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A Betrayal of Trust, or a Failure of Process? Responses to a Motorway Proposal in Glasgow, Scotland, 1965–1996

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Abstract: A proposal to build a motorway in Glasgow, Scotland, in the 1970s proved highly controversial. The new road would take a slice of a valued green space in the city, damaging local ecology and amenity, and would widen health inequalities for a disadvantaged local community through pollution and isolation. A lengthy and noisy protest ensued, culminating in the formation of the 'Pollok Free State' in 1995, but it was ultimately unsuccessful. This paper explores the origins and development of the protest movement, drawing attention to the fragility of the alliance created to oppose the motorway, and its shift in ideological position from an initial focus on social justice and favouring more affluent residents, towards environmental degradation instead. It highlights the failure of the established process to address the views of a vulnerable local community adequately, and the frustration that resulted. The National Trust for Scotland, a conservation charity with responsibilities over the land in question, played an important role and faced accusations of 'selling out', which is challenged. It also reveals the deception and duplicity that characterised the approach taken by the lead local authority, and highlights the lasting legacy of the campaign, which lives on long after its failure.

Keywords: Motorway; Protest; Community; Park; Conservation; Environment; Inequalities; Class War; Apartheid; Scotland

1. Introduction

In early 1995, a noisy protest broke out on the western side of the Pollok estate, a countryside area within the urban sprawl of Glasgow, Scotland's largest city. Widely reported in Scottish print and broadcast media, it included the construction of an encampment among the trees, with tree houses, tents and makeshift shelters, a campfire, banners and signage, wood carvings, folk song and a colourful counter-cultural ambience. This was the focal point of a protest that in 1994 declared itself the Pollok Free State, proclaiming its 'independence' from national and regional government and its determination to live by different rules and standards [1]. What was at first a largely symbolic presence had developed into confrontation with the authorities and their contractors and security agents, and a fairly quiet local protest using official channels had become a loud and controversial argument conducted largely through the media.

It was founded on opposition to a planned extension to the M77 motorway linking central Glasgow to the outlying towns of Kilmarnock and Ayr, two important commuter bases for Glasgow. The route chosen for this motorway would take a slice out of the western edge of the Pollok estate, a large green space of ecological and recreational significance, affecting both human access and wildlife habitats. Its proponents argued that it was needed to relieve serious congestion on the existing route into Glasgow, the A77, and would also offer increased road safety, new recreational opportunities, and economic gains through improved travel times and better connections with

the Ayrshire ports and Northern Ireland [2]. These benefits were largely discounted by the objectors, who sought a different approach to the transport problems the motorway might address, and highlighted important social and health-related consequences of the new road as well as its impact on valuable and valued green space within the city.

The protest had several characteristics that make it noteworthy, even as part of a wider anti-roads movement in the UK during the 1990s. The paper highlights the shock caused by the sudden emergence of a firm proposal to build the motorway, even though this had already been trailed. It also notes the shifting base of opposition, which evolved from an original foundation in community degradation to a more environmentally focused basis over time. There was a strong sense of injustice on the part of a vulnerable community being overlooked in favour of a more affluent one, prompting a sense of 'class war'. And neither the protesters nor the protagonists of the motorway presented a united front in favour of their positions. There are also unanswered questions that this paper seeks to address as regards the roles of three key bodies: the National Trust for Scotland (NTS), which had legally binding obligations to care for the estate, and was accused of 'selling out' to the road lobby [3]; Corkerhill Community Council (CCC), which worked to protect the interests of the local community most adversely affected by the proposal; and Strathclyde Regional Council (SRC), the elected local authority with responsibility for highways, who championed the project and saw it through to a conclusion. The paper thus fills a significant gap in existing knowledge, contributing to a wider understanding of the anti-roads movement, and also seeks to answer key questions about important stakeholders, whose involvement in the issue requires more clarification: did the NTS sell out, how did CCC's arguments about injustice and impact become subverted by environmentalists, and was SRC's position entirely consistent and, indeed, honourable?

The protest has attracted interest from academic historians, some of whom were engaged tangentially with the encampment and observed the development of the protesters' tactics from the perspective of a direct observer. Paul Routledge wrote a diary recording his experience at the Pollok Free State and later explored the development of the 'community of resistance' at the camp, and how its strategy of opposition developed over time He emphasised the ambiguous role of the media, whose coverage was sought by the coordinators of the protest but whose tone proved to be very largely negative towards their approach. Routledge also suggested that the protest failed to engage sufficiently closely with the communities most affected by the proposals, although he acknowledges the involvement of local people in the movement. He also set this protest into a wider political context and notes how postmodern resistance facilitates new alliances and seeks to create solidarities embodied in specific locations and insulated from outside influence or control [4]. These characteristics are visible in the Pollok protest, but outside influence proved significant as well.

The strategies employed by the protestors are central to the analysis of Ben Seel, who saw a movement formed around a single issue but with much wider goals challenging the existing polity and culture and seeking to radicalise green thinking. He too focused on the tactics of those coordinating the protest, but illuminated these with interviews with some of those taking part, who in turn stressed their opposition not only to the immediate threat but also to the underlying issues of land tenure, inadequate representation, and perceived cultural estrangement. He also noted how the protest developed from local community-based activism into a much broader movement embracing participants from beyond the locality itself [5].

Derek Wall has written a study of Earth First! and its role in anti-road protests, in which Pollok features, albeit briefly. He notes that Glasgow politicians were strongly in favour of new roads for their city, and that the city also has a long history of community resistance. Although the campaign failed to stop the motorway, he is clear that it left a legacy behind it in terms of working-class identity, social justice, and environmental awareness, although he does not expand on this, and does not identify the different strands of the protest movement that emerge from a closer examination. His emphasis throughout is the environmental dimension promoted by Earth First! [6].

Alongside these published academic analyses, there are two unpublished theses that explore the Pollok protest. Wallace McNeish was another observer who included a lengthy section on the M77 protest within an analysis of the wider anti-roads protest movement that swept Britain in the 1990s. His emphasis was on the sociological make-up of the protesters at Pollok, and their social mix—unemployed by choice, mainly younger in age, but diverse in terms of social class, education, and experience of activism. They also had divergent ideologies and environmental priorities, but found they could unite around a common cause and a strategy embracing direct action. McNeish saw the formation of a 'red/green alliance'—a bond between those of working-class origins and motivations and

those with an ecological mindset—as one of the movement's success stories, alongside the politicisation of local people. However, he also noted how, over time, the environmental arguments gained supremacy over those being advocated by local communities, who were much more concerned with immediate local impacts [7].

The opposition of the local community was the starting point for a second thesis, by Andrew Robinson, which examined how this emerged and developed. Like McNeish, he noted the ideological distinctiveness between the local movement seeking to defend its own surroundings and community interests, and that of the eco-warriors promoting a wider world view of environmental protection as an issue of justice and opposition to monolithic control. However, he suggested that these ideas were able to coalesce, at least for a while, and that local people by and large welcomed the more radical approach of the Pollok Free State as facilitating wider awareness, albeit on a different ideological foundation. He also included some interesting data on the evolution of the environmental movement in the UK in the 1980s, whereby traditional, middle-class protection bodies such as the National Trust and the Council for the Protection of Rural England grew incrementally, while membership of more radical bodies such as Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth grew exponentially, indicating a move at this time away from the traditional guardians of the *status quo* and towards a more challenging and direct form of opposition to environmentally damaging proposals [8].

These contributions to the debate provide helpful analysis of the history of the protest from its early beginnings to its 1995 culmination in direct action and high-profile media attention. They address many of the areas of interest arising from the protest, including the strategy behind direct action and media interest, the alliance across cultural, social, and ideological boundaries, and the evolution of the underlying argument. They also set the protest into its political, sociological, and ideological context. However, they focus tightly on the protest and its protagonists, and do not explore in any depth the parts played by other actors in this drama, especially the other main stakeholders: the landowners, the local authorities (and local political parties), and the National Trust for Scotland (NTS), a major conservation charity in Scotland, whose important Conservation Agreement over the Pollok land is acknowledged, but needs a good deal more explanation than has so far been offered. There is also much more emphasis on the radical environmental dimension of the protest and less attention given to the community most seriously affected by the plan. This paper seeks to address these omissions and thus allow a fuller picture of the story of the M77 extension to emerge.

2. Methods and Materials

This paper is based largely on archival research, primarily in the archives of the National Trust for Scotland in Edinburgh. The NTS has a large archive on the M77 proposal, and the archivist has informed the author that, despite the four academic theses that address the protest, this archive has never before been requested or examined. This leaves an important gap in understanding the position of one of the most important stakeholders in the protest, which can now be addressed. The archive helpfully reveals the background to the action taken by the NTS, including the expert advice it relied on in making its decisions.

As noted above, there are four theses that have covered the Pollok protest. These are based largely on contemporaneous evidence, accrued either by observation or by subsequent interview. They are useful, but do not give the full picture that emerges from wider research. There is also a wealth of contemporary documentary material produced by those associated with the protest, including the Corkerhill Community Council, the local authorities, the objectors, and the experts they called on to support their arguments.

The protest attracted considerable media interest at the time and later. Press reports have been examined, and a video archive prepared by Simon Yuill has also been examined [3]. A BBC retrospective film made in 2019 for their Gaelic TV channel, which included interviews with some of the original participants, has also made a helpful contribution to the analysis [9].

The author has also had access to the report from the Public Inquiry from 1988 (a copy of which is contained in the NTS archives) [10], and to Scott, Wilson Kirkpatrick's report on the Ayr motorway dating from 1975. The Scottish Roads Archive, a private archive of material pertaining to road building in Scotland, has also been useful in developing an understanding of the background to, and the development of, the M77 proposals [11].

Interest in the protest has continued since it ended, largely kept alive by three local organisations: Galgael, a community organisation that works with alienated young people, and founded by one of the protest leaders, Greater Govanhill, a community organisation that works to challenge negative perceptions of south Glasgow, and the South

Glasgow Heritage and Environment Trust, a voluntary body promoting the heritage of south Glasgow. Their online archives include both contemporary and retrospective commentary (and photographs) that give insight into the perspective of those engaged in the protest [12, 13]. The existence and extent of these archives indicate the importance of the protest in local heritage.

This paper departs from the conventional academic structure of Introduction/ Method/Results/Discussion/ Conclusion, which is more appropriate for a scientific analysis and does not lend itself to a historical narrative; a chronological approach building to a set of conclusions is thought to help the reader better follow the development of the issue.

3. Explanatory Notes

3.1. Clarifications

Readers unfamiliar with Scotland at this time may find some clarification helpful. During the period covered by this paper, Scotland was governed from London, through a Scottish Office based in Edinburgh, overseen by a Secretary of State for Scotland. Within this arrangement, a Scottish Development Department was established in 1962 with responsibility for supervising local government. The Secretary of State was a political appointment reflecting the majority party (Conservative or Labour) in the British Government at the time.

In Glasgow, the local authority was Glasgow Corporation until 1975, with responsibilities including both roads and city planning. In 1975, local government in Scotland was reorganised, with a new regional authority, Strathclyde Regional Council, taking over many responsibilities, including roads, and covering not only Glasgow but a much wider geographical area as well. A second new authority, Glasgow District Council, was also created to cover the city itself, with many fewer responsibilities than its predecessor, although it retained the important function of town planning. Parks and open spaces became a shared responsibility between the regional and district councils. All the Councils listed here were governed by a Labour Party majority throughout the period of this paper, but the national government was at times Labour-run, at other times in Conservative hands.

Labour is a centre-left party that traditionally represents the views of working-class people and trade unionists; the Conservatives are traditionally a centre-right party aligned with the middle-class, homeowners, and landowning interests—though these are broad statements and policies and decisions do not always reflect these standpoints.

It may also be helpful to know that motorways in Britain are generally classified using the letter 'M' followed by a number; main roads use the classification 'A' followed by a number. A motorway is distinguished from other major roads in the UK by allowing higher speeds, having access limited to specific points, and (usually) having a 'hard shoulder' (an additional lane) for use in emergencies. Motorways have two or more lanes in each direction, and do not permit use by bicycles or pedestrians, or for parking [14]. The M8, which is mentioned below and to which the M77 would connect, is the main road between Scotland's two principal cities, Glasgow and Edinburgh.

3.2. Geography

It is important to understand the geography of the land associated with the protest, and **Figure 1** helps with this. It shows the key features of the estate, with the area covered by the 1939 Conservation Agreement (discussed below) outlined in black. The features marked in red are referred to in the text, while the proposed route of the new road is drawn in green. The main adverse impacts of the proposed route are on the Haggs Castle Golf Course in the north-west corner, at Corkerhill, where it divides an area of farmland, and further south near Barrhead Road, where it passes through woodland. The map does not show proposed interchanges at Dumbreck Road, Corkerhill Farm, and Barrhead Road, which would inevitably take even more land from the western edge of the estate.

The Conservation Agreement was concluded between Sir John Maxwell, then the owner of all the land at Pollok, and the National Trust for Scotland (NTS), of which he was a founder, in 1939. It was needed to protect the land from unwanted development after the NTS proved unable to acquire the land outright—several offers were made to the NTS, but none were financially workable [15]. The Agreement did not confer ownership of any part of the property, but gave the NTS the right to approve, or veto, any proposal that might encroach on the property, or any action they interpreted as detracting from its amenity. It specifically prevented the use of any part of the land for development of housing, offices, or factories, but permitted use as a park, gardens, and sports pitches, and conceded a right of pre-emption, giving Glasgow Corporation first refusal in any disposal of part or all of the land [16].

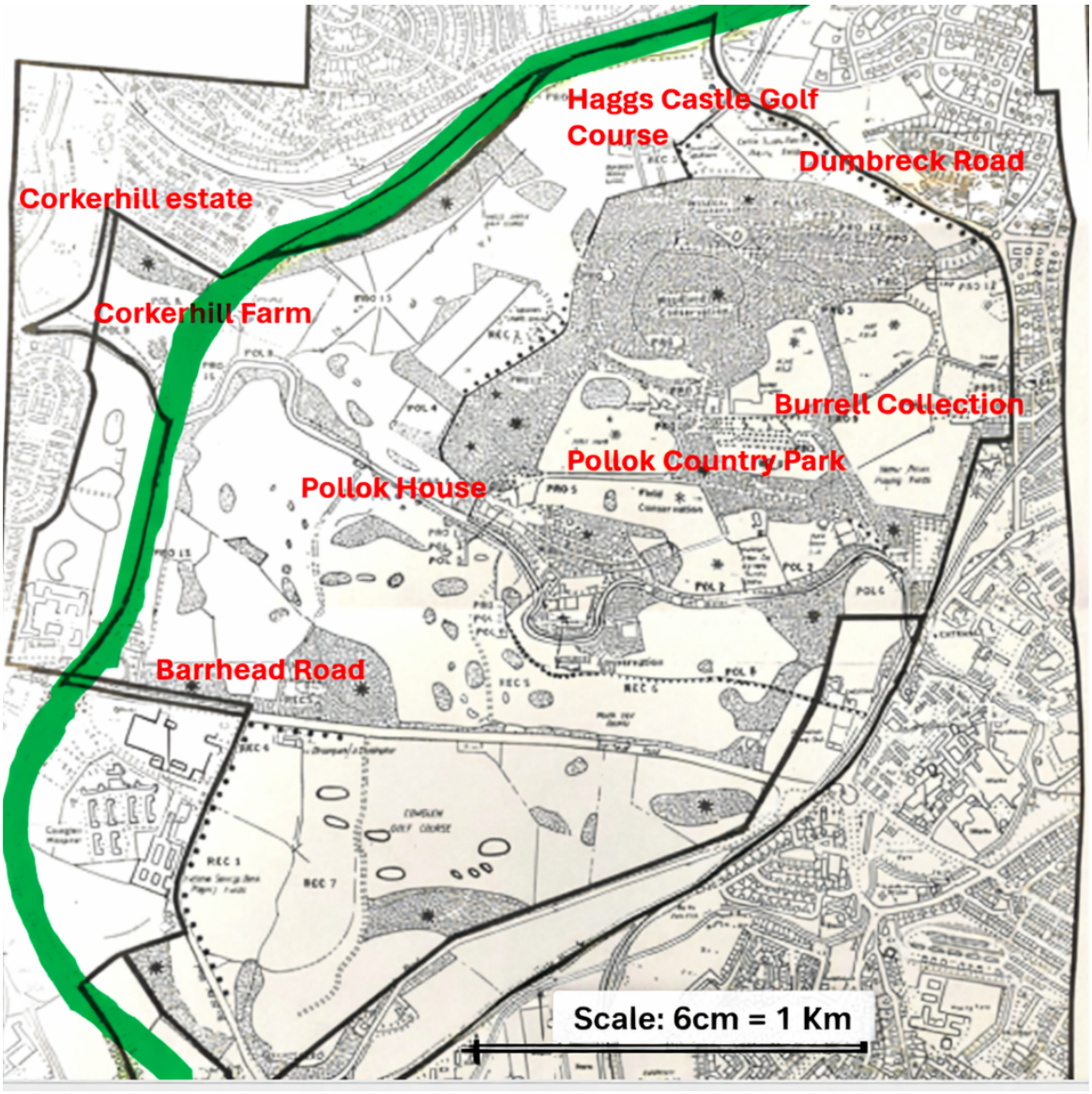

Figure 1. Pollok estate in the 1970s, showing Conservation Agreement area (outlined in black), and proposed route of motorway (in green).

Note: Copyright National Trust for Scotland, used with permission.

By 1970, two landowners owned the land covered by the Conservation Agreement. One was Nether Pollok Ltd., a company owned by the Maxwell family and set up to manage their estate commercially, and from which the family derived an income. The other was Glasgow Corporation, which had in 1969 been gifted the land that is now Pollok Country Park, noting that this part of the estate should 'remain forever as open spaces or woodland for the enhancement of the beauty of the neighbourhood and for the benefit of the public, and in particular the citizens of Glasgow' [17]. The Conservation Agreement remains in force today, but came under severe test when the M77 proposal landed unexpectedly with the NTS in May 1971.

4. The Protest

4.1. The Proposal, 1971–1974

Towards the end of May 1971, the Secretary of the NTS, Jamie Stormonth Darling, was alerted to an exhibition being organised by Glasgow Corporation, and due to take place in two weeks' time, to provide information about

a planned motorway extension that would take a slice off the Pollok estate. This clearly came as a shock, although it arguably should not have; a member of staff had two months earlier alerted management to the redirection of funding away from Edinburgh and towards the M77 [18].

The news nevertheless prompted a request for a very urgent meeting between the NTS, Nether Pollok Ltd., members of the Maxwell family, and committee members from Haggs Castle Golf Club on the one hand, and the Corporation on the other. The meeting drew the Corporation's attention to the impact this proposal would have on the estate, the need to respect the Conservation Agreement and to obtain the NTS' acceptance before moving forward (which the Corporation's officers had failed to do) and the inappropriateness of holding a public exhibition before discussing the proposal with these stakeholders, none of whom had any prior knowledge that it had reached this stage. The Corporation, severely embarrassed, agreed to postpone the exhibition to allow further discussion and to keep the plan under wraps for the time being, but Stormonth Darling noted that this proposition put the NTS in a 'most difficult situation', which he likened to being asked to dispose of inalienable property [19].

This pinpoints where the difficulty lay for the NTS. If it had been able to take on the property when the Maxwell family originally offered it, the land would have become 'inalienable' under the terms of the legislation that established the NTS. Inalienability would mean that the NTS would be prevented from agreeing to disposal, and any authority seeking to acquire the land would be required to seek Parliamentary consent, thereby freeing the NTS from any involvement in the decision. Without this protection, however, the land might be made subject to a Compulsory Purchase Order (CPO)—an arrangement compelling the sale of the land to the local authority. Alternatively, the NTS could agree to allow the project to proceed without the need for a CPO, if it felt this was appropriate. The NTS sought urgent clarification of its position from two sources—one of its own trustees, Sir Robert Russell, and Professor Anthony Travis, an academic authority on town planning.

Travis was the first to respond, advising that there was no viable alternative for the motorway other than the route being proposed; other routes had been considered, but were discarded on grounds of cost and/or the need for extensive demolition [12]. The route along the margin of the Pollok estate allowed the local authority to demonstrate both cost-effectiveness and speed of action, since (he suggested) there was unlikely to be serious opposition. Crucially, he stated categorically that there was nothing the NTS could do to stop this going ahead, however undesirable it might be, but that they could insist on the inclusion of mitigation measures, including sinking the new road into a cutting and adding extensive planting to screen the road, minimise noise, and reduce pollution. He also thought that an allocation of compensatory land from the estate for the Golf Club would be appropriate [20]. Russell had little to add to this when his view eventually arrived over two months later; he was inclined to accept the Corporation's argument that a motorway was needed, and was a priority, and that the solution being put forward was the least bad of the choices available. His response essentially accepted the whole proposition with little demurral [21].

Although the news of the exhibition had come as a shock to the NTS, this was partly through their own failure to stay on top of the development of road policy in Glasgow. The idea of the M77 had already been floated some years earlier, in a report by the County Surveyors Society in 1962, reported in the national press, which included a motorway from Glasgow to Ayr [22]. This was nothing more than a vaguely defined aspiration, but greater detail was added in a highways study commissioned by Glasgow Corporation from consultants Scott Wilson Kirkpatrick (SWK), released in 1963. Their proposals included a motorway connecting with the M8 (the motorway linking Scotland's two major cities) and running south-west towards Kilmarnock and Ayr. They proposed a road linking the A77—the existing, heavily congested, road from Ayr into the city—to the M8 motorway. This would give traffic easier access to and from the city on motorway-standard roads; the northern section of this road, skirting Pollok Park, was clearly labelled 'Motorway' [12]. The SWK report was delivered to the Corporation in 1963; its recommendations were not kept confidential, and there was considerable press coverage of it at the time [8]. It is strange that neither the NTS nor Nether Pollok Ltd. seems to have been alert to this plan.

They were not alone, however; apparently, Corkerhill Community Association, a voluntary body representing residents of the Corkerhill community, only became aware of the plan when they were invited to a meeting with the Corporation in 1969, to discuss its implications [7]. They saw the problem immediately: the new road would further isolate the small and heavily disadvantaged community of Corkerhill, already separated from its neighbours on one side by railway and sidings, and would also cut off access to the park area at Pollok, with the motorway blocking

a 'right of way' the Association asserted across the Haggs Castle Golf Course and into the park itself (**Figure 2**). Walter Morrison, the Chairman of the Association, immediately began orchestrating a campaign against the plan, with public meetings and a leafleting drive, to inform local people about the proposals and to gain support for opposition.

Figure 2. Corkerhill estate, the railway, and the proposed motorway, showing the impact on the isolation of this small community.

The NTS now had to consider its position carefully, taking into account the advice it had received from Travis and Russell. Internal correspondence reveals a feeling near the top of the organisation that the plans were not as dreadful as they first appeared; the situation was compared to a plate being chipped at one side, damaged but still usable. Stormonth Darling had also noted that the motorway could act as a *cordon sanitaire* protecting the remainder of the estate from any further encroachment from the west [23]. The Trust's legal officer had confirmed that a compulsory purchase order would not be blocked by the Conservation Agreement [24]. The prevailing view among NTS staff was to accept the inevitability of the situation and to seek measures to mitigate adverse effects, rather than take a position of outright opposition [25]. A media release was subsequently issued seeking to explain the NTS's role under the Conservation Agreement, saying it accepted the proposal, but would be working to minimise its impact, including seeking advice from the eminent British landscape architect, Dame Sylvia Crowe [26].

Crowe's report was not particularly encouraging. She drew attention to Pollok's importance as a peaceful countryside space within a city setting, which she thought was threatened by the plans. The loss of land from the golf course would need to be offset by redesignating other estate land in compensation, and she recommended extensive landscaping to mitigate the impacts, including (as Travis had suggested earlier) lowering the level of the road and using planting to conceal it and to deaden sound. Her overall conclusion, however, was that 'no landscape or other treatment can wholly compensate for the grave loss which this road will cause'. Her opinion formed the basis of later pressure from NTS for ameliorating the impact of the road, but also had the more immediate effect of persuading the planners to drop their initial plans to demolish the listed buildings of Corkerhill Farm [27].

The motorway exhibition eventually took place at Bellahouston Park, near Pollok, in September 1971 [28].

The Corporation was not yet completely forgiven for its earlier *faux pas*, and Stormonth Darling sought assurance that there would be no further erosion of Pollok and told his Chairman that he wanted a 'Declaration of Faith' from the City [29]. What he got, after some delay, was an apology and an assurance that this error would not be repeated [30]. Everything then quietened down for several months, although the plans were clearly still evolving; discussion around Corkerhill Farm now focused on repurposing it as an educational resource, and the NTS was informed in 1973 that the city had purchased the farm with this in mind [31]. In October 1973, with the future of the farm now apparently secured, the NTS formally confirmed its approval of the proposed line of the motorway, and its associated signage, fencing bridges, and landscaping [32]. A Minute of Waiver, a document formalising this decision, was completed in 1974 [33].

There is little evidence of feedback at this point on what was to become a bone of contention later. The main concerns recorded by the NTS in these years emanated from the trustees of the Burrell Collection, an eclectic and hugely valuable accumulation of treasures from around the world amassed by a Glasgow shipping magnate, which had been seeking a home for many years [17]. Their eventual decision to locate at Pollok had been strongly driven by its unpolluted atmosphere and its rural character, and they added their voice to the need for landscaping in the motorway project [34]. Other than this, which essentially supported the NTS's position, there was very little to suggest that the NTS's standpoint was in any way questionable; the national argument in favour of road-building had yet to be seriously challenged by public opinion.

4.2. Local Outrage, 1976–1986

Although the matter quietened down considerably for the NTS during the 1970s, there were nevertheless important developments in this period. One was the construction of a section of motorway between the M8 and Dumbreck Road, commissioned in 1976 and completed in 1981. It was designated the M77, despite not being built to motorway standards. Strathclyde Regional Council (SRC), now the local authority responsible for highways, stated publicly that the Pollok section of this road was no longer being considered, but nevertheless secretly instructed SWK to plan for an extension following a similar design [35].

In the meantime, Corkerhill Community Council (CCC), which had superseded the former Community Association, had stepped up its own protest against the motorway, focusing their attention on the alleged 'right of way' between their community and the park, across Haggs Castle Golf Course; the existence of this right of way was investigated three times by Glasgow Corporation and its successor authorities but each time it concluded that no right of way existed [36]. The CCC protest took the form of interrupting the playing of golf on this course, one of the more prestigious in Scotland, persisting with this strategy of attrition for several years, without attracting much support outside their own community. This focus on the loss of access mutated after 1983 into a more telling argument based on other inequalities, including the high incidence of child asthma in Corkerhill and the community's consequent vulnerability to atmospheric pollution [8]. Morrison also needed to strengthen his opposition and worked with Friends of the Earth to engage a wider range of interests that shared the anti-roads agenda; this became a coalition of interest groups named 'Glasgow for People' [7].

The community's case rested on issues that were, at least initially, essentially social in nature. They included the further isolation of the Corkerhill community, with the railway joined by a second hard boundary, increasing separation from its neighbours, aggravated by the loss of access to a highly valued green space. They highlighted the noise nuisance they would suffer, and the air pollution that would increase the health inequalities they already experienced, not least in terms of childhood asthma. As a deprived working-class community, they drew attention to the considerable disadvantage they would experience in order to benefit the more affluent middle-class southern suburbs of Glasgow—Giffnock, Thornliebank and Newton Mearns—where those who relied on the old A77 road lived. Morrison framed this disparity as 'social apartheid' [37]. This is strong language, referencing (and inviting comparison with) Government policy of the time in South Africa, which was on a totally different scale and based on racial, rather than economic, characteristics. Morrison's use of the term is clearly hyperbole, intended to shock and to convey a depth of feeling, but grossly overstated.

They had a point, nevertheless. The A77 through the southern suburbs was heavily congested with traffic from further south, and from the affluent suburbs themselves, which had relatively high levels of car ownership and poor public transport links to the city. It was, in fact, the increasingly intolerable congestion on the A77 that brought the M77 extension back into focus in the mid-1980s, with strong lobbying from local politicians, including

George Younger, the Secretary of State but also the Member of Parliament for Ayr, one of the towns that would benefit from the motorway. The project had now been rebadged as the 'Ayr Road Route', as it would now not be built to motorway standards; this also served a secondary purpose, making the road appear less threatening [38].

The NTS's engagement with the road continued through this period, but focused on just two aspects—implementation of Crowe's landscaping recommendations, and, somewhat bizarrely, the future of Corkerhill Farm, bought by Glasgow Corporation in 1973 but, since Local Government reorganisation in 1975, owned by SRC. SRC, for reasons unknown, flatly refused to discuss it—or indeed any other aspect of Pollok—with the NTS, and also refused to consider a bridge to reconnect the separate parts of the farm, despite having a resident tenant there [39]. The archives reveal long, protracted discussions within NTS over the vexed issues of its viability as a farm, its possible future use, and access to it, all leading nowhere but absorbing a huge amount of institutional energy.

However, the NTS was also pursuing the possibility of acquiring the entire Pollok estate (presumably with a view to declaring it inalienable). A fundraising trust was set up by Stormonth Darling in 1986, led by the celebrated industrialist and Government adviser Sir Monty Finniston, to enable the purchase, and a target of £2.12 million was set to fund an endowment to support the acquisition [40]. However, the new trust struggled from the outset, lost its way, and had become effectively dormant by 1991 when Finniston died; it had raised just £2,000 in five years [41].

Political pressure was maintained, and was no doubt reinforced by the Dumbreck Road connection, completed in 1981 and effectively a declaration of intent on the part of SRC, which submitted a planning application for the extension southwards in 1984, and went on to lodge a CPO for the required land. Glasgow District Council (the new city authority) refused to grant planning consent, using the grounds presented by Corkerhill Community Council as its justification. A situation had thus developed where a Labour-controlled Regional Council with responsibility for roads was being blocked by a Labour-controlled City Council responsible for town planning and community well-being. SRC appealed the decision, and the proposal was referred to a formal Public Inquiry, which took place in 1988 [7]. In the meantime, the motorway section south of Newton Mearns had also been given the go-ahead by the Scottish Development Department (SDD), leaving the Pollok section the only part of the motorway yet to be settled [42].

4.3. The Inquiry and Its Aftermath, 1986–1992

SRC was not alone in its support for the new road; it was backed up by evidence from Glasgow's Chamber of Commerce, a hauliers' organisation, the Community Councils for Eastwood, Giffnock and Newton Mearns, three Ayrshire local authorities, and Haggs Castle Golf Club. The opponents, alongside Glasgow District Council, included CCC, Glasgow Friends of the Earth, Glasgow's Green Party, and the estate management company (now known as Pollok and Corrour Ltd.). CCC made a video for the Inquiry that highlighted the negative impacts they would experience while middle-class suburbs gained from reduced traffic and increased house values. Out of around 1000 residents in total in Corkerhill, no fewer than 803 submitted written objections to the Inquiry. Tommy Sheridan, then a member of Militant (a Trotskyist group within the Labour Party) and a local Councillor said, 'Quite clearly, one community was being penalised in favour of another' [7]. The NTS gave evidence to the Inquiry but did not take sides, merely answering questions about its role in relation to the Conservation Agreement and promoting its intentions as regards the farm [43].

The Inquiry lasted for 29 days, making it the longest road inquiry ever held in Scotland [44]. Its Reporter, Brian Parnell, determined his decision based on whether there was, in reality, a problem on the A77 corridor, and whether the solution proposed by the Regional Council was the correct one. He also stated his firm belief that 'a new road… should not impose… harmful effects on communities near [it] [45]. Given this statement, it is curious that, while noting four adverse impacts on the residents of Corkerhill—noise, air pollution, visual intrusion, and loss of access—he decided that there were adequate mitigations built into the plan [8]. As might have been inevitable, the Conservative Secretary of State, by then Malcolm Rifkind, ruled in favour of SRC, allowing their appeal and giving the Pollok section of the M77 a green light [46].

There were conditions attached to this decision; among them, the landscaping scheme had to be agreed by the City Council, and pedestrian access between Corkerhill and the Country Park had to be maintained throughout and beyond the construction period. These were small but important victories for the NTS that recognised their representations to the Inquiry [47]. Corkerhill Community Council would be compensated for its loss of amenity with an improved landscaping scheme and a new play area [8]. After long and protracted negotiation, they also

gained a footbridge across the motorway [48].

However, work on the project stalled at this point. Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had imposed strict spending limits on Scottish councils, with a special emphasis on enforcement against those under Labour control, and these prevented the SRC from progressing the motorway; the council sought central government funding instead, but this was not agreed until 1994 [8]. In the meantime, events elsewhere were awakening a new dimension of protest: direct action.

The Conservative government had issued, in 1989, a White Paper entitled 'Roads for Prosperity', which announced no fewer than 500 new road-building schemes across the UK. The government proudly proclaimed this as 'the largest road-building programme since the Romans' [49]. and it came in response to rapid growth in car ownership and a perceived connection between mobility and economic growth. The White Paper included no Scottish schemes at all, not even the M77, but among the projects listed were a bypass for Newbury, an extension for the M3 across Twyford Down near Winchester, and a new link road for the M11 in East London, all of which are now readily recognisable as the focus of massive organised protests [50]. The first of these was at Twyford Down, and has been claimed as 'chang[ing] the face of the environmental movement'. It followed a series of Public Inquiries, and a failure on the part of objectors to stop the road from being approved through the established process. One of the objectors contacted a group called Earth First! with a track record of disruption of environmental degradation overseas, and urged their involvement in helping to stop the M3 extension, effectively an invitation to direct action, which quickly led to activists setting up an encampment, chaining themselves to machinery, and attracting significant media attention. The activists were drawn from a wide cross-section of people, and included those promoting an alternative lifestyle, students, and local residents. The scale and intensity of the direct action at Twyford Down had no precedent in anti-road protest, but clearly inspired future opposition; it has been described as 'the birthplace of ecological direct action' and is still resonant today [51].

A feature of other road protests at this time was the establishment of what might be described as 'micro-enclaves'—self-determined, named communities, asserting a form of imaginary independence from traditional forms of governance. At the M11 Link Road protests in East London in 1993, these included 'Leytonstonia' and 'Wanstonia' [52]. Wall suggests these followed the example set in the film *Passport to Pimlico*, in which an area of London declares itself independent of an unwanted government policy [6,53].

These strands of resistance—direct action, engagement with outsiders, alliances across social boundaries, and the declaration of a micro-enclave with different rules of governance—are all visible at Pollok when work on the motorway finally began in 1994. The person who brought these elements together was Colin MacLeod, a local resident with a passion for trees, and particularly those in which he had played as a youngster [54]. He was infuriated by the plans, declaring in 1993 'There's going to be an outrage, and we're going to start it!' [15]. Macleod had previous experience of direct action and, when SRC announced plans to fell some trees, decided that those were the tactics needed to reawaken awareness of the road plan. To stimulate objection, his initial protest, discussed and agreed with CCC, was to occupy a 27 m (90') tree in the woodland at Pollok for nine days, in 1992. This attracted a good deal of media interest, and he became a focal point for what followed: 'Everybody remembers there was a crazy guy… up a tree… it effectively engaged the local community' [10].

4.4. Pollok Free State, 1994–1995

MacLeod already had a network of contacts in the anti-roads movement, and he and CCC contacted veterans of the Twyford Down and M11 protests and invited them to join in opposing the M77 extension. Earth First!, an established and experienced group of environmental radicals, accepted the invitation, and word spread across the network, coalescing in a 'community of resistance' that brought together local residents, students and academics, international visitors and activists, families with children, unemployed Glaswegians and even local 'neds', who formed a temporary coalition across societal and cultural boundaries and set up an encampment in Barrhead Woods in 1994, close to the proposed route of the motorway. This became the Pollok Free State, declared in 1994, a community in which new rules and conventions operated, and which became far more than simply an anti-road movement. It has been described as 'a beacon of resistance, community empowerment and democracy' [55]. Although formed to fight the M77 extension and the environmental degradation this would cause, the Free State also promoted Gaelic culture and craft, Scottish history, and taught new skills, as well as trying to model a communal lifestyle [5,10].

An important dimension of the protest was to raise awareness among the wider public. Earth First! knew that

media attention was key to this objective, and understood how to attract this. Imaginative banners (for example, 'We will fight them in the beeches'—an echo of Churchill's wartime statement that 'we will fight them on the beaches') were followed by protesters chaining themselves to trees, to contractors' equipment and even at times to contractors themselves [56]. The Free State issued passports, quoting from Burns' poem 'Tree of Liberty', which one source claims were given to a thousand supporters. The camp developed from a few tents into a fortified eco-hamlet with colourful decoration [15]. As the protest evolved, those involved adopted obstructive techniques, including spiking trees to prevent them from being chain-sawed, and erecting large occupied tripods to block heavy earthmoving plant [57]. They also confronted the contractors' workforce (Wimpey had been appointed in 1994), the hired-in security personnel, and the police, with clashes turning violent at times. Arrests began to take place in early 1995, with bail conditions or imprisonment taking some activists out of play [7].

Arguably, the most visible aspect of the protest was the creation of 'Carhenge', where a number of 'old bangers' were planted vertically in the ground, arranged in the form of a stone circle, and then set alight [4,6]. However, a more decisive and defining moment occurred in February 1995, when Wimpey attempted to evict the camp occupants; the site was invaded by a large group of schoolchildren who blocked the contractors' access and engaged in discussion with the security guards. The children included students from Bellarmine School, which was to be demolished to make space for the motorway; it had not long before received an award for its work promoting the environment, an irony not lost on the children, who proved very articulate in decrying the project. This encounter led to up to 26 security guards quitting, with one saying he had not signed up to confront children; one of those who quit actually joined the protesters, after realising they were not 'environmental nutters from Europe', as he had originally thought [15,58].

A further unexpected media event was the arrest of the Conservative MP for Eastwood, Allan Stewart, a motorway supporter, for threatening behaviour against a protester after visiting the site and waving a pickaxe around. Stewart, who was alleged to have had a 'good lunch' ahead of his visit, was convicted and fined, and lost his ministerial post in the Government [59,60]. Officialdom lost some of the moral high ground in this incident, but generally the media coverage was negative in tone: the *Glasgow Evening Times* described the protesters as 'New Agers, freeloaders and green extremists', while the *Scottish Daily Mail* sneered at the 'squalor' of the camp and *Scotland on Sunday* called it 'an outlaw encampment mocking the authority of the outside world' [61–63]. Another press report categorised the protesters as 'limelight-seeking, dole-scrounging troublemakers wasting taxpayers' money' [5]. The move into direct action attracted further criticism, especially when the police presence was challenged. The leader of SRC, Charles Gordon, described the protesters as 'fanatics… extremists… fundamentalists who have concluded that roads are bad for the environment… it's dangerous, a form of fascism [8]. But he admitted in 1995 that SRC had lost the media battle over the motorway, despite the adverse coverage [7].

The last significant protest action occurred in March 1995, when Wimpey finally succeeded in breaking through the barriers set up by the Free State and began felling trees in earnest. The operation involved 250 police officers, and the use of extensive security fencing to isolate protesters; 16 people were arrested, including Tommy Sheridan [4].

Although it is remembered as a mass protest, Pollok Free State was a fluid body where people came and went regularly. Routledge remembers a core group of just 5 people at times, broadening to as many as 20, but with up to 150 people on site during periods of more intensive resistance [10]. For MacLeod, the protest was about 'showing the politicians that if you're refusing to listen to us, we're not going away'. There was also a strong connection with opposition to the Criminal Justice and Public Order Bill that sought—in the wake of earlier road protests—to regulate protest and criminalise some forms of direct action [10].

The Free State was not the only organised opposition to the motorway. A second coalition was formed in 1994, the Stop the Ayr Road Route Alliance (STARR). This loose alliance brought together 19 organisations opposed to the motorway plan, including branches of national groups such as the Scottish Wildlife Trust, Transport 2000 and Friends of the Earth, and smaller entities such as Glasgow Tree Lovers and the local Cycling Campaign [64]. STARR collaborated with the Free State in organising a march from George Square in central Glasgow to the encampment, in which over two thousand people participated, but also acted independently [7]. Its strategy was three-pronged, and included opposition through legal process, lobbying and demonstrations, and direct action, a mix which reflected its diverse membership but which did not make for a comfortable alliance, as a disruptive protest at SRC's offices proved [7,8]. One of STARR's leading figures, Lindsay Keenan, even wrote (unsuccessfully) to the Queen asking her

to intervene [65].

Glasgow for People commissioned a report from David Spaven, which explored an alternative solution to the problem and described SRC's approach as 'yesterday's answer to tomorrow's problem'. Spaven, a well-known rail enthusiast, highlighted several contradictions in SRC's approach, including its failure to carry out an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) as mandated by the European Union, the success of recent rail improvements and station schemes, and the inconsistency of this project with the national (now Labour) government's moratorium on new road schemes. Predictably, Spaven proposed a rail-based solution; but also recommended upgrades to roads beyond the city boundary, rerouting traffic away from the A77 at a more southerly point; he also rebutted the Council's claimed benefits from the scheme [66].

SRC responded to this by banning Spaven's report from its local libraries, and by issuing a series of leaflets promoting the benefits they expected from the road—improved road safety and economic advantages—alongside reassurance over landscaping and promises of recreational gains for the local community [2]. They also published a refutation of the accusations being made by the opposition, in the form of a double-page spread in their newspaper, delivered to all households in Glasgow [48]. As to the EIA, the council argued that the study it had undertaken ahead of the Planning Inquiry in 1988 was sufficient, and had met and exceeded the EU's requirements [67].

Corkerhill Community Council, while members of STARR, organised their own response as well, in the form of a leaflet highlighting the damage the road was expected to cause to the local community, but also the ineffectiveness of the Conservation Agreement entered into by the NTS, and the lack of consultation on the part of SRC with those most affected [68]. A further initiative involved leafleting visitors to the Burrell Collection, with photos of local protesters and a torrent of information explaining why this campaign was being conducted. This included portraying the motorway as a huge wall, with 'Keep Korky Out' graffitied on it [69].

The M77 was officially opened in December 1996, but the battle had effectively been lost in March 1995, when Wimpey succeeded in removing the trees and demolishing the encampment. Most anti-road protests in the 1990s resulted in similar failures. But it is possible to argue, as Kate Evans does, that although these individual battles were lost, a war was being won. She points out that a national road budget of £23 billion in 1992 had been cut back to just £6 billion by 1996 [70]. The Government was realising that road-building was not as popular as it had once been, and security issues were causing costs to escalate sharply.

4.5. Legacy—After 1995

Despite its eventual failure, Pollok Free State left a significant and lasting legacy in South Glasgow and beyond. MacLeod set up GalGael, a new body that sought to be a community of collaboration, inclusion and creativity, which became a charity and offered opportunities to young people in Govan, a deprived area of the city, struggling with addiction and alienation; the organisation has long outlived its founder, who died in 2005, aged 39 [71]. Darren McGarvey, another local resident, sees an impact, deriving from the Free State experience, on community and individual confidence to challenge officialdom [55], and the protest has been credited with informing other protests such as that at the naval base at Faslane [72]. It also helped to motivate opposition to the creation of a 'Go Ape' adventure park in Pollok Country Park in 2008 [15]. McNeish goes so far as to suggest that the Pollok protest initiated tactics that are now standard practice in eco-activism [7], although Wall's study suggests that many of these tactics were already tried and tested [6]. It has inspired three films, including a documentary by the BBC Gaelic channel BBC Alba, as recently as 2015, while hundreds of people turned out for a reunion celebration, and a discussion on the evolution of protest, in 2025 [15]. Its legacy demonstrates this very clearly, highlighting its role as a community facilitator and an advocate for indigenous Scottish culture. 'We lost the campaign, but learned… how to make community… take responsibility, articulate our concerns, and find common purpose' [1].

5. Conclusions

5.1. The Proposal Itself

The introduction to this paper raised several questions. Firstly, how was it that the proposal to build the M77 caused such a shock in 1971, given that the idea had been floated by SWK some years earlier. Two reasons can be adduced from the evidence: in the first place, road-building was widely seen in the 1970s as a positive contribution towards modernisation and economic growth, and was not the contentious subject it became later—indeed, Travis'

considered report to the NTS on its options at this time suggested they would face little opposition, almost certainly a correct reading of the situation. There was little or no organised environmental opposition in the UK in the early 1970s, with Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth only beginning to emerge at this time. Secondly, the evidence shows that the decision to begin work on the M77 was a sudden one, precipitated by a decision at the SDD to switch funding away from a controversial Edinburgh relief road plan and into the M77 instead. Although the M77 had been clearly trailed, it was not until this point a much lower priority than the Edinburgh by-pass, and this decision caught almost everyone off-guard.

5.2. The Lack of a Shared Agenda

An unusual feature of the protest was that the anti-M77 coalition was not completely built around a shared agenda: Corkerhill residents were driven by the social and amenity impacts of the road, Earth First! by the environmental cost, schoolchildren by the threat to their school, and others by the opportunity to explore communal living and to take a stand against unwanted authority. Robinson identifies just two cadres of protestors—the eco-warriors, and those fighting to protect their own surroundings, but the reality is that the protest was much more diverse, or fragmented, than this. Time was also an important factor here; the delay between the proposal in 1971 and the delivery in 1995 allowed a sea change in attitudes towards new roads, and towards protecting the environment, which provided an altogether different context for the opposition.

5.3. A Fragile Alliance

And it is the case that the alliances across cultural boundaries proved fragile. Although they were built on a common opposition to the M77, ethical and tactical differences proved divisive. One of the Free Staters said that the only thing they had in common was feeling 'f***ed off with the system… powerless' [73]. That was certainly true of the local residents, who lived in what was the most deprived estate in Europe. As McNeish points out, this was not a stereotypical middle-class NIMBY movement—an acronym signifying 'Not in my Back Yard', frequently used pejoratively against those opposed to new development—it was rooted in a local, working-class community, and originated in a belief that one class of resident was being favoured over another. This 'class war' argument persisted as a foundational element in Corkerhill's opposition, but was largely superseded, especially after the involvement of Earth First!, by environmental concerns focused on trees and habitats rather than on social justice.

STARR similarly demonstrates tensions and division. As an alliance it lasted for only a year, and McNeish highlights its lack of strategic leadership and direction. It brought together objections based on social justice and those founded in the environment, but was never able to reconcile these positions. Spaven himself drew attention to a 'fault line' within the organisation between those who sought a political solution and those committed to direct action, between those committed to staying within the law and those willing to operate outside it.

In contrast, the Free State stayed remarkably united. There were issues within it over rules—one difference of opinion led to MacLeod being stabbed and hospitalised [10]—but it succeeded in developing and enforcing rules, including a ban on alcohol within the camp. This was despite presenting itself as non-hierarchical in nature and opposed to regulatory imposition from outside.

Division was however also apparent elsewhere in the protagonists, not least among the local Labour Party. SRC, a Labour council, promoted the motorway vigorously, while Glasgow City Council, also Labour-led, opposed it. The Labour group at SRC even voted to scrap the scheme in 1994, but were overruled by the Council leadership [74]. Three local Labour MPs joined STARR and opposed the road, as did Militant Labour (now a separate group), but three Labour MPs from Ayrshire supported it.

5.4. The NTS and the Accusations of 'Selling Out'

The NTS position is an important dimension of the history of the protest. It had taken its eye off the ball in 1965, when SWK's first report went public, and never really recovered from this error. It missed a further cue in early 1971 when it was alerted to redirection of road funding. It at last evaluated the proposition in 1971, albeit before it attracted public attention, and took its position early, with the Minute of Waiver completed in 1974. But this decision backfired later, and it was accused of betraying its role as custodian of the estate, and of making a 'pressured backtrack' in agreeing to waive the Conservation Agreement [56]. This is unfair: there is no evidence that the NTS came under anything other than internal pressure, and informed advice, to offer this waiver.

Where this tactic failed was that, over the intervening twenty years, the NTS made little attempt to clarify its role. At the Planning Inquiry in 1988, it decided deliberately not to position itself as an objector at all, leaving this to the City Council, and decided instead simply to rehearse how it reached its decision to waive the Conservation Agreement. Evidence from the NTS included an assertion that 'the Trust was anxious to co-operate wherever it could' [75]. It lodged objections only to the landscaping proposed by SRC, and the future of the farm.

When it did seek to explain its position, this was generally in response to individuals complaining about its apparent neutrality, or even support, for the M77. A response to an enquiry from STARR pointed out that there was in the early 1970s little anti-road sentiment, and that there was also welcome for the *cordon sanitaire* [76]. This would not have endeared them to Corkerhill residents and was seen as another expression of 'Keep Korky Out'. Their response to STARR became a standard reply to all correspondents on this issue, but could have formed the basis for a much wider awareness of the NTS's role and position, directly addressing what was clearly a widespread misunderstanding of the NTS's responsibilities and limitations. As it was, it was firmly on the back foot over the M77, complaining bitterly, but to little effect, about media misreporting, and particularly representing it as an owner of the land [77]. This was a massive failure in public relations and could have been averted or at least minimised by adequate media management on the part of NTS.

It is at least arguable that the NTS should have refused to waive the Conservation Agreement when asked to do so in 1971. Their advisers said this would be pointless, but they were overlooking the possibility of this being misunderstood later, as indeed it was. Forcing the local authority to seek a CPO would at the very least have placed the NTS in a definitive position, which could have been much more reputationally advantageous later. They would have lost, of course, but at least their position would have been clear, and they would have undoubtedly attracted public sympathy for their standpoint. Possibly cost implications discouraged them from this approach; possibly they were concerned to rebuild their relationship with the city, or swayed by the idea of a harder boundary to the west. What is certain is that nobody at the NTS or among their advisers anticipated the possibility of an anti-road protest at all, let alone one on the scale of the Pollok Free State, leaving them unprepared to manage their response to it.

5.5. The Local Authorities

The local authorities emerge with little credit from this story. Glasgow Corporation was naive and incompetent, rather than anything more sinister, in its attempt to launch a motorway proposal in 1971 without consulting any of the other parties that should have been involved, most importantly the NTS, which held what was effectively a right of veto. Their successors, Glasgow City Council, were consistent in opposing the plan, refusing planning consent and arguing against the motorway at the Public Inquiry. Strathclyde, on the other hand, were more devious in their approach. They commissioned SWK to prepare plans for the motorway extension 'on the quiet', a decision that would have provoked outrage if it had leaked. They progressed a scheme that was in conflict with their own social strategy for deprived communities, provoking internal division. They renamed the scheme the 'Ayr Road Route', obscuring its status as effectively a motorway. They refused to engage with the NTS over the Conservation Agreement, forcing NTS to complain to the Scottish Office [78]. They opposed the provision of a footbridge connection to Corkerhill. They rejected requests for an environmental assessment required by EU regulation. And they banned Spaven's report from local libraries, an astonishing act of censorship.

5.6. The Landowners

As for the landowners, Pollok and Corrour Ltd., their position was not always in accord with that of the NTS. Donald Maxwell-Macdonald, the head of the family, backed the *cordon sanitaire* notion strongly, and supported the Golf Club in their efforts to close the alleged right of way from Corkerhill. He had earlier opposed the Corkerhill footbridge as well, and was not at all keen on repurposing the farm [79, 80]. Maxwell Macdonald justified this position as a desire to protect the golf club's interests and to reduce vandalism; the NTS appraisal was that it was a commercially motivated approach, rather than one led by the original family ideals [81]. But it is perfectly possible to see an illustration here of what CCC perceived as a class-driven attempt to exclude another instance of the 'Keep Korky Out' mentality.

5.7. Corkerhill

And what of Corkerhill itself? The protest began with the Corkerhill community, organised by Morrison, raising objections on the grounds of adverse impacts on the local community, which is already a seriously deprived one. The early argument suggested a 'class war' situation, contrasting the favourable view being given to affluent residents in middle-class suburbs (and the Golf Club) with the damaging effect of the proposals on an impoverished and isolated working-class community. This was the foundation of Corkerhill's powerful case to the Public Inquiry, and was apparently well received, although the Reporter was in the end able to ignore his initial view that no harm should come from the road, and look instead for mitigation measures that were in reality a token gesture rather than a genuine amelioration. The footbridge they eventually won to replace their footpath was almost grudgingly granted. For Corkerhill, this was a massive failure of due process from which they never recovered, although they continued to lobby against the road. This failure also soured others' views, as the reference to disappointment with the system shows.

Corkerhill lost the battle, but their representations, both formal and informal, did succeed in securing them the access they sought, as well as a new play area, and above all a new awareness of a small but vociferous community that would not be beaten into submission by officialdom. Walter Morrison, who led the community through this and other battles, was justifiably awarded an honour for his work representing Corkerhill despite this setback. An obituary describes him as 'a private extraordinaire in the awkward squad' [82]. The local authorities, and perhaps the NTS as well, would no doubt concur.

Another battle may also have been won:

> *"It seems that when people talk of Pollok Free State they do not dwell on the campaign's loss and the motorway. Rather, they focus on the sense of connectedness and participatory citizenship, the lessons learned from taking action and being engaged in your environment. It articulated an alternative approach, and created space for different inputs, rethinking how city space is structured, who for, and how to have a voice in the process."* [1].

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