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Published in:
Scottish Geographical Journal

Publication date:
2017

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Citation for published version (APA):
Macdonald, C., Glass, J., & Creamer, E. (2017). What Is The Benefit Of Community Benefits? Exploring local perceptions of the provision of community benefits from a commercial wind energy project. *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14702541.2017.1406132>

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What Is The Benefit Of Community Benefits? Exploring Local Perceptions Of The Provision Of Community Benefits From A Commercial Wind Energy Project

Journal:	<i>Scottish Geographical Journal</i>
Manuscript ID	RSGJ-2016-0026.R2
Manuscript Type:	Original Article
Author Supplied Keywords:	community energy, community benefit, community engagement
Selected Keywords:	rural geography, environmental studies

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4 **What Is The Benefit Of Community Benefits? Exploring local perceptions of the**
5 **provision of community benefits from a commercial wind energy project**
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7 *Where community ownership of renewable energy projects is not feasible, there remains*
8 *potential for residents to profit from locally-sited projects through a 'community benefits'*
9 *package from a commercial developer, usually as an annual cash payment to a community*
10 *organisation. Despite support from policymakers and developers for community benefits*
11 *packages, the relationship between the benefit package and acceptance of renewable energy*
12 *projects is not straightforward. Drawing on semi-structured interviews with local residents*
13 *and other community actors near a wind development in central Scotland, this paper*
14 *examines the 'process' and 'outcome' dimensions of the design and provision of community*
15 *benefits and considers how the relationship between these two dimensions affects local*
16 *perceptions of the benefit of community benefits. Analysis of interviewees' perceptions of the*
17 *community engagement 'process' at the planning stage and the community benefit package*
18 *'outcome' reveals how a poorly defined engagement process, combined with a benefits*
19 *package that is not deemed suitable for the needs of the community, can lead to negative*
20 *associations with the project, even when initial perceptions were positive. These findings*
21 *have implications for renewable energy policy in Scotland, particularly as there is currently*
22 *no legal obligation for developers to consult communities on community benefit*
23 *arrangements.*
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37 **KEY WORDS:** community energy; community benefit; community engagement; wind
38 energy; renewables; Scotland.
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Introduction

Despite the fact that public support for renewables, at a national scale, is believed to be high across the UK (Bell *et al* 2013), the rapid expansion of onshore wind energy capacity has been controversial (Pollitt 2010). In addition to concerns regarding the particular impacts of wind energy developments, such as noise and visual disturbance, and an uncertainty about the merits of the technology itself (Devine-Wright 2011), those opposing large commercial onshore projects have increasingly raised concerns over potential inequalities, in both the process and the outcomes of the development. Specifically, the lack of power felt by local communities to influence the decisions made about the size and siting of commercial wind farms, coupled with the absence of tangible local material benefits from the projects, have elicited objections to the level of government support for the onshore wind sector (Warren and Birnie 2009). In response to these concerns, there has been an increasing awareness, across policy, industry, and academia, of the importance of enabling ‘local communities to become better informed about, and more closely involved in, energy development in their locality’ (Devine-Wright 2005, p.59).

Community ownership of energy projects has been observed to increase public acceptance of specific developments (Warren and McFadyen 2010) and renewable energy in general (Walker and Cass 2007). Full community ownership maximises the potential economic and social benefits for communities (Van Veelen and Haggett 2016, Forman 2017), but also carries significant risk and responsibility for communities, and requires significant resources, both personal and financial. Securing finance for the project can be particularly challenging for community groups, due to a lack of collateral with which to secure a loan (Haggett *et al* 2013). The economic challenges of community ownership became even greater at the start of 2016 as a result of significant reductions to the rates of the UK Government’s Feed-in Tariff (a scheme designed to support the development of small-scale renewable energy projects) that rendered many traditional models of community energy no longer viable (Community Energy England 2017).

In situations where communities do not deem any form of (full or partial) ownership to be a feasible option, there is still potential for residents to profit from locally-sited projects through a ‘community benefits’ package from a commercial developer. This voluntary, relatively informal arrangement between the developer and community can take many forms, but is typically provided as an annual cash payment to a community organisation (Strachan *et al* 2015). For communities, these types of arrangements provide a means by which local

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3 residents can capture some of the economic benefit of local renewable energy developments
4 without the demands of ownership. For developers and policymakers, offering local
5 communities a share of the revenues of a development is expected to infer some form of
6 symbolic ownership and, thereby, help gain local acceptance – and subsequently planning
7 consent – for proposed renewables infrastructure (Cass *et al* 2010).
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11 Increasing support for the provision of community benefits as a means of accelerating
12 the development of onshore and offshore wind energy infrastructure (Cowell *et al* 2011) has
13 resulted in the publication of several sets of government and industry guidelines and toolkits
14 (e.g. CSE 2009, Community Energy Scotland 2011, RenewableUK 2013, DECC 2014,
15 FLOWW 2015, Local Energy Scotland 2015a, 2015b). Despite this support from
16 policymakers and developers, previous research has demonstrated that the relationship
17 between community benefits packages and acceptance of renewable energy projects is not
18 straightforward. For example, Cass *et al* (2010) found that, whilst perceived personal benefit
19 was the most significant factor explaining local residents' support for projects, there was
20 widespread scepticism and dismissal of the benefits on offer from developers. As Cowell *et*
21 *al* (2011) highlight, in the UK, where national planning priorities appear to limit local
22 influence over development decisions, 'the role of community benefits in fostering an
23 acceptable outcome is more complex' (p.552).
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33 Within the UK, the Scottish Government has led the way in actively encouraging
34 greater community involvement in the energy transition (Markantoni and Aitken 2015), and
35 there are a range of Scottish policies that commit to improving local engagement in planning
36 decisions and delivering greater local benefits from renewable energy developments (Scottish
37 Government 2015a, 2015b, 2016, 2017). The Scottish Government encourages developers to
38 offer communities a stake in the project wherever possible and they have championed the
39 establishment of a minimum rate of community benefit payments 'equivalent to at least
40 £5,000 per MW per year' (Local Energy Scotland 2015, p.4). This, they believe, has
41 'transformed industry practice across the UK' (Scottish Government 2015a, p.28). It is worth
42 noting, however, that in England the industry-developed 'Community Benefit Protocol'
43 commits wind developments over 5 MW to provide 'no less than £5,000 per MW per year or
44 benefits-in-kind to an equivalent value' to the community (RenewableUK 2013, p.2) and that
45 some companies in Wales were exceeding the £5000 per MW payment before 2010 (Cowell
46 *et al* 2012).
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56 When considering community benefits within a Scottish context, it is interesting to
57 note that the most recent community energy policy statement from the Scottish Government
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3 (2015b) includes ‘community benefit from externally-owned projects’ alongside ‘100%
4 community-owned’ and ‘shared ownership’ projects within the typology of ‘community
5 energy’. This inclusion of ‘non-ownership’ models as a form of community energy is
6 arguably at odds with traditional conceptions of community energy (Van Veelen 2017):
7 although there is the promise of some form of local economic return, there is no guarantee of
8 active community involvement in the project. Walker and Devine-Wright (2008) suggest
9 that, through distributing some of the economic benefits locally, community benefits
10 payments may help to move ‘utility-developed’ projects closer to conceptions of ‘community
11 energy’ in terms of their outcomes. They are skeptical, however, that this would do anything
12 to address the ‘process’ dimension required for community energy projects, namely, who is
13 involved and has influence over the project. This has implications for engendering support for
14 projects (and renewable energy more generally) which, they argue, is more likely to
15 materialise ‘when projects are characterised by substantial levels of local involvement’
16 (Walker and Devine-Wright 2008, p.499).
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26 With these points in mind, there remains a need for empirical evidence to examine
27 *both* ‘process’ and ‘outcome’ dimensions of the design and provision of community benefits
28 and explicitly consider how the relationship between these two dimensions affects local
29 perceptions of the benefit of community benefits. To contribute to existing theory explained
30 thus far and in the literature review that follows, we explore a case study of a commercial
31 wind energy project in Scotland in which the developer provided a community benefit fund
32 for distribution within the local community. We present empirical evidence about the
33 ‘process’ and ‘outcome’ dimensions in this case and evaluate how local perceptions were
34 affected by the relationship between the dimensions. In the same way that Walker and
35 Devine-Wright express a concern ‘that there is something significant and important about a
36 community approach to renewable energy that is lost’ when projects do not deliver both local
37 and collective outcomes and an open and participatory process (2008, p. 499), the evaluation
38 of our case study data suggests that the value of a community benefits package may be
39 diminished if the outcomes are not perceived to be local and collective and the process
40 through which it was arranged is not considered open and participatory.
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52 **The Relevance of ‘Process’ and ‘Outcomes’ for Understanding Community Benefits**

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54 Historically, there has been no standard approach to the allocation of community benefits
55 from renewable energy developments (Aitken 2010a) and arrangements have been made on a
56 case by case basis (Bristow *et al* 2012). As a result, the landscape of ‘community benefits’ is
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3 highly diverse. In seeking to make sense of the plurality of conceptions of ‘community
4 renewables’, Walker and Devine-Wright (2008, p.498) provide a two-dimensional framework
5 that can be used to analyse a renewable energy project in terms of both the ‘process’ through
6 which decisions are made (‘who is involved and has influence’) and the ‘outcomes’ of the
7 project (‘who it is that benefits particularly in economic or social terms’).

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11 When considering a commercially-owned, large-scale renewables project, the design
12 and delivery of a community benefits package is an embedded component of the broader
13 design and delivery of the development. Asking ‘who is involved and has influence’ over *the*
14 *benefits package* and ‘who it is that benefits particularly’ from *the benefits package*, is
15 distinct from – but potentially critical to – the question of who is involved in, or benefits
16 from, the project as a whole. Due to the context of their analysis, Walker and Devine-Wright
17 (2008) consider only the latter – the project as a whole – and not the process or outcome
18 dimensions of the benefits themselves. As Bristow *et al* (2012) note, the focus is usually on
19 the ‘outcome’ dimension of community benefits, but ‘inclusive development processes may
20 be critical to realizing meaningful support and public trust in development projects’ (p.1110).
21 They go on to suggest that ‘(t)here may also be a process dimension to ensuring an equitable
22 and agreed distribution of community benefits’. It is this that we explicitly explore in this
23 paper, providing empirical evidence to improve understanding of the relationship between
24 these two dimensions.
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35 In this section we examine the existing literature to draw out what is already known
36 about the relevance of process and outcome dimensions for community benefits
37 arrangements, and establish the theoretical context for our empirical analysis of the role of
38 community benefits in engaging the public in renewable energy transitions.
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42 ***Local Outcomes of Community Benefit Packages***

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44 The diversity of understandings of what community benefits packages should achieve
45 (Walker *et al* 2010) has caused an element of uncertainty regarding what kind of ‘outcomes’
46 can, and should, be expected by local communities. The wider practice of planning gain has
47 also always been of contested validity and this feeds into debates about what community
48 benefits can consist of, where they stand in law, and how they can be offered. Therefore, a
49 large diversity of community benefit packages has been provided by commercial developers
50 (Munday *et al* 2011). A typology of community benefits is shown in Table 1, alongside
51 examples of where these are being delivered in practice in Scotland.
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3 The view that there should be a standard, minimum level of economic benefit for
4 communities within a certain proximity of a development, regardless of the community's
5 attitudes towards the development, implies that 'community benefits constitute a
6 compensation device for affected communities' (Munday *et al* 2011, p.4). This assumes that
7 the costs of a wind development can be neutralised by the provision of commensurate local
8 benefits (Cowell *et al* 2011). Evidence has suggested, however, that estimating the relevant
9 losses and gains associated with a particular development, and providing a lump sum to
10 compensate those affected, has mixed results (Munday *et al* 2011), sometimes serving to
11 alienate those within communities who hold strong principles that are 'not for sale' (Bell *et al*
12 2005, p.473, Aitken 2010b). This is linked to a well-documented risk that offers of a cash
13 payment can lead to perceptions of developers attempting to bribe community members,
14 which undermine the potential for benefits payments to engender local support for the project
15 (Cass *et al* 2010, Aitken 2010a, Walker *et al* 2017).

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17 Previous research has found a dominant view amongst developers and communities
18 that they should be free to negotiate the level and nature of the benefits between themselves,
19 rather than there being a standardised package or involvement of a third party (Cowell *et al*
20 2011). In theory, this provides the developer with the opportunity to identify the particular
21 needs and wants of the communities in question, and, subsequently, devise a suitable benefits
22 package (Devine-Wright *et al* 2001, Meacham 2012). However, as Cowell *et al* (2011) state,
23 the concept of a benefits package being locally negotiated 'raises questions about whether
24 just outcomes can be achieved through bilateral negotiations between what are often large
25 corporations and small rural communities, given the inequalities of power and resources
26 between them' (p.554). As a result, the *process* through which community benefit packages
27 are negotiated, and the extent to which communities are involved in and have influenced over
28 this, is an important for ensuring community benefits are of benefit to the community
29 (Warren *et al* 2005, Aitken 2010a, Cowell *et al* 2011, Bristow *et al* 2012).

24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 ***The Process of Arranging Community Benefit Payments***

48 The lack of regulation of community benefits extends to the process through which the
49 benefits packages are determined. Currently, in the UK, the power to control and design the
50 benefits ultimately lies with the developers, rather than with the local communities (Munday
51 *et al* 2011), and it is up to the developer to engage the community in that process.

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60 In Scotland, under the terms of Planning Advice Note 3/2010, all renewable energy
developers are required 'to consult with relevant community councils and hold at least one

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3 public event which is advertised in the local press' (Scottish Government 2010, p.16), but
4 there is no additional specific legal obligation for commercial developers to consult
5 communities specifically on community benefits arrangements. In the Scottish Government's
6 'Good Practice Principles' on community benefits, developers are advised to discuss potential
7 benefit packages with communities in the early, pre-consent stages of the development,
8 through 'flexible, well-planned consultation processes which are inclusive, meaningful and
9 which respond to the communities' needs' (Local Energy Scotland 2015a).

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14 A transparent process, which provides sufficient and timely information to the public
15 and enables the public to understand how and why decisions are being made, has been
16 identified as a key criterion for 'good' public participation in policy and planning (Rowe and
17 Frewer 2000). This is recognised within the context of wind energy developments, where
18 local acceptance has been described as 'crucially dependent [upon] transparency from the
19 outset' (Jobert *et al* 2007, p.2759). Transparency can work towards building and improving
20 relationships of trust between the developer and communities (Firestone *et al* 2012),
21 alleviating suspicions that are often held towards commercial developers (Jones and Eiser
22 2009), and avoiding claims of hidden agendas and ulterior motives.

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30 If community benefits are to be viewed as a means of fostering public support, or as a
31 'product of good neighbourliness' (Cowell *et al* 2011, p.553), transparency and information
32 provision alone is arguably not sufficient. It has been observed that providing information
33 about the potential financial benefits of a project for local people before planning consent has
34 been granted can in fact increase the risk that the developers are perceived as attempting to
35 'buy planning permission' (Aitken 2010a, p. 6074). This underlines the value of ensuring
36 that community benefits are arranged through a participatory process that is 'underpinned by
37 a philosophy that emphasises empowerment, equity, trust and learning' (Reed 2008, p.2422).
38 As Cowell *et al* (2011) have argued, the rationale linking community benefit provision and
39 social acceptance can only be expected to hold true if the community has the power to
40 determine the benefits being provided, and to block a development in situations where they
41 are not satisfied. Previous research has suggested that, whilst communities can sometimes
42 influence the *form* of the benefits, for example, as a lump-sum payment or in-kind provisions,
43 they are rarely given control over the *level* of the benefits provided (Bristow *et al* 2012). As a
44 result, it is questionable whether communities are necessarily being empowered in the
45 process of arranging community benefits provisions.

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57 A key issue in enabling the community to participate effectively in decision-making is
58 the well-rehearsed problem of defining 'the community' (Aitken 2010a, Munday *et al* 2011,
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3 Bristow *et al* 2012). Due to the developer-led nature of community benefits, it is typically the
4 developer who defines the community and, commonly, this takes the form of a readily
5 identifiable, place-based community, represented by some form of institutional body, such as
6 a community council (Bristow *et al* 2012). This relatively arbitrary definition of *the*
7 *community* may fail to encompass all those who feel that they have a right to participate in
8 the process of determining the scope of the benefits provided, including who should receive
9 the benefits.
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15 In the next section, we introduce the case study of a wind energy project in Scotland,
16 through which we examine the way in which these tensions play out in practice. We
17 investigate local perceptions of the community benefits provided and the process through
18 which these were arranged, and draw out the key elements of this case that provide lessons
19 for future policy and practice. Based on the review of literature presented thus far, the issues
20 of who is involved in and/or benefits from community benefits, the potential negative impacts
21 of offering a community benefits package at all, and the importance of engaging communities
22 in determining benefits packages are of particular interest to our analysis.
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28 29 **Methodology**

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31 This paper presents an empirical examination of a single case study in central Scotland. All
32 names have been removed from the subsequent presentation and analysis of data to ensure
33 participants' anonymity, and the name of the development site (Glenburn) is a pseudonym to
34 prevent the locations of members of the communities from being identified beyond doubt.
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38 39 **Case Study**

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41 Glenburn is a wind development surrounded by several ex-mining communities, with a total
42 population of approximately 28,000 residents. Glenburn was chosen as the focus of the case
43 study as, although there are a number of operational wind farms in the surrounding areas,
44 Glenburn has experienced the largest amount of opposition within the local community to
45 community benefits. It is this phenomenon that made the Glenburn case attractive for in-
46 depth study as the opportunity arose to consider the extent to which the relationship between
47 'process' and 'outcome' dimensions had affected these negative local perceptions of
48 community benefits. Situated in a landscape with a history of energy production (coal
49 mining), the area is relatively deprived and would benefit from further investment in
50 community services and infrastructure. The initial planning application for a wind farm on
51 the site was rejected by the local authority in 2008, after information sessions were held
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3 within the local communities and a statutory consultation was conducted with community
4 councils. This local rejection was subsequently overruled by the Scottish Government in
5 2009 and the development received planning consent. The development has been operational
6 since 2012. Due to the timing of the development, it preceded the establishment of the
7 Scottish Government's 'Good Practice Principles' for the provision of community benefits
8 from onshore wind, including the recommended minimum payment of £5,000 per MW per
9 year (Local Energy Scotland, 2015a).

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11 The development at Glenburn has an installed capacity of 24 MW, and the developer
12 opted to provide a community benefit package of £2,000 per MW per year (a decision made
13 without consulting the local community). As this is index-linked, this sum increased to an
14 overall annual payment of £54,000 per year, but is still considerably lower than the current
15 Scottish Government recommendation. The community fund collected from these payments
16 is administered by Glenburn Community Trust (GCT), made up of four representatives from
17 the local area. In addition to the conventional financial benefits provided, the developer has
18 sponsored a local youth sports team, and supported students from a local college studying
19 subjects relevant to employment in the wind energy industry.

30 *Interviews*

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32 Semi-structured interviews were conducted within the case study area during June and July
33 2014. Interviewees were identified and selected using a stakeholder analysis, with
34 'stakeholders' defined as those within the surrounding towns who affect or are affected by the
35 wind farm (Reed 2008). This avoided the identification of interviewees on an *ad hoc* basis,
36 which can often marginalise certain community members, or add bias to the whole process.
37 As resource management typically deals with conflicting interests of various stakeholders,
38 stakeholder analysis was used as it provides a tool for recognising 'multiple perspectives of
39 the 'truth' where 'reality' is socially constructed' (Reed *et al.* 2009, p.1936). This type of
40 approach was considered appropriate in our study where understanding the local perceptions
41 of community benefits was paramount. Stakeholders were categorised into stakeholder
42 groups, then classified and characterised through an interest *versus* influence matrix, in order
43 to identify the 'key players' who had both high interest and influence within the community
44 (Reed *et al.* 2009). The stakeholder analysis identified 30 stakeholder groups as 'key players'
45 who were contacted and invited to take part in an interview. A non-random purposive
46 sampling approach was employed to identify the most appropriate interviewee(s) within each
47 group (Noy 2008), with initial contacts identified via a local development trust, the
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3 community council and the developer. Twelve stakeholders agreed to be interviewed,
4 representing a range of roles in the surrounding communities, including: local politicians;
5 community council members; local councillors; and local residents. An interview was also
6 conducted with a representative of the wind farm development company. Although the
7 interviews conducted in the study yielded in-depth data for analysis, it was a limitation of the
8 study that more interviews were not conducted. Interviewee recruitment was challenging with
9 many of those invited declining to take part within the timeframe available for the research.
10 In order to mitigate this limitation and to triangulate data collected in the 12 interviews, two
11 local meetings were also observed: a GCT meeting and a community council meeting.
12 *Observing these meetings helped to contextualise the interviews, particularly through*
13 *observing the types of funding applications submitted to the GCT and the process via which*
14 *they were assessed.*

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23 In the results section, quotes are attributed to interviewees using the reference codes
24 shown in Table 2. Interview questions focused on three themes, designed to draw on the
25 direct experience of the interviewees:

- 26 1) How the overall community engagement ‘process’ was viewed by the community
27 (with regards to the planning process surrounding the development itself);
- 28 2) Community perceptions of the community benefit package (the ‘outcome’) and how
29 it was agreed; and
- 30 3) Alternative ‘outcomes’ of interest to the community.

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37 The third theme was included to understand both the community’s preferences in terms of
38 benefits (the ‘outcomes’) and the extent to which the actual community benefits package
39 matched these preferences. The questions used were exploratory in nature, seeking to
40 understand each respondent’s views and reactions in relation to the wind farm and the
41 associated engagement strategy and benefits package offered. The questions followed a loose
42 question format similar to the stages of discussion proposed by Arthur and Nazroo (2003),
43 however, the questions were individually tailored depending upon the identity of each
44 respondent, and their role within the case study.

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50 A visual aid was used as a prompt during the interviews to provide information which
51 would enable a greater level of specificity and depth in discussions of alternative community
52 benefits arrangements (Theme 3) (Gillham 2000). The aid (Figure 1) provided examples of
53 different forms of community benefits from wind developments, based on Meacham (2012).

Results

Process: Community Engagement

The community engagement process carried out by DVP [focused on the wind farm development process](#) and involved one information session with each of the community councils and two information sessions for the wider public. During the community council meetings, DVP gave a presentation about the proposed development, and asked for feedback on behalf of the community. The community councils each attempted to gauge community opinion to form a response to DVP regarding the proposed Glenburn development, however seven interviewees felt that this task was poorly carried out due to a lack of time and resources on the part of the community council, leading to ineffective canvassing of the community opinion. Community information sessions similarly offered the community information about Glenburn, however these sessions were poorly advertised, and as a result, poorly attended.

A recurrent theme during the interviews was the local residents' lack of awareness of the proposed development while it was in the initial planning stage. Described as going '*completely under the radar of the wider community*' (LR2), community members recounted not '*know[ing] anything about [the development] until it started going up*' (LR3). Relevant information about the development was not disseminated to the community directly. Instead, information was distributed to community councils and published on the local authority's website. Although '*the information was there if you wanted to go and find it*' (LC4), the use of community council consultations as the primary channel through which to disseminate information and gauge community opinion was deemed inappropriate by nine interviewees. One interviewee noted that certain residents living in close proximity to the Glenburn site lay outside the catchment areas of the community councils: '*[this area] wasn't really spoken to at all because it's not got a community council, so it's been excluded, and its needs have pretty much been excluded*' (MSP2). Even in areas that were represented by a community council, engagement was perceived to be minimal, and interviewees identified a need to make '*community engagement more visible to the public*' (LR2). It was noted by seven of the interviewees that, as volunteers, community council members often lacked the resources to canvas community opinion or to disseminate information. The poor advertisement of community engagement sessions was seen as a major barrier preventing the local community from engaging and participating in discussions about the development:

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3 *'A lot of people didn't know it was happening, unless you checked out the notice*
4 *board or checked out the wee clip in a [local authority] building... They could have*
5 *advertised it a lot better' (LC4).*
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9 This bred negative attitudes towards the developer, with interviewees expressing feelings of
10 distrust and dishonesty, particularly when they had been unaware of the community
11 consultation sessions that had taken place: *'it was kind of kept hush-hush' (LR3); '...it was*
12 *almost like they don't want people to come' (LR2).* Furthermore, interviewees suggested
13 that, when people were aware of consultation sessions, the timing of the sessions, often held
14 in the early evenings, prevented some residents from attending the meetings due to work or
15 childcare commitments. The developer working in Glenburn acknowledged that there were
16 low levels of attendance at community consultation sessions, with those who did attend being
17 either vocally opposed the development or attending as part of their role as a local councillor.
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21 The information provided by the developer to community members was also
22 described as inadequate and lacking impartial facts about the project's construction and
23 operational phases, insufficiently preparing local residents for the reality of the development.
24 One interviewee described the community's shock upon seeing the scale of the completed
25 development, as they *'just couldn't quite believe what it was' (MSP1).* The information that
26 was disseminated in the planning stages was regarded as promotional material, and
27 contributed towards decreasing trust in the developer. The developer acknowledged that the
28 information they provided about the design and development process of the wind farm was
29 *'just positive glossy material [...] focusing on green energy, homes that the wind farm*
30 *supports and CO₂ reductions' (DVP),* raising questions about the motivations behind the
31 design of the consultation process.
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35 The consultation sessions were perceived to undertake the minimum requirement
36 necessary to achieve commercial goals, with little evidence of the developer's aspiration to
37 provide a platform for meaningful engagement which would canvas and incorporate the
38 opinions of community members. Many of the interviewees felt that local residents were
39 powerless to the actions of a large company, and any attempt to participate in discussions was
40 futile: *'I would say, every developer, they've only got the developer's interests at heart along*
41 *with the person that's going to make money, not necessarily the community' (CC1).* These
42 perceptions were supported by comments from the developer who accepted that they did not
43 attempt to engage with 'outspoken' community voices: *'We just left the radicals to get on*
44 *with doing their own thing and did not directly engage with them' (DVP).* Such a statement
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3 questions the meaningfulness of the community engagement that was undertaken.
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5 Community members felt their concerns were often not acted upon or incorporated within the
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7 development process. Through removing the ability of the community members to exercise
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9 any actual power, interviewees often felt that the developer was undertaking the community
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11 engagement process as a *'tick-box exercise... for the [planning] application to go forwards'*
12
13 (LC4). As such, the process as a whole was widely viewed by local residents as a
14
15 *'commercial exercise': 'they were trying to... make some money and build some turbines'*
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17 (LC2).

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19 Overall, the community engagement process focused almost entirely on the wind farm
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21 development process as opposed to specific issues arising with the community benefits
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23 package. The benefits package was not discussed or negotiated with the wider community,
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25 with community councils and *'local councillors and MSPs'* (DVP) being contacted by the
26
27 developer instead. This was particularly highlighted in relation to the benefits provided to the
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29 local college to support students studying subjects relevant to employment in the wind energy
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31 industry, as this was not seen as a *'community decision [or] a community engagement*
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33 *process to come up with the decision [...] just a discussion with councillors'* (LR2). Although
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35 the local councillors had aimed for *"the communities to be more involved in taking the*
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37 *decisions [about] how the money is spent'* (LC3), the lack of awareness amongst the
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39 interviewees of the different benefits offered by the developer suggest that this was not
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41 achieved.

37 **Outcome: Community Benefits Package**

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39 Interviewees reported local dissatisfaction and a lack of a sense of ownership of the
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41 community benefits package delivered by Glenburn wind farm. The developer currently
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43 issues an annual payment of £54,000 per year to local residents, managed by GCT. However,
44
45 the majority of the interviewees believed that the community fund was *'inadequate and not*
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47 *comprehensive'* (MSP2) in relation to the size of the development and the extent of the
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49 impact on local people: *'we had actually calculated it out, it's actually £1 odd per person per*
50
51 *year if you take all the actual residents in the community'* (LR2). The developer set up the
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53 GCT and stipulated the rules for awarding funding, including a restriction on the amount of
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55 money that can be awarded to each project. This was set at a maximum of £1000, which
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57 severely restricted the types of projects which could be funded by the community benefit
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59 fund. The large returns reaped by the developer were also noted in a number of the interviews
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61 as a point of contempt. Comparisons were made between *'massive profits... [and] very little*

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3 *payback that communities are getting*' (MSP1), demonstrating the discontent felt through the
4 lack of apparent balance of monetary benefits. In contrast, the developer believed they had
5 offered *'a very generous community benefit fund*' (DVP), highlighting the gap between the
6 perceptions of the local community and the developer.
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10 Contrary to the opinion of the developer, several interviewees reported a lack of
11 understanding about what was actually being offered to the wider community. For example,
12 CC2 suggested that there was a common misconception amongst local residents that the
13 electricity bills of local communities surrounding Glenburn would have been reduced, once
14 the wind farm was constructed:
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18 *'[The developers] said it would cover say [Community 1], [Community 2] ...and it*
19 *would power the whole place, and I think some people, especially the elderly,*
20 *thought that their bills would come down... what the elderly people can't see is how*
21 *[Glenburn] is benefiting them'* (CC2).
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26 Echoing the criticisms of the developer's engagement processes, it was widely reported by
27 interviewees that there was a lack of local awareness of the funding that was available for
28 community members from GCT: *'They [GCT] are not advertising. They're not putting up*
29 *posters. They're not saying anything, at all'* (LR1). Representatives of GCT acknowledged
30 the wider community's lack of awareness about the extent of the funds available as a key
31 challenge that was restricting the benefits from being fully experienced by all community
32 members: *'they don't know how to apply to it, they don't know where to get the application*
33 *form, they don't know who would be eligible for the grant'* (CC2).
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39 Interviewees also expressed disappointment at the way in which the benefit funds
40 were being awarded by GCT. Grant application forms were available through the GCT
41 website, which had been set up by the developer. The grants, each up to a value of £1000,
42 targeted community projects run by constituted groups within the local communities
43 surrounding Glenburn. Successful grant applications awarded by GCT included trips for a
44 local Scout group, and a day trip for a local nursing home. The projects that had been funded
45 were described by interviewees as short-term and low impact: *'little jollies here and there...'*
46 *[which would have] no actual benefit other than people's memories'* (LC3). Many stated a
47 preference for the funds to be consolidated into a *'bigger pot of money'* (LC4) which could be
48 used for a larger, more *'tangible benefits'* (MSP2):
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3 *'It would have been nice to see a plan for some sort of legacy project, whether it's*
4 *sports or community facilities...it's not going to deliver any of that. There's going to*
5 *be nothing at the end that you can point to and say "that's what we got"'* (MSP2).
6
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8 Interviewees linked dissatisfaction with the allocation of the benefit fund to the fact the
9 decisions are made by GCT, an isolated group of four community representatives, with
10 minimal input from other community members.
11

12
13 The community benefits package was also described by interviewees as not
14 compensating for the negative impacts on the amenity value of the area, caused by the
15 development. This perception of the 'non-substitutability' of the community benefit package
16 with the local negative impacts of a wind farm was a recurrent theme, which transpired to
17 suggestions of bribery on the part of the developer, both within the planning process and in
18 exchange for local support of the project. Some saw the provision of a community benefit as
19 'corruption of the planning process' (LC2), whereby the community benefit was 'pushed by
20 the developer' (LC3), providing greater motivation for planning permission to be granted:
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22 *'the bigger the sweetener, the bigger the problem'* (LR1).
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29 ***Connecting process and outcome***

30 The findings from the interviews suggested that the community engagement process and the
31 allocation of community benefits have not increased the local acceptance of the wind farm.
32 The developer believed that *'the community were divided'* (DVP) in the initial stages of the
33 development, both in relation to wind farms generally and to Glenburn specifically. This was
34 supported by the interviewees, who themselves held a range of views towards the
35 development, and suggested that the community as a whole was split in its attitudes towards
36 the development. Interviewees who were initially supportive of Glenburn made a link
37 between the historical *'industrial landscape'* (LC1) of the coal mining industry in the past
38 and the *'industrial structures'* (MSP1) of wind turbines in the present. Those who expressed
39 negative initial opinions of the development were often found to have negative views in
40 relation to wind farms more generally, and their opinion towards the specific development
41 was therefore likely to be derivative: *'Well...I mean, we just didn't want them'* (LR1). Most
42 interestingly, interviewees who expressed an initial neutrality towards Glenburn
43 communicated a 'hardening' of their opinion over time, revealing a shift towards a more
44 negative view of the development, across a variety of interviewee groups. Three of the
45 interviewees started neutral and became negative about the development, and another three of
46 the interviewees were initially negative and hardened their opinion over time. None of the
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3 interviewees suggested that the community benefits package had converted them from a
4 negative or neutral position to a supportive view. There was evidence that this failure to
5 achieve a positive change in local opinion was directly influenced by the perceived failures of
6 the community engagement process undertaken by the developer throughout the project:
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10 *‘The first that the community [had] known was when we were two months into*
11 *construction, and there was a press release to say they had been approved and had*
12 *started work, and it was at that point that we started doing our research, we were*
13 *neither opposed or supportive of the development, but we started looking into it, and*
14 *then we became opposed from what we had seen’ (LR2).*
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16 17 **Discussion**

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19 In what follows, we discuss three key features of this case that enable us to consider an
20 answer to how local perceptions of community benefits are affected by the relationship
21 between process and outcome dimensions.
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24 25 ***The Limitations of Representational Community Consultation***

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27 The results of this study revealed a feeling of ‘disconnect’ between the community benefits
28 package offered and the preferences of the community as to what they wanted and needed.
29 This issue may be attributed to the primary use of community councils as the vehicle for
30 community engagement. Whilst operating through a community council is explicitly
31 suggested as a means of community engagement (Scottish Government 2010), in the
32 Glenburn case, employing such a narrow channel of engagement as a proxy for the
33 community removed the potential for community-wide communication and cooperation and,
34 therefore, for a ‘just’ outcome (Walker *et al* 2010). As Bristow *et al* (2012) identify:
35 ‘Although developers and policy-makers might find it convenient for there to be clear, extant
36 communities “out there” ready to be the recipients of community benefits, any assumption
37 that such communities exist is problematic’ (p.1109).
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45 Proactively recruiting a variety of different community members and welcoming a
46 diversity of individual and collective preferences can enable a process of ‘needs-led planning’
47 (Richards *et al* 2007, p. 20). Through this process, community engagement can reflect a
48 conscious effort to acknowledge and incorporate community preferences and requirements
49 into the design of community benefits or ownership structures, thus encouraging opinion
50 through the creation of an open and inclusive platform to inspire creative solutions. This is in
51 stark contrast to the case in Glenburn, where the consultation process adopted by the
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3 developer was viewed locally as an instrumental procedure to increase social acceptability
4 and 'expedite the decision-making process' (Cowell *et al* 2011, p.540).
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6 A recurrent theme evident throughout the interviews was a perception of the
7 developer as 'big business' which held the money and power to control and influence
8 participatory and planning decisions to suit its own specific commercial agenda. There was a
9 failure on the part of the developer to incorporate, or at least acknowledge, the concerns of
10 community members who voiced negative opinions. The developer's initial assumption that
11 these community members were 'radicals' removed the legitimacy of their opinions from the
12 community engagement process, creating and concealing an unjust process of exclusion
13 (Aitken 2010c). This echoes the warnings throughout much of the existing literature on
14 public engagement of the risk of an 'us and them' relationship forming between community
15 members and the developer, creating a significant barrier to collaborative participation
16 (Wolsink 2007).
17

18 Reed (2008), amongst others, has argued, 'it is not enough to simply provide
19 stakeholders with the opportunity to participate in decision-making; they must actually be
20 able to participate' (p.2422). Empowering people to participate can include interpreting
21 technical information or providing context to local plans, with the key principle being that the
22 information is 'presented in a way that the public can understand and it must be easy for them
23 to obtain it' (Bell *et al* 2005, p.469). The interviewees suggest that this was not achieved in
24 the Glenburn case, leaving local residents feeling excluded from the decision-making
25 process.
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28 ***The Community's Trust in The Community Trust***

29 In terms of the distribution of the benefit funds in Glenburn, applications by the community
30 were considered, and subsequently accepted or rejected, by the four individuals running the
31 GCT. Described as an isolated community group, it is likely that they have a nuanced
32 position within the community, which will evolve over time as a result of the power they hold
33 as managers of the fund. These findings echo recent observations of Goedkoop and Devine-
34 Wright (2016), within the context of shared ownership renewable energy projects. In
35 considering the justice implications of these projects, they found that some of the developers
36 themselves expressed concerns regarding the (un)representativeness of the community actors
37 with whom they worked, and noted the difficulty of engaging with a diversity of local
38 residents. This highlights the importance of acknowledging that, as a small, self-selecting,
39 agenda-driven group, community groups such as GCT will not necessarily be representative
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3 of the geographic community in which they operate, which links to wider, longstanding
4 debates around how ‘the community’ is framed and made operational within this context
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6 (Raco and Flint 2001, Bristow *et al* 2012, Creamer 2015).
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8 Although ‘[c]onsensus over how a community fund should be managed and/or
9 allocated may never be fully possible’ (Aitken 2010a, p.6073), the Glenburn case highlights
10 that there is significant scope for improvement in this regard. The diverse interests of the
11 community need to be incorporated into the management of this fund, through broadened
12 community participation and decision-making processes (Markantoni and Aitken 2015).
13 According to the interviewees, the community as a whole did not feel empowered, or feel a
14 sense of ownership over the community benefit or the associated decisions being made.
15 Therefore, the way in which the benefits are being distributed, and the types of projects being
16 funded (described as intangible, invisible and/or short-term, rather than legacy projects) has
17 served to highlight – rather than resolve – issues of equity and powerlessness amongst those
18 members of the community who are not linked directly with those involved in managing the
19 fund. These sentiments again highlighted feelings of disempowerment, both within the design
20 of the community benefit and its administration via GCT, with the sense that final decisions
21 rested, in both contexts, with ‘outsiders’ (Hinshelwood 2001). If local representatives had had
22 some influence in the design of the community benefit package, there may have been more
23 legacy projects, which may have positively affected the long-term associations the residents
24 have with the development (Fast and Mabee 2015). However, low levels of motivation to
25 engage in discussions with the developer and within the community may have hindered such
26 a transition in practice (Kalkbrenner and Roosen 2016).
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39 These findings support previous research that has found that, whilst the provision of
40 community benefits is now routine, they are rarely planned and implemented in a strategic
41 way that will have long-term local welfare or development outcomes (Munday *et al* 2011).
42 Moreover, it has been observed that – even where there is a shared ambition for meaningful,
43 long-term benefits – developers and community members found it difficult to agree on what
44 this would mean in practice (Aitken 2010a). Similarly, Bristow *et al* (2011, p.1115) note that
45 ‘small, highly localized bodies’ operating on an *ad hoc* basis, may not be best placed to grasp
46 and manage the scale of the benefits presented by increasingly large renewable energy
47 developments. This raises a significant challenge for policymakers and developers who are
48 genuinely interested in delivering a positive legacy for local communities, in terms of the
49 mechanisms through which communities are engaged in the design and delivery of
50 community benefits packages.
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The Boomerang Effect

The provision of community benefits in Glenburn was not linked with a positive participation process, nor was the outcome (the benefit package) seen as a positive result for the majority of those interviewed, as the benefits provided were not well-advertised locally and were generally considered inadequate. Instead, as with other examples in the literature (Cass *et al* 2010, Aitken 2010a, Walker *et al* 2017), the community benefits package in Glenburn was viewed by many interviewees as a bribe, or as a means with which to expedite and ensure a successful planning application.

This was further underlined by the declining levels of support for the Glenburn development amongst those who were initially positive or neutral towards the project, which rings alarm bells with regards to the negative impacts that the community benefits package bestowed on local opinion. We suggested at the outset of this paper that the value of a community benefits package in promoting support or acceptance of a renewable energy project may be diminished in cases where the community does not perceive the process or outcomes to be collectively fair. Our results indicate that, under these circumstances, not only can community benefits fail to engender additional support, but can result in a ‘boomerang’ effect, whereby resistance to the development increases locally (Walker *et al* 2014).

Conclusion

This paper has analysed the perceptions of community actors towards a commercial wind energy project in central Scotland. Our empirical data has highlighted the critical relationship between the ‘process’ and ‘outcome’ dimensions of the design and distribution of community benefits from wind energy developments. The interviewees reported local dissatisfaction with the outcomes of the Glenburn development for the community, with the most significant cause of this dissatisfaction being an ineffective community engagement process regarding the project as a whole, and the benefits package itself. Our findings support the observations of Aitken (2010a), who found it was not possible to separate people’s perceptions of how ‘fair’ the community benefits package was from their perceptions of the way in which the planning process as a whole had been conducted. By failing to achieve a satisfactory engagement process, the potential positive outcomes of the development for community members have been significantly compromised. Deemed ‘community energy’ under current Scottish Government community energy policy, due to the annual community benefit payment made to the local Community Trust to administer within the local area, the analysis

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3 has also revealed a number of important factors that have limited the effectiveness of the
4 community benefit arrangement and the extent to which the project could be termed
5 'community energy'.
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8 The findings highlight the inadequacies of current community energy policy and
9 associated wind developer practice in relation to the process of engaging communities in the
10 planning process and delivering a community benefit fund. The lack of a legal obligation for
11 developers to consult communities on community benefit arrangement poses an important
12 challenge if community benefits are to tackle issues of equity and justice. However, issues
13 may also arise if there were to be a legal obligation to consult communities on community
14 benefits when the benefits packages themselves cannot be legally mandated. In the case of
15 Glenburn, a poorly designed and delivered community engagement process, which relied on
16 the community council as the main vehicle of information dissemination, led to negative
17 associations with the development amongst the community. This negative association was
18 amplified by the nature of the community benefit arrangement, which was seen as ineffective
19 and a vehicle for increasing the developer's chances of receiving planning permission for the
20 development.
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29 Further work is required to ascertain how far one can extrapolate from the Glenburn
30 case and, in particular, whether similar experiences exist in other communities where
31 community benefit funds have been designed and delivered by developers. If similarities
32 exist, questions could be raised about the effectiveness of community benefits as a positive
33 component of strategies to empower communities within the renewable energy transition.
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40 **Acknowledgments**

41 We would like to give thanks to all of the interviewees of this paper. Thank you for giving
42 your time and valuable opinions to inform these findings. We would also like to thank two
43 anonymous reviewers whose comments helped improve this paper substantially.
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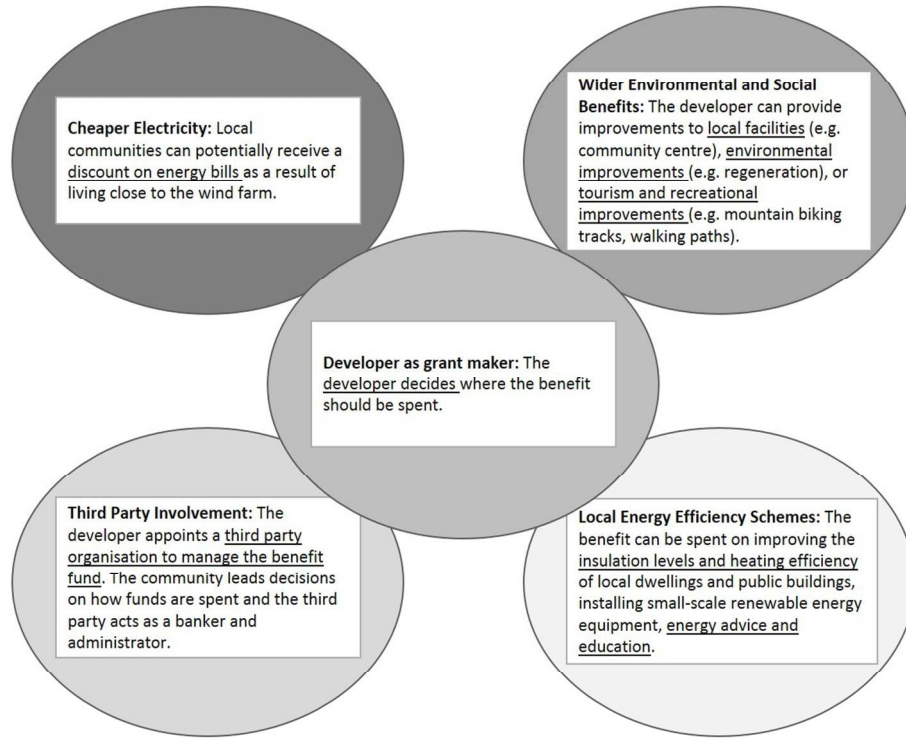
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For Peer Review Only

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Example of handouts used during interviews (Meacham 2012)

338x265mm (96 x 96 DPI)

Preview Only

Categories of 'community benefit'	Example benefits	Case studies
Financial payments to local communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some form of community fund, with lump sum and/or annual payments. • Reduced electricity prices. • Direct sponsorship of local events. 	Meikle Cawere Wind Farm (Aberdeenshire) developed a Local Electricity Discount Scheme for local residents and businesses.
Contributions in kind to local assets and facilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To landscape and ecological enhancement measures, perhaps that mitigate or compensate for any environmental costs caused by the wind farm. • To tourism/ visitor facilities. 	Aikengall Community Wind Farm (East Lothian) provides funding for the enhancement of Lammermuir Deans SSSI.
Provision of other local services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational visits or other educational programmes. 	Sneddon Law Community Wind Farm (East Ayrshire) aims to create an educational/field centre.
Conventional economic benefits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The use of local goods and services. • Employment of local people. • Land rental income to landowners and any royalties. • Local business rates and/or taxes. 	Solwaybank Wind Farm (Dumfries and Galloway) aims to create short and medium term jobs during the construction of the wind farm.
Involvement in the development process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Various forms of engagement activity. 	Freasdail Wind Farm (Argyll and Bute) engages with schools and young people.

Interviewee affiliations	Codes
2 x Community Council Members	CC1-CC2
3 x Local Residents	LR1-LR3
2 x MSPs	MSP1- MSP2
4 x Local Councillors	LC1-LC4
1 x Developer	DVP