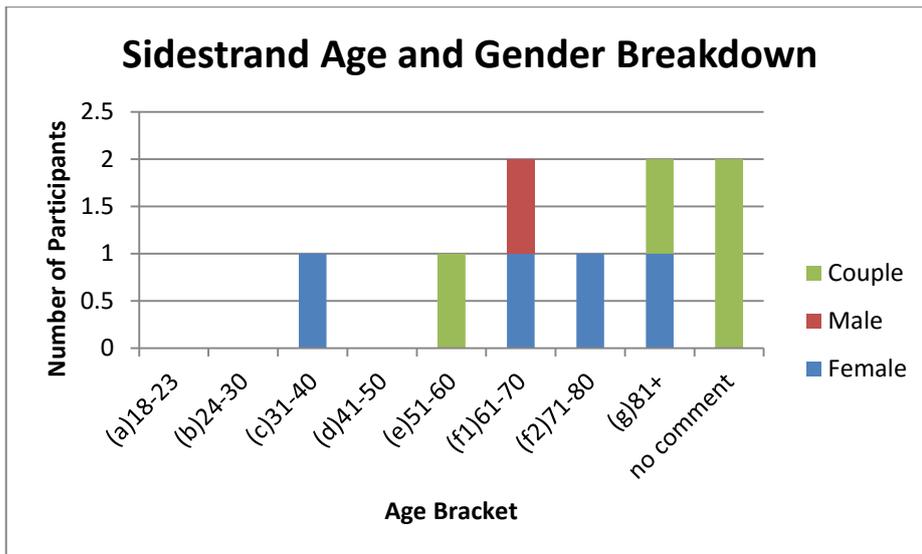


Figure 13: Graph displaying the number of male, female participants and participating couples in each age bracket in Sidestrand.

The majority of participants were over the age of 50. Many of these were lifelong residents however a large number have moved later in life. It is often suggested that those that retire to the coast in this fashion are wealthy and therefore have money to spare in the incidence of necessary relocation (Bichard & Kazmierczak, 2012). In order to explore this assumption, this widespread social understanding, the income/ savings of each participant were carefully ascertained using income brackets. The graph below (Figure 14) demonstrates that the majority of participants fall into the under £30,000 category. This upper limit does not necessarily assume spare finance for relocation should no compensation or assistance be provided.

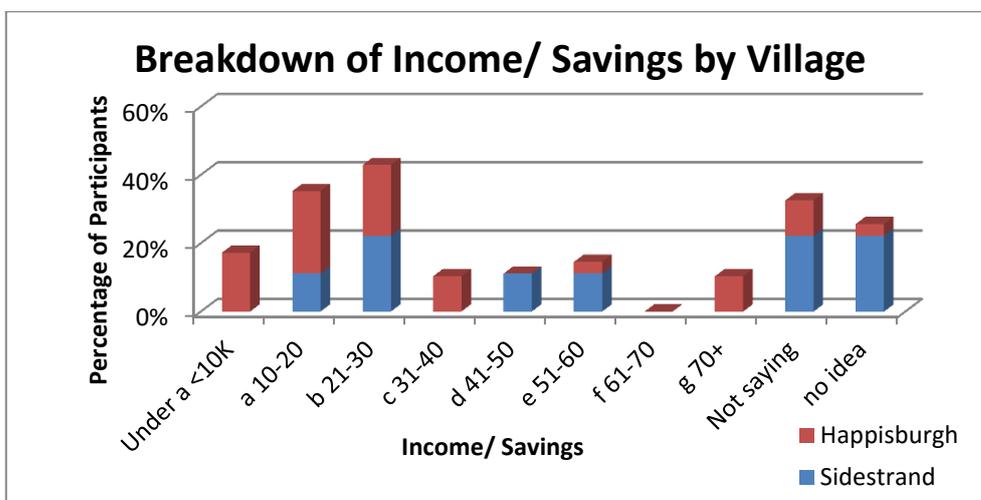


Figure 14: Graph displaying the breakdown of income/ savings for each participant.

Participants were furthermore asked about the type of housing and the level of ownership (Figure 15 & Figure 16).

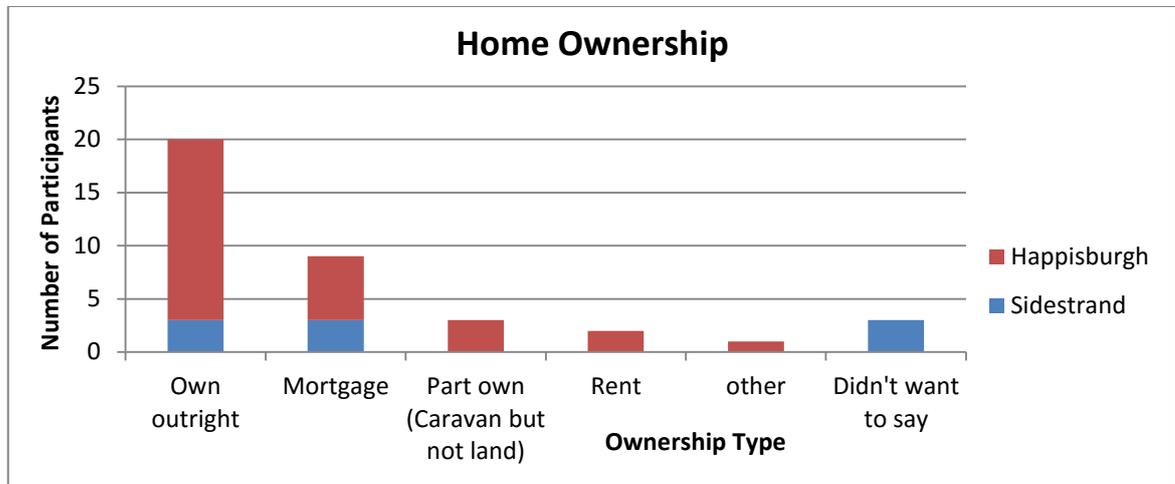


Figure 15: Graph detailing the participant home ownership type

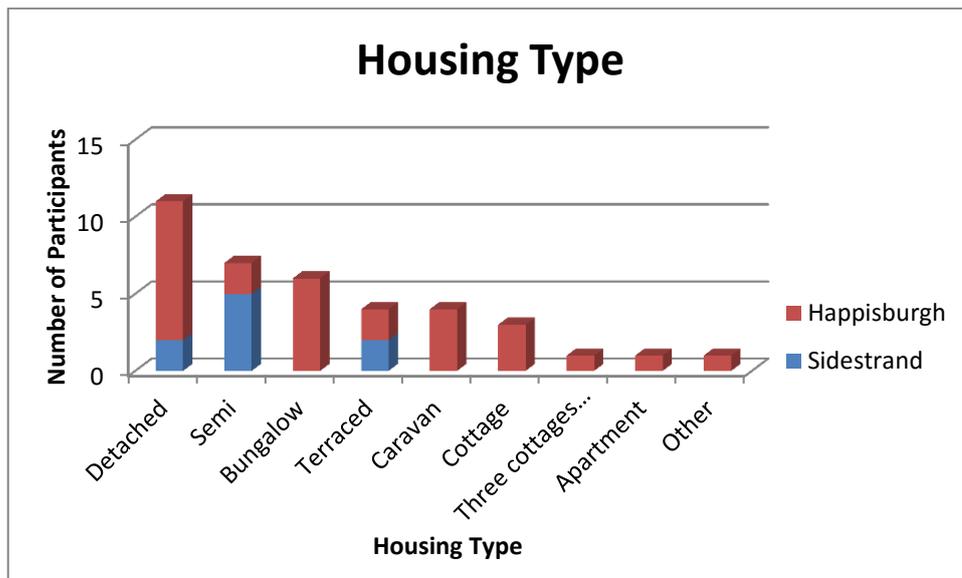


Figure 16: Graph outlining the housing type of each participant.

Another crucial data point is the length of residence of each participant whether they were there permanently or visiting their caravan on site. It is well discussed in the literature that the longer a person resides in a given location the stronger the place attachment and conversely those that have lived there the shortest cannot have strong place attachment (Bennett, 2013; Cristoforetti et al., 2011; Kearns & Collins, 2012; Smith et al., 2009).

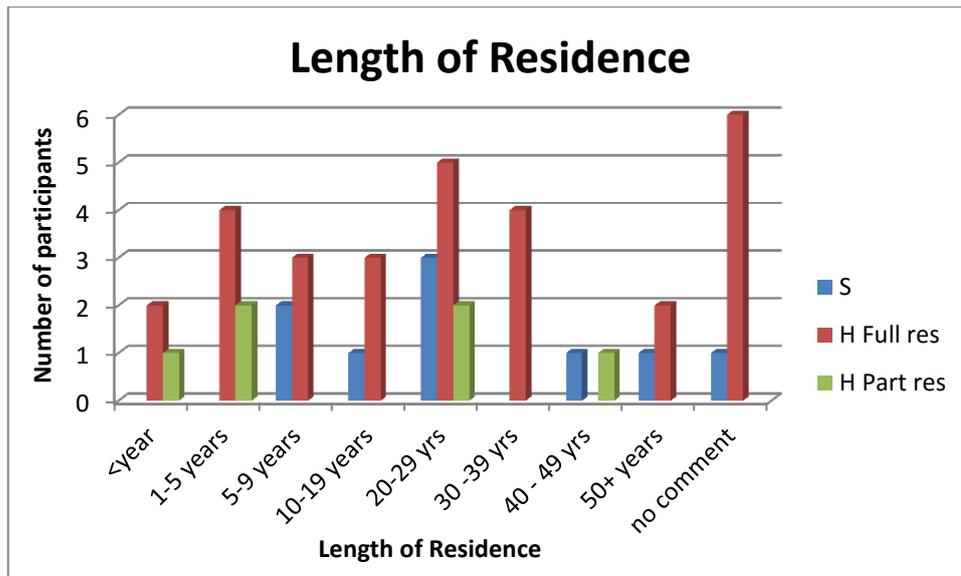


Figure 17: Graph displaying the length of residence of each Sidestrand participant and full time and part time Happisburgh participant.

This data reveals an interesting absence whereby expected demographic differences were not detected. In summary immediacy and impact were expected to differ based on age and perhaps gender, however everyone no matter their differences assumed to be dead before anything occurred. Additionally those with fewer savings seemed a little more concerned with the prospect of potential relocation, but only marginally. The only differing opinion was a young male renting with perhaps a transitory attachment, able and willing to move. Everyone else no matter the length of residence appeared strongly attached and displayed matching distancing and social understandings. This was especially surprising regarding three respondents recently moved to the area. One had lived in Happisburgh only two weeks and another just built their house. The third recently moved to Sidestrand and was still in the process of decorating. Place attachment moreover seems to be equally strong no matter the demographic. It is hard to say if this is wholly representative or a peculiarity of those who chose to participate. In terms of the change capacity and acceptance of change the communities were again largely homogenous except a reticence to get involved within the older population, stating that they have already given much to their villages and it was the younger generations turn. This data and the differences or lack thereof are discussed in detail where appropriate to the analytical concepts of disjuncture, anxiety effect, and the change capacity.

3.1.2. The three part design

The theoretical framework forms the foundation of a three part methodological design, with each stage directly corresponding to the thesis objectives.

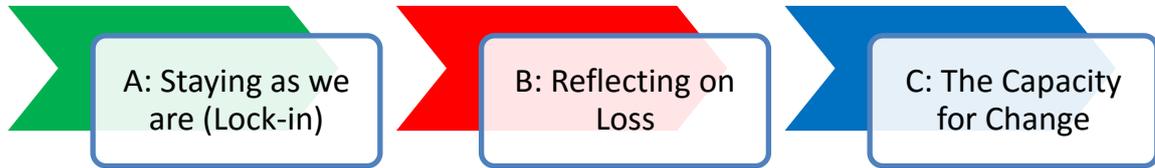


Figure 18: Methodological design

Each stage was conducted separately with specific methods employed to ascertain the understanding of the current situation, and the assumptions and lock-ins involved, the impact of the physical and emotional loss of their village, home and memory attachments, and the potential change capacity towards bounce forward resilience.

This three stage design allowed application of techniques appropriate to the sensitive and challenging subject as well as enabling feedback to the research aims and questions as new themes emerged. To begin *a priori* coding based upon related literatures and policy documents was drawn up informing the interview schedule. It is crucial to stress that analysis and observation of emergent themes did not stick solely to the confines of this original coding but utilised it as a platform to be analysed and reflected upon. This was especially important in light of the critique of resilience being made here. The 'traditional', or predominant literature and policy discourses on resilience rely on knowledge that is detached and objective (Alaszewski, 2006, p.6), however to fully represent the breadth and depth of issues and emotions impacting resilience in affected villages, a whole integrated view on experienced resilience is needed, one that includes emotion. On reflection throughout the analyses detailed in this chapter many original 'a priori' assumptions were revealed to be norms and lock-ins themselves. Assumptions that have become embedded not only in the villages but within multi-scalar decision making.

This 'normal' scientific and policy practice culture (Donmoyer, 2012) cannot however be applied in situations that are abnormal, where "we cannot look back from the future and compare the outcomes" (Green & McFadden, 2007, p.7). A spotlight needs

to be shone onto this 'cult of scientific expertise' (Pena & Gallegos, 1997) looking critically at the practice to seek to make sense of this new abnormal situation, to bridge this culture gap and critically review the practices and assumptions (Donmoyer, 2012, p.3; Lynn & Lea, 2005, p.3). Qualitative research practice allows exploration of diverse perceptions and multiple realities, understanding that people bring multiple and varied meaning to phenomena and that meaning is always altered by context (Hennink et al., 2011). Through the mixing of approaches to find the right approach (Frost et al., 2010, p.1), it allows investigation of participant's behaviours, beliefs, opinions and emotions as well as their shared norms and values (Hennink et al., 2011, p.9).

Qualitative practice through iterative re-evaluation critically assesses understanding and context giving voice and depth to new issues and new answers. This allows inclusion of emotion into resilience, imperative because community resilience, disaster preparation and readiness for the unknown are influenced by the ideas and imaginations, emotions and interpretations of those involved (Utting et al., 2012, p.24). The detail of each chosen methodology and its reasoning are discussed here followed by the specifics of the fieldwork sampling and data collection.

A: Interviews

This a priori coding as aforementioned formed the basis of the interview schedule drawn up for part A 'staying as we are' of this methodology. The categories for questioning were drawn from associated academic papers and policy documents (Table 4).

Table 4: 'a priori' categories for questioning

1) Village questions probing their place attachment, understanding of facility provision, community involvement and personal attachments.
2) Housing questions addressing assumptions of wealth and flexibility as well as the ability to move financially and the personal willingness.
3) Individual and family questions taking into account age, gender and the proximity of friends and family, said to have impacts upon emotional coping and adaptation; employment questions addressing assumptions of wealth and the proportion of retirees.
4) Home place questions built largely on emotional geographies asking where is important to them, be it just the home or extending to other places in the village, historical connections and social interaction
5) Physical understanding and awareness questions focusing of their own observations and experiences, then climate change understandings, communication and emergency procedures
6) Questions about the social impacts experienced and if they would take social action

In depth interviews were developed based on this loose framework, investigating the current situation by examining the assumptions and lock-ins of the current circumstances; issues of status quo and persistence that may impede resilience. In depth interviews were chosen as they offer more opportunity to explore the experiences, constructed narratives and beliefs of the participants (Silverman, 2010), taking into account as many contexts and complexities as possible alongside local meanings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Through loose structuring pertaining to areas of lock-in, emotional and practical restraints, and the employment of active engagement, these interviews enabled flexible evaluation and pursuit of emergent issues (Simons, 2009). By using mainly open ended questions and only using probes where necessary the interviewee was encouraged to speak fully. All interviews were audio recorded for transcription purposes with notes were taken to document any body language and emotion portrayed during the interview as well as key points as they emerged.

B: Notebooks

Section [B] 'Losing what we have' relates to the emotional aspects of physical and psychological/ emotional loss that both hinder and help processes of change and the communities' coping strategies. This very sensitive topic was approached in the form of a notebook encouraging participants to reflect privately on their place attachments and relationships to home, followed by what had been lost and what could be lost in the future, and the emotional impact of that on the personal, familial and community level. Participants were free to use any creative techniques they wanted for this reflection, including plain writing, story writing and poetry, annotating photographs, drawing or simple spider diagrams. This creative approach was employed as Silverman (2010, p.106) noted that alternative techniques can represent feelings better, helping to work through and reveal "experiences that cannot be recounted verbally" (Pink et al., 2004, p.7). By allowing the participants' free reign to express themselves however they felt comfortable in a non-threatening environment, key personal and social contexts were revealed (Simons & McCormack, 2007, pp.2,4,5; Sparkes et al., 2003, p.2), and an intimate or authentic voice of the participants was able to come through (Plummer, 1983; Simons, 2009, p.17; Spouse, 2000, p.2; Szto, Furman, & Langer, 2005). In these case studies the stresses and crises already exist because tangible social factors react early to crises leading to stress reactions of anxiety and depression (Almeida, 2005, p.1). The notebooks therefore acted to reveal why people do things and provide insight into taken for granted activities (Alaszewski, 2006, p.37).

C: Interactive Focus Groups

Lastly section [C] looks at future scenarios, and possible actions and compromises that can be taken. The aim of this part was to outline the ability for movement from their current situation, or put more simply, to assess the communities' 'change capacity'. The focus groups were arranged in advance with multiple days and times offered to enable as many people as possible to attend. Small group sizes were chosen of 5 to 10 people to facilitate face to face enquiry and enhance participation and collaboration (Olsen, 2012, p.77) and work with the community to improve, if possible, their personal and social situation (McNiff & Whitehead, 2011, p.14). A version of McNiff & Whitehead's (2011) action-reflection cycle was utilised to explore future possibilities

and ability to change (see: Figure 19). I acted as facilitator to support the collaborative exercise and enable the participants to lead as much as possible (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Although action research is largely addressed in literature relating self-assessment in a workplace setting (McNiff & Whitehead, 2011) its origins in critical theory suggest the model is still applicable. This approach outlines importance to understand the situation in order to change it, that taken for granted systems and situations need to be assessed by what created them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, pp.279,282; McNiff & Whitehead, 2011, p.46).

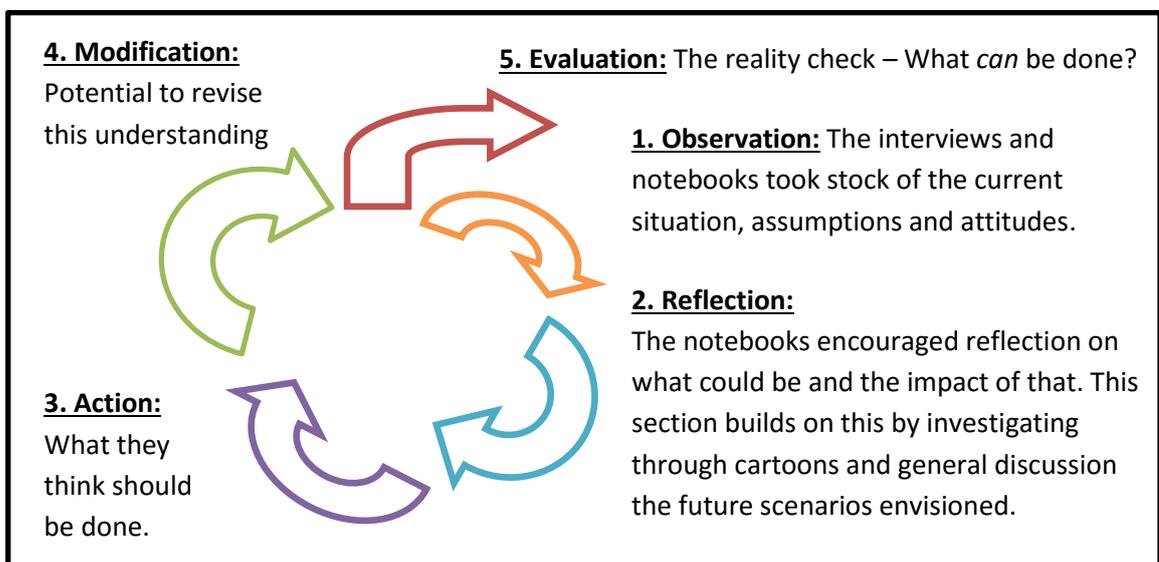


Figure 19: Action-reflection cycle adapted from (McNiff & Whitehead, 2011, p.8)

3.2. FIELDWORK: organisation, experience and data collection

This section details the basic sampling and logistics of the fieldwork; including preliminary and peri-research organisation and ethical sensitivities. To be courteous letters were sent to the two relevant parish councils informing them of the research and attempting to allay any fears they had (see appendices). Resulting from the exchange it was arranged that I should give a short presentation to one of the parish councils at their next meeting (Figure 20).

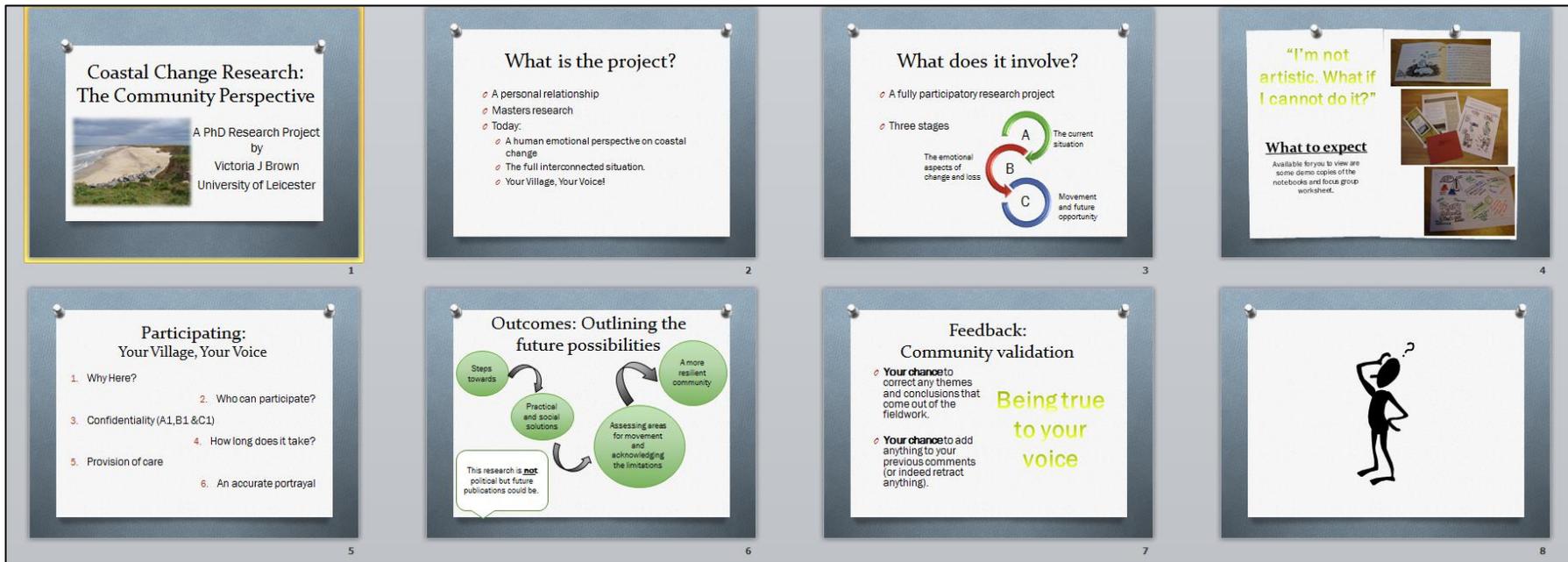


Figure 20: Council PowerPoint presentation

Although Happisburgh was content with this provision, Sidestrand Parish Council was worried about the emotional effect of the research. As such a document on measures taken to ensure emotional sensitivity was created and phone conversations undertaken to allay fears, justify why I was coming and how I was not going to make their situation worse (see appendices).

Each village case study needed to be approached differently; as such the logistics and precise methodology differed. It was anticipated that a minimum of 15 participants be recruited. This was achieved via mapping each village and delivering research leaflets, before revisiting households to register their interest and book interviews at their convenience. Each participant was asked to commit to all three stages of the research receiving a notebook to be completed before the next stage of the research. For stage A an interview schedule was drawn up based upon the aforementioned a priori understandings but loosely worded so as to allow room for new avenues of questioning. Several questions however were specific so as to generate some rudimentary statistics for analysis. These were which age bracket they fell into; what their housing or accommodation might be categorised as; home ownership details; and approximate income/ savings per year.

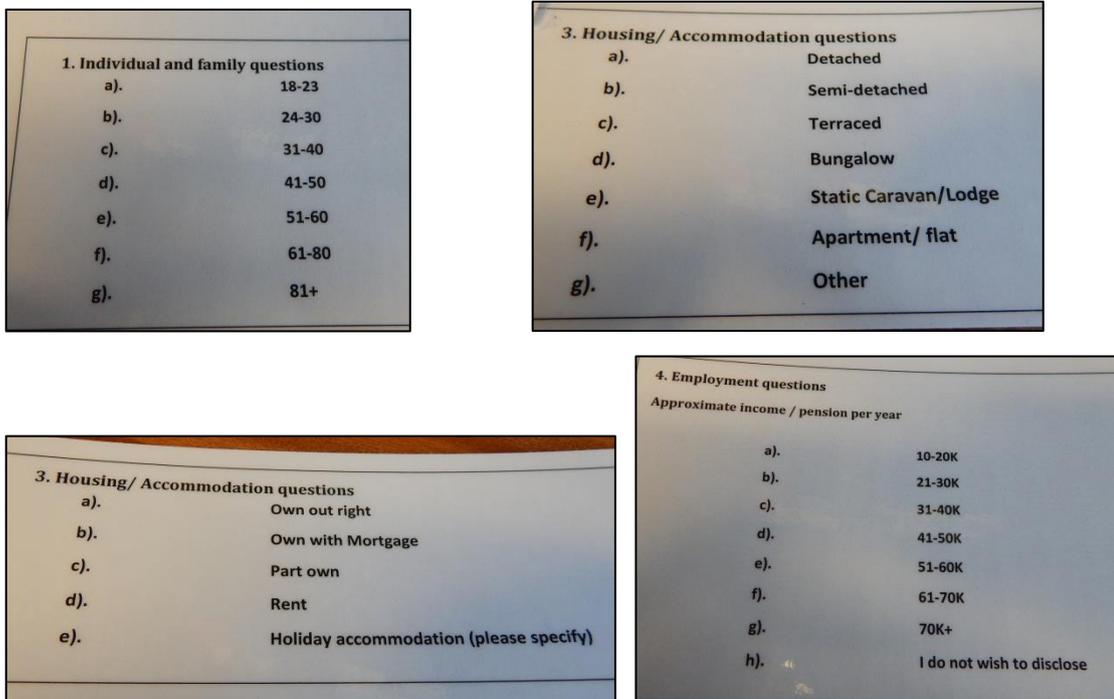
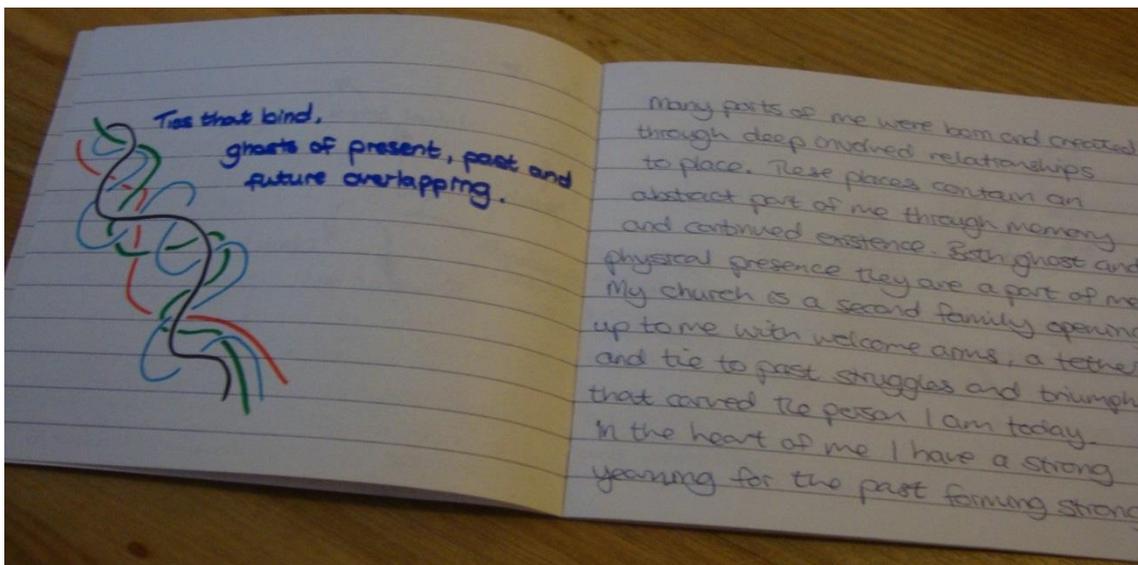
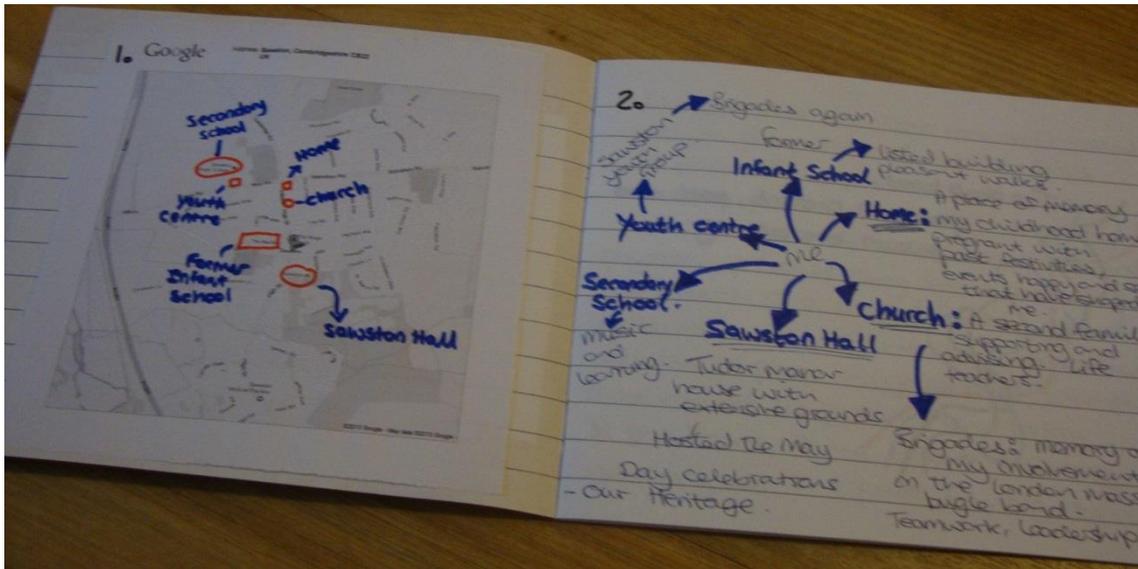


Figure 21: Pictures of pertinent statistics cue cards

For stages B and C of the research demonstration documents were drawn up based on my home village in south Cambridgeshire.



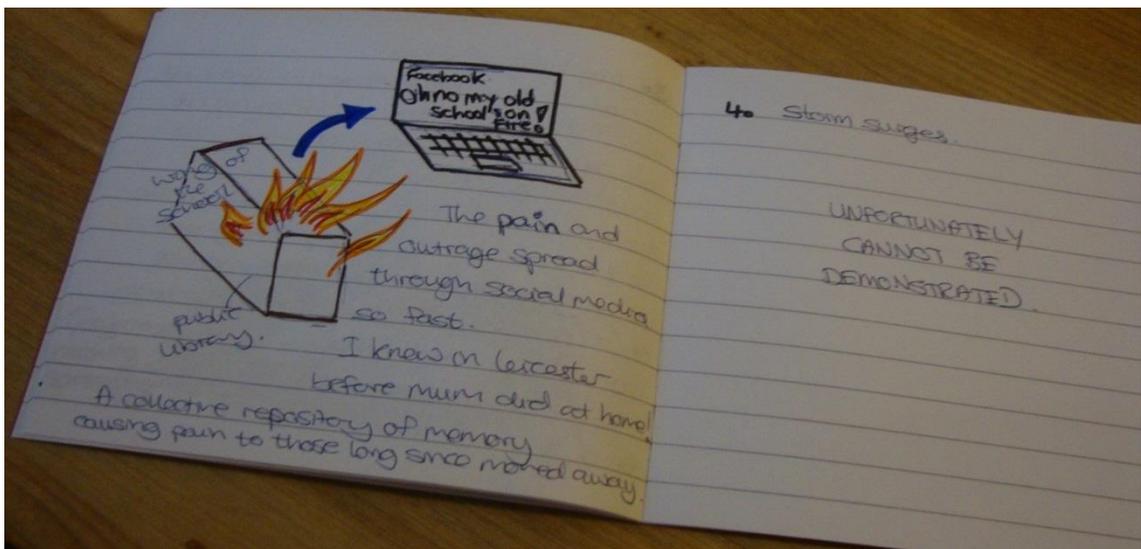
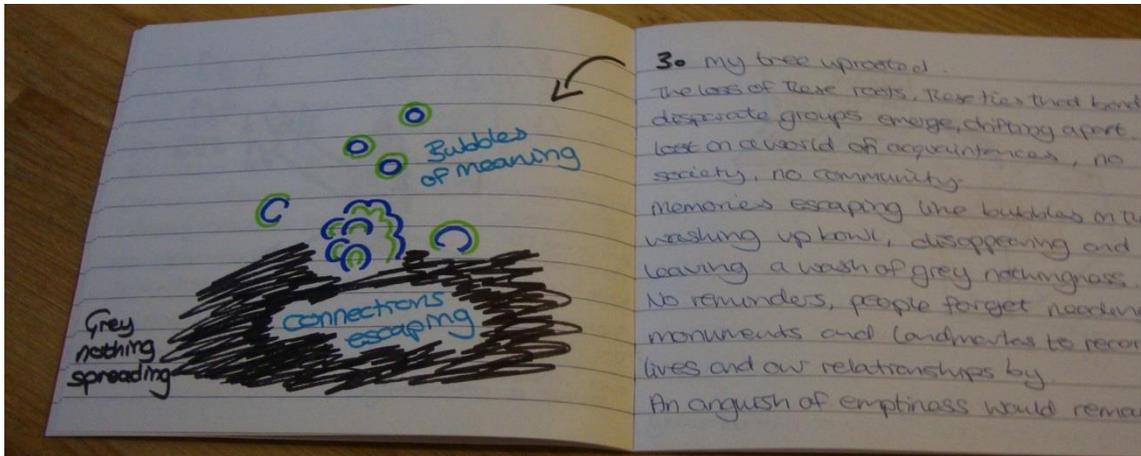
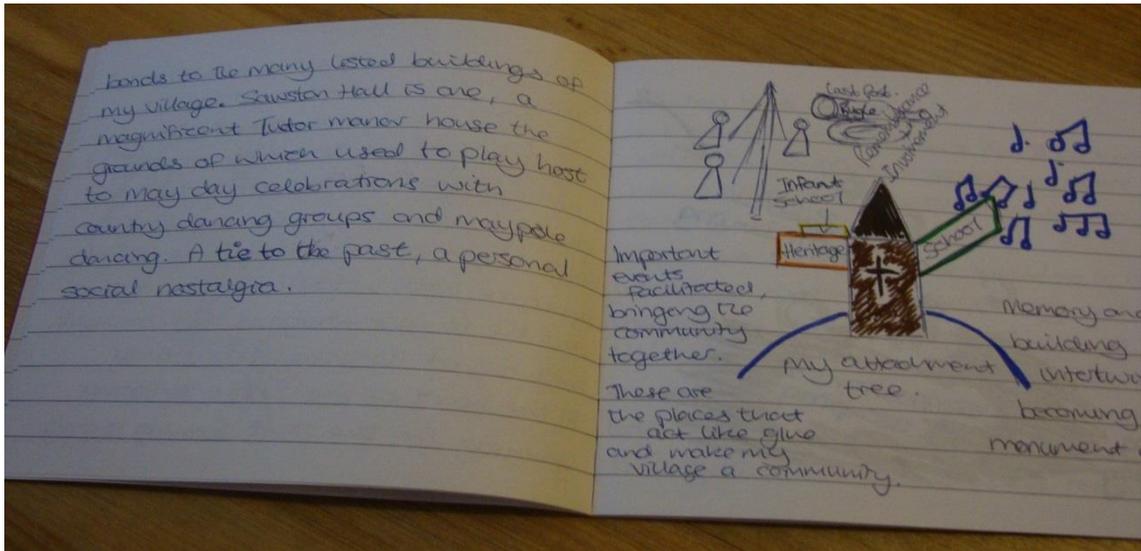


Figure 22: Demo document provided for the reflective notebook activity.

In the notebooks provided it was requested that each participant reflect upon the potential loss of places that are important to them and their feelings on the various environmental changes. To begin each participant outlined on a map of their village places of importance to them before discussing what they like and dislike about their village following the guidance provided at the front of the notebook (Figure 23).

Place, home and emotion notebooks:

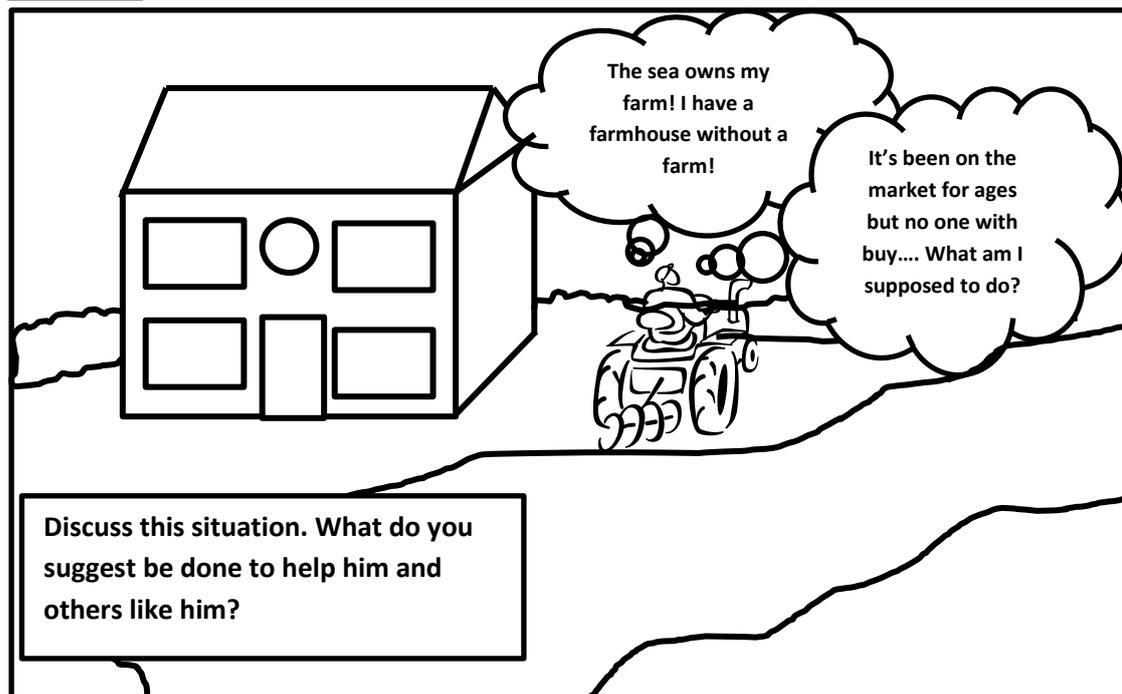
- Identify places within the village that are important to you (circle on the map provided)
- Reflect on the reasons behind this attachment using any mode you feel comfortable with; drawing, painting, poetry, prose, cartoon, mind maps or a combination thereof
- Reflect upon the potential losses and impacts this would have personally and for the community again using any technique.
- Reflect upon the issues discussed in the interviews;

Storm surges	Accelerated erosion and landslides	Lost villages and haunting
Relocation	Sea relationship	Social cascades/ knock-on effects
Priorities – what is important?		

Figure 23: Notebook guidance

In part C the focus group worksheets consisted of three stages following the action research model. Stage 1 referred to the **reflection** and **action** phases of the model consisting of abstract discussions of hypothetical scenarios to gauge the communities' assumptions and attitudes towards the changes.

Scenario 1:



Scenario 2:



Scenario 3:

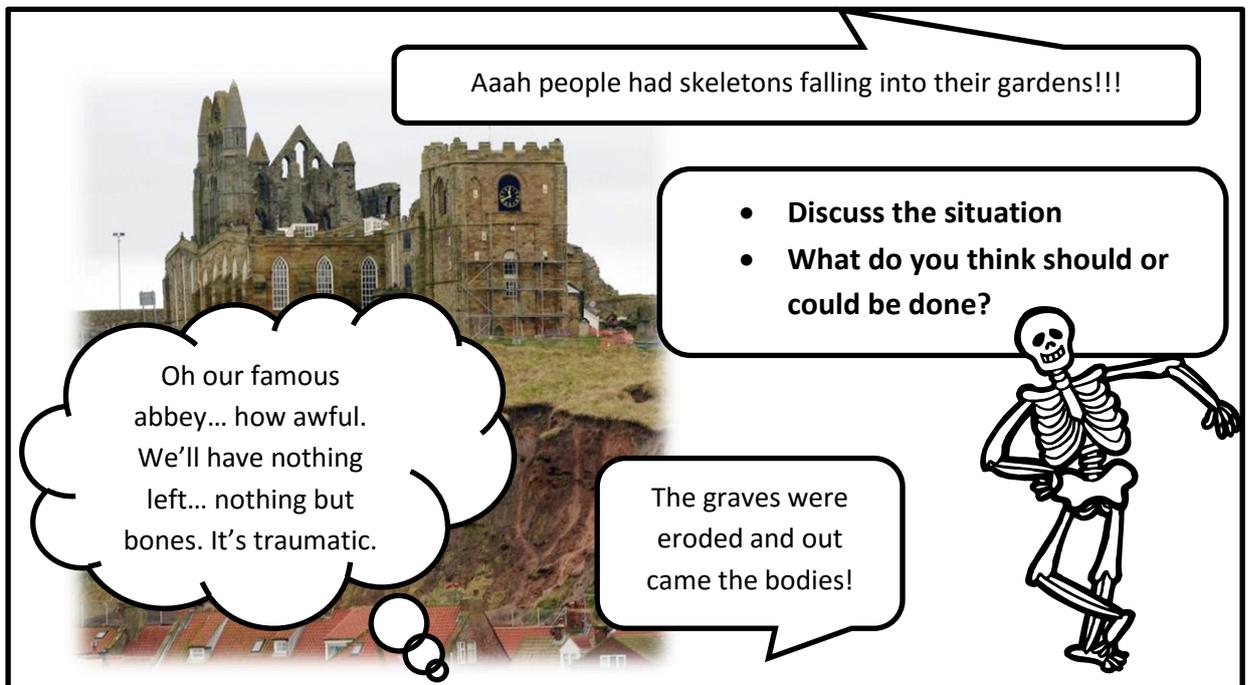
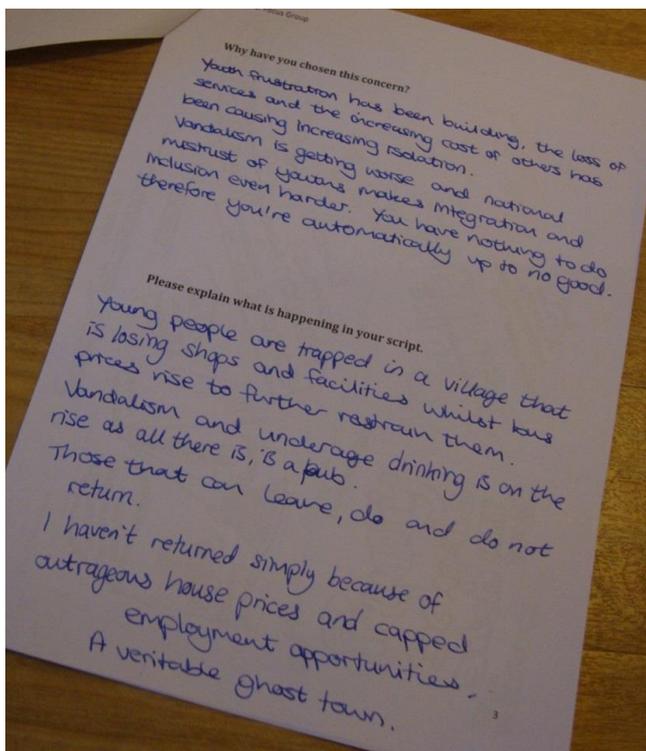


Figure 24: Focus Group Activity 1 scenarios

This was followed by each participant drawing or writing out 3 scenarios they were concerned about regarding the future of their village. This process of artistic reflection (Cartazzi & Roote, 1975) was chosen to help participants more fully articulate their concerns (Spouse, 2000, p.3). This was again demonstrated for the participants based upon my own experiences in south Cambridgeshire.



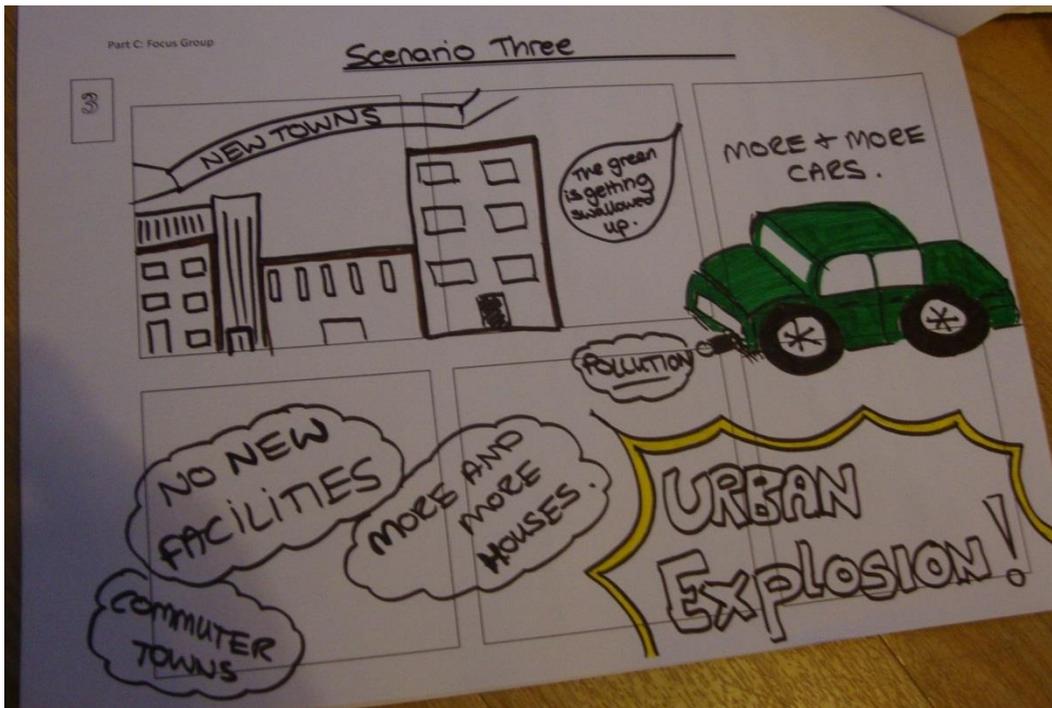


Figure 25: Demonstration of Focus Group Activity 2 envisaging what the future may bring

Stage 3 pertained to the **Evaluation** and **Modification** phases entailing appraisal of the understanding the possible compromises or sacrifices that may have to occur, and assessing the feasibility, practicality and possible acceptance or rejection of the ideas presented. Once more this was undertaken utilising artistic reflection with participants offering three alternative endings to the scenarios they outlined (Figure 26).

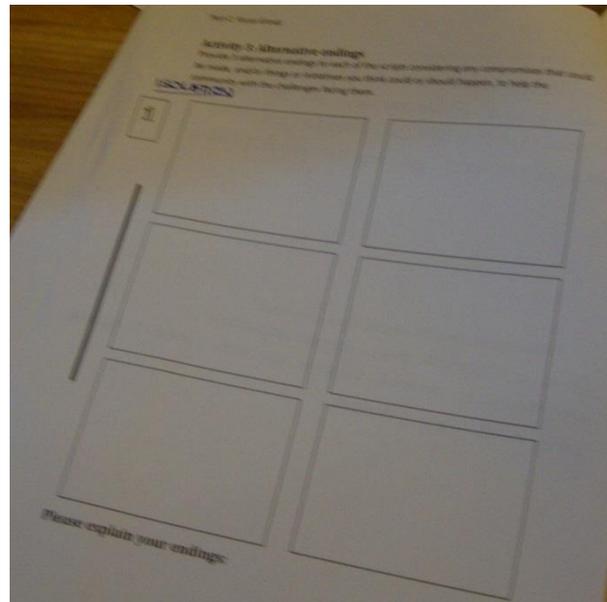


Figure 26: Alternative ending exercise

Overall, the key questions in the research design were referred back to continuously throughout all three sections of research positioning the village's resilience in relation to the theoretical framework. Issues arising that were beyond the model were addressed within the section they arose and their implications discussed. This thesis therefore considers the present issues, the present to future losses and problems and future possible solutions or pathways for change. The following sections discuss this in more detail in relation to each village.

3.2.1. Sidestrand

Upon commencing fieldwork in my first study location, Sidestrand, the entire village was firstly mapped in its entirety and all houses leafleted (Figure 27).

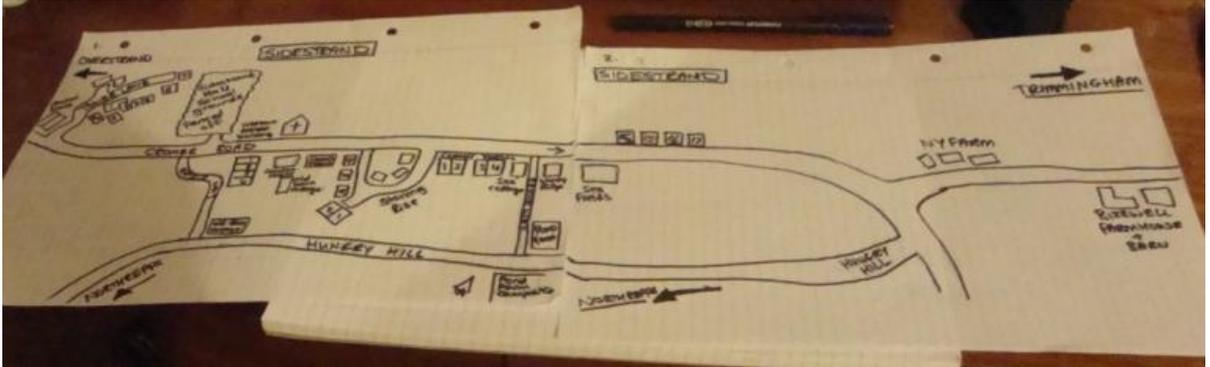


Figure 27: Sketch map of Sidestrand for ease of fieldwork

Full coverage of the village however was not possible due to acceptance and alternative commitment; on the other hand each section of the village was represented in the study aiming to encompass as many community groups as possible. During this process observations were made and photos taken for corroboration. An integral part of the fieldwork was the undertaking of a field journal into which all these comments were put and reflected upon. These reflections included field poems (Eshun & Madge, 2012; Lahman et al., 2010; Szto et al., 2005) to capture my experience of the atmosphere of both place and people. My personal experience was then analysed separately and in relation to inferences made. Returning to my accommodations each evening photos and notes taken were carefully written up electronically and the photos annotated whilst the thoughts and themes were fresh in my mind.

After the participants had, had a day or so to process the leaflet provided I then went round introducing myself, explaining the research more clearly for those who were unclear, and asking if anyone was interested in participating. For these purposes I had drawn up comprehensive appointment sheets with slots throughout the day and every day except Sunday to allow flexibility around peoples normal daily activities. This was to minimise or mitigate any unnecessary intrusion into their lives as people are more inclined to take part if it isn't going to inconvenience them too much.

The booking of appointments as such went very smoothly however it did get off to a rough start due to complications with members of the parish council. There was much concern raised by one lady in particular who subsequently refused to take part claiming that my research would damage their house prices. They had apparently told many other villagers not to take part in my research for this reason. As such I was turned away by many before even being allowed the chance to discuss my research. This demonstrates the level of fear and uncertainty in the village. At each interview the participant was provided with an information sheet, detailing what the research was about and what their role in the research would be. After reading this they were asked to sign a consent form provided to them for the participation in all three parts of the research (Figure 28).



Consent form	
<p>WHOLE I consent to participate in all three sections of this research.</p> <p>I understand that I reserve the right to not answer a question and can withdraw from the process at any time and can withdraw consent for all or part of any section should I wish.</p> <p>I agree to follow the code of conduct set out for this research.</p>	
<p>SECTION A I consent for the interview to be recorded for the purposes of transcription and evaluation and for quotes to be used in final research including presentations, the PhD thesis and any publications or alternative communications arising.</p>	
<p>SECTION B I understand that the contents of this notebook will be treated with utmost respect and I will be evaluating my own reflections, ensuring fair representation.</p> <p>I consent to the use of all reflections in this notebook in this research (see above).</p>	
<p>SECTION C I understand that notes will be taken on the focus group discussions and consent to the photographing of diagrams, drawings and cartoons created during the session as well as photos of the group and myself working.</p> <p>I understand that the focus group will evaluate the discussions and write it up during the session to accurately portray the community's perspectives, issues and opportunities.</p>	
<p>Contact details for return of results to the community and for participant validation:</p> <p>I would like to attend a hand back session of the research findings and assist in their validation <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Name:</p> <p>Address:</p> <p>.....</p> <p>Telephone:</p> <p>Email:</p>	

Figure 28: Information leaflet and consent form

At this point they were shown demonstration copies of the notebook and focus group worksheet I had created (Figure 29).



Figure 29: Photo showing the information sheet with attached consent form, alongside the leaflet, and demonstration copies of the notebook and focus group worksheet

After completion of the interview each participant was given a notebook with the same code as their interview for ease of cross analysis later on, and also for ease of collection. They were asked to take a week to complete the notebook as they saw fit using either writing, drawing, annotated photos or spider diagrams up to ten pages. There was some concern over this as participants assumed I wanted them to complete the entire notebook not taking in the 'up to' in the original document and my request. This led to many requesting that I simply write out their comments for them. Also with the focus group worksheet many participants refused to attend any session due to village politics, again referring to issues with the parish council and others, making them averse to a group meeting. This was overcome with some by going through the worksheet with them at the time of their interviews. Participants were incredibly open with each of these, the notebook and the focus group worksheet, leading me to conclude that this aversion to writing and meeting up with others did not hinder the results in any way.

Once the interviews were recorded, each recording was transferred onto a secure laptop for process later on with Sound Organiser software. Notes were drawn up for each interview at this time from the field notes and the Dictaphone was wiped clean for the next day. In Sidestrand I attempted to transcribe the interviews as I went along. This was heavy going and very exhausting however it gave me great insight into the emergent and recurring themes. After transcription each interview was made into a research poem taking the key words of each sentence to best summarize what was being said and condense the meaning rather than reduce it.

In between each interview appointment I continuously knocked on doors asking other potential participants if they would like to participate, however there were many that seemed genuinely not interested and others that whilst obviously indoors would not answer the door. This was quite a dejecting experience and led to my having only 9 of the anticipated 15 participants. Upon continuing analysis of the interviews it became clear that in some interviews where a couple chose to be interviewed together they appeared to answer as one, whilst other interviews were like interviewing them together but also separately as they disagreed or elaborated upon each other's points. This created rich and useful data. Mid-way through my time in Sidestrand in March

2013 I attended the pre-arranged parish council meeting in Happisburgh to discuss my research in the coming June-July 2013 and answer any questions arising. This went smoothly and the turnout was very impressive and reassuring after the reluctance and disinterest shown in Sidestrand. I had not expected members from the regional and county councils to be there, however they seemed to be impressed giving me confidence in both by theories and my procedure.

For the remaining time in Sidestrand the procedure of transcription, annotation, research poem generation and analysis continued for each interview followed by coding utilising the services of NVivo software. Upon receipt of the notebooks and Focus group worksheets these too were written up, annotated and coded. Sidestrand being the smaller of the two case studies in effect acted as a pilot study and in the interim between the Sidestrand Research and commencing in Happisburgh the leaflet was updated to clarify as much as possible that the notebook was up to ten pages and they did not have to fill it all out. In addition for part C, the worksheet, an explanation was drawn up of what precisely to do in the worksheet for those who for whatever reason opted to complete it via postal contribution. Finally for the purposes of analysis and on-going reading to place the emerging themes within relevant academic discourses a theme tree was begun based on the themes and memos identified in Sidestrand with pertinent articles were found and further memos made.

3.2.2. Happisburgh

Before beginning the research in Happisburgh it was necessary to enlist 3 students to assist in part A of the methodology to enable more interviews to be done in the initial two weeks and therefore more overall participants to be involved. I advertised to Masters and PhD level and received interest from 5 students. I met with these and found that three Master's international students could definitely assist. To bring the students up to speed with my research and go over the necessary logistical issues several meetings were arranged. This included their getting permission from their tutors and supervisors to participate in my research, providing me with necessary medical and allergy information and dietary requirements. For ease, logistic

management and appraise the assistants of the travel and research arrangements an itinerary was drawn up and circulated.

Once again to assist in ensuring the participants recruited represented all parts of the village a detailed map was drawn up and utilised when booking appointments to check that no part was left out of the case study (Figure 30).

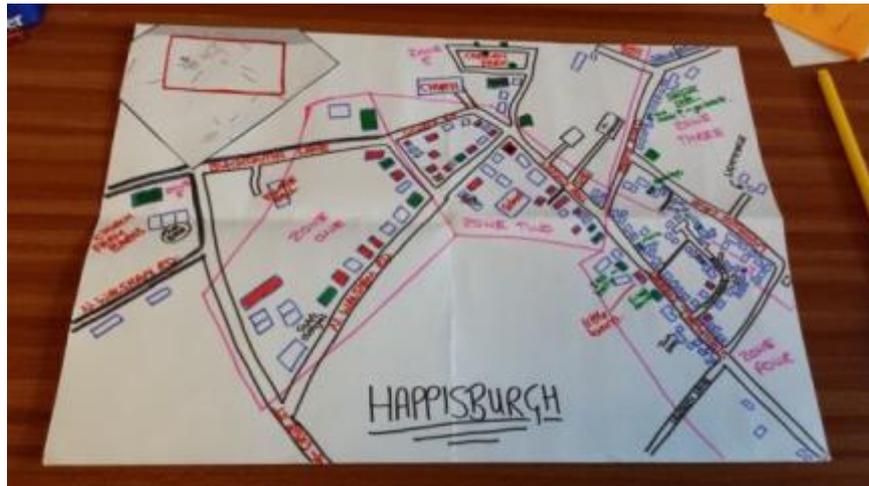


Figure 30: A3 map of Happingburgh drawn for fieldwork purposes.

The basic fieldwork process undertaken in Sidestrand was repeated in Happingburgh. After settling in to the cottage booked for the duration of the fieldwork we leafleted and I made observations taking photos to corroborate my comments. In this part of the fieldwork it was the intention to achieve 30-50 participants, complete all interviews, give them the notebooks and instructions and for people to sign up to the focus group most convenient for them (see: Appendices). The booking of appointments and undertaking of interviews went smoothly and gained momentum as more people found out about the research. All houses that said no, were a maybe or unknown were documented to avoid asking the same people repeatedly. Having the students assistance made it possible to interview in pairs with one asking the questions and one making notes of interesting comments, and relevant body language and emotion expressed. These interview notes were written up each evening and the interview recording transferred to the laptop. At the end we ended up with 36 participants in Happingburgh with many, as in Sidestrand, being couples.

A tally was kept diligently of who had signed up to which focus group. Letters were then written to all participants before the focus group they chose to attend thanking them for their participation and reminding them of the time, date and location for the group session (Appendices). Some more elderly participants were concerned about getting to the location that although being in the village was somewhat on the outskirts of the village proper. To overcome this, my partner who assisted me in this second set of fieldwork provided a steady arm to a few participants to assist them to the focus group. This was very much appreciated. Even at this stage there were some very interesting themes emerging concurring with the smaller study in Sidestrand despite the difference in immediacy at the different locations. These aspects meant the 36 interviews conducted in Happisburgh provided good data and more information than initially expected which is undoubtedly good. Some technical difficulties and an unfortunate food allergy created some added stress to the normal stress or fear of not getting enough data.

In addition to participant letters sent to remind those that chose to attend focus groups there were also a number of participants that opted instead for a postal contribution. Letters were therefore sent to these participants thanking them and providing them with a worksheet with clear instructions. A stamped addressed envelope was provided for them to return their contribution efficiently. For the management of these focus groups [C] and collection of the notebooks [B] a spreadsheet was created to carefully keep track of what has been completed and by whom and what remained outstanding. This management proved very useful as many participants failed to attend the focus group they had signed up to. Although some subsequently emailed me and attended a different session approximately half of the participants did not complete parts B and C. Letters and the same package sent to those contributing via post was also sent to these participants that did not attend. I did not however wish to harass any participants about this so as to avoid offense. This was immensely frustrating however I hoped that polite letters and an efficient system of return would encourage at least some of these outstanding sections to be returned.

Although upsetting the data emerging was full and varied enough despite this lack of attendance that the usage of only part of the data set for sections B and C still

provided many points of interest. It was interesting to note the lack of attendance in this section as it regarded the emotional effects and what they thought should be done in the future, and what could or should be done for them and their community. One lady participating described this as social lethargy, an interesting concept which I return to later. It was further intriguing to note that many not attending were those the master's students interviewed and not myself. Perhaps they did not explain the purpose of the focus group and the procedure to return the notebook, although they had been told to do so. This is perhaps a drawback of utilising help in data gathering. I could not have afforded to stay here longer by myself to undertake all the interviews personally so this was a necessary limitation. But one that unfortunately has its effects. In the end none of the postal contributions were returned including those who originally opted for it and those who failed to attend their agreed focus group sessions. However, the variety and depth of information collected provided a good data set, if slightly smaller than anticipated.

3.3. ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES

3.3.1. Interview analysis

In Sidestrand nine participants were recruited made up of four female, one male and four couples and in Happisburgh thirty five participants made up of sixteen female, eight male and eleven couples. As aforementioned the nine Sidestrand interviews were transcribed and analysed initially in the field making for a totally immersive analysis. This however was not possible for Happisburgh logistically and as such was undertaken upon return home. All forty four transcripts including the voices of the fifty nine persons involved, after initial transcription were coded within the preliminary themes that formed the basis for the skeleton interview schedule with each interview transcript annotated and cross referenced by hand and within NVivo (Figure 31).

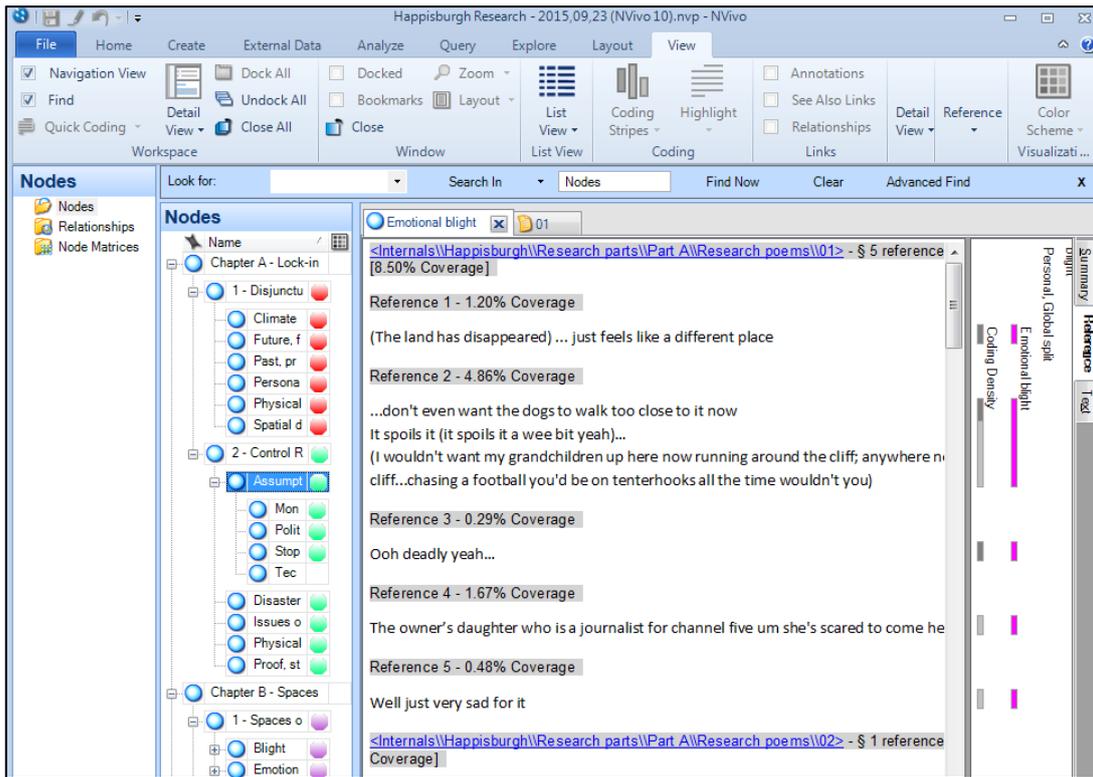
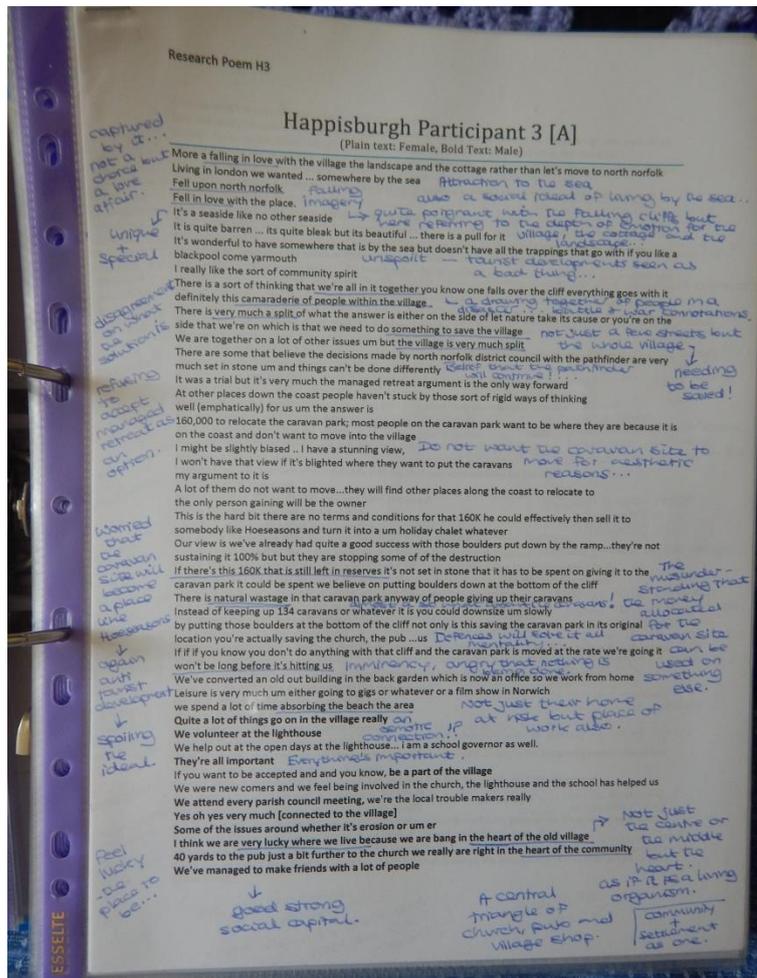


Figure 31: Coding process on NVivo



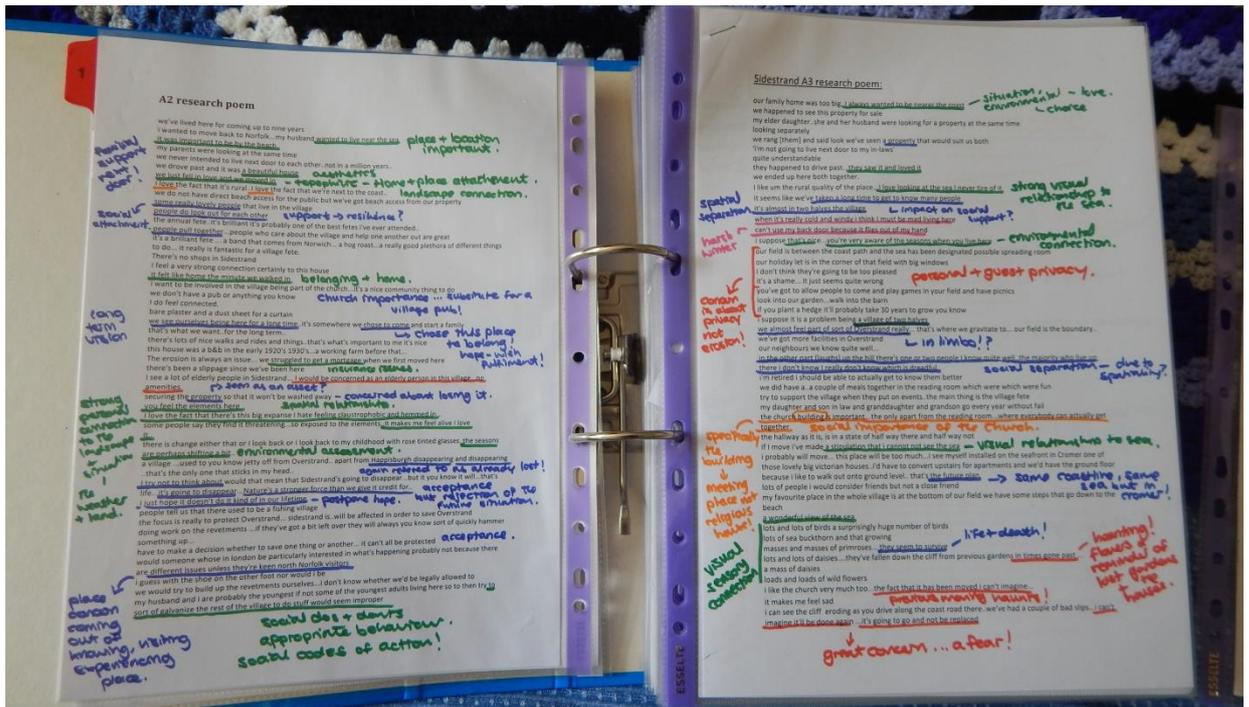


Figure 32: Examples of coding and cross referencing by hand

Reading through each transcript many times before making notes was undertaken to allow full immersion in the data (Elo & Kyngas, 2008). This process was repeated several times to describe all aspects of the content generating higher order headings through grouping similar content. Memos were written during this process and were utilised to describe themes and connections (Forman & Damschroder, 2008).

By returning to the data with fresh eyes and repeating the process the potential for misinterpretation was minimised.

Transcript sections were then selected from the interviews based on the coding. In order to do justice to the full content of the transcriptions these sections were then analysed thematically and transformed into research poems. This process, otherwise known as poetic representation maintains the thick description obtained through immersion in the interview data whilst reducing it to reveal the core content. This provides an emotive compression of data, as "poetry is the shortest emotional oath between two people" (Langer & Furman, 2004, p.2). This transformation is achieved through highlighting the descriptive, metaphoric, poetic or emotive clusters embedded in the quotations, revealing a particular theme or themes for evaluation

(Langer & Furman, 2004; MacNeil, 2000; Simons, 2009). These emotive clusters are concentrations of especially emotive language and imagery that provide insight into the human context behind that facts and social understandings.

This technique magnifies the lived experiences and is a powerful form of analysis, honouring the speakers own voice and making sense of a world that cannot be articulated through traditional research practice (Brady, 2007; Langer & Furman, 2004). This moreover translates the situation evocatively to the reader, “entering into the lives of things and people, dreams and events” (Kennelly, 1992, p.10), outlining the complexities of the situation and the need to include emotion and subjectivity in analysis of the situation. This process is receiving notice within several fields of academic research recently with a large body of work emerging (Lahman et al., 2010). The participants’ words were not altered, maintaining fidelity to the original data whilst achieving data reduction, evocative and faithful to the essence of the text (Furman et al., 2006; Szto et al., 2005). This process provides a different lens to understand the data (Sparkes et al., 2003) and is a powerful form of qualitative research. A method that is easily digestible yet preserves the depth and richness of content (Furman et al., 2006). This process is demonstrated in the excerpt below. Here the interview transcripts were written up and the key phrases that summarised the key message of each sentence were highlighted. Gradually the periphery was deleted to emphasise the imagery and repetition (Figure 33).

Happisburgh Participant 4 (male)	Happisburgh Participant 4 [A]
<p>Assistant: How long have you lived in this village? Participant: 6 years A: Why did you choose to come here? P: I came here to retire (laughs) I worked until I was 70 and I only lived at Houghton near Wroxham do you know where Wroxham is? and we lived there 20 years A: Do you have any positive or negative attributes of the village?</p> <p>(A very weird way of phrasing the question - could be confusing... meant to be from their perspectives what do they like and dislike about the village)</p> <p>P: it's a dead village (A: hmm) nothing here..if you take the church and the lighthouse out of the village there's nothing nothing there's nothing around no WI no nothing here A: What are the facilities in the village? P: (scoffs) there aren't any A: Where do you go for food? P: Stalham stalham or North Walsham A: Any other facilities? P: no well there's a football club and a cricket club and a bowls club and half of them don't live here who play more than half don't live here who play A: What is your connection to the village? P: I've got no previous connection to the village if that's what you mean</p> <p>(Again they have asked the wrong question - it is meant to be do they feel connected to the village!!! grr I explained this to the assistants twice....they obviously did not listen)</p> <p>A: Are you involved in any social groups, organisations or activities? P: no A: none at all?</p> <p>(some excerpts excluded as the assistants were a bit insensitive)</p> <p>P: well we belong to a friends and neighbours club which is an over 60 club but that's at Neters head (look up spelling) and we used to belong to it when we lived at Houghton so we belong to that we it's run twice a month and we sail we do holidays they do holidays but in this village there's nothing A: er so P: it's a holiday village more than anything you've got a campsite and a lot of the properties</p>	<p>I came here to retire It's a dead village Nothing here.. If you take the church and the lighthouse out of the village there's nothing No WI no nothing here There aren't any [facilities] There's a football club and a cricket club and a bowls club Half of them don't live here who play More than half don't live here who play In this village there's nothing It's a holiday village more than anything [Move?] no not really no it suits me it suits us [My daughters] they go where the work is They were here but they go where the work is Both live near Cambridge I worked in the building trade most of me life There was no pensions when I was in the building trade, there were no pensions until the late 80's The idiot thatcher come in and wrecked the economy It's a quite nice little village It's quiet in the winter It's just a pleasant quiet place One thing I do is the coast watch...that is voluntary it's a it's a um registered charity I do that once or twice a week There are not enough people who volunteer for it so we struggle for people They're losing a lot...a lot of properties have gone into the sea They knocked nine houses down It's all round that way Must be 2 or 3 metres gone The caravan site has had to move twelve caravans in the last year...cause the cliff's all gone People who live nearer you know that must be a bit of a worry for them They arranged the compensation for it this time They did get compensation for the 9 houses what went Climate change and all that...I don't think that's got anything to do with it Not [a risk] for me it isn't I won't be here that long Some people have definitely moved out the village because of the cliff They've gone further inland ... sold up and moved away</p>

Figure 33: Research Poem process

The interview data was furthermore analysed utilising NVivo software to identify key themes and patterns in the research.

3.3.2. Notebook Analysis

Imagery is thought to be very important especially in this visually dominated world (Lynn & Lea, 2005) and can be utilised to examine existential issues of identity and elusive feeling that are otherwise difficult to articulate in language (Spencer, 2011). As such the participants were encouraged to annotate their own work as only they knew what they were trying to represent and the meaning behind it; providing a lens for evaluation from their own perspective. The notebooks were then analysed by me using two complementary techniques. First of all textual analysis was employed. Words act as bridges through metaphor and analogy (Green & McFadden, 2007); as such these metaphors and analogies were investigated, exploring the interesting turn of phrase and the juxtaposition. Where participants have chosen written creation the technique of research poetry was employed. Visual creations on the other hand were analysed by exploiting knowledge's of shared visual language, metaphorical associations transported from one domain to another (Arnold, 2007; Rose, 2012).

In some cases this revealed multiple meanings; whereas others were cultural models commonly understand and used (Arnold, 2007). All image is language and the dichotomy of word and image is somewhat contrived (Mitchell, 1984). New discussions on the subject suggest that both picture and word are needed to fully understand a situation, used together "to create new forms of knowledge" (Back, 2009, p.209; Mitchell, 1984, p.18); a "productive combination of artistic and scientific process" (V.Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001, p.58) providing clarity and validation (V.Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001, p.59).

Connotations within images invite individual reminiscence conveying various messages (V.Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001) acting as mnemonic devices for events and cultural assumptions (Pink et al., 2004, p.87), "past layers, voices, and eras contained in each utterance" (Murray, 2009, p.30). These mnemonic devices can be anything that conveys a particular meaning or memory, be it individual or cultural. These cultural models (Arnold, 2007) and systems of representation (Mitchell, 1984, pp.18,21) were

analysed through investigation of the mental furniture of simile, idioms and metaphor expressing people's phantasies, wishes and experiences (V.Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001). Language is key in this analysis as symbol and image are virtually synonymous, active and ever changing (Murray, 2009); therefore symbology within identified coding will reflect the situation in its dynamism.

These creative works both written and visual were contextualised and analysed together with their annotations to be as true to the emotive construction and its meaning as possible. After individual analysis the whole data set was reappraised, writing down feelings and impressions and outlining connecting and contrasting patterns within the data set (V.Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001). Points in common and questions arising were then utilised to structure the image content, their denotive and connotative content. All of the above was then related back to the context and the implications discussed. Each picture, spider diagram et cetera of the notebooks was at first analysed for what was denoted and connoted pictorially as shown above. Transcripts were then made of the written content which were then analysed utilising the same thematic coding as the interviews.



B8:

Church Farmhouse is our family home and has been for the past 18 years. Our children grew up here and it continues to provide a social gathering place not only for our grown up children + their friends but also for our extended family.

We hold a large family Christmas party every year with up to fifty members of our extended family getting together. In this day and age, where families are spread throughout the country and indeed the world, church farmhouse provides a venue where traditional family connections and values can be maintained. We love our home and its location.

[Church farmhouse has an interesting history and connections with artists + sculptors Henry Moore, Barbara Hepworth, Ivan Hitchens and Ben Nicholson as well as the Bishop Stortford School.]

The Lighthouse is Happisburgh's USP (unique selling point), is famous as an historic landmark and attracts visitors to the village.

Likewise the church is part of the villages' heritage and whilst the numbers of those worshipping may have dropped over the years it continues to provide a community facility and tourist attraction that offers spectacular views across the countryside, and out to sea, from the top of its imposing tower.

[The school is a vital lifeline for the village encouraging families to stay/ settle here]. Parents and children making friends in the village, builds on community interaction helping to forge connections and friendships that last a lifetime.

The fish shop, pub, PO/shop + teashop provide services for those living in the village and are vital to give day visitors and those staying in holiday accommodation something to encourage them to

Comment [vjb191]: Family home & social gathering place – An important social and familial role – more than a building. The facility it provides, the role serves and memories it contains. Keeping the family together.

Comment [vjb192]: Connections and values they want to maintain – the house is the medium for this.

Comment [vjb193]: History and heritage

Comment [vjb194]: A business perspective.

Comment [vjb195]: Lighthouse is a landmark and a focus point. Attracting people and therefore money to the village.

Comment [vjb196]: The church is worth more than as merely a church. It is history and heritage, landmark and feature of the village. A community centre at the heart of the village.

Comment [vjb197]: Vital lifeline – connotations of somebody on life support – a village on life support?? Young families are the life blood the transfusion that is needed!

Comment [vjb198]: Community interaction – more than villages, friendships that last a lifetime!

Comment [vjb199]: Again vital services! Suggesting if they were lost or

Figure 34: Here depicted is the initial process conducted (Rachel's Notebook [HB], 2013): Notebook and annotated transcript.

The notebook transcripts were annotated separate from the pictures and drawings so as to not influence the analysis before then being coded in NVivo.

Sidestrand B1:
 (Enscribed by myself as they did not want to write or draw themselves) (NB-Identify participant's house on the main map)

sense of pride - of doing good.
 The place that matters to me is this house and garden, the church and churchyard. The church particularly. - strong attachment.

likes the Hall's role - the Hall is very important in Sidestrand.
 Next scale down pleased that Sidestrand Hall is a school for special needs
 The view is incredibly important to me and within that the row of pines.
 The whole place is a pleasure and a delight to me. I have found the place to live.
 All of it! *powerful topographic attachment* their ideal, chosen place. Much emphasis given to the view - a visual relationship with the environment. *change/ threat/ dangerous; to this.*

House as a scrap book, album, palimpsest of her family life - memories, love. - preservation of sacred ones.
 A very beautiful house with an interesting history in relation to the village.
 A great deal of my family life is in here. (connection)
 Significant in family connections
 I love the garden, the stretch of it, the freedom of it
 it is as it were a pleasure garden, and a vegetable garden too which I'm very fond of.
 Not just the house - garden too.
 The engine shed and the beer shed are now the engine shed and potting shed.
 The engine shed is a sun trap which I enjoy. *Enjoys the garden.*
 I love growing my own vegetables - connection to the environment?
 It's a pleasure to walk around laid out as it was by my husband. Quite a lot of my delight is that it was his project..ours but his doing it. *The garden: the produce of her late husband's work is somewhat of a memorial to him.*

The church was moved back from the sea in 1881 to prevent it falling into the sea. moved flint by flint. - evocative image but somewhat matter of fact
 It was a popular millionaire area here...ours were the Hoare family
 The church is a small friendly and pleasant building conventionally laid out. *↳ Extraordinary rendered ordinary.*

The village is dwindling and the church population is getting smaller. It's our basic meeting place. The main one really. *↳ sadness* *↳ importance of the*

Figure 35: Annotation by hand

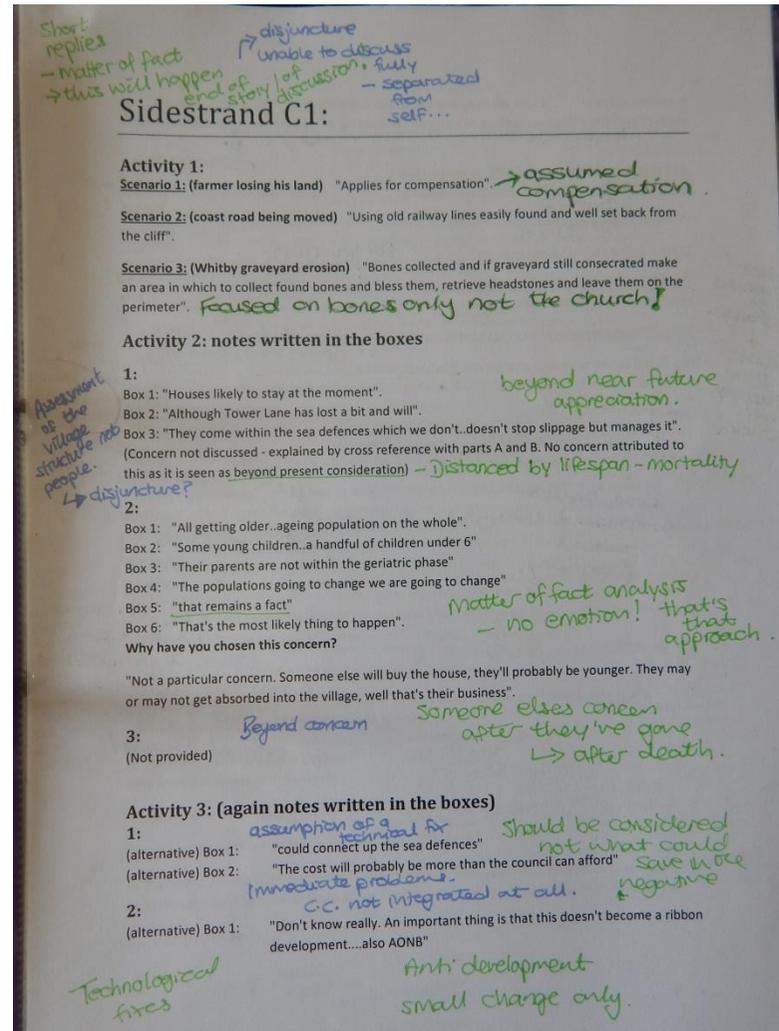
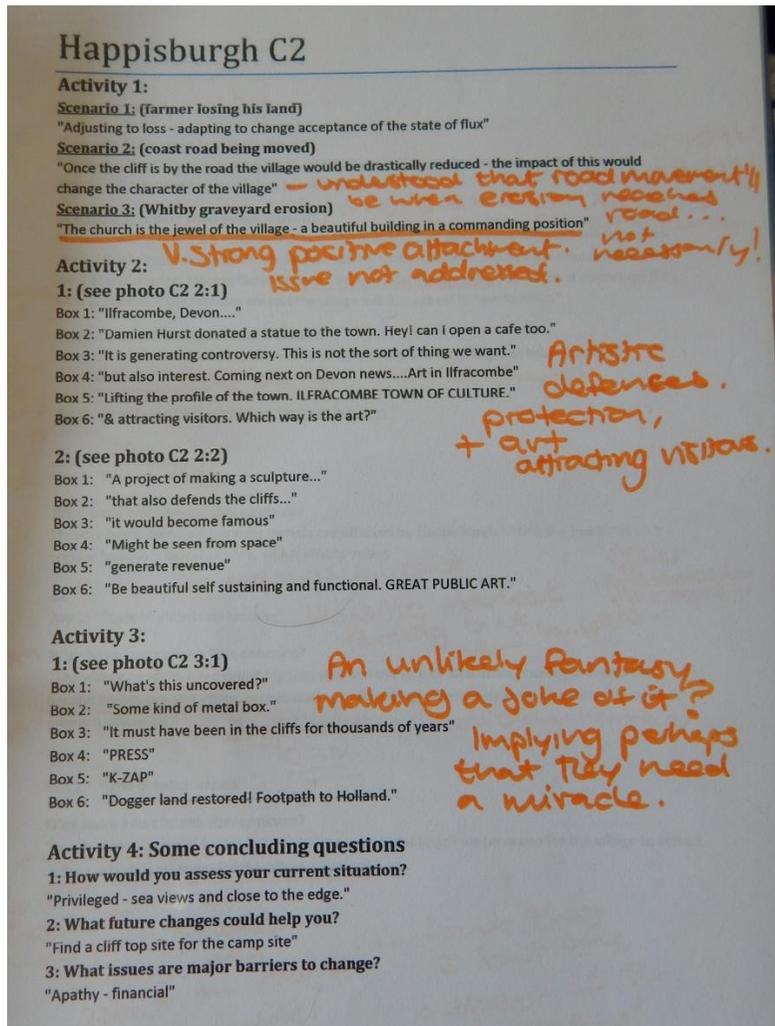


Figure 36: Annotation of Focus group observations and participant worksheets separate from the pictures

Finally the general themes emerging were drawn into a theme tree with their interconnections and overlaps interrogated. These new thematic headings created the basis for the three analysis chapters which follow here. Again using NVivo further coding was undertaken to draw key ideas together in thematic research poems.

3.4. DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Upon commencing this research the three objectives of ascertaining the current understanding of the situation, evaluating the emotional effects of current and anticipated change and loss and identifying the capacity for change from this understanding were outlined and targeted methodologies designed to access and evaluate these issues. Although these specific methodologies helped access information that may otherwise have been inaccessible, all three were in fact discussed in all three stages. It is important therefore to approach these case studies from a thematic perspective. Through NVivo coding of interview transcripts, notebooks and focus group worksheets, themes were identified for each objective. Furthermore concept mapping was utilised to draw the themes together and represent patterns and relationships in the data (Hennink et al., 2011, p.239) (Figure 37).



Figure 37: Initial phase of mapping the themes and relationships between topic

This was reimagined in reference to the original triangular theoretical framework (Figure 38). Section A) pertaining to lock-ins is categorised as disjuncture, control reflex and social ideals or imaginaries, section B) as disappearance of this ideal, spaces of anxiety, methods of coping, and compound effects and blight. Section C) is broken

down into; actions towards challenging the lock-ins, resistance to change, the continued effects of blight, and community (dis)unity and fragmentation that inhibit social action.

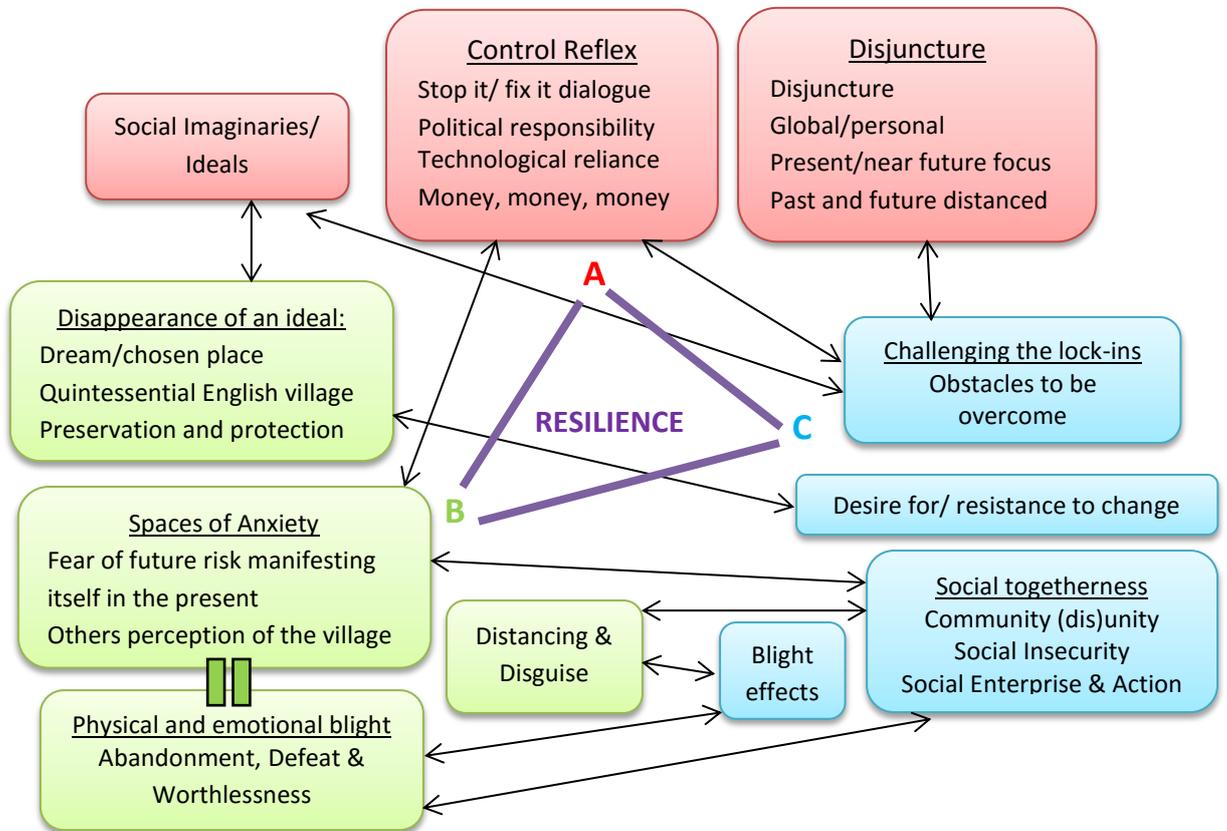


Figure 38: Revised diagram of interlinking themes.

All these themes interact and influence each other to impact resilience and are therefore held within the purple triangle of resilience in the diagram above. The initial objective to understand the position currently or A – ‘Staying as we are’, considers the lock-ins and assumptions that guide day to day and political decision making. This upon reflection in the field and inductive coding developed into the three categories coloured red above; social imaginaries or understanding, disjuncture and control reflex. Objective B – ‘Losing what we have’ was outlined as assessing the emotional effects of loss of home and place, even village settlement to the sea. This developed into four themes of; spaces of anxiety, physical and emotional blight, distancing and disguise, and the disappearance of an ideal. Completing the triangle objective C – understanding the ‘capacity for change’ from the current position also divided into four themes of; challenging lock-in, desire for/ resistance to change, social togetherness, and continuing blight effects. Although these objectives were

researched separate to achieve maximum participant response and sensitivity to the situation, all of the above themes were produced to varying extents in each methodological stage. The analysis chapters to follow therefore focus on the dominant themes of disjuncture, anxiety and the capacity for change whilst including the others in their discussion and evaluation.

The themes as such are not closed systems but a web of interconnected issues and effects that all combine to impact the resilience of the villages in question. This web as indicated above has many overlapping influences. The most obvious of these are that social understandings of how the world works influence the creation of social ideals and therefore also impact the disappearance of those ideals. Equally the loss of an ideal may reshape social understanding. This speaks to resilience, as it asks what is normal and if these ideals are good goals to have in order to be resilient. These understandings also influence challenging lock-in as change to maintain what was may not overcome the obstacles needing to be challenged. Another interaction is the impact of adaptive maintenance or 'control reflex' as I refer to it, maintaining lock-in and reinforcing current understandings. This reflex excludes any people and places that may no longer represent this understanding creating anxiety and spaces of anxiety.

Anxiety in turn affects social ability and willingness towards social action, the inaction likewise multiplying the anxiety. Threat to or the potential disappearance of an ideal creates resistance to change to preserve a pristine nostalgic version of the ideal. This fossilisation can lead to eventual loss in the end as change happens around it. Anxiety and blight effects exist in a potentially positive feedback loop where blight affects social togetherness and blight effects of no hope and no future. Disjuncture or the unease at a growing gap between social understanding and new experiences and information continues to challenge these understandings, lock-ins and ideals. These connections and many more besides are interrogated in the following analysis chapters.

3.5. POSITIONALITY

In any research it is necessary to separate the researcher from the research. I reflected upon my background and its potential influence at each stage of the research, including within the field diary to evaluate my reactions to the situation and the repeated statements and themes voiced by the participants. One clear area of influence is my years of study, providing me with an understanding that places become imbued with memories becoming a woven tapestry of present and past meaning, a monumental landscape with stories of place and people. As a result it was interesting to investigate this and see if these views are shared or simply a conceptual extrapolation of my own experiences. As a young adult in my late twenties I related well to the young people moving away and the plight of teenagers with nothing to do. Being unmarried and childless it could be said that I cannot relate to young families however many of my family of similar age to myself, are now engaged, married and now have young children. As a result of these relationships I assumed that people would be thinking into the future. Instead the future is made absent or otherwise solely negative. Blocking out any positive future is to block out hope and therefore no alternative path or anticipatory action can be taken.

Another issue brought to my attention by the international students I employed to assist with the fieldwork was my ethnicity. This is something I have not given much thought to even being in multicultural Leicester. My assistants being non-white regularly commented on how friendly and kind everyone was as if expecting otherwise. This is perhaps a reflection more of the city than the rural research locations. I myself matched the majority demographic of white British born citizens. It also occurred to be that my gender as a young female may have helped make me more approachable on the more emotional issues. However I suspect this to be more a matter of personality and empathy rather than gender.

Another realisation was that when asked by the villagers in each location where I was from I automatically introduced myself as being from Cambridge. This is perhaps a little odd as I have lived and studied in Leicester for over eight years to date. This could be due to the temporary rental situation having only bought a flat in Leicester after the majority of this thesis was already completed. Cambridge being where most of my

family is and where I grew up felt like the natural response to the question 'where are you from'. This response seemed to go down well with the locals perhaps regarding me as somewhat of a local. Here it could be argued that indeed I framed myself in this way to be accepted by the potential participants however I was not aware of any such decision. It could be an unconscious readjustment of my own position to the situation; however I also define myself in other discourses as being from Cambridge and East Anglian. I am very much aware whilst writing this that I joined a Facebook group back in my undergraduate years which prides itself in this identity stating; 'I'm not a northerner, I'm not a southerner, I am East Anglian! Perhaps there is a regional affiliation which remains strong even upon relocation for work and education.

Another way that I introduced myself was as a PhD researcher. This was met with a mixed reaction by the villagers. One reaction was that it was a welcome change to have more in depth research undertaken than the annual secondary school and A level projects. This was positive and perhaps encouraged a few more to participate. Alternatively it was assumed by some that I was looking at their defence situation and attached it to political debates. Stating firmly in the information leaflet that I was not political may alternatively have harmed the cause as the participants focus is very much on the issues as a political concern.

Moreover coming from a village myself, I have experience of village fetes, country and maypole dancing, parading with the boys and girls brigade, and playing last post for Remembrance Day as the solo bugler. Heritage and memorial are therefore important to me. This connection and its importance was personally and intellectually cemented during my undergraduate studying geography and archaeology together and realising the significant role monumental or memorial landscapes play in societies past and present; an archaeological perspective that makes me sympathetic to the loss of listed buildings that are part of the story of a place. The emotional outcry from changes within my own village has brought home the importance of monuments to attach our grief and memories to. As such I can, and do, empathise with the loss of cherished landscapes and the memories attached.

Moreover being Christian my village church has played a large role in my upbringing and in the various social activities I have been a part of, including; bringing people together, providing services for the elderly and the disabled, and holding fetes, jumble sales and the like that provide space and reasons for people to socialise. As such from my understanding the role of the church in a village or any community setting, is much more than purely religious. As a result of falling attendance my local church has had to stop doing the large meet and greets it used to out of monetary constraints. The school that used to be the source of the country and maypole dancing have now thrown away the old may pole over health and safety concerns with no intention of replacing it. It can be argued therefore that I have a strong sense of nostalgia for my own kind of traditional village scene.

Interestingly the assistants helping me with the Happisburgh Interviews held many varied opinions of the research and the village itself that reflected some of the most commonly held assumptions and reactions of the participants themselves despite being international students. Firstly, the same aesthetic appreciation was demonstrated stating that “I found the village very beautiful and close to nature” (Assistant [b]., 2013) and “one of the most beautiful places of my life” (Assistant [a]., 2013). The countryside life is idealized as well as buying into the idea of a typical traditional village, “the historical, lively and charming village” (Assistant [b]., 2013), outlining a stark “difference between a city and countryside” (Assistant [a]., 2013) alluding that the countryside is better. The history of the village and especially connections to the past and past generations is identified as important (Assistant [b]., 2013). Moreover Happisburgh is regarded as “a really good place to live, many less views can be seen like these in the world” (Assistant [a]., 2013). This is a world view suggesting that it is a good place not simply on the UK scale and by UK expectations. This is interestingly still a visual analysis referring to the aesthetics of the view. These ideals are perhaps picked up from statements by the locals or even more intriguingly through academic study assimilating British social perspectives. An interesting idea considering they are from Pakistan and Syria that are very different from Britain.

Through reflection in the field, on mine and my participant's reactions and statements I was able to disentangle my assumptions and feelings from theirs and detect any potential bias (Furman et al., 2006, p.3). This was undertaken in the form of a field journal recognising when values and emotions could interfere with understanding and influence outcomes (Simons & McCormack, 2007, p.11) and reflecting on observations, thoughts, feelings and emotions arising from the duration of the fieldwork (Simons, 2009, p.84). Note taking and photos were combined with poetic reflection on impressions, feelings and points of interest. This poetic reflection is an emerging technique known as field poetry (Lahman et al., 2010; Langer & Furman, 2004) it does not follow any set conventions but simply is an outpouring of thought. Relevant sections of these journal reflections have been utilised throughout this thesis to demonstrate this process and provide another dimension to the data. I have come to the conclusion that I share many common positions with the participants of both case study villages and therefore similar positionalities. Perhaps social and community resilience is less about what makes us behave differently but in fact how we are similar.

3.6. ETHICS

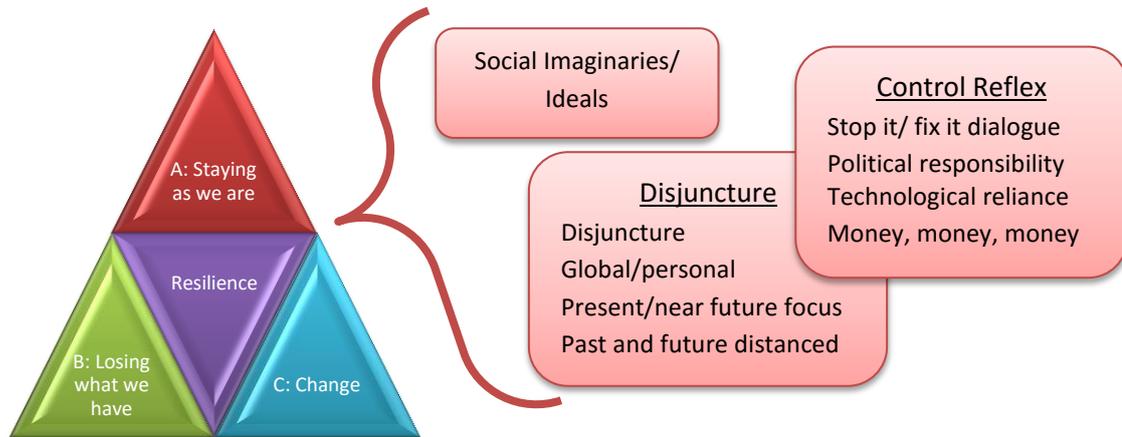
Informed written process consent was obtained whereby the participants agreed to participate in all three stages of the research. Permissions and involvement were freely given and could be withdrawn at any point without consequence. There was some potential for harm as it highlighted areas and aspects at risk from the coastal change beyond the obvious. However these themes and aspects were widely understood locally, with emerging understanding elsewhere and as such the harm and consequence of the knowledge was already there. The harm was not therefore introduced by this research. By framing the issue within resilience and seeking possible solutions to the problems the research addressed these issues of harm, potentially mitigating the situation. Should any participant have been affected by the discussions however, relevant contacts and information were provided for them. Confidentiality was provided in the handling of the recorded interviews and the notebooks. The interview recordings were transcribed as soon as possible. The data from the recorder was transferred into a secure password protected file on a laptop and kept for the

duration of the research should there have been a later query. The transcripts were also kept for the period of the research, for 3 years after collection. Participants upon write up were allocated pseudonyms to assure their anonymity (see: Appendices).

Permission was secured for the use of quotes, photocopies or photographs of created works. The participants were provided with a summary of the inferences made from their contributions, returning their works to them and thanking them for their participation. Showing gratitude and respect for the participants and acknowledging that it may have been difficult. The emotional aspects of the research were undertaken in the form of the notebooks to minimise harm to the participants and providing an easier non-threatening way to discuss their feelings about the situation. The constant process of self-evaluation by the participants increased the accuracy, justness and fairness of how the community and the problems are represented. This reduced the risk of misinterpretation and misrepresentation of the participants comments, therefore minimising harm as "participants should not feel let down, 'at risk', or disempowered when they see in written text experiences closely shared with you in the field" (Simons, 2009, p.97).

It was a collaborative and participatory process with participants involved and respected, given a voice with the findings validated by the participants to further minimise misrepresentation and ensure accuracy of the results. The data was securely password protected with the notebooks kept in a locked draw until returned by registered post to the participants. Any further use of data will be subject to additional consent. Interviews were booked in advance after leafleting to avoid inconveniencing the participants. There was potential conflict due to the political aspects of the situation. It was stated clearly on the information sheet provided, the process, aims and objectives of the research as well as what the research cannot achieve. This attempted to avoid the community believing I have more power than I do and seeking to influence politics.

Chapter 4. DISJUNCTURE



4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter relating to ‘staying as we are’ (A) presents the following theories for discussion; social imaginaries and their importance, the concept of disjuncture, and a re-imagination of adaptive maintenance as ‘control reflex’. In brief **social imaginaries** are understandings and attitudes that are embedded within a society becoming ‘the norm’; influencing behaviour and action, as well as values and knowledge of what is and should be. Two such understandings historically were the belief that the world was flat and that the earth was the centre of the universe. These understandings although now disregarded were very powerful beliefs and any who contradicted these understandings were branded heretics. Not all understandings are so completely rewritten, creating a layered and often contradictory social knowledge; a palimpsest with multiple layers under and over each other.

In times of crisis and the introduction of new knowledges and understandings, or ways of understanding the world and our place in it, become questioned and unsettled. This I discuss as **‘Disjuncture’** which, as discussed in the literature review, rather than the gap between lay understanding and expert, is the uneasy juxtaposition of contradicting understandings that unsettles the known ‘normal’. Disjuncture furthermore recognises the impact preservation of old norms that are no longer sustainable in support of the status quo. Within this the social understandings of control and mastery over nature, and bounce back ideas of return and repair, encourage the dismissal of this uneasy juxtaposition in the maintenance of, or re-

achievement of normality. I suggest that these Stop it/fix it tendencies discovered in each village represent this pattern of bounce back persistence or adaptive maintenance seeking preservation and continuance of the status quo in energy, social behaviour, and in governance. This I refer to as **'control reflex'** as it is a social reaction to change that reaffirms the understandings of power and control that currently exist.

Distancing and disjuncture are utilised to describe and understand inaction in response to not only global environmental change but social and economic change also. This has in the past been studied as denial however the concept of distancing better reflects the social as well as the psychological responses to change. This distancing is based on current social understandings and as such we might be considered socially blind to the 'elephant in the room' (Zerubavel, 2006). This alone fails to consider the event whereby lock-in and social understandings are brought into question by new experiences. This is where disjuncture comes in as dominant understandings are ruptured (Kennet & Lendvai, 2014; Evan & Reid, 2014; Gibson et al., 2015).

As events unfold at the local level to question commonly held understandings causing disjuncture and anxiety, this does not transfer to all scales. Disjuncture initiated from erosion and the incidence of storm surges first affects those immediately witnessing the change and loss caused. Others in the same village may not necessarily feel the same disjuncture dependent upon their perceived distance either measured or temporal from the changes. This distance and continued distancing separates other scales, cities inland, and regional and central government from dealing with disjuncture. Disjuncture and the extent of entrenched lock-in are therefore revealed at the coast where multiple understandings are challenged by environmental change.

East Anglia as a whole is the most socially isolated and least urbanised region in the UK, and as such changes to a few rural isolated villages aren't thought important, enabling them to be distanced, the threat controlled and the status quo remain unchanged. This separation causes marginalisation and exclusion as growing disjuncture and anxiety caused goes under-noticed and not dealt with, causing feelings of abandonment that exacerbate emotional and social concerns of the affected villages. This emotional effect is considered in chapter five of this thesis. Unfortunately

for disjuncture to be felt at the other scales one of two scenarios is needed, social action on a large scale (peaceful and/ or violent), or extreme loss or disaster.

Disjuncture in and of itself is not a bad thing, but simply demonstrates a gap between what was and what is or could be, or a different understanding. This can lead to anxiety and fear at the changes, or it could make way for innovation and new ways of thinking and doing. Disjuncture is the advent of innovation, as the choice to remain the same or change is necessary. 'Staying as we are' or business as usual in a changing world will only remain possible for so long. Disjuncture either intentional or initiated though environmental change or war can perform as a catalyst for transformative adaptation towards bounce forward resilience.

The following discussion elucidates all these theories discussing the understandings and attitudes discovered in each village with incorporation of appropriate empirical data.

4.2. EMPIRICAL DATA IN CONTEXT

Here I demonstrate this data in the context of each case study and briefly introduce the emergent concepts pertinent to this section.

Sidestrand is a linear settlement set back from the sea by arable farmland. This farmland is constantly eroded in a complex landsliding system. Very soft clays, ooze water forming streams on the beach and ponds halfway down the cliff. This collapsing landscape (b & c) is dramatic emphasised by a recent landslide that has taken a large section of field (a & e), along with plough lines truncated at the jagged horizon (f & d).





Figure 39: Sidstrand fieldwork photos (Brown, Unpublished)

The data from the interview transcripts, coding and research poems was rich and varied. Many key themes are repeated, including the idea that erosion can be stopped or fixed; constant statements that the participants will be dead before anything happens; a seeming inability to reconcile separately understood processes with the bigger picture; continual application of past erosion and storm surge understandings and rates to present and future changes; and selective remembrance of chosen histories.

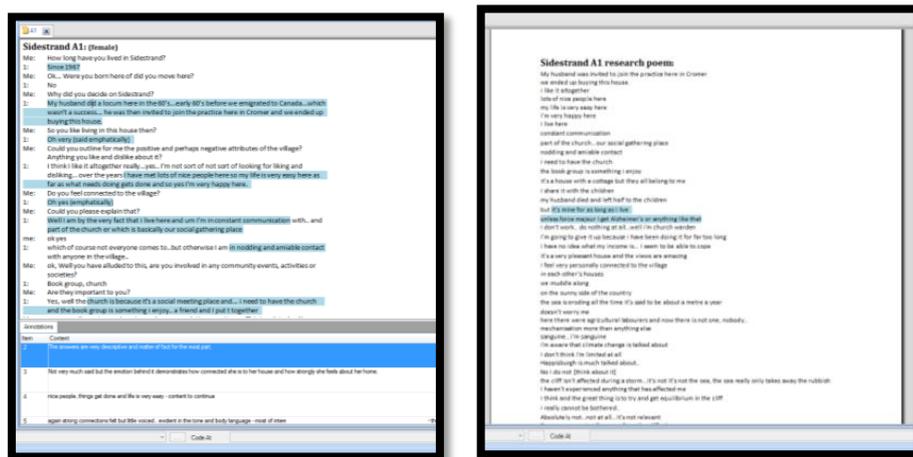


Figure 40: Interview analysis process (Betty’s Interview [SA], 2013)

The participants’ notebooks were also very fruitful in spider diagram, writing and illustration. Each participant in their notebooks contradicted statements made in the interviews, and reaffirmed the above themes.

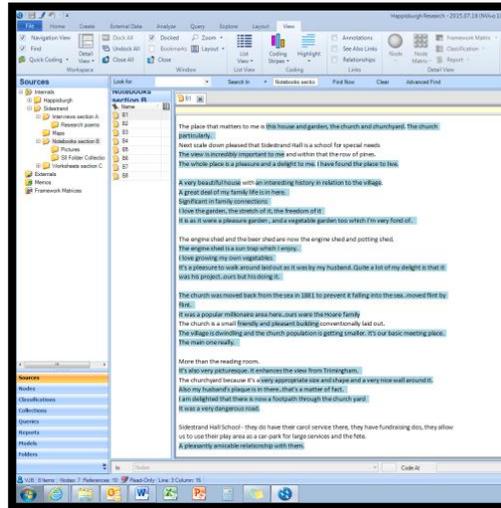


Figure 41: Transcript of written notebook sections for coding (Betty’s Notebook [SB], 2013)

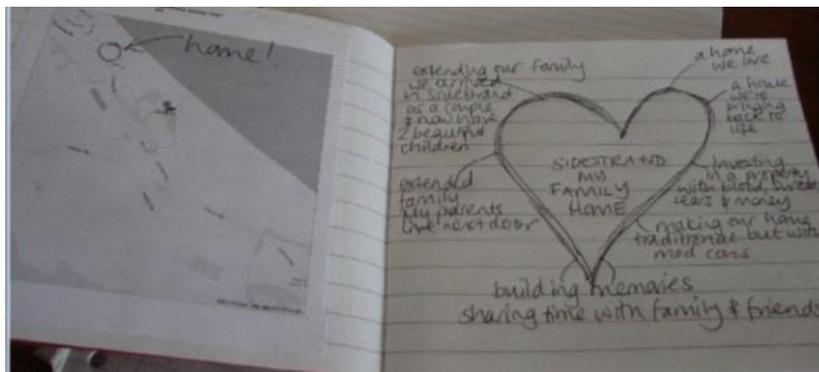


Figure 42: Notebook photo [a] (Caroline’s Notebook [SB], 2013)

This heart centred spider diagram for instance discusses almost every aspect of life in Sidestrand apart from the cliffs and the erosion.



Figure 43: Notebook photos [b] & [c] (Caroline’s Notebook [SB], 2013)

These two pictures drawn by Caroline discuss activities in relation to the sea but neglect the cliffs in drawing and annotation.



Figure 44: Photo [a] (Silvia's Notebook [SB], 2013)

Silvia furthermore discusses her love of the sea view and draws a picture of her view. This is a truncated view with no mention or depiction of the cliffs included.

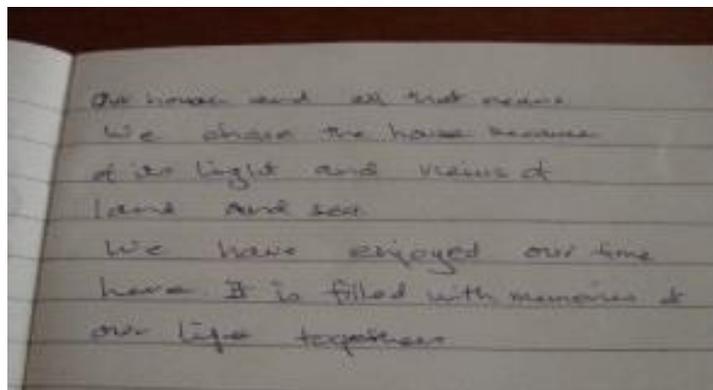


Figure 45: Notebook photo [d] (Carol & Richard's Notebook [SB], 2013)

Carol and Richard also wrote only of the view suggesting a very visual relationship with the landscape and seascape. These are just a few key excerpts. Please see appendices for the full array of notebook responses. Moreover the focus group worksheets demonstrated continued application of these ideas to future expectations for the village.

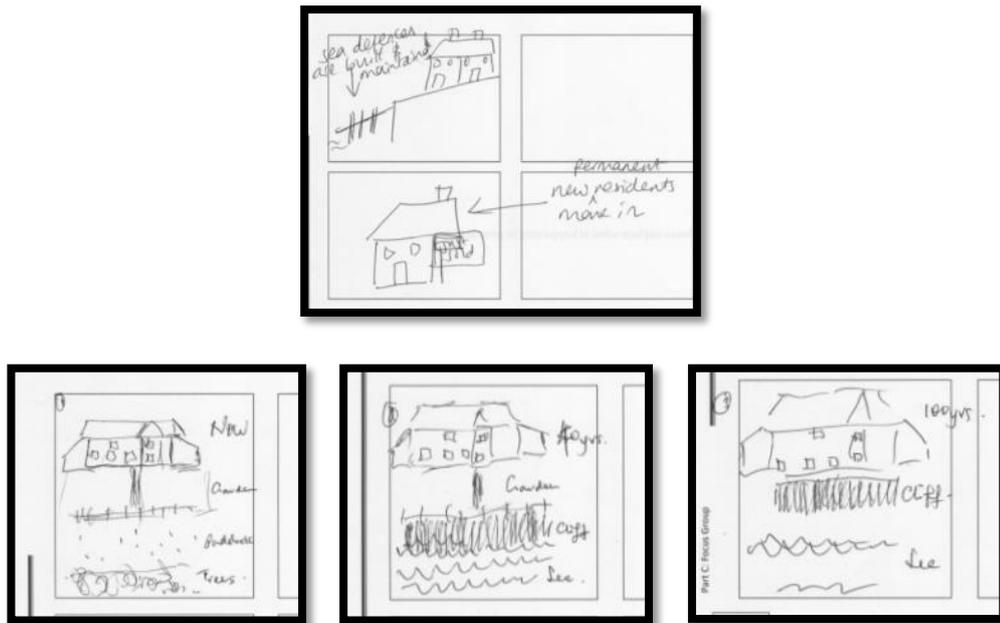


Figure 46: Focus Group Activity 2 (Caroline's Worksheet [SC], 2013)

To summarise, key understandings identified in Sidestrand were; that natural occurrences are slow placing nature on a scale outside and beyond society; that every change is beyond everyone's lifetime's even grandchildren; that change is spatially and temporally elsewhere. Within this historic rates of erosion are continuously applied to future expected erosion as well as understandings of sea level and wave action. It is further assumed that given the height of the cliffs, sea level rise and storm surges have no or little impact, believing they only pertain to flooding. This and repeated suggestion that the erosion is caused by water from the midlands, demonstrates a failure to integrate otherwise good understandings of the physical processes with previously held knowledge. Sidestrand furthermore has a preoccupation with a selectively chosen history as demonstrated through the exhibition of the village history society (Ron's Interview [HA], 2013). Resulting from the assumption that erosion is natural and separate, participants were seemingly unable to discuss personal concerns in conjunction with global environmental issues. Moreover, each participant suggested the erosion was worse elsewhere in the village, contradicting each other and themselves to distance the threat. Another key finding was the perpetual tendency towards stopping or fixing the erosion assuming that the problem is political, monetary, engineering or all of the above.

Happisburgh alternatively is a larger nucleated settlement again surrounded by farmland, identified by its two most prominent landmarks; its church and lighthouse (d). As with Sidestrans this farmland is being eroded however in Happisburgh houses, a hotel and café, and several rows of caravans have already been lost to the sea. Having already visited the village 2 years prior to this fieldwork I was astonished to see the changes to the coastline. The sandy bay in photo d) was not as deep, and the concrete blocks in photo b) were stairs attached to the cliff edge that I and many others used to access the beach.



Figure 47: Happisburgh Fieldwork photos (Brown, Unpublished)

The key understandings identified in Happisburgh were surprisingly similar to Sidestrans, given their differences in size and experience of erosion. Happisburgh residents also believed the changes were beyond their lifetimes although they are not as confident about their grandchildren. Selective histories were again focused upon and sought to be preserved as heritage important to the village identity. The grade 1 listed church (a), 16th century coaching inn, now village pub (b), 17th century lighthouse still in working order (c), a Victorian school (d), art deco manor house (e), and monastery are talked about often, largely in the belief that no one will allow anything to happen to them, inferring safety (Figure 48).

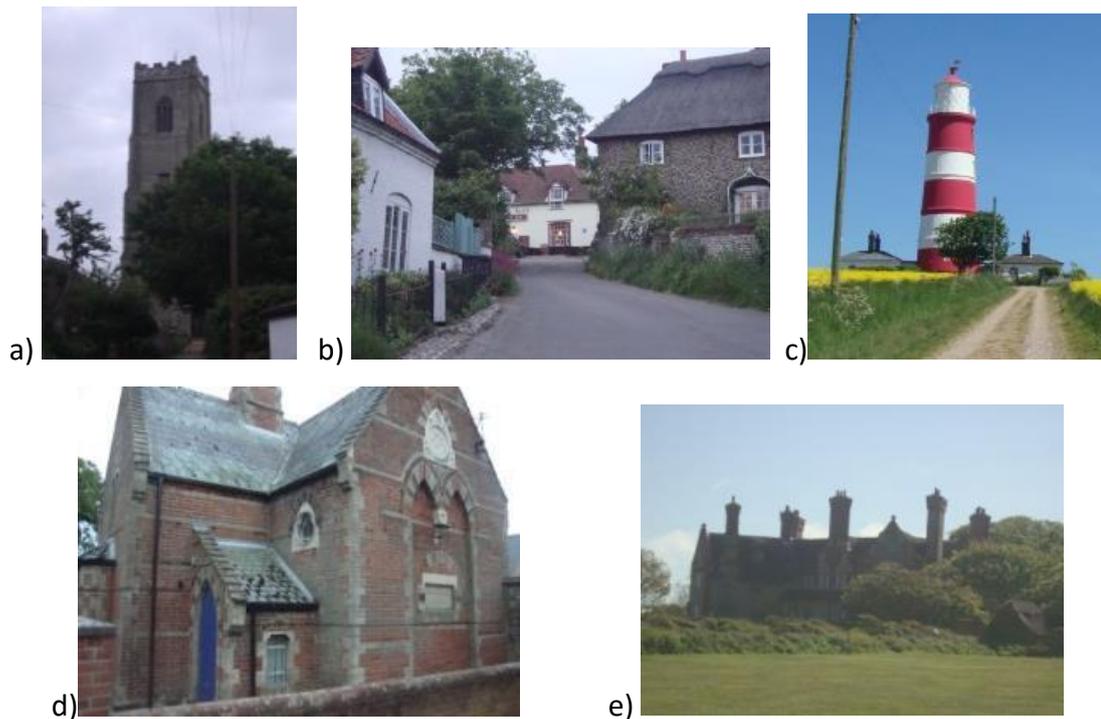


Figure 48: Fieldwork photos of Happisburghs historic buildings

Similar to Sidestrand the present personal concerns of the participants were never discussed in conjunction with global concerns despite some gentle questioning. The tendency towards stop it/ fix it understandings exhibited in Sidestrand was even stronger in Happisburgh with almost every participant demanding better defences and engineering works assuming that control is possible. Despite myriad anecdotes provided about their erosion and storm experiences serious change to the village is anticipated as a future occurrence; one that will largely effect elsewhere.

4.3. DISTANCE, DISJUNCTURE & DISTANCING

4.3.1. Distance and Distancing

The threat of climate change and any challenge to accepted understanding was distanced in various ways by the villagers. To discuss this it is imperative to review the concept of 'distance'. Distance has long been thought a guiding principle of geography, with Watson (1955) referring to it as a 'discipline in distance'. The focus traditionally has been upon measured distance as the factual extent of something or other, or the social aspects of economics; and distance based on wealth and class (Watson, 1955). This understanding is very much based on a bounded awareness of space. As discussed in the literature review bounded space is said by some to no longer exist, boundaries are perceived as permeable, osmotic and such like metaphors for the transference of people and influence between spaces (Holloway et al., 2003). Such reconceptualizations of distance have often been seen to contribute to the 'end of geography' (O'Brien, 1992); the 'death of distance' (Cairncross, 2001); and the creation of a 'flat world' (Friedman, 2006).

Distance however has always been seen as "one of the key building blocks of human geography" (Pirie, 2009, p.1). The concept has received new life in some areas of geography including economic geography (Rodriguez-Pose, 2011) and energy production and consumption (Luna, 2008). Distance is increasingly understood in relation to 'distanciation', defined as "the process of distancing or separating places, people, or things from one another" (Pirie, 2009, p.15). This conceptual framework of separation and connection can be seen as an extension of social exclusionary practice in separating 'undesirables' from the rest of society (Agier, 2011; Beiina, 2003) and social distance representing class based boundaries (Watson, 1955, p.9). This social approach recognises the diminishing value of actual measured distance. The same process brings other events and issues closer influencing understandings of proximity both spatially and temporally.

Distance is also an idea (Pirie, 2009) and can be conceptualised in a variety of ways beyond simple separation. These alternative conceptions of distance are: *Measured or traditional Geographical distance* discussed in terms of metres, miles, nanoseconds

and other such measures; *Relative distance* 'measured' by time in the car or on the train, or the number of stops on the tube; *Cognitive Distance* is imagined distance based on mental maps of associated importance; last is *Affective or Emotional Distance*, felt distance that is similar to the mental maps of cognitive distance but with emotional value. Organisational and institutional distances are examples of this variety, measuring the inter-dependencies among firms and the existence or absence of similar institutions in the area respectively (Rodriguez-Pose, 2011, p.3). The concept of distance can aid the analysis of climate change and coastal erosion in the context of these vulnerable communities, as when the distance to the perceived threat becomes too close for comfort new barriers are created both spatial and temporal.

4.3.2. Social understanding: Palimpsests of practice in doing and thinking

The reasoning for such separation or distancing is dependent upon varied assumptions. Whether something is deemed to be undesirable or unseemly, mentally unimportant and so on, depends on social understandings or imaginaries. Social imaginaries, shared and incorporated by individuals in society, define what knowledge and information is, what relevance is given to it and what response is expected (Wright et al., 2013, p.3), forming part of a shared social understanding. This shared understanding becomes known as 'the norm' or normality. We now have a new 'elephant in the room': Climate Change (Zerubavel, 2006).

Our shared understanding includes multiple palimpsests of past understanding and practice. The fundamentals of space and time are themselves "constituted by, as well as constitutive of, social relations and practices" (Harvey, 1996, p.207). In the context of climate change therefore the concepts of risk, danger and whether to be concerned or not about events, are "essentially a matter of what society decides" (Schellnhuber et al., 2006, p.3). In direct relation to my research; nature-society dichotomies, town and country separation, sea and land relationships and climate change, all display aspects of distancing through communally accepted knowledge's, behaviours and social norms.

It is not always what is 'true' which affects people's understandings and approach to the world but what is believed to be so, what they understand to be true (Johnson &

Sherman, 1990, p.16). Social and cultural knowledge are guided by centuries of understandings that have not been surpassed or rejected but simply become part of a palimpsest of understanding that continues to influence us today. Social change can be very slow and have much inertia (Frank, 2010). The tendency to categorise and segregate issues and concerns historically is reflected strongly in policy documents and even academic papers and reports that claim interdisciplinary collaboration.

4.3.3. Disjuncture

When these social norms and subsequent segregation of concerns are challenged by new experiences and events, there is personal, social and institutional conflict. Such conflict can lead to the assimilation of new knowledge and the alteration of the shared understandings to accept that new information. However there are instances where the new information is rejected in favour of the norm. This maintenance of multiple conflicting understandings within the same context leads to disjuncture. Disjuncture as discussed in the literature review refers to the contradiction and jarring juxtaposition of new events, understandings and experiences with that which has been commonly understood. Disjuncture exists at every level of social interaction. Disjuncture allows different narratives at different levels leading to many contradictory narratives. Multiple narratives based on individual, social and other concerns are not uncommon. This becomes a concern where new experiences and events reveal this fractured reality and the extent of conflicting narratives threatening to disable the social norms and reality perceived. This confusion will inevitably lead to emotional stress when one or more concerns at different levels come to pass.

Should these concerns occur simultaneously there is no plan for multiple threats from different time frames and assumed rules happening at the same time. When I refer to social norms and knowledge's this does not only refer to western mainstream capitalist norms but any and all social memory that sets up a relationship with the environment or a way of life that is unsustainable. That is to say that what was once the norm and has previously been sustainable is no longer the same, thus becoming unsustainable. Any socially embedded understanding or behaviour upon experiencing new events can lead to disjuncture and the desire to return to order and control. A

good example of this negative social memory and embedded behaviours is Easter Island where in a changing climate that restricted the growth of trees on the island, the ceremonial buildings of icons required large scale deforestation (Orlove, 2005).

The participants' interviews, notebook reflection and focus group worksheets clearly reflect this confusion. As with any perceived taboo or conflict to be avoided disjuncture is obvious by its complete silence. The participants are aware of the block and the aspects that need to be faced, but find it difficult to speak about it. The participants are aware of the disjuncture and actively reinstate the accepted norms within their interviews once it is challenged (see later discussion). This behaviour does not happen once or twice but frequently. This perhaps suggests that they are more and more aware of the disjuncture and that it is getting harder to ignore. This awareness and actively working to cover up the disjuncture demonstrates the sociality of disjuncture whereby there is mutual tacit agreement within and between threatened communities to maintain the social norms and desired shared understandings.

Distancing or denial?

Distancing can be understood as a type of denial. Denial is often described as a psychological act of hiding from something that is too difficult or scary to confront, that denial is something that is chosen (Kenrick, 2013; Weintrobe, 2013). These structures and practices affect resilience in vulnerable coastal villages and all social levels globally. In this instance once the initial distancing and disjuncture are realised further forms of distancing are then employed to reinstate the comfortable framework of distance. This is discussed in detail in the sections to follow. This form of denial has been referred to as social conspiracy (Washington & Cook, 2011, p.2). Denial is as old as humanity, and possibly nobody is free from it (Zerubavel, 2006) but cannot be deemed solely psychological. The concept of distancing will be utilised henceforth as it better reflects the social and well as the psychological responses to threat.

The communities in this study are not 'in denial' and it is definitely not a case of ignorance or information deficit, as so often claimed (Washington & Cook, 2011). Locked-in social norms combined with the distancing of disjuncture upon realisation of conflict, make up a societal understanding that impacts upon the resilience of both

communities. We are perhaps as Zerubavel (2006) discusses conditioned not to see 'the elephant in the room'; to intentionally, but not wholly on purpose, fail to connect the dots. Disjuncture and distancing is a product of society but not necessarily those that are now exhibiting it, forming part of a palimpsest of practice and thinking that shapes understanding. In this case we may have an inkling of the deception emerging in the form of disjuncture, however it is not created on purpose. Kenrick (2013) refers to this phenomenon as 'collective denial'; the distancing of the environments limits to practices of resource exploitation and extravagant waste generation. Thematic analysis of the interviews, notebooks and participant worksheets outlined three key forms of distancing; two track thinking; spatial distancing and division; and temporal distancing and division. In the following sections these distancing techniques are explored utilising quotes and research poetry.

Two-track thinking: One world, two perceptions.

One overarching behavioural pattern in both case studies is two track thinking. Two track thinking is the dichotomy of short term personal and individual futures, and longer term global environmental futures (Threadgold, 2012). This separation is normalised (Threadgold, 2012), so that to discuss these separated topics together becomes almost taboo. The tendency to distance even thinking of climate change is exemplified in general discussion on the topic; "distant in both time and space, affecting more vulnerable people and places elsewhere, or future generations" (Lorenzoni & Hulme, 2009, p.3) and "less serious' and 'less dangerous' to themselves than to other people" (O'Neill, 2009, p.8). Because of this removal of self from the climate change equation people often dismiss the likelihood of being personally effected (Lorenzoni & Hulme, 2009, p.3). This removal is in part due to people's values and concerns, perceptions, assumptions, and world views which influence how people interpret events both in occurrence and anticipation, and ultimately how they act or indeed if they act (see: Archer, 2007). This normalisation and 'little picture thinking' views climate change in compartmentalised terms with no integration. Sea level rise, storm surges, erosion and changes to precipitation and wind are all researched and discussed in isolation, leaving any knock-on effects and indirect impacts generally

unconsidered (Davidson, 2012, p.18). This separation is represented in the commonly known dichotomy of nature and society. This is expanded upon later in this chapter.

On the one hand change is assumed to be slow, and that nature will adapt and change to support humanity (see: Davidson, 2012). Climate change as such is perceived to be impersonal and distant. Indeed climate change is de-problematized making its scale seem smaller or emphasising the time lapse before events (Hamilton, 2010, p.5). The participants reflect a wider abstraction of climate change whereby it solely relates to CO₂; a threat that is intangible and disconnected from the everyday (Swyngedouw, 2011, p.4). This understanding is demonstrated in the diagram below where nature is elsewhere in time and space (Figure 49).

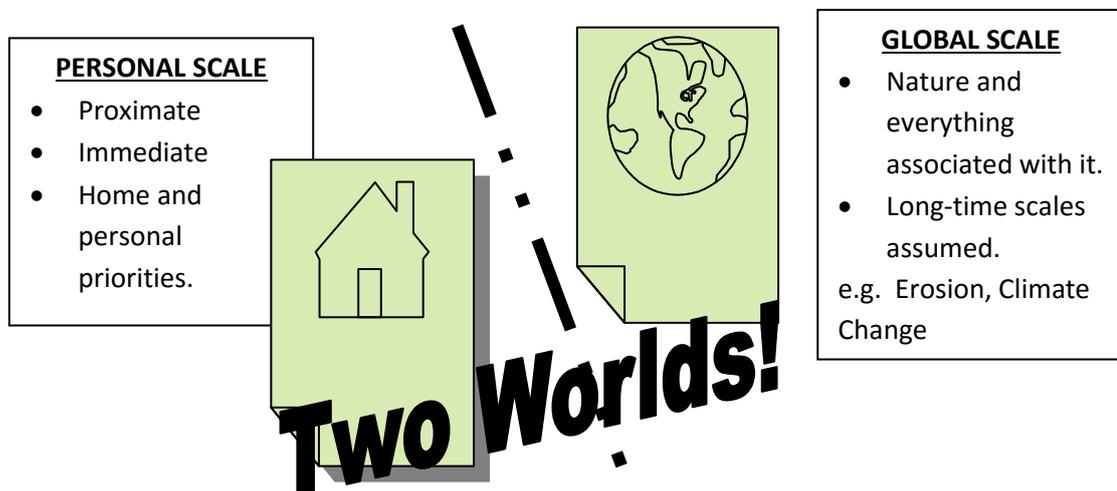


Figure 49: Diagram representing the disjuncture of two track thinking.

The term 'natural' is regarded by the participants as almost synonymous with slow onset gradual change to the point where it is dismissed as nothing to worry about. Examples include statements such as; "it's nature...the way it goes" (Elizabeth's Interview [HA]., 2013), "just nature isn't it" (Samuel & Lyn's Interview [SA]., 2013) and "let nature take its course. I'm unlikely to be rushing down the cliff" (Ron's Notebook [SA]., 2013). Change and nature itself is assumed to be slow acting, on its own timescale, with any process categorised as natural assumed to be gradual and removed. To the point where land loss is both accepted and dismissed, a natural occurrence removed from the here and now as the scale of natural events somehow places them on a larger far off scale of change (Reginald's Notebook [HB]., 2013). In assuming erosion is a slow onset threat it is dismissed as nothing to worry about as

opposed to flooding which is considered more immediate and as such dangerous, with storm surges here causing erosion whereas down there is causes flooding; "it's a slightly different thing" (Simon's Interview [HA]., 2013).

Cycles of nature are discussed in relation to plants and especially primroses but there is no mention of erosion (Silvia's Notebook [SB]., 2013). This is discussed more in disjuncture to the human settlement and the participants themselves. This separation of nature, including the processes of erosion, is exemplified by the simple act of spending lots of money renovating housing 100 yards from an eroding cliff edge (Thomas's Interview [SA]., 2013). It is a message that it's nothing to worry about, it's not going to reach here for years; referring again to a '*future, future*', where the number of years is assumed to be many. Climate change itself is for the most part seen as a natural occurrence by many of the participants and as such is ascribed these same characteristics as slow onset, removed and distant. Any connection with humans affecting the climate is dismissed as absurd, "nothing to do with cars puffing out smoke" (Thomas's Interview [SA]., 2013), and any change we notice is simply "because we can [now] measure it" (Thomas's Interview [SA]., 2013).

This causes specific disjuncture between distant separate nature and personal/ social issues, the 'forces of nature' unstoppable but bearing little relevance on more immediate concerns such as the protection of jobs and property (Rachel's Notebook [HB], 2013). "Climate change and all that...I don't think that's got anything to do with it" (Ben's Interview [HA]., 2013). "I don't think climates got a lot to do with it really" (Ben's Interview [HA]., 2013). Fitting in with "general ideas about human insignificance" (Graybill, 2013, p.13) and the belief that "nature is a force too large to be manipulated extensively by humans" (Graybill, 2013, p.12). Falling house prices and other local effects are seen to occur when this distancing cannot be maintained causing the villages too to be distanced (Figure 50).

*"I don't think that has anything to do with it AT ALL.
 It's just the way things have changed;
 It's got nothing to do with what anybody does.
 I don't think it's got anything to do with what do they call it footprint and all that
 nonsense" (Matt & Beth's Interview [HA]., 2013).
 "When it comes down to it the world is going to decide what it's going to do anyway,
 No matter what we do" (Simon's Interview [HA]., 2013),
 "We're hardly here at all really aren't we?
 It's the blink of an eye that we've been here" (Samuel & Lyn's Interview [SA]., 2013),
 "The planet can look after itself" (Willow's worksheet [HC]., 2013).*

Figure 50: Research Poem created from this theme

This dichotomy between nature and society (Braun & Castree, 1998) leads to two track thinking. This is uniquely demonstrated in the phrase "it's just a nick nick nick away, It's gradual, it's nature" (Emma's Interview [HA]., 2013) simultaneously immediate and dismissed as gradual. Global concerns over the earth's axis tilting (Sarah's Interview [HA]., 2013) and the effect of arctic melting on the function of the Gulf Stream (Samuel & Lyn's Interview [SA]., 2013) are separated from other concerns. For instance one participant states "I don't think [climate change] affects us greatly you know. It's affecting everywhere in the world isn't it" (Kate's Interview [HA]., 2013). This is special distancing whereby by everywhere the participant means elsewhere. The immediate bubble is further left out at the regional level stating their concerns that "it will flood the Broads and then on to Norwich" (Reginald's Worksheet [HC]., 2013) and they are "sort of worried, [but] not so much for us but well for the general area" (Tracy's Interview [HA]., 2013).

Change is accepted on longer timescales but not in the immediate personal short term. The loss of Happisburgh is assessed through a disconnect whereby its loss would flood the Broads but its consequences are discussed as if the residents would still be going from Happisburgh to the shops and the vets (Willow's Worksheet [HC]., 2013). It is as if the personal cannot be considered alongside broader terrible environmental impacts. The loss of villages to the sea is discussed in impersonal and distant language as an anonymous 'they' with no reference to Happisburgh or any other village (Ryder's Interview [HA]., 2013; Kate's Interview [HA]., 2013; Rachel's Notebook [HB]., 2013). Indeed "*they* are losing a lot" (Ben's Interview [HA]., 2013) and "Cambridge on sea" are

freely considered but only an island fate is envisioned for Happisburgh (Matt & Beth's Interview [HA]., 2013) as "The island of Haisbro" (Alice & Allan's Worksheet [HC]., 2013) (Figure 51).

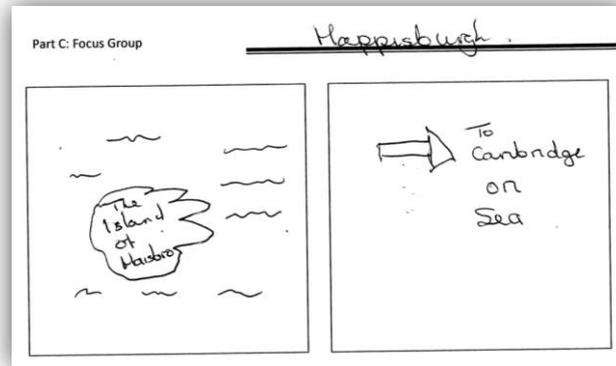


Figure 51: Drawing by Alice and Allan for section 2.1 of the focus group worksheet (Alice & Allan's Worksheet [HC]., 2013)

There is however some momentary acknowledgement of wider interconnected issues. One good example is the recognition that Happisburgh is on the site of the prehistoric Thames "a natural flaw...a weak spot" (Emma's Interview [HA]., 2013) that could provide easy access into the Broads and create "St Neots, St Ives, Cambridgeshire on sea" (Emma's Interview [HA]., 2013). At the personal level two track thinking is demonstrated strongly as personal futures curiously contradict concern voiced about climate change and erosion.

Such futures vary, from wanting their grandchildren "to love Happisburgh, it's beach and the sea as much as [they] do" (Carter & Charlotte's Notebook [HB]., 2013), to wishing to be buried with relatives in the village churchyard (Catherine's Notebook [HB]., 2013) assuming the church and churchyard will remain, to the complete inability to contemplate ever relocating (Elizabeth's Interview [HA]., 2013). The only things seen as having potential to relocate them are immediate changes associated with ageing; if "your marbles went" (John's Interview [HA]., 2013), illness, "Alzheimer's or anything like that" (Betty's Interview [SA]., 2013), when "mobility goes" (Darcy's Interview [HA]., 2013) or they can no longer look after themselves (The Pearsons Interview [SA]., 2013), or personal changes to friends or family (Sarah's Interview [HA]., 2013; Samantha's Interview [HA]., 2013; Ryder's Interview [HA]., 2013).

Moreover concerns such as fast traffic on tight corners (Samuel & Lyn's Worksheet [HC]., 2013), being able to continue paying the mortgage (Carol & Richard [SB]., 2013) and the difficulty of finding a job nearby (Willow's Worksheet [HC]., 2013) are discussed much more readily than the erosion.

- **Boxed vision**

An extension of two track thinking is compartmentalisation of events and behaviours into their own separate un-interacting categories. As such direct associations are made to label and describe these categories. Climate change is seen by many as only referring to carbon emissions, focusing on “a greener lifestyle, reducing carbon and all the rest of it” (Carol & Richard’s Interview [HA], 2013). In addition to extensive focus upon the Broads neglecting proximate erosion (Carmen’s Interview [HA], 2013), sea level rise is simply associated with flooding stating: “sea level rise, flooding is that what you mean” (Sarah’s Interview [HA], 2013), despite significant understanding of weather erosion and sea erosion on the soft sand cliffs by the interviewees (Sarah’s Interview [HA], 2013). There does not appear to be any division between ages or genders but rather a wider social understanding. Housing loss to erosion is frequently likened to flooding in the Midlands much to the anger of the local residents as: "once you're house is flooded in the Midlands you have a house, you get your house flooded here it doesn't exist anymore it, it's gone" (Sophie’s Interview [HA], 2013). This is demonstrated by local council decisions to protect from the sea with “massive big sand bags” (Kate's Interview [HA]., 2013) (See below).

“They went to Jelsons. You know the big sand bags they put them down just alongside the ramp. Those sand bags I think they lasted a month. Now they've put more rocks there but what a waste of money. That's ok when you have a river overflowing yeah but not the North Sea” (Matt & Beth's Interview [HA]., 2013).

It was common practice by the participants to assume separation of sea processes and the processes of rainfall infiltration, run off and saturation (Betty's Interview [SA]., 2013; Reginald's Notebook [HB]., 2013), in fact referring to water coming from the Midlands (Silvia’s Interview [SA], 2013; Thomas’s Interview [SA], 2013) rather than the sea. "It's not erosion from the sea it's erosion from the land" (Samuel & Lyn's Interview

[SA]., 2013), dismissing climate change as referring only to the sea and therefore not relevant to the discussion. Furthermore, much climate change policy in reference to sea level rise and erosion simply focuses on “longshore drift and sediment transfer and all that stuff” (Sophie’s Interview [HA], 2013) failing to consider these other factors (Figure 52).

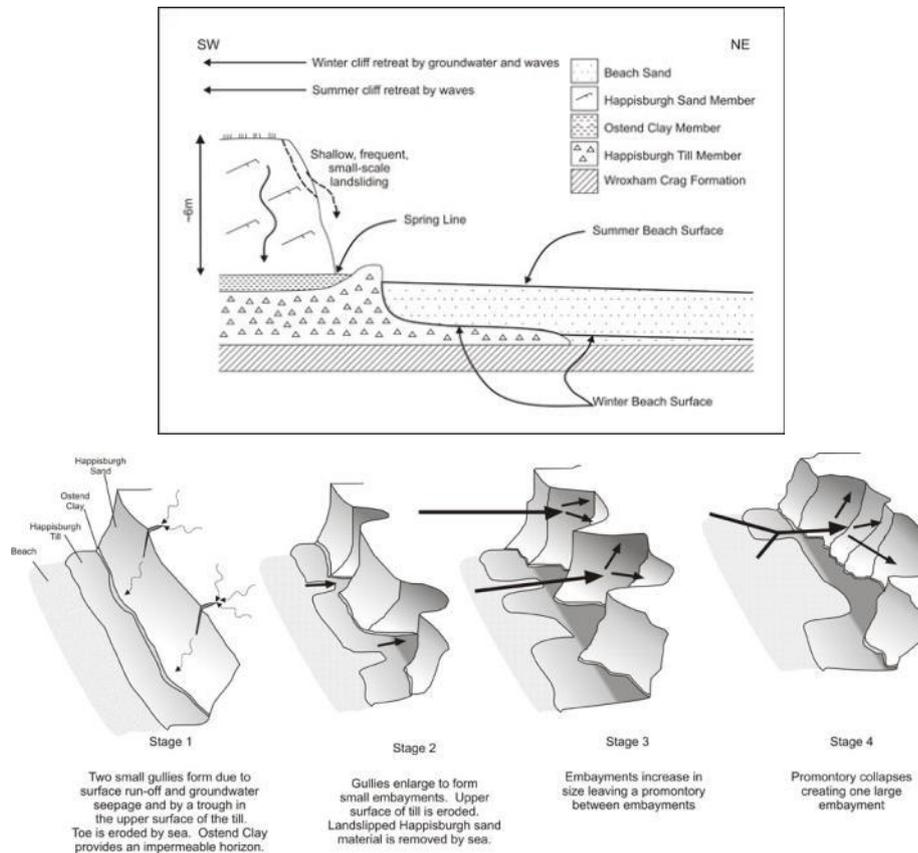


Figure 52: Diagrams of Happisburgh erosion processes (British Geological Survey., 2011).

These diagrams demonstrate the interaction of ground water, which is affected by rainfall, and wave action at Happisburgh. This is similar for Sidestrand with landsliding and augmented wave action combining to work together.

The main understanding of climate change is because "the science says so" (Tracy's Interview [HA], 2013) and "it seems to be the accepted wisdom" (Adam's Interview [HA], 2013). Beyond this, although the villagers have knowledge of the processes involved in coastal change, they do not otherwise connect this knowledge to climate change. Instead focussing on seasonal weather patterns to which many state that the seasons are three months out of sync (Simon’s Interview [HA], 2013; Matt & Beth’s

Interview [HA], 2013; Patrick's Interview [HA], 2013), getting worse (Matilda's Interview [HA], 2013) and "more up and down" (Ryder's Interview [HA], 2013) or "all over the place" (Danielle's Interview [HA], 2013).

Problems are made social, political or technology related to make them accessible and tangible. Once more this separates nature and society and removes 'the natural' from that which is immediate and tangible. Examples include placing emphasis on farmers ploughing too close to the edge, poorly maintained roads which result in water overflow into people's gardens (Silvia's Interview [SA], 2013) and wind farms affecting wave patterns in the sea (Willow's Notebook [HB], 2013). The most prevalent argument however is that dredging for gravel in the sea beds off Norfolk is affecting the sea bed and beaches (Willow's Notebook [HB], 2013) and that it will wreck the lives of everyone in the village eventually" (Jim & Sally's Worksheet [HC], 2013). The belief is that "most of that [erosion] is going to be due to the dredging" (Simon's Interview [HA], 2013) incredulous that such practices have stopped in Holland "but we're still doing it" (Chantelle's Interview [HA], 2013).

To recap, two-track thinking separates natural from the social. For the interviewees environmental threats are understood as bearing no or little significance to their personal futures. This conceptual separation of avenues of thinking and sheer inability to contemplate events on more than one scale simultaneously poses a serious problem for resilience discourse.

Temporal Distancing

- **Distance and Death: Distance in time**

Participants state that climate change and worsening coastal erosion is not a worry for the "foreseeable future" (Catherine's Worksheet [HC], 2013; Reginald's Worksheet [HC], 2013) and "Let us worry, if worry we must, about more pressing issues" (Catherine's Worksheet [HC], 2013). Climate change is considered as an event placed within this distant time frame rather than a process that is occurring. One that is so very far away it does not yet warrant concern (Suzanne's Interview [HA], 2013; The Pearson's' Interview [SA], 2013; Lisa's Interview [HA], 2013; Betty's Interview [SA], 2013) and doesn't affect them (John's Interview [HA], 2013); as such temporally

distant (Bellamy & Hulme, 2011, p.9), and 'unsituated' (Brace & Geoghegan, 2011, p.8). It is unclear what length of time constitutes 'the foreseeable future'. The timeframe is at once "unknown" (Sarah's Interview [HA], 2013) and yet remaining beyond consideration (Sarah's Interview [HA], 2013; Rachel's Interview [HA], 2013). This flexibility of the timeframe enables an elastic stretching into the 'future'.

This elasticity of time permanently placing climate change in some separate never reachable time enables morbid security in death. Almost all the participants anticipated dying before any proportion of their village was affected significantly by erosion no matter their age. When confronted with discussions of 50 years and 100 years as standard elderly participants responded "we'll be down there somewhere in a ditch" (Mary's Interview [HA], 2013), "people who are at their sell by date like us..." (John's Interview [HA], 2013), "it's not a concern at all because we'll be dead and gone" (Matilda's Interview [HA], 2013), "It is very unlikely indeed that I would need to relocate from my house before I exit in my coffin" (Catherine's Notebook [HB], 2013). It is said by some participants, "people who live in their 30's and 40's they might be a bit more worried (Mary's Interview [HA], 2013) however even those in their twenties state that it's "a lifetime I reckon...I reckon I'll be alright (Carmen's Interview [HA], 2013). The 'events' of climate change and of erosion understood as slow onset and 'natural' are perpetually placed in some far off future. It is not that the villagers are unable to care or think about future generations. In fact the villagers do often think about future generation but on a level completely separated from their own personal futures (Figure 53).

"It's not a concern not in our lifetime" (Elizabeth's Interview [HA], 2013).

I don't think that'll bother me in my lifetime the cliffs I mean"

(Patrick's Interview [HA], 2013).

"At my age it'll see me out so I shan't worry" (Molly's Interview [HA], 2013).

"It won't affect me in my lifetime so you know" (Ryder's Interview [HA], 2013).

"Not [a risk] for me it isn't I won't be here that long" (Ben's Interview [HA], 2013).

"[It] doesn't really worry us 'cause we'll be dead"

(Carol & Richard's Interview [SA], 2013).

Figure 53: Research poem on this theme

Beyond this expectation of a lifetime many assume it will still be beyond even their child's lifetime (Kate's Interview [HA], 2013) and not only safe for their lifetime but for future buyers also (Betty's Worksheet [SA], 2013). The churchyards in both Happisburgh and Sidestrand are expected to remain intact and in service until after their lifetime with hopes of being "in the churchyard if that's my choice" (Ryder's Interview [HA], 2013) and having their "ashes scattered around the graveyard" (Ron's Worksheet [SC], 2013). Worry is only spoken of in reference to their children or grandchildren not being able to inherit (Danielle's Interview [HA], 2013), not having a home (Jim & Sally's Worksheet [HC], 2013), or not being able to "enjoy the place [they] have chosen to love for a long time" (Molly's Worksheet [HC], 2013). Indeed "will my grandchildren have a community?" (Alice & Allan's Worksheet [HC], 2013), "Happisburgh may not be here for our great grandchildren to enjoy" (Carter & Charlotte's Notebook [HB], 2013). This is a worry placed firmly in the time of future generations. Removed as it is one focus group summed this up as "I am not going to ruin the one life I have worrying about that" (Happisburgh Focus Group 7, 2013).

There are however some cracks in this distancing of climate change with some interviewees beginning to question the timeframe, as "that was before it went at a rate of knots recently" (Elizabeth's Interview [HA], 2013) and the interjection of 'hope' into the phrase: "I just hope it doesn't do it kind of in our lifetime" (Caroline's Interview [SA], 2013) revealing the uncertainty. The disjuncture revealed is 'papered-over' by maintenance of previous predictive time frames despite having been recently revised (NNDC, 2013). The participants thus engage distancing to place the changes and therefore the danger at the safe distance of 'not in our lifetime'. Timeframes of 50, 100 and 125 years, or even 500 years (The Pearson's Interview [SA], 2013) are quoted as reason not to worry. "The plan shows that this is safe" (Chantelle's Interview [HA], 2013) however the 'plan' or "prognosis by NNDC" (Silvia's Worksheet [SC], 2013) is out of date by some 10 years (Environment Agency, 2014). In Sidestrand the prediction of 100 years is used as a defence no matter where in Sidestrand the participants house is and despite understanding that it could be before that (Silvia's Worksheet [SC], 2013) (Figure 54).

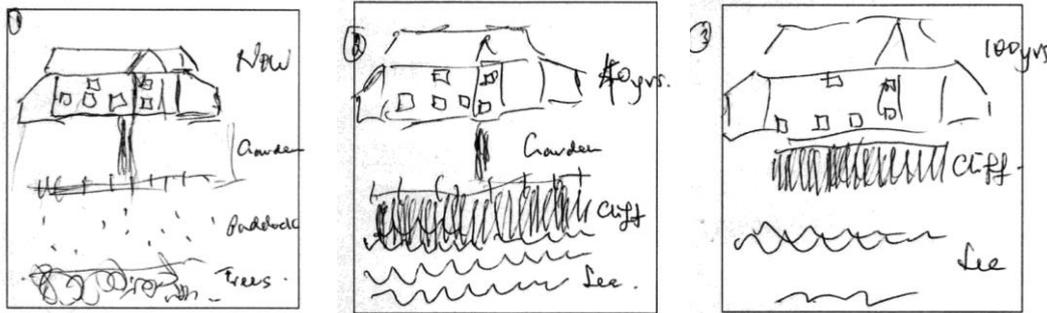


Figure 54: Participant S3 drawing depicting the assumed time frame of erosion for Sidestrand (Silvia's Worksheet [SC], 2013).

Disjuncture is clear in one participant's case where the time frame of 100-125 years is quoted and assessed as 'not in our lifetime' but is then questioned by the realisation of recent erosion acceleration (Elizabeth's Interview [HA], 2013). Immediately after this however, the timeframe is repeated as if to reconfirm this distancing, even being written in jagged capital letters in the focus group session (Elizabeth's Worksheet [HC], 2013). Persistent challenge to this distance framework by accelerated erosion and increasing severity of winter storms (IPCC., 2014) is working to diminish this distance. Statements such as: "it's not going to be here soon...I don't think it's going to take another 100 years" (Tracy's Interview [HA], 2013), "in 20 years' time not 50 years' time it will be a major issue" (Cameron's Interview [HA], 2013), and "I think we'll have to move out...I don't think that's going to be that long" (Adam's Interview [HA], 2013), demonstrate the realisation that the timeframes clung to so fiercely are no longer certain. This is enhanced by other realisations of imminent danger, not in the future, but now (Figure 55).

"We've just got a lovely spot and now we're going in the sea again" (Margaret's Interview [HA], 2013), "It gives a whole new meaning to things going bump [in the night]" (Cameron's Interview [HA], 2013), "this was shaking, I thought it was going to tip over" (Matt & Beth's Interview [HA], 2013).

Figure 55: Research poem based on the erosion of the caravan site.

- **Temporal Separation**

*"A peaceful perpetual today, no change, no future, no loss,
 Wrapped up in a time locked cocoon, nothing entering or altering the rhythm,
 No sense that all could change tomorrow. Tomorrow exists in the land of distant never"*

Figure 56: Field poem written about this temporal separation

In protection of the socially accepted understanding, the framework of distancing is maintained to avoid disjuncture. In doing so the present becomes extended into the future. Nuttall (2012, p.6) refers to this as the 'locus of everyday life' or 'the locus of the human world' with everyday life being confined temporally to the immediate present. Temporal separation occurs at a basic level with everyone all the time, simply 'living in the present', however when confronted with disjuncture and threatened continuity this is accentuated. As a result past and future are equally distanced with aspects considered to be 'bad' distanced further into either the past or future. This culminates in selective remembrance of history focusing on the 'good' stories and selective future imaginings within the confines of desired outcomes. As such, positive celebrated histories such as Happisburghs' naval history (Matt & Beth's Interview [HA], 2013); Sophie's Interview [HA], 2013; Simon's Interview [HA], 2013) and Sidestrands' Poppyland heritage, are freely remembered whilst others are quietly rewritten or consigned to history as mere stories.

Other histories, such as lost villages along the coast, are thought about "only when asked" (Matt & Beth's Interview [HA], 2013) and even then only as history commenting that they "used to be able to see Eccles spire out at sea [but] not any more as it's being washed away...It's interesting to know the history, but its history isn't it" (Elizabeth's Interview [HA], 2013). Places like Dunwich, Eccles, and Shipden become mere story relating to the past or our heritage (Tracy's Interview [HA], 2013). Lost villages and the losses of parts of Sidestrand and Happisburgh are reflected upon as curio, as folk tales to be remembered but not taken seriously. As such the participants spoke of ghostly bells ringing from Eccles church out at sea (Matilda's Interview [HA], 2013) and the romantic image of "the village under the sea" (Sarah's Interview [HA], 2013). Eccles is referred to as being '*in the sea*' (Chantelle's Interview [HA], 2013).

Many other images are presented, as a tale or a ghost story (Figure 57). It may be that these events have become so normalised and removed from present concern that they cannot be conceived of in the same track; another blinkered vision.

"There's a graveyard that's in the sea. At really low tide...
Bones in the clay...that's just a bit strange" (Lisa's Interview [HA], 2013).

"A lot of homes have gone. At very low tide...
...houses...old cobbles...knitted cobbles...

The old church and lighthouse...crikey there's a lot of stuff out there
Including a graveyard it's a bit spooky" (Emma's Interview [HA], 2013).

Figure 57: Research Poem: Example of romanticised history

Otherwise the lost villages are regarded as "a fascinating topic" (Catherine's Notebook [HB], 2013) or as if it is text book information only (Carol & Richard's Notebook [SB], 2013) recanting past losses as history and removed. Not relevant to the present. This suppression of that negative past save for a few tales, leads to a certain haunting. The past and with it similar future threats haunt the present but do not trigger action.

• **Projection of the past into the future: normalisation**

The remembered past and inherent assumptions within that are projected upon the future normalising the changes. For instance; the extraordinary event of moving Sidstrand church "flint by flint" (Betty's notebook [SB], 2013) although striking an evocative image has become somewhat matter of fact (Ron's Notebook [SB], 2013). The extraordinary is rendered ordinary. There is discord between the matter of fact telling of the removal and rebuilding of the church and its emotional and contextual significance. Whilst this one extraordinary event is normalised, erosion is considered so normal that it is almost never viewed as extraordinary. "[T]he erosion problem" (Ryder's Worksheet [HC], 2013) and "this erosion business" (Patrick's Interview [HA], 2013) is considered to have always happened (Molly's Interview [HA], 2013; Reginald's Notebook [HB], 2013) as "for thousands of years the land has been disappearing" (Carter & Charlotte's Worksheet [HC], 2013). Erosion and landsliding are seen as something that has always happened and always will (Ryder's Notebook [HB], 2013); therefore it is not a concern. In similar vein storm surges are viewed as "nothing new" (Rachel's Notebook [HB], 2013) and are equally normalised. These events reflect the patterns of change observed historically and as such represent a projection of the past into the future that is inconsistent with climate change.

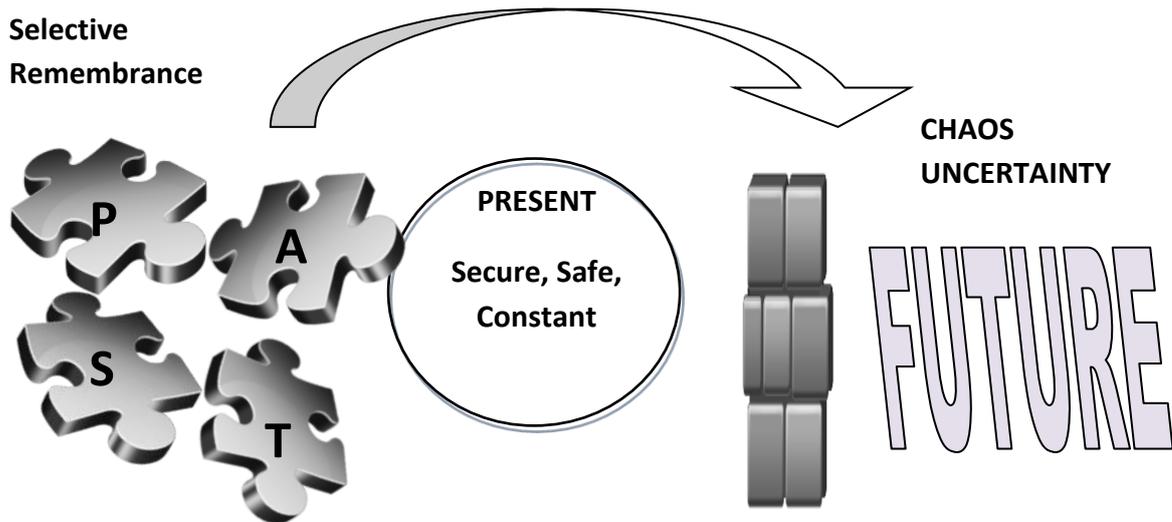


Figure 58: Diagram representing temporal separation, highlighting the remembered past, maintenance of the present and the separation of the future

Spatial distancing

This temporal distancing combined with two track thinking labelling erosion as normal and slow, have led to many assumptions by the participants. Assumptions that help support the social norms and protected present are; the assumption that erosion is slow and gradual; that erosion will continue at the same pace and in a linear fashion.

Firstly average measurements of erosion are quoted continuously from "3 foot a year" (Ron's Interview [SA], 2013) and "a couple of metres a year" (Samantha's Interview [HA], 2013) to, "a metre a year" (Betty's Interview [SA], 2013), which reinforce the message that the erosion is "very slow really" (The Pearson's Interview [SA], 2013), "very slow you know" (Matilda's Interview [HA], 2013) and "crumbling gradually" (Ben's Interview [HA], 2013). The change is expected to come in linear fashion from the cliff (Thomas's Worksheet [SC], 2013) in a straight line as depicted by the Shoreline Management Plans (Environment Agency, 2014), despite the fact that they are subject to subsidence and possible sink hole formation (Carol & Richard's Notebook [SB], 2013; Caroline's Interview [SA], 2013) and awareness that erosion is by no means guaranteed to take effect only at the cliff edge (Thomas's Interview [SA], 2013).

As a result of these assumptions the risk and the change itself is spatially and temporally distanced. The assumption of linear progression is particularly important as it is thought therefore that loss will only occur once the erosion reaches the house, the

road the centre of the village et cetera (Reginald's Worksheet [HC], 2013). Based on these assumptions that 'distance' erosion cognitively and emotionally, measured distance once again emerges as important. Its importance however only emerges once the blinkered vision blocks out all other factors; instead focussing on metres from the cliff, the space of a field between the participants and the cliff (Betty's Notebook [SB], 2013). This message is repeated continuously but most intriguingly the majority of comments come from Sidstrand perhaps because at this stage there is little challenge to the assumptions in order to reveal their disjuncture. Felt, cognitive and measured distances intertwine and feed off of each other.

"we are too far away from the cliff edge" (Betty's Interview [SA], 2013),

"We're a reasonable distance away" (Jason's Interview [HA], 2013),

"we're far enough back here for it not to concern us" (The Pearson's Interview [SA], 2013).

Figure 59: research poem of distance felt

- **Spatial separation**

Distancing the cliff edge in this way not only emphasises the distance between x and the cliff to delay its effect, but causes a spatial separation where the cliff, beach, sea, and village are considered more and more in isolation. The cliff itself, the subject of erosion, is uniquely both made absent and used as defence. When asked particularly about how the cliff is affected during a storm and subsequently about emergency procedures the participants respond adamantly that is it "not a problem 'cause we have the cliffs, the cliffs stop that" (Ben's Interview [HA], 2013), "I'm protected by the cliffs" (Lisa's Interview [HA], 2013) and argue that storm surges have no effect at all (Lisa's Interview [HA], 2013; Betty's Interview [SA], 2013; The Pearson's Interview [SA], 2013). Storm activity is associated solely with flooding (Sophie's Interview [HA], 2013; Reginald's Interview [HA], 2013; Mary's Interview [HA], 2013) and the cliffs are seen as protection from such threat. Again temporal separation plays a part as selective remembrance ignores facts such as the loss of the entire village of Keswick in the 1953 floods (Baxter, 2005; McRobie et al, 2005).

There is distinct separation of cliff and sea despite understanding of the physical processes when asked directly (Reginald's Interview [HA], 2013). This separation follows once again a wider national and international trend in thinking and doing, a

social understanding of the supremacy of land (Peters, 2010). The participants comment that there is bias towards lowland areas and because these villages are situated atop cliffs the government "don't want to know" (Matt & Beth's Interview [HA], 2013). This solidity of the land is taken further with the cliffs themselves invisibilised. In Sidestrand the cliffs are conspicuously absent in the participant notebooks despite strong images of the sea (Silvia's Notebook [SB], 2013; Caroline's Notebook [SB], 2013). Moreover, depictions of Sidestrand are focussed on the environmental factors with very few social aspects mentioned however there is still no mention of the cliffs or the erosion (Figure 60). The cliffs are removed even from other environmental factors.

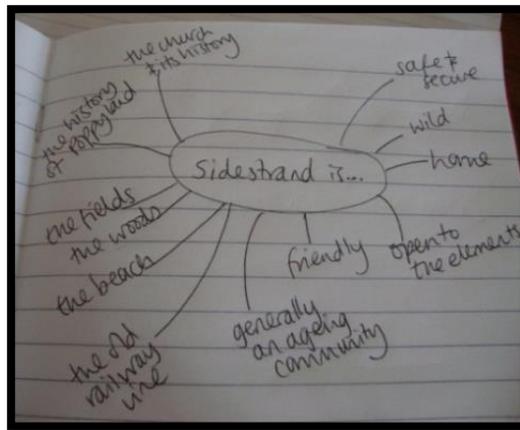


Figure 60: Participant S2 notebook photo (f) (Caroline's Notebook [S2], 2013).

Extending this curious separation, the beach is discussed in isolation from the cliff and even the sea focussing specifically on positive nostalgic images of traditional seaside (Carmen's Interview [HA], 2013; Reginald's Notebook [HB], 2013; Cameron's Interview [HA], 2013; Chantelle's Interview [HA], 2013). When negative issues are discussed and the sea and cliff encroach upon this idyll, it is the change in aesthetics or impact on this idea of seaside that is the focus. This is despite the fact that many spoke of not being able to get down to the beach (John's Interview [HA], 2013).

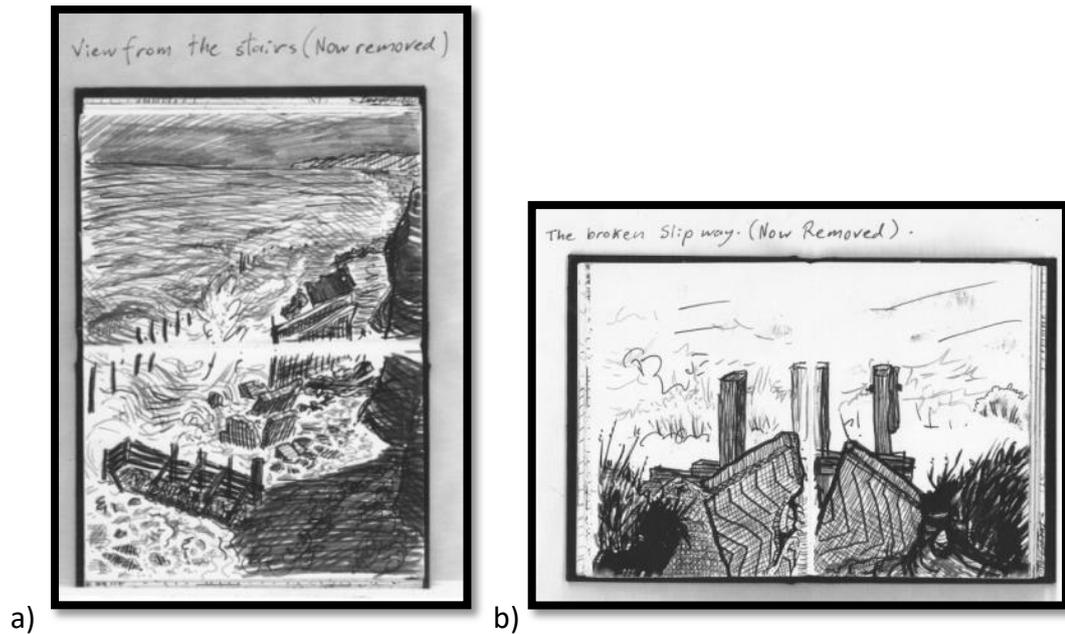


Figure 61: Participant Sketches (Adam's Notebook [HB], 2013) about the disruption and debris on the beach. a) a sketch of broken defences, b) a sketch of the once broken slipway.

This separation is extended futhermore in relation to the sea which is considered in isolation to the land, especially as its effect upon the land is dismissed, as "the sea really only tak[ing] away the rubbish" (Betty's Interview [SA], 2013). Degrees of detachment are portrayed through different representations of the sea and participation with it. When the sea is liked it is discussed through wondrous abstract terms that mystify and admire it (Sean & Stephanie's Notebook [HB], 2013). A visual aesthetic relationship that prizes the sea as "a dream...a delight" (Betty's Notebook [SB], 2013), "a stunning vista" (Silvia's Notebook [SB], 2013) that "is beautiful to watch and listen to" (Carol & Richard's Notebook [SB], 2013), "the sea it's just magical" (The Pearson's Interview [SA], 2013). Whereas when the sea is disliked, it is either personified as an architect or mason (Ryder's Interview [HA], 2013), or a general waging war (Ron's Interview [SA], 2013).

When the sea is feared representation turns to the animal kingdom and that of nightmares turning the sea into a beast mindlessly eating or indeed devouring the cliff (Ron's Notebook [S8], 2013). These differences show clear change in the level of separation from, and perhaps control over, the sea becoming more present, more active and less controllable. Bestial and untamed (Rachel's Notebook [HB], 2013),

"ferocious and quite scary" (Emma's Interview [HA], 2013). In fear some participants revert to older understandings of the sea, something that must be respected and from which you must protect yourselves (Ryder's Notebook [HB], 2013; Darcy's Interview [HA], 2013), something not to be commanded but a commanding presence in itself.

Superficial relationships with the sea as a surface to be traversed, or nature's bounty there for the taking are common; an abstract relationship that engages solely with human's use of the sea rather than the sea's action or role itself. Happisburgh especially is seen to be defined by the sea, by fishing, smuggling and sailing with its icon the lighthouse erected for these purposes (Catherine's Notebook [HB], 2013). The sea utilised as a platform for human activity (Peters, 2010), most especially maritime heritage and the endeavours of Captain Nelson (Matt & Beth's Interview [HA], 2013). The sea is something to be near, by of travel over (Sarah's Interview [HA], 2013; Matt & Beth's Interview [HA], 2013; Jason's Interview [HA], 2013; Emma's Interview [HA], 2013). The sea, by this lack of interaction, is removed from the land. This is depicted by one of the participants in Sidstrand whereby they discuss the sea but do not draw it, instead drawing the land, trees and horses (Figure 62). The sea is secondary to the land.



Figure 62: Notebook photo (c.) (Caroline's Notebook [SB], 2013).

The "supremacy of land spaces" (Peters, 2010, p.3) and mind-sets created through decades of understanding the sea/ ocean as separate and removed remain and are actively reproduced. The sea is 'othered' and emptied (Steinberg, 1999a). We are surrounded by sea and yet it is socially invisible. The sea is represented for all its associations with maritime achievement as today largely irrelevant to our everyday lives (Peters, 2010). Steinberg (1999b; 1999c, p.16) suggests that the decline in sea

travel and a diminished dependence on self-supplied food sources has removed the maritime world, to be surpassed as empty and of little or no relevance in an increasingly globalising world. It is to earlier understandings of the sea that the participants return. Happisburgh has begun to view the sea as the beast eating away at the village and some primordial force, however Sidestrand still describe the sea as magical and stunning, as through the various disjunctures and subsequent assumptions made the erosion is held away both temporally and spatially.

- **Separate Spatialities**

Upon realising the threat of worsened erosion and the possibility of losing both house and village to the sea, new separated spatialities emerge to distance the threat. In Happisburgh this spatial manoeuvring secures the safety of the participants own home as separate from the coastline, in Sidestrand the threat is constantly shifted from one area to the next. Some suggest that the first place to go in the sea would be Tower lane (Samuel & Lyn's Notebook [SB], 2013) whereas others state that "If anyone should be worried the people in the council houses should because they're near the field that collapsed" (Thomas's Notebook [SB], 2013). Different locations in the village state that other locations are at risk and not them forever always shifting the risk (Figure 63). This spatial manoeuvring is the changing perception of space; whereby the same space may be simultaneously characterised as safe and threatened depending upon the perception of the individual or community relating to that space. As such a space of anxiety can move based on who perceives the space and the purpose of their assessment of that space.

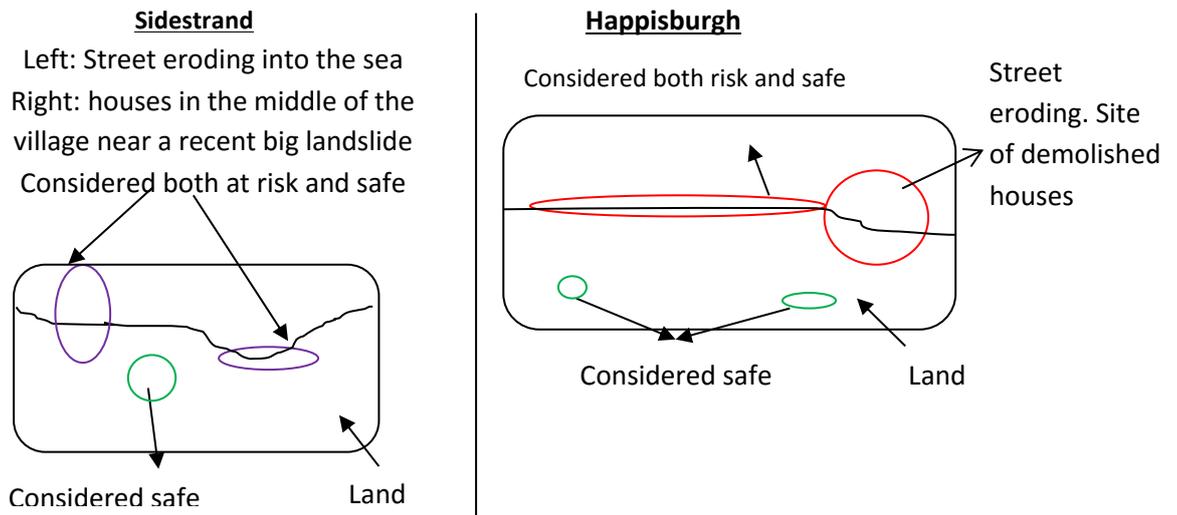


Figure 63: Diagram representing the circles of concern and the separate spatialities created.

These spatialities created through lock-in, disjuncture and distancing can become specific areas that then become 'othered' (Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2002). For instance; the caravan park in Happisburgh is increasingly seen as separate to the village and as such the accelerating erosion that is occurring there is seen as acceptable as it's not affecting the village yet (Margaret's Interview [HA], 2013). The effect of these nested spaces both practically and emotionally will be explored in the next chapter.

4.4. CONTROL REFLEX

4.4.1. The search for certainty

These various disjunctures are not simply a local phenomenon but based on social understandings and practice at the regional and national levels. In the face of such change and disruption to accepted norms several forms of retreat are performed. One such retreat is disavowal whereby the issue is of no concern or responsibility of the individual (Lorenzoni & Hulme, 2009, p.7). A second retreat is that of ambivalence. This is the process of producing or indeed reproducing order when the existing social order is threatened (Threadgold, 2012, p.10). This I call this control reflex. I theorise this control reflex as the processes behind the desire to protect and maintain the status quo; to retain the 'normal' control and order over the situation and maintain the accepted way of life and behaviours. As discussed in the literature review, these processes have been discussed as contributing to resilience or indeed as the reason resilience should perhaps no longer be used. They have further been discussed as part of adaptive maintenance, calling instead for transformative capacity. Here I aim to demonstrate that resilience is transformative capacity and control reflex is an attribute of a shared social memory that constricts change.

This uncertainty and the perceived impending loss of control leads to questioning of the plausibility of events taking place (Davidson, 2012, p.13). Anything more than small changes can cause a "retreat into incredulity" (Hamilton, 2010, p.4). In other words any message that is deemed more than a small change can cause climate change to become laughable (O'Neill, 2009, p.9), viewed as ridiculous (Matilda's Interview [HA], 2013) or as mere hype (Sarah's Interview [HA], 2013). Many participants when confronted with such challenging events and scientific and political statements that contradict the accepted social norms cannot reconcile the new to the old in the learning process of assimilation. The participants therefore categorise the new information as unbelievable, as false or even laughable as it is so inconceivable in comparison to the 'norm'. So to retreat into incredulity is a reaction to this failure to assimilate; utilised not to deny the events but to shield oneself whilst attempting to reconcile the disjuncture experienced.

This desire to protect the common order and resist change is present in the participants need for proof. In this search for proof projections are dismissed as guess work (Matilda's Interview [HA], 2013), or in the "hands of the gods" (Suzanne's Interview [HA], 2013) querying how it can be known (Chantelle's Interview [HA], 2013; Lisa's Interview [HA], 2013; Carol & Richard's Interview [SA], 2013; Elizabeth's Interview [HA], 2013) and stating "they've got a computer image of it but the sea doesn't work like that" (Ryder's Interview [HA], 2013). Indeed predictions are stated as being fallible and potentially incorrect (Reginald's Interview [HA], 2013; Happisburgh Focus Group 6, 2013), employing uncertainty as a safety net or blanket as if to say 'it may not happen' (Thomas's Interview [SA], 2013). Moreover, the predictions are equated to "a black art" (Sophie's Interview [HA], 2013), "a cup of gypsy rosily" (John's Interview [HA], 2013) or "winning that lottery" (Thomas's Interview [SA], 2013) affording it as much credibility as magic, fortune telling or sheer luck.

Not having 'anything definitive' or 'some really solid knowledge' leads to disbelief (Davidson, 2012), with perceived lack of evidence (Bellamy & Hulme, 2011). Until the belief is completely proven to be wrong it is clung to (Hamilton, 2010). In fact many participants comment on waiting for evidence (Silvia's Interview [SA], 2013), some stating that "that's something I'd have to see" (Patrick's Interview [HA], 2013). This is a national belief based on widely accepted social norms; a belief that is reflected and amplified at the local level where it is confronted with disjuncture. In supporting the accepted norms wishful thinking creates benign fictions that can become dangerous delusions (Hamilton, 2010). These fictions or control mechanisms include the belief that 'technology will save us' and 'we've solved these problems before and we will do it again'. Forms of wishful thinking by the participants are that it will stop naturally (Happisburgh Focus Group 5, 2013) before any real loss occurs, that "it might settle" (Margaret's Interview [HA], 2013) or that "she [nature] may come back and lump a load of sand there. We'll end up like Eccles with six foot high dunes hopefully. A natural defence and we'll all be hunky-dory" (Emma's Interview [HA], 2013). These statements utilise the gap between waiting for proof and knowing for certain, and exploit the belief that the predictions may be false and it may not happen.

There are recurring themes of time and certainty. Time is viewed as something the participants do not have, with "lack of time to be involved" (Happisburgh Focus Group 5, 2013) and lives too busy with work and the minutiae of everyday living (Sarah's Interview [HA], 2013; Suzanne's Interview [HA], 2013; Chantelle's Interview [HA], 2013). As with the distancing previously discussed the perceived elasticity of time is utilised, this time to gain control as "Time is everything" (Sarah's Worksheet [HA], 2013). Time and certainty, knowledge ahead of time and more time are asked for (Sarah's Interview [HA], 2013; Carmen's Interview [HA], 2013). The participants want "clarity about time-scales" (Sarah's Worksheet [HC], 2013). In Happisburgh participants want to know definitively when or if the icons of the church and lighthouse are going to be saved (Carter & Charlotte's Worksheet [HC], 2013). There is a feeling of perpetual time to gain control of the situation. Once more climate change is placed as an event in the future enabling the stretching of time to prepare for it.

Erosion and climate change are routinely dismissed as nothing to worry about. For instance reducing climate change to a mere topic of conversation that "if the parish council want something to talk about then they talk about it" (Betty's Interview [SA], 2013). Erosion is further seen as "the erosion problem" (Ryder's Worksheet [HC], 2103), "the coastal erosion thing" (Samuel & Lyn's Interview [SA], 2013) reducing the threat into just some small problem that the villagers would like to see something done about (Ryder's Worksheet [HC], 2013). The revelation of disjunctures can cause people, institutions and countries to revert to claim control in the face of uncertainty. This control reflex leads to the emergence and re-embedding of many crucial assumptions, key ones being the dichotomies of nature and society, city and country and the associated value judgements. The practice of minimising 'the problem' results in the image of something that can be controlled, solved, or fixed.

Feared present

These larger frameworks of disjuncture, awaiting clearer timescales and certainty in predictions are juxtaposed with many immediate observations made by the participants that belie a more immediate situation; one that despite clear immediacy and proximity still fails to connect the two tracks of thinking together. This

demonstrates a breaking down of control reflex at the local level. These reflections from recent experience are collated in the research poems below. Experiences revealing this disjuncture and bringing the fear into the present rather than the future are firstly, the shaking of the cliffs in storms felt in houses and caravans alike causing many participants to fear for their safety (Figure 64).

*“You can feel it shaking underneath.
You can certainly feel the vibrations at high tide” (Adam’s Interview, [HA], 2013)*

*“There’s nothing between us and the sea.
During a storm I can physically feel the house move.
I physically feel the building shake” (Rachel’s Interview [HA], 2013).*

*“On the cliff on a windy winters day at high tide the spray from the sea will slap you in the face.
I’ve experienced that which is frightening. It is frightening to be there.
The sea pounds the cliff so well it shudders.
It’s like a gun going off” (Cameron’s Interview [HA], 2013).*

*“(You can actually feel it during a bad night;
You can actually feel the vibrations)” (Matt & Beth’s Interview [HA], 2013)*

*“In October it was before we closed up again, I’ve never known it like that, absolutely horrible,
4 times I thought the caravan was going to take off,
The sea was really, really rough. It was coming right up and hitting us.
The first time in 27 years I mean the manager was petrified
He even said ‘that’s it we’re finished’.
Horrible, absolutely horrible” (Margaret’s Interview [HA], 2013).*

Figure 64: Research poem reflecting the present fear the storms bring.

Secondly, that the rate of erosion is not as equal to the past. Recent events have revealed this in different ways including; a) increasing losses over the winter months, b) noticeable changes week on week causing considerable fear of the cliff edge and c) intense rainfall causing slumping.

a) *"It's falling in. It's shearing off like mad,
 You notice the changes, you know it's quite shocking" (Adam's Interview [HA], 2013).*
*"The cliff has eroded immeasurably.
 It has eroded back about 12 metres in about 4 months" (Cameron's Interview [HA], 2013).*
"We're losing chunks of it. Quite a lot can go just overnight" (Suzanne's Interview [HA], 2013).
*"Loss of 10ft in a matter of weeks at the caravan park.
 Not in bits but all in one go - big chunks" (Elizabeth's Interview [HA], 2013).*
*"There was a 50 year line and a 100 year line drawn.
 After 20 years we are nearly up to the 50 year line.
 That was a worst case scenario supposedly. We'll soon be there"
 (Cameron's Interview [HA], 2013).*

Figure 65: Research poem displaying the extensive anxiety and panic

b) *"This morning I saw another chunk had gone.
 You just see fractures getting bigger, big caverns and next time you go down they're gone.
 It's nibbling away at [the farmer's] land" (Emma's Interview [HA], 2013).*
*"(It just looks like it could go any time I am worried walking underneath it
 You really wouldn't want to sit down to a picnic too close under there)
 It would just be really dangerous to take the chance" (Tracy's Interview [HA], 2013).*
"Don't even want the dogs to walk too close to it now" (Tracy's Interview [HA], 2013).
*"It's a bit dangerous as well walking along the cliff top sometimes after a storm.
 You go on the beach and look up and there's a lot of overhang.
 That's dangerous and you see some people standing on it" (Carmen's Interview [HA], 2013).*
*"It's always talked about in the village
 People say don't get too close to the edge" (Elizabeth's Interview [HA], 2013).*

Figure 66: Research poem demonstrating increasing concern not just for the future but for the present.

C) *"You see the water running ...comes out half way half way down the cliff"*

(Jason's Interview [HA], 2013).

"In a storm... the bottom of the cliff will get a battering even with the revetments,

It's very boggy you can see the seepage. A few years ago the slope went;

I was amazed I didn't hear anything you know, didn't see anything"

(Silvia's Interview [SA], 2013).

"There is a lagoon half way down the cliff" (Silvia's Interview [SA], 2013).

"It's very wet this time of year.

It would swallow you up if you walked in the wrong place,

You can walk on the beach and see streams coming out of the cliff,

You see the water coming out and running down the beach.

You'll see a big gulley in the cliff" (Samuel & Lyn's Interview [SA], 2013).

"It is like a scene from the end of the world. It's quite amazing really.

In some ways it's quite remarkable.

If you were filming mad max or any of those kind of movies you'd film it down there"

(Darcy's Interview [HA], 2013)

Figure 67: Research poem commenting upon significant increases in rainfall

4.4.2. Assumptions of Supremacy:

Control reflex regionally and nationally however continues the cover up of this disjuncture. This control reflex is enacted in various ways, from the assumption that technological innovation will fix it, or that political manoeuvrings can solve it, to the assumption that money is the answer. All of these are control reflexes that assume supremacy building upon assumptions of human supremacy over nature or indeed supremacy of technology in *solving* the 'problem'. In one participants own words; "you just tend to assume that at some point they will they will have to do something" (Samantha's Interview [HA], 2013).

Technological Reliance

One of the more prominent control mechanisms is that of technological reliance. With all other facets of climate change, being explored or 'fixed' through technological innovation; from hybrid cars, solar panels and eco houses, to the new CryoSat-2 satellite to monitor ice melt in the Arctic, Antarctica and Greenland (Laxon et al.,

2013). It is unsurprising therefore that it is assumed that technology will be employed for flooding and for erosion. Furthermore geo-engineering as a discipline supports the "social imaginary in which we can control and tame nature through technological innovations" (Wright et al., 2013, p.5) labelling nature as controllable and ultimately able to be re-engineered. The language utilised in relation to such attempts is that of a cure or a remedy to solve, treat, mend or make better the planet (Sweeney, 2014). In other instances the language of war is utilised, combating uncertainty (Sweeney, 2014) and thus enabling certainty and control. It is not here my aim nor my role to critique the legitimacy of environmental techniques but rather to outline the perceptions of the villagers and the impact these particular perceptions have.

Through such 'techno-enthusiasm' technology is assumed to save us from a multitude of problems (Hamilton, 2010). The participants therefore discuss erosion in particular as something that can be controlled or indeed solved (Jim & Sally's Worksheet [HC], 2013) and that defences are the only option, alongside perhaps bore holes (Silvia's Worksheet [SC], 2013; Silvia's Interview [SA], 2013). Technology and engineering are favoured as overcoming the problem (Cameron's Worksheet [HC], 2013). Many participants compare Norfolk to Holland wondering why Britain is not undertaking the same engineering works as applied there.

Only the proximate defence situation and current erosion are taken into account, failing to incorporate any climate change information. As such there is a curious misunderstanding relating to the defences as neighbouring Walcott and Cart Gap are viewed as protected in policy as they currently have sea walls (Elizabeth's Notebook [HB], 2013; Darcy's Interview [HA], 2013; Emma's Interview [HA], 2013). People simply see the sea wall either side of Happisburgh and say 'this is unfair'. This fails to acknowledge any threats from climate change that make the current sea walls increasingly inadequate.

This association led to one participant stating;

“No real policy for this village. At Walcott and down at Cart Gap there are there is a policy but here for this little bit here, A mile and a half of beach, There's no policy” (Jason’s Interview [H5], 2013). “There is no policy for Happisburgh to protect it from the sea. Nothing from the environmental agency to the government, there's no policy” (Jason’s Interview [HA], 2013).

Alternative defence scenarios and the future possibility of infrastructure such as the coast road needing to be relocated are dismissed as not going to happen (Elizabeth’s Worksheet [HC], 2013). Perhaps as this would mean a loss of control, a loss of power, that as a country we are not accustomed to. It is inconceivable that a solution will not be found (Danielle’s Interview [HA], 2013) and therefore alternative pathways in thinking and in action are not considered. Quick fix solutions are understood by some as solving the situation (Amin, 2013, p.5) as “attempts are being made and jolly good too” (Sarah’s Interview [HA], 2013) and “it seems like they’re fixing the revetments” (Silvia’s Worksheet [SC], 2013). This leads to further dismissal of alternative ideas as the problems are already fixed. The defence route is seen as the only pathway (Elizabeth’s Worksheet [HC], 2013; Raphe’s Worksheet [HC], 2013) and many hold out hope that defences may become an option (Willow’s Worksheet [HC], 2013), that the erosion can be stopped and will get better (Thomas’s Worksheet [SC], 2013), expecting that a “national policy” (Jason’s Interview [HA], 2013) [defences] will be put in place.

Political responsibility

The second control mechanism therefore is political responsibility whereby it is assumed that those in power can stop the erosion but are choosing not to (Ryder’s Interview [HA], 2013; Carol & Richard’s Interview [SA], 2013; Adam’s Interview [HA], 2013; Matilda’s Interview [HA], 2013; Molly’s Interview [HA], 2013) (Jim & Sally’s Worksheet [HC], 2013; Sophie’s Notebook [HB], 2013; Ben’s Interview [HA], 2013). The decision making is placed firmly in the hand of the state, be it central government, local councils or the environment agency.

Alternatively, there is much emphasis that x will not be allowed to happen (Catherine’s Worksheet [HC], 2013). The responsibility for this is put on the Government. The

Government is seen as simultaneously letting it happen and "when it gets there they'll do something before that" (Jim & Sally's Worksheet [HC], 2013), implying control and responsibility. In accordance with this belief that 'they' have the power to stop it there is the belief that "NNDC may have a change of heart in the not too distant future" (Elizabeth's Worksheet [HC], 2013) and "they might sort of put two and two together. They might try to save Happisburgh" (Raphe's Interview [HA], 2013), suggesting that Governmental inaction is cold indifference requiring a change of heart. This negates any other aspects of coastal change and the climate change drivers behind it, which are known when asked but are not integrated into the participants understanding of and approach to the changes. It is considered as a political injustice.

The policies of the Shoreline Management plan, of managed realignment, retreat and no active intervention, are viewed as 'bad practice' (Alice & Allan's Worksheet [HC], 2013). It is further perceived that if 'they', being the state, are "not prepared to spend money" (Silvia's Worksheet [SC], 2013) protecting the farmland participants expect that government agencies should compensate the farmers (Caroline's Worksheet [SC], 2013). Not as compensation for the erosion but for their malfeasance. In line with this there are many residents upset because they bought their houses on a defended coastline whilst the policy was still 'hold the line' (Suzanne's Interview [HA], 2013; Sophie's Interview [HA], 2013). This argument is transforming to a more contemporary complaint of misconduct as there is much outrage at the Government for seemingly failing to keep their side of the bargain. Managed retreat is seen as meaning nothing (Cameron's Interview [HA], 2013; Happisburgh Focus Group 6, 2013), as being "a joke because there's no management" (Sophie's Interview [HA], 2013). That in fact perhaps this is done on purpose so as to get away with doing nothing (Sean & Stephanie's Notebook [HB], 2013) as "no one seems to be taking it seriously" (Alice & Allan's Worksheet [HC], 2013). Additionally this is seen as part of a wider disinterest whereby the occasional ministerial visit (Ron's Interview [SA], 2013), allows for councillors to have more money, better cars, new offices, more fringe benefits (Sean & Stephanie's Notebook [HB], 2013). It is stated that "the government has been clever and made it local council responsibility to pay for the defences [as] they cannot afford it..." (Elizabeth's Interview [H28], 2013).

Politics itself is seen as holding the villages back. Party politics and political red tape is painted as a primary obstacle to change and the crux of the problem (Alice & Allan's Worksheet [HC], 2013). Statements such as "too much politics, petty politics" (Happisburgh Focus Group 3, 2013), the "council spends too much time talking not doing" (Happisburgh Focus Group 5, 2013) and, it's "down to the Government isn't it" (Happisburgh Focus Group 5, 2013) are very common. There is much annoyance that none of the MPs seem too interested (Darcy's Interview [HA], 2013) or that if you do "get a minister who will actually listen to you, somebody moves him sideways or down or upwards and you don't hear from him again" (Sophie's Interview [HA], 2013). The participants want the various political parties to get together to tackle the issue (Samuel & Lyn's Interview [SA], 2013; Emma's Interview [HA], 2013) believing that if just "one party would put a proposal together" (Sophie's Interview [HA], 2013) then many of their problems could be solved. Here a lack of willingness in Government and a fear of confronting the problems are cited as being the major problem (Carol & Richard's Worksheet [SC], 2013).

"This one civil servant said to me I don't understand the problem and I said well I am terribly sorry and I don't mean to be rude but if you can't then you must be as thick as a plank...The problem is the family cannot live there because the house is unsafe and you are expecting us to continue to charge them council tax...why is it unsafe because it's right on the edge of an eroding cliff it could collapse into the sea in a storm, 'I don't believe that' [he said]" (Sophie's Interview [HA], 2013).

Villagers are furious, more than simply angry, at the perceived abandonment of small communities stating flippantly that there are "not enough votes to worry the politicians" (Happisburgh Focus Group 6, 2013; Sean & Stephanie's Notebook [HB], 2013). The villagers feel "Ignored!" (Cameron's Worksheet [HC], 2013) and lied to (Ryder's Worksheet [HC], 2013). The injustices felt by the communities can be summed up with the statements; "no-body seems to care long enough to make a difference" (Elizabeth's Worksheet [HC], 2013) and "the hoi-polloi are listened to and cared about" (Sean & Stephanie's Worksheet [HC], 2013). It is perceived that the 'powers that be' view the situation as simply "people making a fuss" (Jason's Interview [HA], 2013) or "a little village having a moan" (Emma's Interview [HA], 2013) and that

“small little groups of villages, coastal villages...are not that important to the government of today or any government to be honest” (Jason’s Interview [HA], 2013). A few bungalows are not considered a priority (Samuel & Lyn’s Interview [SA], 2013) especially as the threat is only measured by what is immediately at risk rather than viewing the entire village, or even then, the long term cumulative effect to the area and possible beach along the line of the ancient river bed towards Norwich are not considered. As such there is scalar disassociation not only for the villagers but the policy makers and politicians.

Alongside these perceived injustices and issues of malpractice, there is also the tendency to view the trial pathfinder scheme, which was ended as planned in 2011, as an on-going provision (Sophie’s Worksheet [HC], 2013). It is therefore understood that a system is in place for the future and therefore there is no cause for concern. There is therefore considered to be no need for alternative provision as it is assumed to already exist in the form of the Pathfinder (Sarah’s Worksheet [HC], 2013; Catherine’s Worksheet [HC], 2013). This is despite “indicators from this current government...that it might just be quietly dropped” (Sophie’s Interview [HA], 2013). There is a distancing between the politicians and the coastal erosion as to the politician “in London...we are insignificant a little village” (Kate’s Interview [HA], 2013) as those making the decisions are predominantly based in London or Norwich and “because they live where they are they don’t care do they” (Matt & Beth’s Interview [HA], 2013). “Some form of lord or something in Norwich [said] let it go” (Margaret’s Interview [HA], 2013).

There is the impression in both case studies that they are not valued, that the city is valued more than the countryside recreating an uncomfortable dichotomy of urban and rural space whereby the city is distanced from the threat. The countryside and especially the rural coast becomes othered from the city. It is further perceived that settlement and even farming is getting in the way of wildlife, that the birds are valued more than humans (Happisburgh Focus Group 2, 2013; Sophie’s Worksheet [HC], 2013).

This fix it mentality is continued through the understanding that money can solve any problem (Emma's Interview [HA], 2013; Molly's Interview [HA], 2013; Jim & Sally's Notebook [HB], 2013), indeed that "99% of the problem is money" (Cameron's Worksheet [HC], 2013). This perhaps is a particularly developed western perspective, one fixated on economics (Washington & Cook, 2011, p.91); however it is one that is equally entrenched and effects how and when we react to climate change. By assuming that we have control, the lack of money to spend is blamed on "unnecessary expenditure on things like High Speed Rail" (Reginald's Worksheet [HC], 2013; Sean & Stephanie's Worksheet [HC], 2013). It is the assumption that the money is being spent on the wrong things (Reginald's Interview [HA], 2013). There is increasing frustration at the construction of new airports as "the very ground we need to have these is being eroded away" (Sean & Stephanie's Notebook [HB], 2013). This further demonstrates the impression that the state has the power to 'fix' the situation but chooses not to (Rachel's Interview [HA], 2013; Matilda's Interview [HA], 2013; Sophie's Interview [HA], 2013; Patrick's Interview [HA], 2013; Thomas's Interview [SA], 2013). A tendency socially and within policy to react rather than be proactive is recognised and used once again to maintain control and normalcy. Disjuncture emerges here as the social patterns of behaviour forming and supporting the lock-in are on the national scale and locally there is much anger against this.

Moreover, as this situation is viewed as political abandonment arguments over compensation are brought to the forefront of many discussions. As with the pathfinder scheme there are many assumptions made. It is believed that where the insurance agencies refused to provide compensation the council offered it themselves (Sarah's Worksheet [HC], 2013; Ben's Interview [HA], 2013; Catherine's Worksheet [HC], 2013; The Pearson's Worksheet [SC], 2013; Reginald's Worksheet [HC], 2013). This is in fact not the case and although some participants understand that compensation is forbidden (Sophie's Interview [HA], 2013) and that it was a trial scheme (DEFRA., 2011; North Norfolk District Council, 2011). Others however remain sure it was compensation and expect it to be repeated stating that "I am pretty sure they are re-housing people" (Danielle's Interview [HA], 2013). These statements and arguments all propose that the issue can be fixed with the reinstatement of defences,

exemplifying discourses of control to isolate the 'problem' and make it more tangible and simple so that it can be solved. There are many assumptions made by the participants within these frameworks. It is important here to note the power of rumour and speculation in effecting peoples approach and emotional response to the changes.

4.5. CONCLUSIONS

In summary the various disjunctures outlined are not specific to any one community, many being national or even western entrenched assumptions and practices based on these assumptions. Several key disjunctures however specifically exacerbate issues in small coastal villages under threat of erosion. For instance the dichotomy of nature and society although fiercely contested now academically remains within a palimpsest of social understanding and approach. In Britain this creates a separation of land and sea with seaside becoming idealised image, a place neither land nor sea but trapped between. It could indeed be said that this separation is simply because we no longer have much to do with our coasts, we do not need as many working on the docks or as fishermen, and we holiday on other coasts in other countries, flying over the sea. However this is not the only demonstration of this dichotomy. Climate change, sea level rise and erosion whether exacerbated by human activity or not are understood as natural processes and as such are assumed to be slow. These then are placed within a separate reality from everyday activities and practices creating two track thinking or indeed two worlds; one world for all things natural and slow changing, and the other for the fast paced immediacy of society. When it is necessary to reconcile these two worlds and adapt to the changes this is where disjuncture truly reveals itself. Although the assumptions exist everywhere, the disjuncture is only revealed where those assumptions are challenged.

Moreover individual disjuncture in time and space exports the threat to another location. The 'it's over there' paradigm runs seriously short of space, of land when applied to erosion, landslides and houses falling in the sea. A small rural village inland can happily continue to place such concerns far away and consider climate change simply in terms of solar panels and recycling. Disjunctures emerge when this same attitude is continued at the coast. The assumptions are revealed and maintained, papered over. The persistence of disjuncture in these two villages is a significant problem due to the acceleration of the erosion, the cultural and historical value of what is at risk and the geological weakness of the area. Before the area which includes Sidestrand was defended, the coastline was a very active landsliding area and increased rainfall due to a warmer atmosphere will exacerbate this natural tendency.

In addition Happisburgh lies on the ancient path of the Thames and bears a geological weakness in the alluvial strata that makes up much of the old village. Erosion along this route has borne much fruit archaeologically revealing Happisburgh to be the earliest site of human occupation in the northern hemisphere with significant Palaeolithic remains (Roberts & Grun, 2010) however this is not so good news for the current inhabitants of the area.

These larger disjunctures based on assumptions that exist in every part of society, embedded into social organisations and infrastructures, can be recognised in all crises where these assumptions are challenged. Where social understandings are brought into question and the normal world they knew is no longer the same. In this instance communities and individuals can be seen to react in ways that do not 'rationally' make sense because the lie is more favourable than the truth. Irregularity of exposure to risk allows the cracks in 'the norm' to be paved over or filled in. A prime example of this is the 1953 'Big Flood' that many have indeed forgotten about or assume that it was just a flood and nothing more. In fact entire villages on the mud cliffs of Norfolk were eroded away in a few days of storm (Baxter, 2005; McRobie et al, 2005). Furthermore the UK is reactive to emergency allowing the preservation of 'the norm' until some future date when an emergency occurs. It is very clear in the participants work and interviews that climate change and all associated with it, although cracks in their understanding have appeared, is viewed very much as a singular distant event not an ongoing process that will worsen.

Good examples of the transferability of the concept of disjuncture in exploring path dependency and resilience are past civilisation collapses in reaction to environmental change. In discussing disjuncture within the discourse of a bounce forward resilience recognises that when conflict with the ways of life and accepted realities of these past civilisations the social structures and their relationship to their environment needed to be resilient not simply to external threat but internal, as power relations, trade and economic flows, values and beliefs and questioned (Cooper & Peros, 2010; Orlove, 2005). This instigates various emotional reactions not least creating a lack of faith and spaces of anxiety. As we have seen recently in the many parts of the world such anxiety and lack of faith can lead to civil war. The external pressures of climate change

and their impact upon coastal change along the east coast of England come face to face with internal concerns of declining rural support, housing stress, industry disinvestment etc. and each exacerbate the other.

Although the overarching disjuncture is the same in both villages they are at different stages of distancing. Sidestrand is at the first stage of distancing the threat temporally and spatially. The infrequency of events and associated experiences allows efficient papering over of disjuncture. This frequency is not expected to change thus protecting the status quo, as evidenced by the high percentage of temporal and associated spatial distancing. Happisburgh on the other hand is struggling to maintain this level of distancing as the frequency of events is higher. They have instead moved onto the second stage of control reflex. Again such as with the wider disjuncture this process is active at all levels or scales; in this it is somewhat self-perpetuating. Whilst new events and experiences at the local level challenge even this distancing its acceptance at other scales continues the cover up. This continued cover up begins to chafe with experiences at the local level leading to abandonment and despair.

The term distancing as I use it therefore includes the myriad forms of distance, from cognitive and felt distance, to measured empirical distance. I have outlined in this chapter how distancing creates new spatialities and new boundaries to contain those spaces. These geographical terms situate this research within what some have argued are the key geographical tenets (Watson, 1955) of 'distance', 'space' and 'time', and how society interacts with, manipulates, creates and recreates these ideas. In response to climate change and holding with us disjuncture and associated assumptions, these key building blocks of our reality are distanced, to remove, reduce and control the threat. To summarise the idea of disjuncture offers a new perspective on theories of lock-in and path dependency and insight into why resilience is so often seemingly utilised to support the status quo and maintain business as usual. It aims to understand the resistance towards giving up 'the norm' and assess what exactly this 'norm' is.

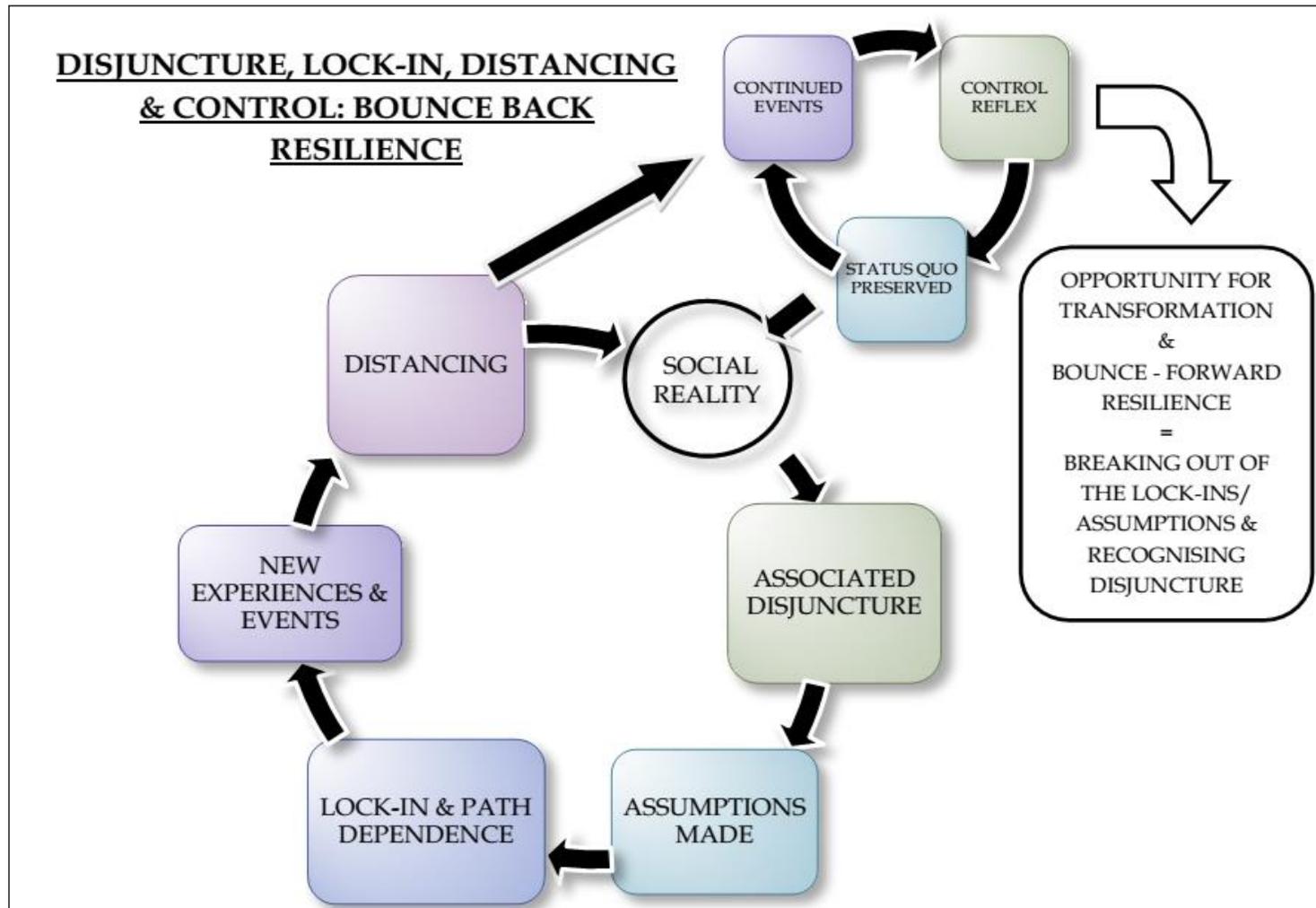
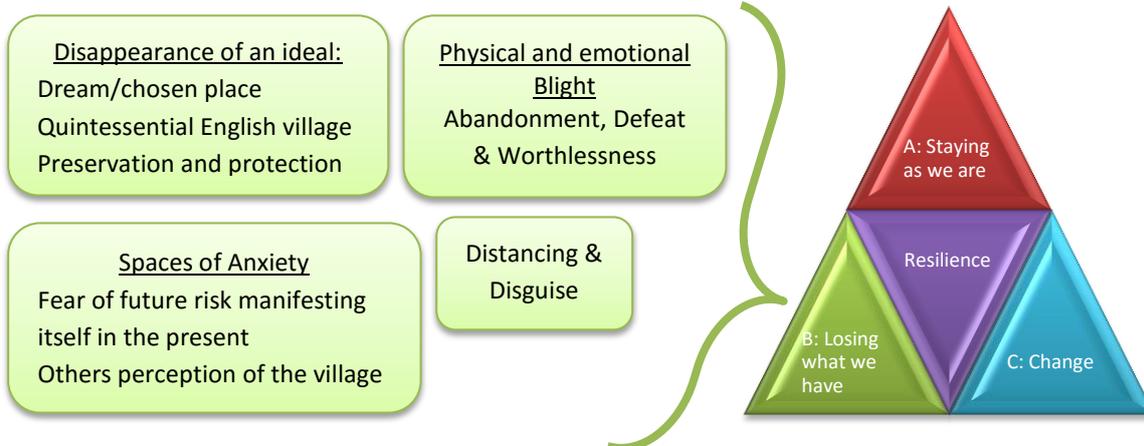


Figure 68: Diagram summarizing the key issues discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 5. ANXIETY EFFECT



5.1. INTRODUCTION

Unease caused by disjuncture from accepted understandings causes anxiety as new futures are imagined. Continued worsening of erosion is anticipated creating an anxious future of loss and change. Loss and change that both local and central government, and even neighbouring villages and towns, appear to ignore. This chapter discusses the impact and effect of this separation socially and emotionally. In summary there is a sense of abandonment and worthlessness.

This chapter suggests that as disjuncture between the commonly accepted understandings and new events becomes more evident the uneasy or uncanny places where this occurs themselves become distanced. This forms spaces of anxiety whereby unease about current and future changes manifests as blight. Blight can be divided into: *compound effects* of coastal change and rural decline, including outmigration, disinvestment, low maintenance and aid, loss of transport infrastructures and the depreciation of house prices; and *emotional blight* which encompasses place attachment and loss, landscape loss and domicide. Domicide refers to the complete loss or annihilation of a place through war, famine, disease or environmental change (Dando, 2009). This includes grief and solastalgia, worthlessness and a loss of future.

These two blights combine to create an 'anxiety effect' as spaces of anxiety become othered and distanced from the mainstream; a mainstream that still aims to bounce back and uphold the norms, attitudes and behaviours that have contributed to this

environmental change. Anxiety effects in terms of war and disease are immediate and although dramatic are tackled emotionally through action and practical problem solving. The anticipation of war as exemplified in the Cold War is the exception where the actions of the day threaten to end the future. The 'Anxiety Effect' in the context of erosion is similar with future anticipation manifest in the present, or indeed the expectation of no future affects the hope and purpose of the present.

Even within this space of anxiety some are able to continue distancing to some extent, understanding themselves to be removed from risk by measured distance or distanced in time, as discussed in chapter 4. Some participants living on the inland edge of the village or of understanding, believe all change to occur in some distant future when everyone here alive is dead, reiterate their distance in this manner repeatedly (see later discussion). This repetition however points to a breakdown of even this separation as the erosion continues and worsens, affecting more and more of each village. These ideas are expanded further in reference to the empirical data in the sections to follow.

5.2. EMPIRICAL DATA IN CONTEXT

Before fieldwork commenced it was anticipated that the emotional ramifications of climate change might be difficult for the participants to discuss directly due to the sensitive nature of the enquiry. To mitigate this, notebooks were provided for personal private reflection through any medium they felt comfortable with; be this drawing, writing, poetry, spider diagram etc. This however was not wholly necessary as the participants were friendly, accommodating and very open; and for the most part did not mind discussing their feelings. Numerous anecdotes with rich imagery and metaphor were eagerly provided in all three methodological phases.

In Sidestrand initial reservations that this research would adversely affect the village caused some villagers to refuse to participate. This in itself demonstrated the level of emotion in the village. Those that did participate commented that others hope everything will return to 'normal'; indicating the importance of emotion in understanding and overcoming lock-ins that support a normal and no longer exists. In the interview phase the participants were asked what they liked and disliked about their village. The overwhelming response was that Sidestrand was the perfect rural coastal retreat from urbanisation and a wonderful place to bring up children. Important places discussed by every participant extend beyond the house to encompass the fields and trees, the view and the church and the memories associated with them. While there remains a disassociation between land and sea the relationship with the sea is as much an emotional one as an intellectual one. When asked about the potential loss of these attachments and meanings a rich language of metaphor emerged equating the combined effects of coastal change and rural decline as stagnation, and the death of both community and village. One powerful metaphor was that of terminal illness with the village simply waiting to die.

*"The village will inevitably die, it has already lost houses and people will follow.
The community is already in its final stages.
There is little to attract new blood or activities to the area"
(Carol & Richard's Notebook [SB], 2013).*

*"It would be sad if the village became one of empty/semi-lived in properties"
"If the land is eroded & the current residents move out/ pass away & no new residents
move in permanently, we'd become a village of holiday lets and/ or empty properties.
This would be sad." (Caroline's Worksheet [SC], 2013)*

Figure 69: Research Poem from Notebook and Focus Group Worksheets

Happisburgh residents were much more open and receptive to the research and willing to open up; although this was mostly anger at the inaction of others. One resident refused to participate, saying that I was too late. This was in the belief that sea defences are the only solution to 'save' the village, demonstrating again the importance of this social imaginary. Similarly to Sidestrand when asked about their important places and what they liked and disliked about their village the resounding reply was that it was perfect and their chosen place; an ideal. The historic attachments of the village were not simply buildings to be preserved but the meaning and values associated with them. Fields were sites of cricket teas, village fetes and the RNLI lifeboat festival as well as known sites of mass graves of shipwrecked sailors. It was evident that it is not only farmers and the caravan site that suffer from the loss of land, and assumptions based on distance to the house do not hold when discussed emotionally.

The loss of these connections, which the participants were asked to reflect upon in the notebooks provided, was clearly a threat that although removed through distancing and control reflex greatly effects the present through its anticipation. Again metaphors of death were prevalent discussing outmigration of young people and young families as a loss of lifeblood and vitality of the village itself; a symbiosis of village and community. Moreover death of memory and the village itself were spoken of to the point where it was stated that Happisburgh has no future. The language utilised evoked not only death but stagnation, decay, rotting and withering away. This anxiety is discussed as affecting house prices, road and other infrastructure maintenance, bank loans and insurance; referred to as blight. Its greatest impact however I suggest is the influence it has upon the villagers hope and expectations of the future.

Here below is a research poem from the notebooks, interviews and focus groups to illustrate this. Complete analysis and NVivo transcripts for Sidestrand and Happisburgh are available in the appendices.

"It's a **dead village**...Nothing here" (Ben's Interview [HA]., 2013)
 "Gradual **disintegration** of a village & its vitality" (Sean & Stephanie's Notebook [HB]., 2013)
 "It's flourished really as a village community
 The concern is that **it won't continue to flourish**"
 (Cameron's Interview [HA]., 2013)
 "Concerned that people will stop trying to live here and make **viable** business"
 "Concerned **the village will die**" (Molly's Worksheet [HC]., 2013)
 "If we do not have affordable houses then **the village could die**"
 (Ryder's Worksheet [HC]., 2013)
"WHY LEAVE A WHOLE VILLAGE TO ITS GRADUAL ?DEMISE?"
 (Sean & Stephanie's Notebook [HB]., 2013)
 "The school the village shop the post office those kind of things could be at risk of closure in
 the future and that just means **the death of the village** really"
 (Chantelle's Interview [HA]., 2013)
"IN THE COUNTRYSIDE ROADS ARE LIKE ARTERYS IN THE BODY"
"THE SCHOOL IS HEALTHY - NEW CLASS ROOMS ETC.
BUT THE EROSION IS NOT TOO FAR AWAY. NEED TO THINK OF THE FUTURE"
 (Sophie's Worksheet [HC]., 2013)
"HAPPISBURGH R.I.P" (Catherine's Worksheet [HC]., 2013)

Figure 70: Research Poem on the theme of village death

5.3. SPACES OF ANXIETY

Due to the way events, places and issues become separated, marginalised and uncanny, the concepts of space and place are crucial. I utilise space in the discussion of coastal zones and the spatial distance from one place to another and how this can be, and is, manipulated. I further discuss the marginalisation of space, organisational space and spaces of interaction. Also media space that transverses these other spaces. Place is space that has particular mnemonic attachment and spaces that individuals and communities form a relationship with. This chapter aims to discuss how spaces become distanced and made anxious through an extension of control reflex and the places within these spaces threatened. As such this discussion expands the understandings of Buzinde et al. (2010); Brace & Geoghegan (2011); Holloway et al. (2003, pp.97, 321) and Weber (2010), whose work demonstrates that space is not neutral but is social constructed and continually manipulated.

5.3.1. New spaces and a new sociality of space

Through the practice of control reflex places that can no longer distance the perceived threat themselves become distanced. Such places become categorised as "places possessing potential danger" (Mesch, 2000, p.2). This identification makes present the future by performing, calculating and imagining the future (Anderson, 2010, p.3). This anticipatory practice can be a positive process enabling action towards resilience; however it also brings negative futures into the present. How the future relates to the present is something that until recently had not explicitly been engaged with in human geography (Anderson, 2010, p.2). These negative futures imagined effect present spatialities and how society behaves towards and within such spaces. The anxiety this causes creates anxious spaces. Perception of a threat and the anxiety it causes has not been looked at in much detail from a coastal erosion perspective and hardly any attention has been afforded to outsiders perception of and attitude towards a space as a result of perceived future threat. Whether to themselves or their business or institution, nor any subsequent change in behaviour to accommodate, mitigate or avoid these threats. The idea of a space of anxiety has only previously been considered from the perspective of mental health disorders not a social reaction to the creation of dangerous spaces to which we ascribe anxiety, see: (McGrath, 2008).

In order to control the negative futures and the threat they pose new borders are created to manage these new spaces. This once again serves to distance the changes or otherwise seek to contain the threat within a specific manageable space. Securing the threat this way is strikingly similar to biosecurity, notably with regard to animals farmed for food. The threat in this instance is disease and the management or irradiation of it (Hinchliffe et al., 2013), with biosecurity serving to amplify the threat and therefore the feeling of vulnerability. The labelling of an animal or activity, or space, as hazardous creates a narrative of fear and amplifies the expectation of a negative future. This practice makes a claim upon reality that alters behaviours and practice (Hinchliffe et al., 2013). For instance; all badgers are not infected with TB however because they are known carriers for bovine TB farmers have called for a cull just in case. To reduce the threat to one species (one that is valued) another that is not

so valued is sacrificed. Anxiety is most commonly discussed in relation to pandemics and terrorism (Hinchliffe et al., 2013). This anxiety is both emotional and social.

Climate change brings fear back home in such anxious spaces as the threat can no longer reside 'elsewhere'. Only those still practicing control reflex and distancing can continue to perceive climate change as existing 'over there'. In both Sidestrand and Happisburgh, on the surface the monitoring and control may be non-exclusionary however the effects of this identified border, this space of anxiety, causes other changes that become exclusionary. Manipulation of fear and anxiety therefore causes othering (Pain, 2009, p.8). Similar effects have been noted in villages threatened by increased flooding (Tapsell & Tunstall, 2008) although this is more in the experience of it, rather than the anticipation.

The manifestation of future fears in the present conflicts with taken for granted normalities, leading to that which exhibits them being excluded from the 'mainstream' (Mesch, 2000, p.3). Here I apply this understanding to these coastal villages perceived to no longer support the accepted social norm. This preference for 'business as usual' means that when the unknown and subsequent uncertainty re-emerges we are no longer used to it. People simply cannot imagine alternative scenarios, and therefore alternate pathways for change not based on the pre-set social imaginations are avoided. This reinforces and deepens the perception of these challenging spaces as risky and anxious. Especially in coastal locations where the erosion challenges preconceived ideas of stability and continuity.

In particular reference to the case study locations, the cultural usage of a space such as the seaside, or more specifically the beach, creates norms and habits in relation to that space. Coastal locations experiencing damaging erosion no longer match this ideal market image of a beach (Horton & Kraftl, 2014, p.43; Nassauer, 1995, pp.1,6). Such ideal norms are constructed through various mediums of communication introducing and reinforcing place stereotypes (Boland, 2008). These are further reinforced through national media highlighting the presence of aspects outside the norm for the imagined space (Mesch, 2000, p.3). The imagined seaside scene does not usually include danger signs about slippage and buried debris (see: Figure 71) changing the perception of that

place and introducing uncertainty and therefore anxiety. Many levels of anxiety are therefore layered onto these coastal spaces making them spaces of avoidance based on anxiety.



Figure 71: Photographs showing the danger signs at Happisburgh Beach

5.3.2. Outside perspectives

This representational dissonance (Buzinde et al., 2010, p.2) built up from "tv characterisations of place" (Jackson et al., 2013, p.11) and many other media (Holloway et al., 2003, p.100) has significant effect in both case study villages. These place representations have had material consequences in so far as fantasies, desires and more importantly fears are expressed in actual behaviour (Harvey, 1996, p.321). As such these outside understandings of this newly categorised/ re-categorised space in the form of the media and tourism impacts, creates many new images of the villages within. Firstly Happisburgh is understood by many as the village that is 'falling into the sea'. A view that implies immediacy or even that it is too late and it has already happened, "a village that is doomed" (Catherine's Worksheet [HC]., 2013). Anxiety augmented by the media encourages negative perceptions of space accelerating the impact of changes yet to occur. Future negatives are placed over and in front of present positives causing outsiders to consider the villages already lost to the sea.

A further understanding sees the villages "solely as a 'problem'" (Catherine's Worksheet [HC]., 2013) with Happisburgh especially, "hitting the headlines on a regular basis for coastal erosion" (Rachel's Worksheet [HC]., 2013). These regular headlines keep the 'plight', as it is regarded (Chantelle's Interview [HA]., 2013), in the public's mind. Happisburgh has become known for its coastal erosion and "if there's an

erosion issue anywhere they [the press] come to Happisburgh because it is well known for it ...oooh Happisburgh you're losing all the cliff" (Danielle's Interview [HA]., 2013). There is much exasperation with the media as they seem to focus solely on the negative events, zooming in on the immediate catastrophe (Emma's Interview [HA]., 2013), and "It tends to be a story when someone's house is falling over the edge or a lot of cliff falls down" (Darcy's Interview [HA]., 2013).

As a result of these images and understandings when Happisburgh is spoken of by others the perception remains that the entirety of Happisburgh is falling into the sea even though, at this time, only select areas are in fact threatening to do this (Rachel's Interview [HA]., 2013). As a result the participants claim "it bothers other people more than it does us" (Matilda's Interview [HA]., 2013). This just goes to show the effect this separation and spatial containment of the threat has upon the area in question.

*"If you say you live in Happisburgh
people will come back and say you're falling in the sea"*

(Rachel's Interview [HA]., 2013)

Furthermore, the situation in North Norfolk, and especially with regard to Happisburgh, is on the GCSE syllabus. One participant states that his son is "learning about the tsunami, the earthquake at Haiti and the beach at Happisburgh. [That] [p]people are learning about Happisburgh because of the erosion and the destruction" (Cameron's Interview [HA]., 2013). He is obviously upset by this and that "they hear the name Happisburgh and they immediately align it with depression" (Cameron's Interview [HA]., 2013). Understanding and the othering of space that is occurring has spread even further than the counties in the immediate vicinity that may wish to distance and control the threat, not simply through the national geography syllabus but via social media. This is demonstrated by the fact that participants have been asked on Facebook "what's going on, how much cliff have you lost?" (Kate's Interview [HA]., 2013), stating that "every question from anyone who doesn't live here is 'oh my gosh how many years left have you got in Happisburgh before your house disappears'" (Kate's Interview [HA]., 2013). It is to no surprise therefore that this impacts upon the tourism of the area. This is a highly significant impact due high dependence on tourism

as a primary income, as the traditional incomes of farming and fishing can no longer support them independently. These various understandings and images are captured in a satirical drawing published in the Eastern Daily Press (Eastern Daily Press (EDP)., 2014) (Figure 72). Tourism itself is not a subject of this thesis however it is important to note its importance in the economic capital of the region.

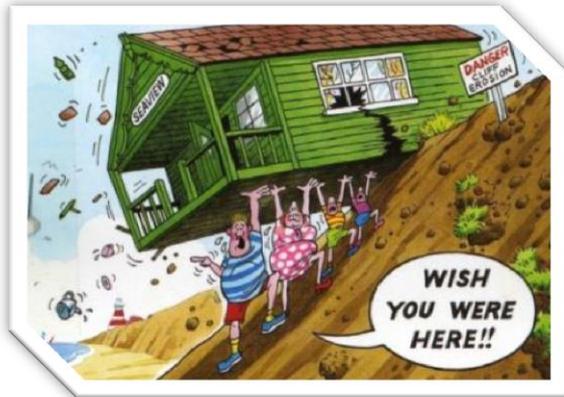


Figure 72: Satiric postcard of Happisburgh (Rachel's Notebook [HB]., 2013)

Potentiality of threat is just as influential as its occurrence. Narratives of fear reach beyond and ahead of the threat. For instance regarding the BSE crisis people stopped eating British beef and some stopped eating beef altogether, some countries stopped importing British beef. In North Norfolk many people have stopped going there except out of a certain morbid curiosity; as a place of curio rather than a family holiday destination. From the villagers' perspective people now "come for the wrong reasons" (Happisburgh Focus Group 6., 2013), coming to watch houses being demolished (Samantha's Interview [HA]., 2013) and look at the erosion (Elizabeth's Interview [HA]., 2013).

One spot in particular in Happisburgh has become a tourist spot with people taking photos and walking over people's property (Darcy's Interview [HA]., 2013). This trespass potentially signifies the change in practice towards this space; no longer private protected property but a tourist curiosity.

This affront is compounded by the understanding that tourists want to see more erosion;

"It's awful, it's like the people who stand on race tracks and want to see a crash. If there's a storm they'll come in their hundreds to see the effect the storm has had. It's the doom and gloom merchants that like to come and see the effects it's had"

(Sophie's Interview [HA]., 2013).

The villagers feel they need to "combat this erroneous national myth" (Catherine's Notebook [HB]., 2013); desperate to show they are a positive community. One focus group summed up their situation in this regard as the theme tune to 'New Tricks' which repeats 'it's alright, it's okay' battling against the notion that everything is doom and gloom (Happisburgh Focus Group 4., 2013). A war against the villages' representation. Despite residents protestations the villages are viewed as dying.

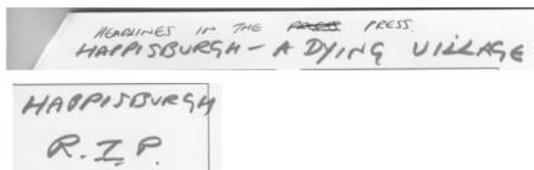


Figure 73: Press impact on Happisburgh (Catherine's Worksheet [HC]., 2013)

"The crumbling edge"
"The chronic tragedy of the imperilled East coast"
"A place of dread fascination"

(Gough, 2010).

Fullilove (1996) notes that when place is degraded in the opinion of others and shown up in stark contrast to the expected image a feeling of alienation follows (Fullilove, 1996, p.5). In this instance they refer specifically to rural America alienated and separated as a risky space of tornadoes. It "has settled into a state of invisibility that is lifted only by tragedy or disaster" (Fullilove, 1996, p.5). The role of representation and the social imagining of place quite often fostered by the media have been explored further by Dando (2009) as Deathscapes. The media in America has had a very active role in shaping public opinion of the Great Plains (Dando, 2009, p.1); as a negative space associated with death. The media as such and public opinion, become agents of topocide and domocide (Dando, 2009).

5.3.3. Blight

These understandings created in reference to future fears and augmentation of present changes, are damaging as they cause effects even before the anticipated changes to coastline and villages. These effects have been named 'blight' which, as with the spread of understandings, appears to be contagious. The space of anxiety expands to include many coastal North Norfolk villages. The most widely talked about blight devaluation of houses with some famously valued at £5 and even £1 (The Mail Online., 2008). This depression is understood to be local and that just 10 miles inland their houses would be worth a lot more (Chantelle's Interview [HA]., 2013). There is a distinct feeling of being stuck (Chantelle's Interview [HA]., 2013) with "no chance of selling their homes" (Margaret's Notebook [HB]., 2013).

"Never crosses my mind that anyone would buy.

My husband feels we could give it away" (Alice & Allan's Worksheet [HC]., 2013).

This has a significant effect as "people don't want to come...see it as too close to the sea" (Jason's Interview [HA]., 2013) that "as soon as people do their research they pull out of the deal" (Sophie's Interview [HA]., 2013). The villages are viewed as not particularly desirable to live in (Ben's Interview [HA]., 2013) and people "think twice before buying in Happisburgh now" (Suzanne's Interview [HA]., 2013).

*"We've been in the papers,
We've been on the tele,
We've been everywhere,
We were splashed all over the papers.
That's probably harmed our house prices"*

Figure 74: Participant quote about media attention (Suzanne's Interview [HA]., 2013)



Figure 75: Photo of happisburgh for sale signs

Another blight affecting both housing and businesses is insurance. Insurers label erosion a certainty not a risk (Association of British Insurers, ., 2012). Due to the understanding that Happisburgh has been falling in the sea for a long time, getting a mortgage and insurance is a worry expressed by many participants (Samantha's Interview [HA]., 2013; Sarah's Interview [HA]., 2013; Elizabeth's Worksheet [HC]., 2013). This blight is not only significant in Happisburgh but has an increased effect in Sidestrand, as in an effort to control the situation insurance providers now ask "are you beyond a quarter of a mile from the sea" (Samuel & Lyn's Interview [SA]., 2013) prompted by the entering of your post code. The post codes must be flagged as at high threat as "*insurance companies won't touch you with a barge pole*" (Samuel & Lyn's Interview [SA]., 2013).

People subsequently have difficulty buying houses in the village as "it's got to be a cash sale" (Samuel & Lyn's Interview [SA]., 2013). As in Happisburgh therefore people pull away from purchasing in parts of Sidestrand due to insurance concerns (Thomas's Interview [SA]., 2013). Whilst insurance, mortgage provision and housing price depression causes people to think twice about moving to the area, it also causes potential new or existing business investors to rethink their involvement and current investors to withdraw their commitment. This blight spreads from industry to industry and from village to village, causing knock-on effects that hasten the approach of change.

The space and the villages within are reproduced as spaces of anxiety as they become labelled or branded as risky save as a passing curiosity for coach parties (Buzinde et al., 2010). The space indeed has been labelled a bad investment (Buzinde et al., 2010, p.4). In a climate where erosion is labelled a 'certainty', instability is assumed, causing any change to come under constant scrutiny creating risky spaces (Weber, 2010). Where there are also unknown risks in the same equation threat although technically incalculable is assumed to be present and to be mitigated against. Businesses cannot presume an area to be a safe investment therefore it is assumed to be an unsafe or risky one, not simply unknown. Such uncertainty causes business confidence to drop in the areas or spaces affected, which in communities where local businesses such as the local pub and food shop directly support the local community, has the potential to undermine the wellbeing of those communities (NNDC., 2011). The perception of a threatening dangerous future be it accelerating erosion, flood risk, or increasing fears over global terror and pandemics, can influence the present dependent upon the social imagination of that future. In anticipating this future present action to mitigate and adapt to it brings that feared future into the present mind-set. This future is made present through insurance and planning programs that utilise erosion predictions as fact and amend their actions accordingly.

5.4. COMPOUND EFFECTS

5.4.1. A confluence of rural and coastal concern

Issues of blight associated with this 'othering' of space collide with other rural and coastal concerns. These include; holiday homes and second homes, a lack of affordable housing, poor road maintenance, and poor service provision in terms of energy, mobile phone signal and internet. These are not deal breakers in and of themselves and are common rural concerns however they are all exacerbated and accelerated by making the anxious futures present, causing anxiety, and either cautious investment or none at all. This is a good example of a 'perfect storm' (Eubanks, 2012) where many aspects come together to cause collapse. Many discrete aspects that may on the surface appear to have little to do with the other, but when they come together cause a chain effect. As such it is crucial to include the continuing and emergent rural and coastal issues in any assessment of resilience.

The villages in question although being coastal are every bit the rural village experiencing the same disadvantages and disinvestments of other rural settlements; being often seen as marginal (Phillips, 2005, p.355) or peripheral and 'other' (Davidson & Milligan, 2004, p.4). These blights are compounded by the fact they are also seaside villages and as such have their own issues to deal with on top of this. Smaller seaside towns and villages are marginalised even before the anticipated threat of erosion and climate change as 'The English Seaside' has an associated social pathology of local stagnation and decline (Smulian, 2011). The villages therefore share the disinvestment in rural areas witnessed in the last few decades (Kelly, 2009, p.2) but this is exacerbated by their location at the seaside and most importantly their label as dangerous, risky or anxious spaces. Industry responses to anticipated risks can and do cause accelerated effects forming spaces of anxiety. Banks and insurance agencies also respond in this fashion withdrawing investment over potential future losses. The "blight is now" (Happisburgh Focus Group 2., 2013) and as such the future has a presence in the present.

One example is Happisburghs' Hill House pub. It is already the case that "pubs are dropping like flies" (Sophie's Interview [HA]., 2013) and investment is continuously being withdrawn from traditional village pubs. This is a national issue not simply one confined to this area of North Norfolk (Smithers, 2014) but one that is significantly impacted upon by the labelling of space and outsider perspectives. The pub has been deemed to be a liability by the banks despite for all other purposes being a well-supported and thriving pub; "[the] pubs value decreased rapidly and bank support went out the window" (Sophie's Notebook [HB]., 2013). The anxiety surrounding the village means that despite the pub having perhaps 30 to 50 years before imminent danger the bank "will not risk their money" (Sophie Notebook [HB]., 2013).

The new value of the pub now stands at a third of what it was and their overdraft facility reduced significantly from £15,000 to £2,500 (Sophie's Notebook [HB]., 2013), to the point where they now consider the pub to be un-saleable and they will never be able to repay the mortgage (Sophie's Interview [HA], 2013; Sophie's Notebook [HB]., 2013). The pub is considered a social asset to the village as the last remaining pub and in many ways the hub of the village (Ryder's Notebook [HB]., 2013; Carmen's Interview [HA]., 2013). There is much anger that the banks valuation fails to include this, instead valuing it at nothing because of the coastal erosion.

"The banks get panicky, what does the bank know about social value?
Maybe they should but they don't, the bank doesn't care about that.
If we survive it will be a miracle"

Figure 76: Participant quote demonstrating the exasperation felt by the pub owner with the banks disinvestment (Sophie [HA]., 2013)



Figure 77: Photo of the Hill House Pub

It is not within the scope of this thesis to theorise why the banks may or may not include the social value of local pubs or other locations of social interaction, or even if they should. The importance here is that the participants believe the economic and governmental institutions have abandoned them to this negative future.

The pub is not alone in this threatened existence. Sidestrand church (and Happisburgh too to a lesser extent) is at threat of closure. Again this is not unique to Norfolk or even to rural areas with a gradual withdrawal from the idea of the church as the centre of the community (Murdoch & Marsden, 2013; Smith & Hopkinson, 2012). Sidestrand is currently part of a shared ministry with 5 other churches and the congregation moves between these churches, being in a different village every Sunday. For this reason during my research, and not having a car, I was unable to worship whilst I was there. Now there is the threat that one of the churches in the group may be closed; “[they are] talking about getting rid of one of the churches” (Ron’s Worksheet [SC]., 2013). “The church is struggling financially and in attendance” (Carol & Richard’s Interview [SA]., 2013) and it is noted that being only a small church “they tend to look at the size of us” (Ron’s Worksheet [SC]., 2013).

This is a great source of worry in the village as the church is their “basic meeting place” (Betty’s Notebook [SB]., 2013) and they fear if a younger person is not prepared to work for the church it will eventually be closed (Pauline’s Letter [S]., 2013). These two examples demonstrate that the villages are under threat from more than just erosion. Both of these buildings and the role they serve are important to the communities in question. However it is crucial to note that this importance and value goes beyond the brick or stonework to the story of the place.

Table 5: Table to summarise the key compound effects augmenting anxiety and impacting resilience.

Compounding factors	Implication
Holiday homes and second homes, a lack of affordable housing.	Impacting the economic value of the housing stock and economic capital to be traded off against. Perceived as a holiday location only reducing investment.
Poor road maintenance.	Impacting the outside perception of the villages. Accelerating the erosion impact as it is perceived that the resurfacing is not value for money given erosion predictions (see Part 3 of this section).
Poor service provision in terms of energy, mobile phone signal and internet.	Constricting establishment of new businesses and community service provision as well as, once more affecting outside perception of the village.
Disinvestment and marginalisation of rural coastal areas. (Banks, Pubs & Churches)	Distanced from the mainstream as the cost benefit analysis value is considered to be negative (DEFRA., 2011).

5.4.2. A landscape of memory

Attachment goes beyond the buildings to include the environment, the situation also. Participants began noting one place of importance but then expand it to include others perhaps indicating they have more attachment, more places of importance for them in their villages, than even they thought.



Percentage of participants that indicated these places as important

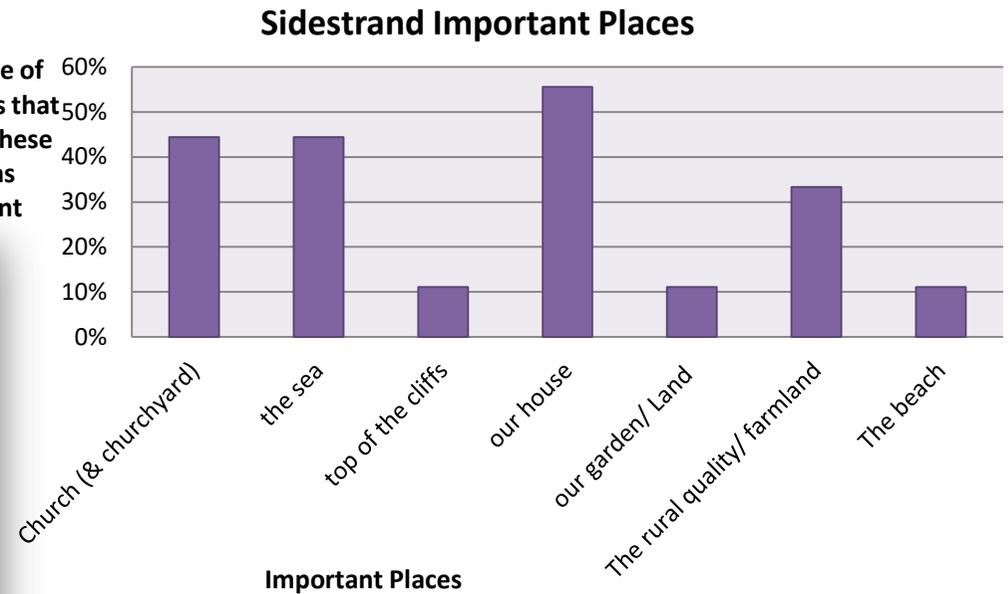


Figure 78: Graph representing the content analysis of places considered important to the Sidestrans Participants

This data suggests that in Sidestrans the land and the sea are as much a part of the village as the houses and the church.

Figure 79: Google Earth photo annotated to display Sidestrans important places (GoogleEarth., 2015)

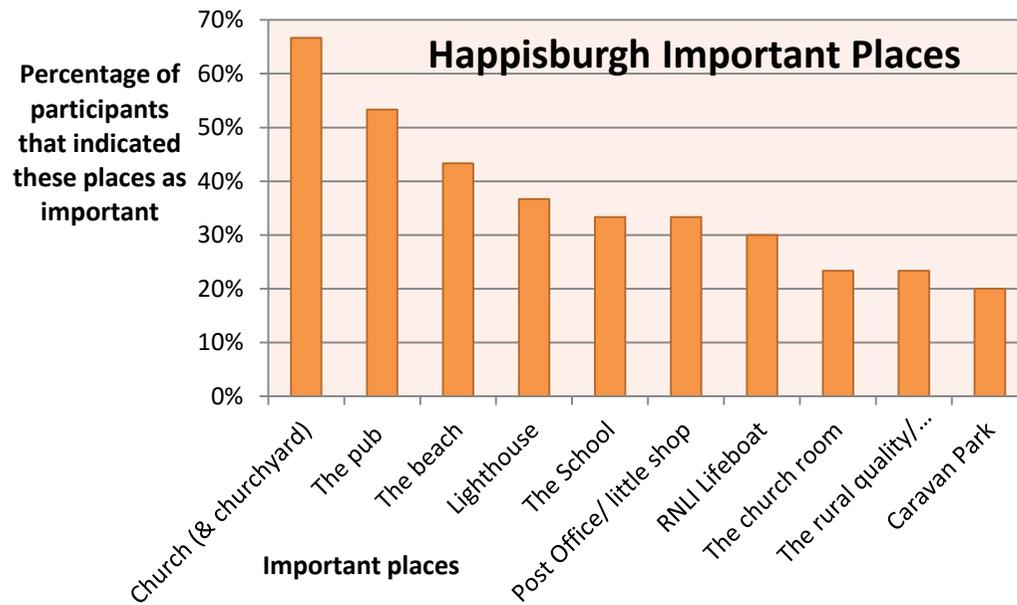


Figure 80: Graph representing the places considered most important to the Happisburgh Participants.

This graph is the result of content analysis on the participant reflection notebooks. Places mentioned as being important to them and to the village were collated and tallied. It is evident therefore that the locations considered important are the major landmarks, but also the land and beach, and village services. As discussed the church is considered important aside from its religious connotations.



Figure 81: Google Earth photo annotated to display these important places (GoogleEarth., 2015).

Place has meaning and many stories; these stories make up part of our place attachment. This is important here as these stories must be heard and their importance known in order to fully understand what is being lost, and the impact this loss may have. Place in this fashion is a receptacle for more than one's own memories and attachment but that of the entire community. This may even represent regional or national identity. Place being space given meaning by people (Jones & Evans, 2012, p.5) becomes the "locus of collective memory" (Harvey, 1996, p.304). These memories become attached to specific objects, be they building, field or social event (Devine-Wright, 2009; Vorkinn & Riese, 2001), forming a mnemonic landscape (Burley, 2010, p.45). Place therefore becomes multicoded with overlapping meaning reinforcing place investment (Kong & Yeoh, 1995) and inscribed with the presence of humanity (Low & Lawrence-Zuniga, 2003, p.13). As such places carry their history with them.

These stories and their meaning locally and regionally are what creates a villages' "local distinctiveness" (Schofield & Szymanski, 2011), and is something that many villages strive to protect. In the case of these coastal cliff communities losing their village, their 'place' over the edge to the sea, their history, stories, and distinctive identities are also lost. It is crucial therefore that solastalgia be mentioned here as pain deriving from change or destruction of the familiar environment causes strong emotional responses and psychiatric trauma (Smith, 2010). In Sidstrand and Happisburgh this effect is augmented by the understanding that loss is irreversible and unreachable, severing ties to past events and memories through the destruction of landmarks with "symbolic associative meaning" (Burley, 2010, p.62). The loss of these landmarks or memory markers result also in "historical loss and grief at its loss" (Read, 1996, p.17), losing fundamental connections to the past, past generations.

- **A church's value**

The churches are prized in both villages as centres of the community, acting as a "community facility" (Rachel's Notebook [HB]., 2013) and "basic meeting place" (Betty's Interview [SA]., 2013); a central communal space and a place of coming together. The church has multiple roles that bring the community together and help the community in various ways. It is moreover stated that the church is "centre of our community" (Jim & Sally's Notebook [HB]., 2013) and even that "the church is the

community” (Simon’s Worksheet [HC]., 2013) forming a vital part of the village identity and interaction.

*“A place where people go to give thanks,
To ask for help,
To say goodbye and say hello,
To see people joined in marriage and celebrate seasons.
If it were to go, where would these take place?”*
(Ryder’s Notebook [HB]., 2013).

“It is the centre where the village gathers in times of trouble and in times of joy”
(Catherine’s Notebook [H30]., 2013)

Figure 82: Research Poem about church attachment



Figure 83: (Left) Sidstrand Church, (Right) Happisburgh Church

Beyond even the current religious value of the churches, in Happisburgh the location of the church itself is integral;

It has been “a very important sacred hill for centuries” (Happisburgh Focus Group 7., 2013). There has been a church on that very spot since Domesday (Carter & Charlotte’s Notebook [HB]., 2013). It is a sacred geography that is culturally and spatially important, the loss of which is regarded as a travesty (Simon’s Worksheet [HC]., 2013)

This associated value, of history, heritage and spiritual significance, proves that the value of a church should not be based solely on church attendance and money (Sophie’s Notebook [HB]., 2013). In fact Happisburgh church is described as ‘the heart

of the village' (Happisburgh Focus Group 7., 2013; Catherine's Notebook [HB]., 2013; Ryder's Notebook [HB]., 2013) like a living being connoting death upon its loss.

Alternatively it is described as the jewel of the village" (Adam's Worksheet [HC]., 2013) again depicting something precious and prized. Moreover the churches are important as portals to past times and past peoples; "imbued with memories of those who have worshipped there for centuries" (Catherine's Notebook [HB]., 2013). In addition to the building itself, the churchyard and the graves contained hold great meaning for the villagers referring to the generations buried there since Domesday (Carter & Charlotte's Notebook [HB]., 2013); "generations of elders buried together" (Simon's Worksheet [HC]., 2013). These graves are discussed not as bones but as loved ones and friends (Sean & Stephanie's Worksheet [HC]., 2013; Willow's Notebook [HB]., 2013); "*there are friends resting there*" (Willow's Notebook [HB]., 2013). The church although not religiously important to some was still considered important as a social service and as simply a great historical landmark. As such the response was unanimous despite withdrawal from the church as a place of worship.

Meaning and attachment is not degraded proportionally to the flesh but remain strong and memorialised. The grave and the bones themselves are therefore memorials to the attachment and memory of the loved ones upon visiting the grave. The loss of this therefore carries much hurt, losing loved ones a second time. Those that say 'they're just dead people' or 'it's just bones' perhaps do not have any family or friends in the churchyard or perhaps do indeed view the remains as separate from the person they loved. The church and churchyard however is a place alive with memory.

- **Of Memory, History and heritage**

This presence of memory, or the haunting of those both dead and alive (Coddington, 2011), goes beyond the church, to other buildings in both villages. In Sidstrand the participants discuss the loss of their memories along with their homes; "all our memories gone, our home is lost" (Caroline's Worksheet [SC]., 2013), suggesting that the home is a vessel for the containment of precious memories; a veritable treasure chest "filled with memories" (Carol & Richard's Notebook [SB]., 2013) and "significant in family connections" (Betty's Notebook [SB]., 2013). As with the churches people's homes are alive with memory. Personal investment, "blood, sweat, [and] tears"

(Caroline's Notebook [SB]., 2013), making a living house. As such "place is peopled with memories of those important to [them] becoming infused with symbolic meaning (Burley, 2010, p.62).

In Happisburgh individual homes are not spoken of as much as the entire village and its heritage. Home and heritage are referred to in equal breath as if they are one and the same; *"It is home. It has History"* (Rachel's Notebook [HB]., 2013). The buildings themselves are viewed as part of a living village (Rachel's Notebook [HB]., 2013), iconic in what they come to represent, the stories they have witnessed and the memories they contain. As such there is a great effort happening in both villages to preserve as much of their history, stories and tales as possible. In Sidestrand they take great pride in their annual historical exhibition (Ron's Notebook [SB]., 2013). Both villages have a long history. Sidestrand has a manorial, farming heritage with the added layer of their role in World War Two with Sidestrand Hall used as a base for the 'home guard' (Pauline's Letter [S]., 2013). This military connection can still be seen upon the beach at Happisburgh in the form of an upturned WWII Pill Box.



a)



b)

Figure 84: a) Notebook Sketch 5 of the beached pillbox (Adam's Notebook [HB]., 2013), b) Fieldwork Photos (Brown, Unpublished).

Sidestrand moreover celebrates its Poppyland Heritage coined by Clement Scott, a created ideal persisting since the 1900's (Scott, c1900). In Happisburgh community and heritage are recurring themes with much pride placed in its long history. A history that has now been lengthened considerably as the "northernmost site of human expansion into Eurasia before c.780,000 years ago (Roberts & Grun, 2010). As such the chronology of Happisburgh and the font of knowledge contained (Ryder's Notebook [HB]., 2013) has a value that goes beyond the monetary value of land and buildings. The "antiquity calling to [them]" (Mabey et al., 2009, p.64) from the medieval monastic buildings, the 15th century church, 16th century coaching inn, still a working pub, 18th century lighthouse, a Victorian School building and Arts and Crafts manor, are all considered important and part of the identity of the village of Happisburgh.

This prized history is part and parcel of the village "embedded in place" (Burley, 2010, p.44), and continuum in memory and action from past and present to the future is important to their identity (Ashworth & Graham, 2005, pp.8-9), providing "'bridges to the past', continuity and wholeness" (Manzo, 2005, pp.12,16). This is especially crucial to note as this continuum is under threat. There is no safe continuity from past to future and this memorial landscape may be lost to the sea. This mnemonic inscribed relationship goes beyond brick and stone to the landscape, specific fields and people's gardens. Land has value more than mere price as agricultural land or as a building plot, it has a cultural value, a cultural purpose. Social events become tied into the land creating memory markers (Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Low & Lawrence-Zuniga, 2003).

A field is never *just a field*. The trauma of losing such memoryscapes is demonstrated in Tolkien's 'The Return of the King' when the party tree in the Shire is torn down by Saruman (Tolkien, 1955). In Sidestrand this is the cricket field that has since become more farmland for the production of potatoes for Walkers Crisps (Pauline's Letter [S]., 2013). In Happisburgh 'Bottom field' (now crumbling with the caravan park into the sea) is the location of the RNLI lifeboat festival which brings the community together (Simon's Worksheet [HC]., 2013). I suggest therefore that particular trees and fields have mnemonic attachment and are as much a part of the villages as the houses and listed buildings.



a) b)
Figure 85: Photos of 'Bottom Field' Happisburgh - a) Photo showing the proximity of Happisburgh church to the erosion, b) Evidence of the retreat of the caravan park



a) b)
Figure 86: Bottom field photos: a) Location of the former stairs to the beach, b) Overhanging grass at the cliff edge and the concrete blocks where the stairs to the beach were under two years previously.

The loss of these fields is more meaningful due to what it represents and the role it plays. It is feared that the annual RNLI lifeboat day will not be able to be held in Happisburgh for much longer causing a complete withdrawal of the RNLI from the village (Simon's Worksheet [HC]., 2013; Danielle's Interview [HA]., 2013; Carmen's

Interview [HA]., 2013). For a village that had one of the first ever lifeboat stations (Ron's Notebook [SB]., 2013) this is not just about a field or even the festival, it is about identity, meaning and what is being lost. The villages therefore are not just buildings, not just people's houses, but all the land, activities and memories associated with it. The erosion is described as "nibbling away at Sidestrand" (Ron's Notebook [SB]., 2013), and Happisburgh, not just the cliffs and the land but the villages. Many of these buildings have become landmarks, focal and expected parts of the landscape (see: Figure 87). The churches in both villages are viewed as mile markers where upon sighting them you are almost home (Carol & Richard's Notebook [SB]., 2013; Rachel's Notebook [HB]., 2013).



Figure 87: Happisburgh (a) and Sidestrand (b) churches as landmarks in the landscape.

As famous historical features Happisburgh's lighthouse and church are viewed as iconic symbols of the place (Carter & Charlotte's Worksheet [HC]., 2013; Margaret's Notebook [HB]., 2013; Rachel's Notebook [HB]., 2013; Ryder's Notebook [HB]., 2013).



Figure 88: The two towers of Happisburgh

These symbols are also utilised to represent Norfolk with Happisburgh lighthouse often found on district council documentation and websites; a point of pride as the oldest working lighthouse in East Anglia (Happisburgh Village Website., 2014). The lack

of permanency and continuity revealed in the landscape causes the loss of these symbols and this 'landscape of memory' (Ashworth & Graham, 2005, p.19; Brugger et al., 2013, p.5). This memocide (Porteous & Smith, 2001) is much feared as "what is lost is not only the physical place but the essence of home and aspect of personal self-identity" (Smith, 1995, p.72). A way of dealing with this as discussed in the literature review is through memorialisation to accept the loss (Walton & Shaw, 2015) and initiate change. The practicality of this as a bounce forward process is discussed in the conclusion to this thesis.

5.4.3. An Ideal Village - 'The place to be'

In response to this impermanency and uncertain future traditional representations of place, particularly the rural, are sought as they are comfortingly familiar. An important representation highlighted in these case studies is the 'rural idyll'. The collective representation (Wagner et al., 1999, p.4) of the rural idyll has become deeply entrenched in English culture (Bunce, 1994, p.2) and "one of the most powerful and enduring ideas about the rural" (Woods, 2011, p.21). Even though this is a created narrative which emerged as a reaction to expanding industry and urban space (Burchardt, 2002), it is also a "well marketed idea of country life" (Mingay, 1989, p.25). Many now critique and openly criticise the notion of the rural idyll (Bell, 2006; Bosworth & Willett, 2011; Cloke, 2003; Short, 2006). It is however what the villagers themselves believe that important. Social imaginings remain in a palimpsest of understanding and the rural idyll is one such bubble that can and will lead to disjuncture. Little or no research has been done on such social representations as these in as far as they relate to the disruption of place (Devine-Wright, 2009). This however has shown to be crucial to the place relations of both villages.

The common characterisations of the rural idyll are the picturesque (Burchardt, 2002), continuity and timelessness, it's identity as a safe haven, and the construction of the typical village, can all be recognised in both villages. Firstly, the notion of the picturesque has been a national obsession focussed on the countryside as an aesthetic and social ideal (Bunce, 1994, p.3). This obsession is particularly long lasting as demonstrated by Ditchfield's proud statement that; "*no country in the world can boast*

of possessing rural homes and villages which have half the charm and picturesqueness of our English cottages and hamlets" (Ditchfield, 1908, p.1). In accordance with this in Sidestrand much emphasis is given to the view being described as "*incredibly important*" (Betty's Interview [SA]., 2013), "just a dream" (Betty's Notebook [SB]., 2013), and as a postcard, a picture perfect place (Samuel & Lyn's Interview [SA]., 2013). The language utilised connotes not only idyllic aesthetic perfection but an idealised place made real. Such importance placed upon this visual connection suggests perhaps that any change to that visual landscape could be particularly emotional. Equally in Happisburgh there is repetition of the area and the village itself being beautiful, highlighting its importance in the village identity (Figure 89).

"It's pretty; it's a nice little village" (Suzanne's Interview [HA]., 2013);

"It's a beautiful piece of countryside" (Simon's Interview [HA]., 2013);

"We want to be here, it's beautiful" (Matilda's Interview [HA]., 2013).

"As you come into the village you feel like you've come home

It is so, so beautiful around here, so beautiful,

Just a beautiful, beautiful village" (Emma's Interview [HA]., 2013).

Figure 89: Research Poem representing the beautiful ideal

The rural has long been characterised as timeless and stable with a great depth of history (Ditchfield, 1908, p.2; Valentine, 2001, p.256; Williams, 1973). This "old fashioned feel" (Tracy's Interview [HA]., 2013) and the connections to the past (Elizabeth's Interview [HA]., 2013) afford a sense of continuity and safe sameness. This sense of continuity has been found to be especially important for the maintenance of identity in older age (Cristoforetti et al., 2011). It is therefore a critical statement for this area of North Norfolk as a favoured retirement destination. This historically based construction of identity is touted as providing stable, safe footings and a firm foundation (Burchardt, 2002, p.97). This is a characterisation of the rural that presents the image of an enduring orderly and controlled landscape; an English garden keeping the wilderness out (Lowenthal, 1991, p.14). This 'fancied landscape' that is stable into perpetuity; a space outside of time is directly challenged by the juxtaposition of erosion. The safe footings this identity provides are shown to be weak.

Despite the clear disjuncture revealed the collective imagining of the rural idyll is preserved. Another key aspect of this ideal created place is safety, providing a refuge and a haven from the city. The countryside is viewed as being safe; a relative construction in comparison to the threats and anxieties of the city (Valentine, 1997). From its nineteenth century inception, the idea of the rural idyll has been a reaction to the noise, dirt, illness and crime of the city (Burchardt, 2002, pp. 18-21). This 'Romantic' creation has endured in English culture and escaping to the countryside has remained a dominant theme (Murdoch et al., 2003, p.2). This is exemplified by the numerous property programmes on television promoting this very ideal. This desired package has come to include; black sky areas where in the absence of light pollution you have "the whole universe to look at" (Sophie's Notebook [HB]., 2013), peace and quiet and a slower pace of life and a reputation for being a healthy place (John's Interview [HA]., 2013). It still remains a retreat from the noise, violence and smell of the city (Sophie's Interview [HA]., 2013; Simon's Interview [HA]., 2013), with the countryside discussed as convivial, attractive and healthy (Figure 90).

"Why should I live in a smelly stink hole like that" (Simon's Interview [HA]., 2013)

"Bought a telescope since coming here" (Elizabeth's Interview [HA]., 2013)

"Without light pollution you [have] the whole universe to look at"

(Sophie's Notebook [HB]., 2013)

"No car alarms, no street lights all night long,

No heavy traffic all night long" (Sophie's Notebook [HB]., 2013)

"It was getting so violent... we'd had riots in the streets...

The kids had got beaten up on the way home from school" (Sophie's Interview [HA]., 2013)

"I don't feel threatened in any way" (Tracy's Interview [HA]., 2013),

You don't have to worry about locking the back door (Sophie's Interview [HA]., 2013),

"You can go out at 11 at night and be perfectly safe" (Elizabeth's Interview [HA]., 2013).

"We just feel safe here" (Matilda's Interview [HA]., 2013)

"I love the fact that it's very friendly and safe" (Kate's Interview [HA]., 2013)

"Very safe here, it's safe here" (Elizabeth's Interview [HA]., 2013)

"Safe & secure" (Caroline's Notebook [SB]., 2013)

Figure 90: Research Poem about rural peace and safety

This created dream “constantly morphs to fit with new times” (Clope et al., 2006, p.150) and today has found companionship with the concept of the sustainable neighbourhood as this feeds into the established idealised rural identity (Barton, 2000, p.12). Over polluting in the form of emissions is yet again seen to be ascribed to urban spaces and industry labelling the city as a dirty space. Traditional village life is tied up in the rural idyll (Delanty, 2010) with the virtues of a typical or quintessential English village much admired (Murdoch et al., 2003, p.8). There are many aspects about each village, but Happisburgh especially, that echo the quintessential village ideal, the chocolate box image of old cottages, a historic pub, church and manor house. The old manorial set up that has shaped most rural villages. This set up is expected to the point where one participant claims that should there not be a church “it would not be a village at all” (Willow’s Notebook [HB]., 2013).



Figure 91: Happisburgh - the image of a rural idyll?

The typical village identity is mentioned repeatedly (Kate’s Interview [HA]., 2013; Reginald’s Notebook [HB]., 2013; Matt & Beth’s Interview [HA]., 2013; Sophie’s Interview [HA]., 2013). In fact one participant claims outright that “it is a quintessential English village, with a church a shop and a pub that just happens to have the sea on its doorstep” (Carter & Charlotte’s Notebook [HB]., 2013). In addition to this prized village set up, the flint and thatch of the buildings is considered to represent traditional Norfolk (Molly’s Interview [HA]., 2013; Cameron’s Interview [HA]., 2013; Lisa’s Interview [HA]., 2013); *“It’s just Norfolk isn’t it”* (Matilda’s Interview [HA]., 2013), *“It reminds you of what we are losing in East Anglia. It’s a unique and incredible place”* (Adam’s Interview [HA]., 2013). Norfolk and even East Anglia are spoken of as being under threat; losing ‘Old Norfolk’ as the rural identity is challenged. There is much nostalgia (Bonnet, 2009, p.4) and a drive to maintain this collective identity and this

conceptualisation of Norfolk (Barry, 1999, p.100). This distinctive (Reginald's Interview [HA]., 2013) and unique (Matt & Beth's Interview [HA]., 2013) other world (Margaret's Interview [HA]., 2013) is considered a very special place in need of preservation for posterity; *"this very wonderful little corner of our island. This very special place"* (Danielle's Interview [HA]., 2013).

It is feared that the typical village and this countryside identity will be lost and only city will remain. This is a common fear when the city appears to encroach upon the countryside or indeed when the idyll is challenged (Bunce, 1994, p.13; Burchardt, 2002). In both villages there is a sense of threat to this identity and the anticipated loss of a special place. In Sidestrand it could be said that this identity has already been threatened as aspects of the traditional village and of the traditional pastoral landscape have been lost (Pauline's Letter [S]., 2013). Happisburgh however clings staunchly to this bucolic identity (Bell, 2006) perhaps increasingly so when faced with physical and metaphorical erosion of their ideal.

Creation of the ideal dream place

The rural idyll in itself may not exist but the desire to create and protect a version of a sought idyll does, and the drive to protect it once made or found. Beyond the storied interweaving of attachment, many participants refer to their respective villages as their chosen or dream place; the culmination of hopes and desires. Participants in both villages speak of perfection '10/10' (Tracy's Interview [HA]., 2013), with much emphasis being placed on not wanting anymore and that it couldn't be more perfect (Ron's Worksheet [SC]., 2013; Samuel & Lyn's Notebook [SB]., 2013; Caroline's Worksheet [SC]., 2013; Tracy's Interview [HA]., 2013; Elizabeth's Interview [HA]., 2013).

"If I could afford to buy elsewhere, if money was no object, I'd still keep this"

(Samuel & Lyn's Notebook [SB]., 2013)

In Happisburgh specifically the village is seen to fulfil their dreams (Emma's Interview [HA]., 2013), be heaven (Darcy's Interview [HA]., 2013; Margaret's Interview [HA]., 2013) and represent the ideal village they were searching for (Rachel's Notebook [HB]., 2013; Carter & Charlotte's Notebook [HB]., 2013; Jim & Sally's Notebook [HB].,

2013); in other words the traditional village picture. The villagers feel lucky (The Pearsons Interview [SA]., 2013; Darcy's Interview [HA]., 2013), privileged (Silvia's Notebook [SB]., 2013; Adam's Worksheet [HC]., 2013) and fortunate to live where they do (Caroline's Worksheet [SC]., 2013). Perhaps because they feel they have found their ideal. Moreover, the language utilised to describe their villages connotes a loving and friendly place relationship. Love is repeated constantly in the interviews and notebooks from instant falling in love (Caroline's Interview [SA]., 2013; Silvia's Interview [SA]., 2013; Sophie's Interview [HA]., 2013; Darcy's Interview [HA]., 2013) to a long term relationship still very much in love; *"We love it, love it, we've been in love with it for over 50 years and we just love it still"* (The Pearsons Interview [SA]., 2013).

In Habbisburgh the village and the community are loved as fulfilment of the ideal village (Kate's Interview [HA]., 2013; Rachel's Interview [HA]., 2013; Mary's Interview [HA]., 2013). Many state that they live in their chosen place and they love it, being significantly emplaced (Figure 92).

"Chose to live here" (Sarah's Interview [HA]., 2013)

*"I like all the village,
I like all the village,
I like all the village"*

(Suzanne's Interview [HA]., 2013)

"I don't want to be any other place" (Simon's Interview [HA]., 2013)

"This is the place we chose" (Mary's Interview [HA]., 2013),

"Chosen to live here and I love it. Don't want to lose it"

(Molly's Worksheet [HC]., 2013)

*"Lots of nice people here,
My life is very easy here,
I'm very happy here,
I live here"*

(Betty's Interview [SA]., 2013)

*"I have found **the** place to live"*

(Betty's Interview [SB]., 2013)

Figure 92: Reserch Poem of a chosen place

These place relationships are strong and closely tied to the village and rural identities. Such relationships are not simply formed since childhood or long residence but also symbolic relocation to an area which fulfils key established or sought ideals (Fullilove,

1996, p.4). Retirees and others who relocate have 'elected belonging' (See: Gustafson, 2009). There are few in coastal Norfolk who can claim ancestry there although some old families do remain (Carmen's Interview [HA]., 2013), as such a large proportion of the population are likely to demonstrate this strong elected belonging and place idealisation.

A ruined ideal – a tear in the painting

The loss in coastal areas is not *just* houses but *all* that constructs a village; representing local present and historical power structures, and social norms (Horton & Kraftl, 2014, p.91). The disruption of these norms, and ideals, therefore also causes anxiety by presenting contrasting perspectives of the villages: the ideal landscape of the quintessential English village vs. a risky damaged landscape that is unstable and uncertain. Instead of the safe serene perfect childhood location idealised (Valentine, 1997), Happisburgh is increasingly being described as dangerous and distinctly not child friendly (Matt & Beth's Interview [HA]., 2013). These aspects of anxiety are self-confirming leading to a cyclical process of changing space relations as more perceive said spaces to be risky and spaces of anxiety. The rural idyll is challenged by the encroaching erosion causing visual or aesthetic loss. The portrait is no longer pristine but marred, "a muddy mess" (Silvia's Notebook [SB]., 2013), "an awful mess" (Suzanne's Interview [HA]., 2013). Lack of stability and continuity furthermore render the refuge unsafe. Attachment is strengthened by the threat of disappearance and enhanced even further by fear of loss of village life and village community.

*"Perfection spoilt beyond recognition, a ripe fruit battered and bruised,
England's garden blighted by a cruel pestilence,
Stable order in time engraved, centuries strong, erased by sea and storm,
The pretty picture reveals an ugly face, Constables countryside torn asunder,
Featured icons fear to tumble,
Building, field and memory lost, no safe continuity of the same,
The death of the past, anxious future shows no desire to retain what was,
Future unknown, a new frontier, a new countryside"*

Figure 93: Field poem reflecting upon this damaged perfection

This field poem attempts to capture some of the imagery used by the participants to demonstrate the emotions felt and expressed in both villages. Recognising these feelings enables a clearer understanding of the conflict and barriers to resilience.

5.4.4. A dying village

Outmigration

As anxiety spreads the idyll and its part in the villages identity is increasingly questioned leading to loss of place and loss of self. In Happisburgh this threat and change of representation has led to it being characterised as a dying place. Sidestrand moreover exhibits similar patterns to the extent that as with control reflex they are at different stages of the same journey. Although in this instance it may be that Sidestrand is ahead of Happisburgh. This journey begins with increasing outmigration of young people disillusioned with the 'rural idyll' (Thomas's Interview [SA]., 2013; Rachel's Interview [HA]., 2013; Happisburgh Focus Group 4., 2013).

Valentine (1997) notes that as life becomes increasingly global urban influence spreads everywhere. Teenagers and young adults in the city and the country share the same fashion, music, and school experiences, and expect to be able to keep up with the same trends in clothes and gadgets in rural areas (Valentine, 1997, p.5). Moreover constant stimulus and many activities that service you are expected to the point where the idyllic childhood playing imaginative games in fields is insufficient (Valentine, 1997). Many young adults therefore feel stuck and no longer see the value of bringing up children in the countryside. This expectation is not only from the young as many who relocate expect more and more from the rural (Ben's Interview [HA]., 2013).

What we want to consume has changed, we still want the idyll but want stimulus and all the access and service of the city as well. This is perhaps a societal change that no longer values the rural aside from as periphery to the city (Phillips, 2005).

Furthermore, young people "do not believe that the [rural] situation will improve, but rather deteriorate" (Mullins et al., 2001, p.33). Outmigration is therefore a wider rural concern.

In these villages however the spatial othering and distancing of future threats accelerates this process. This ebb of young people and young families is noted solemnly stating that; “people just move inland people are sort of worried about it” (Ben’s Interview [HA]., 2013). Where the housing prices are still buoyant and unaffected by blight there is another concern for young families in that prices are high and the popularity of second homes and holiday homes drives demand ever higher (Rachel’s Worksheet [HC]., 2013; Jim & Sally’s Worksheet [HC]., 2013; Ryder’s Worksheet [HC]., 2013). As a result those that grow up there cannot stay and others cannot move there.

Fearing the Storm

This pattern of exacerbated outmigration combines with other rural, coastal and climate change concerns to spawn a perfect storm of withdrawal. The potential loss of the Caravan Park in Happisburgh is spoken of as a harbinger of decline prompting closure of the pub and shop; “without it I fear that both would close very shortly afterwards” (Sophie’s Notebook [HB]., 2013) as they would not survive the winter. The shop is seen as ‘obviously’ important as a post office where many elderly get their pensions (Mary’s Notebook [HB]., 2013), however potential closure of small village post offices (ThisIsMoney., 2013) is seen to surely cause the shop to close (Happisburgh Focus Group 4., 2013). This is described as hitting the older villagers most (Sophie’s Notebook [HB]., 2013) almost as if it would injure them physically.

Moreover the school at the centre of Happisburgh has great importance as “people come from miles around to bring their kids to this school” (Happisburgh Focus Group 3., 2013). Its use and therefore impact goes beyond just the one village. It is feared that “people will stop trying to live [in Happisburgh] and make viable business” (Molly’s Worksheet [HC]., 2013). The ‘anxiety effect’ moves ahead of the erosion and feeds off the many existing issues in the area. In Sidstrand as aforementioned the church is threatened with closure. The school also may perhaps consider relocation as the situation advances dependent on the erosion and how the parents and children feel about the erosion.

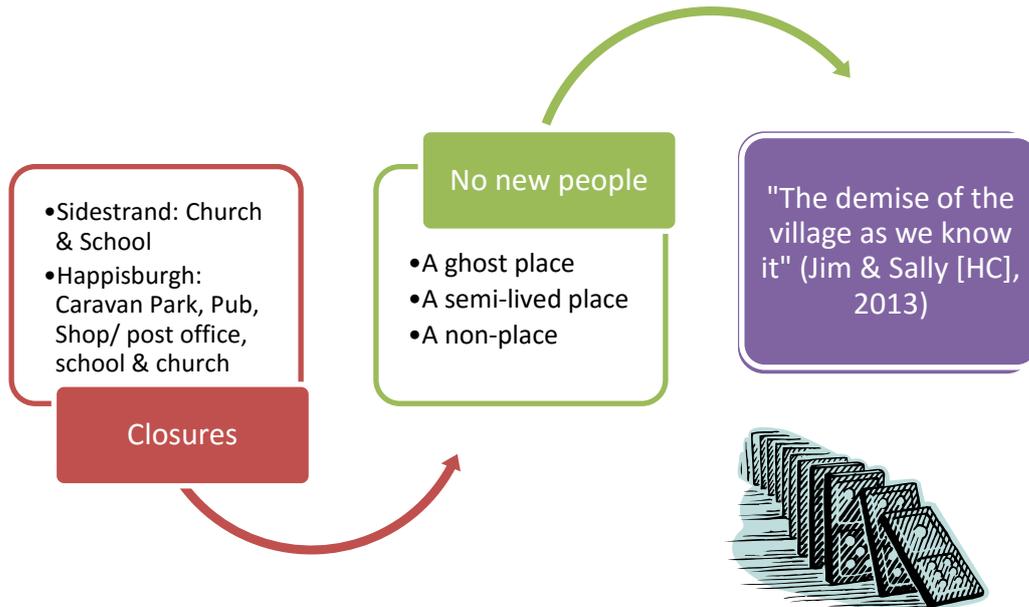


Figure 94: Diagram representing the compound issues affecting the villages

In both villages therefore closure and death are prominent themes. In Sidestrand the metaphors advance from death to ghostly suggesting the process is already well under way. As people move away or pass away the villagers are concerned that no new residents will move in leaving them “a village of holiday lets and/or empty properties” (Caroline's Worksheet [SC]., 2013); a sad ghostly future of an empty, semi-lived place (Caroline's Worksheet [SC]., 2013). This future is already envisaged and the village is perceived as ‘dwindling’ (Carol & Richard’s Notebook [SB]., 2013) already. Happisburgh has this also as a distant threat (Happisburgh Focus Group 5., 2013) but one that may emerge more strongly as already people speak of dead end roads taking over (Samantha's Interview [HA]., 2013), roads to nowhere, creating numerous non-places or was places with a haunting memory of what used to be there.



Figure 95: Photos of various dead end roads in Happisburgh

Death of a village

The culmination of outsider perspectives, augmentation of rural and coastal patterns of decline, fear of losing numerous mnemonic attachments, and outmigration and withdrawal from the villages, is a feeling of illness and death. The language utilised by participants in both villages is brimming with metaphor. Metaphors of the human body, illness and blood, of a stagnating or decomposing organism are plentiful, personifying the villages and presenting the village as an entity alive and suffering. An entity that has identity and character which when lost would mean its death. Many village services are described as “vital” suggesting that should they be lost or changed in any way then it would injure or kill the village. The school specifically is discussed as a vital lifeline connoting a person on life support (Rachel’s Notebook [HB]., 2013).

Moreover continued outmigration is feared with the lack of youngsters remarked as leading to the ‘loss of everything’ (Happisburgh Focus Group 4., 2013). Young families, young adults and teenagers are seen as the life of the village (Rachel’s Worksheet [HC]., 2013) without which the “village will end up as dormitories for the old” (Ryder’s Worksheet [HC]., 2013) and the village will die (Jim & Sally’s Worksheet [HC]., 2013; Molly’s Worksheet [HC]., 2013). They are the lifeblood of the village and Happisburgh is in need of a transfusion. Another medical association is the road network in the area. A diversion or relocation of the main coast road is likened to a heart attack as “roads are like arteries in the body” (Sophie’s Worksheet [HC]., 2013) with restricted access causing death to the village. It is feared that loss of trade would “render Happisburgh sterile” (Simon’s Worksheet [HC]., 2013) with anxiety and withdrawal making them infertile ground for business. Furthermore, the school is described as being healthy using the language of human wellbeing to describe a village service personifying and humanising the place.

Sidestrand is also discussed as a patient in need of a transfusion but one with a terminal illness that cannot be treated stating that; “the community is already in its final stages, there is little to attract new blood or activities to the area” (Carol & Richard’s Notebook [SB]., 2013). Sidestrand therefore is already further along in the

illness than Happisburgh and as such any anxiety effect or realisation of disjuncture will affect them greatly no matter how far off the threat is perceived to be.

"A living place fallen ill, new blood to save. Blood is life.

Of soul and heart the villages ache, patients denied transfusion, no hope of a transplant"

Field poem (Brown. 2013)

Alongside this bodily deterioration there are metaphors of decay, rot and decline with participants concerned the village will no longer flourish (Cameron's Interview [HA]., 2013), and stagnate (Chantelle's Interview [HA]., 2013). In extension of this the "gradual disintegration of a village and its vitality" (Sean & Stephanie's Notebook [HB]., 2013) is thought possible reminiscent of a larger organism succumbing to death, decomposing matter disintegrating. The connotations here are of a village breaking apart, being fractured or broken, or even worse as disintegration suggests little chance of being put back together. The notion of death of a place and community is not unique to these case studies having been noted in discussions about New Orleans in relation to climate change (Burley, 2010, pp.43, 93). They too describe the place and by association their own self-definitions as becoming "diminished and sick" (Burley, 2010, p.88).

Place identity is created though meaning invested in place becoming a part of the its character, giving it personality and distinguishing it from other places (Kong & Yeoh, 1995, p.14). The memoryscape becomes a living place (see: Holloway et al., 2003, p.274). A places character "developed by people and the place over time" (Schofield & Szymanski, 2011, p.34) is also referred to as the spirit of a place or 'genius loci' (Kong & Yeoh, 1995, p.15; Sheldrake, 1989, p.15; Windsor & McVey, 2005, p.2). This character born of the topography and the accumulation of human histories (Sheldrake, 1989, p.15) becomes personified.

In Happisburgh specifically the symbolism of the grave and the abbreviation of RIP are utilised when describing the villages future, suggesting mourning and grief as a result of this loss. This symbiotic relationship between people and place is demonstrated further by the statement: "a village without any reason to mingle will lose any sense of ID. Without that the village will just die and fade into history" (Simon's Worksheet

[HC]., 2013) concurring with Windsor and McVey (2005) that change and loss of place equals a loss of community also.

*"Both natural and human the villages are described,
Suffering from blocked arteries,
The deprivation of nutrients and ultimate death of cells,
A living place, an environment with a soul,
Suffering decay, decomposition and stagnation,
A plant unable to flower, diseased and dying - blighted.
A veritable plague spreading for no known reason,
Fear strikes at the heart and multiplies the threat,
Panic makes itself at home, Stigma and avoidance follow,
As lepers classed and quarantined"*

Figure 96: Field Poem reflecting on feelings of disease & quarantine (Brown. V, 2013)

5.5. EMOTIONAL BLIGHT

5.5.1. Grief, Loss and Solastalgia

Death of the village and associated identities is anticipated and already being grieved. Anticipated grief has before now only been applied to human death resulting from long term illness (Sweeting & Gilhooly, 1990). As aforementioned the changes and losses to these villages is very embodied and humanised, compared in many ways to terminal illness. The concept of anticipated grief therefore can be applied here and specifically to the process of resilience. Originating in relation to cancer patients the anticipation of loss and advance grief is proposed to be "a positive adaptive response" (Fulton et al., 1996, p.1), with the loss processed and resilience increased. This however can only occur if the community is able to; accept the loss, move through the grief, and towards action. There is much evidence of sadness so strong the participants cannot find the word to fully express it (Figure 97). This grief is apparent in both villages leaving it's repetition ringing in my ears and tightening my heart.

"feel sad sad sad sad" (Margaret's Interview [HA]., 2013).

"Sad to see it go, it saddens me really, it saddens me" (Cameron's Interview [HA]., 2013)

"It's a tragedy" (Cameron's Notebook [HB]., 2013),

"it makes me feel sad" (Silvia's Interview [SA]., 2013),

"So sad isn't it" (The Pearsons Interview [SA]., 2013).

"Over there we used to have the lifeboat house and that's gone,

Oh I cried, I did I cried, I did I really did cry,

Everybody felt the same way,

The same as down beach road, those beautiful houses,

I saw a man which is hard to see a man cry,

I mean they keep their emotions in don't they,

He did cry, he was burning the last of his possessions...

I stood there and put me arms around him,

Said 'oh I really am sorry', He said 'you understand',

I said, 'I do, this was your home', It was so sad" (Margaret's Interview [HA]., 2013).

Figure 97: Research poem demonstrating the repeated sadness

This grief is augmented by the knowledge that what is lost will not be regained; it is literally lost to the sea. There is continued repetition of 'gone', 'all gone', not going or going to go, but gone. Moreover they wish to make the most of what they have "before it is lost forever" (Sophie's Worksheet [HC]., 2013). Once again there are connotations of and similarity with a terminally ill patient wanting to make the most of the time they have left before preparing for death. Grief is not simply for the place but for the loss of loved ones that have had to move away (Danielle's Interview [HA]., 2013). People that have had to move are said to be unhappy because "they liked the village in itself" (John's Interview [HA]., 2013). Taking the idyllic and loving place relationships into account this is perhaps akin to a break up of a relationship, causing heartbreak. Furthermore people and place are discussed as almost symbiotic with the loss of families being "a loss of the village, part of the people" (Emma's Interview [HA]., 2013).

*"A flood of tears is scarcely held at bay,
There aren't words enough to describe how they feel,
Adverbs a plenty do not do justice to the pain,
Nor can I know or feel enough to reveal a glimpse of the depth of emotion felt,
Though my heart does ache from the reading and hearing of their pains,
The repetition of sad rings in my ears and reveals depths of grief,
As fathomless as the neighbouring sea"*

Figure 98: This field poem reflects upon the sadness felt and demonstrate its depth

This degradation of place, of memory, character and people can be described as place disruption whereby change reveals the latent bonds between person and location, causing a sense of displacement that can lead to psychiatric trauma (Devine-Wright, 2009, p.3). Discussions of place dying and feeling "like a different place" (Tracy's Interview [HA], 2013) connote place alienation and solastalgia. Coined by Glenn Albrecht (2007) 'solastalgia' is "the sadness caused by environmental change, homesickness while still being at home, as well as a sense of powerlessness and injustice and lack of control" (Tschakert et al., 2011, p.2). Solastalgia has been associated with causing social dysfunctions such as increased crime, addiction and family and community breakdown (Kelly, 2009, p.2) and as such is something to be mindful of in the discourse of resilience. If the pain of loss is not reconciled and worked through it can provide a social tipping point (Grimm & Schneider, 2011; Moser & Dilling, 2007) towards reduced resilience and potential collapse of both place and community.

5.5.2. Emotional turmoil

Outside representation, place disruption and solastalgia cause not only sadness and grief but fear, despair and hopelessness. Fear as much as it has become fashionable (Pain, 2009, p.1) can be faced and dealt with, but it's more insidious cousin anxiety fostered by both external and internal forces persists and lingers having effects all its own (See: Ahmed, 2004). Anxiety fear and worry perpetuate and reinforce the representation of the coastal zone as anxious and uncertain. This future fear is ever present, a shadow on the glass, a bubble tainted and spoilt, causing constant anxiety and worry (Chantelle's Interview [HA]., 2013; Molly's Interview [HA]., 2013; Cameron's

Interview [HA]., 2013). In fact participants in Happisburgh speak of being scared (Matt & Beth's Interview [HA]., 2013; Sophie's Interview [HA]., 2013) and "on tenterhooks all the time" (Tracy's Interview [HA]., 2013) afraid for children and dogs on the cliff edge. This future fear made present through as anxiety threatens to burst the safe stable bubble of the present created through temporal distancing and separation. Participants are worried that their future scenarios might become a reality (Alice & Allan's Worksheet [HC]., 2013; Silvia's Worksheet [SC]., 2013). Feared futures encroach upon the present as the worst case scenario happened sooner than expected (Happisburgh Focus Group 6., 2013) and participants monitor daily their losses (Sophie's Worksheet [HC]., 2013; Margaret's Notebook [HB]., 2013). The future haunts the present with participants fearing for their grandchildren's love for the area (Alice & Allan's Worksheet [HC]., 2013); and whether they will even have a community (Figure 99).

A LETTER TO MY GRANDCHILDREN
 WHEN I WAS SMALL I USED TO GO TO THE BEACH
 IN A PLACE CALLED HAPPISBURGH
 NANA AND POPS AND THEIR DOG CALLED LILLI LIVED
 IN A PLACE CALLED HAPPISBURGH
 THERE WAS A LIGHTHOUSE; A CHURCH; A SCHOOL; A PUB AND A SHOP
 ALL IN THIS PLACE CALLED HAPPISBURGH
 BEFORE I WAS BORN THEY TOOK AWAY THE DEFENCES ON THE BEACH
 OF THIS PLACE CALLED HAPPISBURGH
 NOW THERE IS GLOBAL WARMING WITH STORM SURGES;
 HIGHER TIDES; WIND AND RAIN
 THERE IS NO PLACE CALLED HAPPISBURGH

Figure 99: Hauntingly sad notebook poem (Carter & Charlotte's Notebook [HB]., 2013)

Personal futures are thrown into turmoil as future certainty and stability can no longer be taken for granted; *"I'm planning on moving away and moving back again in maybe 10 years. I'd love to settle down here and have a family here. I don't know if that will be possible because of the erosion"* (Carmen's Interview [HA]., 2013). This anxiety effect has numerous effects, most notably desperation and by association hopelessness. The lingering nature of anxiety ever present in peoples' minds wears people down and some can and do become very negative about their situation; *"life is doom and gloom to them"* (Jason's Interview [HA]., 2013). It is impossible to ignore the poetic irony

here as both place and people are eroded and worn away. Negative emotions are palpable with many stating that they are 'desperate' (Cameron's Worksheet [HC]., 2013; Sophie's Worksheet [HC]., 2013) and the situation is deteriorating (Simon [HC]., 2013). Common connotations for despair are of being in a pit, a descent into turmoil and then nothing. These emotions; fear especially, but I argue despair also, are contagious and lead to penetrating social impacts (Sunstein, 2005), causing disruption before any physical change to place occurs (Devine-Wright, 2009, p.4). As such people can get pulled into anxiety (Jackson & Everts, 2010, p.5) being communicated socially and spreading through a population (Livingstone et al., 2011, p.2).

In Happisburgh it is commented that the sadness of those who have lost their homes can be felt and people feed off others experiences (Lisa's Interview [HA]., 2013). Anxiety, sadness and despair reproduce and "hope is a casualty" (Washington & Cook, 2011, p.95). Negative connotations abound depicting a descent into nothingness, a fear of disappearing, of annihilation. In addition to such apocalyptic imaginings (Swyngedouw, 2010), participants feel ignored and abandoned, that they have been deemed to be worthless perpetuating this negativity and fostering hopelessness.

5.5.4. Ignored & Worthless

Once again the combined effects of rural and coastal issues impact upon the villages. As well as industry blight the air of anxiety causes emotional blight. Despair is bred as the villagers feel neglected, abandoned and ignored. Transport issues including road maintenance and the state of public transport are outlined as an important concern for the social lives of young and old, to maintain life in the village (Ryder's Worksheet [HC]., 2013). Participants in both Sidestrand and Happisburgh complain that the bus service has been 'rationalised' (Betty's Worksheet [SC]., 2013) and greatly reduced (Mary's Interview [HA]., 2013; Raphe's Interview [HA]., 2013; Sophie's Interview [HA]., 2013). These issues are not unique to Happisburgh and Sidestrand, being common rural concerns, for instance in rural Shropshire bus services have been paired back due to financial constraints as they are not viewed as prime services (Rural Services Network., 2014), however they are compounded through coastal proximity. Moreover the roads condition is considered terrible to the point where they wonder where their

taxes go (Happisburgh Focus Group 3., 2013). Poor road maintenance is taken as a sign that the council does not care;

*“Potholes...There’s a lot of potholes, I am skint as it is I can't afford to buy a new tyre,
My insurance is very expensive, my tax is very expensive; my fuel is very expensive,
I can't afford to then pay for new tyres and wear and tear on my car
Because the council or whoever can't be bothered,
It's full of potholes, it's not good, I'm not impressed with that”*
(Raphe’s Interview [HA]., 2013).

This feeling of neglect causes personal and social anxiety, leading to emotional blight, in reaction to these changes in practice. Participants were upset and angry that future negatives are being placed over and in front of present positives causing outsiders to consider the villages already lost to the sea. It is assumed that they are not cared about (Happisburgh Focus Group 2., 2013) that they are worthless and have been abandoned.

“No-one seems to care”
(Sophie’s Interview [HA]., 2013; Jason’s Interview [HA]., 2013),
“Insignificant” (Kate’s Interview [HA]., 2013)
“Expendable” (Sean & Stephanie’s Notebook [HB]., 2013).
“Feel worthless” (Sean & Stephanie’s Notebook [HB]., 2013),
“We do not matter” (Lisa’s Worksheet [HC]., 2013)
“Side-lined” (Carol & Richard’s Worksheet [SC]., 2013),
“Worthless from both a commercial and social point of view”
(Carol & Richard’s Notebook [SB]., 2013).
“Abandoned” (Kate’s Interview [HA]., 2013),
“Let down” (Suzanne’s Interview [HA]., 2013)
“They don't want to protect us” (Carmen’s Interview [HA]., 2013).
*“The attitude is that we are going to be left to stew in our own juices...
Soak in our own stuff and die I expect”* (Molly’s Interview [HA]., 2013)

Figure 100: Research poem or neglect and worthlessness

The metaphor of the goose connotes their time being up and of being cooked alive. It is the suggestion that they have been deliberately left and abandoned. These manifestations of emotional blight are further compounded by a general distrust of

the government based on rumours that take effect whether they are substantiated or not. It is ultimately what the villagers and those outsiders forming opinions of the area think and feel about the situation that is important.

To reiterate, some participants battle this 'doom and gloom' (Catherine's Worksheet [HC]., 2013) and outside perspectives endeavouring to show that it is not just this space that will be affected by the coastal changes. That the effect although originating at the coast will not be constrained to it as would be liked. The threat cannot be contained within the identified erosion zone (NNDC., 2013) and as such is not as tangible and controllable as desired. Happisburgh participants point out that "you've lost nearly 40 metres worth of well country" (Simon's Interview [HA]., 2013); and "this area of the coast will disappear" (Alice & Allan's Worksheet [HC]., 2013) making it a national problem not simply a local one. Although scientifically land will be regained elsewhere this will never be the same land, the same coast and villages, but new land, for other people, elsewhere. As such the coastal concern action group ask; "Is east Anglia worth saving from the sea?" (CCAG, 2009) implying neglect and an expanding space of anxiety not just for North Norfolk or even just Norfolk, but East Anglia.

5.5.5. No point, no future.

Unfortunately a major theme is not one of resistance to fight these representations and assumptions, but resignation and defeat concluding that the villages have no future and as such there is no point. The battle is done and they have lost, although some still hope for a saviour, a champion to fight for them (Elizabeth's Worksheet [HC]., 2013; Sarah's Worksheet [HC]., 2013). Terms like 'it's useless' and 'there's no point' are repeated often. In fact I was told directly during one focus group not to take the non-attendance personally but that "those that don't turn up have just given up" (Happisburgh Focus Group 3., 2013). The villagers are fed up at not getting a response or any useful solutions or help and as such are resigned and defeated seeing no point in taking an interest anymore as nothing comes of it (Happisburgh Focus Group 4., 2013). They are tired of the hassle of fighting and getting no result (Sophie's Interview [HA]., 2013). They no longer have hope that anything can be done (Molly's Worksheet [HC]., 2013; The Pearsons Notebook [SB]., 2013) and as such feel that Happisburgh

and Sidestrand have no future (Sophie's Notebook [HB]., 2013). It is thus that they return to despair in the absence of hope, as defeat and loss appear inevitable.

"Happisburgh each year watches Happisburgh fall into the sea"

(Sophie's Notebook [HB]., 2013)

The caravan site in Happisburgh is a good example of this inescapable foe as the increasingly rough sea and accelerating erosion is commented on as giving "a whole new meaning to things going bump [in the night]" (Cameron's Worksheet [HC]., 2013). This statement being a common colloquialism invokes images of monsters under the bed or in the cupboard. The sea characterised as a monster attacking them, a fight where they are outmatched and cannot win.

Lived Ruination

This emotional blight combined with the physical blight and compound effects has created an understanding locally that the villages are dying. This can be otherwise understood as a process of lived ruination. Ruination, although largely considered in terms of industrial and post war ruins or romantic tourist ruins (McClanahan, 2014, p.4), also pertains to "recent ruins" (McClanahan, 2014) created through economic and social crises leaving boarded up housing, unfinished developments and empty highstreets. Ruin suggests an end or a completed process however these sites if they are still lived in could be said to be in a state of lived ruination with those living there bearing witness to its decline. This is an important distinction and this feeling and understanding of lived ruination will likely affect the identity of the area and the people living there.

Sidestrand and Happisburgh both can be said to exist in a state of lived and anticipated ruination, a landscape of loss and ongoing decline haunted by past and future change (Edensor, 2005; Wylie, 2009). Although ruins in the conventional sense have been prevented from forming through demolition, numerous empty unsaleable properties (or recent ruins) suggest they are a future possibility (McClanahan, 2014). Recent efforts to clear the housing debris from erosion and demolition strewn upon the beach is testament to the need to restore order as well as to maintain the place representation of a seaside tourist location. As ruins or this feeling of ruination is

uncanny and chaotic ruins are regarded as marginal spaces even if they are in the centre of a city, spaces somehow outside the ordered sensory regulated urban environment, characterised as chaotic, dangerous and dirty (Dale & Burrell, 2011; Edensor, 2007). This exacerbates the creation of spaces of anxiety and heightens the feeling of inevitable loss.

5.6. CONCLUSION

This general 'anxiety effect' greatly affects bounce forward resilience as both physical and emotional blight, and marginalisation question the participants ability to act, to achieve anything, leaving an overall feeling of demoralisation. This emotional immobilisation combined with disjuncture and efforts to distance change, and challenge to long held understandings, by control reflex, generally supports maintenance of the status quo as anything beyond this is viewed as impossible. The participants are most definitely not numb to the changes and losses, nor are they apathetic as even whilst claiming that change will occur beyond their lifetime they are not oblivious to the effect it'll have to the village and the community as a whole. This understanding of (im)possible pathways is examined in the next chapter.

In othering these coastal spaces and the villages within through distancing and control reflex, when these safe boundaries keeping back the threat are themselves threatened the space of anxiety both expands and contracts. From without the boundary may expand to include all on East Anglia for all it is for the most part rural with scattered villages and small towns only save a few larger settlements. The loss of this coastal zone however it may expand is considered an acceptable risk (Fischhoff et al., 1981). From within the boundary contracts, retreating from the space of immediate threat. From the perspective of Sidestrand participants Happisburgh as a whole is a space of immediate threat and is considered by some as already lost (The Pearsons Interview [SA]., 2013). In Happisburgh this area of immediate threat is the caravan park and has seemingly become a nested space of anxiety within the whole village. One participant who has been coming for the majority of the season from March to October for 30 years feels that lately those in the village are being unfair to them that they don't care what happens to the caravan site nor what happens to the caravaners;

*"We have given quite a lot of money you know, when they wanted things done like [the] rocks.
The last couple of years they're not interested in what is happening.
It's uh made me a bit sad and so I feel...this is horrible 'cause I'm not that way.
I feel like I wouldn't like to do anything now for them"
"I feel like we're outcasts yeah I really feel that way..I didn't until a few years ago but I do now"*
(Margaret's Interview [HA]., 2013).

Fragmenting the village in such a way and distancing one village from another greatly reduces the resilience of both communities by continuously removing the threat and failing to process the extent of the changes. In the face of memocide (Porteous & Smith, 2001) and potential domocide the ability or inability to process the emotions discussed in this chapter is crucial to the emotional wellbeing of the people affected. Such emotional resilience has implications not only on the psychological state of those involved and their health (Fullilove, 1996, p.2; Tapsell & Tunstall, 2008, p.2), but has knock on effects for confidence in the area, to live, to bring up children, and for investment. Belief is always emotional. On an individual level there is evidence to suggest that emotional blocks exist dividing off the future as too terrible to contemplate and too painful to even think about (Happisburgh Focus Group 3., 2013; Mary's Notebook [HB]., 2013; Molly's Worksheet [HC]., 2013). This is not denial or even distancing at this point but a need for assistance in processing the emotional blight, face the changes, and anticipate positive futures. Believing that there is no future and no hope for a positive outcome significantly affects any action towards change. In other words B can inhibit C as "when loss remains unspoken, neither grieved nor worked through, then change and adjustment cannot follow" (Randall, 2009, p.2). Emotion therefore is central to adaptation and therefore resilience (Weber, 2010, p.8).

This lack of future renders any drive to action inert as, 'what is the point?' In other statements any drive to act is belittled as fantasy or a dream (Molly's Worksheet [HC]., 2013; Happisburgh Focus Group 6., 2013) as the villagers remain preoccupied with the fix it premise of defences. The participants are not thinking about what could be, only what should be. They cannot have what they want and are not thinking beyond that, they have given up. There is much reference to Canute although utilised in the popular

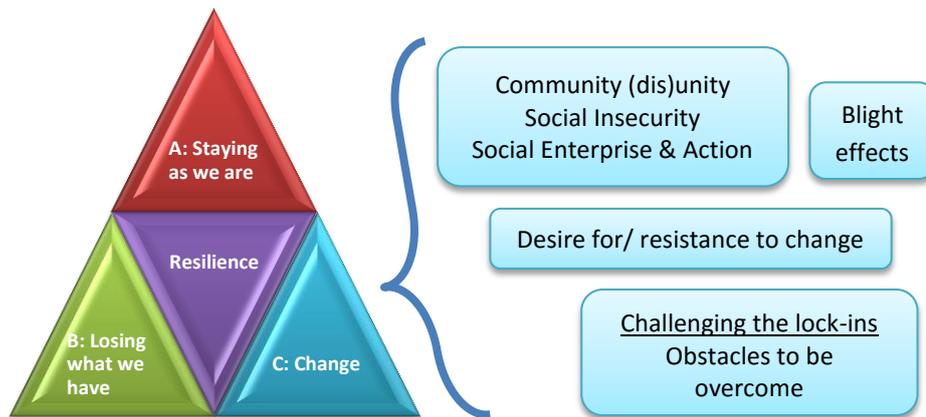
sense to mean you cannot keep back the sea, not the correct usage whereby Canute was making a point that Kings were not Gods and could not command the waves. Comments such as; "been there, done that, got the t-shirt. That's life. No point being like Canute" (Happisburgh Focus Group 7., 2013), and "stand on the beach and stay back" (Molly's Worksheet [HC]., 2013), you are "at the mercy of nature" (Sean & Stephanie's Worksheet [HC]., 2013) are accepting of the power of nature but also somewhat defeatist. This demonstrates the power the social imaginary of control over nature still has today. It is accepted that nature cannot be controlled however this leads to defeat and surrender as no other option is considered. There is much difficulty imagining any other solution. As such there is little attempt in either village to contemplate what may have to be done if they cannot be protected. The process of loss and change is not acknowledged or perhaps simply not accepted. It is suggested that the community spirit and volunteering will save the villages, something that will be explored further in the next chapter regarding community, social capital and action towards change.

When the effects of emotional and industrial blight combine within spaces of anxiety there are numerous potential social tipping points (Moser & Dilling, 2007). Resilience weaknesses are as such already present in these and other rural coastal villages but come to the fore when confronted with the effects of climate change. It is possible that these effects of anxiety and blight will move ahead of the changes and the loss of the villages they know and love may happen before the loss of land and buildings. Village collapse as it would be is rarely due to one aspect of variable. There is a history of blight accelerating before feared changes (Beresford, 1999; Cooper & Peros, 2010; Driver, 2008; Orlove, 2005; Vigar, 1994). Anxiety effect is not a new phenomenon but as the future becomes increasingly feared, the presence of the future in the here and now will take effect in many guises.

The erosion as such may not completely cause the potential loss of Happisburgh or indeed Sidestrand; however it could be the final tug that pulls at lots of unravelling strings, many other factors that may culminate in less resilient, and ultimately dying villages. These effects can move ahead of the actual change due to anxiety and bring about loss before the erosion takes full effect. This has happened to villages in the past

where one albeit major factor is introduced or changes which causes a domino effect with many other factors. It cannot clearly be stated therefore that because the erosion is not supposed to reach x position until y then therefore there will be no loss before that. Emotion is therefore crucial to the ability to adapt and become resilient communities.

Chapter 6. CHANGE CAPACITY



6.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter pertains to C: 'change' discussing the key theories of pathways of the (im)possible; social fragmentation; and change capacity. **Pathways of the (im)possible** links back to the limitations of bounce back resilience whereby path dependency reinforces the status quo and encourages only small change within accepted known parameters. The idea of impossible pathways is important as participants continuously returned to known responses and past social understandings of the coast and coastal defence. I suggest this adherence to known pathways deems any alternative idea or pathway suggestion as impossible; too radical to be taken seriously. As bounce forward resilience theory indicates need for such radical thinking this is a serious issue.

Social fragmentation refers to the wider social experience of the UK whereby trust and collaboration are impeded by individualistic tendencies that prize advancement and protection of self above all. This can lead to individual resilience and survival of the fittest in isolation, however in the wider social context this separation of self and society is unhelpful impeding social change. **Change capacity** is the ability to think and act collectively to overcome path dependency and jump outside of the box so that alternate ideas and approaches are not considered impossible.

This chapter reveals change to be seen largely as a bad thing to be mitigated against or avoided, however in order to bounce forward there is a need to consider change an opportunity for community led change, to acknowledge the emotional effect and ramification, and accept and honour what is lost.

Create: Innovate: Survive

This could be considered a ‘butterfly moment’ representing survival through transformation, bouncing forward to a new future. This chapter draws together the concepts of ‘Disjuncture’ and ‘Anxiety Effect’ as the social understandings have to be acknowledged and reimagined in new ways to rupture lock-in and undertake transformative adaptation, whilst grieving and accepting loss in order to change. This is a crucial process and understanding that there can be no change without loss and change is necessary for survival. Adaptive maintenance through incremental change does not acknowledge this. To be resilient, all these factors need to be embraced and change enacted. It is insufficient to wait until change occurs exogenously.

Each village has potential ‘change capacity’ however it is far from being actualised. This potential and the barriers towards its actualisation, are considered in depth in the following sections. This includes: ideas that there is only one way to act and this having failed, there is no option; understandings of how a seaside and rural English village should be, creating its own disjuncture when this image is altered; social fragmentation though encouraged individualism to avoid disjuncture; and social insecurity, seemingly unable to act until someone else does but not trusting them to do so. Finally village and regional politics create competing voices that each represent a social understanding that when juxtaposed together are not harmonious. Sidestrand and Happisburgh each produced these same issues to varying extents. This is displayed in summary in the empirical data section below.

6.2. EMPIRICAL DATA IN CONTEXT

Methodologically it was designed that focus groups centred on hypothetical scenarios and the detailing of expected future scenarios for their own village, followed by an attempt to think of alternate endings for their future scenarios. This sections objective was to outline the capacity for each village community to move away from path dependency and change their situation. As with the other two sections the data for this section was discussed in each phase of the fieldwork although the worksheets did succeed in focusing the participant discussions on what should and/or could be done. Both in Sidestrand and Happisburgh discussions returned to the stop it/ fix it narrative and assumptions that 'they' (the government and local councils) have the power to act, and engineering and technological solutions are the sole response.

In Sidestrand specifically although being described as the perfect place to be, when asked about social cohesiveness and interaction I was repeatedly told that people keep to themselves but come together and help each other when needed. Numerous societies were discussed as well as the village fete prized as 'the best fete ever'. Alternatively the villagers' anxious response to my presence and ultimate decision of many not to participate proved to be just the tip of the iceberg. There was much tension between different groups in the village regarding village politics and what is and isn't allowed to happen in the village. This tension was alluded to by everyone who participated but only discussed directly by a few out of politeness. Most village concerns pertained to tangible immediate issues such as; reducing traffic speed limits; the farmer ploughing too close to the cliff edge; and the church sharing a minister with 4 other churches. The future is largely discussed as being sometime never affecting grandchildren and other people.

In Happisburgh, the same social understandings return with almost all solutions, pathways of action and village survival dependent upon defences being reinstated and improved. Although attempt was made to open up discussion to what could be done outside of these assumptions few participants wanted to contemplate this. Throughout the fieldwork participants returned repeatedly to arguments of political and social injustice in the belief that if they complain enough something will change and the anxious future will not happen. Happisburgh does have a history of

campaigning and social action which I was reminded about by nearly every participant. This includes saving the lighthouse which is now run by the friends of Happisburgh Lighthouse charitable trust; getting together to save and redevelop the church rooms into a meeting and events location; and winning lottery grant funding for the village school. Despite this the villagers now appear worn out and defeated. They state this on numerous occasions suggesting nothing they do achieves anything and due to failed attempts to get defence policy changed Happisburgh has no future.

Many if not all definitions of resilience include some discussion of capacity and capacities. One of which is the capacity of individuals, communities, or businesses, to act; with available and accessible resources to solve, or respond to, a particular problem. Having the power and agency to deal with a situation that affects their future wellbeing (Walker et al., 2004), or business potential (Meyer & Stensaker, 2006). This “capacity to act” (Harvatt et al., 2011, p.16) is often associated with the values and structures of traditional communities, specifically the “ability to come together toward a common objective” (Berkes & Ross, 2013, p.2). This has been expanded to include the ability to influence events that affect them and future outcomes (Brown & Westaway, 2011; Folke et al., 2010). This power however is not enough to engender change, as such innovation and creativity are needed to envision a new future. The capacity to create (Dale et al., 2010, p.3), to see the opportunities, the positives in the negatives, is needed in order to not just survive but thrive (Berkes & Ross, 2013). Optimism and hope are therefore crucial to ‘change capacity’ as “feelings have transformative power of their own” (Pain, 2009, p.9) and can cause “conspiracies of silence” (Washington & Cook, 2011, p.xv) though fear of making the situation worse. Emotion therefore is central to ‘change capacity’.

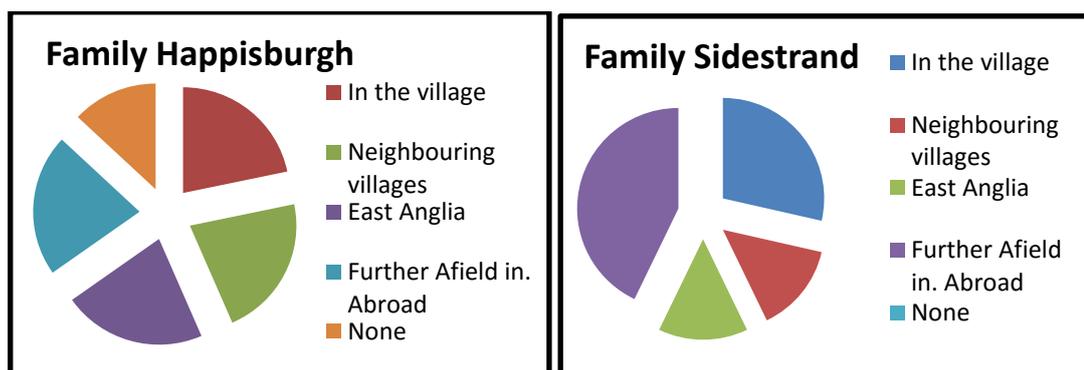
In this chapter this capacity is explored first in relation to the relationships and linkages that compose a strong community. This strength does not refer to being strong in the sense of resisting change but the strength of social bonds and linkages to aid the community through change. Secondly, the barriers to actualising this potential capacity are discussed, including the anxiety effect and feelings of defeat; reflecting upon whether hope is dead or if sufficient change capacity exists. To reiterate this section explores whether the villages can move from the current situation to “create

untried beginnings from which to evolve a new way of living" (Berkes & Ross, 2013, p.5; Walker et al., 2004, p.7).

6.3. POTENTIAL CAPACITY

There significant potential capacity in both villages as they have strong social capital. This “concerns the characteristics, properties, and quality of social networks, within and through which social actors pursue their activities” (Kizos et al., 2014, p.1). Social networks dependent upon features of social trust, social norms and cultural perceptions and values; and formed through reciprocity (Kizos et al., 2014; Pelling & High, 2005, p.3; Poortinga, 2012, p.2). These networks develop through strong social bonding, bridging and linking with other scales all of which both villages demonstrate.

Such relationships, communication, social support, inclusion, and sense of belonging, all foster strong social capital (Berkes & Ross, 2013, p.7). This social “glue” (Jones & Clark, 2013, p.2) is a “key ingredient for resilient communities”(Wilson, 2013a, p.5), especially to engender group cohesion, social trust and reciprocal group dynamics (Wilson, 2013a, p.5). Social support from family and friends offers bonding capital. Participants in both Happisburgh and Sidestrand speak of the ease at which they have made friends (Adam’s Interview [HA]., 2013; Darcy’s Interview [HA]., 2013; Matilda’s Interview [HA]., 2013; Molly’s Interview [HA]., 2013) with most having friends in the village or in neighbouring villages (Figure 101).



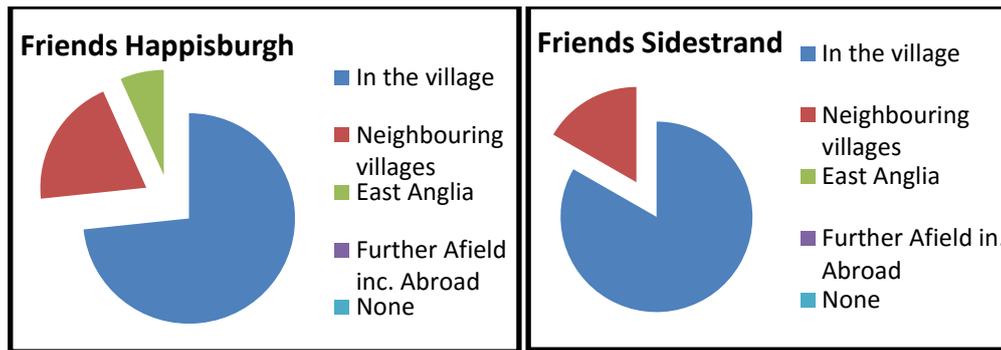


Figure 101: Pie charts depicting the distribution of family and friends of the participants

While family may be far flung many participants speak of family coming to visit for holidays forming bonds with both place and villagers;

"[My daughter] she and her fiancé are getting married in the church here, they love coming up here, they think this is heaven really, they like to come up on a Friday evening and go back Sunday" (Darcy's Interview [HA]., 2013)

"[Family comes a lot] free holidays and such" (Matilda's Interview [HA]., 2013).

Happisburgh it seems has more familial connections offering support and drive to act on behalf of the village with families spread over more than one household (see: Figure 102).

"Everything is pretty much here, my family" (Lisa's Interview [HA]., 2013),

"[my daughter is so close] I can spit on her" (Molly's Interview [HA]., 2013)

"[Lived here] all my life, 20 years,

Family has been in the area for a long time.

Family's been in farming for 4 no 3 generations,

My brother probably will take over" (Carmen's Interview [HA]., 2013)

"I was born here...

I was part of a big family who all lived in the village" (Patrick Interview [HA]., 2013),

"(Three doors down...is my son, my older son),

Aunts, Uncles, all live in the village" (Patrick Interview [HA]., 2013).

Figure 102: Research poem demonstrating the multiple family connections in Happisburgh

Support is not only friends and family however as both villages demonstrate considerable community spirit. This is a term with many uses which is dismissed by some as too weakly defined (Amsden et al., 2011; Delanty, 2010; McMillan, 1996). In recent years however the ideas of community strength and spirit have been re-examined in reference to resilience and sustainable community. For instance: Scott (2013, p.5) states that a sense of community spirit is important for stable adaptation and resilience bolstering social belonging, and engagement with community organisations. Being encouraged to be involved in community creates self-sustaining community spirit as perception is improved and built upon (Scott, 2013, p.5). This sense of community or perception of community spirit is thus assumed to be an attribute of resilient communities (Norris et al., 2008, p.13) as it brings people together and mutual care encourages community orientated action. This in turn improves community capacity or community social capital, known to "reduce community distress" (Mathbor, 2007, pp.3-4) by building on a "communities' collective strength to deal with significant adversity" (Poortinga, 2012, p.1).

Community spirit can, however, only create strength and community engagement if the distress of the situation does not outweigh the social capital, and the negative contagious emotion does not colour the perception of community spirit in the villages. It is important therefore to note that many participants commented on the feel of the place in both villages. A creation of place character and personality created through habitation through time and the villagers themselves resulting in specific atmospheres.

"Nice feel to it" (Adam's Interview [HA]., 2013).

Welcoming ...Comfortable (Adam's Interview [HA]., 2013),

Friendly (Jason's Interview [HA]., 2013)

"This village it just draws you in, it's addictive I warn you" (Emma's Interview [HA]., 2013)

"You've got this feeling" (Matt & Beth's Interview [HA]., 2013)

"A wonderful village...a friendly village" (Reginald's Interview [HA]., 2013)

"Very friendly and supportive" (Carter & Charlotte's Interview [HC]., 2013)

"Very nice community feel" (Carol & Richard's Interview [SA]., 2013)

Figure 103: Research poe, showing an atmosphere of support and friendship

These atmospheres are created in part through place attachment but also contagious emotion in relation to the social imagination of that place. As such these atmospheres are affected by changing place relationships.

The cohesion of each village is a combination of social support and social capital balancing perception and engagement (see: Brown & Westaway, 2011, p.14). It is clear therefore that community resilience depends upon a community's ability to pull together (Berkes & Ross, 2013, p.2; Giddens, 2012, p.164). How the villagers support each other and come together towards common objectives demonstrates their potential capacity towards transformative resilience. This 'strong community' (Lisa's Interview [HA]., 2013; Elizabeth's Notebook [HB]., 2013; Catherine's Notebook [HB]., 2013) encourages participation to "be a part of the village" (Darcy's Interview [HA]., 2013) and contribute to the village as a whole (Emma's Interview [HA]., 2013).

There are many behaviours of trust and reciprocity demonstrated that exhibit this potential capacity. For instance: time and services are often given to other community members voluntarily (Rachel's Notebook [HB]., 2013), including gardening and housework for the elderly (Kate's Interview [HA]., 2013; Matilda's Interview [HA]., 2013), dog walking (Kate's Interview [HA]., 2013) and driving those without a car to hospital and the supermarket (Mary's Interview [HA]., 2013). It is repeated often in both villages that people look out for each other (Caroline's Interview [SA]., 2013; Simon's Interview [HA]., 2013; Jim & Sally's Notebook [HB]., 2013; Ron's Notebook [SB]., 2013), are always willing to help (Danielle's Interview [HA]., 2013; Willow's Notebook [HB]., 2013) and are good neighbours (Emma's Interview [HA]., 2013). This participation and community involvement is demonstrated in the diagram below (Figure 104).

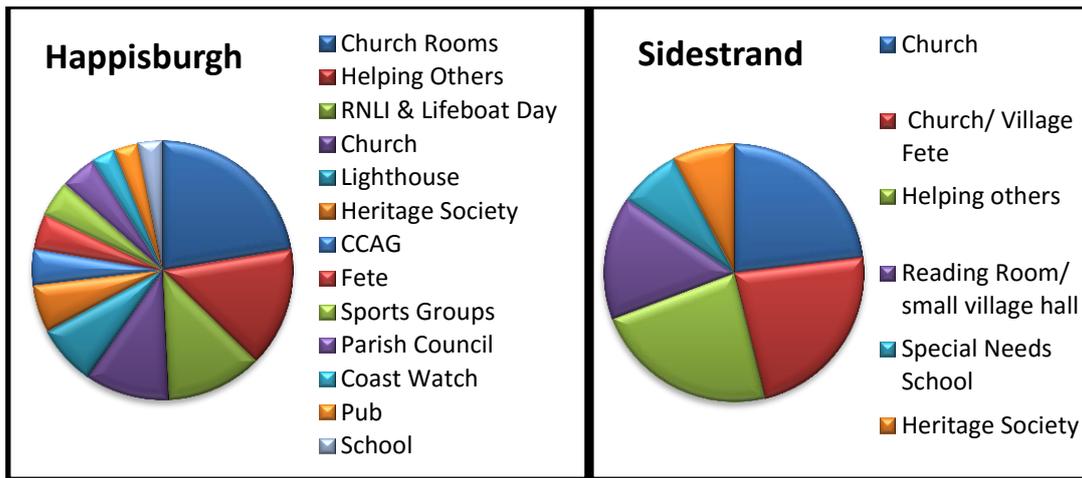


Figure 104: These Pie charts depict this community involvement.

Such activities are facilitated by a few key centres of participation and socialisation. In Happisburgh these are; the church rooms which hosts many social events, servicing the village and facilitating networking and social support; the local shop attracting local gossip and serving as more than a place of convenience but a social space; the local pub is also a centre for socialising and action. Events both economic and social are mentioned often, the fete, events at the church rooms, beer fest at the pub, the lifeboat day, facilitating engagement and keeping people in touch. One such event is the *'Mardle'*, a community event that is a centre for support, bonding and networking. The RNLI also serves an important social role in the village “bringing the whole community together under one banner” (Simon’s Worksheet [HC]., 2013) through common interest.

In Sidestrand the reading rooms and church are their meeting places, social centres that provide togetherness and space for action. The church fete is lauded as “one of the best fetes ever” (Caroline’s Interview [SA]., 2013) pulling people together (Silvia’s Interview [SA]., 2013; The Pearsons Interview [SA]., 2013). The church in both villages is not just a religious centre but a social one, a function that would be lost should the churches close. In both villages this involvement includes all demographics however it cannot be said with full certainty that those involved with the village aren't simply those who participated in the study.

6.3.1. Demonstrating the potential

Potential capacity is displayed through activities that bring the community together through sociality and activities and initiatives that encourage people to work together towards a common goal. Social activities include; the utilisation of Happisburgh church rooms for regular event nights and meals as well as monthly mardles, a Norfolk term for an informal chat. These events serve an important social function providing capacity for 40-50 people for a three course meal offered regularly. Even on Christmas Day if you are a village resident you are able to go for Christmas lunch. It is professed to be very neighbourly and doing something for the village (Mary's Interview [HA]., 2013). In Sidestrand collaboration and participation remain strong as demonstrated by the success of the local fete and historical society, and the strength of the parish council.

Community initiatives include: the erosion action groups of the 'coastal concern action group' and 'the national voice for coastal communities' which provide a good adaptive facility (Harvatt et al., 2011, p.5). This utilises complex bridging social capital comprising of various outward looking relationships with other community groups (Kizos et al., 2014, p.1; Poortinga, 2012, p.2). Moreover potential linking capital is demonstrated through various parliamentary lobbies and successful working relationships with both parish and district councils. Two such community initiated schemes are beach clearance to remove the remnants of broken metal gabions that leave sharp metal strips "like needles" (Lisa's Interview [HA]., 2013) all over the beach, and provision of a new children's' play space. Both projects were begun by village committees but have now been adopted by the district council as part of a plan for growth and regeneration of coastal communities (Lisa's Interview [HA]., 2013; Rachel's Interview [HA]., 2013). The committees now work as a subcommittee for the parish council (Rachel's Interview [HA]., 2013).

Other community initiatives enacted on their own include Happisburgh residents raising money for rock armour that otherwise would not have been provided (Danielle's Interview [HA]., 2013; Ben's Interview [HA]., 2013; Molly's Interview [HA]., 2013; Jason's Interview [HA]., 2013), demonstrating commitment to the village and a

high degree of community agency. Moreover a history of campaigning has led to the lighthouse at Happisburgh becoming a charity under the control of 'the friends of Happisburgh lighthouse'; a volunteer organisation. This was achieved through an act of parliament to transfer the lighthouse into public ownership (Sarah's Interview [HA]., 2013; Mary's Interview [HA]., 2013). Sidstrand too has shown great agency in the past to relocate the church when it became vulnerable to cliff erosion historically. This was achieved through villager donations and the then Lord of the Manor.

In light of these previous successes many ideas are suggested for the future, including a youth club (Jim & Sally's Notebook [HB]., 2013; Happisburgh Focus Group 4., 2013), farm shop (Danielle's Worksheet [HC]., 2013) and a community allotment scheme (Happisburgh Focus Group 5., 2013), indicating that ideas and innovation are present. Moreover, community ownership of the post office/ shop and the pub is suggested not only to keep these economic and social facilities running, but to generate further income for a community support provision for those who come under threat (Happisburgh Focus Group 2., 2013). These ideas contain themes outlined as social enterprise. Social enterprise services a community need, is a business venture that gives back to the community and endeavours to solve a particular problem, commonly boosting local economy and re-investing wealth (London Business School, 2004, p.1), which would greatly improve the resilience of the community if these ideas can be mobilised into action. Endeavours such as community owned pubs and shops have indeed proven successful elsewhere (Calderwood & Davies, 2006; Woodin et al., 2010).

These ideas demonstrate potential change capacity however this will only manifest if it is acted upon. As the old adage goes 'action speaks louder than words'. Simply speaking of it will not enhance the change capacity of the communities towards maximised resilience. These social regenerations will help the communities stay strong and more likely to be in a position to survive transformation, to become something new and better whilst retaining its personality. However, as long as these actions continue to be about reinstating defences or maintaining the status quo they will not increase resilience but stall preparation for transformation. There is a thin line between acting to improve capabilities towards change and maintenance of a false

stability that is maladaptive. As such by putting too much effort into holding onto present norms and behaviours future resilience is impeded. Pathways of control and technological supremacy could of course show dividends through advances in renewable energies however this can only be achieved with change to the accepted 'norm'. This idea is examined further in thesis conclusion.

Beach clearance and installation of rock armour are two such instances that although immediately positive are proving to have long term negatives in the adaptation of the village. Although beach clearance was intended to be part of a regeneration scheme, as long as it fails to address the representation of the villages as dangerous and spreading anxiety, the long term resilience of the villages is not improved.

Furthermore although "effectiveness of local collective action is the major determinant of the ability of societies to adapt to climate change" (Rodima-Taylor, 2012, p.2) in Happisburgh the actualised potential of the village's social capital in the form of rock armour has led to many thinking they have already taken action and there is no need to continue campaigning. This is potentially maladaptive as the situation is believed to have been solved. As Dale et al. (2010) discuss it is not enough to simply survive and cope with changes in such an incremental fashion, a resilient or "vital community is one that can thrive in the face of change" (Dale et al., 2010, p.3) through innovation and creativity. As it stands therefore the villages are not adapting to change but rather stalling it.

6.4. PATHWAYS OF THE (IM)POSSIBLE (Wilson, 2014, p.4)

There is therefore much potential capacity in both villages however this potential is insufficient if not mobilised into action (Wilson, 2013b, p.3). Change capacity includes not simply the ability to access resources both social and physical, but the drive and ability to mobilise them to actualise this potential (Park et al., 2012, p.1). There are multiple limitations or indeed road blocks to mobilising this potential not least the assumption that the only solution is to stop or fix the erosion; returning once more to the social imaginings of the coast and climate change. It is understood that there is only one possible pathway to survival for these threatened villages. Many pathways are therefore deemed impossible or even inconceivable. Path dependency is of increasing importance both to developing resilience strategies and local community

resilience, as potential lock-in inhibits adaptive behaviour and capacity (M. Scott, 2013, pp.4-5). This is demonstrated below with decision making remaining within predetermined, previously practiced or experienced parameters (Figure 105).

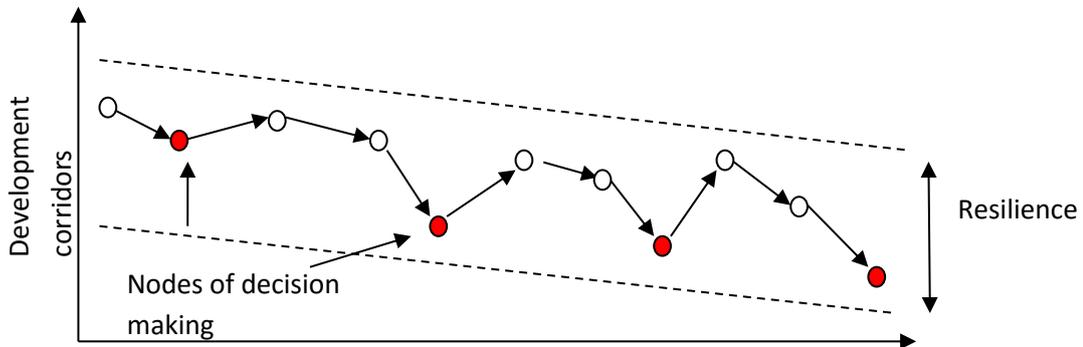


Figure 105: Diagram of Path Dependency (Wilson, 2014, p.8)

This corridor of the possible (Wilson, 2014) in its locked-in trajectory can only be changed through transformation by rupturing this pathway and changing the pattern (Figure 106). This can either be intentional allowing some level of preparation and planned transformation, or it can result from sudden change or disaster which could cause the communities to fall below the threshold of survival. For these villages readjustment as usual is not possible because this corridor of possibility no longer applies to their situation. Adjustment from this position therefore will only be possible if the full extent of the situation is planned for now, taking into account the negative impacts of anxiety effect.

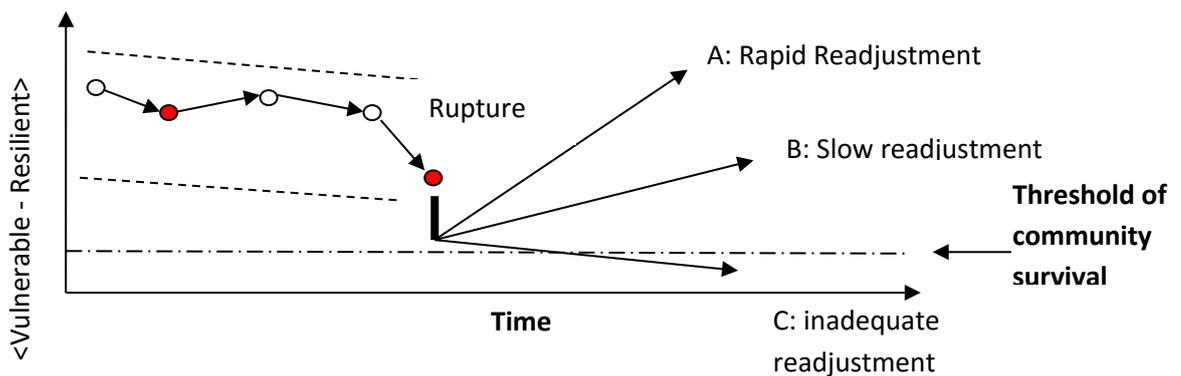


Figure 106: Diagram representing Rupture and Threshold Community Survival (Adapted from: Wilson, 2014, p.21)

The scenarios for this kind of rupture are: A) rapid readjustment, B) slow readjustment and C) inadequate readjustment. In scenario A) there is considerable effort put into not simply adjusting but actively changing behaviour to create a new path. In Scenario B) some change is made however although sufficient to avoid immediate loss the pathway is not altered and business as usual continues. Finally in scenario C) other endogenous and exogenous factors intervene and either prevent or inhibit change so that loss can no longer be averted. This last scenario can ultimately lead to the community falling below the threshold for community survival. In history there are numerous examples of this occurring leading to village abandonment. In England there are many such 'lost' villages due to famine, plague and war (Beresford, 1999; Driver, 2008; Muir, 1982; Vigar, 1994). Without room for rollback and innovation erosion could lead to more lost villages.

What is conceived to be possible again depends on the social memory or baggage of previous decision making pathways (Wilson, 2014, p.9). It is of particular concern that the understandings that serve to constrain our generation of possible and likely futures are from the past (Johnson & Sherman, 1990, p.31) as the changes threatening the villages have not been experienced in recent memory, if they ever have. It still remains a central idea that control over the situation can be achieved in order to stop or fix the situation. That defence solutions are perceived to be the only pathway possible by the participants, to the point where any other action is deemed to be useless (Adam's Interview [HA]., 2013; Ryder's Interview [HA]., 2013) and there is nowhere else to go (Danielle's Interview [HA]., 2013). There is a continued social understanding that the Dutch experience is the same and that similar engineering solutions ought to be implemented here; "why are we so far behind?" (Lisa's Worksheet [HC]., 2013).

This reaction to uncertainty and future threat is not uncommon as through anticipation precautionary action is often taken in governance and emergency planning (Adey & Anderson, 2011; Anderson & Adey, 2011; Anderson, 2010). As such the possibility of disaster or damage is made present through past encounters (Adey & Anderson, 2011). These pre-emptive actions are based on imagined futures and scenarios of known events. Through attempting to secure against these futures it

becomes “a question of controlling the environment” (Anderson, 2011, p.2). This refers to future terrorism however future climate change is viewed as a threat event, that although influencing the present, is perceived to be so distant that minor preparations or maintenance of present security are the focus (see: Anderson, 2010a). Radical action to respond to or pre-empt this future is seen as not yet needed. These relationships with the future encourage maintenance of the current present and therefore support this perception of a singular pathway.

These perspectives are not solely local but recur constantly in academic and public research on resilience and adaptation. "Applications of resilience in the field of climate change and development overwhelmingly support the status quo and promote 'business as usual'" (Brown, 2013, p.4), supporting incremental change only and supporting the system that produced the threat initially. Although by the social norms currently accepted and practiced, this is the understanding of resilience. As discussed in the theoretical framework of this thesis emerging theories on evolutionary or transformative resilience promote radical change that recognises what may be wrong with the status quo. Coping, redressing the balance and technological fixes are lauded as resilient (Tompkins & Eakin, 2012, p.1), incremental change that supports a return to same. Disaster resistance is talked about as the same as resilience (Cutter et al., 2008, p.2), persistence is used to mean resilience (Berkes & Ross, 2013, p.12; Bichard & Kazmierczak, 2012, p.4; Brown & Westaway, 2011, p.14) and “conventional attempts at conquering the climatic future all rely, implicitly or explicitly, upon ideas of control and mastery” (Hulme, 2008, p.1). Such thinking reaffirms control reflex and assumption that humans should have the power to stop x, y & z. These continuing entrenched ideas hinder or even prevent change capacity.

In focusing so completely on incremental changes more radical transformative resilience is continually placed into some future time for consideration (Cutter et al., 2008; Magis, 2010; Nicholls & Kebede, 2012; Park et al., 2012; Wilson, 2014). Retreat is discussed as an adaptation response however the practicalities of moving people and infrastructure back from vulnerable coastal areas is not contemplated, land use planning and set back zones are mentioned but no details are given (Nicholls & Kebede, 2012, p.14). Extra time for radical changes is always assumed (Wilson, 2013b,

p.1) understood as a future alternative that is a last resort. It may already be too late to plan for such future change as it is needed now.

These general assumptions and associated disjuncture are revealed at the coast where time to plan and implement incremental change is up and it is regarded as too late. In some instances even too late for transformational change, such as rebuilding your house further inland causing not only loss of housing stock, but fragmentation of the community as families are forced to leave. Evolutionary adaptation is discussed in reference to small island states whose islands are threatened in their entirety. They do not have the luxury of incremental change and must instead seek transformation or even evacuation (Adger, 2001, p.9). This raises queries as to whether anyone should engage in incremental adaptation when the changes and thus the necessary evolutionary or transformative resilience is a global concern.

Furthermore despite being critiqued as a limitation to resilience (Adger et al., 2011a; Park et al., 2012) adaptation remains largely focused on short term management thinking in weeks not years. In fact 7-10 years is spoken of as a long time (Park et al., 2012, p.8). This short-termism (Folke et al., 2010, p.4) exists even in projects put in place to help communities deal with the loss of their villages through preserving stories, oral histories and old pictures are time restricted being only a three year project not an on-going provision and network (Gaston & McAfee, 2013). Other initiatives, projects and partnerships were set up but are now defunct or otherwise showing no progress or improvement relieving some of the motivation to act but providing no benefit to community resilience. Examples include the Pathfinder Project (DEFRA., 2011; North Norfolk District Council, 2011) which was ended in 2011, Local Enterprise Partnerships that as yet serve little benefit to the small villages, and 'the Sea Change Programme' set up for coastal regeneration but that is now defunct with no specific aid programme in existence now (Smulian, 2011). The Pathfinder Project in particular was terminated as the cost benefit analysis was considered to be negative and the money invested over time regarded as being too hard to recoup (DEFRA., 2011).

With transformative radical change seen as something that occurs after disaster rather than a planned change (Nicholls & Kebede, 2012, p.19), resilience is outlined as occurring after a disturbance (Norris et al., 2008, p.5) at which time it could be too late. This sense of waiting for disaster persists in many resilience models raising the question; 'Are the unfolding changes not drastic enough?' (Amin, 2013, p.5); that we need some event or indeed disaster to upset the status quo (Wilson, 2013b, p.6) before transformative change will become acceptable. Focus remains on sudden calamitous events not slow onset or unpredictable events that may make their presence felt way before the 'event' (Whittle et al., 2012), and may indeed make the current situation untenable so that return to the same is impossible

6.4.1. Defeat - no option

Much emphasis is placed upon self-efficacy and self-organisation demonstrating the power and willingness to act (Brown & Westaway, 2011; Foster-Fishman et al., 2007, p.4), however this is significantly affected by how the situation is perceived and the emotional defeat. If no future is deemed possible or at least no positive future, then the point of action can get lost. Furthermore if the shared understanding is that change is not possible through collective action residents are unlikely to become involved. In both case studies there is substantial defeat and belief that there is no option possible. This inability to appreciate any alternatives represents clearly the path dependency. This exacerbates the effects of anxiety already at play in the area through distancing and control reflex as disaster and even death (of self and village) are viewed as inevitable and simply a matter of time. The effect of this is manifold. Firstly the emotional distress experienced in both villages diminishes people's ability to solve problems and to learn from the event (Shepherd, 2009, p.8).

This defeat coupled with ever present anxiety, can and does inhibit change capacity in that recognising the positives amid the negatives enabling change towards transformation can only happen if the loss and negatives are reconciled; "when loss remains unspoken, neither grieved nor worked through, then change and adjustment cannot follow" (Randall, 2009, p.2). Delay in acceptance, making sense of loss and recovery, reduces resilience (Shepherd, 2009, p.1). If the true situation is not known or

accepted this recognition and resolution, and therefore resilience, is impeded and reduced (Shepherd, 2009, p.3). “Change is loss” (Shepherd, 2009, p.12) but with the change ongoing there is little chance to reconcile the feelings. It is evident that “feelings have transformative power of their own” (Pain, 2009, p.9) and not always in a good way. Here it seems negative emotions are suppressing the positives to the point where many state ‘there is no hope’ (Thomas’s Worksheet [SC]., 2013; Molly’s Worksheet [HC]., 2013; Sarah’s Interview [HA]., 2013) and “the ‘reality’ is futile” (Molly’s Worksheet [HC]., 2013). We must ask of hope dies if change is viewed as impossible. To perceive a positive way out of negativity the future concept of hope allowing the creation of potentiality or possibility is needed (B. Anderson, 2006, p.1), especially ‘hope for change’; “belief that change is even possible” (Foster-Fishman et al., 2007, p.5).

Anxiety and fear curtail what is deemed possible (Hulme, 2008) and although anticipation is usually understood as the proactive thinking of futurity exhibiting optimism (Anderson, 2012, p.4), this depends entirely upon what is being anticipated. A disaster can be anticipated if no alternative is envisaged, dread anticipation perhaps. “Existing though-out the human experience of realised climate, and in anticipation of portended climates, runs a thread of anxiety and fear” (Hulme, 2008, p.2), a culturally created discourse that brings the effects of future feared disaster into the present. As a result of this dread anticipation a dark negative future is imagined as the positives are unseen. The future envisaged overshadows the present (Anderson, 2012, p.2). The future has become present (Anderson, 2012, p.4), but in doing so has become absent, there is no future, only death. Negative futures deem impossible positive futures and even obscure them so that one option, one pathway, is seen. This outlook affects the communities’ readiness to accept change and learning (Berkes & Ross, 2013, p.7). In fact this outlook has meant that many have already resigned themselves to defeat and have given up;

*“I think you’ll find those that don’t turn up have just given up!
People have been rattling the cages for years and nothing’s changed”
(Happisburgh Focus Group 3., 2013).*

6.4.2. Of representation and reputation

The future is practiced in the present through representation and reputation. The two r's of anxiety. It is assumed that 'if you don't like it move' is an acceptable solution and that in being able to move people are resilient. Individually this may have some truth however due to the understanding that this stretch of coastline is increasingly dangerous and in some people's thoughts already lost, combined with existing affordable housing concerns (Rachel's Interview [HA]., 2013; Ryder's Worksheet [HC]., 2013; Jim & Sally's Worksheet [HC]., 2013; Happisburgh Focus Group 4., 2013) and youth outmigration has led to significant housing blight (Sophie's Interview [HA]., 2013; Lisa's Interview [HA]., 2013). The image of the villages, the identity and reputation is threatened, "a false image" (Molly's Interview [HA]., 2013). Lack of affordable housing coupled with rollback that is not completed in sufficient time for those threatened, leads to many feeling that there is "nowhere for people to go [that's] getting worse and worse" (Happisburgh Focus Group 4., 2013).

Furthermore representations of the coast as being a wealthy place, offers the understanding of high self-efficacy and agency. More specifically it is assumed that people have the resources to simply relocate aside from whether they'd want to or not. These case studies reveal that in actuality although the majority own their homes, albeit many with a mortgage (Figure 107), usually indicating wealth and flexibility, the slow or indeed non-existent housing market due to spreading blight means this equity is unlikely to be released.

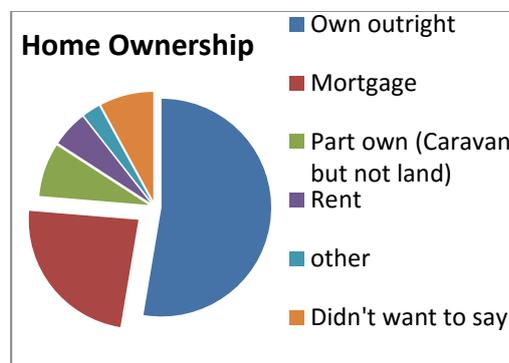


Figure 107: Pie chart representing the division of home ownership in the area.

This leaves income and savings the determining factor on the ability to easily relocate. In Sidestrand income is estimated to be predominantly between 10 and 30K although there are a few wealthier outliers. Happisburgh also has some significant outliers estimating their income at £70,000+ and as such could move if they wanted to. The majority however estimate from less than 10K to 30K with the mode being 10-20K (Figure 108). It is surprising given the understanding of the coast as wealthy how many participants declared their income including savings as being less than £10,000 a year. Cutter and Barnes et al. (2008, p.7) speak of the importance of property value as a key factor in community resilience however, unless this value can be released and utilised it cannot aid actualisation of potential change capacity.

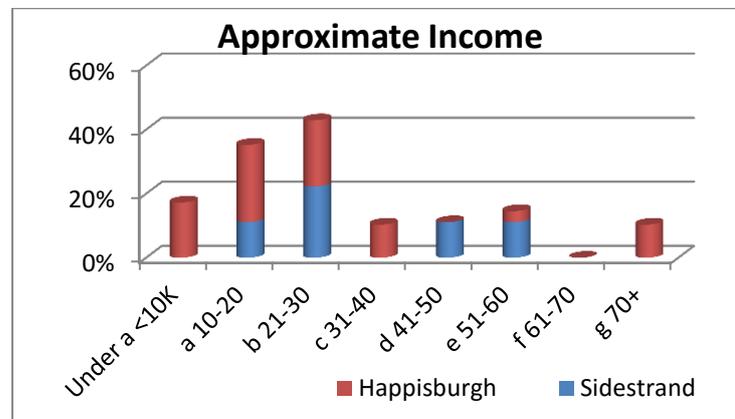


Figure 108: Graphs representing the percentage approximate income estimated by participants in both villages.

Moreover these false assumptions combined with the antithesis created through spreading anxiety of doomed villages not worth investing in, greatly reduces the ability of these communities to create useful linking capital in order to mobilise the evident change capacity at the village scale. These malign associations perpetuate the anxiety effect not only minimising linking capital but reducing resource access and availability in the area, subsequently reducing their ability to act.

This anxious withdrawal is not restricted to future threats associated with climate change but has been demonstrated in Bezirk Luchow-Dannenberg where fear over planned nuclear waste storage caused accelerated outmigration of community members able to move, loss of local services and stigmatization of the entire area as a 'condemned' place, house prices plummeted and the formerly close-knit rural

communities were negatively affected (Wilson, 2013b, pp.6-7). This is echoed in North Norfolk as property immediately threatened in both case studies are referred to as "death row houses" (EDP24., 2002). Further simulacrums affect the perception of business viability (Danielle's Interview [HA]., 2013), (NNDC., 2011) especially in reference to tourism, a local economic mainstay. It is commented that visitors no longer come to visit the village but to see the destruction (Cameron's Interview [HA]., 2013).

6.4.3. Social fragmentation, mistrust and insecurity

Whilst the belief that there are no positive alternatives and resultant defeatism inhibits actualising the potential mentioned, and representation and reputation of the area further restricts this capacity, there are further roadblocks to mobilising this potential. These are: power dynamics over whose responsible for acting, a lack of voice, social inadequacies and competing voices. Firstly the problems, as per the two track thinking discussed in chapter 4, are believed to be too large and removed from the individual or even community level. As such they are assumed to be the responsibility of national or even international government. The assumption therefore is that they are unable to act without government backing or help (Sophie's Interview [HA]., 2013; Darcy's Interview [HA]., 2013; Emma's Interview [HA]., 2013; Jason's Interview [HA]., 2013) and that alone they have no power to make a difference (Simon's Interview [HA]., 2013; Matilda's Interview [HA]., 2013).

This diminished self-efficacy has led to many in the villages feeling something must be done but that they themselves would not act as 'nothing can be done'. This inaction has often been understood as apathy and sneered at as meaning people do not care enough but they are not disinterested but honestly feel that what they do cannot make a difference (Washington & Cook, 2011, p.95). Furthermore Amin (2013, p.2) recommends that acceptance of incertitude, community contingency plans, public vigilance and involvement through community empowerment, are in order to survive the changes. This can only happen if they do feel empowered and a way forward is seen. Brown and Westaway (2011, p.8) describe this as the 'locus of control' or the extent to which individuals believe that they can control events that affect them.

There is furthermore a paradox of power as many participants complain about others not acting but would neither act themselves as they do not believe they have the power or consider it to be someone else's responsibility. In many instances it seems that they are all waiting for someone else to take the first step (Molly's Interview [HA]., 2013; Kate's Interview [HA]., 2013; Elizabeth's Interview [HA]., 2013; Cameron's Interview [HA]., 2013) or are happy to have a passive involvement by donating money or simply being informed (Sarah's Interview [HA]., 2013; Chantelle's Interview [HA]., 2013) (Figure 109).

"Would like to see some sort of action taken, I would certainly take part"

(Kate's Interview [HA]., 2013),

"Would I? NO, given that it would involve other people being dragged in"

(John's Interview [HA]., 2013),

"What could be done?" (Elizabeth's Interview [HA]., 2013),

"Can do sod all" (Molly's Worksheet [HC]., 2013),

"Can't do anything, nothing can be done" (Margaret's Interview [HA]., 2013).

"Someone needs to do something to save Happisburgh" (Raphé's Interview [HA]., 2013),

"Rely on others to bail us out" (Molly's Worksheet [HC]., 2013),

"No [would not take action] not at my age, I've done my bit for the village"

(Mary's Interview [HA]., 2013),

"My husband and I are probably the youngest

if not some of the youngest adults living here

So to then try to sort of galvanize the rest of the village to do stuff

Would seem improper" (Caroline's Interview [SA]., 2013),

"Well if the village did we would of course" (The Pearsons Interview [SA]., 2013),

"Well how many people would do it?" (Samuel & Lyn's Interview [SA]., 2013).

Figure 109: Research Poem of social inefficacy

Individualism

Many of these behaviours could be construed as being indicative of wider social issues. It is not just in this instance that it is expected that others will act, but if everybody felt and behaved this way then nothing would ever happen. It is further suggested that a social selfishness exists, again a wider pattern, one of disengagement whereby individualism is prized and survival of self is most important (Paton et al., 2013, p.6). This disengagement and separation is, according to Giddens, antithesis of resilience as to be resilience is deemed to be "the capacity of members of a community to act together rather than to become divided and fragmented" (Giddens, 2012, p.164). In

this instance fragmentation is a disease that weakens resilience. Not only does this fragmentation minimise togetherness and the ability to act together but willingness to come together, eroding both identity and community, as "perceived support and help provided affects the erosion of perceptions of belonging and expectations of support" (Norris et al., 2008, p.9). This division displays itself in different ways between the two village case studies.

In the larger village of Happisburgh despite seemingly strong social bonds and linkages wider patterns of social fragmentation are undermining this capital including; individualistic tendencies of the past few decades, and assumptions that work is of the utmost priority and besides that there is little time. Clubs and other community events are seen by many to be only for the very elderly or are only for those who do not work (Matilda's Interview [HA]., 2013; Sarah's Interview [HA]., 2013; Suzanne's Interview [HA]., 2013). By this assumption they will become involved upon retirement however as per my analysis in chapter 4 this can quickly become replaced by 'I will be dead' attitudes. Otherwise it is perceived that social interaction is waning (John's Interview [HA]., 2013), that younger generations and those new to the area will not commit the time or resources to that which does not serve a proximate individual goal of their own (Ben's Interview [HA]., 2013; Happisburgh Focus Group 4., 2013). Beyond this, in not seeing others, both of power and without, act upon the effects of climate change locally people are encouraged to think that there is time, that the threat is not that bad, and as such are disinclined to act themselves. This 'bystander apathy' (Grant, 2010, p.45) of shared inaction reduces reciprocal behaviours whereby if they act at all it is to help themselves not to act for all the community. Unfortunately this has come to be expected and mistrust is such that those that do act on behalf of the whole are thought to be solely out for their own ends and not to be trusted (See below).

"You fight the good fight but it's tiring and you've got a business to run,

You can only do so much.

We have put our head above the parapet

You don't get any thanks for these things

In fact people are very suspicious 'oh you must be doing it for your own advantage"

(Sophie's Interview [HA]., 2013).

The villagers feel they have been misled and lied to therefore mistrusting many liaisons with sources of authority (Darcy's Interview [HA]., 2013; Ryder's Notebook [HB]., 2013). This loss of trust in the agency/ government reduces the likelihood that people will use the information provided (Paton et al., 2013, p.5). This significantly damages linking networks. This lack of communication and mistrust is said to have set adrift the community (Molly's Interview [HA]., 2013; Ryder's Notebook [HB]., 2013) to the point where some query whether there will be a community for their grandchildren (Alice & Allan's Worksheet [HC]., 2013).

In Sidestrand it is implied that the 'community' is already going through a loss and disconnect of social involvement (The Pearsons's Notebook [SB]., 2013). In fact social discord is the biggest concern and erosion is merely mentioned, stating that they "hold onto those that are left" (The Pearsons's Notebook [SB]., 2013). In extension reciprocal behaviours are considered to be not as common as they once were (Samuel & Lyn's Interview [SA]., 2013; Silvia's Interview [SA]., 2013). Similar to Happisburgh wider social disassociation is present. A lack of will to get involved and supply both time and money is noted consistently (Silvia's Worksheet [SC]., 2013; The Pearsons's Worksheet [SC]., 2013) as is the disinclination of younger villagers to be a part of the community (The Pearsons Interview [SA]., 2013) reducing social support and opportunities for networking. This social pattern is not only the reserve of the younger generations;

"People our own age that are perhaps newly resident

Here in today's age of computers and so forth and tele and so much television,

People stay in their own homes and you know don't join in community events"

(The Pearsons Interview [SA]., 2013).

This is uniquely demonstrated by the village church's membership of the Trunch Ministry where one minister is shared by five churches. If people are able and willing to go to different villages for the Sunday service then this provides a wide support group, however those that are unable or unwilling to do this feel increasingly isolated as the church as well as the reading room is the social hub of the village (Pauline's Letter [S]., 2013). Magazines for the Poppyland partnership connecting these same five communities were found in the church vestry, a wandering congregation. These

long standing connections can therefore be a positive and a negative. Support versus fragmentation is the issue here. The solution may well lie in the connections themselves.

Social insecurity and Mistrust

Maintenance and support of these connections or linkages, creating and reforming linking capital, is an important crossroads as people perceive they are being asked to give more than they feel they can (Sarah's Interview [HA], 2013; Mary's Notebook [HB], 2013; Ben's Interview [HA], 2013); an argument that is readily used in favour of an increasingly global and individualised community (McMillan, 1996, p.4). It is well discussed that trust is a key component of developing and maintaining such connections (Adger, 2003, p.2; Dale et al., 2010, p.10; Putnam, 1995, p.3; Rodima-Taylor, 2012, p.2), however this relationship is currently threatened by a falling common wellbeing (Grant, 2010, p.53) and an increasing tendency towards extreme separation of responsibility. Not only 'over there' but 'their responsibility', a division of responsibility that places all action and all blame onto central government. Moreover, there exists already a spreading culture of fear and anxiety about anything perceived to be a threat. This rhetoric is perpetuated and augmented by local, national and even international media.

As "all fears and threats are, in some sense, 'produced'" (Hartmann et al., 2005, p.4) the incidence of climate change fears adds to a catalogue of other socially produced cultures of emotion, be it fear, anxiety or hope, whether they are false or real, augmented or even muted. There is as such "increasing fear, lack of trust and abundance of suspicion" (Blond, 2010, p.1). Suspicions that result in not only reduced institutional trust, but trust in each other, supporting theories that 'it is everyone for himself' (Pattyn & Van Liedekerke, 2001, p.1) and there is an "increasing need for community members to integrate vertically rather than horizontally" (Wilson, 2013a, p.14) to support personal individual ends. These social insecurities impeded resilience by reducing social collaboration and reducing willingness and agency to form partnerships (Dale et al., 2010, p.14) that are significant for good resilience. Wilson, suggests that this social selfishness may result in individuals being unwilling to

“altruistically adopt (or maintain) strongly resilient pathways for the sake of their wider community” (Wilson, 2013b, p.12), perhaps until a time when it affects their houses and their own assets.

6.4.4. Village politics: Competing voices

Moreover where both communities have the potential for high social capital and cohesion, community cohesion can be both a help and a hindrance as although lending itself to support and innovation, social suspicions over new enterprises and change in general impeded such social collaboration (Poortinga, 2012, p.2; Wilson, 2013a) . In Sidestrand they were particularly suspicious of my research as some of the community saw it as being potentially detrimental. To the point where despite explaining by letter, phone and email that my research was not funded by any agencies or industries that may exploit their circumstances they believed my research could adversely affect them. My exchange with the parish council on this subject is included in the methodology chapter of this thesis. Their anxieties led to them advising many villagers not to participate in my research. This fear that economic ramifications of admitting how bad their situation is and facing it, will be worse than doing nothing is a common occurrence (Washington & Cook, 2011, p.xv). This approach has seemingly been a last straw for some causing increasing neighbourhood fracturing (Figure 110).

“A piece of dirt that will go over in the end but they'll argue black is white.

Jubilee party...they don't really want everyone there just their friends”

(Thomas's Notebook [SB]., 2013),

“Various people fell out, typical village you know.

This end and sort of that end were sort of warring,

You know through the local newsletter, sending letters. It just got silly”

(Samuel & Lyn's Interview [SA]., 2013),

“Neighbourly frictions” (Carol & Richard's Interview [SA]., 2013),

“Community politics pfft, Neighbourhood disputes” (Carol & Richard's Interview [SA]., 2013),

“Little groups that know best,

There are people in the village I don't know and don't want to know”

(Thomas's Worksheet [SC]., 2013).

Figure 110: Research poem about village politics in Sidestrand

A further issue of contention is the future fate of the village church. Due to its mnemonic, social and emotional meaning for many of the villagers it is proposed by some that it should become a community centre or café, or both along with the erection of new houses to revitalise the community (Samuel & Lyn's Notebook [SB]., 2013; Betty's Worksheet [SC]., 2013; Sidestrand Focus Group., 2013). This however is seen as unlikely to happen due to the amount of investment of time and resources to convert the church (Betty's Worksheet [SC]., 2013) and the desire to retain the traditional village image with a church inadvertently leading to the persistence of an undesirable state (Folke et al., 2010, p.4). In fact one participant stated that they had a "barrier to that possibility" (Samuel & Lyn's Worksheet [HC]., 2013). Moreover there is considerable opposition to the building of any new housing at all (NatCen Social Research, 2011) for the same aesthetic reasons and maintenance of a continuity that is already threatened. Many Sidestrand residents are anti anything that'll change their view of the village. Villagers are not willing to get involved or are directly anti-change. It is commented that "nothing'll change in the village because of people's opinions in the village" (Thomas's Worksheet [SC]., 2013; Ron's Worksheet [SC]., 2013). The areas status as AONB causes further contention that seemingly supports the decline of the village (Samuel & Lyn's Worksheet [HC]., 2013).

Whilst EN12 planning policy allows rollback by making greenbelt laws more flexible (DEFRA., 2011) classification of large parts of the affected area as either AONB, SPA or SSSI still poses a barrier to community adaptation as humans are viewed as the enemy (Davidson, 2012). There needs to be some sustainable middle ground, however difficulties facing rollback including; the time taken to gain consensus, difficulties in finding suitable sites and funding rollback, are major concerns. North Norfolk has been regarded as having a negative cost-benefit ratio, with the benefits considered fairly low to the general public as there is a limited number of households supported (DEFRA., 2011, p.8). The villages are therefore seemingly penalised for a) being a village, and b) not eroding fast enough that more houses are immediate affected. It is continually stated that more time is needed to plan in the expectation that there will be time before transformation is needed. Separation and distancing is evidenced even

here as it is stated that rollback could be "achievable in the absence of restrictive delivery timescales" (DEFRA., 2011, p.116).

This issue of time is ironic when compared with concerns over future seed funding as from a financial perspective the seed money is seen as unlikely to be recouped, that it is a bad investment, reconfirming fears that the villages are already gone. Moreover, sustainable communities' agendas that seek to help communities threatened by climate change, still prioritise assets over people and other aspects of village quality of life (Doherty, 2002). Assets are important but they should not be the goal. The agendas also assume permanence and do not recognise the need for transition and change (Doherty, 2002, p.14). These by omission leave these villages and others, feeling that loss is inevitable but without any future pathway.

These competing voices, omissions and narrowly focussed cost benefit analysis are demonstrated most clearly in Happisburgh where despite being given a grant as part of the Coastal Pathfinder Scheme (North Norfolk District Council, 2011) for the adaptation of an important local industry, the caravan park has been refused planning permission for their desired location. Objections were from English Heritage and surrounding homeowners with the main argument being its proximity to a conservation area. In an area that is almost entirely AONB, SPA or SSSI this raises concerns over whether they will ever be allowed to rollback.

"They want Happisburgh to go away.

Don't come to Happisburgh because it is not going to be replaced".

"I think it was a short sighted decision. How can we possibly have managed retreat and a changing coastline without changing our villages?"

(EDP24., 2014b)

This is one of many rejections as the manager of the caravan park had previously endeavoured to rent another field but villagers would not give permission (Margaret's Interview [HA]., 2013). Moreover landowners appear unwilling to sell (Catherine's Worksheet [HC]., 2013) posing a serious roadblock as private land will be needed to facilitate rollback. There is strong resistance to any change whatsoever evidenced by general negativity and petitions against the new location of the caravan site over

aesthetic disturbance. People want the revenue but do not want any impact or change (Willow's Notebook [HB]., 2013; Catherine's Worksheet [HC]., 2013).

*"I won't have that view if it's blighted where they want to put the caravans,
"We might lie down in the middle of the road to stop the caravan park being moved"*

(Darcy's Interview [HA]., 2013).

Development of any kind even to replace lost houses is seen by some as a precursor to overdevelopment, something they have moved here to escape (Adam's Interview [HA]., 2013; Emma's Interview [HA]., 2013; Matilda's Interview [HA]., 2013). This is referred to as pathological conservatism by Wilson (2013a, p.9) leading to a desire to keep things exactly as they are despite the inevitability of change (Ryder's Interview [HA]., 2013; Simon's Interview [HA]., 2013; Willow's Notebook [HB]., 2013). This would be quaint in an inland rural setting however where the housing stock is being diminished by the sea and population diminishes further through outmigration, staying the same is not an option. As Magis comments; "community capacity can be developed for virtually anything, including stasis in the face of change" (Magis, 2010, p.8).

These relationships of trust and collaboration are very important for resilience of all rather than just the individual (Ride & Bretherton, 2011, pp.5-7). Community connections within, and without, the immediate scale, offer support and opportunities for creativity. This provides a platform for the airing of fears and for innovation to forge new pathways (Grant, 2010, p.61). This is especially important in the face of anticipated threat and ensuing anxiety effect, offering social strength in pre-disaster uncertainty. These linkages need to be connected with existing groups, community or otherwise, to form networks of reciprocity. These connections depend upon trust and cooperation (Skoglund, 2014, p.6) that is increasingly diminished. Where linkages and broader linking capital is damaged by social insecurity and fragmentation top-down 'expert' analysis and decision making can undermine the agency of local communities (Ride & Bretherton, 2011, p.10) as the Government leans towards control and command opposite to the integrated support networks required for community resilience. Control and resilience as such, are *not* the same (Ride & Bretherton, 2011,

p.167). This argument is often dismissed in a 'developed' setting assuming that communities are more integrated into the political system and therefore presuming good network creation. Without trust and strong community involvement however many village communities are seen as outwardly resilient and able to bounce back from any blow. As a result they are at risk of being treated harshly as they are assumed to be safe (Ride & Bretherton, 2011, p.190).

6.5. CONCLUSION: What is their 'change capacity'?

There is a curious situation presented whereby the majority of resilience models and theories assume that some semblance of normality, continuity and stability remain after disturbance or event from which one, or a community, may rebuild (Moser & Dilling, 2008, p.65; Norris et al., 2008, p.37). In the villages and communities in question however, negative change is occurring in advance of disaster. Normality is threatened to such an extent that resistance to change (Marris, 1993, p.5), however well understood (Moser & Dilling, 2008, p.503) is an understandable reaction. It is not help with the science that is needed, but help with the implications for the well-trodden paths of understanding and thinking that form our social understanding and how to get past this. In order to actively learn from our experiences and move on from our current understanding and habits, new events are understood through the process of assimilation. This process however "reduces the new to the old" (Marris, 1993, p.9) by placing them within a particular context or frame of reference that we are familiar with (Marris, 1993, p.6). The mere fact that this familiarity is being threatened creates more uncertainty and hinders change in reaction to new experiences. In short the new experiences are so at odds with known experience and understanding that they cannot be assimilated. Ride & Bretherton (2011) concur that as patterns of normality are disturbed, cultures of peace and stability are also disrupted. When the new is seen to involve the eventual loss of home, community and village, then willingness to accept and act is limited or absent in the face of limited future pathways.

This is demonstrated clearly in the two villages whereby despite strong social capital at the immediate scale linking capital is damaged by growing fragmentation and mistrust augmented by spreading anxiety effect. Community readiness for change, and such their resilience, ultimately depends on belief as to whether change is feasible or even

desirable (Brown & Westaway, 2011, pp.4-5; Foster-Fishman et al., 2007, p.4). It is the overwhelming belief that nothing can be done and therefore no one will act. The changes are seen as so extreme and disastrous that the future cannot be envisaged. At least not a positive future, and as such it is perceived that there is no future and therefore nothing to prepare for but loss. In this there is acceptance which is important for adaptation (Brown & Westaway, 2011), however simple acceptance of change without action is insufficient and could otherwise be labelled resignation. Resilience is found in "the ability to change rather than the ability to continue doing the same thing" (Magis, 2010, p.5), and therefore is about action taken as well as acceptance of the changes and need for change.

In accepting change as loss, the participants are adamant that adaptation will simply happen and somehow everything will be ok. On the surface this appears to be denial or wishful thinking however when the language used is looked at closely it is impersonal and abstract as if the events spoken of have no bearing on the self (Figure 111).

"People would adapt" (Caroline's Worksheet [SC]., 2013)

"People would adjust; you have to, going to happen" (Samuel & Lyn's Worksheet [HC]., 2013)

"You have to go with change haven't you" (Matilda's Interview [HA]., 2013)

"You've just got to adapt to it haven't you" (Matt & Beth's Interview [HA]., 2013)

"Kind of accepting, cycle of life, season and all, c'est la vie" (Sarah's Interview [HA]., 2013)

"The village here can look after itself it always has" (Simon's Interview [HA]., 2013)

"Accept the inevitable" (Catherine's Notebook [HB]., 2013)

"Human beings have a wonderful ability for resilience" (Catherine's Notebook [HB]., 2013)

"Adjusting to loss" (Adam's Worksheet [HC]., 2013)

"Just have to get on with [it]" (Rachel's Worksheet [HC]., 2013)

"Whatever happens we will be resilient. We will adapt to change"

(Catherine's Worksheet [HC]., 2013)

"DEAL WITH IT IN WHATEVER WAY" (Sean & Stephanie's Worksheet [HC]., 2013)

"Accept the things you cannot change" (Willow's Worksheet [HC]., 2013)

Figure 111: Research Poem about assumed adaptation

In truth those that say valiantly that we can simply adapt are right, to a certain extent we can simply adapt and bear the cold shoulder of unexpected transformation.

Humanity is indeed very adaptable but "our societies are far less so" (Diamond, 2005, p.1) and as such need to prepare for change not simply expect to adapt (Park et al., 2012,p.3). Simply to adapt is an expectation of the individual or of small family units not of community or society. However as with the other traits of individualism discussed here we are still waiting for the mechanism of disaster and response but have failed to realise that the chicken and egg are one, and the response may affect the disaster.

To see past these barriers, identify new possible pathways and maintain community vitality, action must be taken in anticipation of change (Dale et al., 2010, p.5). Some attempts have been made in Happingburgh towards this end with the creation of a microbrewery at the Hill House Pub named 'The Dancing Men Brewery' after the Sherlock Holmes tale inspired there. The Hill House has also become a limited company shared between three partners as their "way of fighting back and making the best of a bad situation" (EDP24., 2014a). Through innovation and diversification this limits the effects of anxiety in the short term however it does not address any future action. As Wilson discusses, communities can "never reach 'maximum' resilience levels but can only strive towards maximising resilience" (Wilson, 2013a, p.3).

Such loss of home, community and changed social understanding can be understood as bereavement defined by Marris as "the irretrievable loss of the familiar" (Marris, 1993, p.23). Ordinarily discourses on bereavement and grief, as with resilience, discuss an event that one must recover from and that the process occurs after said change. Loss in fragmentation of community through gradual demolition by sea and bulldozer however, is viewed as terminal illness and bereavement comes ahead of death (see Chapter 5). As bereavement is acknowledged to impair the ability to attach meaning to events, and therefore to learn from them (Shepherd, 2009), this concept goes a long way to interpreting the stasis that these communities find themselves in. Not apathetic but simply stuck. There is no learning and therefore no action as many are in a state of shock and bereavement when faced with perceived inevitable defeat. This understanding of no positive pathways is clearly pertinent here.

6.6.1. Assessment of capacity in each village

To demonstrate the relative capacity of each village to change, I here assess them both according to community resilience indicators set out by Cutter & Barnes et al. (2008, p.7). For this analysis each of the indicators were discussed in reference to each village (Table 6). Furthermore each subtopic within the indicators was given a value from -4 to +4. Below is the analysis for Sidestrand (Figure 112).

Table 6: Community resilience indicators adapted from Cutter & Barnes (2008, p.7).

Ecologically	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accelerating erosion • Minimal impervious surfaces • Few and aging coastal defence structures
Socially	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An aging community with few young families • Strong cohesion and some good social interaction however tension grows and the community becomes fractured. • Trunch Ministry shared between 5 churches (positive and negative)
Economically	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Few employment opportunities locally • Small population with diminished house prices • No industry or small scale wealth generation
Institutionally	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No hazard reduction or mitigation programmes • No emergency response plans • Minimal communication
Infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor ambulance response • Little to no public transport • Main road network at risk of erosion • More a hamlet than a village with some very old houses and a manorial estate currently a special needs school. Village church. • No commercial or manufacturing establishments.
Community Competence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Risk understood but not processed, nor acted upon. • No counselling services. • Fairly high rates of anxiety and stress resulting in relatively low wellness. • Relatively high life satisfaction.

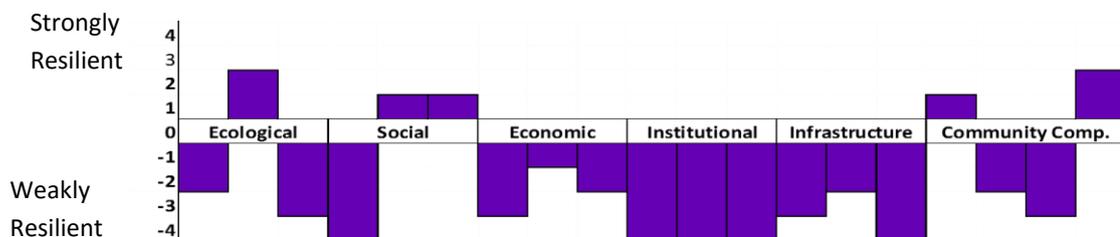


Figure 112: Rudimentary analysis of Sidestrand based on Cutter & Barnes (2008, p.7)

The values represented above result in -34 indicating the village has fairly low resilience.

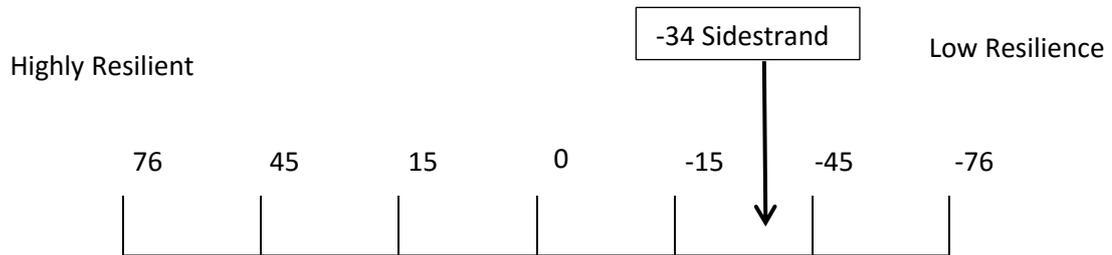


Figure 113: Diagram demonstrating Sidestrand’s resilience according to this analysis

There are as such many areas for improvement in Sidestrand that would greatly improve their community resilience; however, whether these improvements are seen as worthwhile depends on whether the village is understood to have a future. Areas of specific vulnerability are economic capacity, institutional support and the infrastructure of the area. Almost as vulnerable unfortunately is the social capacity of the village where fragmentation, outmigration and issues of trust are decreasing the otherwise good social capacity. This analysis is undertaken for Happisburgh also (Table 7, Figure 114 & Figure 115).

Table 7: Community resilience indicators adapted from Cutter & Barnes (2008, p.7).

Ecological	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accelerating erosion • Minimal impervious surfaces • Damaged and removed coastal defence structures.
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An aging community but with a good mix of ages • Many and strong social connections with many social activities, although damaged linking capital. • Strong community values and cohesion. • Strong and active church community
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some good employment opportunities but threatened by growing business insecurity. • A much larger population with a variety of housing stock however there is spreading anxiety over the erosion limiting house prices and thus house sales. • Many small businesses including the village pub, village stores, wet fish shop and tea rooms. Several tourist house rentals and a large family owned caravan park. Caravan park currently at risk and unable to relocate.
Institutional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some small hazard management but no reduction or mitigation plans. • No emergency response plans for erosion but the village pub is a refuge for flooding. • Minimal communications.

Infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor ambulance response • Little to no public transport • Main road network at risk of erosion • Many old and some new houses, former monastic buildings, 14th century church, 16th century coaching inn, 17th century lighthouse, Arts and Crafts manor house. • Some small commercial establishments. • No manufacturing.
Community Competence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High understanding of the risk with some action taken. • No counselling services • High levels of stress and anxiety. Low wellness. • High life satisfaction.

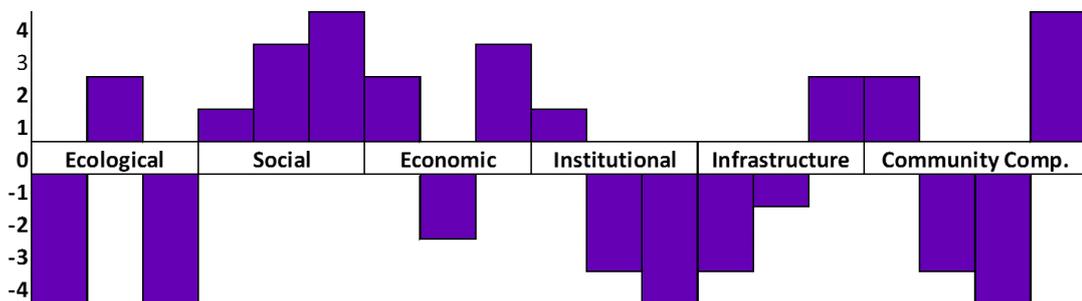


Figure 114: Rudimentary analysis of Happisburgh based on Cutter & Barnes (2008, p.7)

Happisburgh has a complicated spread of results demonstrating both the limitations and potential towards resilience in the village. On average the result for Happisburgh is -4.

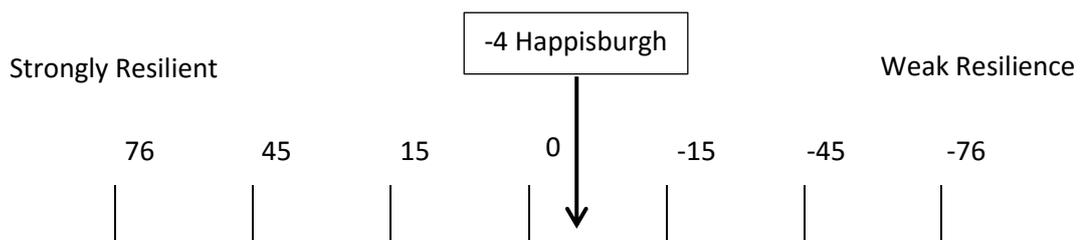


Figure 115: Diagram demonstrating Happisburghs result according to this analysis

Statistically by this rudimentary analysis Happisburgh is more or less neutral and as such could work to make themselves resilient however this is simply because the negatives and positives are extremes that cancel each other out. In actuality whether the potential can be realised depends on the ability for the social and economic assets of the village to work together to combat the anxiety, provide counselling and process the bereavement facing the community. This will only happen when issues of

disjuncture and anxiety effect are taken into account in order to address the common understanding that there is no other option, no possible pathway forwards.

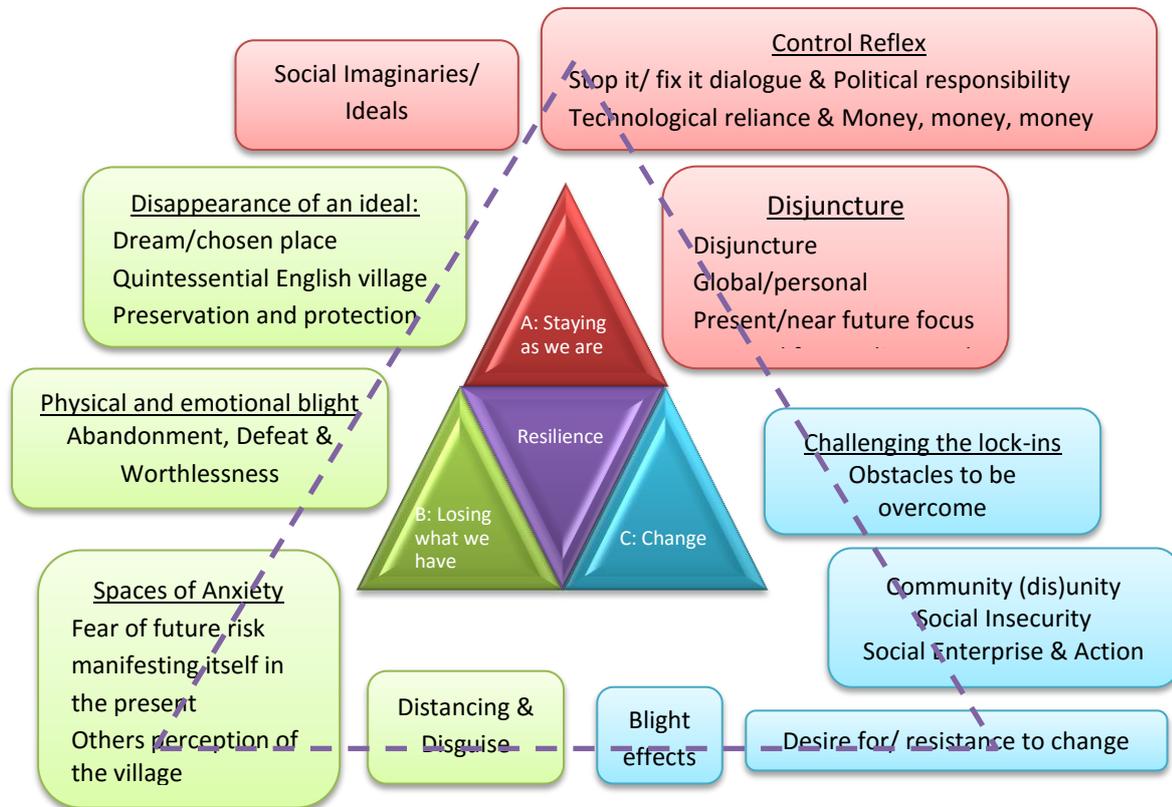
Finally it is imperative to ask whether these villages can indeed be resilient, vital and thriving communities when facing disappearance by the sea. Is it possible to be resilient to erosion today as we cannot as easily migrate westward as has been done historically (Ward, 1922). Partial rollback or the survival of only part of either village is not accepted as resilience as what is left is seen as some derivative of the previous settlement and one that has lost its character. This is exemplified by Eccles in North Norfolk. Although still on the map and referred to by some as Eccles and others as New Eccles (although there is nothing new about it) what remains is described by the locals as North Gap or the Bush Estate adamantly stating 'it's not Eccles' (Figure 116).

*"North Gap **was** Eccles,
On the outside of my section of the sea defences was the plaque,
It's now buried under about 30 foot of sand.
To commemorate the lost village of Eccles itself,
Now it's Bush Estate.
I don't like to call it Eccles because it's not,
It's not fair to call it the same thing.
Eccles itself was a thriving community
Whereas Bush Estate is just a collection of houses"*

Figure 116: Quote showing emotional struggles in the aftermath of loss (Simon's Interview [HA]., 2013).

The resilience potential in both villages exists and can be improved however it is the capacity to mobilise this potential and maximise resilience that is of concern, and ultimately whether it is even possible to be resilient as a community in the event that the village does rollback or be relocated, or indeed if it diminishes instead. These questions and the interaction of disjuncture, anxiety effect and pathways of the impossible are reflected upon in the conclusion of this thesis.

Chapter 7. CONCLUSIONS



This chapter seeks to tie up the various discussions of this thesis and provide the conclusions of this research. Firstly the analytical concepts of disjuncture, anxiety effect, and change capacity are summarised. The roles of A, B & C in each village are evaluated to assess how these processes interact, influence each other and shape the villages' community resilience. This summary is followed by the full thesis conclusion. In this section an in depth discussion of five key themes revealed by the research is undertaken. These are; (1) return hegemonies or the idea of normality, (2) belief that resource rich or wealthy countries are safe, (3) impact of entrenched bounce back thinking, (4) elasticity of time, (5) emotional impact of (im)possible pathways. This is followed then by an evaluation of just how resilient each village really is taking into account the combined coastal and rural effects, along with the emotional anxiety effects. The need to rupture path dependency is overviewed and the key difficulties outlines. This section is followed by an in depth discussion of how bounce forward resilience may be practically applied in the two case studies and neighbouring villages. This section is wrapped up with concluding remarks upon the research as a whole and

the key outcomes, followed by a discussion of the research impact. The thesis conclusion is completed with a discussion of the dissemination, transferability and research application of this research. The dissemination conducted sought to complete the action research cycle in an attempt to alter the negative emotion and lack of future felt by the villages. The transferability section evaluates how the research and the themes and understandings developed can and do transfer to other situations and discourses and finally, how this research can be applied and developed both within geography and interdisciplinary study is presented.

7.1. SUMMARY - 'ABC' TOGETHER

In order to fully assess the meaning and impact of disjuncture, anxiety and change capacity upon each village's resilience, it is important to relate these discussions back to their contexts and look at, and into, the various complex inter-linkages and overlaps these issues have.

7.1.1. Sidestrand

To summarise '**Disjuncture**' in Sidestrand; the social understanding of simple continuance, and projection of the present and selected past into the future, is very strong with boxes of knowledge taken forwards in a palimpsest of compartmentalism. It is thus that separation of land and sea, and sea level rise and erosion is perpetuated. Participants in Sidestrand demonstrated a scalar mismatch whereby issues were understood separately but as a whole, and when related to themselves, it is personally and socially distanced. The issues and climate change itself is perceived to be at the scale of government and large companies, not the people. This disassociation is seen also in personal futures excluding all concerns voiced about climate change and erosion. It is seen purely as a global concern that will not affect them directly or greatly at all. Nature is wholly disembodied and removed from humanity, decoupled from social and political contexts. As such the cliffs are seen to offer protection as nature is slow and steady, and stable; offering false security in the absence of context.

Any disjuncture or event that challenges this accepted knowledge is explained away by focussing on mundane human explanations. Problems are made social, political or technological. The natural is removed from that which is immediate and tangible,

remaining intangible despite recent large landslides. As climate change becomes more and more unsituated and placed beyond consideration into a future time frame, there is a morbid security in death. Rather than just the elderly this is the understanding or, perhaps the hope, of all participants no matter their age. A perpetual today where the 'foreseeable' future is extended and time stretched out to distance the threat. In Sidestrand there is efficient present papering over of disjuncture, it's the elephant in the room that is ignored until something happens to change that. Extraordinary is rendered ordinary and quoted as simple fact, be it the wholesale relocation of the church or the continual loss of land that farmers have simply gotten used to (Gretton, 2005).

Actual measured distance to the exclusion of context becomes important, measuring distance from the cliff in metres and fields; with parts of the village being simultaneously at risk and safe based on the perception of this threat distance. The idea of time before it happens, and time to gain control are seemingly benign narratives; waiting for confirmation, waiting to see. This elasticity of time however cannot last and will eventually snap wherein by stretching time to prepare we may in fact run out of time. The perceived infrequency of events and associated experiences in Sidestrand allows efficient papering over of disjuncture. The increasing frequency of storm surges is not accounted for. The perceived static frequency is projected into the future, protecting the status quo.

'Anxiety Effect' in Sidestrand is most commonly felt as abandonment though lack of maintenance and housing blight. Anxious spaces conflict with taken for granted normalities leading to exclusion of such spaces from the 'mainstream' as a threat to the continual now. This withdrawal and disinvestment has knock-on effects that hasten the approach of change. Sidestrand, being a small, coastal and rural village has already experienced disinvestment and aging as well as diminishment of their bus service. As such it is already marginalised and othered before any anxiety effect occurs. For instance; Sidestrand church is already at threat of closure due to a reduced congregation, as youth withdrawal and increasing second home purchasing, leads to empty homes and an emptier church. This brings much sadness to those who have elected to live in this 'perfect' rural setting, idealised as secure, peaceful and safe.

Sidestrand is already further along in the 'illness' than Happisburgh and as such any anxiety effect or realisation of disjuncture will affect them greatly no matter how far off the threat is perceived to be. Many however do not connect the future threat with current deterioration of rural coastal villages, and therefore do not anticipate or process the loss in order to move forward towards action. The villagers' belief that there is no future and no hope for a positive outcome significantly affects any action towards change. Lack of future renders any drive to action inert. The overarching emotion that of a declining abandoned village wasting away in illness.

Sidestrand '**Change Capacity**' is impacted by both disjuncture and anxiety effect. Optimism and hope are crucial for coping with and acting towards change however conspiracies of silence, fear of change and protection of the 'norm' hinders this. Sidestrand is a split community spread along a long road, with some feeling more a part of Overstrand than Sidestrand however linkages and networks with other villages are good. Atmospheres of place including community spirit are also good. Key centres of participation and socialisation, such as the church, are at threat undermining this social strength and unity. Entrenched norms have significant effect for as long as action taken continues to be about reinstating the defences or maintaining status quo they will not maximise resilience but stall preparation for transformation. Social imaginings impact understanding of what is possible, with any change deemed too radical to be considered yet. The future is restricted by a perpetual now, reduced to weeks not years or decades. As only one course of action is perceived there is perceived to be no point in acting as nothing can be achieved. This emotional defeat exacerbates anxiety with negatives suppressing the positives. This assumption of their inability to act or lack of agency provides no incentive to get involved. Agency is perceived to be at the governmental scale. Finally many believe that adaptation will simply happen, abstract and separate from themselves.

On the whole therefore the interaction of A, B & C in Sidestrand is influenced greatly by the lock-ins and assumptions of A) and maintenance of the '*safe, normal reality*'. Anxiety is as much about general rural decline and marginalisation as it is about climate change, as perspectives of both and their effects on the village combine to depict a less than rosy future. That is of course if that trajectory of change is assumed

to continue. Unfortunately, currently it is. In order to access and mobilise the social potential in Sidestrand the positives and opportunities of the situation need to be found and utilised. This can however only occur through the realisation of their own agency and social enterprise.

Sidestrand's situation is compounded by their size and their relationship with the larger neighbouring village of Overstrand. In approaching the potential loss of Overstrand, a collaborative art project is being undertaken to document and record its history, folklore, poetry and song. The project of 'Undersong' focuses on the former villages of *Shipden*, now off Cromer, and *Understrand*, the local nickname for Old Overstrand, now under the sea. The project information was given to me as proof that work is being done to process loss, however this artistic collaboration is predominantly about villages that are already lost. As such this project is a reflective not anticipatory process. Alternatively it does recognise that Overstrand too could end up under the sea, becoming part of Understrand, and the history and culture of the area is being recorded. The 'Undersong' is however still abstract and removed, viewed as an artistic project rather than a response to the need to preserve this information for posterity and for therapy in realising and accepting loss.

7.1.2. Happisburgh

For Happisburgh much **disjuncture** is equal to Sidestrand however some aspects differ. Happisburgh as per Sidestrand has a strong sense of heritage, continuity and entrenchment of long held beliefs. Boxes of knowledge and separation of land and sea persists despite naval and RNLI connections. Nature is decoupled and understood as too large a force to be manipulated by man. Different futures cannot be contemplated and any alternative future is either fantasy or unsituated in the far future. As with Sidestrand time is stretched and climate change is exiled into its own timeframe, but cracks are beginning to appear in this elastic. There is extensive control reflex whereby the known order is produced and reproduced and loss of control is considered implausible. With increasing disinvestment, housing stress and declining rural support Happisburgh is struggling to maintain this level of distancing at a higher event frequency. Control reflex becomes self-perpetuating whilst new events and experiences at the local level challenge even this distancing. Its acceptance however at other wider scales continues the cover up. This continued cover up begins to chafe with experiences at the local level leading to abandonment and despair.

Anxiety Effect in Happisburgh has become a series of nested spaces as control reflex is imposed from within and without and the threat distanced. The process of othering through social media is especially significant in Happisburgh creating a representation of a deathscape. As market norms of the seaside are not met there is much disinvestment and withdrawal, with bank loans based on 30 plus years refused. As per Sidestrand much disinvestment and youth outmigration is a symptom of coastal rurality, but one that is exacerbated by anxiety. Identity is focused on past continuity and a chosen quintessential Norfolk; a Norfolk that is characterised as timeless, stable and safe. This is an obvious disjuncture when this rural ideal is juxtaposed with erosion and flooding at the coast. In losing this identity it is envisioned that the village is being broken and will die. Grief and loss are being processed. It is made worse by the knowledge that what is lost will not be regained with the repetition of 'gone'. The negative emotions and feelings of 'doom and gloom' are deemed infectious as acceptance of loss causes resignation rather than action;

turning to despair in the absence of hope as defeat and loss appear inevitable. The stop it-fix it mentality remains and if they cannot gain defences again it is perceived to be a battle that cannot be won. The village needs assistance in facing these emotions.

The **change capacity** in Happisburgh is very much bound up in what is considered normal and the desire to protect this normality. When faced with the threat of change to this normal there is much fear for the future. It is unclear whether they can take the next step. There is very strong place character and community spirit with familial connections and social affiliation through holiday affection. Community action in the past has been strong with many groups and projects. Indeed more social enterprise and community ownership ideas are suggested. Whether this action bears any fruit however depends on what its intention is. As with Sidestrans if the intention is preservation of the same rather than working together towards change, then they will not maximise resilience but diminish it. A thin line is revealed between acting to improve capabilities and maintenance of false stability. Moreover many believe nothing can be done, or if it can, just not by them. The agency and capacity to act is placed on government and council rather than themselves. Social imaginings and the lock-ins they support impact understanding of what is possible, influencing both local perception and wider decision making, employing control reflex to maintain the present bubble and protect the status quo. Emotions pertaining to how people perceive and prepare for the future need acknowledgement. The idea remains that control can be achieved or re-achieved reaffirming control reflex and assumptions that humans should be able to stop x, y, & z. This hinders action towards change as change is considered unnecessary. As such transformation is viewed as a future necessity not a current process; a last resort as it is too radical and they like things just the way they are. Disaster and eventual death (of self and village) are viewed as inevitable and simply a matter of time; but a time beyond time.

Once again the future has become present but in doing so has become absent; there is no future, only death. The community in Happisburgh has considerable capacity for stasis; a capacity reinforced by conservation and heritage narratives that object to change and

equate resilience with persistence. Happisburgh is more or less neutral based on rudimentary analysis and in theory could work to make themselves resilient, however this is simply due to the negatives and positives being at such extremes that they cancel out. Whether the potential capacity of the village can be realised depends on the ability for the social and economic assets of the village to work together to combat anxiety and realise the opportunities of the situation as well as the losses.

With much of Happisburghs' identity formed through heritage it is appropriate to query whether through loss or relocation a new Happisburgh will indeed be Happisburgh. The village when described is; 'the 16th century coasting inn steeped in history' where Sir Arthur Conan Doyle wrote parts of 'The Dancing Men' and has survived four centuries of use (HVW, 2014); 'one of the finest [churches] in a country of great churches' (HVW, 2014); a 17th century lighthouse with royal patronage; even a Palaeolithic settlement on the edge of the then River Thames (Trett & Hoggett, 2011). Happisburgh itself is Anglo-Saxon originally Hapesburc and is viewed as an "iconic part of the country" (Trett & Hoggett, 2011). With an identity so monumental it is right to question whether it can continue in the face of such loss.

7.2. Conclusions

7.2.1. Key themes

Five key themes emerge from this analysis. These are; (a) return hegemonies or the idea of normality, (b) the belief that resource rich or wealthy countries are safe at least for the time being, (c) the impact of entrenched bounce-back resilience thinking, (d) the elasticity of time forcing events and the need for change further and further into the future, (e) the emotional impact of impossible pathways.

Return hegemonies or philosophies are unavoidably entrenched to the point where return to a pre-disaster state (Scott, 2013, p.3), or absorbing disturbance in order to remain the same (Cutter et al., 2008, pp.2-3) is the ultimate goal. This attitude has considerable influence over the approaches taken; seeking a singular controllable outcome in order to maintain stability. This stability, this normal, however is in part responsible for the current threat and any disaster that may unfold. As such a return to normal will be irresponsible and failure to change would suggest a lack of resilience rather than the opposite (Norris et al., 2008, p.4). In seeking stability a known threat may still come as a surprise through poor communication and denial due to established stability (Norris et al., 2008, p.6). In order to let go of what is 'normal' we need to look beyond 'current hegemonies' (Dowling, 2010, p.1) to alternative futures, be they, social, personal or political.

This however seems hard to achieve, as it is often assumed that the UK and other resource wealthy countries do not yet need to change (Adger et al., 2008, p.3); that the threat is less serious and less dangerous here than elsewhere (O'Neill, 2009, p.8) as it is not *seen* to be happening. This reflects consensual scripting of climate change imaginaries, whereby CO₂ is abstract, blamed and external, requiring no change to the concrete world (Swyngedouw, 2011, p.5). Moreover, participants in both villages reflected wider assumptions that the UK being resource wealthy will simply adapt at some unspecified future time, with no account made for the complex lock-ins and path dependencies. Additionally, both villages discussed climate change and erosion as events that will occur sometime never, being placed or indeed exiled into their own separate timeline. This

reflects again wider behavioural lock-ins whereby the UK is reactive to emergency; allowing preservation of the 'norm' until some future date when an emergency occurs, and maybe not even then depending on the definition of disaster.

It is never wholly clear what defines a disaster or disturbance which much resilience research discusses. If the erosion already experienced by the villages' counts as a disturbance then they have indeed managed to bounce back and return to normalcy. However this is only ever a temporary solution utilising control reflex or adaptive maintenance (Wilson, 2013b) to paper over these challenges to the established stability. In attempting to control the situation this way and predict when changes will occur, uncertainty, commented as often leading to efforts to broaden the scope of thinking and action (Norris et al., 2008, p.12), is negated. The much mentioned 'erosion line' is taken as fact and acts to prevent development of new approaches and strategies. Adaptive maintenance or bounce back remains the mainstream understanding and usage of resilience as a concept and as a method. This mainstream resilience thinking is not applicable in the threatened spaces of Happisburgh and Sidestrang, nor any other coastal village, town, or island state, as it focuses on persistence and supports incremental change only.

Resilience has to a large extent been subverted by and co-opted into the mainstream adhering to the norms outlined and reaffirming the status quo. Resilience is therefore seen as keeping things as much the same as possible and indeed resisting change. Confusion over the meaning and use of the term resilience centres strongly on whether change is considered necessary as a central tenet; how much change is needed, when is change needed and how fast. Part C of this research aimed to explore the change capacity of each village community towards positive transformation. In order to achieve this it became clear the participants needed to be able to see beyond what is and what was to what could be. Unfortunately the social baggage of control, compartmentalised understanding and of what the 'normal' response is, hindered their ability to perceive of any alternative futures.

I suggest that this inability to see beyond the present established bubble is a symptom not only of elastic time stretched out to distance the threat, but that radical change is never really considered a potential pathway. Recent discussions of transition and transition towns are popular advocating a gradual process of change towards a community self-sufficient in food, energy and transport (Aiken, 2012; Wilson, 2014). This however does not account for the village itself being threatened and the assumption of time for gradual change acts to haunt affected villages. As assumptions and associated disjuncture are revealed at the coast, time to plan and implement change is already regarded as too late.

However it is still considered that transformation is not needed yet. The policy initiative of rollback is commented on as being potentially viable without 'restrictive delivery timescale', itself being influenced by social imaginings of extra time and compartmentalism. Continuity of normality is assumed, reducing the new to the old. A further contradiction is the conflicting narratives presented by conservation groups and English heritage. It is stated that it is crucial to record as much as possible of the areas' history and culture before it is lost whilst simultaneously working to preserve the various conservation areas be they natural or heritage (Murphy, Thackray, & Wilson, 2009, p.1). This is a confusing situation as they cannot be both preserved and lost. The persistence of normality is desired for as long as possible. In this situation if no action is taken until some theoretical future event it is possible to suggest that no action will be taken in time at all. This short termism elongated through the stretching of time sees visualisation of the future extended from 50 years (O'Neill, 2009, p.7) to almost never. When the 'event' is so malleable and moveable it is important to ask if it will ever be considered an immediate threat.

Faced with control reflex and continued stretching of time to prepare, it is of little surprise the threatened villages feel somewhat marginalised and abandoned. For them time is now and the crisis is upon them, however due to the external pressure towards bouncing back to normal few possibilities for action are perceived of, leaning strongly upon lock-ins of control and mastery over nature.

How communities feel significantly impacts their overall resilience. If no good or better future is perceived then the ability to change (Steiner & Markantoni, 2014, p.3) is of little consequence as there is seen to be little point in action. Alternative eco-futures in this understanding are seen as some unreachable fantasy land; an impossibility. Nuttall (2012) posits that in accepting damnation mobilisation towards action is then possible. The villages discussed here have shown this to be wholly incorrect in that simply accepting you are doomed without emotional resilience and support can lead to more distancing and reinforced denial rather than change. Moreover, place attachment is seen as good in maintaining community cohesion and social capital (Norris et al., 2008, p.13) however this again does not account for the loss of the village itself or even parts of the village that help create and support its identity and character.

The challenge therefore in these villages is to balance the positives and negatives whilst being careful the distress does not outweigh the social capital. In extension it is not only the ability for the communities to come together and act effectively towards their mutual goals that is important for resilience, but the perception of their effectiveness and the point of action. The emotions of change and loss, of hope and possibility are very important for maintaining vital innovative communities.

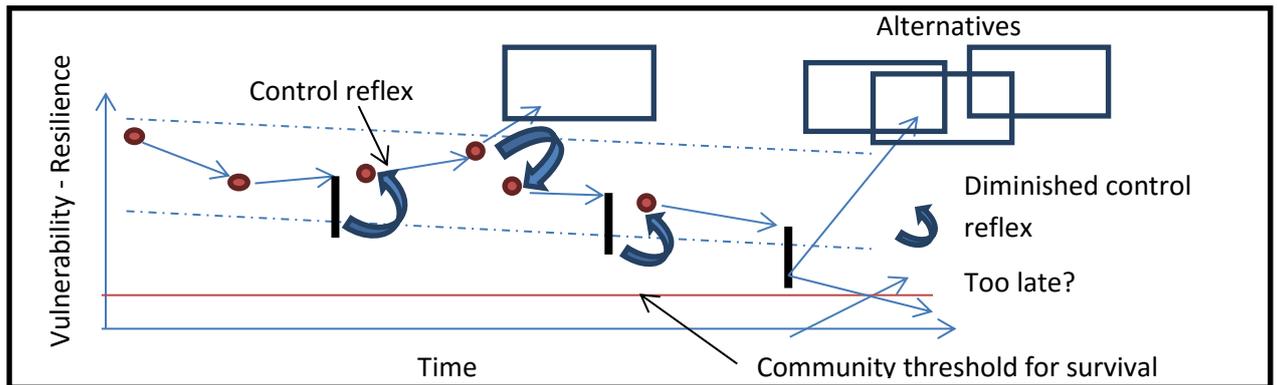
7.2.2. How resilient are the villages?

Figure 117: Diagram representing Rupture and Threshold Community Survival (Adapted from: Wilson, 2014, p.21)

Above is an illustration of continued control reflex, represented by curved arrows repositioning development along the previous pathway. The blue arrows and red circles demonstrate incremental adjustments and nodes of decision making that maintain a pathway of decision making. As events occur to challenge understanding demonstrated here by black walls I have theorised that either rupture or control reflex are possible. Control reflex undertakes adaptation to reposition itself where it previously was in the pathway. The diagram attempts to show that time is not elastic but that it will eventually be too late to take radical action as 'normal' can no longer be achieved and there is perhaps too big a gap between the current situation (or A staying as we are) and the alternative.

Rupture to a new pathway signified by blue boxes is easier earlier than later as increasing exogenous events that challenge understanding and create disjuncture push the community towards a point where the choice is simply life or death; the community threshold for survival (Wilson, 2014, p.21). This position can lead to villages falling below this threshold and ceasing to exist. In summary, rupture through transformation although viewed by most as a future possibility only, may in fact be less and less achievable as time goes on. The same can be said of emissions reduction to maintain only 2°C warming. Mitigation and incremental adaptation fail to acknowledge or face up to the loss climate change poses to the UK, still viewing loss and damage as elsewhere in the world.

Refocusing on the two case study villages. Sidestrand has the potential for community action and innovation demonstrated by the numerous community activities and the local fete. When presented with the problem of church closure however there is no belief that anything could be done or indeed if anything should be done to utilise the church building for the benefit of the community. Furthermore feelings of abandonment and worthlessness negate any drive to action as they believe they can achieve nothing. Compound effects of rural youth outmigration disinvestment and decline along with anxiety over erosion present a village and community that is dwindle, or even dying. If Sidestrand can put the positives and the opportunities of their situation above the negatives and pull together to utilise their church and diversify its service to the village, they could be more resilient to the changes facing them. The high proportion of elderly and of empty second homes however reduces this likelihood as the incentive to get involved is diminished. The elasticity of time is such that the lifespan of holiday homes combined with the attitude that everything that may occur is beyond their lifetime means little action is being taken. This could ultimately lead to continued outmigration and the loss of Sidestrand. As such based on the current understanding and behaviours Sidestrand demonstrates little resilience.

Happisburgh has much more activity towards change than Sidestrand but it too is reduced by negative emotion and feelings of diminished effectiveness and worth. There is still a large amount of control reflex reaffirming lock-ins and embedded assumptions. This is exacerbated by attempts to preserve an idyll that is positioned as secure and safe; the epitome of Englishness. Such village politics and search for aesthetic homogeneity restricts change that would help the village survive. The ultimate example of this is the refusal of planning permissions on several occasions for the imperilled caravan site. Although initiatives for regeneration at a regional scale are useful towards minimising the compound effects of rural decline they do not address the future concerns heightening anxiety. Moreover, although rollback was trialled in the relocation of 9 houses from the cliff edge they have simply been relocated into the centre of the village. Unless this process is continued, these houses too will have to be rebuilt. These new houses were not ready in time for those who lost their homes, as such failing to service the current community. Community endeavours such as making

the local pub a limited company and diversifying as a brewery is good for stabilising the local economy, however there are no such endeavours towards future change. This reactive approach along with the tendency to wait for others to act means that Happisburgh too has fairly low resilience.

Both villages could improve their resilience if they were able to enact change locally through community initiatives and relationships with companies, authorities and others. This however depends upon the political landscape and whether this local devolution of power would be possible. This however will only be useful in the long term if the villagers are able to perceive alternate futures and act towards them. Moreover the villages could improve their resilience through addressing the emotional aspects of these changes and their relationship with the future. Support services and collaborative projects to envisage change could be helpful here. Ultimately the villages could be more resilient by embracing the positives rather than the negatives and viewing the change not as an end but an opportunity for transformation.

Bounce forward in practice

Bounce forward resilience thinking can be applied practically to the two case studies of this thesis in a variety of different ways. These include: memorialisation, rollback, encapsualisation, eco-housing re-development, or perhaps a combination of all four to successfully bounce forward. Firstly to ensure place familiarity and attachment amid loss, the past and the importance of what is being lost needs to be honoured in order to prepare for a new future. Each village as discussed in chapter five is losing more than property and land but heritage, stories and memories. This process can be undertaken through memorialisation. The difficulty with this approach alone comes in accepting the need for change beyond the acceptance of loss. As in the example of Coventry's memorial gardens given in the literature review, it is important in the north Norfolk villages to acknowledge and honour the past in order to create a new future than rather than leaving it behind entirely carries forward some aspect of the character and identity of the original. This is very important in climate change resilience, as in war, where societies and countries will be irreparably altered.

With both villages so steeped in heritage acceptance of loss and moving towards change is especially difficult as the understanding and past behaviour is to protect and preserve this heritage materially and monumentally. Bounce forward resilience in this sense was begun as part of the pathfinder project through the recording of the history and heritage of the villages both for and by the people. This project as with others begun as part of the pathfinder project ended and has since become assimilated into the status quo. Instead of recording what is and was, in recognition and acceptance of its inevitable loss so that some part of the villages may survive into the future, it has become simply a celebration of heritage and nostalgia encouraging them to fight for preservation and protection. To be resilient by bouncing forward these villages, and indeed many villages and towns along the hurriedly eroding eastern English coastline, need sadly to accept loss and change in order for their villages and village communities to evolve and survive. This will involve seeing heritage buildings lost to the sea by storm or wrecking ball but remembered through memorialisation.

This thesis raises an important question as to whether coastal villages and especially these eroding villages in eastern England can be resilient to erosion and whether a community can remain intact through relocation. Throughout history villages have been lost to erosion and where some have been able to retreat inland in response and survive others have fallen below the threshold of survival and not been able to. There are many examples of this just off shore in East Anglia, and in fact all around the UK. In order for Happisburgh and Sidestrand to successfully retreat a process of rollback is needed whereby as housing is lost to the village it is replaced on the inland edge of the village in effect stretching the village envelope backwards inland. This can only occur with the cooperation of conservation groups, planners, and farmers to allow this change to the village envelope and mitigate any green belt and AONB concerns. Moreover for rollback to facilitate the resilience of the village community and not simply the settlement new building would need to occur in time before old property is lost to the sea, to allow the same families to choice of remaining in the village. A planning caveat that housing be available in the first 5 years or perhaps 10 only to village prior village residents or those who can prove a connection to the village would perhaps assist with this. Centres and churches lost to the sea could be built anew

reusing some aspects materially or symbolically or both, of the previous buildings, maintaining heritage links in order to remain the same village and the same community.

Successful rollback would depend furthermore upon the facilities and connections the villages have and the strength of community cohesion after loss. As such it can be interpreted that the two villages have different potential for rollback. Happisburgh being the larger of the two villages has a greater population, more industry, and as discussed in chapter six a great community spirit, cohesion and connections that give it more chance of successful rollback. Sidestrand on the other hand, having lost many of its services already, with a much smaller population and a divided community perhaps has less ability to rollback, at least alone. Sidestrand and other small to medium villages or those otherwise ill equipped to survive independently, could perhaps facilitate each other's rollback by working together. Alternatively some small villages may survive in some sense through encapsulation into neighbouring larger villages. Sidestrand may in fact survive in some part through encapsulation with neighbouring Overstrand as linear development along the main coast road has led to the two almost connecting at the northern end of Sidestrand. In addition to this close spatial relationship Sidestrand and Overstrand share a service relationship with most of the major services situated within Overstrand. By merging further with Overstrand the Strands may be able to roll back together however once again there are some issues to consider. Sidestrand could lose itself within Overstrand, or by sharing the concerns of survival and regeneration regain some *joie de vivre* as it were and be renewed. Should such collaboration fail to occur and the residents of Sidestrand and other small villages instead migrate to larger settlements capable of rollback or others inland, the former village may decay and be lost (Beresford, 1999; Driver, 2008; Muir, 1982; Vigar, 1994). It is this decay and death of the village that participants so fear, exacerbating anxiety.

Whilst the participants adhere to path dependency and continue to dismiss any pathway but continued defence rollback may never be entertained as a real option. Given the political, economic and scientific agreement however to abandon hard defences towards integrated coastal zone management, continued defence is unlikely unless a tragic loss causes reactionary action. If this were to occur it could already be

too late for some villages and could encourage resistive adaptation that could be maladaptive. Acceptance of change and loss and subsequent disjuncture will be required well beyond the original site of loss in order to facilitate long term change and survival. Where the countryside and especially greenbelt are concerned there are many challenges not least the tacit acceptance of common pathways of thought and practice, the way things have been done and should always be done. With such increased urbanisation and the competing voices of cost benefit analysis, conservation, English heritage and local planners, the likelihood for retreat is diminished. There are new estates and housing being built inland however this is to rectify the decade long housing shortage, and as such its purpose is for those without homes or setting foot on the first rung of the housing ladder, not those who are losing current housing stock to the sea. Although some families may move into these new estates from threatened coastal villages this fails to aid community survival.

Ideas of environmental protection versus the survival of a village community and interconnected communities need to be re-evaluated. Bounce forward resilience requires the environmental and social survival of the area to be considered together rather than in opposition. Planned eco-villages could offer possibility for rollback. This could mitigate greenbelt encroachment, negative effects upon wildlife conservation and incorporate elements of the former settlement for nostalgia and community coherence. Such settlements could be sites of transformative resilience incorporating managed retreat with new soft coastal defence, perhaps either salt marshes or an extended flood plain. This is a role for eco, zero carbon and passive development that could show real potential. This solution would require rupture in decision making pathways and reimagining of what the future could be. By embracing and indeed getting ahead of change the communities could thrive and be vital.

7.2.3. Concluding Points and Research Impact

I present resilience as transformative or evolutionary (Scott, 2013, p.5) whereby through adaptive process and transformation the positives and opportunities of every situation are sought so as to create a thriving and vital community that works within its environment, that whilst retaining its character and identity is not constrained by it. Resilience is a continual process to be begun now not a plan to be enacted once, including anticipating change and getting ahead of it. It is not enough to simply cope with change, as change itself is needed to create new pathways and new futures. To achieve this, the communities need to be involved and feel empowered to consider alternative futures. This is a concern for the UK as significant scalar disassociation places the onus of responsibility and the power to act onto central government and large companies and perceivably removes local ability to act. Community resilience as such is diminished by external disaster management that is so centralised that it also has embedded tendencies towards control reflex or adaptive maintenance. As such transformative resilience is the ability to reimagine the future and our behaviours.

Significant path dependency protected and maintained through control reflex in both villages inhibits any action towards change that does not reflect this. The theory of disjuncture posited in this thesis not only applies to environmental behaviours and attitudes towards climate change but can be applied to discourses of social change, political regime shifts and voting patterns; as well as social behaviours of othering including attitudes towards homosexuality, transgender, racism, disability and xenophobia.

The creation of spaces of anxiety through future threat anticipation has had numerous effects on both village case studies affecting not only the resource capacity of the communities through withdrawal of investment and insurance, but the social cohesion and emotional wellbeing of the villagers. The theory of spaces of anxiety and contagious emotion not only offers insight into emotional barriers towards change and consequent blight and loss, but can be applied to the creation of anxious spaces through othering and wider threat anticipation. This concept further demonstrates the importance and influence of social imagination and of rumour. As fear and anxiety

spread more tales are told until, as with Happisburgh, the perception of the place is altered. Spaces of anxiety can moreover thus be a product of threat anticipation (future erosion) or threat perception (xenophobia), or it can be created for social manipulation drawing upon social understandings already within the palimpsest of knowledge within society.

Moreover, the idea of change capacity can be applied not only to villages and towns threatened with loss, but any adaptive scenario whereby new opportunities and innovations are actively sought. I have suggested here that emotional resilience is of utmost importance. It affects the belief that change is possible, that indeed a better future is possible. It affects communities' agency and perception of the locus of control. It further affects the spread of blight and thus the creation and maintenance of spaces of anxiety. In order to be resilient emotionally the communities must look at what is positive and for ways to turn the negative into a positive rather than papering over them. This proactive engagement is what makes a vital and thriving communities; that have a chance of surviving erosion and being resilient in the future.

This research therefore extends geographical discourses of emotional geography exploring the idea of contagious emotion and the role of anxiety in influencing belief that anything can be changed; cultural geographies of landscape, place and seascape challenging the separation of land and sea and suggesting a need for assessment of the relationship between sea and land imaginaries in liminal transition zones.

Moreover future geographies are enhanced by examination of dread anticipation impacting the present; while ideas of community, social capital and change capacities are enhanced within discourses of resilience, environmental behaviours and social action. Fundamental social geography discourses of social imaginaries and social baggage have been enhanced and evaluated in the context of locked-in behaviours and path dependency challenging predominant bounce back understandings of climate change adaptation and resilience, and enhancing new discourses of bounce forward transformational resilience.

This research challenges the geographical focus within climate change solely upon small threatened atolls and relatively poor countries which predominantly focuses

upon strengthening infrastructures and building resilience through development. This developmental approach supports bounce back ideas of resilience, and only serves to support the understandings and imaginings that contributed to the threat of climate change in the first place. This is not a criticism of geography inasmuch as research is itself embedded into the same palimpsests of knowledge, research practice and thought evident in the rest of society.

Table 8: Key Messages of the Thesis

1. That resilience is not simply a process of maintaining the same behaviours and same function but that this is adaptive maintenance that supports the status quo and the business as usual that helped create climate change.
 2. That there are numerous lock-ins and path dependencies that perpetuate behaviours that also work to support the status quo as such actions have become the norm and the past homogenised to reflect this.
 3. That a key lock-in is the habit of perceiving climate change as a future event rather than a process that is affecting us now leading to time being viewed as elastic or truncated so as to distance this event.
 4. That through attempting to maintain the current social norm control reflex, or the process that creates adaptive maintenance, spaces that no longer reflect this norm become othered and distanced, creating spaces of anxiety.
 5. That such distancing has numerous compound effects. In the context of the two case studies coastal and rural concerns already active are exacerbated and these effects have emotional ramifications.
 6. That emotional well-being is crucial for individual, familial and community resilience as if the issue cannot be faced or is perceived as too big or too inevitable then no action will be taken, and no adaptation will be possible. Should adaptation be externally imposed its success upon increasing a village's resilience depends upon how it is perceived and its impact upon the community emotionally.
 7. That the capacity for change of any village or town, company or country, depends upon accepting that there are alternate futures, and alternate behaviours that should be welcomed into the mainstream rather than being observed as fringe or indeed 'alternative' to the norm. Additionally the ability to find the positive, the hope or the opportunity in a situation is crucial for successful vitality and a thriving community.
 8. Finally, and it is unfortunate to state, that unless the wider regional and national society also changes the resilience of small coastal communities will be minimal. As through wider perceptual change, perhaps challenged through community initiatives, reciprocity and social trust can be re-established and the true potential of each community's social capital can be mobilised towards action. Simply dealing with the blight on a case by case basis through regeneration treats the symptom but not the disease.
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7.3. Dissemination, Transferability and Research Applications

7.3.1. Dissemination

In accordance with the action research cycle begun in the focus group activities (see: Figure 19), I undertook community poetry and arts workshops with the assistance of the 'Writers Centre' in Norwich. The participants created a literary take on their feelings of the future focusing on what is good and what can be done rather than what cannot. The ultimate aim was to then collate the poems created with some of my own reflection into a book that could be published as a positive end product to the research. This was intended to hopefully inspire conversation and action towards community resilience. This process of positive mobilisation through poetic therapy, discussion and creation involved the original participants plus family, friends and children. Different sessions were provided combining poetry writing and illustration depending on who was interested. This was undertaken separately in each village in an appropriately sized and located venue.

The collection of poems was meant to be positive and the process therapeutic in helping them adjust to the changing reality of their villages and see that there are positive pathways. It was the intention of this process to create a collaborative book to display the villagers voices to enable them not only to process the emotional aspects of their situation, but remove the effects of path dependency and see the opportunities for innovation and creativity leading to a future they helped create. There was a very positive reaction to the process producing some fantastic material and some good ideas. The participants however refused permission to make the book still afraid of blight effects. A larger project including locus businesses and council members as well as villager residents and holiday makers in the near future may be more productive.

7.3.2. Transferability

The theoretical framework and methodology utilised in this thesis can be utilised to assess the lock-ins, emotional effects and change capacity of other towns and villages towards climate change. In addition however the ideas of disjuncture, anxiety effect and the capacity for change can be applied in different contexts either individually or together. Larger disjunctures based on assumptions that exist in every part of society, and embedded into social organisations and infrastructures, can be recognised in all crises where these assumptions are challenged. Where social understandings are brought into question and the normal world they knew is no longer the same. In this instance communities and individuals can be seen to react in ways that do not 'rationally' make sense because the lie is more favourable than the truth.

Good examples of the transferability of the concept of disjuncture in exploring path dependency and resilience are past civilisation collapses in reaction to environmental change. In discussing disjuncture within the discourse of a bounce forward resilience recognises that when conflict with the ways of life and accepted realities of these past civilisations the social structures and their relationship to their environment needed to be resilient not simply to external threat but internal, as power relations, trade and economic flows, values and beliefs are questioned. This instigates various emotional reactions not least creating a lack of faith and spaces of anxiety. As we have seen recently in the many parts of the world such anxiety and lack of faith can lead to civil war.

The impact the emotional effects of trust and anxiety have can be seen reflected in the province of Groningen in Northern Holland where recent earthquakes remind the residents of the fragility of their landmass. The earthquakes are caused as a consequence of gas extraction. Although not overly high on the Richter scale and by such measurements hardly significant, these earthquakes are far shallower than other earthquakes. As such the subsequent earthquake damage far exceeds that expected causing significant damage to the structural integrity of many Dutch homes in the province, many of which are of great importance culturally and architecturally for the region. As the effects of this can no longer be dismissed as 'over there' and are of

increasing severity anxiety grows about the future effects and its impact on the province. This uncertainty and anxiety has, as in North Norfolk, had numerous social impacts. One such social impact is the "decline in property values for home owners and their consequent reduced options for the future" (v.d.Voort & Vanclay, 2014, p.2). Significant institutional mistrust, and the fact that these earthquakes were caused, rather than being of natural occurrence, has only caused to increase uncertainty and anxiety. As long as it is believed that all effects are institutionally created then the battle will be political and little community resilience will be effective. As it stands however these earthquakes cannot be taken in isolation as they have served to lower than land mass of the province. In a land that is already, by the majority, under sea level and artificially maintained by pumps and dykes this is of grave concern. This is especially so considering the rate of sea level rise and its threat to Holland's land mass.

Another example where these theories can be applied is the ongoing drought in California, America. California has long been a place characterised by battles over water (Prodis Sulek, 2015), utilised to create and maintain an image of America associated with wealth and success (Bowes, 2015). The social behaviours of lush green lawns, swimming pools, car washes and hosing the 'side walk' are an ideal image that does not reflect the environment that they live in. California therefore has much social baggage and many lock-INS. As with erosion and storm surge concerns in Norfolk, the threat of a yearlong fire season (Prodis Sulek, 2015) is creating disjuncture with these habits and whilst many are employing water conservation measures others complain that it is unfair and frighteningly big brother to fine people for watering their lawn, washing their car or changing out their swimming pool water (Bowes, 2015). Control reflex remains and farmers are blamed, rather than responding to the call to change behaviours (Carroll, 2015). This reflex is further demonstrated through the actions of some municipalities fining people for letting their lawns turn brown, varying from \$100 a week to a flat fee of \$500 (LA Times., 2015). Moreover the emotional effects of anxiety are also present with comparisons to; 'the dust bowl', and claims that 'emotions are so deep, you're numb' (Prodis Sulek, 2015).

7.3.3. Research Application

This research contributes to a number of research areas and therefore has many possible research applications (Table 9).

Table 9: Thirteen possible research avenues to explore

1. The effect tourist opinions of the two villages, especially Happisburgh, had upon the economic capacity and perceived emotional worth and the effect seasonally empty homes had upon the same, leads to a need to investigate the role of tourists and second home owners in building capacity in coastal villages or indeed the opposite.
2. Assumptions of land and sea separation exhibited by the participants and perhaps more concerning, those in the council raise questions about the effects of coastal squeeze juxtaposed with this diminished perception of Britain's island status.
3. A further emerging concern is that of erosion seemingly a normalised threat. It is important here to hypothesise whether overexposure to a threat presumed to be known, can diminish the ability to respond to and proactively revise the approach that threat.
4. The issue of disjuncture raises concerns over embedded palimpsests of knowledge, or social baggage that are hard to throw out, leading to the question of whether there is a crisis of social understanding in relation to climate change.
5. Moreover there are regional applications of the disjuncture and change capacity discourse. In Norfolk and wider East Anglia this would be the change capacity of the Norfolk Broads and The Fens to social and environmental pressures. It may be that for heritage to be preserved in some fashion, it must have to change and the old assimilated into the new.
6. This thesis further raises concerns over the emotional effects of cultural and heritage losses and perceived change to the character of a county as some participants stated that Norfolk as a whole, or perhaps the idea of what Norfolk is, was being threatened, itself eroded.
7. There is an interesting opportunity for eco, zero carbon, passive housing emerges in assisting rollback of threatened villages to create new from the old, and rupture the pathway of standard ways of living, whilst mitigating greenbelt encroachment.

<p>8. Through analysis of ideas of change capacity a further opportunity emerges for collaboration between communities and businesses. The notion of change management offers a unique chance to assess the possible application of a business model to a social situation.</p>
<p>9. This thesis opens up discussion of created vulnerabilities through the idea of spaces of anxiety. Potential overlaps are with disease and terror security, or any other space whereby the control of something considered undesirable creates new labelled spaces, outside spaces.</p>
<p>10. Another research avenue is the impact of climate change anxiety on coastal farming communities, exploring issues of job security and marginalisation of an imperilled business or way of life.</p>
<p>11. This research has much to contribute towards analysis of space relationships within the UK, in balancing issues of housing shortage, new building endeavours and policies, and the coastal concern of rollback where housing is being lost; losing land and building houses.</p>
<p>12. The re-emergence of 'community' in transformative resilience is a crucial contribution to be explored further.</p>
<p>13. Finally, research into the need for hope and optimism in imagining climate change futures, and ultimately how to foster hope and optimism in the face of perceived inevitable loss, is a topic that deserves further consideration.</p>

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APPENDICESRisk Assessment

Risk	Solution
Travelling	Travelling by bus and train to the locations and staying in self-catered accommodation. A research team consisting of myself and 3 masters or other PhD students will be used to conduct interviews and facilitate focus groups. A group increases safety whilst travelling to the locations and for the interviews.
Entering strangers homes	In entering people's houses there will be two people interviewing and the interviews will not be conducted after dark.
Landslides	Uncontrollable – be aware of procedures for evacuation available.
Unreliable mobile phone signal	Ensure network coverage within the group and access to a landline as well as access to the internet for necessary communications.
Unfamiliar location	Each member of the team will have maps and the phone numbers of each other to ensure communication and so no one gets lost.
Unknown accommodation	Accommodation will have to be to the standards set by self-catering guidelines and as such will be minimum risk with numbers provided for issues arising.
Coastal hazards	A normal UK first aid kit will be adequate Be prepared for all weather conditions and take appropriate footwear.

Participant Pseudonyms

S1	Betty	H1	Tracy	H11	Kate	H21	John	H31	Sean & Stephanie
S2	Caroline	H2	Adam	H12	Matt & Beth	H22	Simon	H32	Willow
S3	Silvia	H3	Darcy	H13	Molly	H23	Mary	H33	Chantelle
S4	The Pearsons	H4	Ben	H14	Margaret	H24	Samantha	H34	Carter & Charlotte
S5	Samuel & Lyn	H5	Jason	H15	Sarah	H25	Jim & Sally	H35	Danielle
S6	Carol & Richard	H6	Lisa	H16	Raphe	H26	Alice & Allan		
S7	Thomas	H7	Emma	H17	Suzanne	H27	Carmen		
S8	Ron	H8	Rachel	H18	Reginald	H28	Elizabeth		
S9	Pauline	H9	Matilda	H19	Sophie	H29	Patrick		
		H10	Cameron	H20	Ryder	H30	Catherine		

Notebook Pointers

Place, home and emotion notebooks

Issues to be reflected upon are: (Diaries with loose guidelines and maps will be provided).

- Identifying places within the village that are important to the participant
 - Annotating this on maps provided
- Reflect on the reasons behind this attachment using any mode they feel comfortable with – drawing, painting, poetry, prose, cartoon, mind maps or a combination thereof.
- Reflecting upon the potential losses and impacts this would have personally and for the community again using the above techniques.
- Reflecting upon issues discussed in the interviews using techniques above again.
 - Storm surges
 - accelerated erosion and landslides
 - relocation
 - sea relationship
 - lost villages & haunting
 - Social cascades
 - Priorities - what is important?

Interview Schedule**Interview schedule/ checklist**

- Gender - **(make note)**

VILLAGE QUESTIONS

- How long have you lived in the village? (why did/do you move/stay here)
- Positive and negative attributes of the village
- What facilities are there in the village?
 - i) Where do you go food shopping? ...clothes shopping ...for leisure ...other activities?
- What is your connection to the village?
- Are you involved in any community events, activities or societies?
 - i) What are they? Are they important to you? In what way?

HOUSING/ ACCOMMODATION QUESTIONS

- Type of accommodation **(see card 2)**
- How much approximately did it cost originally and when? (rough only)
- Own out right, with mortgage, part own, rent **(see card 3)**
- Could you and/or would you buy outright?
- Does your current accommodation suit your needs; is it what you like to live in?
- Would you move?

INDIVIDUAL AND FAMILY QUESTIONS

- Age bracket – **(See card 1) – allow 61-70 and 71-80!**
- Any Children - ages & genders
- Family in the village/area? - Where about? , Any close friends in the area?

EMPLOYMENT QUESTIONS

- What do you do? Or, Do you work? Are you self-employed? and manage anyone?
- Where is your place of work? How many people work there?
- Approximate income? **(see card 4) – add upper brackets to 150,000!**

HOME PLACE QUESTIONS

- a) Where in the village do you particularly like? Where in the village is important to you and how/ why?
- b) Are there any historical connections that are important to you?
- c) What societies or other groups of people are important to you? Where do you meet or get together?

Do you have any concerns for your village? What are the important issues?**PHYSICAL CHANGES**

- Have you noticed any changes in the sea? ...in the beach ...in the cliff ...weather (intense rainfall)
- Any other changes?
- How do you see your relationship to these changes? - is it a risk?
- Do you think the local climate is changing?
- Have you lost any land or property this way in the last 10-20 years?
- Is there anywhere you use to go but no longer can? What is the impact of this on yourself?
- Are you aware of villages along the coast that have been lost? Do you think about it?

CLIMATE CHANGE understanding

- What do you know of how the cliff is affected in a storm?
- What do you think could be the impact of SLR...erosion...storms?
- Can you tell me about your experiences of these aspects since you've lived here?
- Can you tell me about the current defence strategies? (SMP)

COMMUNICATION AND ADAPTATION

- What have you been told about future erosion? And who by? Is this a concern? How immediate is this issue?
- What have you been told about future storm surge activity? And who by? Is this a concern? How immediate is this issue?
- What are the emergency procedures for the village?
 - i) for storms
 - ii) Erosion, collapse, landslides...
- What communication has there been/ is there?

SOCIAL, COMMUNITY CHANGES TO THE VILLAGE

- Can you comment on any social changes recently?
 - Compound impacts - industry, shop closures, declined investment, employment, facilities
- What are the effects of this? (Psychological?)
- What is the national awareness of these aspects? Social issues? Physical problems?
- Would you consider taking action?

Part C: Focus Group

1

Repeated twice

Part C: Focus Group

Activity 3: Alternative endings
Provide 3 alternative endings to each of the scripts considering any compromises that could be made, and/or things or initiatives you think could or should happen, to help the community with the challenges facing them.

1

Please explain your endings:

|

10

Repeated 3 times

Emotional Sensitivity

Coastal Change Research: The Community Perspective Victoria Brown, PhD Kaseahor

Emotional Sensitivity

This research is indeed emotional, assessing attachment to place and to community. It also looks at the impact the loss of these would have. It is essential that these aspects be looked at to assess the emotional as well as practical approaches to change. This includes outlining the positive emotions and avenues for support and for progress towards a creative, flexible and bounce forward resilience that takes emotion into account.

These aspects I am aware may be highly sensitive and difficult for the participant to discuss directly. To alleviate this, the general context of change relating to climate and erosion as well as some discussions of community involvement will be explored in an open interview. The place attachments and reflections on their loss will be explored using a new method of creative evaluation whereby participants may reflect on these aspects through any medium of choice, be it normal writing, story, poetry, drawing etc. in a small 16 page notebook provided. This is done alone and in the privacy of their own home. This technique has been used similarly in therapy sessions providing an outlet to think about the positive as well as the negative.

Furthermore, the third stage of research uses a workshop based focus group where the positives of the situation will be teased out of participants concerns for their community. Here scripts of the concerns will be drawn up in groups and then alternative ending scenarios explored to assess future possibilities and creative solutions. The ultimate goal of this research is not to dwell on the negative but to highlight positive opportunities for present and future resilience, including identifying the positive support structures that already exist or could be set up in the short term.

I am also aware that Sidaband has a high elderly population and that some of the discussions outlined may be difficult however first of all it is your community's voice that is important and all ages and peoples should have a voice. Secondly, should participants be concerned about any stage they can withdraw freely at any time. If people do choose to take part then they are asked to consent to participate in all three stages to present a whole and integrated voice, and to allow progression through the negative emotions to assess the positives, ending on a good note.

I have included with this press photos of demonstration copies of the notebook and the focus group worksheet. These demonstration copies attempt to address any concerns potential participants may have about artistic capability. The freedom to explore their reflections in any way they choose and expressing concerns through speech bubbles rather than drawing should they choose, aims to make the research as relaxed and open to all as possible. It is in the end about getting to the individuals' and cumulatively the community's' concerns and voice on their present and future situation.

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Demonstration copies:



Notebook Demo:



Research Participation Presentation

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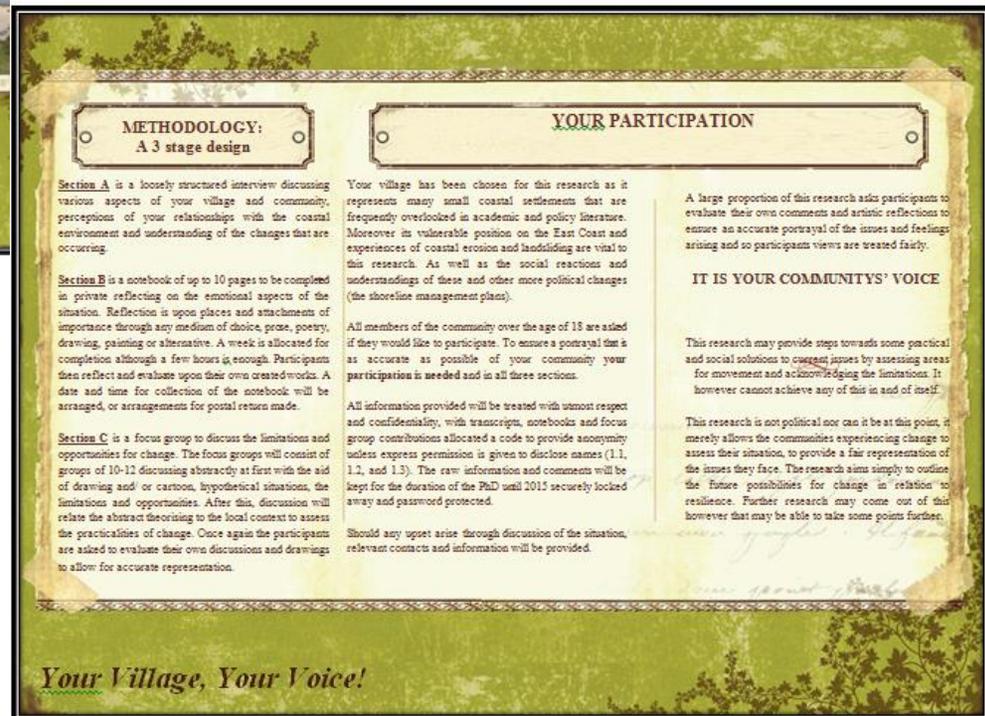
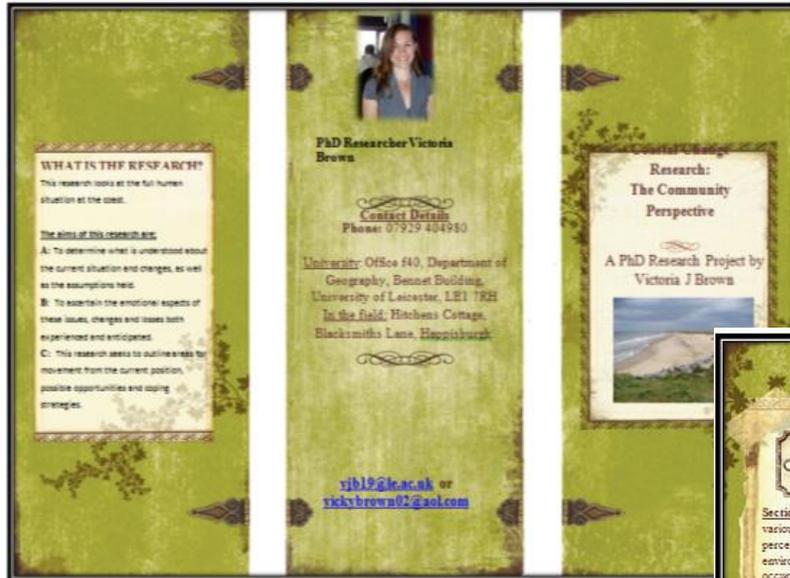
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Research Leaflet



Consent form

<p>WHOLE I consent to participate in all three sections of this research.</p> <p>I understand that I reserve the right to not answer a question and can withdraw from the process at any time and can withdraw consent for all or part of any section should I wish.</p> <p>I agree to follow the code of conduct set out for this research.</p>	
<p>SECTION A I consent for the interview to be recorded for the purposes of transcription and evaluation and for quotes to be used in final research including presentations, the PhD thesis and any publications or alternative communications arising.</p>	
<p>SECTION B I understand that the contents of this notebook will be treated with utmost respect and I will be evaluating my own reflections, ensuring fair representation.</p> <p>I consent to the use of all reflections in this notebook in this research.</p>	
<p>SECTION C I understand that notes will be taken on the focus group discussions and consent to the photographing of diagrams, drawings and cartoons created during the session as well as photos of the group and myself working.</p> <p>I understand that the focus group will evaluate the discussions and write it up during the session to accurately portray the community's perspectives, issues and opportunities.</p>	

Contact details for return of results to the community and for participant validation:

I would like to attend a hand back session of the research findings and assist in their validation

Name:

Address:.....
.....
.....

Telephone:

Email:

Focus Group Participation Form

Focus group Participation

I have consented to participate part C of this research, the focus group (please tick)

I choose to attend the following session at Hitchens Cottage, Church Farm, Happisburgh.

Group	Date and Time	Contact Details
1	Sunday 30 th June 2-4pm	
2	Monday 1 st July 7-9pm	
3	Tuesday 2 nd July 2-4pm	
4	Tuesday 2 nd July 7-9pm	
5	Wednesday 3 rd July 12-2pm	
6	Wednesday 3 rd July 4-6pm	
7	Thursday 4 th July 2-4pm	
8	Thursday 4 th July 7-9pm	
9	Friday 5 th July 10am-12pm	
10	Friday 5 th July 3-5pm	

Research Code of Conduct

1. Let every person speak
2. Do not criticize anyone for their opinion
3. Do not shout
4. Do not talk over each other
5. Everything that is said and done in the focus group is confidential and cannot be repeated outside of the group in question.

Research Poem examples**Sidestrand****Betty**

My husband was invited to join the practice here in Cromer
 We ended up buying this house. I like it altogether
 Lots of nice people here, my life is very easy here. I'm very happy here, I live here
 Constant communication
 Part of the church...our social gathering place
 Nodding and amiable contact
 I need to have the church. The book group is something I enjoy
 It's a house with a cottage but they all belong to me
 I share it with the children. My husband died and left half to the children
 But it's mine for as long as I live. Unless force majeure I get Alzheimer's or anything like that
 I don't work. Do nothing at all...well I'm church warden
 I'm going to give it up because I have been doing it for far too long
 I have no idea what my income is... I seem to be able to cope
 It's a very pleasant house and the views are amazing
 I feel very personally connected to the village
 In each other's houses. We muddle along
 On the sunny side of the country
 The sea is eroding all the time it's said to be about a metre a year. Doesn't worry me
 Here there were agricultural labourers and now there is not one, nobody..
 Mechanisation more than anything else
 Sanguine...I'm sanguine. I'm aware that climate change is talked about
 I don't think I'm limited at all
 Happisburgh is much talked about. No I do not [think about it]
 The cliff isn't affected during a storm...it's not it's not the sea, the sea really only takes away the rubbish
 I haven't experienced anything that has affected me
 I think and the great thing is to try and get equilibrium in the cliff
 I really cannot be bothered. Absolutely not...not at all...it's not relevant
 We are too far away from the cliff edge
 If the parish council want something to talk about then they talk about it
 I've been widowed.
 That doesn't, isn't relevant to us...at the moment. I'll be dead

Caroline

We've lived here for coming up to nine years
 I wanted to move back to Norfolk...my husband wanted to live near the sea
 It was important to be by the beach.
 My parents were looking at the same time
 We never intended to live next door to each other..not in a million years..
 We drove past and it was a beautiful house. We just fell in love and we moved in
 I love the fact that it's rural. I love the fact that we're next to the coast..
 We do not have direct beach access for the public but we've got beach access from our property
 Some really lovely people that live in the village. People do look out for each other
 The annual fete. It's brilliant it's probably one of the best fetes i've ever attended..
 People pull together...people who care about the village and help one another out are great
 It's a brilliant fete ... a band that comes from Norwich... a hog roast...
 A really good plethora of different things to do... it really is fantastic for a village fete.
 There's no shops in Sidestrand
 I feel a very strong connection certainly to this house. It felt like home the minute we walked in
 I want to be involved in the village being part of the church...it's a nice community thing to do
 We don't have a pub or anything you know
 I do feel connected.
 Bare plaster and a dust sheet for a curtain
 We see ourselves being here for a long time. It's somewhere we chose to come and start a family
 That's what we want..for the long term..
 There's lots of nice walks and rides and things. That's what's important to me it's nice
 This house was a b&b in the early 1920's 1930's...a working farm before that...
 The erosion is always an issue...we struggled to get a mortgage when we first moved here
 There's been a slippage since we've been here
 I see a lot of elderly people in Sidestrand...
 I would be concerned as an elderly person in this village...no amenities
 Securing the property so that it won't be washed away
 You feel the elements here
 I love the fact that there's this big expanse I hate feeling claustrophobic and hemmed in.
 Some people say they find it threatening...so exposed to the elements. It makes me feel alive I love it..
 There is change either that or I look back or I look back to my childhood with rose tinted glasses.
 The seasons are perhaps shifting a bit..
 A village ...used to you know jetty off from Overstrand..
 Apart from Happisburgh disappearing and disappearing. That's the only one that sticks in my head..
 I try not to think about would that mean that Sidestrand's going to disappear...but it you know it will...that's
 life...it's going to disappear...Nature's a stronger force than we give it credit for..
 I just hope it doesn't do it kind of in our lifetime
 People tell us that there used to be a fishing village
 The focus is really to protect Overstrand... Sidestrand is...will be affected in order to save Overstrand
 Doing work on the revetments
 If they've got a bit left over they will always you know sort of quickly hammer something up...
 Have to make a decision whether to save one thing or another... it can't all be protected
 Would someone whose in London be particularly interested in what's happening probably not because there are
 different issues unless they're keen north Norfolk visitors. I guess with the shoe on the other foot nor would i be
 We would try to build up the revetments ourselves...i don't know whether we'd be legally allowed to
 my husband and i are probably the youngest if not some of the youngest adults living here so to then try to sort of
 galvanize the rest of the village to do stuff would seem improper

Carol & Richard

You've only got 100 years. A lot can happen in 99 years...we had just watched to twin towers come down so
 I know that I'm getting worse so I won't be here
 Very nice community feel. Neighbourly frictions
 Obviously the church will be affected. Won't be moved again
 The church is struggling financially and in attendance
 I love the situation sun and sea and sky. I want to draw our cliffs on the blind upstairs
 Dark sky area..lovely skies too
 A very nice community. We do very well with the fete
 People come from Devon every year because they enjoy it so much
 An ageing community
 Don't like to see too much change but it's inevitable, the cliff as well it's inevitable.
 Just another thing that's happening. I live on a cliff if I go I go
 In the overall scheme of things you don't ever know what is going to happen
 Relaxing good community. Community politics pfft
 Connected yes.. interaction, being involved...we do do stuff, meeting people
 I like it I like it, I like the people. Neighbourhood disputes
 The house...It was valued at a pound. To do with drainage rainwater drainage...
 We paid considerably more than that of course.
 Disability concerns
 Really do love the fact that you look out of any window you see green fields and blue sky, sea and sky.
 False feeling of being isolated really but you're not. Many friends
 Money I just spend it I don't know
 The house the house is important and views from the house and the church
 Age content is a concern
 Not the sort of place people will buy into...unsure where the village is going long term. Dwindling all the time
 Constant change of the cliff...daily observation...constant change in the cliff. Weekly changes, falls constant.
 All of a sudden this entire section of cliff just slid away this complete headland.. 10 foot isosceles triangle
 Farmer lost the headland but then lost 20-30 rows of sugar beet. The bay is getting bigger and bigger
 Fence behind the school moved several times. In the last four years eroded back to the fence again
 Waterfalls coming out of the cliff
 Winds are stronger. Sand blown up to the houses. Wind dusting the field with sand. More extremes
 [The cliff] I just find it fascinating really
 The fact that it's going to get closer and closer to the house doesn't really worry us 'cause we'll be dead
 Aware of lost villages. Do not think about it generally
 The erosion is not a new phenomenon, nowhere's different. Not much knowledge of process
 Sea level rise will attack the front edge removing the spoil that protects the base of the cliff
 It's suck it and see, chose not to defend, we have nothing. They're doing nothing
 Not told anything, there is nothing that is generally circulated to households in this area
 I don't think there is an actual mechanism to talk to. Had to seek out information
 In the process of putting together an action plan...
 Each parish has to have one but there is not much we can do with our resources
 Zilch awareness. Poor awareness nationally. Hang on to the boat - keep the boat in the garden.

Happisburgh**Ben**

I came here to retire. It's a dead village. Nothing here..
 If you take the church and the lighthouse out of the village there's nothing
 No WI no nothing here. There aren't any [facilities]
 There's a football club and a cricket club and a bowls club
 Half of them don't live here who play. More than half don't live here who play
 In this village there's nothing. It's a holiday village more than anything
 [Move?] no not really no it suits me it suits us. [My daughters] they go where the work is
 They were here but they go where the work is. Both live near Cambridge
 I worked in the building trade most of me life
 There was no pensions when I was in the building trade, there were no pensions until the late 80's
 The idiot thatcher come in and wrecked the economy
 It's a quite nice little village. It's quiet in the winter. It's just a pleasant quiet place
 One thing I do is the coast watch. That is voluntary it's a it's a um registered charity
 I do that once or twice a week
 There are not enough people who volunteer for it so we struggle for people
 They're losing a lot...a lot of properties have gone into the sea
 They knocked nine houses down. It's all round that way. Must be 2 or 3 metres gone
 The caravan site has had to move twelve caravans in the last year...cause the cliff's all gone
 People who live nearer you know that must be a bit of a worry for them
 They arranged the compensation for it this time
 They did get compensation for the 9 houses what went
 Climate change and all that...I don't think that's got anything to do with it
 Not [a risk] for me it isn't I won't be here that long
 Some people have definitely moved out the village because of the cliff
 They've gone further inland ... sold up and moved away
 There aren't actually any [villages] that have got lost are there...Walcott is very vulnerable
 They had to evacuate all the properties along the front
 It's all gone back to normal again...they haven't lost it. It's crumbling gradually
 There's a terrific lot gone round there towards Sea Palling
 They put all them rocks in the sea at Sea Palling an' that seems to have made it worse here
 I don't think climates got a lot to do with it really
 We've had a lot of rain and I think that was one of the big problems here on the coast
 December this was all flooded out here
 I've never seen that before...lay there for four weeks...the worst I've ever seen it
 When you walk up to the coast guard it's like walking through treacle.
 Absolutely just like walking through treacle
 It was the rain it was all the rain we'd had and that's what's affected the coastline along here...
 The grass overhangs, the cliff's all washed away...and the grass is all overhanging at the top
 I don't think they're going to do anything. They're going to let the sea go where it will
 They've taken the steps away where the caravan site was... so much of the cliff's gone there
 They've put they've built a car park at the end of beach road for holiday makers
 They're pushing all the holiday makers at that end...that's the best bit of beach in front of the lighthouse
 There is a bay in front of the lighthouse...that's for the holiday makers
 I've only read it in the paper...no one's actually said
 There's a bit in the parish magazine sometimes but they don't really tell you anything
 Not an issue for me it's not going to reach me in my bungalow. I'd have to live to 120 I think for that

I don't think there is any emergency plans not here there is at Walcott...they can evacuate to the lighthouse pub in Walcott...here we've got no problem 'cause we have the cliffs the cliffs stop that
 We have a little shop but that's really only somebody's front room
 It just affects people the people who live up near the coast
 I think there are only one or two that will be affected now
 Those houses have been knocked down already...that's sort of decided then for the next 25 years There's one person who refused to move she's still there she'll have to go eventually..
 People just move inland people are sort of worried about it. [national awareness?]
 I don't think there is one. They write about it in the paper sometimes. The daily express rang up one day when I was up the coast watch they were doing an article on coastal erosion...but it's worse down at Hemsby this year and it was more about down Hemsby than it was up here
 We had a collection for money to put rocks down. That's the only sort of thing action we've taken as a village
 It's not done a lot of good as far as I can see

Rachel

We really liked the house...we liked the location...it was ideal. It was a nice big house
 We live on the outside of the village
 Quite a good community spirit. We were on a lot of committees...
 We made an active decision when we moved here not to get involved in a lot
 We would pass like ships in the night...one of us was in the other was out
 It's a nice village. Nice community spirit. Nice and quiet
 I love the fact it's quiet. It's nice not to be disturbed
 We lived in London after we got married
 We always anticipated coming home to Norfolk...my husband was born in Norfolk. It's very peaceful here
 I loved the idea...walk up the track...scramble down the cliff
 A piece of beach ... you hardly saw anyone on it ...
 Right in the middle of where you can actually get down onto the beach
 We'd walk up the track in our swimsuits with our towels and that it was great
 It's not what you would call a safe way down...you have to be careful. We scramble up and down there
 When we had the dog we used to scramble up and down
 You can still scramble up and down in the same place
 Unfortunately the coastal erosion is a negative
 The mere fact that every property is affected...in terms of property values. It's affected us massively
 If you say you live in Happisburgh people will come back and say you're falling in the sea
 We are not falling into the sea we're not falling into the sea
 We're no closer to the sea than we were when we bought the house 18 years ago. But the perception is there
 It was really important to have all of publicity to get the help for people down beach road
 The other side of that is the knock-on effects. It keeps hitting the paper. It keeps hitting the media
 That actually affects everybody else in the village
 If I was living on beach road yes I'd want a lot of publicity
 But living here it hasn't changed in 18 years yet we get the negative side of it
 It is unfortunately the negative side of helping other people out
 There isn't a play area which I'm on a committee to hopefully rectify
 We've got the bowling green. We've got the cricket pitch. We've got a post office with a little shop
 There's the pub. There's the caravan park. There's the church and the lighthouse
 We've got quite a lot going for us in terms of as a holiday for people visiting..
 For people living in the village...the public transport is not good...it's not a particularly big shop
 It has got a school which is quite important. Mine never used the school
 Our kids were already in a school...my youngest would have gone here...
 My middle one was well is dyslexic...he was in his last year...I didn't want to move him

I like the local shop in Stalham. Stalham is on my way [to work]
 Stalham is 7 minutes North Walsham is 15 minutes
 It doesn't sound like very long but it's in the wrong direction
 My family have now all grown up. I don't need so many things
 I like walking ... I do walk er quite a bit here
 We also have a friend who has a beach house that is on the estuary in Essex which I like
 My children didn't go to school in the village
 You don't have that same connection with the parents and through your children
 My children's friends lived generally not in Happisburgh
 but now I'm involved in the cleaning up of the beach...the collecting of the metal debris
 I've become more involved in the village. I love it..
 I work in Norwich...my husband he works in London during the week
 Although it's still an hours' drive when you get to Norwich it's worth it. We just love it here
 I'm not on the parish council but both projects have now been adopted by the Parish Council
 We are working like a subcommittee for the Parish Council. We've been successful
 We've just got the first tranche of grass in got some fencing around the play space. That kick starts the project
 I would [buy outright] if I could afford it I can't at the moment
 We've got 6 bedrooms and I have 3 children so it's always nice when we have guests...They're all sort of here
 Sometimes I rattle around on my own. It's a nice homely house
 If I had to [move] there would be a reason behind it and I wouldn't have a choice in the matter
 I wouldn't move unless I became unable to manage the house. We've got no thoughts of moving
 My youngest is...he's on the lifeboat crew here...good interaction with the village
 My daughter is um in Hertfordshire she lives in Hertfordshire
 [The middle one] is here and not here as he works off shore
 He'll probably be here for 2 weeks and be off again
 My in-laws live in North Walsham, my sister-in-law lives in North Walsham
 I see mum and dad most weekends. Most of my friends are just outside of the village
 We run our own company. The cottages is one of my businesses
 My husband is a consultant so I do all the paperwork and admin for that
 On the consultancy side it's just my husband and I as directors
 On the cottage side I employ seven other people
 I like my house...I like the beach
 It's the feeling, it gives you a really good feeling, it washes away everything
 You can be really stressed...having a really bad day
 You can go for a walk on the cliff top. You can go down on the beach
 It sort of blows it away...lets you recuperate...clears the brain a bit
 The cottages are named after the sculptors Moore, Hepworth, Nicholson and Hitchen because they all stayed in
 this house. We've actually got a picture of Henry Moore carving outside our front door
 There's a lot of history you know. The house was rented to the Bishops Stortford school they had the Old
 Stortfodian society. They had this year after year and when we opened the cottages we actually get people who
 used to stay here as a Bishop Stortfodian. They come and they stay
 They brought all their photos and books and everything...that was fabulous how the house has evolved
 I keep saying I'm going to join the heritage society. It is one of those things you know
 There is an awful lot of history to the village that i don't know about
 I've had the group from Leiden University stay so I'm quite interested in the digs that they were doing.
 The history on that site...They sent me some information that was really interesting
 I've been reading up on that. There is quite a lot of history to the village that I don't necessarily know about
 The lighthouse I think it's such an iconic statement within the village
 As a business with the cottages...it's really important to me to maintain the access down onto the beach...people
 are booking the cottages on [that] basis

It's important for them to be able to get down to the beach
 It's really important that when they do get down on the beach it's clean...
 It's important to work with the council to try and get that sorted
 There is a terrific amount of cliff erosion
 It tends to be the other end of the village, it's not this end of the village, it is the other end
 We celebrated the millennium on the beach having just gone down the concrete ramp
 Well that is no longer there...we lost the steps obviously after that
 I don't think it's purely down to the sea. I think it's a lot of factors,
 I think the composition of the cliff and the fact that last year was so wet has been a double whammy
 This year we actually had three weeks which is unusual of constant easterly wind
 That obviously had a big effect on the coastal erosion...that brought the sea up. It was a very persistent period
 We do get easterly winds but it's not usually that long and consistent and with the wet weather That wet weather
 will have an effect on the water that is draining out
 I do think it will be constant, mother nature will take her course
 I don't think it really matters what we do now. If they'd have maintained the sea defences
 When we first moved here those sea defences were all in place and now there's hardly any
 Whether it would have made a difference I don't know
 Without them there obviously it is going to hit home harder
 The more water on the land the more it's going to be coming from that side
 I think it will carry on and then it will come to a point where it will stabilise again
 If you live this end of the village the only relationship is can I get down onto the beach
 It's not affecting us other than the access to the beach
 If you live the other end of the village...that cliff is is encroaching closer and closer to property
 [Climate Change?] I'm not convinced I have to say I'm one of the sceptics
 I remember 1976 you know and having a heat wave
 I remember being snowed in in the village and not being able to get out. I think the weather goes in cycles
 This end I don't think it's affected as much...it's got a much deeper clay base. The other end that's sand
 That water coming off [is] going to break the top down with the sea hitting it at the bottom
 If it's hitting sand as opposed to clay it will go ..
 The beach changes as well 'cause that exposes more of the cliff
 If the sea level rises much that's going to have a greater effect on the erosion on the cliffs
 If it were to breach further down...you've got saltwater into the Broads
 [It] would be devastating...that's obviously why they maintain the sea defences that end
 There's nothing between us and the sea...during a storm I can physically feel the house move
 I physically feel the building shake
 We have seen the storms completely wreck the ramp and take out the steps.
 I have seen the devastation of that
 [My son's] on the lifeboat crew so I understand the effects the sea can have
 There aren't really any [defences] are there
 They've put the rocks in but they're not going to do anything to maintain the old sea defences
 When those defences were put in they were actually at the bottom of the cliff
 They obviously aren't now
 Nothing's going to happen unless the amount of property affected is significant
 They are not going to do anything until the church is threatened
 Until St Mary's which is grade one is threatened
 The value on the caravan park does not warrant having sea defences
 Until the actual village per se is threatened rather than holiday cottages...they're not going to do anything
 We've had the coastal engineer at the parish council meetings
 He said we had actually lost as much in 9 months than we had in previous three years
 A really dramatic loss. That was when lots of stuff was going. That's when the steps became unstable

It was eroding at such a rate...anything we put there would not have lasted
 My husband is an engineer...he specialised when he was doing his degree in coastal erosion
 We're fairly oh fey with what is going to come. No information no not that I'm aware of no
 It's very different if you're at Walcott. I know there's the sirens. I know there's an emergency plan
 I don't honestly know as a villager that there are any here
 I think we probably know more through the media to be honest
 They did have an event at the Wenn Evans centre talking about the coastal erosion
 They had the representatives of the Norfolk council there...an open event. We did go down to that
 But really if they're saying we're not going to put any defences in
 There's not a lot you can actually do. There's not a lot you can say
 It is difficult for youngsters to get a foot on the property ladder
 It is going to change socially because of that I'm sure. There isn't affordable housing
 Youngsters...probably wouldn't buy in the village...almost certainly wouldn't want to
 At that age you want to be more in the thick of things
 That will actually change from how the village was, to what it is now, to what it will be in the future
 If we don't get youngsters in the village and young families then you will end up...
 At the moment the school is very popular and is oversubscribed
 You need to keep young people in the village. You need their spending in the village
 You need their spending in the pub
 If we want to keep the post office people need to be able to spend um and
 If we want the things like the school and that to remain...we have to get the facilities...
 [The] housing that's going to encourage people to stay in the village. It's not just Happisburgh
 There's a lot of other place around the country that are affected by the erosion. There is an awareness of that
 there's also an awareness of at Government level that you have these communities that you know have a lot of
 second homes. It pushes the prices up.
 It stops young people being able to to actually settle in the village
 [People at] the caravan park dumping stuff all over the edge. We see the ramifications of that
 It's all very well and good throwing over concrete but concrete has reinforcing in
 You're left with the metal reinforcing all on the beach. I'm trying to deal with the other end of it
 I wouldn't take action in trying to shore it up unless there was a sea wall. I think it it's useless

Cameron

I don't live in the village. I've been involved in the village and my father before me for 46 years
 It is a family run business. I've grown up in the village
 Running a business in the village is sort of core to my everyday experience
 Attracting people to visit Happisburgh to er enjoy their summer holidays
 It's a very picturesque village. A traditional Norfolk village
 It has some nice properties that are thatched and of various different construction
 A wooded background, close to the beach
 Close to most facilities. There are social groups, the church, the lifeboat
 There's obviously the local shop that attracts the local gossips in the community. Facilities wise it is limited
 The natural environment of the beach and it's open spaces is its biggest attraction
 Getting to places further afield you know and transport is a bit of a negative
 Public transport links that sort of thing are a negative
 If you don't mind a cold wind in the winter it's a fairly ok place
 I enjoy sailing ...I enjoy sports of all kinds ...I don't have any time after that
 The caravan park [is] integral to the rest of the village
 Caravan owners have friends in the village
 People in the village have friends on the caravan site. A nice sort of entity in a sense
 Some of the visitors are long term and they support all the events,

The church fete and coffee mornings and all that
 I'm not [involved much] but [E] here is ...involved a lot with the church and with village activities
 Bingo once a month...the mardle and all that as well. [Mardle] I think it's a Norfolk term
 A Norfolk term for a get together...a sort of a chinwag really
 If you lean on the gate and have a mardle it's a chat with the locals. I live .. about 8 miles from here
 There's 134 caravans...200 units each with about 4 people...during the school holidays
 We don't advertise too widely people just find it by accident really. They come back year after year
 70% of the people here will come back. People come here for some peace and quiet
 That's the attraction...we're a bit old fashioned. All change causes upset in one way or another
 As a caravan site the landscape impact wherever we move to is going to have an impact
 It's balancing that against...social and economic gain...retained by maintaining the caravan park
 I'm troubled because of the accelerated rate of erosion
 Because of the speed of the erosion and the proximity to the caravans
 It's having a direct impact on our business now
 Why are we letting the physical mass of our island to to go
 It's [my children's] inheritance...it would be sad to see it go
 I'm a director of the company there's my parents and myself and my role is...general management
 Well the beach...that's another reason for depression
 The beach now compared to what it was...it's a tragedy. What remains now is an eyesore
 Lots of the visitors...now don't come to enjoy the facilities of the village
 But come to ogle at the destruction on the beach
 Geography trips come to Happisburgh now bus-full's of children. A sad reflection isn't it
 My son is doing his GCSE...He's learning about the tsunami,
 The earthquake at Haiti and the beach at Happisburgh
 People are learning about Happisburgh because of the erosion and the destruction. That's pretty sad
 That's not gonna do the village very much good now is it
 They hear the name Happisburgh and they immediately align it with depression
 [the church and lighthouse are] landmarks to the area
 North Norfolk's emblem on a lot of their publication is Happisburgh lighthouse
 The flagship that carries the tourism industry...a focal point. It promotes Happisburgh more than anything
 Our lighthouse is sort of a pretty well-known feature
 It's flourished really as a village community. The concern is that it won't continue to flourish
 You talk about 50 years which sounds like a long while
 People kind of think well that's not me but in fact 50 years isn't that long...it will affect everybody
 It's a sort of creeping sore really that is becoming more angry
 It's going to have an increased impact especially if the accelerated rate of erosion continues
 In 20 years' time not 50 years' time it will be a major issue for the village
 The sea appears rougher. The tides they are much more extreme, the high tides are much higher
 I look daily twice daily. The tides are definitely are more exaggerated
 The level of sand on the beach has dropped by I would think almost 3 metres
 Low tide the sea would be crikey the sea would be 80 metres from the cliff
 Low tide now the sea is 15 20 metres further out
 The cliff has eroded immeasurably...it has eroded back about 12 metres in about 4 months
 People don't know they think it's all fine and dandy
 The composition of the cliff it seems much more sandy now. Damn glaciers we want rock
 It saddens me really ...it saddens me
 In the bigger picture it seems unfair that we're allowed to erode and the village be threatened and the general
 mood depressed when other communities seem to get protection. One rule for one and one for another
 Where's the social justice?
 I'm undecided [about climate change]...there's more evidence against now isn't there

All the media was global warming and everyone was jumping on it. Now going the other way
 We've lost about 20 metres so about a metre a year but recently it's accelerated
 The beach...you feel you don't want to go...
 You can access it but the attraction to go there is not so great
 With the beach getting lower and sea level rise the impact is going to be accelerated erosion
 You can stand on the cliff on a windy winters day at high tide and the spray from the sea will slap you in the
 face...I've experienced that which is frightening ,it is frightening to be there
 The sea pounds the cliff so well it shudders
 Sometimes when a wave hits the cliff...it's like a gun going off
 Shoreline management plan has been adopted as a managed retreat as opposed to hold the line
 Managed retreat means almost nothing it seems
 If it wasn't for the pathfinder project ...it would effectively be abandonment
 The pathfinder scheme was a one off and it's being wound up
 If our planning application doesn't work it's abandonment we are stuffed
 What have I been told erm well by my sons geography project
 From 2005 to 2055 there'll be 100m no I tell a lie about 80 metres of erosion,
 By 2105 which is 100 years it will be about 130m. There was a 50 year line and a 100 year line drawn
 After 20 years we are nearly up to the 50 year line and that was a worst case scenario supposedly
 We'll soon be there. We'll have to react quickly that's our emergency plan...we manage the retreat
 We actually ring the council to ask them, we seek information out
 [National awareness is] out of a score of 1 to 10 about 1 and a half
 I would like to petition the government. I would like to rebel against the system somehow
 Would I do it...if there were some like-minded people
 I wouldn't independently 'cause I think it would have absolutely no impact

Matt & Beth

[Been coming] about 20 years. We don't stay much more than 2 weeks at a time
 Every month, well not in the winter obviously we are not allowed..
 We come for a day in the winter check on the caravan and have lunch in the pub but obviously we can't stay only
 between April and October
 I found it by accident. I was going to pubs and hotels to sell coffee
 I came up here and saw it...about a month later I bought a caravan
 I like the area...thought it would be nice to be able to come away. [Like] its quiet (its wildness really)
 No razzamatazz like you have on Haven none of that. Not too many children...occasionally but not hoards
 It's very community and they do try ... they do functions and that
 (Especially when this site's open because you get a lot of people come). (It does an awful lot actually it's great)
 They do dinners in the church rooms. We're going to the 60's one next Saturday week,
 Bingo once a month on a Friday I do go to that and so do quite a few other people on the site
 (they even did a thing about the ghosts of Norfolk). There's always a theme isn't there
 Arthur Conan Doyle stayed at the Hill House
 We do enjoy that and you get to know a lot of people that way too
 You have all you need a shop a pub what more do you want
 You're close to other places you can get into North Walsham only 6 miles or 7 miles down the road Stalham about
 5 miles, if you want Supermarkets you have them there
 You can get to the Broads if you want,
 You can get to Potter Heigham that's only 10 miles down the road.
 There's quite a lot of things to do if you really want to. We don't want much now do we
 The lifeboat centre used to be here but now it's moved. We used to go there a lot
 (I used to know quite a few people on the lifeboat)
 (When I heard they were building a new station I thought why are they doing that)

(Now of course where it used to be is in the sea). That's a shame
 The council...well they are not doing enough. (They are trying aren't they)
 I suppose they are trying to but it doesn't seem like much. (I think it's out of their hands basically)
 They can't do anything about it I guess
 (At Sea Palling you know the reefs...)
 ('Cause they was dunes the government paid for it...because this is cliff they don't want to know)
 (They've put some rocks along there but that's...)
 [Shopping wise] we have good choice
 [We] walk mostly...along the cliffs to Cart Gap...we do go into Potter Heigham
 (We just like being here)
 When we arrived back here in April I went into the shop and there was a chappy there who organises most of the
 do's...he said to me 'hi [x] welcome home'...you feel part of it
 (it's just a lovely place to be, it's really nice) it's comfortable ..
 You've got this feeling when you are on the site. It all overlaps into the village (It's the village as well)
 We like being near the sea...I think all Brits like the sea
 (I love boats and anything to do with the sea)
 You can only do [societies] in the summer
 If you wanted to get involved with anything you'd have to live in the village. You go as guests to things
 You can't get involved in committees or anything like that if you are not here in the winter
 There isn't another site like it it's pretty unique
 (On other sites you have to log in when you go and log out)
 It's not really child friendly with the cliffs ...I wouldn't bring children here ...
 It would worry be that they'd fall off the cliff
 It's not fenced in and it never will be, you can't fence it in it's impossible
 (I go down there sometimes but it is dangerous)
 It gets undermined - you just don't know when it's going to go
 One child is in Australia, one in Essex, one up in Newark, and one in Surrey
 We talk on the phone and have emails and texts and all that
 The only other family we've got is in Essex
 Not friends as such in the village (no but...) Acquaintances....
 We have got a couple here that we are friendly with
 Friends you go out with you go to each other's houses but acquaintances you just bump into
 The campsite really (and the pub) this and the pub. The community at the pub really
 (The lifeboat is important very important....for what it is what it does)
 (The history of the pub yeah that's important the Arthur Conan Doyle [connection])
 ([In] the church yard there's a ship wreck a royal navy ship wreck 17 something and a lot of the crew are buried
 there so that's something). (I love ships and I love Captain Nelson's time and all that...)
 (HMS Invincible that's the name of the wreck ...an important part of our history)
 They need to do something about the cliffs obviously. I don't know whether it is possible or if they can
 A few weeks ago one of the lifeboat guys...said that in 40 years this little bit would be an island
 It's lovely where it is, if it needs to be moved then so be it
 [If the caravan site moved] (it'd be a shame) it would be unfortunate but we'd still stay. Such a lovely aspect..
 He's had to put all his caravans here they've all come off the front
 We used to see right across you can't be selfish about it,
 It's an awful shame that those people have had to be moved you know
 It's also a shame that we have lost our view but ...you can't be selfish about it
 [The sea] comes up further doesn't it, it comes up much further
 I don't know if you've seen that pillbox out there...
 The water never touched that, that used to be soft sand and it was a lot of soft sand,
 It never came up that far did it. It never came up to the pillbox let alone past it. [The beach] it's got smaller

(The rubble on it is absolutely incredible, the debris)
 That's where the houses have gone in...it's all gone in
 The sea has got so rough now that you see rubble that's been thrown up on top of the rocks
 The sea's obviously coming in a lot higher
 There's roads gone, (roads gone), rows of houses have gone, big roads (it's amazing)
 You would walk along the edge of the back gardens and they have all gone
 Their back gardens had gates and they had steps down to the beach..that's all gone
 It's shocking it's it's it's just happened
 (You obviously can't do anything about it). You've just got to live with it you can't change it
 (You've just got to adapt to it haven't you)
 (Hopefully it won't get any worse but...the it's going it's...)
 I've never known it happen so much happen in such a short time
 Over the years yeah it's been going and going and going
 Since the um lifeboat station's gone, since that ramp went, that was three years ago wasn't it
 (That was just amazing wasn't it). Since that happened ...(it's just got worse hasn't it), it's got faster
 It seems to have gone suddenly...it's going all the time. It used to go a little bit every now and again
 That corner there was way out last year...you could walk all the way round it
 That's just gone before we came back this year.
 There was a bungalow there, there was an ice cream kiosk there as well. That's all gone in that's all gone
 You could still walk round there last year and that's gone this year
 Along here you used to be able to walk in front of the caravans...
 There was a road and there was a grass verge where you could park your cars. That was there last year..
 A foot a week something like that...in the last 2 years
 Scared (no not really) we're alright here ..I just think it's so sad
 (They had an excavation down there two great big pits that was amazing)
 (They found that was a river down there and now it's the sea)
 (The seasons are changing aren't they...you're getting weather when you shouldn't)
 (You could guarantee what it was going to be like
 Now you just don't know what you're gonna get drives you crazy)
 I wish they wouldn't change the clock so early and put them back
 Well the end of October is sometimes still summer
 I don't believe [in climate change] (I must admit I don't really think about it much) no, no I don't believe,
 It's all...'Oh you can't do this you can't do that, you must do this you must do that'.
 I don't think that has anything to do with it AT ALL
 It's just the way things have changed, it's got nothing to do with what anybody does
 I don't think it's got anything to do with what do they call it footprint and all that nonsense
 I haven't got time for any of that
 The only way to get down to the beach is down the ramp
 It's alright going down the ramp but when you try to go up it it's hard
 (I suppose they can't put a permanent one in because it'll just go but...)
 You can't get on the beach like you used to. If I really want to go on to the beach I really have to go round to cart
 gap cause that's actually got a nice ramp there.
 They put car parking for people to come park their cars and access to the beach but well you can't call that...
 Some people just the other day asked me how to get onto the beach...
 I said walk down that slope, 'oh is that it, I don't think we can get down there and up again'
 They are quite disappointed that they have come to Happisburgh and they can't get on the beach
 It should be cleaned up. What about all these people on the dole?
 They should pay them minimum wage to do that
 Hopton's been lost and years ago Overstrand lost a hotel oh all the way along the east coast
 The further you get south it gets better, Yarmouth you don't get anything

[Think about it] only when asked
 I don't think it's, are you talking about the sea or the weather?
 I think it's a combination wet weather and high seas
 I don't think it's one or the other, I think it's a combination
 It's so soft (it just undermines it, if you see the cliff, it just undermines it)
 (You can actually feel it during a bad night, you can actually feel the vibrations). Scared stiff
 (End of last season) We were getting ready to go home a couple of days later...
 This particular night the wind (never known anything like it)
 This was shaking, I thought it was going to tip over. We didn't sleep all night did we...we were up so scared,
 We said right let's go and we left the next day
 (It was amazing) it was unbelievable you could see the waves from here it was really high
 You couldn't see the waves as such but all the white the white foam from the waves was outside the caravan balls
 of it oh yeah it was scary. ([With sea level rise] well it'll be worse won't it) it would just collapse
 (When we first come here is was really a serene place, the tide coming and going)
 (It's just changed ... it's getting monster like). The sea is getting up as high as the cliff is
 I do look on the internet at North Norfolk council and also I look at the Parish Council meetings
 It doesn't seem like they are doing anything. I must admit I haven't looked the last few months
 (When they built the ramp the sea was belting up beside it). (What they did was they went to Jelsons)
 (You know the big sand bags they put them down just alongside the ramp)
 Those sand bags I think they lasted a month
 Now they've put more rocks there but what a waste of money..
 (That's ok when you have a river overflowing yeah but not the north sea)
 (I don't think anybody knows no)
 Because it's cliff the government we understand are not willing to spend money on it but if they are sand dunes it's
 a different matter..
 I suppose it will just keep going but we haven't been told anything by anybody
 It's a shame really well England's going to be about 100 miles narrower isn't it
 As we are only here we don't get anything from anyone
 It shouldn't happen should it (they should do something about it as far as i'm concerned)
 (but it's the government isn't it because they live where they are they don't care do they,
 They don't live on the coast do they)
 I think there was one report in one of the national's last year
 (I think it takes probably for somebody to get hurt). It doesn't get a lot of publicity at all
 I wouldn't know what action we could take really I mean what can you do
 We wouldn't be listened to anyway because we are not (because we are not residents as such)
 We're not considered as residents
 (We do own this but we don't own the land do we so it's, I don't know)
 I think we'll be told well if you don't like it you'd better move it you know
 Turn it into a boat...we've got life jackets it'll be ok...seriously...I borrowed them

Raphe

Lived in Yorkshire until I was 7 then moved down here. We were living in a city a big city
 We had been to Mundesley near here on holidays
 There's not lots of people about you can sort of do your own thing at your own pace
 There isn't a lot in Happisburgh but that can be a good thing
 Schools and the place really the area I would say is the main reason for moving to Happisburgh
 2 minutes away from the beach
 It's not really busy it's not in Happisburgh there's not many people...you sort of do your own thing
 On the bad side you can't get anywhere you are stuck in Happisburgh. It's swings and roundabouts really
 If you haven't got your own vehicle in Happisburgh there is no such thing as public transport
 There is a bus but that doesn't turn up
 It only goes to say Norwich if you're going to Walsham you aren't going to get to Walsham...You're stuck
 To the left at er Walcott you've got a wall
 On the right you've got Sea Palling and they've got sea defences
 You've got Happisburgh in the middle and we've got nothing. When are they going to save Happisburgh
 When it gets nearer the church they might save it
 At the minute they're just putting boulders in the sea and it's not doing anything
 They put the boulders down 2 weeks later they are buried under the sand
 It's a waste of time and money...it's no use whatsoever
 You've got a little park area I suppose you can call it but there's nothing there
 They have taken it all down all the swings and the slides and all that
 The only thing there is now is two goal posts
 The only reason they're still there is they can't be bothered to move them
 It's rubbish it's not very good it's not good
 There used to be a fish and chip shop down the road that's now gone
 [use the shop] all the time...2 or 3 times a week
 I get cash out there post things it's a post office and send stuff on ebay
 [Can] buy stuff but it's er a very very limited selection and what they have got is quite expensive
 I buy my clothes I buy it all online. I get clothes on ebay anywhere, anywhere there is a sale
 If you came here and didn't have the internet then you would save a lot of money
 Norwich is the main place to go or see me mates in Stalham
 I either spend my time in either Happisburgh Stalham or Norwich I'm never anywhere else
 I don't get involved in stuff. I'm just stuck in Happisburgh and I've got to deal with it sort of thing
 I don't get involved in the community. The only people I speak to are friends of me landlord next door
 I rent here yeah which is a bit rubbish it's dead money isn't it renting
 I don't get involved I'll wake up in the morning and go off to work come home from work and I'm out again in
 either Stalham or Norwich
 It's miles away from anywhere...4/5 miles to Stalham and that's Stalham and Stalham's rubbish
 Spending a third of your wages on going places
 I'm just a few minutes away from work but realistically I'm spending a lot of time in the city
 Third half my wages is gone on petrol
 I was old old if I was sort of 60-70 then I would love to live in Happisburgh
 ...BUT I'm 23 there's nothing for me in Happisburgh at all..
 I'm just stuck here really; mum decided to live here so here I am
 I've had a really good childhood living on the beach. I think it's a brilliant place for any kid to grow up
 When you get sort of 12 13 and you want to go out and see your mates and that it's tough. You're stuck
 unless you want to shell out a fortune to get a taxi
 It costs a tenner to get a taxi from here to Stalham it's ridiculous
 We don't have gas here. When we have a power cut which we have quite frequently in Happisburgh
 You are stuck, you can't have a cup of tea you can't have nothing

Oil central heating but if you have a power cut the boiler doesn't work
 Can't have a hot shower, can't have a cup of tea
 Calor gas cooker .. and a saucepan of hot water if you want a cup of tea
 I'd move to North Walsham ideally. A lot of other people in Happisburgh are old
 I wouldn't go and be pally with a 70 year old I'm 23 it doesn't interest me
 I get just under £500 quid a month
 The shop [is important]...the only place I go in Happisburgh is the shop
 I can get money out there easily without having to drive to Stalham
 I can buy a can of pop and a chocolate bar for work without having to go miles to the nearest shop
 I haven't been down the beach in years
 It doesn't interest me...I suppose when it's on your doorstep you're not bothered
 The lighthouse is annoying if anything really in that room and in the bedroom it flashes constantly
 Nothing is being done in the sense of saving Happisburgh slash stopping the erosion
 They've put the boulders down but it's not it's not working
 In the last three months there's been loads of people coming down, three bus loads...school project or something
 We need to do or someone needs to do something to save Happisburgh
 When it gets nearer the church or the lighthouse they might sort of put two and two together
 They might try to save Happisburgh. At the minute they do not seem to be doing anything
 Potholes...there's a lot of potholes. I am skint as it is I can't afford to buy a new tyre
 My insurance is very expensive. My tax is very expensive, my fuel is very expensive
 I can't afford to then pay for new tyres and wear and tear on my car because the council or whoever can't be
 bothered. It's full of potholes it's not good I'm not impressed with that
 I don't go to the beach. There is less cliff...
 We did have a ramp originally...we had the lifeboat [there] but that collapsed
 They built some steps; they lasted a year I think before they fell down
 Now they've built another ramp but they've built it out of sand
 I don't see the point in building the ramp out of sand...it's a waste of time
 There must be some logic in it I don't know it's beyond me
 Five years ago when you'd walk along the cliff path it would be miles away from his [the farmer's] field and now it's
 in his field...I don't think he's too pleased about that
 I suppose in one way I'm partly responsible because I live in Happisburgh
 On the flip side i'm one man I haven't got a million pound to through at it so what can I do
 If [the climate] has I wouldn't have noticed
 There's nowhere to go in Happisburgh. The kids in Happisburgh have naught to do really
 I just assume when there's a storm more cliff goes. Pass I don't know. Pass..not sure
 More of the cliff's gone; there's less of Happisburgh left. There's caravans gone over the edge
 Houses used to be on the car park so they've all gone
 I remember them there as a kid and they're not there now...honestly doesn't bother me
 Big pointless boulders...a few weeks later they're under the sand
 I just assume they're not doing anything
 We need to do something a bit more than just put rocks in the sea
 We rent here so if the sea comes to my house I'm out
 It's not my house, I'm not going to lose it, I'm not bothered
 If there is [an emergency procedure] I'm not aware of it
 I would just get in my car and drive I suppose that's my escape plan
 People are aware
 Sort of begs the question if so many people are aware of it why hasn't anything been done
 Everyone's aware of Happisburgh...all the neighbouring villages know about Happisburgh
 No-one seems to be doing anything...a poor for effort really zero for effort
 I'd be game I'd say my bit. I'd go meetings or whatever and say my two cents. I'd turn up...I'd have a go

Suzanne

I was only born one mile away I have lived here all my life
 We have a lot of nice things in Happisburgh
 A nice public house, a shop..quite a few little cafes and restaurants. We have birds of prey
 There are quite nice things going on. We don't get involved much because we work so. We do go out for meals
 I was born here so yeah [feel connected]
 We run the bird of prey barn...we do it as a living
 Own outright! Yes, yes [suits my needs], No, no! [would not move]
 Parents in the next village
 Very low income
 I like all the village..i like all of the village...i like all of the village
 It's what I know where I was born...I don't know anything different
 It's pretty it's a nice little village. Walks..we have lovely walks
 I think the church is [important]...we've got relatives there
 Yeah coastal erosion..yeah big big concerns the land is going rapidly now
 The beach has changed is terrible now. You can't get there now. It's spoilt
 That coastal bit down beach road that's bothering everyone yeah or bothering me anyway
 The house prices have obviously had to drop
 I doubt very much people buy as easily as they would have done
 They think twice before buying in Happisburgh now
 We don't seem affected here...my neighbour sold his just last year and for a good price
 We're getting strange weather really. We have longer winters. Harsher winters
 The beach..access to the beach. We had a lovely ramp which is gone and that's all gone now
 The steps were put up they've been lost
 They've put us a sand ramp in which keeps getting washed away. As you get older you want a proper ramp
 Stopped a lot of people using the beach ..lots of people
 We're losing chunks of it [the cliff] quite a lot can go just over night
 I think a lot of this village will be lost a lot of it will be lost
 I do see this little chunk being lost totally
 I have lived here all my life which is 54 years...my father was a farmer
 When I was a little girl they always said...they always said that Happisburgh would form a bay
 The old land owners and the old fishermen and everyone who knows this area
 In 50 years' time you'll find a bay forming. That is exactly what is happening
 I think the old people in the village knew so much more then...they knew the land
 There's been lots of land lost since I was little
 I don't think there's hardly nothing in place just a few rocks ... it's going to be just let it happen
 Everyone says Happisburgh will be lost if nothing is done. Nope [no communication]
 We went to the meetings...when we were trying to get defences because at one time we were going to try to get
 defences...they were hoping the council would put it in
 That's definitely a no no now not going to do anything
 A lot worse since the rocks have been put in at Sea Palling
 No I do not think they [the Happisburgh Boulders] are doing anything at all
 An awful mess very untidy it's spoilt the area
 Hasn't done a great deal as yet has it so ..I don't think so
 I don't really know much about the future no I think it's all in the hands of the gods really
 [Emergency procedures?] Haven't got a clue I really haven't got a clue
 I have never heard of anything in place there must be I suppose
 I haven't got a clue I'll get in my car and go...no I really don't know
 We were all more worried when we were trying to get the defences

People now have come to understand it's not going to happen. We all feel a bit let down
 You just worry don't you..you work all your life to achieve something which you want to be worth something and
 it's taken away for no reason of your own
 When we bought these we had defences. There was a perfect defence system in
 We actually bought a property on a defended coastline
 We're actually let down yeah. We've been in the papers. We've been on the tele. We've been everywhere
 We were splashed all over the papers but that's probably harmed our house prices
 No not yet we are too far away [to take action]. Too far away to worry at the moment

Carmen

[Lived here] all my life 20 years
 Family have been in the area for a long time
 Family's been in farming for 4 no 3 generations
 My brother probably will [take over]
 I still have connection to it I have worked on it since I was 13
 Now marine biology so marine as well
 The beach I love the beach
 That's one of the best bits for me ...how quiet the beach is most of the time
 It's like ideal for sports like surfing and kite surfing
 I went to school here and I thought that was good ...and the pub yeah
 I'm quite active and I enjoy water sports especially
 It's just a perfect beach for it
 Not this end of Happisburgh but towards the other end where the Happisburgh bay is
 Oh yeah definitely [the pub]...it's just a central place where everyone meets
 That's another great thing about the village .. everyone's here it's full of friendly locals
 As you're growing up I think the transport is pretty terrible
 I had to cycle everywhere ..that's a bit difficult
 There aren't that many young people around
 There are a few but I think most people tend to go where there's more public transport
 Growing up well there were only about 10 or so people...
 I enjoyed it but yeah it could have been better
 Probably [go to Norwich] once a month at least
 [It's easy to get to] for me because I drive yeah but public transport wise no
 I go on my motorbike all round the coast
 I do er sports like kayaking surfing on the beach
 Also down the coast a bit in Sea Palling and Hunstanton a bit further
 I go out in Norwich sometimes
 Yeah definitely [feel connected] ...I've been here for so long and grown up here
 Our family home our farm house is important
 It's nice to know that it's not just my home but my family home as well
 There's a lot of history there
 I'm on the lifeboat that's a part of the community
 I get a lot out of it and I have fun out on the boat...I learn a lot
 Saving lives that's the main reason why we do it
 We train twice a week and it also means we meet a lot of new people
 It's like up the other end of the village now but most of the community support it
 We live in the house my dad's built...just before I was born like 20 year ago
 I like it because it's special because dad's built it and it's only ever our family that's lived in it
 I remember him saying it cost a lot less than buying a house
 We already had the land on the farm

We already had a prefab there so we just had to make it into a house
 It's nice and quiet and out of the way
 Most things are where I want them like the beach is 2 minutes walk down the road
 [I wouldn't move] by choice no but I probably will have to..
 I would probably want to move into the village
 But there's no point buying a house ..
 You wouldn't be able to sell it on to anyone because of the erosion
 So if I did move out I'd have to move further away like to North Walsham or something
 It's just the risk of losing all the money you put into the house
 So unsure about what's going to happen
 None of the farm is actually on the cliff edge there's some that is a field away
 Most of its behind the sea wall
 We haven't lost any but I don't know in 20-30 years time we might start to lose
 Not [a concern] at the moment I haven't really thought about it
 At the moment everyone around here wants to buy farmland so it's not too bad
 We'd rather buy land than get rid of it
 My mum lives in Sutton which isn't far away...every other day I see my mum
 I'm at university at Norwich UEA
 I work in the summer, this summer I am working here at the pub
 The beach Cart Gap to Happisburgh Bay that's quite important for walking
 The cliff top as well I like walking around there
 The cliff top with all the tracks and the foot paths. I go there most days
 The lighthouse is the only independently run lighthouse in the country
 Going out to sea it is quite reassuring to see the lighthouse and my home
 You can see it from like 7 miles off
 I'm planning on moving away and moving back again in maybe 10 years
 I'd love to settle down here and have a family here
 I don't know if that will be possible because of the erosion
 As I say about not being sure about buying a house
 I had a really great childhood [here] being out and about
 You hear about the storm surges and stuff but I've never experienced anything
 [The beach is] constantly changing I know the sand level goes up and down quite a lot
 Where I am the groynes get exposed and stuff
 You've either got a big clear beach or you've got a load of rubbish
 Down this end if i walk up here it's changed a lot ...
 It was just groynes and then they tried some other things
 It ended up with just a load of rubbish and metal
 It was quite dangerous...you couldn't swim there
 I still think you can't but they've done a cleanup thing to get rid of it all
 It's still pretty bad ... you see it underwater it's all scaffolding sticking up and stuff
 I've had to move down there a bit past the bay where it's more safe
 A lot of it has gone..our lifeboat station used to be up on this cliff...the ramp got washed away
 It had to move down to Cart Gap which is like out of the village
 The caravan site is a lot smaller. We have a lifeboat day on the field there
 I reckon it's half the size of what I remember it to be when I was younger
 That's from my memory...there used to be a football field on it which was even further
 [Feel] a bit annoyed because it's like my history and stuff just getting washed away
 It's making it more difficult to fund raise on the field if there's no field
 [Climate change] I don't know personally I don't notice a difference every year
 I know it is changing um its quite I don't know myself. I don't really have an opinion

I reckon yeah it is changing but it's gonna change no matter what
 Walking along the beach is more dangerous now because you can't access it up this end
 You can get caught out by the water
 When we lost the ramp the lifeboat had to move...people couldn't walk down it
 Then we got a metal staircase but it meant that a lot of dogs wouldn't use it
 Now we've got the mud ramp
 It's good but at certain times when there's been a lot of rainfall ... it's not very nice to walk on
 I often actually go down to cart Gap now because it's safer
 The bad thing is we've moved out of the village so not many people see it now
 Not many people come down to watch it
 You're not in the middle of the community
 It's also good because it meant we could expand the foot print we're on
 We've got two boats now and a bigger shed. We've also got a much wider and a lot safer ramp
 We've got a bigger tractor as well now
 I know there was another one off here Haisbro a long time ago
 I do think about it quite a lot
 Every day I go down there...every day you see more cliff has gone
 I think God if it's going at this rate it won't be long before it's at our house
 A lot of people talk about it around here
 For my house probably a good 50 years before we'll be affected
 A lifetime I reckon ..
 I reckon i'll be alright but as I say if I come back here to raise a family i don't know
 If you've got wind building up over the sea and you've also got high tide...that'll bring storm surges Then you've
 also got the rainfall on the cliff. You get mudslides and stuff down the cliff. I learnt it at school
 [Sea Level Rise] would probably mean that there'll be more erosion and a bit more cliff'll go
 I've heard that if it gets so far beyond where the lighthouse
 Beyond that is much lower ground...it could flood a long way in like up to the Broads
 I think it is [occurring] ..it's on the news all the time
 If it's rising it's constantly going to be a bit higher and higher tides and stuff
 There have been especially this year some big storms
 You go down after and there's a couple of metres gone
 I've had friends and stuff had to move caravans
 It's a bit dangerous as well walking along the cliff top sometimes after a storm
 You go on the beach and look up and there's a lot of overhang
 That's dangerous and you see some people standing on it
 When I take my dog for a walk I don't let him off the lead
 There have been dogs ... sitting on the edge and the cliff goes from underneath them
 If it's high tide they are cut off
 I think it's like no active intervention ...
 It used to be they were going to move them back but now they are not going to do anything
 Because of the other effects it might have
 Cause they reckon if you change one bit then it will change elsewhere
 Like at Sea Palling they've put the reefs in and that's probably taken more sand from here
 I feel a bit like they've just ... they don't want to protect us in case it effects elsewhere
 It doesn't seem very fair
 I think the risk of actually putting reefs off here or a wall or whatever would be actually worth it
 It's a lot of money but there's a lot they're going to lose if they don't
 Not just this village ... as I say once it gets so far it's just going to flood the Broads with salt water Which is going to
 have a massive effect I think
 If they don't stop now then when are they going to stop, where will the erosion stop?

I do think a lot about the long term especially as at Sea Palling
 They are defended a lot there they have the reefs and a sea wall
 If they carried on either of those down here then long term it would be secure
 A lot I just hear on the news
 People in here [are] trying all different projects
 Most of them are charities trying to get money to give us
 All sorts of petitions and stuff being signed but...
 I think we should be informed especially because the homes and stuff
 I know we get warning if we are going to get if there's likely to be a flood
 I don't know where I heard it .. there are flood gates at stuff further up that way but not here
 [Emergency procedures?] I don't know we'd probably get called out on the lifeboat
 But I don't know what the procedure would be
 Just general talk really ...I haven't had any [communication]
 Less people come up so there's less tourism
 If it's more dangerous down there then they're less likely to go down there to have fun
 If there's less tourism ...this pub is quite often busy most of the time in the summer full of tourists
 If they didn't make the money off of that then they might not be able to be open
 The village wouldn't really be the same you wouldn't have any place to meet people. It would be different
 I think a lot of people are aware that quite a lot of village pubs are closing
 Erosion and stuff as well
 I suppose they say if you don't like it don't live here but yeah...
 Personally i don't know what effect I could have
 I would want to but I don't feel i'd make much of a difference if I did
 I don't know what I'd do for a start who I'd go to or what i'd do to actually make a difference.

Elizabeth

Came here for the lighthouse, just loved it.
 Loved the beach. Chose Happisburgh.....friendly people, such amazing heritage,
 Like the fact there are no street lights - bought a telescope since coming here because of the stars.
 Like everything, everything about the village. *It couldn't be more perfect*
 The pub, lighthouse and church are important
 Very important ... have many friends.
The pub the pub the pub. The pub is really important. the social hub of the village...
 Be awful if that went - the people of the village would not let it
 Feel very connected to the village - have many great friends and are very involved.
 We enjoy it here.
 Sad about the state of the beach, a danger to children swimming
 Could go for a swim and have your leg cut off from the metal.
 If I had young children here I would not let them down there. That's sad.
 The sea fills up that pool there caused by the rocks and you get cut off, there is no way up the cliff until Walcott
 and you cannot swim because of all the metal, concrete and wood there.
 Would be devastated if the lighthouse went because it is an icon of the village ...it is still in use, important for small
 fishing boats and the ferry that goes across ... they do not have all the fancy gps systems.
 We meet people at the lighthouse; people come to the village to see it.
 Renovated our home... it was in a state of disrepair - a lot invested, got it exactly how we like it.
 Would never move we like it here. Community would not be the same elsewhere.
 Told when we bought it on the survey that we had 100-125 years, sonot in our lifetime
 But then that was before it went at a rate of knots recently
 The heritage is important....protected either side with sea walls,

Not the most important heritage bit in the middle.
 The expense of the ramp and the rocks is ridiculous
 NNDC having to redo the ramp every week during the winter.
 Pulling down the cliff to do so and making it worse.
 80,000 pound toilets - should have spent the money on the defences.
 When we bought the family were concerned about us living here but now they can't wait to come back
 It's contagious
 Many close friends
 Everything is important.....the school is really excellent and historic again run by the church - people come from
 miles around to bring their children to this school.
 Loss of 10ft in a matter of weeks at the caravan park....not in bits but all in one go - big chunks.
 Do not like the speed of traffic along the road and through the village now the car park is there - people come to
 look at the erosion...coach loads of students... it's now on the curriculum!
 Coaches are not allowed there as it is unsuitable ... however they do as they please.
 Full up every weekend and during the high season it's packed
 Why can't they spend the money from that on defences???
 The cliff is gone its going - can't stop it
 Removal of the house and ramp debris.....taken along with wood from the revetments to protect Cromer ...well
 that's the story
 The erosion is a concern but we've got 100-125 years here
 We told the children about this house potentially going in the sea and them losing their inheritance ... they were
 ok with that so it's not a concern not in our lifetime.
 Used to be able to go down the stairs but am not bothered about that as I did not like the stairs anyway.
 Very aware of villages lost along the coast - a constant topic of conversation in the village
 Used to be able to see Eccles spire out at sea not any more as it's being washed away..
 It's interesting to know the history, but its history isn't it,
 As to here going it doesn't bother us, we won't be here.
 A guy on lighthouse lane has this theory that the sea will break through further round and flood lighthouse lane
 towards Eccles and the Broads before Happisburgh
 We'll still be here, that's the theory
 The cliff is eroded by the rain and wind - ... north east winds for months now ...the waves in and out working away
 at the bottom ... the soft cliff from the rain just collapses ...you get overhangs -
 It's always talked about in the village people say don't get too close to the edge
 Not impressed if the lighthouse goes
 Sea level rise... Just an inch or so not making a difference - its nature ...the way it goes
 It's more they protect one place and it gets worse elsewhere
 Climate change is happening we do what we can...solar power,
 Reduce what we use - it's all to do with the ozone
 What strategy? There is nothing, nothing, no defence strategy - the government has been clever and made it local
 council responsibility to pay for the defences - they cannot afford it...
 Told nothing, houses up that end (other end of beach road) have 25 years,
 Then 50 years there and 100 or so here
 Predictions of sea level rise and storms etc cannot be made - they cannot know
 The supposed melting of the arctic
 There is a letter from the council but there is nothing about the coastal erosion, nothing - like they are hiding from
 it, noticeably absent - unless they are missing us out.
 No emergency procedure here! ... Flood gates and procedures at Walcott and Eccles... Not here no not here, they
 have since taken their sirens away so they do not get informed anyway.
 Involved in the RNLI - very important for the village
 No emergency procedure for Happisburgh as far as we are aware.

Very safe here ...it's safe here; you can go out at 11 at night and be perfectly safe. You would only go to the lit parts in town but here it's fine.

Lots of national awareness, international awareness we get our friends ringing up and asking us if we are still here....they say we've seen a lot about Happisburgh and a place called beach road, Where is it that you live...BEACH ROAD!? There is awareness but nothing is done.
Not sure if we would take action, what could be done?

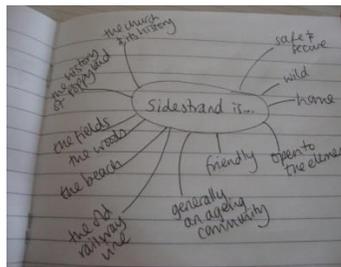
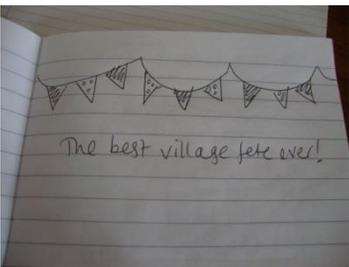
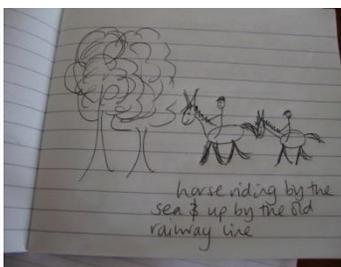
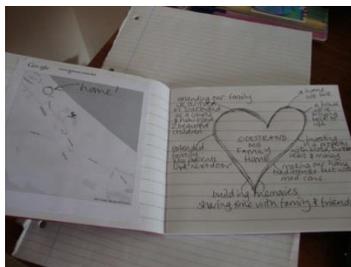
Notebook examples

Sidestrand

Caroline

Sidestrand my family home:

- Extending our family we arrived in Sidestrand as a couple & now have 2 beautiful children.
- Extended family - my parents live next door
- Building memories, sharing time with family & friends
- Making our home, traditional but with mod cons
- Investing in a property with blood, sweat, tears & money
- a house we're bringing back to life
- a home we love

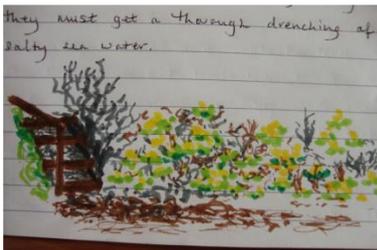


Silvia

Firstly I'd like to say that I feel very privileged to live where I do. I love our brick & flint house but more importantly I love the wonderful environment I live in. I remember saying when I was newlywed that I would be happy to live anywhere as long as when I looked out of the windows I liked what I saw. I never anticipated that I would be so lucky as I am today - having a stunning vista that is hard to beat.



This is the view from our kitchen window. It shows our garden (this part is improving as work is still going on), the ponies in their paddock and then of course the constantly changing sea and sky. At a more intimate level, if the weather is not too inclement, the view that captivates me is a tiny wren rifling through the moss on the garden wall looking for breakfast. One of my favourite places at this time of year is at the bottom of the steps that go down the cliff to the beach. At the base of the cliff are a mass of primroses. they must be an especially hardy strain as at high tide during stormy weather they must get a thorough drenching of salty seawater.



Although quite inhospitable at times during the winter, in early summer my favourite place must be our meadow that on its northern edge is the cliffs. Not only are there fabulous views of the coast towards Trimmingham but also the flora of the meadow is at its zenith. In early Spring the grass is no longer grazed by our ponies so it is left to grow for hay or silage. Soon the meadow is transformed by wild flowers - buttercups, cow parsley, southern marsh, orchids, birds foot trefoil, oxeye daisies, coltsfoot, bee orchids etc.

I remember a sight that has sadly been lost. Just along our lane was a cliff face that gently sloped down to the beach. This slumped a couple of years ago and is now a muddy mess. Previously in the summertime the cliff face had a rosy glow due to masses and masses of southern marsh orchids. Hopefully in time they will re-establish themselves. Living near the coast in parts of Norfolk is always tinged with sadness.

The potential loss of the things we love - the natural environment, the buildings, is more acutely felt because that loss is perhaps more imminent than most other localities. Although we hope this doesn't happen in our lifetimes, I'm sure many residents of Sidestrand wish that future generations could still be able to enjoy and love what we do today.

Some possible solutions: -

- To minimise the effect of erosion the revetments need to be repaired and if necessary replaced. Funding by central or local government. Parts of the beach in Sidestrand have no revetments. This should be addressed.
- To help alleviate the risk of slumping caused by the build-up of land water in the cliffs, bore holes could be sunk - possible means of funding could be local cooperatives.

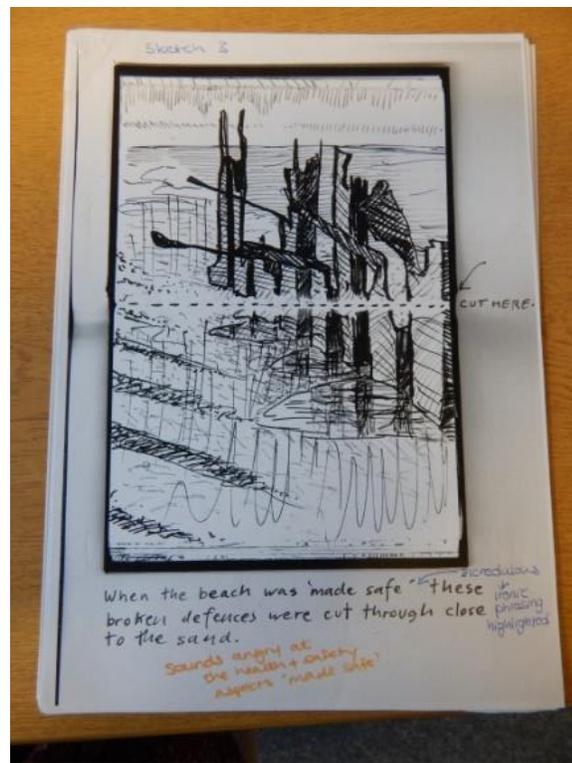
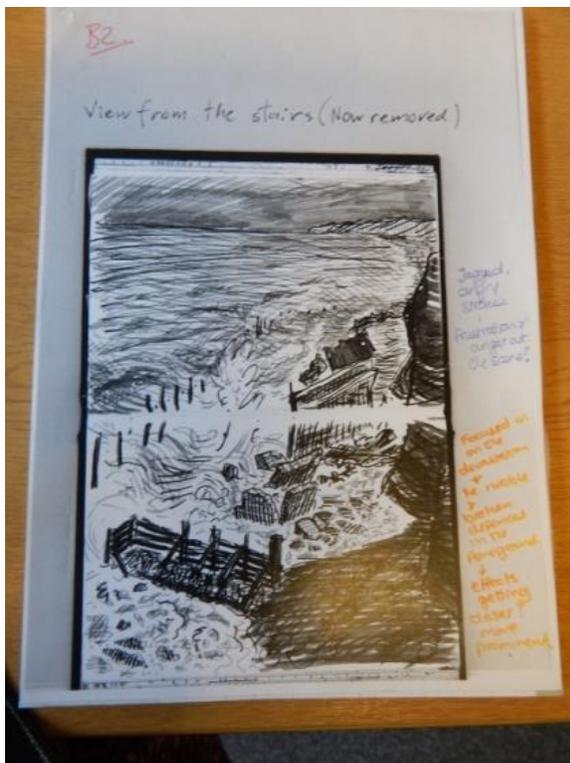
Carol & Richard

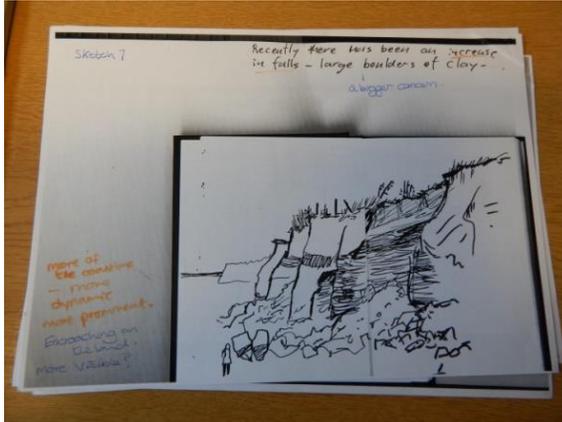
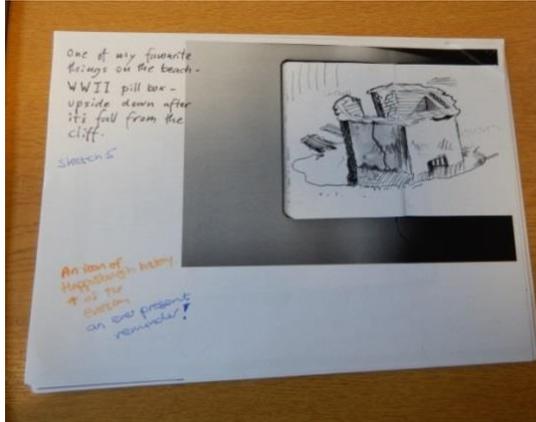
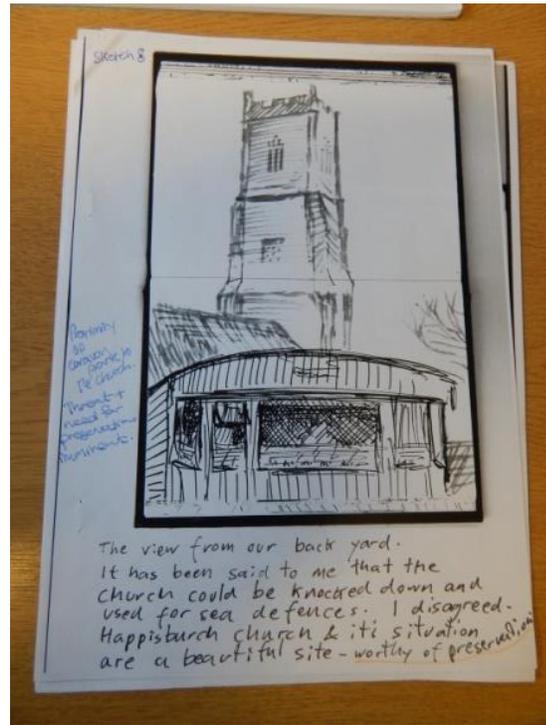
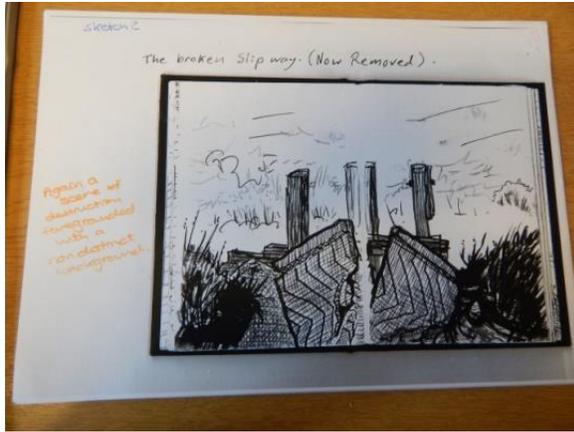
Our house and all that means. We chose the house because of its light and views of land and sea. We have enjoyed our time here. It is filled with memories of life together. It is a beautiful area. A constantly changing vista with both seasons and crops. The church is a small, well-loved warm hearted place, seen every time we leave or return home. The village will inevitably die it has already lost houses and people will follow. The community is already in its final stages. there is little to attract new blood or activities to the area. Storm surges are accelerating the removal of spoil from above the high water mark. Accelerated erosion and landslides are already affecting the farmers land reducing the viability of the and increasing risks to the workers. All depressing facts highlighting the concerns of residents. My body is crumbling as fast as the land and I want to remain to my end. Relationships with the sea are strong. It is beautiful to watch and listen to, very calming. Lost villages - this reminds me of a village in the lake district which was flooded by/ for a new reservoir. At least that was for the future and the villagers moved on mass. Other lost villages in Norfolk were because of the Black Death, others moved by rich landowners.

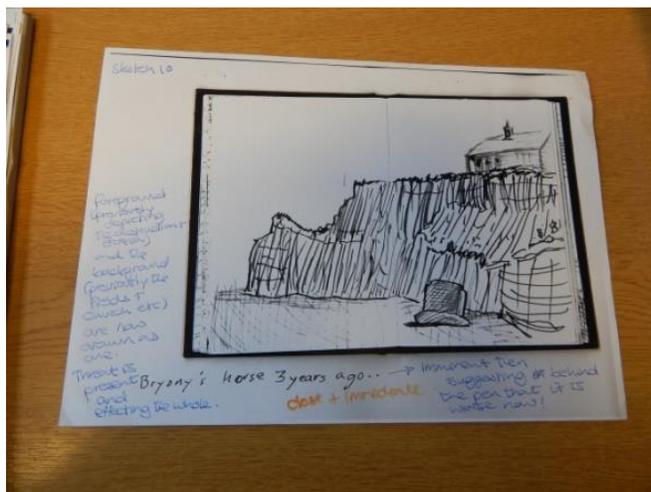
I can only assume Sidstrand is viewed as worthless both from a commercial and social point of view. Discarded. I'm not sure of the thought behind this. The village is not divided by class or age as most people are 50+ and generally nearer 80. If I was well I would fight for my information, look to see if there are any ways to slow the outcome and save the environs and therefore the community.

Happisburgh

Adam







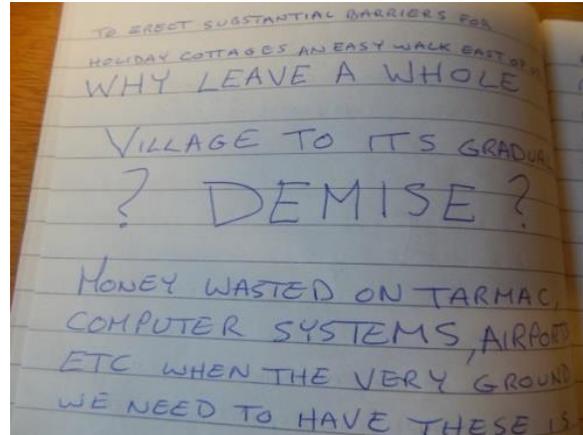
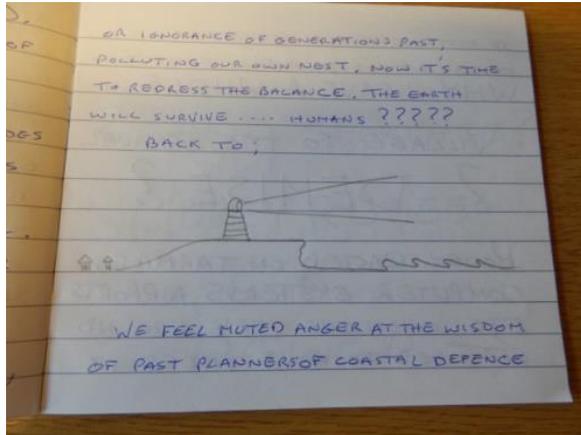
Sean & Stephanie

V. new to the area. Love it. Every day we make new discoveries only to love it more. The beach being the main stay to which we daily gravitate. Living here now, we already have a duality of emotion towards the sea.....

Beautiful – Awesome, Tranquil – Cruel, Uplifting – Fearful, Placid - Troubled

Just can't believe the complacency of bureaucracy when confronted with loss of land (on a small island), loss of History, (lighthouse) & loss of many individual homes & livelihoods. Gradual disintegration of a village & its vitality.

The biography & vicissitudes of community.....all left to the vagaries of nature, which as human history consistently proves, we seek to control. Maybe this recognition of the power we are witnessing of mother earth proving she will not suffer abuse of her magnificence. The arrogance, or ignorance of generations past, polluting our own nest. Now it's time to redress the balance. The Earth will survive.....Humans?????



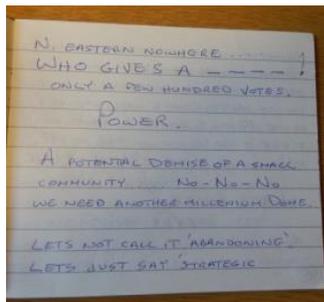
We feel muted anger at the wisdom of past planners of coastal defence. To erect substantial barriers for holiday cottages an easy walk east of us.

WHY LEAVE A WHOLE VILLAGE TO ITS GRADUAL ?DEMISE?

Money wasted on tarmac , computer systems, airports etc. when the very ground we need to have these is being eroded away. The island reduced - population rising - housing shortage -



? LAND SHORTAGE? MONEY RULES O.K.? POWER ->
 Certainly NOT of the people. We are expendable. We matter NOT.
 Come general election highway budgets rise. Spending increases across the popular board. Coastal defence for a tiny, insignificant N. Eastern nowhere.....
 WHO GIVES A - - - - - ! Only a few hundred votes. POWER
 A potential demise of a small community.....NO - NO - NO. We need another Millennium Dome.

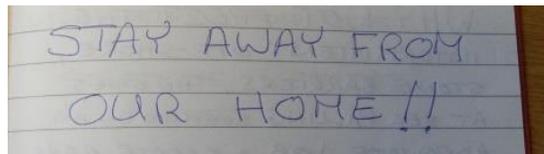
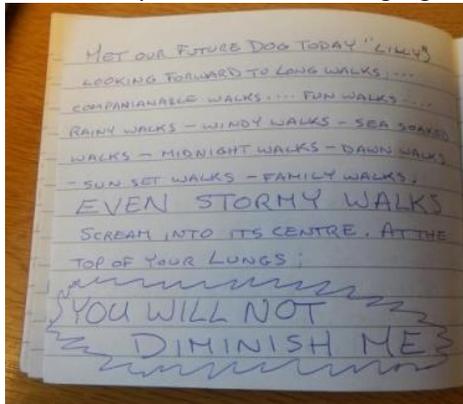


LET'S NOT CALL IT ' ABANDONING'. LET'S JUST SAY 'STRATEGIC RETREAT'.
 Then we needn't actually do anything. Anyway , the mayor & councillors need more money, better cars, new offices, more fringe benefits. MORE - MORE - MORE.....ME - ME - ME -MINE - MINE - MINE.
 MUTED ANGER? MAYBE NOT..

Consideration:-Possibly the awareness of Happisburgh's vulnerability reminds us of our own transitory impermanence. Makes us appreciate the now of our existence. Love is very integrated with NOW. Spontaneity - emotion before thought. Instinct before reason & logic. We are, after all, animals. wild under the surface (muted anger) YET.....YET..... we are sentient beings. aware of the suffering of those other sentient beings because of our own trials & tribulations. With sentience, comes empathy, with empathy comes LOVE.

LIVING ON THE EDGE: DO WE NEED REASON & LOGIC OR IS IT LOVE WE ALL YEARN FOR.

THE LATTER, IN MY OPINION IS SANE. OTHERS MAY DIFFER. We love living here because it is ephemeral. Our logic & reason behind us of the financial risk & social upset. YET....YET we could lose this mortal coil tomorrow & all, with logic, the worry is for nothing. Worry & fear kill the now. Kill the emotions. Kill love. TO LOSE THIS? we are all stronger than we think. Take what 's here now, love it. Try not to predict. Fight to keep it, if it is within your psychology. When your back's against the wall, it's surprising to witness self-preservation. We are animals! To lose it would be devastating BUT..... here comes Nietche, "what does not destroy us, makes us stronger", and he's so RIGHT. It seems the worse the experience the stronger the lesson. Maybe the happy experience is more subtle!? It evokes the seeds of optimism. Life goes through its storm surges. Just a bigger change. They pass & life goes on. NOT comforting when in them & adjusting takes time. The past (in having experienced it) is always more palatable & comfortable than the future. We lament the passing & are unsure of what's to come. It matters NOT. 'Che Sera, Sera'. What will be will be. Fight if it's important, fight for your rights. Fight for your LOVE. Don't fear it. The future is the undiscovered country. Met our future dog today 'Lilli' Looking forward to long walks.....companionable walks.....fun walks.....rainy walks - windy walks - sea soaked walks - midnight walks - dawn walks - sun set walks - family walks. EVEN STORMY WALKS. Scream into its centre. At the top of your lungs: YOU WILL NOT DIMINISH ME. Probably in more colourful language:-STAY AWAY FROM OUR HOME!!



Love from X Two ageing HIPPIES X AND LILLY

P.S.WHY NOT ERECT THE INTERMITTENT, OFF SHORE STONE BARRIERS. The one's at sea palling seem to do an adequate job & create bays of a pleasing aspect. Although it wouldn't be our Happisburgh beach but a compromise. IS THAT TOO SIMPLISTIC? Surely not too expensive.....Well worthy of the title "STRATEGIC RETREAT"

Elizabeth

we have only lived in Happisburgh for just under 3 year. But during this time have found a strong community feeling with people truly passionate about this small village for the following reasons.

- A beautiful 16th century church which we attend, also have become a bell ringer. The ringers ring for every Sunday service and practice one a week on Wednesday evening.
- The church rooms provide social events which including Monday mardle - a lunchtime meal every 1st Monday on the month for people to meet and chat. There is no charge but donations go towards the up keep of the rooms. Other events include art classes, coffee mornings, binggo evenings and themed dinners.
- A pub with historical background. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle wrote one of his Sherlock Holmes books there and is also another focal point for the village.

- 17th century lighthouse which is still working thanks to the volunteers (FRIENDS OF HAPPISBURGH LIGHTHOUSE) who arrange open days to fund the upkeep, we also help with this.
- Majority of the RNLI crew live in the village.
- A very good primary school.
- A small post office and food store.
- A community centre with football and cricket ground and bowling green.
- A beautiful thatched butterfly mansion house originally owned by the Queen mother's family.

With all this history in one small village it would seem shameful if nothing is done to try and save it from the coastal erosion. Council have protected both Walcott and Sea Palling which is either side of Happisburgh. Even though these two villages do not have nearly as much history. The relocation of the replacement houses and planned caravan site is on farm land. Also the erosion will destroy the farm land. and we all know about the Starving World and the cost of food will rise. A lot of the erosion is caused by the latest heavy rain and high wind combination. Plus high tides. Possible the income from the tourism to the area, some could be put aside by the council for Sea Defence, through the rate system. Also look at the dredging that goes on off our coast line to prevent or receive some of the monies from it.

Mary

1. The shop is obviously important, not the least because it provides my wife's pension. (Mine goes straight into the bank for routine payments.

2. The lighthouse very close is one of the reasons we find the village attractive.

I cannot 'reflect' on these items if they weren't here we're just

1- Have to find another way

2- Miss it!

The same applies to your item 4 [see instructions]. At our advanced ages there is little we can do - if things happen, they happen. We will try to offer financial support but we just don't let these things worry us.

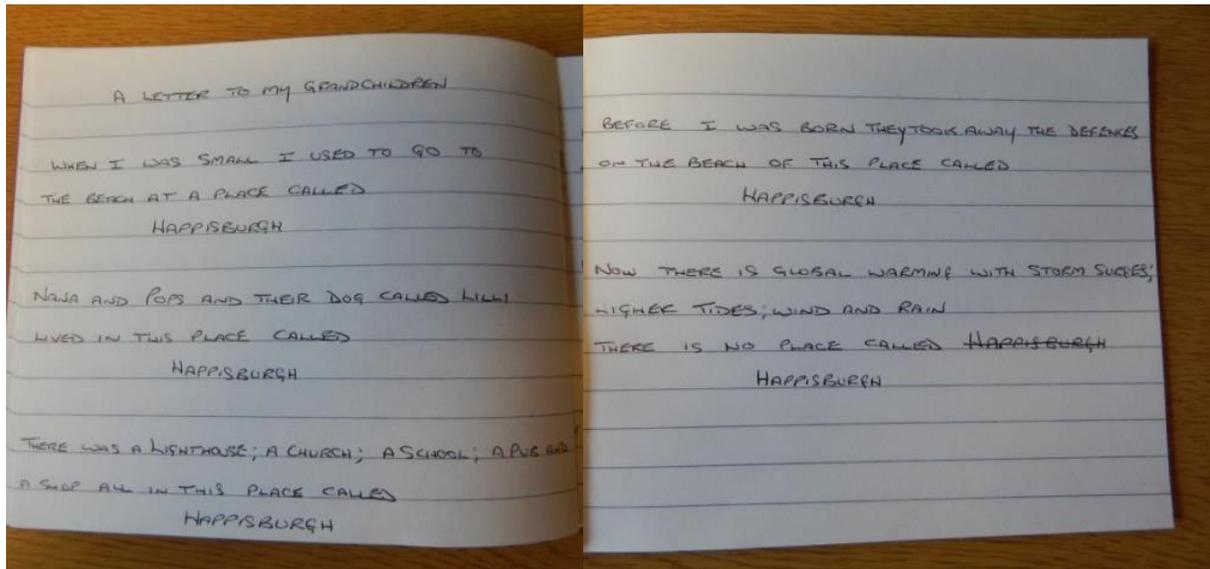
I can't think I could contribute anything to a focus group and will not attend on 2nd July.

Carter & Charlotte

The church, the school, the lighthouse, and the people, these are all very important to us and our life in Happisburgh. These would not be enough however if the sea was not also part of it. The proximity of the sea was what brought us to Happisburgh in the first place and when we saw the village we knew it was where we wanted to be. It is a quintessential English village, with a church a shop & a pub that just happens to have the sea on its doorstep. It also has the same problems of many rural villages, an aging population, a lack of affordable housing, with a lot of houses in the village being sold as second homes or let as holiday cottages. Few children live in the village though we do still have our school with children brought in from surrounding villages. One of the great joys is to sit in our garden and hear the children at playtime. We are lucky to be surrounded by farmland though sadly none of the farms are organic. we have 2 small granddaughters who, hopefully will grow to love Happisburgh, it's beach and the sea as much as we do. The elder child already knows when she is coming near Happisburgh from the water tower, the church and the lighthouse. She loves to be on the beach and will stay there for hours. This is what we wanted for her & her sister as this is the way her daddy and his brother were brought up.

Sadly the government has now decided on a policy of managed retreat which means that Happisburgh is under constant threat from the sea. Global warming is going to increase the weight of the sea and storm surges are probably going to be more frequent. Our home may not be lost during our lifetime but Happisburgh may not be here for our great grandchildren to enjoy. Happisburgh had sea defences and many in the community have had their homes since those defences were in place. For them to have their homes put at risk with house insurance unavailable is not fair. There are families who still live in this community whose forbears have lived and died in the village for generations. The church (as happened in Eccles) could be lost to the sea within 50 years. There was a church on the site in Doomsday so generations have been buried at this location. All will be lost. Sea walls have

been built to Walcott and up to Cart Gap leaving approx. 2 miles of coast unprotected. This is Happisburgh. Anyone who knows anything about the sea will understand how vulnerable this makes Happisburgh.

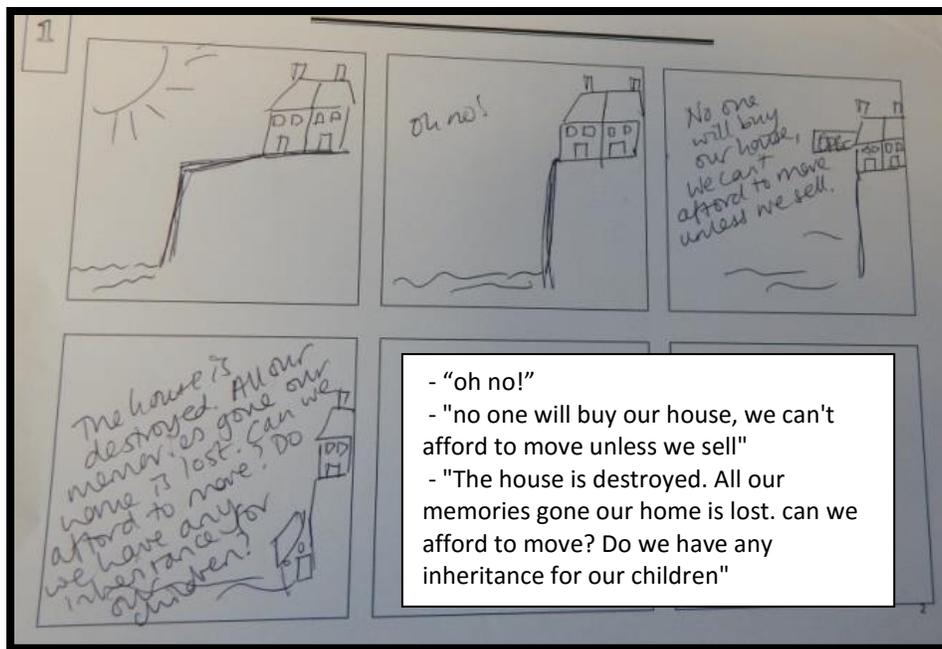


Focus group examplesSidestrand**Caroline****Activity 1:**

Scenario 1: (Farmer losing his land): "You have to accept when you live near the coast that nature is a strong force & could affect your livelihood i.e. wash away your fields but compensation should be offered to the farmer by government agencies".

Scenario 2: (Coast road being moved): "People would adapt & find a new way to get to & from their usual destinations"

Scenario 3: (Whitby graveyard erosion): "It's sad when properties are lost to erosion, however for me it would really only be upsetting if it was watching my own house/ my parents fall into the sea"

Activity 2:**Why have you chosen this concern?**

"It's my greatest personal concern. We moved to Sidestrand knowing & accepting the risks of living very near the sea, but it's still a worry that we could lose the home we love & end up homeless (and penniless!) which affects possibly 3 generations".

Please explain what is happening in your script.

"The land between our houses & the sea gets washed away, leaving our houses unsalable & eventually being washed away & lost to the sea too".

2: "see written notes overleaf"

Why have you chosen this concern?

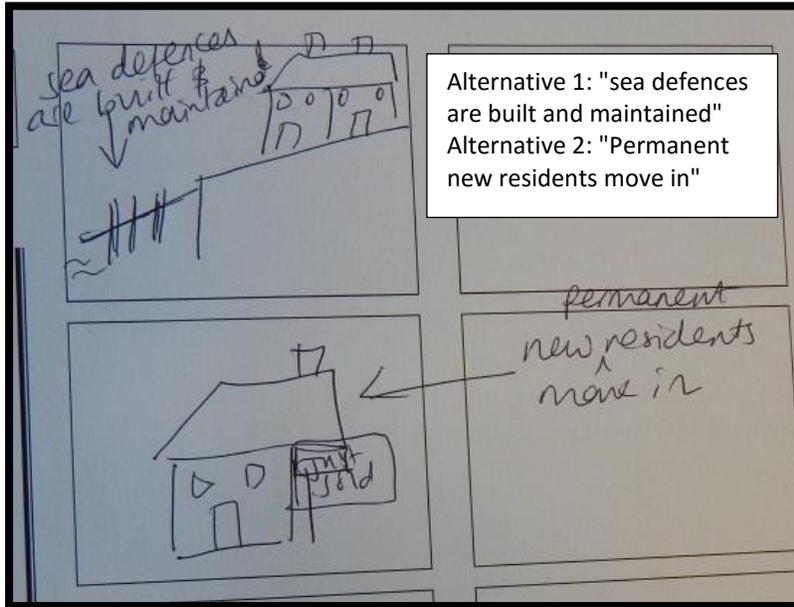
"It would be sad if the village became one of empty/semi-lived in properties"

Please explain what is happening in your script.

"If the land is eroded & the current residents move out/ pass away & no new residents move in permanently, we'd become a village of holiday lets and/ or empty properties. This would be sad."

3: (not provided)

Activity 3:



Activity 4: Some concluding questions

1: How would you assess your current situation?

"Very fortunate to live in beautiful house next to our family. It's perfect!"

2: What future changes could help you?

"Maintenance of sea defences, support from natural England to prevent spreading room on our field, new permanent residents moving into village".

3: What issues are major barriers to change? "Government decisions, residents permission".

Silvia

Activity 1:

Scenario 1: (farmer losing his land): "If the government is not prepared to spend money protecting his land then they must be prepared to offer financial compensation"

Scenario 2: (coast road being moved)

"Not so sympathetic. I do think that roads etc. should be maintained so streets do not become ghettos"

Scenario 3: (Whitby graveyard erosion): "I don't find the abbey particularly pleasing aesthetically but then I haven't lived in the area and grown to love it. The problems associated with the skeletons falling into gardens seems relatively trivial. Pick them up and bury them"

Activity 2:



"Prognosis by NNDC when we bought property said this would be the likely scenario".

"Loss of land & ultimately property that is dear to us. erosion & slumping are the culprits".

"will the church be moved again? Have we the will & the benefactors as in the 19th century?".

"very personal worries for those I love & for future generations"

"A rather pessimistic outlook for the local church. I don't believe there is the will or the way to repeat the rebuilding of the church".
 "annotation on drawings"

Activity 3:

1: "see notebook (end) 'possible solutions'" 2: "A rekindling of faith", "A greater willingness to give time & money"
 "To support local community& it's amenities", "I think that both the above are unlikely in Sidstrand".

Activity 4: Some concluding questions

1: How would you assess your current situation?

"Personally I'm very happy and my family is all around me and like it here very much. I bully the coastal engineer once a year and hopefully it seems like they're fixing the revetments. Love our holiday let. Concerned about coastal path. A real concern for our family."

2: What future changes could help you?

"get coastal access team to exempt us and repair revetments. Fund bore holes."

3: What issues are major barriers to change?

"They weigh up our concern vs. benefits to Joe Bloggs...money, money, money."

Happisburgh

Adam

Activity 1:

Scenario 1: (farmer losing his land): "Adjusting to loss - adapting to change acceptance of the state of flux"

Scenario 2: (coast road being moved): "Once the cliff is by the road the village would be drastically reduced - the impact of this would change the character of the village"

Scenario 3: (Whitby graveyard erosion): "The church is the jewel of the village - a beautiful building in a commanding position"

Activity 2:



Box 1: "Ilfracombe, Devon..."

Box 2: "Damien Hurst donated a statue to the town. Hey! can I open a cafe too."

Box 3: "It is generating controversy. This is not the sort of thing we want."

Box 4: "but also interest. Coming next on Devon news...Art in Ilfracombe"

Box 5: "Lifting the profile of the town. ILFRACOMBE TOWN OF CULTURE."

Box 6: "& attracting visitors. Which way is the art?"



- Box 1: "A project of making a sculpture..."
- Box 2: "that also defends the cliffs..."
- Box 3: "it would become famous"
- Box 4: "Might be seen from space"
- Box 5: "generate revenue"
- Box 6: "Be beautiful self sustaining and functional. GREAT PUBLIC ART."

Activity 3:



- Box 1: "What's this uncovered?"
- Box 2: "Some kind of metal box."
- Box 3: "It must have been in the cliffs for thousands of years"
- Box 4: "PRESS", Box 5: "K-ZAP"
- Box 6: "Dogger land restored! Footpath to Holland."

Activity 4: Some concluding questions

- 1: How would you assess your current situation?
"Privileged - sea views and close to the edge."
- 2: What future changes could help you?
"Find a cliff top site for the camp site"
- 3: What issues are major barriers to change?
"Apathy - financial"

Cameron

Activity 1:

Scenario 1: (farmer losing his land)

"1. Diversify. 2. Relocate - Help is compensation."

Scenario 2: (coast road being moved)

"1. Plan for infrastructure. 2. Hard defences. 3. central government should stop talking and instruct local action backed by grants and reward for work that helps economy".

Scenario 3: (Whitby graveyard erosion)

"1. Overcome by engineering. Infrastructure equals employment. Problems ignored - should be pro-active not reactive."

Activity 2:



Box 1: "Where is the caravan?",
Box 2: "Is the tide in? or is it just flooding."



Box 1: "It gives a whole new meaning to things going bump"

Activity 3: (not completed)

Activity 4: Some concluding questions

1: How would you assess your current situation?

"Desperate! Ignored!"

2: What future changes could help you?

"A commitment to take action and provide necessary financial support"

3: What issues are major barriers to change?

"Money! Political will! no votes = no money. Ignorance - General public"

Molly**Activity 1:**Scenario 1: (farmer losing his land)

"Stand on the beach and say back, what else can you do? - won't do any good. Those rocks are good, they're natural. Happsburgh woman turns back the sea, my word! Need someone famous to come stay."

Scenario 2: (coast road being moved)

"Oh I don't like that. They can't afford that. There would be no trade no business in the village at all. Don't, don't do it."

Scenario 3: (Whitby graveyard erosion)

"Church is on the firmest piece of land. Been told this, do not know it it's true. Can do sod all. It will fall over the edge. The people in it are dead. Historically minded as I am you can't conjure money to prop it up. You'd be doing it for the living not the dead. What good would it do to relocate my relatives."

Activity 2: notes written in the boxes

1:

Box 1: "Chosen to live here and I love it. Don't want to lose it."

Box 2: "I think my concerns are very selfish ones. I won't live long enough I'll be dead."

Box 3: "I want my daughter to live long and prosper. To enjoy the place she has chosen to love for a long time"

Why have you chosen this concern?

"personal (selfish) concern for my family. My daughters future"

2:

Box 1: "Concerned that people will stop trying to live here and make viable business"

Box 2: "Need a shop"

Box 3: "Where will I shop. I can get EDP and a jar of honey but....."

Box 4: "Need more shops"

Why have you chosen this concern?

"Concerned the village will die"

3:

Box 1: "Accepting your powerlessness to do anything"

Box 2: "You can change yourself"

Box 3: "You cannot change anyone else. You mustn't try."

Box 4: "It's only yourself you have the power to change"

Box 5: "Others will do what they want to"

Box 6: "Rely on others to bail us out"

Activity 3: (again notes written in the boxes)

1: "Business incentives. My daughter is bringing an awful lot of people - and money into the village. Advertising the village. Returning guests"

Please explain your endings: "Keeping the spending in the area"

2: "Renovate old buildings"

Activity 4: Some concluding questions

1: How would you assess your current situation?: "People should talk to each other, hello, good morning"

2: What future changes could help you?: "What we would like to happen.... got to be realistic. Oh dear.... it's all fantasy land. No more war but sea defences for Happsburgh"

3: What issues are major barriers to change?: "Money" "None of us expect it to happen. Pessimism/ realism very little difference between the two when you get down to it"

Carter & Charlotte [HC]**Activity 1:**

Scenario 1: (farmer losing his land): "The erosion of the land is a constant, for thousands of years the land has been disappearing, nothing can be done about it".

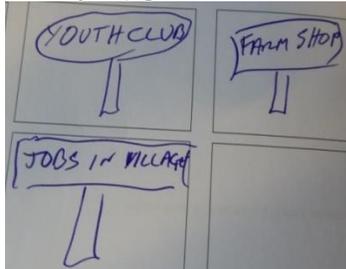
Scenario 2: (coast road being moved): "Not a problem yet!"

Scenario 3: (Whitby graveyard erosion): "It cannot be allowed to happen"

Activity 2: notes written in the boxes

Box 1: SAVE OUR LIGHTHOUSE, Box 2: CHURCH ON THE BEACH

"CHURCH AND LIGHTHOUSE ARE ICONIC SYMBOLS OF HAPPISBURGH AND NORFOLK, AT WHAT POINT WOULD THEY BE SAVED OR NOT!"

Activity 3: (again notes written in the boxes)**Activity 4: Some concluding questions**

1: How would you assess your current situation?

"DOING FINE, VILLAGE PEOPLE VERY FRIENDLY AND SUPPORTIVE"

2: What future changes could help you?

"GAS MAIN FROM BACTON"

3: What issues are major barriers to change?

"GOVERNMENT POLICY"

Sarah

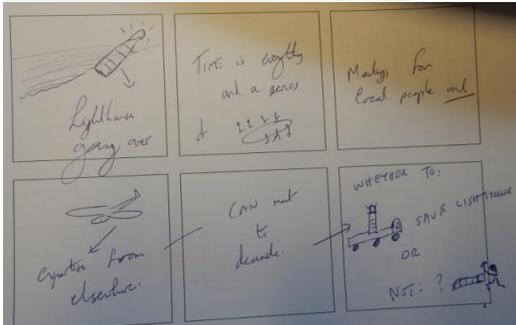
Activity 1:

Scenario 1: (farmer losing his land): "Council have recently offered compensation to those who lost their houses to the sea when insurance did not compensate. However, I'm not sure as a taxpayer that I believe thus us right what about personal liability and responsibility."

Scenario 2: (coast road being moved): "Timely INFORMATION for those affected to plan ahead. No use shutting a road until - Need a couple of years at least"

Scenario 3: (Whitby graveyard erosion): "Again - forward planning and time to remove them is key"

Activity 2: notes written in the boxes



Box 1: "Lighthouse going over",
 Box 2: "TIME is everything and a series of meetings"
 Box 3: "Meetings for local people and -",
 Box 4: "Expertise from elsewhere"
 Box 5: "CAN meet to decide -",
 Box 6: "WHETHER TO: SAVE LIGHTHOUSE OR NOT:?"

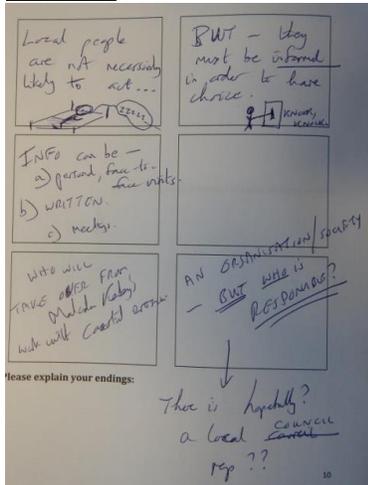
Why have you chosen this concern?

"The lighthouse is behind my house and a central feature of my environment. If it goes - I am not far behind it - so It's also a central concern".

Please explain what is happening in your script.

"A decision -making process will inform final conclusion. PROCESS TO START SOON!!"

Activity 3:



(alternative) Box 1: "Local people are not necessarily likely to act....."
 (alternative) Box 2: "BUT- they must be informed in order to have choice"
 (alternative) Box 3: "INFO can be - a) personal, face to face visits, b) written, c) meetings"
 (alternative) Box 4: "WHO WILL TAKE OVER FROM MALCOLM KERBY? WHO IS RESPONSIBLE? -> There is hopefully? a local COUNCIL rep??"

Activity 4: Some concluding questions

- 1: How would you assess your current situation?: "Under threat of erosion/ flooding etc. is main concern. Beauty of environment is a JOY"
- 2: What future changes could help you?: "Clarity about time-scales"
- 3: What issues are major barriers to change?: "Local lethargy - unless FACTS presented show IMPACT on INDIVIDUALS"

Sophie

Activity 1:

Scenario 1: (farmer losing his land)

"IN REALITY THE FARM WOULD NOT BE FOR SALE, AS THE VALUE WOULD PROB. HAVE DROPPED FAR BELOW THE MORTGAGE REPAYMENTS, i.e. HE CANNOT SELL BECAUSE HE WOULD BE LEFT IN DEPT. HE CANNOT LEAVE, HE HAS TO CONTINUE TO PAY HIS MORTGAGE WITH LESS & LESS LAND TO WORK. ANSWER PROTECT HIS PROPERTY FROM THE SEA. HE IS FAR MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE BIRDS THE GOVERNMENT HAVE TO PROTECT FROM THE SEA."

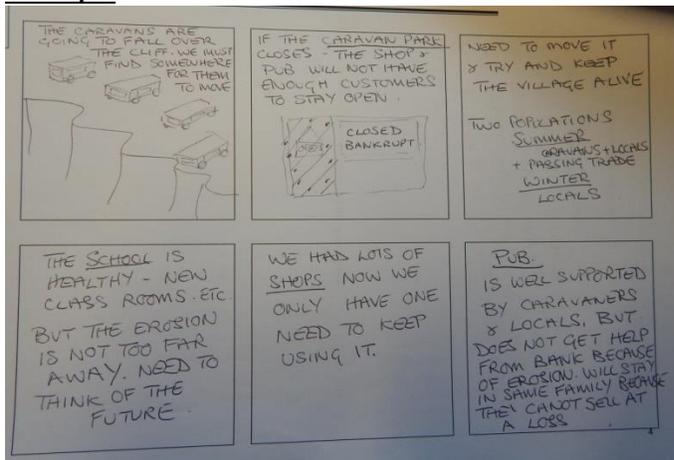
Scenario 2: (coast road being moved)

"IN THE COUNTRYSIDE ROADS ARE LIKE ARTERYS IN THE BODY. WITHOUT A MEANS OF GETTING AROUND, DELIVERIES, MEETINGS, SHOPPING, GETTING TO SCHOOL, TO THE DOCTOR, TO THE DENTIST. ITS NOT JUST AN INCONVENIENCE WHEN WE LOSE A ROAD ITS A CHANGE TO A COMMUNITIES WAY OF LIFE."

Scenario 3: (Whitby graveyard erosion)

"HAPPISBURGH HAS MANY LISTED BUILDINGS. THEY SHOULD BE PROTECTED - THEY STILL ARE BY THE LOCAL COUNCIL WHO WILL NOT LET YOU DO ANY WORK ON THEM UNLESS IT IS PASSED BY THE HERITAGE MAN - BUT THEY WILL STILL LET THEM FALL INTO THE SEA & CHARGE RATES AT THE SAME TIME. JOINED UP THINKING & ACTION IS NEEDED TO BRUNG CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TO THE POINT OF PROTECTING US, THE PEOPLE."

Activity 2:



Box 1: "THE CARAVANS ARE GOING TO FALL OVER THE CLIFF. WE MUST FIND SOMEWHERE FOR THEM TO MOVE"

Box 2: "IF THE CARAVAN PARK CLOSES - THE SHOP & PUB WILL NOT HAVE ENOUGH CUSTOMERS TO STAY OPEN - CLOSED, BANKRUPT".

Box 3: "NEED TO MOVE IT & TRY AND KEEP THE VILLAGE ALIVE. TWO POPULATIONS SUMMER - CARAVANS + LOCALS + PASSING TRADE, WINTER - LOCALS"

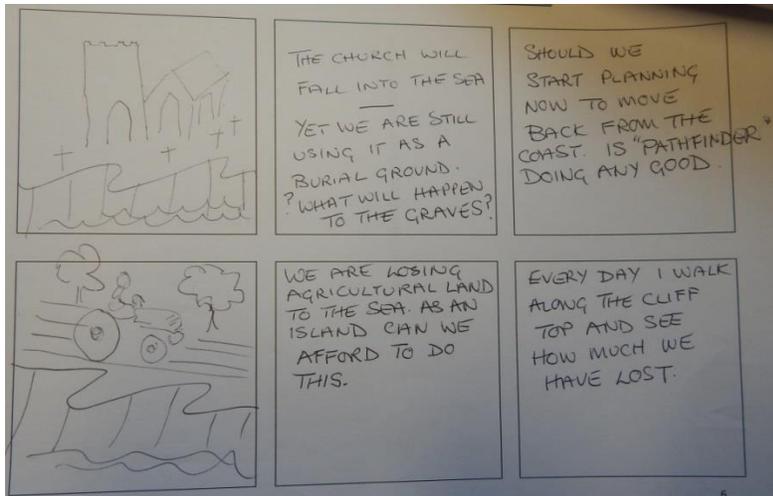
Box 4: "THE SCHOOL IS HEALTHY - NEW CLASS ROOMS ETC. BUT THE EROSION IS NOT TOO FAR AWAY. NEED TO THINK OF THE FUTURE".

Box 5: "WE HAD LOTS OF SHOPS NOW WE HAVE ONLY ONE NEED TO KEEP USING IT"

Box 6: "PUB. IS WELL SUPPORTED BY CARAVANERS & LOCALS, BUT DOES NOT GET HELP FROM BANK BECAUSE OF EROSION. WILL STAY IN SAME FAMILY BECAUSE THEY CANNOT SELL AT A LOSS".

Why have you chosen this concern?

"WORRIED THAT THERE IS NO FUTURE FOR THE VILLAGE AND AT THE SAME TIME WANT TO MAKE THE MOST OF WHAT WE HAVE GOT BEFORE IT IS LOST FOREVER".



Box 1: (picture of church at threat of erosion)

Box 2: "THE CHURCH WILL FALL INTO THE SEA - YET WE ARE STILL USING IT AS A BURIAL GROUND. ?WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE GRAVES?"

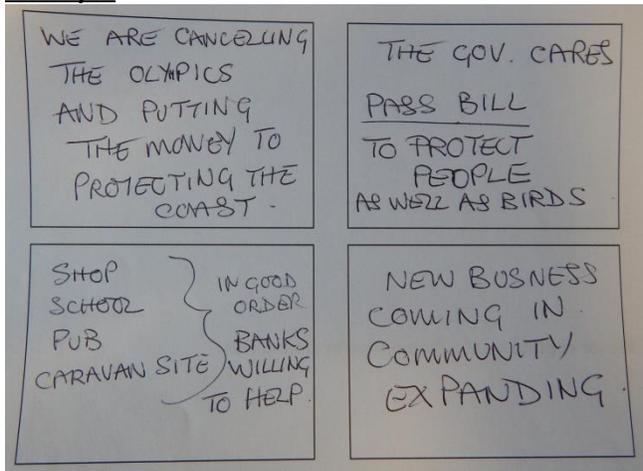
Box 3: "SHOULD WE START PLANNING NOW TO MOVE BACK FROM THE COAST. IS 'PATHFINDER' DOING ANY GOOD."

Box 4: (picture of a farmer losing his land)

Box 5: "WE ARE LOSING AGRICULTURAL LAND TO THE SEA. AS AN ISLAND CAN WE AFFORD TO DO THIS."

Box 6: "EVERY DAY I WALK ALONG THE CLIFF TOP AND SEE HOW MUCH WE HAVE LOST"

Activity 3:



(alternative) Box 1: "WE ARE CANCELLING THE OLYMPICS AND PUTTING THE MONEY TO PROTECTING THE COAST"
 (alternative) Box 2: "THE GOV. CARES PASS BILL TO PROTECT PEOPLE AS WELL AS BIRDS".
 (alternative) Box 3: "SHOP, SCHOOL, PUB, CARAVAN SITE > IN GOOD ORDER. BANKS WILLING TO HELP."
 (alternative) Box 4: "NEW BUSINESS COMING IN COMMUNITY EXPANDING"

Activity 4: Some concluding questions

1: How would you assess your current situation?

"DESPERATE"

2: What future changes could help you?

"INVESTMENT OF TIME & MONEY FROM CENTRAL GOVERNMENT"

3: What issues are major barriers to change? "GOVERNMENT NOT HAVING A STATUTORY DUTY TO PROTECT PEOPLE".

Simon

Activity 1:

Scenario 1: (farmer losing his land)

"It is a very difficult situation. Most local farms are inherited so compensation is not a reality or needed, Although harsh, a fact. The loss of family farm land is unavoidable in Happisburgh."

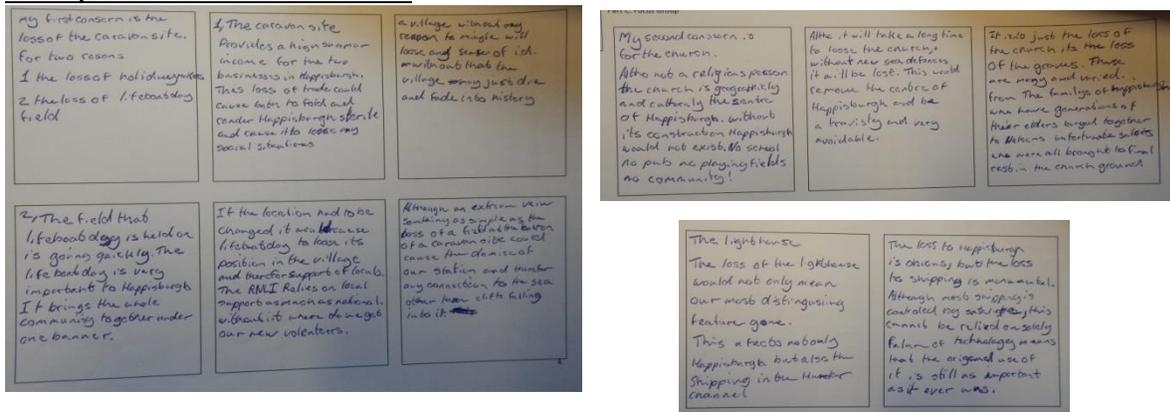
Scenario 2: (coast road being moved)

The loss of a road deemed important needs a high level of consideration as the construction of roads is expensive and destructive. whereas businesses will lose trade the impact of new roads on locals is of the highest importance. The prevention of coastal erosion to protect a road is only a consideration when it is the only way into a village."

Scenario 3: (Whitby graveyard erosion)

"The loss of our church is inevitable. It is a great shame of course. It and the lighthouse are landmarks for this section of the coast. As for the graves, if permission is given exhumation and reburial on sacred ground is most important."

Activity 2: notes written in the boxes



1: Box 1: "My first concern is the loss of the caravan site for two reasons. 1: The loss of holiday makers, 2: the loss of the lifeboat field."

Box 2: "1: The caravan site provides a high summer income for the two businesses in Happisburgh. This loss of trade could cause both to fold and render Happisburgh sterile and cause it to lose any social situations."

Box 3: "A village without any reason to mingle will lose any sense of i.d. Without that the village will just dies and fade into history."

Box 4: "2: The field that lifeboat day is held on is going quickly. The lifeboat day is very important to Happisburgh. It brings the whole community together under one banner."

Box 5: "If the location had to be changed it would cause lifeboat day to lose its position in the village and therefore support of locals. The RNLI relies on local support as much as national. Without it where do we get our new volunteers."

Box 6: "Although an extreme view something as simple as the loss of a field at the bottom of a caravan site could cause the demise of our situation and therefore any connection to the sea other than cliffs falling into it."

Why have you chosen this concern?

"It affects me personally and also many good friends"

Please explain what is happening in your script.

"A brief outline of the possible outcome of losing the caravan park and bottom field"

2: Box 1: "My second concern is for the church. Although not a religious person the church is geographically and culturally the centre of Happisburgh. Without its construction Happisburgh would not exist. No school, no pub, no playing fields, no community!"

Box 2: "Although it will take a long time to lose the church; without new sea defences it will be lost. This would remove the centre of Happisburgh and be a travesty and very avoidable."

Box 3: "It isn't just the loss of the church, it's the loss of the graves. These are many and varied from the families of Happisburgh who have generations of their elders buried together to Nelsons unfortunate soldiers who were all brought to final rest in the church ground."

Why have you chosen this concern?

"The church is the community"

Please explain what is happening in your script.

"A description of the loss to the village"

3: Box 1: "The lighthouse. The loss of the lighthouse would not only mean our most distinguishing feature gone. This affects not only Happisburgh but also the shipping in the Humber channel."

Box 2: "The loss to Happisburgh is obvious, but the loss to shipping is monumental. Although most shipping is controlled by satellite, this cannot be relied on solely. Failure of technology means that the original use of it is still as important as it ever was."

Why have you chosen this concern? "Relates to me directly as a sea farer"

Activity 3: (again notes written in the boxes)

"To change my view of the ending described is simple. Expensive but maintainable are long shore reefs. As opposed to Sea Pallings' near shore reefs long shore reefs would provide a useable and beneficial way of not only stopping erosion but a way of rebuilding the coastline. Long shore reefs would be considering sea pallings as much as..... Several hundred yards of sand from Cart Gap to Ostend. As well it would produce confidence in Happisburgh. Companies would invest in development, social structures and provide new jobs in Happisburgh other than farming. Long term worth. The potential for a harbour could change the view of North Norfolk coastline. Our nearest harbour for non commercial use is Lowestoft. Therefore there is no leisure boating on our coast. A simple floating pontoon Harbour inside the reefs along the now defunct beach road could change Happisburgh from a dying village to a thriving one. This would be of benefit to all villages as overspill of wealth would be very significant.

Activity 4: Some concluding questions

1: How would you assess your current situation?: "Unsatisfactory and deteriorating"

2: What future changes could help you?: "Long shore reefs"

3: What issues are major barriers to change?: "Money and the oldest locals"

Alice & Allan

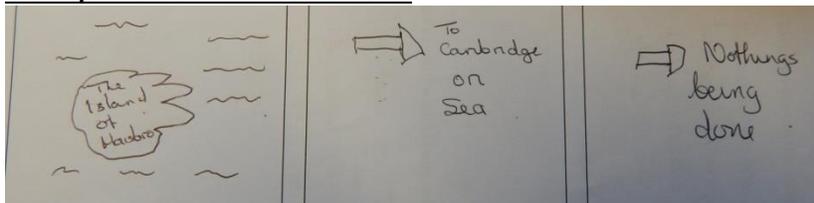
Activity 1:

Scenario 1: (farmer losing his land): "Never crosses my mind that anyone would buy. My husband feels we could give it away".

Scenario 2: (coast road being moved): "People don't like change"

Scenario 3: (Whitby graveyard erosion): "Don't care really - you try + consider everybody, but it is not always possible".

Activity 2: notes written in the boxes



Box 1: "The island of Haisbro", Box 2: "To Cambridge on Sea", Box 3: "Nothings being done"

Why have you chosen this concern?

"Because no one seems to be taking it seriously & the truth is this area of the coast will disappear".

Please explain what is happening in your script.

"My fears for this part of the coast so if nothing is done this could become a reality".

Box 1: "Will my Grandchildren have a community"

Box 2: "Will the school still be there for their children"

Box 3: "Will the beautiful coastline still be there for their enjoyment"

Box 4: "Will they be able to afford to live in Haisbro -> Transport costs"

Why have you chosen this concern?

"Because I fear for their future & their love of the area".

Please explain what is happening in your script.

"my fears"

Box 1: "Local Government not supportive"

Box 2: "Too much money spent on A) 'prize winning' toilet that are going to fall into the sea".

Box 3: "B) Block paving car park that going to fall in"

Box 4: "Digger to dig out ramp £700 pound a time".

Box 5: "Contractor is thrilled about it", "Sand dredging is a problem it causes the sand to leave the beaches".

Box 6: "District Engineer gets Brand New Volvo every time contractor employed".

Why have you chosen this concern?

"Because it infuriates me"

Please explain what is happening in your script.

"Trying to show about the so called government departments working for the good of us all"

Activity 3:

1:"All of my alternative endings come down to: 1) We need the government to back us, 2) An end to bad practice in Local Government".

2 & 3 not provided.

Activity 4: Some concluding questions

1: How would you assess your current situation?

"Ongoing"

2: What future changes could help you?

"Governmental Support"

3: What issues are major barriers to change?

"Red Tape, Government, Money".

Carmen**Activity 1:**

Scenario 1: (farmer losing his land)

"Difficult as the farmhouse and land could never be replaced, it is too late to stop the erosion. He could at least get to build another house, away from the erosion at a reduced cost, and get some land back, but really it's too late."

Scenario 2: (coast road being moved)

"Ensure new road is adequate and has signs etc. To avoid businesses losing customers and tourism etc."

Scenario 3: (Whitby graveyard erosion)

"With enough warning to stop burials. Could move graves + the abbey but costly."

Activity 2:

Box 1: (picture of lifeboat station and field as it used to be with the ramp intact)

Box 2: "Ramp + access eroded away"

Box 3: "Less caravans, smaller field, DANGEROUS Beach"

Box 4: "Buildings demolished, caravans taking up field, beach still dangerous"

Box 5: "smaller + smaller field - site for RNLi fete no longer sure if can still have"

Box 6: "Dangerous beach for swim or walk, also cliff top dangerous"

Why have you chosen this concern?

"It is something which I feel strongly about - I am a member of lifeboat and it has already been affected by erosion. It has the support of the community and without it the beach would be less safe."

Please explain what is happening in your script.

"Roughly 10 years ago Happisburgh beach was ideal for leisure - swimming, walking etc. The erosion led to the ramp being washed away, losing access and becoming dangerous. This continued so the caravans got to be moved, the lifeboat had to be moved to the edge of the village and the field where the fete is held is now getting too small for the event - difficult to relocate as display at sea would not be seen."

2:

Box 1: "Family farm been going for 3 generations, want to continue..."

Box 2: "Good quality land, could never sell and buy same quality in land..."

Box 3: "Future of me and my brother is unsure,"

Box 4: "Land has a good 70+ years but why go for a career in agriculture if no security?"

Box 5: "Might as well get another career but would mean selling farm :("

Why have you chosen this concern?

"The farm has been family for a long time and would be a shame to lose to erosion or be forced to sell but at this rate would have no choice".

Please explain what is happening in your script.

"Uncertainty of future, which career to choose, whether to keep/sell farm or house etc."

Activity 3: (again notes written in the boxes)

1:Box 1: "Find new site for fete, with sea view?"

Box 2: "Retreat back to fields behind, but stop erosion."

Box 3: "Already too late to keep lifeboat station in village"

Please explain your endings.

"Keeping the lifeboat fete site in the village is important because support of the community is needed".

2:Box 1: "Sea wall already protects most of farm"

Box 2: "Continue defences across the whole coastline"

Please explain your endings.

"Farm land can never really be replaced, generations of knowledge about specific land goes into farming it, and it's so expensive to buy elsewhere.... defences are the only option."

Activity 4: Some concluding questions

1: How would you assess your current situation?

"Unsure of future, which career to choose, future of lifeboat, family farm. Having to choose career with certainty, not to rely on land which may be lost to sea."

2: What future changes could help you?

"Protection of the coastline, to keep valuable sites like good farmland, fete site, businesses. Continue sea wall across coastline. Inform on best options for us, how long until erodes farm etc."

3: What issues are major barriers to change?

"Cost. Costly process to defend cliff, but done elsewhere, and Happisburgh has many reasons to be defended. Government + people making decisions based on cost alone, don't know what it's like - once land/homes are gone, they can't be replaced or compensated for."

Catherine

Activity 1:

Scenario 1: (farmer losing his land)

"The village has already responded strongly to this part of situation succeeding in achieving a change to government policy so that those who lost their properties were compensated. In addition permission to replace the housing stock within the village has been secured. New community facilities have been provided for the village as part of the 'pathfinder project' funded by government."

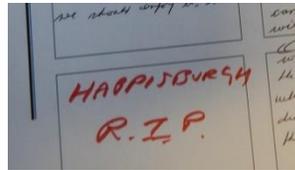
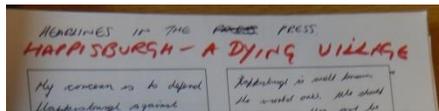
Scenario 2: (coast road being moved)

"This is not a concern for the foreseeable future. Let us worry, if worry we must, about more pressing issues"

Scenario 3: (Whitby graveyard erosion)

"The church is probably the first and most iconic building to succumb to the sea (in () the lighthouse). If the church becomes at risk there is no doubt that the village will rise up and attempt to make the problem at a national level."

Activity 2: notes written in the boxes



1: "Headlines in the press. HAPPISBURGH - A DYING VILLAGE"

Box 1: "My concern is to defend Happisburgh against the constant attention we receive because of coastal erosion. Happisburgh should not be seen solely as a 'problem'. We are a positive community and we need to let everyone know."

Box 2: "Happisburgh is well known the world over. We should rejoice in this and be proud to live here. Whatever happens we will be resilient. We will adapt to change."

Box 3: "Residents love Happisburgh, visitors love Happisburgh. We are not submerged in gloom and doom about the future. We all have only one life and we should enjoy it."

Box 4: "We must do all we can to preserve the local shop. If the caravan site is lost a major source of income will be lost. However, we must fight against the proposal to move the caravans to a site within the village. This would completely destroy the character of the village. Caravans () within sight of the sea."

Box 5: "HAPPISBURGH R.I.P"

Why have you chosen this concern?

"To clarify my concern - It is the danger that Happisburgh acquires a reputation in the national consciousness is a village that is doomed."

Activity 3:

"Headlines in the National Press. HAPPISBURGH THE VILLAGE THAT FOUGHT BACK. HAPPISBURGH CHURCH SAVED FROM THE WAVES BY ENGLISH HERITAGE. MORE JUSTICE FOR HAPPISBURGH. HAPPISBURGH - AN EXAMPLE TO US ALL. HAPPISBURGH DOES IT AGAIN"

Please explain your endings.

"The powers that be decided that Happisburgh was so important that it was agreed to extend the coastal defences from Bacton to Happisburgh."

Activity 4: Some concluding questions

1: How would you assess your current situation?

"I love where I live and have no fears for the future. The community spirit has never been stronger."

2: What future changes could help you?

"Move the caravan site to a new location within site of the sea".

3: What issues are major barriers to change?

"Land owners unwilling to sell"

Analysis & Theme Trees

