Landscape Values

Place and Praxis

Galway, 29th June – 2nd July 2016

Centre for Landscape Studies, NUI Galway

Tim Collins, Gesche Kindermann, Conor Newman & Nessa Cronin (eds)

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Conference, Galway, 29th June – 2nd July 2016

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LANDSCAPE STUDIES

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Foreword

"... landscape, like text, is a social and cultural production as well as an instrument of communication."

Pat Sheeran, co-founder, Centre for Landscape Studies, NUIG

Introduction

The essays in this book were presented at the **Landscape Values: Place and Praxis Conference** at the National University of Ireland Galway, June 29th – July 2nd 2016. The conference was run under the auspices of the Centre for Landscape Studies in association with the Moore and Ryan Institutes (NUI Galway), and UNISCAPE, a network of universities committed to landscape research, education and the implementation of the *European Landscape Convention* (Council of Europe 2000, Florence). The conference took place on the first anniversary of the publication of Government of Ireland's *National Landscape Strategy 2015-2025*, issued as part of its commitments under the *European Landscape Convention*, which Ireland ratified in 2002.[i]

Underpinned by at least four decades of research and advocacy on landscape, the *Convention* is a call for action on the part of all communities and their governments to honour the great legacy and future inheritance that is the landscape and to establish management of the landscape on the principle that it is a shared resource upon which depends the physical, intellectual and emotional well-being of us all.

Progress on the delivery of the aspirations of the *Convention* may not have occurred as fast as many would like but important building blocks are being established nonetheless. As a cultural and critical paradigm, 'landscape' has achieved quite significant traction among the public where, as many of these essays testify, it is expressed in a multitude of different ways. As is the case in Ireland, landscape is now a factor in government policies across the signatory countries. Furthermore, landscape, in one guise or another, features in almost every field of academic enquiry, providing an interdisciplinary space of unprecedented texture and potential.

The research and pedagogical demands associated with landscape are just as complex as the challenges facing governance, management and resourcing. Indeed, as a conference such as this demonstrates, the two domains of activity are not separable: research, experimentation and analysis around how precisely to mediate between public expressions of value and decision-making is vital to the success of the landscape project. The *Convention* has thus presented us with a significant challenge, and educational institutions will have to be imaginative, inclusive and courageous in order to deliver research, training and education to meet and support this fundamental, and ever more urgent, societal need. The Centre for Landscape Studies was founded at NUI Galway 22 years ago to do just that. In his preface to the 3rd edition of *Decoding the Landscape*, Tim Collins (co-founder and outgoing director) wrote of the multidisciplinarity demanded by the landscape paradigm, commenting that such is '... to be welcomed, in an age where increasing specialisation and compartmentalisation of knowledge seems to be the order of the day' (Collins 2003, ix).[ii]

Given such a call for inter- and cross-disciplinary thought, Tim Robinson's work has become an international touchstone for scholars, writers and artists interested in, and concerned with, the Irish landscape. The maps of the Burren, Oileáin Árainn, and Connemara, along with his books on the west of Ireland have established him as the foremost writer, cartographer and thinker of the Irish landscape over the last 40 years. As he writes, 'I found [in the west of Ireland] something that I am still trying to understand, and am anxious to pass on. Heard something, I should say, rather than found. The language and the place, the landscape, spoke with one tongue, and spoke of something that is in danger of being forgotten by the busier languages and places of the world.'[iii]

***Iarsma* and the Tim Robinson Archive, NUI Galway**

In 2006, the Robinson Archive was officially donated to NUI Galway as part of a generous gift to the people from the region from Tim and Máiréad Robinson. The process of depositing and cataloguing the archive commenced in July 2013 with a team of librarians and scholars. The archive contains 489 pages of maps; 9,650 pages of correspondence dating from 1960-2010; 24,365 pages of manuscripts, and first editions of his maps and books; 300 Irish and English language reference books; material relating to his life and work in Vienna, Istanbul, London and Cambridge; 11,700 items of placename index cards contained in 13 drawers; field notebooks, index cards, rubbings, drawings, photographs and other fieldwork related material and observations. This archive is an

invaluable resource for landscape studies at NUI Galway.

Iarsma: Fragments from an Archive, is the Artist-in-the-Archive project initiated by Nessa Cronin in 2015 where a group of artists were commissioned to work on the theme of Landscape in relation to the Robinson Archive at NUI Galway. Choreographer Ríonach Ní Néill, Composer and Musician Tim Collins, and Visual Artist Deirdre O'Mahony collaborated with Nessa over a six month period to form the Performing Landscapes Collective which worked to explore and investigate new ways in which studies of the Irish landscape could be encountered, envisaged and re-imagined through various disciplinary lenses and arts practices. As a practice-led research project, *Iarsma* is the culmination of the first phase of their work in the Robinson Archive.

Place as a nexus of values

In requiring of signatories to 'recognise landscapes [...] as an essential component of people's surroundings, and expression of the diversity of their shared cultural and natural heritage, and a foundation of their identity', Article 5(a) of the *Convention* advocates on behalf of the full suite of values, tangible and intangible, attaching and accruing to landscape. Accordingly, good management of the landscape begins with recognising and negotiating all manner of values. This conference focuses on that very challenge.

Indeed, at precisely the moment that we go to press with these proceedings, the Council of Europe's Steering Committee for Culture, Heritage and Landscape (CDCPP) meets in Strasbourg to finalise the *European Cultural Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century*. Describing it as the 'heir' to a forty-year long tradition of research and discourse on European cultural heritage, the *Strategy* is being heralded as the culmination of a series of important conventions, notably the European Cultural Convention (Paris 1954); Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe (Granada 1985); European Convention on the Protection of Archaeological Heritage (Valletta 1992); European Landscape Convention (Florence 2000) and the Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro 2005). As the Foreword to the draft document declares:

> *The issues occupying us at the beginning of this 21st century are no longer why or how should we preserve, restore and enhance our heritage, but rather "**Who should we be doing this for?**" This is the very rationale of the Faro* Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society *(2005) which underpins the entire process of the European Cultural Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century.* [iv]
>
> (emphasis added)

Observing an evolution that has taken place in cultural heritage praxis, driven by relevance of context, natural and cultural environment and the centrality of values-based societal stewardship, the *Draft Strategy* identifies common ground between the Faro and Florence conventions and sets out a manifesto for everyone involved in landscape management; citizens, teachers, researchers and decision makers.

Place–a nexus of values, some that complement, others that compete– is central to any critical discourse on landscape. The animation between people and landscape resonates powerfully with the idea of place as a profound centre of meaning, constituted by and through needs, aspirations and experiences, from which values emerge and are emplaced. Landscape and place are ideas that strike at the very heart of what it is to be human. To paraphrase geographer and philosopher, Jeff Malpas, "human being is place being".[v]

The human sciences all recognise the important role that the collective values engendered in place-making have in forging and reinforcing community cohesion. A 2015 survey by the Heritage Council of Ireland shows that the public ranks built and natural heritage equally. In fact, though the gap is statistically insignificant, nature is ranked ahead of monuments and buildings as heritage. This suggests that the values associated with nature are not only scientific, that ecosystems service more than just the biological needs of society, and that topophilia and biophilia are deeply intertwined.

The work of the Heritage Council of Ireland features quite prominently in this conference – directly in the form of papers in these proceedings, and indirectly as sponsor, mentor and partner in many of the community projects visited during the four conference excursions. The Heritage Council has been a long-time advocate for landscape, and has an admirable track record of policy proposals, research and community project support. Its Heritage Officer Programme is a good model of how to match the radical call in the European Landscape Convention for new ways to steward the landscape. When the history of this chapter in Irish landscape stewardship is written the fact that the Heritage Council was given responsibility for *both* natural and cultural

heritage equally will be seen to have been not just in keeping with the founding principle of the European Landscape Convention but to have been paradigmatic.

It is perhaps a measure of the success of the Heritage Council that in the twenty-plus years since its foundation heritage per se, and the range of phenomena considered to be heritage, has evolved and grown, undoubtedly *because* of increased public empowerment and participation in heritage projects and events. The conservation of associated values and the agency of heritage assets has moved to centre-stage in professional and public discourse around heritage. Indeed, the fact that there is increased public discourse around heritage and landscape at all heralds an emerging zeitgeist that finds expression in the numerous, spontaneous public mobilisations around landscape values. To take one example, the recent report commissioned by the Irish Uplands Forum and the Heritage Council, *Uplands Community Study* (Hill 2016), shortlisted no fewer than 25 uplands community groups/organisations for study, commenting that this is by no means an exhaustive list. Hill makes the significant observation that:

> *.. **these groups have not waited for central government** to address the environmental, social and economic disadvantage of their upland areas..* (Hill 2016, 2; emphasis added)

Typically, many of the cultural values attaching to landscape are unspoken. If they do find expression it is often in poetic language and the creative arts. Though uniquely sensitive to the synaptic and protean nature of the relationship between people and place, such expressions are commonly deprived of their agency by the decision-making process. When it comes to regional, national and international business and governance, historical and cultural values are commonly trumped by and are required to cede to scientific and economic ones, effecting an inversion of value-hierarchies customarily associated with community projects. In this conference we have made a special effort to foreground artistic expressions of landscape values. We do so not only to honour the living tradition in Ireland of communicating values and valorising the landscape in prose, poetry, music, dance, song, painting and sculpture, but also in the spirit of Max Raphael's axiom that the aim of all art is 'the undoing of the world of things' and, according to Berger, the establishment of a world of values.[vi] The conference visit to Lough Boora Sculpture Park reaffirmed the power of art to arrest and transport the viewer into a different dimension of landscape thinking, evoking different and unique vistas on not only the particular landscape at hand, but on landscape per se. Thus, once again, a major theme of this conference parallels an important observation in the *Draft European Cultural Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century* that 'new relationships are emerging between cultural heritage and contemporary creation, allowing further scope for creativity and innovation'.[vii]

Such has been the traction acquired universally by the landscape paradigm that communities all across Europe are turning to the distinctive alloys of natural and cultural heritages of their landscapes, their home places, to nurture community well-being and underpin sustainable futures. It is, moreover, becoming clear that community projects are playing a leading role in the delivery of the promises contained in the European Landscape Convention. What is equally clear, however, is that the organs of governance in many countries are ill-equipped to embrace, support and, moreover, benefit from this new reality.

Considering values

In the Call for Papers ahead of this conference contributors were asked to consider values under four general headings: *Place Values; Places in Action; Place Thinking*; and *Place Governance*. Our aim was to mirror and critique the journey of values from their genesis and expression in place, through how they are recorded and documented, to the position they command or are accorded in governance and contemporary social praxis. These categories are, however, no more than organisational devices and, reflecting the reality on the ground so to speak, most of these essays touch on different combinations of these thematics. We rehearse them here to outline the sorts of questions that inspired these papers.

By *Place Values* is meant how and why place/landscape becomes imbued with meaning and values in the creation of life-worlds, and how they are made manifest, materially and ethereally. Whereas place or landscape values are multitudinous, human culture has invented a near-infinite variety of ways to create, express and celebrate those values, in music and song, story and poem, art, architecture, costume, food, law, commerce and ceremony, to name but a few. This phenomenon is the bedrock of what it means to be human.

The growing appreciation of the therapeutic value of landscape, and increasing awareness among health professionals of the role that landscape and access to the

landscape has in health management is an important dimension of contemporary landscape theory and practice. Not confined to the recreational, contemplative and curative aspects of landscape, regard for the well-being of the biosphere has long been recognised as axiomatic to our survival as a species.

The theme *Places in Action* refers to the growing awareness of the connection between place and well-being, evident at community level across Europe, speaks to the traction that the landscape paradigm has gained. Precipitated by unprecedented social change, globalisation, urbanisation, depopulation of rural areas, food and energy security, and environmental degradation, communities throughout Europe are turning to their own ingenuity and resources; environmental, historical and cultural; to nurture and grow sustainable futures. A part of the conference that cannot be adequately reflected here is how community projects in four different regions of Ireland were showcased, *in situ*. Sharing their experiences and knowledge, and their views on the challenges around access to mechanisms available to support and advocate for ground-up initiatives, communities in Galway, Mayo, Clare and Offaly played host to the conference delegates on Thursday 30th of June. The issues facing such communities in Ireland are mirrored throughout Europe, and indeed across the world at a time when pressures from a neoliberal agenda and concerns over the impacts of climate change are felt across urban and rural spaces alike.

The phrase *Place Thinking* speaks to how the approaches adopted by researchers, designers and decision-makers to record, measure, consider, engage with and report on socio-cultural meanings and values of landscape/place affects on how they are represented in management and governance. The tool-of-choice of many practitioners and authorities, Landscape Character Assessment has its critics, and in any case is only of use if appropriate mechanisms are in place to absorb the data into the decision-making process. Other methodologies, such as community mapping, offer even greater sensitivity to contemporary social attitudes and ambitions. This is where training and continuing professional development (CPD) are so important. *Place Thinking* is how we have chosen to describe the training and education of practitioners and advocates. Distributed throughout these essays are the experiences and views of educators on practice and approach, and on the challenge of capturing and advocating on behalf of cultural and ecological values associated with place.

Picking up some of the themes of the June 2015 conference on Defining Landscape Democracy (Centre for Landscape Democracy, Norwegian University of Life Science in collaboration with UNISCAPE), the theme *Place Governance* invites us to once again focus on analysing, critiquing, future-proofing and re-imagining the conservation and design philosophies and management mechanisms and instruments deployed in landscape/place governance, at all levels, from local to international. Synthesis of all of these different aspects – and quite probably more besides – is what is required to manage the landscape in a sustainable way that genuinely benefits all and includes, nay is built upon, more participatory and collaborative management practices.

The conference was generously supported, financially and in other ways, by the National University of Ireland Galway (President's Office; Millennium Fund; Moore Institute; Ryan Institute; Hardiman Library; School of Geography and Archaeology; Centre for Irish Studies; School of Humanities; Institute for Lifecourse and Society) the Heritage Council of Ireland; the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht; UNISCAPE; Fáilte Ireland; Galway County Council, Mayo County Council, Offaly County Council and Clare County Council; Wageningen University. Our thanks are due also to the team of people associated with the Conference and Event Centre, NUI Galway, and in particular Patricia Walsh. Our sincere thanks also to Angela Gallagher and Sandra Getty (SoGA) and Conall Ó Murchadh of Clódóirí CL.

Tim Collins[1], Gesche Kindermann[2], Conor Newman[3] & Nessa Cronin[4]

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Notes

[i] The European Landscape Convention came in to force in Ireland on March 1st, 2004

[ii] Collins T. (ed.) 'Preface to third edition', *Decoding the Landscape: contributions towards a synthesis of thinking in Irish studies on the landscape*. Centre for Landscape Studies (3rd edition 2003), 148-62. Tim Collins was director of the Centre for Landscape Studies 2001-2015.

[iii] Robinson, T, 1996 *Setting Foot on the Shores of Connemara and Other Writings,* (Dublin: Liliput press)

[iv] Council of Europe *Draft European Cultural Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century*. Steering Committee for Culture, Heritage and Landscape (CDCPP), Strasbourg, June 2016, 4.

[v] Malpas, J. 2014 'On Human Being as Placed Being', *Journal of Environmental and Architectural Phenomenology*, **25**(3), 9.

[vi] Raphael, M. 1968 *The Demands of Art*, Trans. N. Guterman (London: Routledge); see also Berger, J. 1980 *About Looking*, (Bloomsbury: London)

[vii] CoE *Draft Cultural Heritage Strategy*, 5

Cultivating the City: Infrastructures of Abundance in Urban Brazil

Jacques Abelman

Academy of Architecture, Amsterdam University of the Arts

Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody.

Jane Jacobs

The Potential of Green Infrastructures

The economic boom in recent years in Brazil has brought with it a complex array of social and environmental challenges. Continued growth has added to the pressure on informal housing areas, or favela neighbourhoods, in urban areas. Although the general rate of favela formation has decreased in the last several years, cities are increasingly stratified according to wealth and currently over 50 million people still live in urban slums (Blanco 2008). Together these urban inhabitants would form the fifth largest state in Brazil (Carta Capital 2013). Public space is a contested zone where the urban poor compete for resources and economic opportunities.

On the level of health and prosperity, growing obesity in the general population has greatly increased while malnutrition continues among the poorest. In 1974, the obesity level was 2.8% in men and 8% in women over twenty, compared with 12.4% and 16.9% respectively in 2009. Obesity rates have grown far more quickly amongst people of lower incomes, although since 2003 this trend has stabilised with the difference in obesity rates between the wealthy and lower income currently quite narrow (Monteiro, Conde and Popkin 2007). The Brazilian Department of Health Analysis has projected that Brazil will match the United States' obesity levels by 2022 (*The Telegraph* 2010).

As urban populations continue to expand, cities in Brazil must adapt to the spatial as well as the social needs of all their inhabitants in order to move towards just and sustainable urban models. New spatial practices must therefore be articulated in order to offer successful strategies for attaining these goals. Urban agriculture (UA) is a practice which can potentially address urban spatial quality and access to food simultaneously. UA can create a secondary food network in the city, simultaneously creating opportunities for livelihoods and new economic activities (FAO 2008). The FAO cites UA as an important factor in helping cities reach the Millennium Development Goals (FAO 2010). At the same time, networks of food producing spaces can potentially increase the spatial quality of the city.

Urban agriculture, if it is to become integrated into the city, needs landscape architectural thinking in order to be woven into the larger urban fabric. Thinking at the scale of ecosystems running through a city creates a framework for spatial change; thinking in assemblages of stakeholders and actors creates a framework for social investment and development. These overlapping frameworks are informed and perhaps even defined by the emergent field of landscape democracy. Landscape democracy understands landscape as an embodiment of differing forms of energy, labour, and organization. Landscape is also understood as a basic infrastructure of society.

The project *Cultivating the City* explores and reclaims the meaning of landscape as the relationship between people and place, both shaping each other. Through a series of hypothetical designs for new productive spaces in the city based on interviews and site analysis, the potential of landscape architecture to create new green infrastructure is illustrated. The project is based on a network of productive urban green spaces in the southern Brazilian capital of Porto Alegre in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. The plant species are selected from the hundreds of food-bearing and medicinal tree, shrub, and plant varieties present in southern Brazil's Atlantic Forest ecosystem. Different typologies of plantings, based on orchard or forest patterns, compose a lace-like network of productive and aesthetic green infrastructure in the urban fabric. Each typology is a scenario of different actors in a specific short food production chain. These narratives, as explorations of potential stakeholders working together on specific sites, illustrate the larger strategy of a adding a productive and multifunctional green infrastructure to the city.

Observing Places and Practices

In order to propose a project built on people and place it is essential to study the city first-hand. In March and April of 2013 I lived in and conducted site research in Porto Alegre. My research methodology in this context was to explore the city on foot, by public transport, by bike and

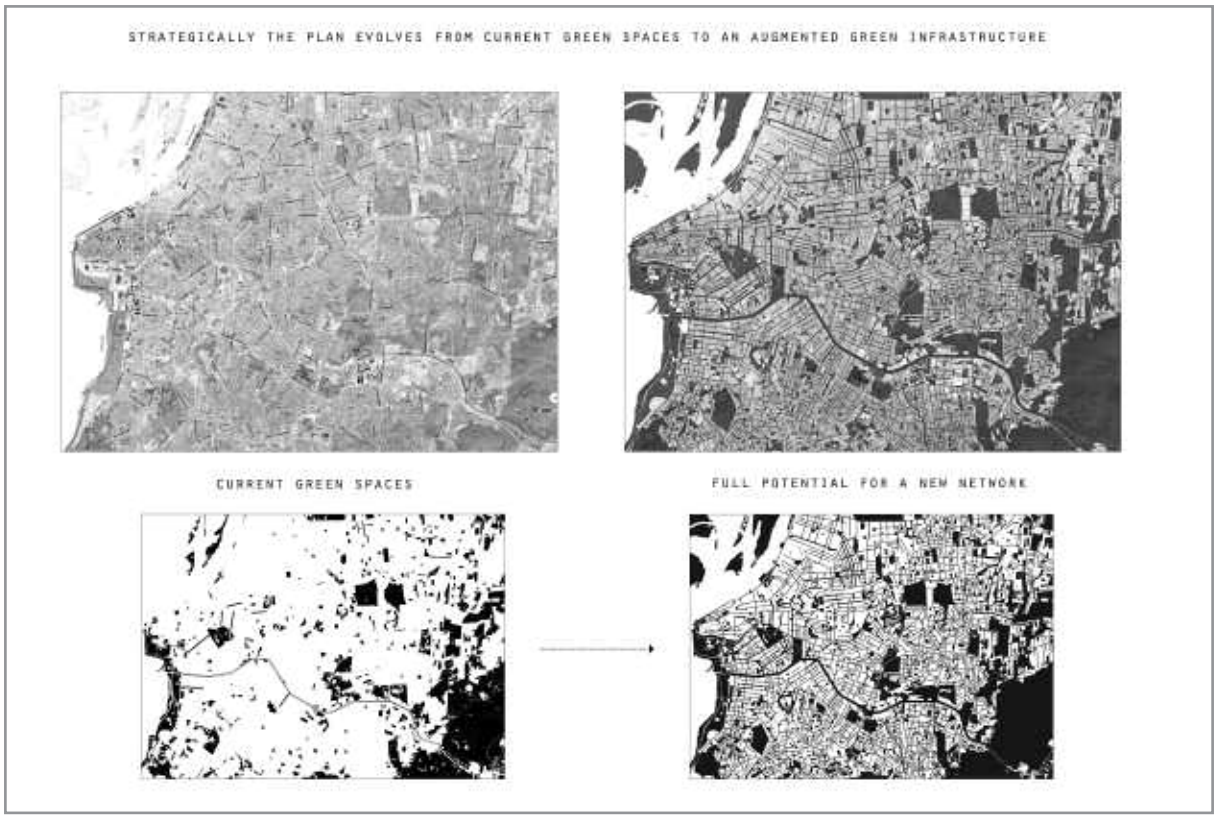

Fig. 1. Strategic plan for augmenting green infrastructure over time

by car, and to observe and engage in dialogue wherever and whenever possible. I immersed myself in the processes of the city and discovered relationships and tensions present in a variety of different sites. Over the course of my city explorations and while attending classes at the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (URFGS) in the departments of Rural Sociology, Agronomy, and Urbanism, I met many engaging people who introduced me to their city. Through them, as well as people I encountered on the street, I discovered sites and observed practices that became the foundation of *Cultivating the City*.

Fieldwork: Exploring Three Urban Sites

My hosts, the Endres family, are *gaúchos* with German and Portuguese origins. (In Brazil, *gaúcho* is also the main gentilic of the people from the state of Rio Grande do Sul). Oscar Endres ran a large market stall in the Mercado Central of Porto Alegre for over fifty years. He prides himself on knowing the origins and culture surrounding Brazilian food and its multitude of regional products, processes and recipes. Now retired, Oscar is an avid gardener. He and his family have lived in the Ipanema suburb of Porto Alegre since the late sixties, a middle class neighbourhood far away from the bustle of downtown. Ipanema's tree-lined streets frame well-maintained homes with fences and gardens. Security is an issue here, as slums are not far away and break-ins, sometimes at gunpoint, or carjackings, are not uncommon. Neighbourhood security guards watch from the shelter of small sheds on street corners, surveilling passers-by day and night through tidy lace curtains. At the end of the street, there is a small park, Praça Bernardo Dreher. The park has lawns, some swing sets, large trees, and a football terrain. I walk there with Oscar, who shows me with pride a leafy shoot protected by broom handles and pieces of wood. It is a goiaba (*Acca sellowiana*) tree that he has raised from seed in his own backyard and transplanted into the park. He treats it with care, and visits it regularly. Other residents have begun to do the same. A seed of pitanga (*Eugenia uniflora*) or araça (*Psidium cattleianum*) for example, will quickly grow into a shrub, then a tree in the favourable sub-tropical conditions. The trees yield abundant fruit and in this neighbourhood the harvest is free for all who care to pick it. The municipal workers who come to mow the park lawns steer clear of the protected seedlings, and once they are established they seem to be absorbed into the design of the park. A dozen new fruit trees planted here over the years augment this neighbourhood landscape. Small acts of guerrilla gardening have become a shared neighbourhood practice, bringing residents out to meet each other. Eyes and ears in the vicinity are on the trees,

also creating a safe area for children to play. An atmosphere of unease sometimes reigns in the suburbs, as though danger or violence could erupt if the wrong conditions arise. My hosts' accounts of incidents of crime confirmed this. However, small children playing in the park with no parents to watch over them attests to the network of awareness around the Praça.

'Spontaneous occupation' is the term used to qualify urban slums in Brazil. Cities are their own ecosystem; whatever niche that can support life is soon filled by an individual or family whose concern is food, shelter, and the business of survival. The pressure on empty urban land is great; spaces are quickly claimed by those arriving to the city who cannot afford conventional housing. However, over time favela areas can come to be thriving neighbourhoods of ingenious architectures as residents climb the economic ladder out of poverty. Temporary shelters solidify into lower middle or middle class housing made of brick and masonry. I toured an area of spontaneous occupation with Pedro, a man responsible for the nearest posto de saude, or neighbourhood health clinic. The favela niches in an empty band of land behind a row of wealthy villas with impenetrable razor wire and glass shard topped walls. Together we met many of the inhabitants, Pedro's clients, whom he knows closely after years of attending to their health needs. Tiny manicured gardens are attached to many houses, often with similar plantings of medicinal, culinary, and religious plants. For example, Espada de São Jorge, Sanseveria, is thought to protect houses from evil spirits. Mature fruit trees planted intentionally or as remnants of natural areas peppered the housing areas, and were carefully maintained as sources of extra food. In other favelas in peri-urban areas, housing transitions into farmland or natural areas or aggregates along infrastructures such as highways. Although there were no new trees planted in common areas in this favela, the residents rely on free sources of food such as fruit trees. Across the city the locations of mature fruit trees are known, for instance many of the trees of the university campus in the downtown area.

Praça dos Açorianos is the heart of the central administrative district in downtown Porto Alegre. Most public transportation networks take passengers by this plaza, whose centre features a monument to the first Azorean settlers of the city. The wide spaces of the pristine plaza are kept constantly clean by municipal workers. Their job is to remove any litter that accumulates there, on the lawns or beaten earth tracks and pavement. Public space is kept free of debris to the point of sterility. These spaces are free of bushes or clumps of weeds or anything that might possibly create shelter for humans or other creatures. Some people take to sleeping in relatively unpoliced areas. At night these spaces become dangerous. The noteworthy practice here, from a spatial point of view, is the manpower required in such a central, public space to keep not only humans but all extra vegetation out. In Portuguese the word mata means forest. Mato is a closely related word meaning an uncultivated area covered in wild plants, but implies overgrowth and potential vermin. Thus spontaneous vegetative growth, even of useful plants which happens without human help in the sub-tropical climate, is something to be kept under tight control rather than to be encouraged. People as well as plants are carefully kept out of public space.

Top Down Meets Bottom Up: Potential Scenarios for Networking Urban Agriculture

What the sites above share in common is intensive human use shaping urban space. The obvious problems in these sites belie their potential; the potential of nature as well as the human potential. If the relationship between people and place could be augmented, challenged, and reimagined, *Cultivating the City* could take shape. If we think of landscape democracy as an exploration of the relationship between people, place, and power, then we can begin to trace outlines for landscape democratic practices in the contexts described above. It is beyond the scope of the project to provide an accurate critique of Brazil's politics and socio-economic complexities in terms of urbanism. However; some landscape democratic practices can be traced in this context which lay the ground for further work. One key issue is how the economic disparity increasingly present in Brazilian society is creating more economically stratified spaces in the city.

Who has access to public space? In the capitalist market system, those without the capacity to buy or sell, and those who are not owners, are quickly and literally pushed to the margins. Landscape democracy in this context means an emphasis on inclusivity and connection. Opportunities for the disadvantaged must be created in addition to designing new leisure and recreational spaces. Human power can be coupled with ecological power (rich biodiversity, rapid growth) to create a motor for new projects. The four examples that follow, based on the sites described above, illustrate new configurations that become elements in a city-wide network.

Fig. 2. Envisioning the praça as a productive and community space

Praça Bernardo Dreher: suburban food forest park

The Praça Bernardo Dreher is a good example of bottom-up and top-down meeting halfway. As the act of neighbourhood guerrilla fruit tree planting is integrated into the life of the park, social cohesion is increased. The results are accepted and even maintained by municipal workers. Augmenting this practice could mean providing seedlings for free to those who want to plant them; almost all native fruit trees and medicinal plants are available at the botanical garden or the municipal plant nursery. A landscape architect or planner's role could be to coordinate these plantings into better designs than haphazard planting. It would take a small number of interventions to achieve this; information could even be posted on site. The resulting food production could be distributed between neighbours, or simply left to those who need or want it. Harvest moments create occasions for people to meet each other around meals or celebrations. Fruit can also be gathered for sale in other areas, from a cart or a small stand, or even brought to the farmer's market. Processed fruits become fresh juices, preserves, and a variety of other products with potential small-scale market value.

Vila São José: new partnerships for intensive production

Many residents in favelas have come to the city from rural areas to look for employment. Many are from families who left agricultural production to benefit from the economic and social possibilities offered by the city. Favelas are reservoirs of human labor and knowledge. The

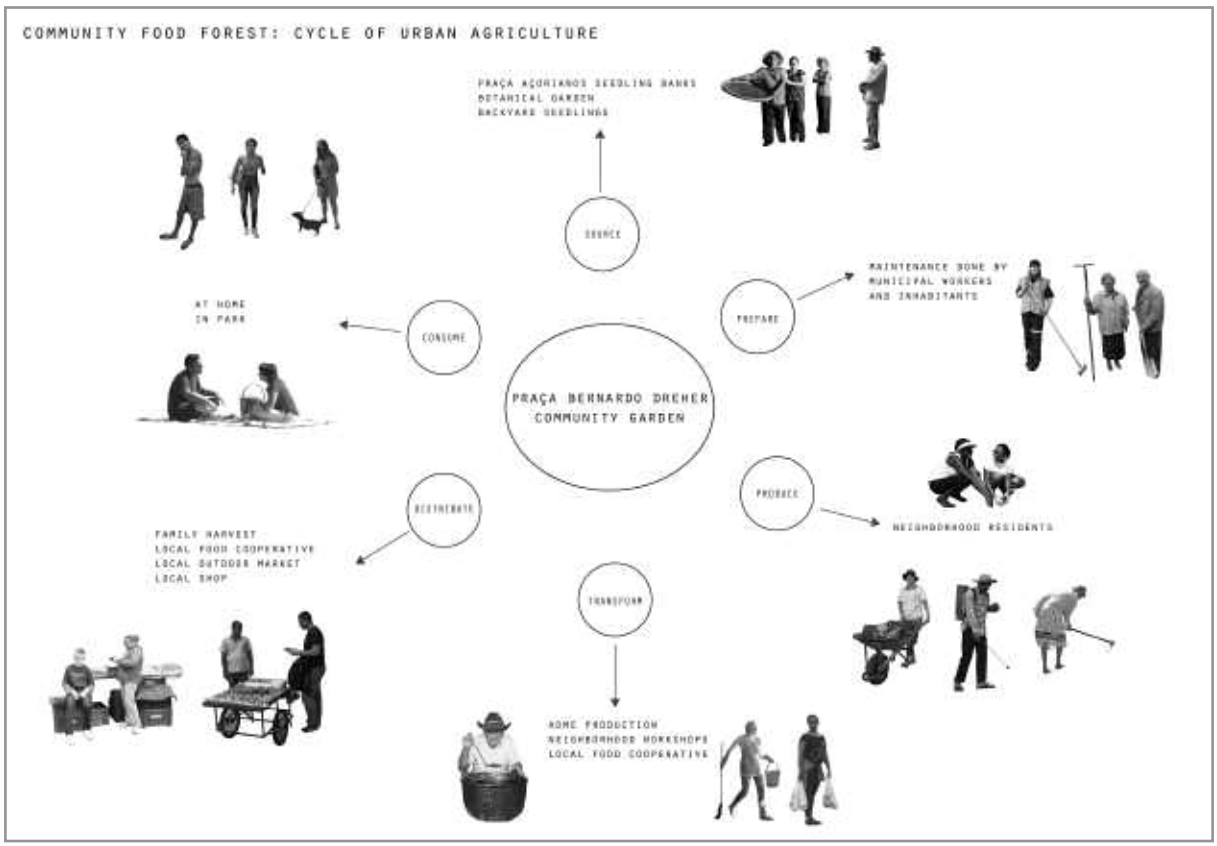

Fig. 3. The cycle of urban agriculture

location of peri-urban favelas next to agricultural or public land makes agricultural projects potentially possible. Public projects could be created with land belonging to the University in collaboration with experts from agronomy and horticulture. The city could encourage entrepreneurs to start peri-urban agricultural projects by donating land, offering tax breaks, offering social support for worker training, etc. Here high intensity fruit production could create jobs as well as large quantities of fresh food to be brought to market in the normal distribution chains. Many of the native fruit varieties are not commercialized because they are either too labor intensive to pick, or too fragile to travel long distances. In a short food supply chain this problem is avoided. Fruits and berries could also be processed into a variety of products, from juices to cosmetics, to be sold locally.

Praça dos Açorianos: a flagship project for the heart of the city

Cidades sem fome, or Cities without Hunger, as well as the Zero Hunger Project (FAO 2011) relate to a governmental programme called the National Food and Nutritional Security Policy (Chmielewska and Souza 2011) concerning projects to combat hunger in cities across Brazil. In Belo Horizonte, the capital of the state of Minas Gerais, several farmer's markets allowing direct sales were established, as well as public kitchens serving extremely low cost nutritional meals. Nutritious and affordable food is deemed a right for all. These policies changed the identity of the city. In Porto Alegre, large and empty urban plazas could serve as the sites for urban orchards whose beauty and productivity, seen by all, would become a new badge of identity. Rows of native fruit trees would increase the beauty and leisure value of areas that were previously lawn or concrete, creating a new form of urban park. Because the maintenance of the trees and the harvesting of the fruit is labour intensive, many new jobs could be created not requiring intensive training or education but instead relying on basic agricultural skills.

Every Saturday a farmer's market takes place in the Parque de Redenção, the major urban park of Porto Alegre. The masses of people coming to attend the market every weekend suggest that the city could support another market. There is a strong interest in health and food in Brazil; organic food is a strongly growing market. The central urban plaza of the Praça dos Açorianos could support an ephemeral urban agriculture market—a farmer's market for all the food and herbs grown around the city. The new market would be a vital link in the organization of the various food production projects across the city. As a platform bringing together many of the actors in the larger project, the market would become an anchor point and destination in a network that emphasizes economic opportunity and inclusivity across the city, as well as improving the overall urban spatial quality.

First Conclusions

The practice of landscape architecture in this context moves from fieldwork and analysis to normative illustration of spatial change. The images and scenarios created through the design process are boundary objects, what Susan Star defines as 'entities that enhance the capacity of an idea, theory or practice to translate across culturally defined boundaries, for example, between communities of knowledge or practice' (Star and Griesemer 1989).

The intention of *Cultivating the City* is to frame the landscape architecture project as creative research endeavour that understands an urban context and makes a projection, through design, about best-practice scenarios. Large scale urban and landscape analysis create a framework for establishing the structure and linkages of the network. The network relies and reacts to the ecological as well as human capacity found within it. The project works on not only one site's potential but on many sites' potential, and how these differing assemblages of site and actors could be linked together in one system.

The principles of the emergent field of landscape democracy allow us to see urban space as a field of negotiation between people, places, and power. Within this field, finding the everyday practices that link people and place make it possible to augment and connect these practices into a larger strategy. In this way the project has the potential to catalyse processes of urban evolution, with the landscape architect acting as a mediator. Based on dialogue, design, and the democratic ideal of inclusion, *Cultivating the City* works toward this vision for change as one piece of a complex process.

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Cultural Landscapes: A Framework for Their Holistic Management

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Abstract

This paper presents a possible conceptual framework upon which the management of cultural landscapes may be steered in the spirit of the Nara Document (1994), the Faro Convention (2005) and the Burra Charter (2013), keeping with the universal principles of the Rio Declaration.

Considering that management practices have direct effects in terms of preservation, socio-economic development and social enhancement at local level, the writer illustrates three guiding principles to the management of cultural landscapes:

(a) The link between cultural landscape and sustainable development: by taking care of landscapes we contribute to the improvement of the social well-being, the safeguarding of the environment and the protection of economic activities (along with cultural improvement, these are all ingredients of sustainable development);
(b) The so called 'integration principle': in order to take the first principle into practice, there is the need of a holistic approach to address the multiple values inherent in cultural landscapes; therefore, it is important to integrate the 'cultural landscape' into its planning, cultural, environmental, agricultural, social, and economic policies, at all levels;
(c) The connection between management systems and cultural perspectives: since the writer believes that the responsibility for the management belongs in first place to the local communities, the interpreter ought to pay attention and acknowledge the different cultural perspectives and values of all parties.

The argument will be substantiated by outlining the theory of cultural landscape in declarations and conventions, and by providing some case studies.

Introduction

Reaffirming the universal principles of the Rio Declaration[1] and in harmony with the approach to cultural and heritage diversity offered by the Nara Document,[2] the Contracting Parties of the European Landscape Convention (ELC) converged on the objective of achieving sustainable development based on a 'balanced and harmonious relationship between social needs, economic activity and the environment.'[3] Shortly after, with the adoption of the Budapest Declaration, the World Heritage Committee invited all partners 'to ensure an appropriate and equitable balance between conservation, sustainability and development.'[4]

While the Faro Convention[5] reinforced the link between cultural heritage, identity, and participation, fostering the ELC's community's centred focus approach; the Burra Charter[6] introduced a values-led process and promoted the assessment of the significance of a place as a framework for developing conservation and management strategies.[7]

Recalling the outcome document of the 2012 UN Conference on Sustainable Development,[8] the Hangzhou Declaration[9] called on governments and policy-makers to shape a new global agenda for sustainable development policies in the post-2015 UN Development Goals. Acknowledging and elaborating the outlined former principles, it affirmed that the power of culture to enable sustainable development is evident 'when a people-centred and placed-based approach is integrated into development programmes and peace building initiatives;'[10] furthermore, it recognized the role of heritage being 'a critical asset for our well-being and that of future generations.'[11]

Literature Review

The main contributions to the drafting of this research paper come from charters, declarations, conventions and additional documents published by Council of Europe, ICOMOS, IUCN, UNESCO, and other international organizations. It integrates material from readings, lectures, and conferences.

The study refers to the work of Greffe (2005, 2010), de la Torre *et al.* (2005), Fusco Girard (2005), Klamer (2004) and Cassatella & Peano (2011) for the elaboration of guiding principles and for the study of management plans.

The writer refers to 'sustainable development' as in the well-accepted definition set out in the Brundtland Report.[12] Nevertheless, over the decades, the definition has evolved to include culture at the centre of sustainable development, allowing for greater diversity in the selection of policies.[13]

Methodology

The research paper attempts to formulate a comprehensive framework of guiding principles that the writer identifies as significant for an integrated and holistic approach to the management of cultural landscapes, which have direct effects on environmental, social and economic sustainability, and contribute to society in terms of quality of life and well-being.

In order to appreciate the illustrated 'guiding principles,' the article also provides some examples of World Heritage management plans. In view of the UNESCO Operational Guidelines,[14] this study will pay attention to some 'clearly defined landscapes designed and created intentionally by man,'[15] designated as World Heritage Sites and listed under criterion IV. In particular, the sites selected are European 18th century royal residences having ornamental gardens and/or parks: Würzburg Residence with the Court Gardens and Residence Square (Germany), Blenheim Palace (United Kingdom), and Royal Domain of Drottningholm (Sweden).

Discussion

Within the above conceptual context, considering that cultural landscapes are outstanding manifestations of the 'interaction between humankind and its natural environment' in a specific geo-cultural area, illustrating 'the essential and distinct cultural elements of such region,'[16] it becomes apparent that their protection, enhancement and management are key issues for a sustainable future.

The link between cultural landscape and sustainable development

If we agree that the long-term objective of sustainable development implies a harmonious relationship between the needs and aspirations of a community for social well-being and good-life,[17] the balanced use of environmental and cultural resources and the successful organization of economic and cultural activities in a given area, it follows that cultural landscape — for the inseparable nature of its cultural and natural characteristics — stands as a formidable paradigm of sustainable development. Not only there is an intrinsic relation between the two terms, but the former may play an instrumental role in achieving sustainable development through each of the so called 'pillars' (environmental, social, economic and cultural), contributing to environmental protection, social and cultural capital, and economic growth;[18] hence becoming a philosophical standpoint of conservation and an ethical obligation for the heritage sector, both in national and global development agendas.

Building on the above-mentioned premises, I believe that the significant factors that play an important role in enabling a cultural landscape becoming a driver for local sustainable development[19] are the following ones: (1) Community's competence and commitment to disseminate values[20] in the territory and to operate in synergy with local, regional and national landscape policies, agendas and strategies: cultural landscapes — as systems of representations[21] — need to become a channel of creativity for economic and social players in order to encourage them to devise new plans, projects and investments; (2) Environment's organizational capacity to foster the contributions of local know-how, competencies and skills and to support the integration and extension of local activities and enterprises; (3) Participation of local populace in cultural tourism with the purpose of creating an attractive and permanent setting for visitors and tourists — as well as for inhabitants — and the consequent positive effects on spending, income and employment; (4) Inclusion of heritage education and training opportunities in local programmes in order to build up new awareness in addition to cultural capital.

Blenheim Palace World Heritage Site and National Heritage in United Kingdom is owned and managed by the Blenheim Estate, which is primarily responsible for its management and operates within the national planning legislation, receiving constant advice by many agencies.

The management plan[22] outlines 22 key issues associated with the World Heritage status, and illustrates more than 30 objectives in order to achieve a 'comprehensive management,' as well as the protection and enhancement of the site and its wider context. It is noteworthy for the purposes of this study because the idea of sustainability is embedded in all aspects of the management, promotion and development of the site: the adopted approach relates

to social, economic, environmental and cultural sustainability.

The 'integration principle'

In a constantly changing environment, the European Landscape Convention encourages all Parties to 'integrate landscape into its regional and town planning policies and in its cultural, environmental, agricultural, social and economic policies.'[23]

Considering the multidisciplinary nature of cultural landscapes — having environmental, cultural, economic and social implications, and offering an overview of an area's system of cultural governance and institutionality — it becomes evident how they demand a particular attitude on the part of all those whose decisions may affect them as they must be able to devise and implement harmonious measures for their management, protection and development in various sectors and at all levels of planning and decision making.

Consequently, it is possible to verify — both ex-ante and ex-post — the level of integration of a cultural landscape by the presence of some clear factors: (1) Nature and level of civil society participation in cultural governance, namely in the formulation and implementation of policies, measures, and programmes that concern cultural landscapes; (2) Interdependence of the regulation systems connected with the cultural landscape (local, national, global); (3) Integration among institutions and competent cultural agencies, with correlated development of complementary instruments, which ensures unity and coherence of programming and planning for the protection and enhancement of the cultural landscape area.

The management plan of Würzburg Residence Palace and Court Gardens[24] in Germany is a project of the Free State of Bavaria, represented by the State Ministry for Sciences, Research and the Arts as lead writerity, and the Bavarian Palace Department as the main management agency, which reports to the State Ministry of Finance and the city of Würzburg. The plan itself is a very comprehensive and detailed document, which defines and regulates responsibilities, duties and level of coordination between all site writerities and stakeholders involved, in compliance with all federals, state and municipal laws and regulations that apply to the property and its context. It outlines all possible threats for the site and the correspondent protective measures or strategies to address them: from urban development pressure and traffic issues to environmental factors, visitor management, sustainable tourism, and special events. The same logic is applied to the planning of activities: annual, short-term and long-term actions are listed, together with the respective agencies, giving a detailed framework within which conservation, restoration and sustainable use of the site are satisfied.

The connection between management systems and cultural perspectives

The American novelist and writer, Wallace Stegner asserts that 'no place is a place until it has found its poet,' and that — since 'no place is a place until things that have happened in it are remembered in history, ballads, yarns, legends, or monuments,' — it's people experiencing it and shaping it that frame the terms of discourse about place.[25]

The Burra Charter Process for planning and managing heritage sites emphasizes the importance of understanding, respecting and retaining cultural significance, co-existence of cultural values, diversity of cultural expressions, relevant associations between people and place, and significant meanings, including spiritual values. All these elements are to be considered first through 'the participation of people for whom the place has significant associations and meanings, [...] then development of policy and finally management of the place in accordance with the policy' take place.[26]

When we assume that a 'cultural landscape' is an outstanding 'expression of the numerous relationships existing in a given period between the individual or a society and a topographically defined territory, the appearance of which is the result of the action, over time, of natural and human factors and of a combination of both,'[27] — according to a very comprehensive definition given by the Council of Europe in 1995 — it becomes clear how its cultural dimension embodies various aspects associated with the local community that moulded it in the past and that keeps acting as a generating force. From the way the landscape testifies the relationship between the community and its environment to the ways it forges local traditions and practices, or acquires its unique character through the local perception over time,[28] we recognize that there is a clear dialogical relationship between human and non-human elements. Furthermore, we shall consider how at the core of any community's consciousness, memory and imagery is its vision of landscape, which is able to evoke its own history and

defines its identity.[29] Consequently, there is the need for an all-embracing approach to heritage management through community engagement and more inclusive and integrated cultural strategies equipped to interpreting distinctive cultural perspectives and identities; keeping in mind that if individuals and communities are given the opportunity to participate in decision-making on landscape — to tell their stories[30]— thus identifying themselves with the local or regional area, they will benefit 'in terms of individual, social and cultural fulfilment.'[31]

Therefore, the critical elements for achieving the desired connection of a management system to the individuals and communities that are integral part of a cultural landscape are identified as follows: (1) Involving the collectivity in the process — from pre-planning to evaluation and feedback — through exploitation of the level of awareness and engagement of different actors, and their particular contribution in the decision-making: pursuing social viability[32] is essential to ensure collective interest and involvement in the management and protection of cultural landscapes; (2) Supporting a shared understanding of the cultural landscape by all stakeholders (local, national, global), accompanied by a common vision for the future of the site in order to build consensus and cooperation around the actions that will be taken during the planning process; (3) Encouraging and promoting a sustainable cultural system in which the community is competent to address cultural problems through a process of capability building[33] able to link formal and informal organizations and projected towards culture-focused results, thus providing basis for integrated strategic approaches.

The Drottningholm World Heritage Site in Sweden is owned by the Swedish nation.[34] The writerities and organizations who are accountable for the protection of this site are the Swedish National Heritage Board, the Stockholm County Administrative Board and the Ekerö Municipality. The responsibility for over-seeing the implementation of the plan and monitoring its effectiveness is delegated to the Royal Court of Sweden, the Office of the Royal Palaces, and the Drottningholm Palace Administration. The management plan[35] was designed with a clear vision of the site becoming a source of local and national identity through an extensive engagement of the stakeholders and a wide-ranging use that calls attention on the cultural landscape area. Special emphasis was, therefore, placed on promoting opportunities for everyone to experience culture, participate in educational programs and develop their creative abilities, advocating for a dynamic cultural heritage that is preserved, used and developed according to its distinctive values, and calling for international and intercultural exchange and cooperation in the cultural sphere.

Concluding Comments

Looking at the three case studies and the many implications that site's values have for on-site planning and management, the writer believes that cultural landscapes would benefit significantly from the adoption of a theoretical framework that stems from holistic thinking. As a matter of fact, when such model is competently embraced and translated into a viable *modus operandi*, it has the capability to contribute to the raising of awareness and dissemination of knowledge around the values of a cultural landscape, promoting community engagement, and boosting capability building. Accordingly, it has the potential to become a valuable and dynamic tool for designing management strategies — which will have direct outcomes on the preservation, socio-economic development and enhancement of a cultural landscape area — as well as a monitoring and auditing instrument that can be used and further developed from the ground up.

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[3] Council of Europe, *European Landscape Convention* (Strasbourg: European Union, 2000), 7.

[4] UNESCO*, The Budapest Declaration on World Heritage* (Budapest, UNESCO WHC, 2002), 4, accessed 1.02.2016, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001257/125796e.pdf.

[5] Council of Europe, *Council of Europe's Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* (Faro: European Union, 2005), accessed 1.02.2016, http://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/199

[6] ICOMOS-Australia, *The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance (the Burra Charter)*, (Camberra: ICOMOS-Australia, 2013), accessed 1.02.2016, http://australia.icomos.org/publications/charters/

[7] An early example of this kind of approach is the World Heritage Convention with its enduring goal of transmitting to future generations places of Outstanding Universal Value to all humanity.

[8] Ibid., par. 40.

[9] UNESCO, *The Hangzhou Declaration on Placing Culture at the Heart of Sustainable Development Policies* (Hangzhou, UNESCO WHC, 2013, accessed 02.02.2013, http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/pdf/final_hangzhou_declaration_english.pdf

[10] Ibid., 1.

[11] Ibid., 5.

[12] United Nations, *Our Common Future*: *report of the World Commission on Environment and Development*, chap. 2, accessed 6.02.2016, http://www.un-documents.net/ocf-02.htm

[13] Culture came to be recognized as the fourth pillar of sustainable development during the 1990s. Only in 2002, during the first *World Public Meeting on Culture* in Porto Alegre, cultural development was officially connected to sustainable development through the *Agenda 21 for Culture* initiative.

[14] UNESCO, *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (Paris: UNESCO WHC, 8 July 2015), Annex 3, accessed 03.02.2016, http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/

[15] The definition embraces gardens and parkland landscapes constructed for aesthetic reasons, which are often (but not always) associated with religious or other monumental buildings and ensembles.

[16] UNESCO, *Operational Guidelines*, Annex III, 84.

[17, 18] United Nations, *The Future We Want*, par. 30.

[19] See also Council of Europe, *Explanatory Report to the European Landscape Convention* (Strasbourg: European Union, 2000), par. 24, accessed 03.02.2016, http://chm.moew.government.bg/nnps/upload/English/Explan_report_ELC.pdf: '[...] the quality of landscape has an important bearing on the success of economic and social initiatives, whether public or private.'

[20] Xavier Greffe, *Culture and Local Development* (Paris: OECD, 2004), 1-7.

[21] See also SUSTCULT, *Concept study on the role of Cultural Heritage as the Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development*, Technical Document (12 February 2012), par. 3.3.2, accessed 13.02.2016, http://www.sustcult.eu/new_download.php: 'The open or aesthetic community bases the relationship between individuals on an external dimension and not on autonomy (The rational community) or internal control (The moral community). The link with nature and external environment is probably the most important factor of internal connectedness. [...] By recognizing the multidimensional reciprocity of a cultural landscape, we recognize its social dimension and the aesthetic conditions of human fulfilment. We protect cultural landscapes not as an external treasure to be transmitted to posterity but as a part of our revolving identity and life.'

[22] Ibid., par. 3.3.1.

[23] Historic Landscape Management Ltd, *Blenheim Palace World Heritage Site and National Heritage Management Plan*, 2006, pp. 40-58, accessed 10.02.2016, http://www.parksandgardens.org/places-and-people/site/447/references

[24] Council of Europe, *European Landscape Convention*, art. 5.d.

[25] Bayerische Verwaltung der Staatliche Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, *Residenz Würzburg 'Synthese des europäischen Barock' Managementplan*, 2009, accessed 13.02.2016, http://www.unesco.de/kultur/welterbe/welterbe-deutschland/wuerzburg.html

[26] Wallace Stegner, 'The Sense of Place', *Where the Bluebirds Sings to the Lemonade Springs: Living and Writing in the West* (New York: Penguin, 1993), pp. 199-206. The American writer concludes his essay paraphrasing one of Robert Frost's poems by proclaiming: 'Only in the act of submission is the sense of place realized and a sustainable relationship between people and earth established.'

[27] ICOMOS-Australia, *The Burra Charter*, arts. 6, 12, 13, 24.

[28] Council of Europe, *Recommendation No. R (95) 9 On the Integrated Conservation of Cultural Landscape Areas as Part of Landscape Policies* (Strasbourg: European Union, 1995), 2, accessed 06.02.2016, https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=537517

[29] Ibid., art. 1

[30] See also Manuela Palacio Gonzàles when stating that in some poets 'persists the appropriation of nature for the elaboration of national identity, which proves that this topic is far from resolved and that the bond between land and nation is a deeply rooted and constantly renewed discourse.' Manuela Palacio Gonzàles, 'Landscape in Irish and Iberian Galician Poetry by Women Authors', *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture 13.5* (2011), p. 8, accessed 12.02.2016, http://dx.doi.org/107771/1481-4374.1905.

[31] The American writer Barry Lopez uses the term 'landscape' as synonym of 'place' to indicate the local landscape of the tellers and auditors of the stories, implying that it can't really even be considered without people in it since our minds are structured by landscapes we have experienced: 'The interior landscape responds to the character and subtlety of an exterior landscape; the shape of the individual mind is affected by land as it is by genes.' Barry Lopez, 'Landscape and Narrative', *Crossing Open Ground* (New York: Vintage, 1989), 61-71.

[32] Council of Europe, *Explanatory Report to the European Landscape Convention*, par. 24.

[33] UNESCO, *Towards a UNESCO Culture for Development Indicator Suite* (Paris: UNESCO Secretariat, 2011), accessed 12.02.2016, http://www.unesco.org/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/creativity/pdf/culture_and_development_indicators/Dimension%206%20Social.pdf

[34] Capability building is 'the process by which individuals, groups, organizations and societies increase their ability to understand and solve problems in a sustainable manner,' according to the definition provided during the SUSTCULT Project closing conference: Umberto Margiotta, 'Capability Building and Cultural Heritage Management' (paper presented at the SUSTCULT Final Conference, Ljubljana, 8 April 2014), accessed 13.02.2016, http://www.sustcult.eu/meeting-123-sustcult—final-conference.html

[35] From the late 19th century, cultural policy in Sweden has been based on the concept of *folkbildning*, which relates to knowledge as a way of cultivating the personality; therefore, culture is viewed as a crucial resource for individual well-being and collective welfare.

[36] Drottningholm World Heritage Council, *The Drottningholm World Heritage Site Management Plan*, 2006, accessed 16.02.2016, http://www.dtm.se/pdf/management_plan_drottningholm.pdf

The 'genius loci' concept in contemporary landscape architecture

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Landscape design is often motivated by the concept of *genius loci*. At the beginning of the twentieth century this concept was regarded by modernist philosophy as having little or no value, as being old fashioned. Landscape architects continued however to use the *genius loci* concept in their designs, though the meaning might differ from one person to the other. Justification for their designs depended on personal interpretation of the concept without too much discussion about interpretation. To explore the meaning of the concept I analyzed twelve designs that were submitted to the Saksen Weimar Barracks terrain competition. The participants all claimed to use the concept of *genius loci*. This paper describes the struggle in predominantly architectural theories with the concept of *genius loci.* I'll state how this concept could become an important instrument in contextual designs if architects explicitly reflect on the use of the concept in their work. I'll use the concept of Gadamer to explain the importance of an ongoing dialogue with others, the so called hermeneutical circle. I'll argue for explicit reflection and working with the insights and inheritance of others.

Historical Perspectives

During the Ancient Greek period, the notion for *genius loci* was *Daímon*, the divine spirit or divine being. Plato describes this poetically in his Dialogues, Phaedres, how he is impressed by a resting place: '... it looks like a sacred place of nymphs and Acheloüs'. The ancient Roman use the notion of *genius loci* in the same context as the ancient Greek. Nature was literally deified. That mythical meaning of the notion *genius loci* from a deep spiritual bond with nature was broken in the Middle Ages. The perspective of nature changed significantly. The uncultivated land full of dangers was seen as something the people needed to protect themselves against. City walls were built, castles fortified and gardens enclosed. A famous example of the enclosed garden is the *hortus conclusus*. The design of the *hortus conclusus* was based on the book of Genesis where the appearance of the Garden of Eden is described. Eden was created on the principle of *tabula rasa* by the hand of God and becomes the symbol of *hortus conclusus*, an enclosed garden, a garden which stands by itself in the landscape.

In Renaissance the principle of *tabula rasa* disappears to the background and the notion *genius loci* appears once again. The introspective spiritual enclosed garden of the Middle Ages becomes an outwards worldly-oriented garden, which opened itself towards the landscape (Rogers 2001). The garden is not the metaphor for heavens garden of Eden but the garden as Paradise on earth designed by the free human mind. The renaissance villa's accompanying gardens designed for escaping the busy urban life were based on the principles of antiquity. In order to cultivate the mind, it was argued, the rural land also had to be cultivated. An example of a villa integrated in the landscape as described is Villa Rotonda, designed by the Italian architect Palladio. The geometrical forms of the villa and its garden are absorbed in the surrounded landscape. The landscape itself modulates explicitly the garden itself. In this example the *genius loci* is the ultimate connection between man and the landscape. The climax in this is the Italian *giardino secreto* (the secret garden). The *giardino secreto* is 'a secluded and enclosed garden room, a place of intimate contact with nature within the larger Renaissance garden' (Rogers 2001). An example of such a *giardino secreto* is the Villa Medici in Fiesole. The Renaissance garden designs is based on the principle of the *Ars Natura* (the third Nature), a principle introduced by Bonfadio (*c.*1541) as being nature improved by art.

Fig. 1. Villa Medici, Fiesole, example of a Renaissance Garden.

Fig. 2. Nature ruled by man, Versaille. Photograph, Gabriëlle Bartelse.

Ruling, controlling and the radiation of power, these three are the central keywords during the Baroque period. The garden exhibits the human art of engineering. The difference between the garden design during the Middle Ages and the Baroque period is, that although the central approach is the use of principles of *tabula rasa*, the garden is not meant as metaphor of the Garden of Eden but as a metaphor of power and glory. Louis XIV of France, together with André le Notre, developed the vision of this garden style. Versailles became the architectural and landscape architectural symbol of power.

The development of enormous parks had no longer anything to do with the *genius loci* but was dictated by an economic instinct and the will to power. Forests were used for wood production and commercial interests. The landscape was no longer seen as a place where man and nature met in a special way, but something to be used, a product.

During Romanticism, at the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, the landscape garden is born as a reaction to the formal Baroque garden. The formal garden is seen as unnatural and does not fit in with the renewed vision on nature. Nature becomes a symbol for the good and the beautiful. The notion of *genius loci* is used for every place or spot in the landscape and not just for, as before, special places in specific landscapes. Reason, freedom, equality and solidarity become leading ideas. Reason is the new ground for ethics and aesthetics. Aside from reason, emotion and intuition are considered as natural and therefore important. The philosopher Rousseau grounds the perception of men in emotions, intuition and ingenuity. He develops a renewed introduction of antiquity, poetical images and a lost Golden Age. The landscape garden becomes the scenery for the illusive allusion of Antiquity. In this garden, the beauty of nature plays a central role as source of knowledge and experience.

The English philosopher Lord Shaftesbury (1671 – 1713) is the first philosopher who named the *genius loci* in its revised form. His understanding of the beauty of nature is completely free of artificial elements. According to Shaftesbury, landscapes are personalities that derive meaning from being itself. Natural rockeries, systems of streams and flower meadows are being romanticized and appreciated over cut hedges, symbol of the former formal gardens. The adoration of these 'unrestrained' or 'natural' forms, have been seen as the factory of the *genius loci*. This

Fig. 3. The art of the ingenieur, Versaille. Photograph, Gabriëlle Bartelse.

Fig. 4. The mathematical shapes of Vaux le Vicomte, picture taken by Bartelse.

appreciation of the landscape has its impact on the way in which the landscapes were shaped in gardens and parks. From that moment on, the notion *genius loci* operates as the authentic experience of the landscape, and plays an important role in the theories of landscape architecture. Thinkers like Shaftesbury and Addison also in addition to landscape architects like Capability Brown, Olmsted and in the Netherlands the Zochers, Copijn and Springer, were convinced that good landscape architecture could only exist if the *genius loci* was seen as the leitmotiv for design. Concerning the importance of *genius loci,* Joseph Addison (1672 – 1719) argues that it could be interesting to leave the garden more unrestrained and even to expand this 'unrestrained' garden to a park, based on the principles of 'free' forms, as they are in nature and as metaphor for the free will. The effect of this idea, is that the categories of 'garden' and 'landscape' could be reunited again. In other words, the notion of *genius loci* is strongly related with the notion of freedom and even more specifically, the unrestrained, natural form in the landscape.

The poet/philosopher Alexander Pope is the one who gives the notion *genius loci* such a significant meaning, in that it becomes a concept of great value in the theory and language of landscape architecture. In his poem 'Epistles to Several Persons: Epistle IV To Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington', he writes:

> Consult the genius of the place in all;
> That tells the waters or to rise, or fall;
> Or helps th' ambitious hill the heav'ns to scale,
> Or scoops in circling theatres the vale;
> Calls in the country, catches opening glades,
> Joins willing woods, and various shades from shades,
> Now breaks, or now directs, th' intending lines;
> Paints as you plant, and, as you work, designs.

This poem, together with the influences of the Romantic period are indicative of a turning point in landscape experience and landscape architecture. A convincing example of the landscape park, designed by the principles as mentioned above, is the English landscape park Stowe. In its appearance and its dimension, Stowe is a pastoral idyll.

During the Industrial Revolution the housing projects were of such huge scale that awareness of the *genius loci* is pushed to the background, to finally disappear completely. The increase of the city and the enormous development of systems of transport had a great impact on the tradition and theory of landscape architecture. It is no longer the aesthetic ground or suitability in the surrounding landscape which defines a good design, but a design is good if it fits all functional demands. Landscape architecture was no longer only about garden and parks but more and more about regional design and planning. Striking examples of this period are the expansion plans of the city of Amsterdam.

Fig. 6. Algemeen Uitbreidingsplan van Amsterdam 1935
*source: http://*commons.wikimedia.org/wiki
(Algemeen_uitbreidingsplan_amsterdam1935.jpg)

The Search for *genius loci*

After the periods of modernism and post-modernism, the specialism of landscape architecture interrogates questions surrounding authenticity and identity in order to create meaningful places and landscapes. The loss of meaning of the notion *genius loci* results in a selection of design styles and approaches and leads finally to a canon of aesthetic arbitrariness.

In their principles of design, landscape architects postulate that a landscape should be meaningful and they employ the notion *genius loci* without considering the need for any further explanation.

In her article, 'Can "spirit of place" be a guide to ethical building?', Iris Brook (2000) claims that the overload of meanings, allocated to the notion *genius loci* clarifies the

Fig. 5. Stowe, the pastoral idyll.
source:http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/stowe/

necessity for redefining the notion of the concept itself. The related concepts of notions, 'spirit of place' and 'sense of place', are understood as being similar. She explains that the notion 'spirit of place' clearly refers to the place itself and the notion 'sense of place' refers to the emotions added by humans (Brook 2000). In practice, landscape architecture doesn't make this distinction. In the 1960s Ian McHargg (1969) tries to get rid of the discussion about the notion *genius loci* by approaching landscape architecture from the perspective of science. He therefore develops a method of analyses, that divides the landscape into layers, and subsequently he names these different layers. From that moment on, the meaningfulness of a place is no longer important, just the elements of which the landscape is made up.

At the end of the 1980s a renewed interest arises for the respect of the culturally historical layers in the landscape. The need to give meaning to landscapes, other than the elements it is made up of, compels the reintroduction of the notion *genius loci.* Regardless of any thought about the content of the notion, it is used by landscape architects, who postulate the notion *genius loci* to argue that their designed landscapes are meaningful. In his article, 'What use is the "*genius loci*" or the "*Genius loci*"', Ian Thompson searches for a renewed meaning or clarification for the concept. He states that it is necessary to find the solution for this problem in the three overlapping fields of ecology, community and beauty. To clarify the huge importance of creating a thorough frame for the idea, in order to be able to reintroduce it within a contemporary context I will discuss briefly the case of the Dutch landscape architecture contest of the Saksen-Weimar barrack grounds in the city of Arnhem.

The Saksen-Weimar Barracks Terrain

In 2005 the municipality of Arnhem places a call in the *Cobouw* inviting a combination of designers and real-estate developers, to develop a sketch design for the Saksen-Weimar Barrack terrain. The contested location was until the end of the 1990s in use by the 11th Division Horse Artillery, also known as the Yellow Riders. From the mid-1990s the terrain and its buildings were used as refugee centre and a shelter for artists. On their municipality website the municipality of Arnhem announced their intention to build 423 houses on the terrain realised in different price ranges. As important quality of the area, the municipality mentioned the differences in relief, which could possibly be an inspiration to create different neighbourhoods, each with their own identity.

The first prize awarded for the design was gained by Buro Lubbers. All the environmental characteristics and qualities are mainly found in the physical appearance of the landscape in this area. A description was given of the cultural historical qualities of the area, but all these qualities are linked to the typology of the landscape and the shapes of the buildings. Nothing is said about the experience of the former barrack terrain and its inhabitants. Neither is anything said about the relation between the cultural and historical development of the area and the important values of identity for the future. This winning design is therefore a good example in which is referred to the characteristics of the area, as the basis for the design, but the final design is based in the principle of *tabula rasa* and has nothing to do with different characteristic layers. The second prize was won by Palmbout Urban-Landscapes. In a dramatic style the situation of the contest area between the Veluwe massif and the river Rhine is described. Although they write in a lyrical tone about the environmental characteristics, the final design is a sum of the requirements and restrictions of the municipality which are adapted in the landscape. In their design, freedom is related to architecture and does not refer to the future inhabitants. Despite the fact that this entry also refers to the development of the area's own identity and the design based on the specific landscape, it is not clear where or how they came to determine such identity markers for their submission. One can conclude that for the contest the notion *genius loci* is introduced as meaningful but was, in terms of final designs, meaningless.

Gadamer's 'hermeneutical circle'

Hans Gadamar developed an approach to understand (*Verstehen*) a cultural phenomena. In his methodology he uses the hermeneutical circle, a dialectical process of three steps. The first step of the process, of *Verstehen*, is experiencing what one sees, hears, and reads. The second is the explicit interpretation of the inheritance of others and your own interpretation, acknowledging that these interpretations might differ. By doing so one becomes the 'owner' of ideas of others and one is able to go to the next step, which is a fusion of both, and so involves a new interpretation. With his other concept of play (*Spiel*) Gadamer states that play is not a form of disengaged, disinterested exercise of subjectivity, but rather something that has its own order and structure to which one is given over. It is one that takes our finitude, that is, our prior

involvement and partiality, not as a barrier to understanding, but rather as its enabling condition. This means that for the concept of play, you are spectator and actor at the same time and therefore particularly valuable for the play. If we try to understand the *genius loci* as a play in the hermeneutical sense as Gadamer does, it means that by entering a landscape or a special place you, as a person enters with your own story, biography of your life and cultural background. At the same time the landscape or place you are entering has its own biography, story line and cultural history, so both will come together in a symbiotic sense. By melting together during this meeting a new storyline is developed as is the story of the landscape and your own individual story. The processes of the symbiotic meeting of the different stories is the process of understanding the *genius loci*. This is an ongoing process of storytelling in which one can enter any time or any moment. By acknowledging this process of *Verstehen* we are willing to see the mythical meaning of the landscape that we are defining in terms of the development of the concept of *genius loci.*

Conclusion

In antiquity *genius loci* is placed in the context of nature and meant literally the spirit or the goddess who takes care of special places in nature or special gardens (Heimrath and Mallien 2009). During the Renaissance, as discussed above, the concept was based on the principle of 'Ars Natura' (de Jong 2007). In the eighteenth century there is a renewed idea about nature as a reaction to the formal gardens of the Baroque period in which the ruling power of man is shown. Shaftesbury has an important role in this movement. He states that, 'To build, to plant, whatever you intend, ... Consult the genius of the place in all'. This new appreciation of the 'freedom of the natural' is introduced in the English context as an answer to French formal garden design and a reaction to the taste of Louis XIV. It symbolizes the birth of free spirit and the recovering of *genius loci* as 'Ars Natura'. Gadamar's hermeneutics contributes an additional way in which we can contextualize and understand the operation of the *genius loci.* It is necessary to be aware, to be more explicit and to have a continuing dialogue about the meaning of the concept. To be able to understand the *genius loci* in full, it is argued here, that the method of landscape analysis is not sufficient.

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Performativity and Place Making: Vernacular Fiddling on Canada's Prince Edward Island

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Introduction

In his essay collection *Senses of Place*, which he co-edited with Steven Feld, anthropologist Keith Basso (1996, 54) laments the paucity of ethnographic research on culturally expressive markers. These markers include (but are not limited to) stories, songs, dances and instrumental music, each of which is deeply rooted in subjective place memory. Although implicitly place-based, traditional music is also isomorphic and heterogeneous; its multiple sonic currents intertwine and overlap, creating a complex palimpsest of cultural engagement wherever it travels. Vigilant of such cultural nuance, anthropologist Arjun Appadurai has asserted that 'culture is not usefully regarded as a substance but is better regarded as a dimension of phenomena, a dimension that attends to situated and embodied difference.'(1996, 12-13). Using this theoretical premise as a sounding board, this paper will explore the role of place in the traditional soundscape of Prince Edward Island, Canada's smallest province, which contains a mere 0.5% of its population. It will focus, for the most part, on the diaspora of Irish music to the Island and consider how Irish tradition bearers sense place in this New World milieu. It argues that place is an independent keeper of memories, the result of individual and collective lifeworlds that create and maintain layers of emplacement over time.

Creating and Recreating an Island Soundscape

Historian Brendan O'Grady has argued convincingly that most of the Irish immigrants who settled on Prince Edward Island came before the Great Famine (1845-1850). They were mainly catholic and came from the lowlands of Ulster and various parts of the south of Ireland. They settled in central and western Prince Edward Island (O'Grady 2004). Scottish immigrants, on the other hand, who made up 32.3% of the population in 1881, settled in the eastern part of the Island in Kings County (ibid. 34, 96, 109). The largest cohort of Irish immigrants came from county Monaghan. Reinforced by chain migration and sustainable demographics, their transatlantic networks have endured (albeit, with some *lacunae*) to the present day (ibid. 141).[1] Placenames reinforced strong ties between these Irish exiles and their ancestral homelands. Irish settlements like Emyvale, Avondale, Belfast, Conolly, Emerald, and Kinkora gave Ireland a prominent presence on Prince Edward Island, ever since Donegal man, Walter Patterson became its first governor in 1769 (ibid. 28). Instances where immigrants shared common spaces are also evident on Prince Edward Island. Harmony, for example, is a name given to a school district formed by French, Irish, Highland Scots, Lowland Scots, English and Dutch settlers (Douglas 1925, 29). Once named and inscribed, these spaces became places, and knowledge and memories of them began to unfurl over time. As geographer Tim Cresswell has argued, 'places are constructed by people doing things and in this sense are never "finished" but are constantly being performed' (2004, 37). Katrin Urschel reinforces this premise further by claiming that placenames copper-fasten a collective sense of emplacement, becoming in the process vital 'placeholders of memory' (2012, 39).

While the Irish were migrating to Prince Edward Island and other parts of Canada in the decades following the Napoleonic Wars, Scotland's 'Golden Age of Fiddling' was at its peak, and new tunes from the printed collections of Scottish fiddle composers like Neil and Nathaniel Gow and William Marshall were making their way south to Ireland, and, eventually, across the Atlantic with Irish immigrants (Ó hAllmhuráin 2013, 190). This prior acquisition facilitated their integration into a 'common' musical culture, which they would share with First Nation, Scottish, English and French musicians in the New World. The traditional soundscape of Prince Edward Island throughout the 19th century was no exception, as immigrant performers from Ireland played common tunes and created common musical spaces with natives and foreigners alike.

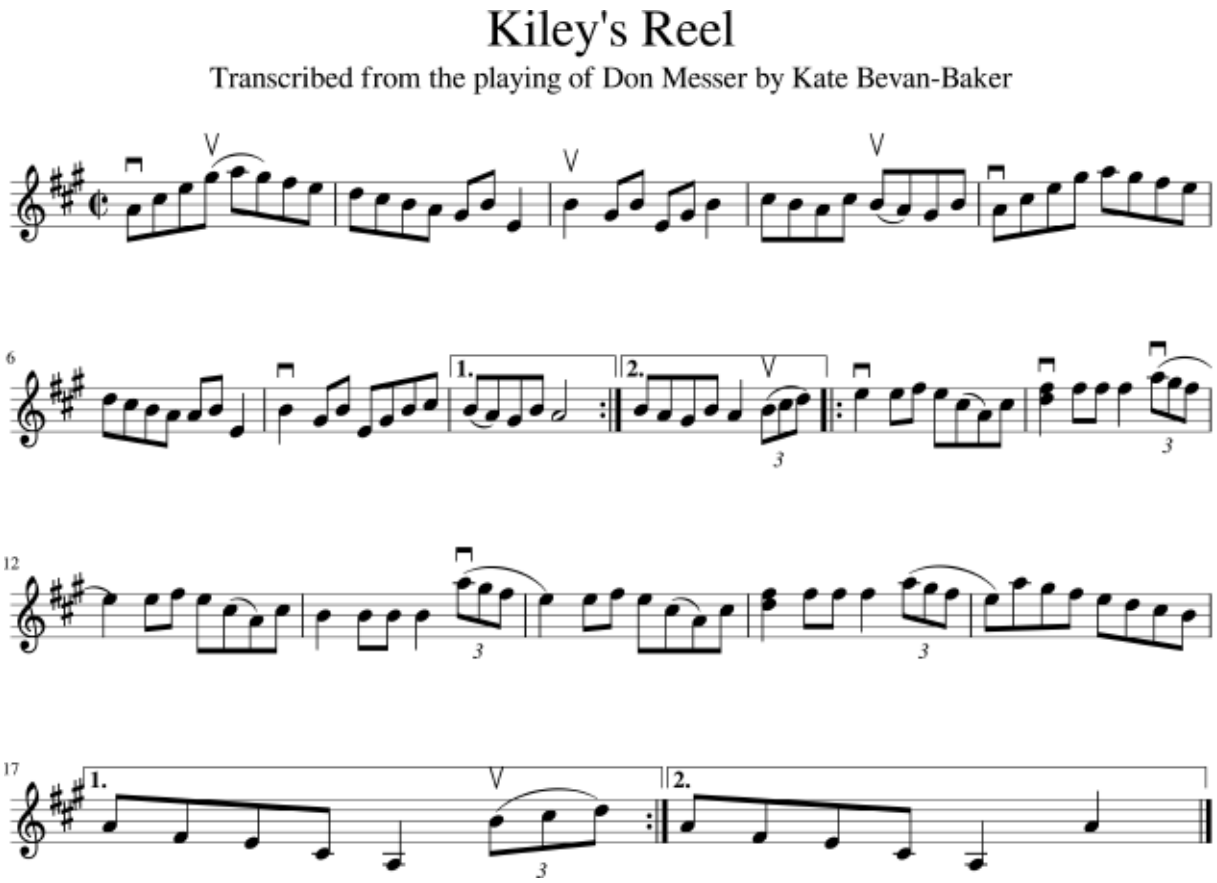
By the turn of the 20th century, the population of Canada had increased by 34%, due mainly to the arrival of new immigrants from Scandinavia, as well as Central and Southern Europe. The cultural influence of Ireland and Scotland, however, remained particularly prominent

(Kallmann 1960, 199). The 1901 census, for example, reported that Gaelic — both Scottish and Irish — was the fourth most commonly spoken language in Canada, especially, in the Maritime Provinces (McEwan-Fujita 2013, 161). Traditional music mirrored these cultural patterns, especially on Prince Edward Island, where musicians continued to acquire new repertoires and playing styles. With the advent of radio and recording technology in the 1920s and 1930s, Scottish and Irish soundscapes on the Island experienced further transculturation and hybridization, especially, vernacular fiddle repertoires. A century later, the ethnic mosaic of the Island had changed yet again. The 2006 census showed 29.2% of Prince Edward Islanders claiming Irish origin (among residents who gave multiple ethnicity responses). By comparison, those who claimed Irish as a sole ethnic origin were now only 10.9% of the population. Inversely, it was the Scots who claimed a plurality of ethnic identities. 40.5% of the population selected Scottish as one of their multiple ethnic origins. Only 17% of Islanders selected Scottish as their only origin.[2] These hybrid inter-ethnic patterns continue to be reflected in the mosaic of traditional music played on the Island today, as fine-line musical purism gives way to musical diversity and transculturation.

Mediating an Island Soundscape

Irish migration to North America extends well beyond shipping records, population statistics and dates of settlement. It extends deep into the domain of living traditions, memory, post memory and nostalgia — all of which find a voice in the place making of exile. The preservation of oral traditions such as music, song and dance remains at the heart of Irish diasporic culture in North America, whether it be direct ex-patriot culture, or its post-partum hybrids. Irish traditional music, however, is not a fixed category but an ever-changing process. According to collector Breandán Breathnach 'it is not origin that distinguishes folk music but its mode of transition and acquisition' (1996, 92). The diaspora of Irish music to North America bears witness to this kaleidoscopic process, in the small rural halls on Prince Edward Island, as well as on the concert stages of New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. Recording technology, television and, ultimately, the internet facilitated this linking of musical spaces across Canada. Its technological genesis, however, was radio, which found an iconic musical voice on Prince Edward Island.

The advent of Canadian radio in 1921 and the resulting dissemination of new musical styles had a formidable long-term impact on Irish and Scottish musicians in

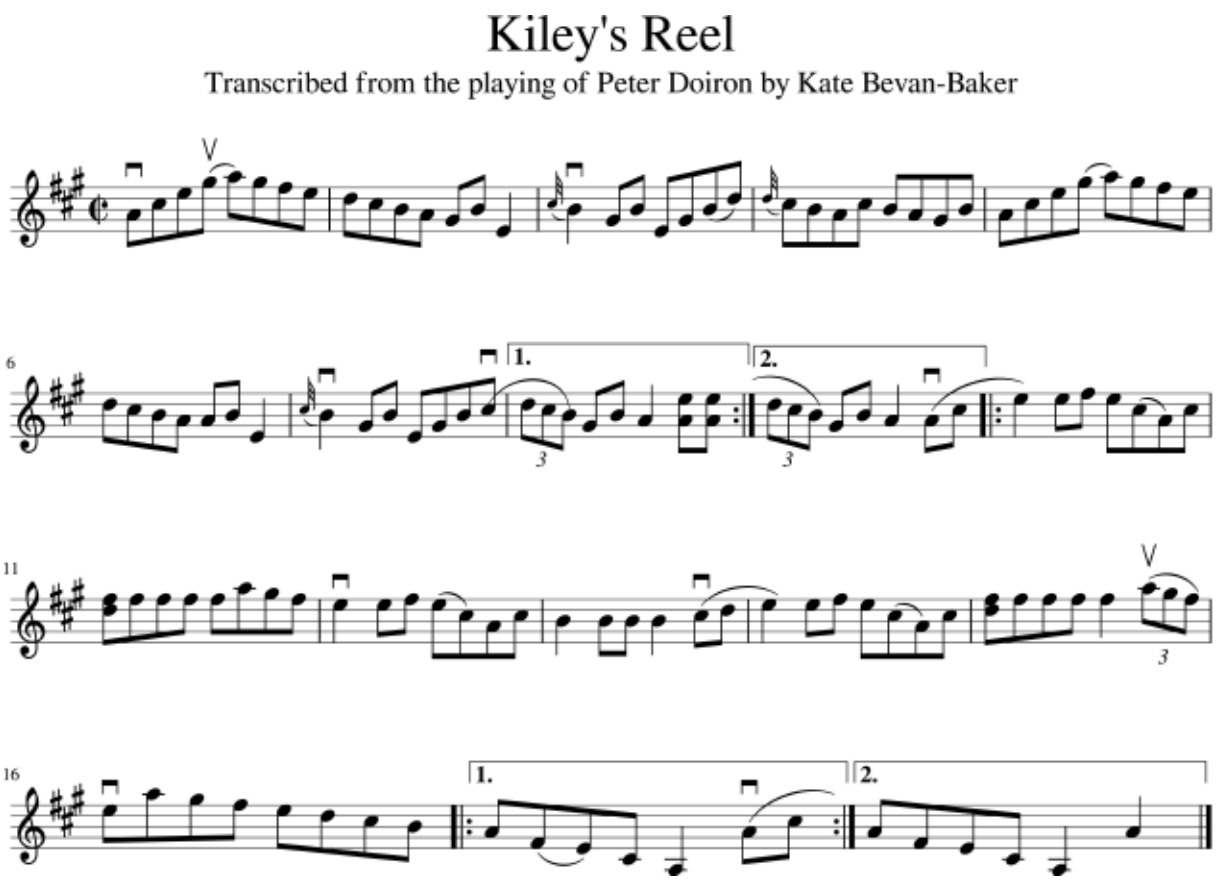


maritime Canada. The chief priest of this new mediascape in the 1930s and 1940s was New Brunswick fiddler, Don Messer (1909-1973). Messer's fiddling was heard six days a week on maritime and, eventually, national radio, and his name enjoyed a household familiarity in Newfoundland, Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island. His national television program, *Don Messer's Jubilee*, which ran from 1959 until 1969, was a weekly highlight for a generation of Canadians, rivaling *The Ed Sullivan Show* across the border in the U.S. His long association with Prince Edward Island, through his ensemble *Don Messer and His Islanders*, brought national and international attention to its soundscape. His emphasis on melody without overly ornamenting tunes is still audible in the styles of Island fiddlers today (see Fig. 1 and Fig. 2).

Likewise, his community and family-oriented values, which he promoted alongside his music, were key factors that contributed to the ontology of Prince Edward Island culture. This mediascape evolved further with the arrival of external music recordings from the US and Canada in the 1950s and, eventually, with the profusion of recordings made by Island performers during the last quarter of the 20th century.

Placing Fiddle Styles on Prince Edward Island

Most of the instrumental music played on Prince Edward Island is of Irish, Scottish and French origin; however, there is also an exemplary store of First Nation fiddle music, which adds to the richness of its soundscape. Fiddling styles on the Island have been described by collector Ken Perlman as a '... lively blend of Scottish Irish, and Acadian-French elements,' with a 'full, strong yet sweet tone.' (1996, 12). Perlman observed that most fiddlers on Prince Edward Island are more than sixty years old and grew up in traditional settings with no formal teaching. The majority learned techniques and tunes by imitating other players, either in their own families, or in their extended communities (ibid. 14). The present state of fiddling on the Island suggests that there is a wide range of repertoires and styles, which are segregated within loose 'ethnic' communities, although there is clear evidence of musical hybridity and stylistic overlap, especially among young musicians in modern session settings. French Acadian sessions on Prince Edward Island, for example, do not discriminate in terms of ethnic background; all are welcome to participate. Other styles frequently present at Acadian sessions include Bluegrass, Scottish, Cape Breton, and Irish (Forsyth 2011, 67, 206, 209).



There is little doubt that Irish fiddling on Prince Edward Island has felt the impact of Scottish styles and published sources. As June Skinner Sawyers suggests, 'Many reels are of Scottish origin, such as *Lucy Campbell and Rakish Paddy*.' (2000, 59). The ubiquitous 'Miss Mcleod's Reel' is another case in point. Originally Scottish, it has found a home among fiddlers in all corners of the globe; among them, Irish fiddlers on Prince Edward Island. The order of melodic sections in Irish and Scottish tunes also reveals stylistic sources and interpretations. Scottish fiddlers, for example, usually begin with the high section of a tune, called 'the turn,' whereas Irish fiddlers play the low section first. On Prince Edward Island, fiddlers begin almost exclusively with the turn; thus, demonstrating the prominence of Scottish queues and idioms. This underlines the inscription of place on musical performance and the manner in which such inscriptions are carried forward in time and space. Likewise, musical representations of specific locales evoke memories of place, as well as subjective interpretations of such places that vary from player to player and listener to listener, all of which feature in the soundscape of the Island.

Contributing to the discourse on Irish and Scottish music diasporas requires immersion of both the mind and body: embodiment through playing with other musicians, connecting with one's instrument and the surrounding environment, and recognizing the complexity of sensory ratios. This allows performers to explore the cyclical interface between music and space. Understanding and appreciating the naming of tunes — which can have different signatures in different regions — also reinforces the process of musical place making, both at a sensory and performative level. All these variables are critical in understanding the traditional soundscape of Prince Edward Island, as well as the Irish, Scottish, French and First Nation dialects that maintain it. If music is a language within itself, then it follows that various styles of traditional music can be likened to dialects within a language. While orality may be questionable as a historiographical conduit, in the context of traditional music played on Prince Edward Island, it has been argued that learning aurally from masters of a specific tradition is *the* only way to acquire an indigenous style (Breathnach 1996, 90). In learning aurally, musicians on the Island, as in other parts of maritime Canada, also learn to sense their own musical place. It is the music's rootedness in place — in this case 'Island place' — that creates personal relationships with it. Unlike classical musicians performing Western art music, who are obliged to respect the notational confines of the composer, traditional musicians are welcome to put their own stamp on a melody. This is a key tenet of the storehouse on Prince Edward Island. Comparable to jazz, in that a performer is not required to play a tune the same way twice, it is this freedom of expression that keeps the music vibrant, and the performers continually striving to reach new levels of musical excellence (Feehan 1981, 334).

An Insular Métis Soundscape

The transatlantic migration of Irish music was not a vertical, or genetic movement, but rather a horizontal, rhizomorphic one. This is still a defining feature of 'Irish' music on Prince Edward Island, where two centuries of coalescence and transculturation have created an open-ended hybrid soundscape characterized by multiple identities and diffuse layers of musical place memory. Despite its cross-cultural pliancy, musical place making on the Island still involves ethnic representation and performance, material and immaterial engagement, as well as rooted and routed repertoires. All of these viscous and opaque elements make up musical place, for which there is no all-encompassing, or static definition. If, as philosopher John Ralston Saul (2009) argued, Canada is a Métis nation, it is fair to say that its 'métis' soundscape has found its most encompassing and enduring sense of place on Prince Edward Island, where most, if not all of Canada's founding nations have found common, yet distinct, fiddle voices.

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Notes

[1] Since the 1990s, there has been a steady stream of cultural exchanges between Monaghan and Prince Edward Island.

[2] Statistics Canada, *Population by selected ethnic origins, by province and territory* (Prince Edward Island: 2006 Census).

Uncovering the Cultural Landscape Values of Wetlands

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Introduction

Since the beginning of this century, there has been growing ecosystems research ranging from the benefits of ecosystems to human well-being to the current condition of ecosystems and threats to their sustainability in order to guide natural resource management strategies for the sustainability of ecosystem services. This research also contributes to our understanding of the social dimensions of human-nature relationships. While there is a strong emphasis on the biophysical and monetary benefits of ecosystem services, the socio-cultural benefits of ecosystems for communities in landscape scale have often been overlooked (Daniel et al, 2012). However, socio-cultural benefits provided by landscapes are also important domains of the well-being of individuals and societies (Tengberg et al, 2012). Cultural ecosystem services are the non-material benefits of ecosystems to humans through a long term or short term interaction between landscapes and human (Fagerholm et al, 2012).[3] These benefits may range from recreation, ecotourism, aesthetic, spiritual/religious, identity creation and education to heritage values that have been supported by the ecosystems in the given landscapes (Plieninger et al, 2013). Importance assigned to these ecosystem benefits and judgements done by people through the recognition and experience of the ecosystem services are defined as landscape values (Brown and Raymond 2007).

Societies' value assignments to the socio-cultural benefits of ecosystems are associated with the biophysical features of landscapes on the one hand and associated with the priorities, benefiting forms from the landscapes, personal and social characteristics, value systems and beliefs of communities on the other hand. As such, assessment approaches that consider the stakeholders' socio-cultural and psychological needs and, their values related with the landscape they are in connection with contribute to understand the interactions between human-landscape (Daily et al, 2009). Therefore, information obtained under these assessments has the potential to facilitate the inclusion of landscapes' stakeholders into the decision making processes for landscapes (Milcu et al, 2013).

Wetlands are one of the most critical ecosystems in the world both in terms of the threats they faced and a wide range of benefits they provide to societies. Because of being the first settlement areas of societies, river banks, lake and sea shores and connected wetlands have played an important role in the development of societies and their civilizations. It can be said that the situation is still the same for the developing regions and rural communities that meet their livelihoods directly from wetlands (Maltby and Acreman 2011). However, the major causes of wetlands loss and damage are the weak awareness on and the weak recognition of the benefits of these fragile landscapes by their stakeholders although the recognition of these benefits might play critical role in the conservation and sustainable use of these landscapes (Mitsch and Gosselink 2000). In comparison to provisioning and regulating benefits, cultural benefits of wetlands are more easily recognizable and experienceable by individuals and societies. However, cultural benefits provided by these landscapes are not considered properly during the related land use decision making processes (Maltby and Acreman 2011). As such, the perceived benefits and given importance/values to wetlands and associated landscape components by local communities and other stakeholders, need to be identified in order to protect the wetlands in collaboration with stakeholders and to inform wetland management planning (Hein et al, 2006).

This paper presents the first working results of *The Role of Socio-cultural Evaluation of Ecosystem Services in Landscape Planning: Bendimahi Delta (Lake Van Basin) Case* project that is financed by The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK). The project aims 'to determine the potential role of the cultural and social landscape services in the landscape planning and conservation processes by defining the socio-cultural landscape services evaluation procedure in the Bendimahi Delta Case'. In this paper, the recognised and valued cultural ecosystem services by local stakeholders are presented to support the decision-making process for the management of the Bendimahi Delta and its surroundings. In this context, the identified cultural landscape values in the Delta, the links among

these values and the locations preferred for the services or supplied from by the local groups are presented through a concept map.

Material and Methods - Study Area

Bendimahi Delta is an alluvial plain, formed on the north-eastern shore of the Lake Van where the Bendimahi Rivers flow into the lake in the east of Turkey. This alluvial plain is located approximately 1640 meters above the sea level and surrounded by mountains and the hills between 1640-2200 meters on the north, south-east and south-west (Fig. 1). Rain waters of southern slopes of the Tendürek Mountain and small streams those fed by melting snow waters in spring join each other and form the Bendimahi River. In the Delta that is drained by the Bendimahi River, the local community depends on agriculture for their livelihoods. As such, the floodplain of the River plays a central role in the economy of the Muradiye District of Van by providing fertile agricultural land. Rural settlements are along the river and intertwined with agricultural fields and orchards in the Delta. Along the river and on the shore of the Lake Van where the river meets with the Lake, the Bendimahi Delta is rich in biodiversity with its wetland habitats that host a rich variety endemic, rare and threatened flora and fauna species.

Stakeholder meeting and concept mapping

The results presented in this paper are based on the stakeholder meeting that was held in the city center of Van with the participation of local residents, muhtars, local governmental managers of the Bendimahi Delta, representatives of agricultural associations and researchers in order to give information about the project and to gather information on the valuation of cultural ecosystem services in the Delta. During the meeting, an assessment on the valuation and preferred places for the cultural ecosystems services in the Delta was performed through an open-ended questions based semi-structured interview with the participant stakeholders. Participants of the meeting were divided into two equal groups in number and in representation of stakeholder groups for the interview. Each group including 10 persons discussed the open-ended questions on cultural ecosystem services of the Delta and then, showed on the map and/or expressed the places in word for each service in the Delta. During the interview, a Google Earth image of the area was shown in projection to the participants. In both groups, open-ended questions were directed by a facilitator and the answers were recorded by a reporter.

The cultural landscape values that have been considered during the stakeholder meeting are; aesthetic, cultural heritage, future value, intrinsic, recreation, learning value, spiritual and wilderness value and sense of place. The relations among the assigned cultural values and preferred places for related ecosystem services in the Bendimahi Delta are shown by a concept map. In the concept map, given value or importance degree to the ecosystem services and related places are differentiated by the size of circles.

Results and Discussion

Recreation, aesthetic, cultural, future and intrinsic benefits are the major benefits that have been considered important and valued by the stakeholder meeting

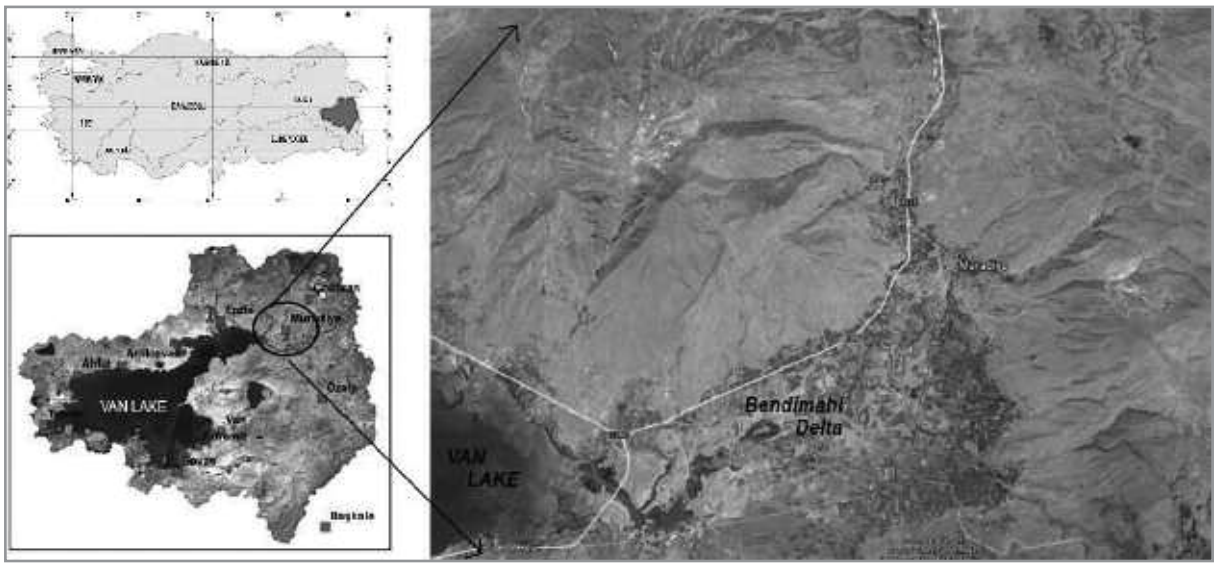

Fig 1. Geographical location of Bendimahi Delta

Figure 2. Bendimahi River, Balıkbendi location.

Fig. 3. Muradiye Waterfall.

participants in the surroundings of the Bendimahi Delta. For these cultural benefits, most intensely valued places by the participants are the Muradiye Waterfall and the Balıkbendi location on the northeast of the Bendimahi Delta along the Bendimahi River. These places accommodated multiple values such as recreational, aesthetics, sense of place, learning and future.

According to the statements of the meeting participants, some locations on the banks of the Bendimahi River (Fig. 2) where there are at least few recreational facilities and accessibility is good enough as in the case of the Balıkbendi location are defined as important and preferred by locals. Similarly, the Muradiye Waterfall (Fig. 3) has been found to be valuable for the participants with the surrounding the picnic areas and its aesthetic features. The Balıkbendi location is determined as important also for the development of sense of place among locals by improving the social relations during the Pearl Mullet Festival that takes place in this location during the migration period of the fish populations.

The places that were given importance for cultural heritage are the historical monuments and places such as old bridges (Bendimahi Bridge and Şeytan Bridge), churches and settlements. Most of these places were built in the ancient times, in Seljuks or in the Ottoman Period and they are now a part of interview participants' childhood, youth and community stories and memories. As an example, Şeytan Bridge was stated as one of the main symbols in a local folk tale about the love between

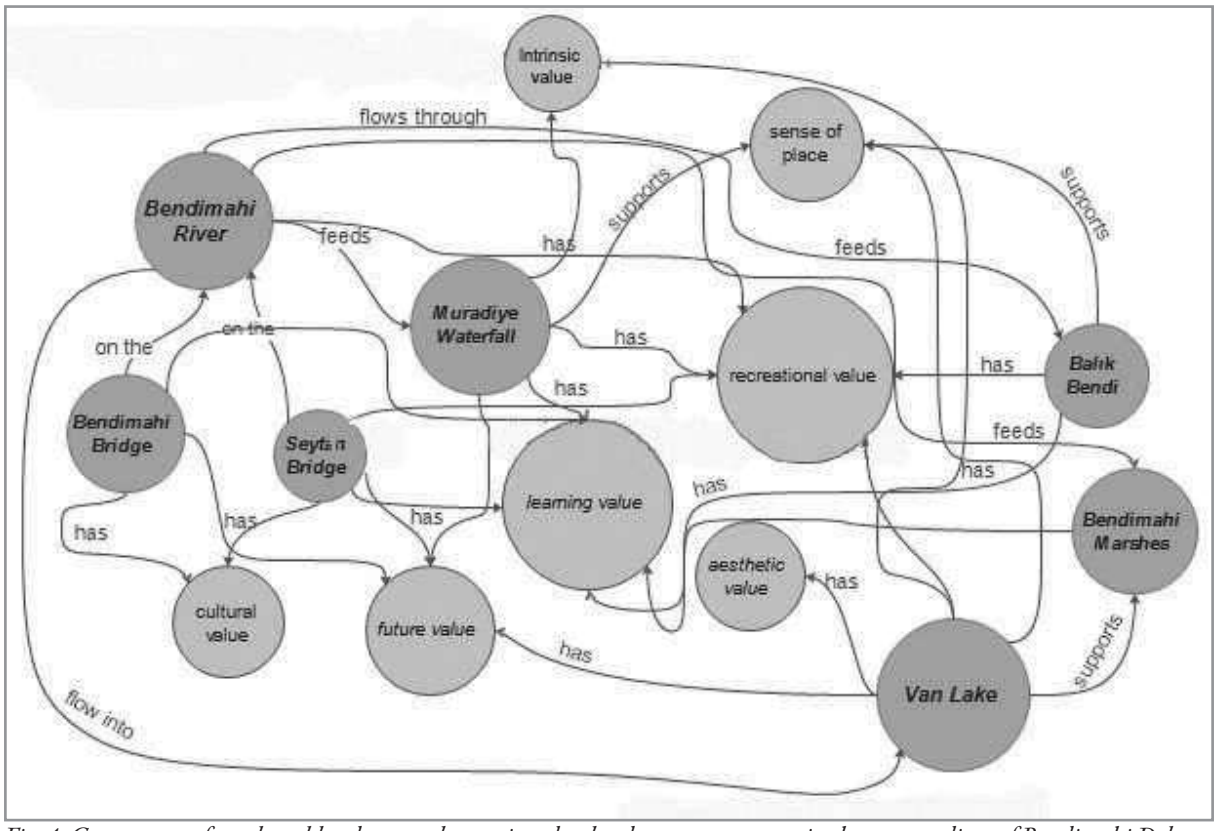

Fig. 4. Concept map for cultural landscape values assigned to landscape components in the surroundings of Bendimahi Delta

an Armenian boy and a Turkish girl. The interrelations among the assigned cultural landscape values and preferred places for related ecosystem services in the surroundings of Bendimahi Delta are shown in Figure 4.

Conclusion

According to the results, it is concluded that similar to many other rivers and landscapes in the world, Bendimahi River shapes the landscape and the life in Muradiye District and in the near surrounding for all the living things. The river shapes both the natural and cultural life along its way to Bendimahi Delta and around the Delta in regard to economic activities, settlement locations, and recreational potentials and other socio-cultural domains. As such, the study highlighted the importance of cultural ecosystem services that are supplied to societies by water courses in various ways through the river systems. The study also highlighted the importance of accessibility, recreational opportunities and facilities in the recognition and valuation of cultural ecosystem services among participants. In this regard, the Bendimahi River and its tributaries can be regarded as among the drivers of the landscape and cultural values in the Bendimahi Delta. On the other hand, values such as future, intrinsic and cultural values and, the sense of place that may affect positively the current and future of the Delta were given low importance or even not recognized by some of the participants. Moreover, landscape values such as inspiration, spiritual and wilderness of the Delta were not been recognized or valued by the participants. However, high cultural landscape values such as future, learning, intrinsic, wilderness and, the sense of place would provide positive inputs for a participatory management planning process of the Delta and, similar fragile but, multifunctional areas.

In regard to defining the interrelations among the cultural landscape values in the case of Bendimahi Delta, the concept mapping provided an abstract mind map of participants for the important values and related places. As a potential communication tool among researchers, decision makers and local stakeholders, this map also provides initial information both on the potentials and weaknesses in a possible management process in the Delta.

Acknowledgements

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Between Creative Praxis and Place Governance: Four Examples

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Introduction

The European Landscape Convention states that its signatories' primary aim is to safeguard and realise 'shared ideals and principles' particularly through 'agreements in the economic and social fields' (ELC 2012). Arguably however, such top-down agreements are behind the poor current state of many European landscapes. If we are to depart our current 'dystopia of "The Economy"' for a more ecosophical habitat (Latour 2013), those responsible for place governance need to collaborate with new forms of creative praxis that can catalyze the empathetic engagement vital to mediating the type of central planning recommended by the Irish Heritage Council's proposal for a National Landscape Strategy (The Heritage Council 2010, 57-8). As Simon Read observes, a major weakness in governance processes based on problem solving and trouble-shooting is failure 'to engage the public on an imaginative level' (Read 2016). Without a shared sense of empathetic responsibility for place, such processes can easily alienate local constituencies. To create empathetic public engagement requires creative translation between the ideals and principles that inform governance policy and the lived beliefs, desires and convictions of placed constituencies.

What follows refers to four creative translation projects - by Kathy Fitzgerald, Simon Read, Christine Baeumler and Ffion Jones. Each is contingent on, and embedded in, localized contexts and taskscapes and translates back and forth between specific constellations of geographical, historical and cultural concern and value and the governance process. While these individuals would conventionally be identified as artists, this designation fails to capture what is particular to their creative praxis. For example, in addition to drawing on her skills as a performance artist, Ffion Jones' draws directly on the skills of an upland sheep farmer, a Welsh language speaker, a scholar, a young mother, a regional citizen, and so on. Consequently her praxis is grounded in the multiple dimensions of her constellated lifeworld rather than in identifying with the exclusive category 'performance artist'.

Cathy Fitzgerald

The Sitka Spruce plantation with which Cathy Fitzgerald's *Hollywood Project* engages was planted about thirty years ago in conformity with the notion of forestry as 'standing reserve' (Heidegger 1978, 298). It was ecologically toxic and aesthetically unattractive. The *Hollywood Project*, begun in 2008, is animated by eco-aesthetic concerns that require negotiating the tensions between the economics of standing reserve and growing desire in County Carlow to re-establish broadleaf native trees. It requires a forty-year commitment to catalyzing multiple exchanges between the original plantation and wildlife, local people, silvicultural specialists, timber users, artists, and environmental enthusiasts. The governance policy framework here is that of the Irish Council for Forest Research and Development, but Fitzgerald's involvement in governance issues also includes the ecological, creative, political, and educational concerns necessary to translate forestry practice to a variety of constituencies, both human and non-human.

Fitzgerald trained and originally worked as a biologist in New Zealand before taking art degrees in Ireland. She regards her eco-social art praxis as seeking to advance knowledge, primarily in aesthetic and eco-critical terms, but also in the domains of forest research, forest policy and eco-jurisprudence. It is significant that from 2004-2007 she worked alongside Irish Green Party Counsellor Mary White – later elected Junior Minister of State – both during her European campaign and her successful national election campaign. She served as Local Group Secretary for the Carlow-Kilkenny Green Party, offered it web support and helped establish the largest Green Party group to date in rural Ireland. She now serves on the committee of the forestry group *ProSilva Ireland*. In short, she has and continues to address a range of governance issues through various forms of direct engagement that are inseparable from her creative praxis. As such her work relates directly to urgent issues of ecological governance, (not least because Ireland has the lowest proportion of deciduous trees in Europe after Iceland and Malta). While Ireland's extensive forestry policy addresses everything from water quality and archaeology to biodiversity and the conservation of the freshwater pearl mussel, it can be argued that it does so piecemeal, showing little understanding of such ecological issues such as the relationship between

watersheds, tree cover and pluvial flood management. While at the level of national forestry governance it may be necessary to work through entities such as Inter-Departmental Committees, it is through work such as the *Hollywood Project* that forest landscape in Ireland will be perceived, conceived, symbolized and lived as the multi-faceted, experience-centered phenomenon necessary to a new ecosophical order.

Simon Read

Simon Read works from a barge on the River Deben as an artist, University lecturer, environmental designer, community mediator, and ecological activist. Since 1997 his involvement with the River Debden has led to his working with the Chartered Institute for Water and Environmental Management and ARUP, with geographers through the Royal Geographic Society, and with similar organizations in Ireland and the USA. He has contributed to workshops on flood planning with PLaCE International and the Flood Hazard Research Centre, Middlesex University. Since 2009 he has served as an Executive Member of Deben Estuary Partnership in collaboration with Environment Agency, involving himself in mediation work with Natural England, the Marine Management Organisation, Suffolk Coast and Heaths Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty Unit and local government, the River Deben Association, the Deben Estuary Partnership, and other local groups. He is also an Associate of the Art and Environment Network of the Chartered Institute for Water and Environmental Management and engaged with both Statutory Government Agencies and his Local Planning Authority.

Central to these engagements are his large map drawings, a response to the governance of the fluid and shifting environment around the mouth of the River Debden. These map drawings visualize changes in environmental conditions between land and water over time. They retrieve, cross-referencing, and synthesizing data from multiple official sources so as to equip Simon to enter the complex environmental planning debates around the Debden and its salt marsh. This work is predicated on the ability of site-specific creative work to animate debate on fluvial, estuarine and coastal management as part of policy generation. Interacting with both central government and local concerns it contributes directly to current eco-social debate around the core issues of communication in relation to the implication of policy.

In addition to his visualizations of the changing local environment, Read is currently worked on the *Falkenham Saltmarsh Project*.[1] This aspect of his work addresses the conditions of, and potential for, marsh stabilization within the context of coastal erosion. Working with a range of agencies, including a local prison, he has planned and built barriers that prevent erosion of the saltmarsh by managing tidal flow and encouraging the controlled deposition of silt. Both practical and sculptural, these are soft engineered from timber, brushwood, straw bales, and coir - a natural fiber extracted from the husk of coconuts – and will degrade back into the marsh over time.

Read has responded to the challenges of managing environmental change by acknowledging the need for, and publically working towards, the more nuanced and complex solutions necessary to understand and address the cultural implications and dimensions of socio-environmental change. While grounded in the traditional skills of an artist, his work relates directly to a societal re-framing of our understanding of land, ownership, aesthetic responsibility and belonging.

Christine Baeumler

Christine Baeumler works to enable a civic environmentalism predicated on ecosophical understanding and animated by a geopoetics attuned to the multiple meanings and contexts of our lived experience of landscape. Working between public environmental art, teaching at the University of Minnesota, curation, and community activism, her expanded creative praxis facilitates both awareness of environmental issues and appropriate responses to them. Drawing on both art and natural science, she contests the reductive treatment of ecosystems and the loss of human experience of specific environments and the species that inhabit them. Like Read she makes eco-social contexts visible so as to inspire creative solutions to environmental dilemmas by imagining alternatives to current approaches. Her 'slow' place- and community- based praxis considers historical, cultural, environmental, metaphorical and aesthetic dimensions of place to address pressing eco-political issues constantly in flux. She currently focuses on collective ecological restoration of urban and edgeland spaces, paying particular attention to increasing biodiversity, providing habitat for pollinators, and improving both the water quality and aesthetic dimension of sites.

The particular qualities of Baeumler's practice appear in her role in the realisation of *Bruce Vento Nature Sanctuary Project*.[2] Since 1994 she has worked, as local resident and artist, on community-led ecological restoration initiatives

on the East Side of Saint Paul, Minnesota. These projects have been realised through collaborations with local residents, ecologists, hydrologists, engineers, University of Minnesota art students, the Como Park Conservatory Youth program and the East Side Youth Conservation Corps of the Community Design Centre. As a member of the Friends of Swede Hollow Park and a founding member of the Lower Phalen Creek Steering Committee, Baeumler worked with community activists and City officials to transform a twenty-seven acre heavily polluted rail-yard beside the Mississippi into the Bruce Vento Nature Sanctuary, now a city park. An important dimension of the critical translation central to this project is her membership of *Healing Place*, founded by Dakota artist and activist Mona Smith, which aims to heal connections between people and places formally sacred to the Dakota Nation, of which the park is a significant example. [3]

Baeumler has also served as Artist-in-Residence in the Minnesota Capitol Region and the Ramsey Metro Washington Watershed Districts, working with these governance units on large-scale water infrastructure projects intended to raise the visibility of water infrastructure and quality issues through educational and aesthetic interventions. She then led the team, including an engineer and ecologist, that created *Reconstituting the Landscape: A Tamarack Rooftop Restoration*, a micro bog ecosystem above the entryway to the Minneapolis College of Art and Design.[4] This calls attention to the fragile tamarack bog ecosystem under threat in Minnesota, replicating it in miniature as green rooftop infrastructure and led to her making *Bogs, A Love Story,* a documentary film about six different bog experts.[5] Baeumler recently animated regional governance debates through *Pollinators at the Plains*, a sustainable redesign of the Plains Art Museum's outdoor campus in Fargo, North Dakota, including a youth internship program and work with artist and horticulturist Seitu Jones.[6] At the University of Minnesota Baeumler has developed and taught courses that engage students in creatively working with systems of water, food, transportation and civic engagement, and translate transversally between the disciplines of art, ecology, climatology and social studies. As is the case with both Fitzgerald and Read, the educational dimension of her work needs to be seen as inseparable from her expanded creative praxis as a whole.

Ffion Jones

If these three examples represent a creative enabling or translation between complex, multi-dimensional fields that include art and governance, the situation in which Ffion Jones currently finds herself illustrates the uncertainty of such work. Jones, herself a farmer, recently completed a practice-led doctoral project that critically articulates the many dimensions of upland Welsh sheep farming family life over time, seen both from within - as a daughter and young mother - and with the critical engagement of an academic and performer. Predicated on her ability to translate between multiple, often antagonistic, dimensions of her life-world, her work presents a host of important insights into an embattled and increasingly marginalized rural community. This constitutes an important and necessary alternative perspective to that presented by, for example, the largely urban re-wilding lobby typified by the Oxford-educated academic, environmental activist and journalist George Monbiot, concerned with the environmental damage in upland areas caused by erosion in which sheep farming plays a large part (Monbiot 2013). However, while Jones continues to work to develop her work as a creative translator – she is currently contributing to a UK Arts and Humanities Research Council funded research project exploring hydro-citizenship – her efforts are dependent on a degree of reciprocity. She is currently dependent on a few hours university teaching to obtain vital access to key creative resources. As I have suggested elsewhere, it is increasingly difficult for practitioners such as Ffion to engage imaginatively with governance debates because the necessary alliances on which this depends are being eroded (Biggs 2014). In addition to difficulties thrown up by the complexities of their own lifeworlds, they must overcome the combined effect of a hostile political ideology and an antiquated epistemology blind to the limits of disciplinary thinking. It is indicative that Jones is trying to develop an exchange with the Pembrokeshire National Park, which she rightly sees as a location in which she can develop and utilize her hard-won skills.

Creative practices have always been subject to economic vagaries, but creative translators face additional problems generated by working across and between multiple fields, few of which currently properly recognise their abilities and social value. (An exception to this lack of understanding might be cultural geography as practiced by Stephen Daniels, Caitlin Desilvey, Hayden Lorimer, Owain Jones, and others). While individuals involved in the grass roots running of bodies like National Parks are increasingly recognizing the value of creative translation, they often lack support from those who control budgets and generate policy. If the praxis of creative translation is

to develop, those involved in place governance need to reciprocate something of the personal investment made by the four individuals I have referred to. No professional group can, on its own, catalyze the informed 'civic environmentalism' necessary to support collective imaginative engagement necessary to an ecosophically oriented environmentalism that is both ethically and aesthetically responsible. If citizens are to commit themselves 'to better their environment', this requires the new empowering understandings facilitated by those able and willing to undertake translation between diverse fields of concern animated by the emotional power of a thoughtful and deeply felt everyday aesthetics (Saito 2007, 101).

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Looking at the landscape as a person

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If we look at the landscape as a subject, as a person, in an absolutely topological perspective, and not as an object, far away and different from us, to dominate from the top of our superiority, then we must try to track down an interior light into landscapes, almost like a sap, which becomes an almost invisible but substantial support of the landscape itself (Bocchi 2015).

The Portuguese landscape architect João Nunes (2005) wrote an illuminating sentence in respect of this concept of light as a sap of nature:

> 'We just think of the interference that the projection of the shadow of a tree causes in the life of the underlying communities, conditioning the surrounding life –according to the availability of light, a key resource for the plants–and creating a clear trace of its presence, a dynamic and ephemeral trace, made of absence, the absence of something that is perfectly clear in drawing the distribution rules of any other plant communities around'.

I will make a path in *six degrees*, trying to catch this light, or sap, inside landscapes, in the mixture of spaces, textures, colours; avoiding the focus of *focused* vision but exercising a kind of *peripheral* vision, which allows the whole set to be embraced, even to see in the darkness, to perceive with the help of a multi-sensory ability, capable of entering into things and learning their secrets, to enter in empathy with the things themselves.

In the way in which Richard Long conducted his research in the landscape, leaving light trails, as do the snails on the ground or the aircrafts in the sky.

First grade - Maria Zambrano. Telling light

Maria Zambrano, in her book on painting, which in the Italian version was titled *Telling light* (Zambrano 2013, 92-3), claims that 'Spain is a plastic country for excellence' (...) She sees it as 'a land charged with generating strength'. 'Spain is the place where light affirms its solar origin (...); light and fire (...) which is the cosmic life, vibrating at the centre of our universe, which not just lights or illuminates, but in lighting consumes, burns, calls and attracts all things to itself, makes them come out of themselves'.

Light as cosmic life, precisely as life sap. Maria Zambrano finds this light to be a fundamental underpinning of great Spanish painting, from Goya and Velazquez to Zurbaran: she identifies it as its mysterious *quid*: 'Far from giving up to what the senses find, she demands of light that it submits to the senses; enhances them and makes them her own; that, without destroying them, leads them to an *assumption*'.

Second grade - Iñaki Abalos. The landscape as a subject

Somewhat analogous is the argument developed by the Spanish architect Iñaki Abalos in his interesting book *Atlas Pintoresco* (Abalos 2005, 7-32), where he seeks the necessity of collaboration, for the project of contemporary territories, between architecture and landscape architecture.

He starts from a revaluation of the experience of eighteenth century picturesque English gardens and concludes: 'Modernity established the notion of landscape as an object, a type of landscape that you look at, you use and you exploit, with which you never establish an equal relationship (...); we need to develop a new relationship between humans and the physical world, a relationship in which the latter passes from the role of pure object to subject (...): this means that the landscape builds us and hears us, and that we have to undergo a profound change in order to re-establish something like a democratic and effective communication between human and nonhuman things (...) The landscape is no longer the beautiful backdrop from which some beautiful sculptural objects called architectures stand out, but rather it is the place where you can install a new relationship between men and things: a cosmic hole from which we can describe the whole inheritance received'.

Here is the central concept to grasp, the light-sap of a landscape: to think, look, experience it as a subject, a person to look at, but also to listen to, in a nearly equal relationship.

> 'Formalism must give way to the ability to think of a functioning complex metabolism'reiterates Nunes (2005, 9-27). There is no intent to affect an image on the ground, but rather to understand the

> characteristics of the place, understand the energies that determine its operation, arousing the desire to turn it in accordance with the flow defined by those energies (...). To make landscape means to positively manipulate natural metabolic factors, adding to them a poetic and artistic sense, and evidently placing them in relation to a functional purpose'.

In most famous project, the Park of Nations along the river Tagus in Lisbon, 'speaking of wind, sun and shadow, the intensity of the contrasts between the values of solar radiation received by a south-facing slope and one facing north, he deals with a set of sensations we feel in the landscape: visual, but also feelings of comfort. We speak of the presence of an immense river, which determines an extraordinary scale of the landscape, but also generates unique ecological situations that we want to show through a difficult physical proximity to be found along its banks'.

Third grade - Martin Buber. The dialogue between man and nature

The Jewish philosopher Martin Buber speaks specifically of the need to establish with others and with things of Nature a similarly equal dialogue, from person to person.

> 'As soon as you say the phrase 'I see the tree' in such a way that it no longer speaks of a relationship between *man-I* and *tree-Thou*, but establishes the perception of the *object-tree* through the *conscience-man*, you have already erected a barrier between subject and object: the fatal word 'separation', *I-It*, is pronounced". On the other hand, "where one says *You*, there is no *something* (object). The *You* has no borders. Who says *You* has not *anything*, he has *nothing*. But it is in a relation with' (Buber 1973).

According to Buber what allows the establishment of the relationship *I-Thou* is the ability to perceive a *presence* of things outside of us, even starting from a simple tree.

'I look at a tree' –writes Buber– 'I can receive it as an image (...). I can perceive it as a movement (...). I can classify it as a kind (...). In any case the tree remains for me an object in space and time, with its way of being and its features'. To take a step further, a real meeting is necessary, where I will not describe the tree, but rather I live in co-membership with it, generated by a relationship *I-thou*, where 'the tree is not an impression, not a game of my imagination, but it is a living body before me, and it has to do with me as I with it.

My relationship with the tree is then reciprocal, it is a meeting, is a 'have to do' ... Thus it may happen that, by looking at the tree, I will be involved in the relationship with it, and the tree is no longer an *It*, but a *You*: a subject, a person, which I can look at, but also listen to. In this way I can enter into a two-way relationship with it.'

Something like this, we can find in the sculptural work of Giuseppe Penone and Alberto Carneiro, when they try to interact directly with the life of trees, establishing a direct, physical relationship with their very nature. It is not a coincidence that some of the early works of Penone are entitled: 'to be tree', 'to be the river', 'to be a rock'.

Fourth grade - Maurice Merleau-Ponty. The 'profound realism' in Cézanne's painting

We take a step further. When the philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1945) reads Paul Cézanne's paintings – and in particular the landscape paintings–he identifies in this exercise an ability to overcome the purely 'impressionistic' perception of reality, and to get to a 'deeper perception' that reaches a less superficial substance, under the skin of things, not resolved in the 'retinal' impressions of light and colour, but penetrating deeper into their "geological" essence.

> 'Impressionism, he writes, was trying to capture, in painting, the authentic manner in which objects affect our eyes and our senses. The objects were painted as they appeared to instantaneous perception, linked together by light and air (...). The use of warm colours, and black, shows that Cézanne wants to represent the object in such a way as to find it again behind that atmosphere (...) it seems subtly lit from within, the light emanating from him, and the result is an impression of solidity and material substance (...). Cézanne claimed: 'Everything comes to us from nature; we exist through it'. He wanted to make Impressionism 'something solid' (...) The landscape is thought in me, he used to say, and I'm its conscience'.
>
> '(Painting) gives visible existence to what profane vision believes invisible (...) We do not discuss much the light we see, but rather the light entering into our eyes from the outside, that gives place to our vision (...). From this point of view, the best thing is thinking about light as an action by contact, similar to one of the things on the blind man's stick (...).The world is no longer in front of the painter for representation, it is rather the

> painter who comes from things'.
>
> 'One fine morning - Cézanne writes about the Montagne Sainte Victoire (9) - slowly, the geological foundations appear to me, the layers emerge, I will design mentally the stony skeleton. I see emerging rocks, I weigh the sky ... The shadow and light give the impression of retreat, shuddering'.

The light-sap of landscape passes into the material composition and structure of the landscape itself, even the geological matrix of its being, a 'deeper reality' of the landscape: not by chance is Cezanne's way of painting called "profound realism", instead of Impressionism.

Fifth grade - Anton Ehrenzweig. Peripheral vision and abstract expressionism

From here it is a short step to arrive at a psychoanalytic interpretation of Cézanne's landscape and world. Such an interpretation was given many years ago by Anton Ehrenzweig (1953), in his essay *Cézanne and Peripheral Vision*.

He speculated that the two layers of mind (conscious and unconscious) may have originated in the physiological structure of vision, in the relationship between 'focused vision' and 'peripheral vision', where the first is similar to the narrow lens of consciousness and the second to pre-consciousness and the unconscious. In fact, with the peripheral vision we see only something like undifferentiated space, we have simply the intuition or a vague perception of the presence of an object.

Then, the *deep* penetration of reality wrought by Cezanne can be read, according Ehrenzweig, in an ability to read the real through "peripheral vision", not strictly focused, which is also being able to inquire into the geological "subconscious" of landscape. The *landscape* is read through a *subconscious-internal* notion that sometimes has been defined as *inscape*.

In this sense, Cézanne's *profound realism* can be seen almost paradoxically as a precursor to the American 'abstract expressionists'.

Abstract Expressionism in fact has to do with our peripheral vision, with *fringe*, as William James called the psychic overtones: a *suffusion* of relationships and objects, but vaguely perceived. Objects lose their specificity and become part of a field of forms fused together or suffused.

Sixth grade - Michelangelo Antonioni. The magic mountains

The next step, the sixth grade, is, I propose, to move from Abstract Expressionism to Antonioni's films. A recent exhibition in Ferrara (Paini 2013), investigated thoroughly the relationship between "the eyes of Antonioni" and his passion for the arts.

Antonioni himself produced a series of paintings entitled 'The magic mountain', and a series of enlarged photographs of them, which explore the deep meanings of those landscapes: abstract representations, but often significantly related to landscapes taken from his films. Antonioni declares its willingness to enter though them "really into the life of matter".

The process is very close to the Abstract Expressionist researches, in particular Rothko's ones, beloved of Antonioni.

'Filming - writes José Moure (2013, 217) - is no longer, for Antonioni, showing, but questioning the visible sense ... His gaze seems to get into a mysterious intimacy with the *outside* ...'.

Up to explode in fire and explosion, destructive but revealing, in the famous scene of Zabriskie Point, incredibly similar to a Pollock's painting.

Epilogue - Andrea Zanzotto. The landscape of the Venice lagoon

Finally, I venture–supported by the idea of landscape as person–to the landscape of the Venice lagoon, through the words of a poet, Andrea Zanzotto, which in turn refers to Hermann Hesse's writings, and with the help of two photographers: Fulvio Roiter and Christopher Thomas.

> 'The only possible way to an authentic approach to the city', writes Zanzotto (Roiter, 1997), 'can only come *from below* (...)'. Hesse starts from a quite foundational level, viz. participation in the life of nature and of people who remain closer to nature: this is really suited to a preliminary contact with the very idea that founded Venice. Waters that rise and fall, ebb and flow, shores that appear and disappear, memories that drive towards primeval times, returning you to a time when a large part of the Adriatic sea does not exist and the rivers ran in a rich 'geological unconsciousness', unthinkable now . Yes, everything fluctuates, everything stabilizes and different archaeological layers, forms

of civilization succeed one another; time becomes visible, finally, in the play of tides and colours on the sandbanks (...). And more and more it appears that serpentine power, that flow of metaphysical blood, which gives the channel or tidal creeks and their increasingly unstable anastomosis, the flowering of plants and the herbs that over the seasons always create renewed figures, an infinite echo of continuity, from abysmal distances. (...) Such a deep contact with cosmic rhythms, to truly create the very possibility of making us tremble with its colours.... From these colours actually drew its maximum boost the strength of senses and mind that created the unique colours of Venetian painting (...). With Hesse, we can enjoy the chromatic paradise of the Lagoon. It is astonishing how this milky mirror is sensitive to light, says the great author. And note, at that moment the sun gave a dull and uniform brightness (to the water) which, however, where it was stressed from the boats and from the blows of the oars, lit blinding golden fires ... The water of the lagoon, whose colour is a pale green, has in all respects the qualities of bright opaque stones, in particular opal'.

An opaque and uniform brightness is also the one which Christopher Thomas (2012) looks at, on the Venetian waters, in his photograph series entitled *Venice in Solitude*.

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Greening a more Sustainable Irish Landscape: A Reading of Postcolonial Irish film

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From the foregrounding of a romanticised landscape through the primitive barren rock-face evidenced in *Man of Aran* (1932) up to dramatic contemporary representations of this phenomenon using authentic deep green images of Skellig Michael, re-purposed for the final sequence in the latest *Star-Wars* (2015) franchise; many films call on the mythic power of Irish landscape. Such iconic primitive imagery is transformed into bounteous fertile farming land in films such as *The Quiet Man* (1952), *The Field* (1990) and even *Eat the Peach* (1986). These images and storylines display the roots of an environmentally focused and indigenous Irish landscape cinema.

As elsewhere, landscape remains a perennial preoccupation of environmental concern, while at the same time constantly orchestrated as a unique selling point for Irish tourism, alongside the audio-visual industry, together with articulating engaging representations of agriculture, forestry and a sustainable rural economy in general. This paper works off the premise that a key communication tool to help make citizens become more environmentally aware and develop new forms of environmental literacy, emanate from audio-visual stimuli and narratives that actively incorporate imaginative and also critical representations of landscape.

Our response to landscape is affected by how we experience it. Recalling for instance romantic poets like William Wordsworth who passionately believed that the British Lake District should be approached slowly and carefully as befitted a special place (McGrath 2013). Coincidentally, a farmer's view of landscape remains very different to the touristic gaze, much less recounting a Government agency's response, in striving to protect the overall environment. All the while Irish landscape remains in a state of permanent flux, buffeted by physical, social and political, as well as emotional forces.

Scholars like William Cronon have emphasised the role of culture in the perception of nature and therefore the whole direction of the environmental movement. Meanwhile Irish landscape photography and film – typically picturing idyllic and nostalgic images of an antiquated and romantic island – has long been commodified for touristic consumption, thereby ignoring the more obvious political, environmental, and economic implications omnipresent in relation to these landscapes.[1]

Such touristic nostalgic notions of Irishness have become particularly associated with a rural topography on film. As Luke Gibbons states, Irish culture has a preference for a romantic outlook as opposed to adopting a realist aesthetic. Coincidentally this occured as the dominance of the rural economy decreased. It is for instance the obsession with 'lousy money' which drives Sean Thornton (John Wayne) back to 'the idyllic Ireland of *The Quiet Man* and 'another name for heaven – Innisfree' (1988, 199). Most scholars agree that this classic and other more contemporary Irish tales are based on postcard scenes of the romantic countryside, which has broad appeal to wide international markets, looking to connect with an [in]authentic contemporary Ireland.[2] Meanwhile within the filmic literature there continues to be a preoccupation with abstract psychoanalytical notions around 'gaze theory' to explain and articulate our relationship with the (re)presentation of landscape. More recently ontological and philosophical approaches to landscape are being afforded greater recognition however, drawing on Fine Art strategies like in Martin Lefebvre's *Landscape and Film* (2006) and John Wylie's *Landscape* (2007). The imported British view of nature, especially in a colony that was considered a recreational playground for the imperialist tourist, has shaped much of what is seen today throughout the Irish countryside. Wylie for instance, usefully suggests '[L]andscape is not only something we see, it is also a way of seeing things, a particular way of looking at and picturing the world around us. Landscape is not just about what we see, but about how we look' (Ibid., 7).

Landscape certainly carries a particular cultural significance within Irish cinema, offering itself up as a

utopia or balm to the ills of modernity. Martin McLoone most notably posits how the iconography of landscape became symbolic of Ireland's aspirations for nationhood, writing that Ireland's cinematic landscape 'perfectly encapsulates the way in which the West of Ireland now exists as a kind of ideal regenerative environment for the trouble and worried kind of modernity' (McLoone 2008, 95). While acknowledging the importance of rural (including West of Ireland) landscapes and historically based narratives up to the 1990s in particular, Ruth Barton points out, '[N]ostalgia for the past is often an unwillingness to come to terms with the present' (Barton 1997, 43).

Furthermore, calling to mind John Hill's thesis on Irish landscape, recalling the cliff tops with their sheer drop into a rocky, grey unwelcoming Irish sea, highlighted at the start of *Man of Aran* in particular, represent the last vestiges of control that the world, both natural and modern, can exercise over the lives of its inhabitants. The outline coastal membrane and rugged landscape is therefore imbued with a God-like status, since the sea may not only 'giveth but can also taketh away'. This primal power of nature over its inhabitants became a dominant trope in Revivalist Irish literature, most notably exemplified in Synge's *Riders to the Sea*, which in turn serves to frame our understanding of the symbolic potency of the sea, as further dramatised in the adaptation of *The Field*.

The Field opens with two men in picturesque silhouette, pushing a cart over mountainous fields and unceremoniously ridding the carcass of a donkey into deep water below, thereby polluting the environment. The Bull later tries to teach his son that harming the donkey, who apparently strayed into their precious field was wrong, thereby affirming a clear sense of ecological values. But this does not apparently extend to concerns over pollution, which is directly contrasted in the followed scene with the same two men gathering seaweed in pouches to carry back up the mountains - a clear visual reference to the hard primitivism of *Man of Aran* – so that they can fertilise and regenerate the precious soil in the eponymous ultra-green field, which is the focus of identification and contestation in the film (see Brereton in Dobrin et al. 2009, 185-203).

The Swedish intellectual Torsten Hagerstrand (1992) usefully stresses the necessity for scholars to engage with the material, contingent world on a local level where people's lives are essentially lived. Only if meta-narratives like Ecology and Sustainability, by which intellectuals' structure their thoughts, are in dialogue with the micro-narratives through which people understand their lives, will there be fruitful cooperation and hopefully transformation. Most especially the beauty, albeit in this instance the pathological importance of place, land and landscape is well captured in *The Field*, which was effectively translated into film by the director Jim Sheridan.[3]

One of the landmark films which helped to re-define a new visual aesthetic was the first wholly Irish Film Board funded feature, *Eat the Peach* that dealt with early forms of global capitalism and recession within a midlands bogland landscape that was certainly not privileged as a suitable tourist space up to then. Arguably the greatest change to an Irish topography during the last century, was the destruction of the great midland bogs (McGrath 2013, 56).

Directed by Peter Ormrod, *Eat the Peach* is a tragi-comedy based on a true-life story that follows two men – Vinnie (Stephen Brennan) and Arthur (Eamon Morrissey) - who respond to the oppressiveness of their midlands existence by building a motorcycle "wall of death" (inspired by the Elvis Presley movie *Roustabout*) in the middle of a dramatic expansive bog.

In the film, landscape seems to question the poet Seamus Heaney's claim that 'Irish bogland cannot hope to emulate the vast American prairies which slice a big sunset evening'. For Heaney, Irish bogs are compressed layers of history, forcing the eye inwards rather than drawing it towards the horizon. In a country where the 'Troubles' loomed large as violence continued to flare in the North, revisionist cultural artefacts attempted to discover new ways of appropriating and reconstituting a more benevolent and therapeutic use of landscape.

Michael Viney, a long time environmental columnist with *The Irish Times* for instance usefully suggests, 'utility remains the benchmark of Irish rural attitudes to nature' (1986, 63). This is of course contested when bogland became a contentious environmental site - as defined by European Union directives – resulting in on-going rows over turf cutting for fuel and the general despoiling of a precious natural habitat. Bogland remains the most endangered ecosystems in Ireland, with over 92% of them having been excavated for fuel, or damaged through

continual urban development and industrialisation (Gladwin 2013, 165). Not only does the continual elimination of bogs represent an environmental threat to Ireland's ecosystem, but it also threatens to eliminate a significant aspect of Ireland's natural history, topography and culture. Such re-imagining of the long-term preciousness of bogland is necessary to sustain a greater sense of connectivity with a range of unique habitats.

An ecological mind-set and trajectory which a recent Irish documentary, focused on landscape, seeks to highlight. *Living in a Coded Land* (2013) helps to put such utilitarian and nostalgic views of landscape in perspective. The director Pat Collins encourages ambiguity towards the meaning of various habitats in order to enable audiences to make up their own minds about a landscape. Much of the contemporary footage is filmed from a barge on an inland waterway, while observing the land during long summer days and coupled with evocative sunsets, which remain as resonant and haunting in ways, as the digital manipulation of post-apocalyptic landscapes in Lars von Trier's *Melancholia* (2011). Questioned at a screening of the film, Collins was asked about an over-use of sentimentality and the possibility of re-embedding prejudices around 'connectivity with nature', while reifying the unique power of the rural community. He responded to such accusations by remembering how as a country person, when he was just eighteen, he was encouraged to 'hate the local'. But now believes with the rural population and landscape totally decimated, that such representations are far from 'sentimental'. This poetic documentary investigates the Irish landscape, people and their culture, making provocative links between past and present. For instance striking images like a stark moon shining over a still lake are used as objective correlatives to contextualise the nature poetry of Seamus Heaney and Michael Hartnett. These poetic recitals complement the film's carefully composed images, rhythms and sounds, as the story tracks through a range of Irish topographies. While more gritty, realistic images of urban habitats and landscapes are later used to signal the economic transformation of colonial cities like Dublin, which have come to dominate the Irish mind-set at the expense of its rural heritage.

Landscape essentially serves as both a performative sensorium and source of cultural meaning and symbolism: 'telling a story is not like weaving a tapestry to cover up the world'. Landscape has both 'transparency and depth; transparency because one can see into it; depth, because the more one looks the further one sees. Far from dressing up a plain reality with layers of metaphors, or representing it, map-like, in the imagination, songs, stories and designs serve to conduct the attention of performers into the world' (Ingold 2000, 56). As exemplified in *Living in a Coded Land*, film by all accounts remains the most powerful medium to address such layers of meaning and the perceptual power and agency of landscapes most certainly speak to and for an evolving environmental sensibility.

At a geographical and also at a symbolic level, I would finally suggest that the island of Ireland ought to be centrally involved in future debates and research on European environmentalism, sustainability and representations of landscape, while also feeding into more contentious issues of energy production, including all aspects of environmental and carbon literacy. The filmmaker as 'surrogate witness for the filmgoers' captures this transition and moment of sublime synthesis, in an image that conforms with audience's pre-existing conceptions of the 'real world'.[4] All the films mentioned in this survey and many others besides help to instil powerful images of Irish landscape that help to frame and incite audience's appreciation of environmental and ecological agendas. To continue this process of investigation, I call for increased environmental literacy, alongside more active and critical engagement with all aspects of environmental sustainability.

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Notes

[1] Barbara O'Connor for instance argues in 'Myths and Mirrors: Tourist Images and National Identity' that 'while a range of images of Ireland exists, depending on the market and source, a number of common themes and motifs have emerged and continue to be reproduced for tourist consumption' which notably show that 'Ireland is represented as a place of picturesque scenery and unspoiled beauty' (1993: 70).

[2] Similarly the more whimsical and self-parodying *Finian's Rainbow* (1968) or the recent very kitsch *Waking Ned* Devine (1998) also provides a relatively successful tourist and stereotypical image of Ireland with the landscape used to register familiar markers of Irishness. The fact that the latter film was actually filmed in the Isle of Man rather than Ireland, merely adds to this awkwardly synthetic sense of place. As McLoone rightly suggests, 'this seems to confirm the shoddiness and in-authenticity of the whole film' (2000: 126).

[3] John B Keane who wrote the play, incidentally highlights the importance of environment for the creative muse, when talking of the sound of the river in his hometown of Listowel [Co. Kerry] in shaping his art.

[4] 'Viewing the landscape as picturesque or sublime serves to personify the land. In other words, although a filmmaker's or tourist's perception is required to make the vision come to life, the land with its 'authenticity of effect' becomes a narrative character affecting spectator and diegetic character alike. The spectacular landscape may have a pleasurable effect on the spectator at the same time that the land's mysterious effects are foregrounded by the narrative itself' (Strain in Degli-Esposti 1998: 163).

Landscape as a developing discourse: contested landscape identities in an area affected by forest fire

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Abstract

This paper examines the dynamics involved in legitimising and defining values which ultimately inform the official discourse relating to a landscape. As such it explores which values are legitimized, promoted, subordinated or ignored when a landscape is defined; consequently influencing whose understanding of a landscape is accepted as justified true knowledge and thus informing the aspirations and future direction of that landscape.

The empirical basis for this paper is a landscape impacted by the largest forest fire in modern Swedish history and the discourses which develop around this landscape. This paper addresses how local inhabitants, planning authorities and researcher have shaped the understanding and future trajectory of this landscape. The paper finally questions how the developing official discourse relates to the ideal of landscape as promoted through the ELC; a democratic entity.

Introduction

Landscape identity is never static. The physicality of landscape is in rarely stable for prolonged periods and as such how we perceive that landscape is constantly in flux. Likewise identity is never static, in a perpetual state of becoming, as individuals negotiate social relationships. Yet what happens when the landscape is so extensively altered that it renders the existing landscape identities redundant? How do new identities develop in this space and who informs these identities? In this paper I engage with these questions through addressing an area decimated by forest fire. Firstly I present what landscape identity means in this paper; I then present the fire as an event, before exposing some of the dynamics of identities related to this landscape prior to the fire; I then revealing the discourse which is shaping the future landscape identities of this area. This study is based on interviews with individuals in the area, and analysis of documents and press relating to the forest fire.

Identity represents what is central, real or typical to someone, providing a source of meaning and experience (Hague and Jenkins 2005). It helps develop a sense of belonging and creates a rhetoric through which practices and relations can be legitimized (Dixon and Durrheim 2000). As such identity is central to everyday life and comes about through everyday practices.

It is through distinguishing one thing from another that identity comes about, so that what is excluded, what is not part of the identity, is central for defining identity (Proshansky et al 1983). Identity production cannot occur without a distinction between 'I', 'us' and 'the others'. A process which develops through interactions with others and so the creation of identity becomes an important component of collective action (Hague and Jenkins 2005; Paasi 2002). Individuals may draw on identity from a variety of sources; their activities in an area; their social standing; their political persuasion, ethnicity etc. and as a consequence, the distinction between 'us' and 'the others' is in constant flux (Castells 1997). Consequently both self and group identities entail drawing on a plurality of meanings at different times (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996). Both personal identity and the identity of the groups we associate ourselves with are continuously confronted with how others see us. Through this process we undergo continuous re-writing of self and the social collectives (Paasi 2002; 2003). Therefore landscape identity is recognised as being built on both individual and group understanding of landscape and as both a physical and an existential entity (Stobbelaar, and Pedroli 2011).

The fire

On the 4th of August 2014 the Swedish press and media gathered in Västmanland in central Sweden. An area, which five days previously had been a relatively unknown, and commonplace forest had become the focus for a nation and was attracting global media attention (BBC 2014; Molin 2014). This landscape had been a production forest; the only buildings in the area were related to forestry and scattering of summer houses with the only access through the area via forestry roads.

On the 31st of July 2014 a fire began in an area of clear-felled forest. The first news was of a forest fire in the area, yet it was not considered a significant event being reported in the press along with several other fires across the country (Svenska Dagsbladet 2014).

On Monday the 4th of August 2014 the situation deteriorated drastically as the fire spread from around 4000 hectares at midday to just under 14 000 hectares by the evening (Sjökvist and Strömberg 2015). The area blazed into the consciousness of the nation as the fire was recognized as the largest forest fire in modern Swedish history. Several villages were evacuated and the town of Norberg, approx. 10 km north of the area on fire, with a population of ca. 4500 inhabitants was placed on emergency standby (Sjökvist and Strömberg 2015).

On the 5th of August 2014 the news came that the fire had claimed a casualty (Carp 2014); the area came to the attention of the global media (BBC 2014; Molin 2014). The same day brought improvement in the weather conditions; however, it was not until six days later that the fire was finally considered to be under control. While the focus of the press moved to new issues, an image of an area of formerly anonymous forestry was formed in the consciousness of the Swedish people.

Finally on April the 21st 2015 infrared imaging revealed that the fire was completely extinguished eight months after being brought under control (Länsstyrelsen Västmalands län 2015). Over a month later, on the 25th of May, the area was finally open for the general public again. While for the nation this landscape became a place in the consciousness, for those who knew, had experienced and had connections to this landscape, a distinct change and a new geography was created. The landscape has drastically changed and the individual practices and customs which once defined the use of the landscape no longer fit, as social constraints were altered. The landscape which provided a space for activities and connections on which identities were formed, disappeared; areas for foraging, orienteering, hunting, walking, swimming and contemplation are now unrecognisable. As such it is not just the physicality of the landscape which is impacted, but the relationships and practices which have been undertaken in and with this landscape.

Development of a landscape identity

Multiple discourses and actions influenced the identity of this area prior to the fire, these were been built on social and individual practices and relationships. Identities developed through how those who dwell in the area connect to the landscape, as well as how outsiders identify or categorize them. As such identity has operated as a basis for attachment as well as a locator and means for categorization. The following discussion relates to both the identity of the landscape as well as landscape related identity (Butler et al Manuscript in preparation).

As with all landscapes this area has never been static, nor have the identities which are founded on this landscape and which reflect societal changes and cultural practices. Changes to the landscape have shaped the physicality, how it is perceived and the discourse which revolves around it.

The fire area sits in the context of broader regional identity. It is situated within Bergslagen, an loosely defined area with a strong identity linked to industrial use stretching back more than 2000 years ago. Unlike other industrial centres, Bergslagen has had no geographical focus, rather building on local partnerships. Local industry and communities came to characterise the identity of this area (Svensson and von Otter, 2002). The forest fire area has historically been a part of this context; a resource for this industry, developed by and providing for the local communities.

Increased industrialisation ultimately led to national forest politics aimed at supporting large more centralised industry. This resulted in the present system of even-age stand management which dominated this landscape prior to the fire, a resource for industry removed from the locality. This produced a specific type of landscape providing the base for certain activities and customs to develop, while excluding others. The physicality which forms the basis for landscape identity shifted from being dictated by local interests to national and even international agendas. As a result the base on which identity is built is constructed far away from where the landscape exists and the identity develops.

The region is in the process of reinventing its identity. New forms of development, including recreation and ecological and cultural heritage as the base for rural development, are starting to reform the identity of the area (Jakobsson 2009). Bergslagen has become a brand

with a valuable natural and cultural heritage image (Svensson and von Otter 2002). An official identity which is subsumed in to the consciousness of those inhabiting or experiencing this region; regional and local actors have begun to redefine the landscape and its identity.

Locally this area has historically been part of four separate parishes, focused around different churches. Today the area falls within the borders of four different municipalities, divisions formed by legislation and administration requirements rather than customary actions. Yet the municipalities form a frame in which joint identity can form providing a recognised boundary in which an 'us' and 'them' develops and around which discourses on identity form. These external projections influence how the residents see themselves.

The area is thus impacted by multiple identities which influence individual identities. These create a multiplicity of strong 'we' identities, which are drawn on in different situations, building on ideal discourses of how the area is recognised in official discourse (Paasi 2002; 2003). Individuals have to negotiate these and their own factual identities; the identities they develop and those projected on to them.

The cultural norms and rights such as 'Allemansrätten', the national right to roam freely and use the forest and countryside, also inform the identity of those relating to the landscape, forming the context in which traditions and customs develop. Access to this landscape provided a catalyst for collective transformation; a historic process taking form through social interactions (de Certeau 1984; Olwig 2005), yet set within the context of local, regional, national and global agendas (Mitchell 2007).

Individuals have related to specific areas or aspects of this landscape. Certain places were seen as significant for their attachment to the landscape and the identity this fosters. As such this area hosted a multitude of relationships and connections; land owned by the relatives, secret foraging areas with their memories, bathing areas in the forest lakes and the stories linked to them, to name but a few.

While for outsiders, the fire area was an anonymous and ordinary section of production forest, of those with connections to the area it represented an everyday landscape containing emotionally significant places.

Ruptured identity

Natural forces take no account of these constructed divisions, discourses and identities which humans lay over the landscape. The fire has created a new geography, a new boundary has been created in the landscape and the physicality and perception of the landscape have been altered. Recognised boundaries in the landscape, routes, features and land marks have been removed, and the activities and customs linked to these have been impacted. For those who had intimate understanding of the landscape a new era has begun, there exists a 'remembered before' as well as an 'experienced after'.

To outsiders an image of this area has been created, a new landscape has come in to their consciousness. While recognized locally it has always externally been seen as a part of something, now it has become a focus. For those who have close relationships to places within this landscape they have now been subsumed within a broader area, from being anonymous to being part of the fire area.

Contested identities

Where does the identity of this area go next, who defines the discourses? What future values are recognized? Who appropriates the landscape and how they appropriate elements for their own means (Egoz 2008) also holds true for discourses which develop the identity of the landscape.

The new discourses which have started to inform the identities of this landscape started while the fire was still underway through the press coverage. The focus on the area as a disaster site broadcast by the press aroused the curiosity of the public and created a focus for disaster tourists, as is consistent with other forest fires (Gill 2005). This area became a place to examine from the outside.

A further example of the landscape being framed by outsiders was the call from the Swedish research council (Formas) for proposals for research for research activities related to the fire. A total of 15 million Swedish Krona (1.6 million Euro) was to be focused on research to '... collect and analyse materials and data on the fire and its consequences.' (Formas 2014). This resulted in a wide variety of research projects being instigated in the area: changes in water flow; fuel structure and fire behaviour; carbon and energy balance; risk governance, legitimacy and social learning; changing landscape related identity. These see the fire area as a laboratory where processes can be observed. Here is a site to observe landscape making,

both the re-creation of a physical landscape and a perceived landscape as new customs and uses develop. The area is again addressed through an outsider's lens.

The landscape as a lab for observation was manifested in a proposal by 21 academics to develop the fire area into a nature reserve. '*Unique opportunity. The fire in Västmanland had disastrous human consequences yet at the same time provides the opportunity to create by far the largest protected forest area in southern Scandinavia at low cost. We urge the Minister of the Environment to act quickly, before the historical moment is missed.*' (Andrén et al 2014) These researchers with a background in ecology have lifted the values central to themselves seeing the fire area as an arena for their values and a vessel for research. For these outsiders the idea that a nature reserve is a positive outcome goes without questioning, but who is it positive for? Those who used this as their local landscape and held it central for their identity will have to contend with an inaccessible landscape of young regeneration, uses of this landscape defined by the customs of a nature reserve. Opposition to the proposal made it clear that the area is becoming caught up in a struggle over a symbolic space, not relating only to the action at hand but also the ideology the landscape represents (Hopkins and Dixon 2006), which includes people's attachment.

Now Hälleskogsbrännan, a 6,300 hectare nature reserve is in place. The purpose of the reserve is '*... to protect and restore valuable natural environments found in the area, but also to preserve and study the natural values that occur in fire-ravaged areas of forest. The highly distinctive area is also considered to be an attractive destination for visitors and local residents as well as visitors from afar.*' (Regeringskansliets 2016).

The nature reserve builds on the discourse of the fire, but ignores the nuanced and diverse discourses and customs which existed prior to the event. The reserve focuses on a defined point, rather than seeing the fire as part of the on-going process of the landscape. New identities have been built by the fire, the media focus, and subsequent research interest, as inhabitants recognize how others see them and their landscape.

Conclusion

The fire area in Västmanland has changed from being a boundary area, a space at the periphery of people's consciousness to a centre of focus; it is now a nature reserve and a part of the national psyche. What was a local landscape has become increasingly an outsider's landscape, a place for observation and curiosity. For these outsiders it is a new landscape, the before lacking significance, while for those who have connections to this landscape prior to the fire, it is part of a process, but how is this handled and how will local residents work in the reframing of the landscapes identity; what identity will rise out of the ashes?

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Finding Value in the Bog: Pre-Famine Scientific Travel Accounts

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Introduction

This short essay presents some early thoughts on a developing research project on scientific appreciation of Ireland's boglands in the 18th and 19th centuries. Specifically, I will focus on the image of bogs as 'wonderful' places, as manifest in 18th and early 19th-century scientific accounts of bog bodies and bog bursts, and in writings on miasmas or 'exhalations' from bogs. Enlightenment climate theory taught that bogs, and miasmas emanating from bogs, exerted a tangible influence over the character and culture of the people living and working in their vicinity. However, the bog is articulated in these accounts as a haunting place, understood chiefly in terms of the human history contained within it, and eliciting from scientific observers a re-enchantment of the landscape and of the sciences themselves. Bogs not only embody the characteristics of liminality as defined by Nordin and Holmsten — 'a transitional place of becoming, a state of flux between two different states of being' — but push the concept of the liminal landscape further, by challenging the metropolitan scientific perspective to embrace the local and the 'wonderful.' In this respect, the bog is a site of 'ambiguity and indeterminacy,' a place of transformation (Gilsenan Nordin and Holmsten 2009, 7).

Considerations on 18th and 19th Century Scientific Appreciation of Ireland's Boglands

Were all scientific travellers only interested in economic development of such landscapes? Were bogs always only considered 'waste land'? Or were other values found in these landscapes, unrelated to (or even challenging) economic development, and generating alternative varieties of scientific, historical and aesthetic appreciation? Deeper investigation of these questions research has important implications for understanding the aesthetic, historic and scientific ways in which boglands were valued, outside of the traditional picturesque—sublime framework. The language used to create (or convey) the bog, to describe experiencing the bog, in the scientific travel account is tied up with the epistemological circumstances in which bogs were understood in the field. Walking through the bog not only, inevitably, fostered appreciation for the composition and texture of the landscape, and the challenges it presents, but also attracted the attention of locals, whose perspectives on the bog infiltrated metropolitan assessments. This section considers John Wynn Baker's report on a reclaimed bog in Co. Kildare in 1772 as a case study in relationships between local and metropolitan epistemologies of the bog.

One of the stated aims of the Dublin Society (from 1820, Royal Dublin Society) on its foundation in 1731 was to encourage bogland reclamation (see Foss and O'Connell 1997, 184-98; Clutterbuck 2015). The Society's *Transactions* published a number of papers on the subject of improving 'entirely useless' tracts of land (Anon 1800, 2). On 2 August 1772, John Wynn Baker FRS (1726/7–75) inspected a tract of reclaimed bogland at Swordlestown, 7.5 km south of Naas, Co. Kildare. He was acting on the Society's behalf, verifying the work in advance of the awarding of a gold medal to the landowner, Wentworth Thewles of Harristown, Co. Kildare; one of the 'improving' landlords characteristic of the 18th and 19th centuries (See Barnard 2008; Feehan and O'Donovan,

Baker blamed any inadequacies in his report on inclement weather, the tenant farmer's underestimation of the size of the plot of land in question, Thewles's 'inten[tion] to surprize me,' and the short notice he was given to complete the task. But his emotional response to the bog was encapsulated in his description of the weather on the day, and his physical abilities to cope with its demands, writing:

> 'I am sorry to say, that I have not acquitted myself so fully and perfectly in this expedition as I ought to have done; [....] and in extenuation, shall only offer, that from the wet, cold, and wind of the day, added to the great deal of ground I walked, I really became so fatigued, that I was utterly incapable of traversing this work any further [...] — so that the improvement and cultivation of this bog will not come fully before You'
>
> (ibid. 13).

Baker's report demonstrates sympathies for the tenant farmers whose labours effected 'improvements' to tracts of bogland. He found that one John Grannon, a tenant

farmer, appeared to be 'the conductor of these works ... an enthusiast in the improvements of bog' and Baker praised his successful reclamation of a patch of 'red bog' 7-8 feet deep, generally agreed to have been the worst on all of the estate (ibid. 9-10). Grannon related his efforts to Baker 'with an extacy of pleasure,' functioning in the report as an idealized vision of the Irish peasant who, if only supported by good landlords (like Thewles, in this case) and inspired by good example, will not only maintain their plots but extend and improve them. Baker reported that Grannon told him that 'he had rather occupy bog, than the "best land in the nation"'(ibid. 12) He admitted his dependence on local information in the compilation of his report, but his sympathies for the tenant farmers is further evidenced in his willingness to hear and cite their experiences. Some of Thewles' tenants related to Baker strange events that had occurred on the estate bogs. One described how, the previous year, 'this part was so spongy and elastick, that it would rise in "waves" [...] before a man, as he walked upon it, soon after sinking the drains.' Baker also recorded the testimony of 'a very intelligent fellow in the crowd,' who informed him that 'about 25 years ago, a boat used to navigate here'; Baker reassured the Society, 'I have since had this fact further authenticated' (ibid. 6).

Wonders of the Bog

Correlations between climate and culture re key to understanding landscape in the 18th century climate theory presented an understanding of the environment as exerting an active influence over human culture — 'that the manners of men are agreeable to the air they live in'(Smith 1746, 164). This meant that the environment in which people lived delimited their position on a ladder of civilization or development known as 'stadial' theory. John Huxham's *An Essay on Fever* (1775), for example, presented bogs as unhealthy, correlating the occurrence of 'agues' or fevers with 'a moist foggy atmosphere exhaling form swampy, morass soil, or from the continuance of cold, tainy thick weather' (quoted in Jankovic 2010, 185). 'Miasmas' were the subject of some study and concern for their role in ill-health and economic productivity from the 18th century. It is worth noting that this climatic concept of miasma preceded the concept theorized by scientists of disease from the mid-19th century, but the principle was the same — that decaying vegetation exhaled noxious fumes, harmful to human health (and productivity) (See Driver 1988, 275-87).

Perceptions of boglands, therefore, shaped perceptions of the people who lived and worked on them. The apothecary and topographer, Charles Smith (1715?-62), published a series of four guides to Irish counties and cities in the 1740s and 1750s. The volume on Waterford city and county includes a full chapter on bogs and mountains, and some interesting observations on the character and nature of bogland and the people living in its vicinity. Smith cites William King's earlier concerns for the 'fogs and vapours which arise from [the bog], defil[ing] the air,' presented in his *Of the Bogs and Loughs of Ireland* (1686) (Smith1746, 212-13). Smith expands on King's remarks, warning that 'the stagnating waters' emit 'unwholesome vapours,' from which Ireland suffers fewer ill effects than would otherwise be the case due to the location of most Irish bogs on high ground;
'so that the gentlest breeze of wind brushes off the noxious exhalations, which renders these places more healthy, than they would otherwise be.' Smith celebrates the deforestation of Ireland, because dense woodland 'hindered the dispersion of these thick steams, and added a quantity of moist exhalations of their own, and when this kingdom was formerly thick planted with woods, fluxes and such like endemical diseases were much more rife than at present'(ibid. 212).

Thomas Campbell's *Philosophical Survey* (1778) presented a more nuanced view on bog 'exhalations.' He assured his reader that 'Those bogs wherewith Ireland is in some places overgrown, are not injurious to health, as is commonly imagined: the watery exhalations from them are neither so abundant, nor so noxious, as those from marshes; which become prejudicial from the various animal and vegetable substances which are left to putrify as soon as the waters are exhaled by the sun.'(Campbell 1778, 378-9) Campbell argued that, rather than being composed of rotting vegetation, bogs were preservative environments that 'resist putrefaction above any other substance we know of,' using bog bodies as corroborative evidence (ibid. 379-80). He offers further assurance, that 'Those sudden changes, and frequent winds, which render this climate so disagreeable to our feelings, are nevertheless the agents which purge and refine the air'(ibid. 385). Campbell's anxiety to present a more positive view of Ireland's climate and landscape than previously offered, led him to re-appropriate the words of one of the most critical observers of Medieval Ireland, Gerald of Wales: 'Upon the whole, from what I have read, heard, and seen, I must join issue with Cambrensis, that "Nature has looked with a more favourable eye than usual

upon this kingdom of the Zephyrs."'(ibid. 386).

Other features of boglands retained an air of mystery and no small degree of excitement into the 19th century. The image of the bog as hazardous, and as a liminal landscape, is nowhere better encapsulated than in the 'wonder' of the moving bog. The first scientific report of a bog bursts appeared in 1697, when William Molyneaux presented to the Royal Society a letter from a correspondent in Co. Tipperary, describing a large burst at Cappanihane. The same bog burst again in 1727, the details broadcast in two short pamphlets (Anon. 1727); Bourke 1727). It damaged an extensive area of arable land and polluted rivers, and the flow continued three weeks after the initial burst. Despite the damage, it was a spectacle and people travelled to witness the sight. One eyewitness recorded that 'there were more People there [...] than at a Fair [...] There are Tents Built on purpose, for to Entertain all the Spectators which comes in great Multitudes [...] to view this strange and Wonderful Bog' (ibid.). Bog bursts continued to attract attention, but the most famous was certainly that at Kilmalady, Co. Offaly, in 1821, surveyed by Richard Griffith on behalf of the Royal Dublin Society. Griffith published a detailed report of the event at the 'wettest bog in the country,' 40 feet deep (Griffith 1856-7,141-4). The engineer was one of the first to alert the authorities to the role of turf cutting in bogslides — occurring at a depth of 10 feet at Kilmaleady, Griffith found that it had destabilized the lower pulp of the bog. Cutting had left open gulf of 1½ miles by 1 mile in the middle of the 500-acre bog, which rapidly filled with rainwater, resulting in the bogslide that 'totally destroyed' up to 150 acres of arable land. The Kilmaleady bogslide attracted such wide attention that it was satirized as a 'fashionable movement' in a one-liner in *A Slap at Slop* magazine in 1822: 'The Moving Bog from Kilmalady, to receive His Majesty.'

Conclusion

The bog emerges from these accounts as a haunted or haunting place, and one that elicited from scientific observers a (re-)enchantment with landscape and with the sciences themselves. Direct experience of the bog was crucial. The astronomer and antiquary John Lee (1783–1866), when travelling in the south of Ireland in winter 1806, took a nighttime walk across a bog. His description of carrying peat torches across the pitch-dark bog calls to mind the 'will-o-the-wisp' or 'fairy lights' so common in European folklore, who lure mortals to their death in bog holes: 'We had 2 Guides who each carried a piece of turf lighted and the wind blowing kept it alight [...] Effect of the turf bog lights curious.'(Byrne forthcoming).

Bogs are still constructed as ghostly, haunted places, even with the power to circumscribe and delineate human behaviour and action. The prominent English botanist and ecologist, Harry Godwin, introduces his memoir of a career in ecology with these words: 'Remote and guarded by legends of unfathomable morasses and malign spirits, [peat bogs] have retained a loneliness which is a welcome safeguard to the wild creatures native of them. [...] under wide skies where one hears nothing beyond the call of the curlew down the wind, one comes to regard them with instinctive affection.'(Godwin 1981, 1).

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Towards the development of landscape democracy: a theoretical contribution

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Abstract

Participatory approaches have gained recognition through the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe 2000), yet still remain questionable within landscape planning. Practitioners struggle to operationalise landscape as dynamic, holistic and democratic as defined in the ELC. This is due to: 1) weakness of substantive theory in landscape planning, with practice engaging with an impoverished understanding of landscape; and 2) a focus on normative ideals of how participation ought to be as opposed to the realpolitik of these practices. As such, practitioners fail to handle the diverse, dynamic values experienced in landscape, and the conflicts and power relations of participatory processes. By forwarding an understanding of the dynamics of landscape planning, and the differences, conflicts and power relations that are present in participatory processes, the paper develops a theorisation of landscape as a democratic entity.

Introduction

In certain areas of landscape studies there is increased interest in discussing landscape as a democratic entity and a democratic arena for engagement. The focus has mainly been on principles of direct democracy, participatory and deliberative processes (Arler 2008). Such a focus recognises the need to address the multiple values which exist in the landscape and simultaneously promote participatory measures in order to support a truly democratic society.

Recognition of landscape as a democratic entity has been formalised in landscape policy through the European Landscape Convention (ELC). In this paper we expose a contradiction between how the concept of landscape has developed in academia and mirrored in policy, and how it is engaged with in practice. We then go on to address what it really means to recognise different values in the landscape and the issue of the power this builds on and the resulting conflicts which these differences can lead to.

Landscape

The relevance of the concept of landscape for addressing engagement and interaction with our environment has increasingly come to the forefront since the later decades of the 20th century. From being a sector focused field of study and practice to becoming increasingly recognised, at least within the rhetoric of landscape planning, as the surrounding to everyday life. Framed as such, landscape is increasingly recognised as a determinant of individuals and societies well-being and as a medium for understanding, both personally and collectively, connections to the environment. Accordingly, landscape has been increasingly discussed as a democratic arena; a means for engaging with a plurality of values in a neutral arena.

During the first decades of the 21st century the relevance of landscape has been brought in to policy through the European Landscape Convention (ELC). The convention has forwarded an increasingly popular rhetoric of landscape, an entity reliant on those who perceive that landscape. The ELC recognizes landscape as '... an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors' (Council of Europe 2000, Ch.1, Art.1a), making landscape reliant on the perceptions of the people who experience it. The centrality of this is taken up through prescriptive general measures where signatory parties are expected to: '...recognise landscapes in law as an essential component of people's surroundings, an expression of the diversity of their shared cultural and natural heritage, and a foundation of their identity'(Council of Europe 2000, Ch.2, Art.5a). This supports a move away from landscape as a sectoral entity and the domain of experts. Landscapes become democratised, seen as being informed and created by those who inhabit or experience them; all are stakeholders in the landscape (Jones 2007).

If landscape is understood in such democratic terms then the values of those who engage with a landscape and have intimate knowledge and experiences becomes fundamental. Consequently taking such values and knowledge into account is essential during interventions in the landscape in order to assure the well-being of individuals and communities who engage with the

landscape. It is these individuals and communities who will be directly influenced by interventions in the landscape and thus ought to be given a voice in the decisions that will affect them. Within the ELC this is highlighted in the need to '...establish procedures for the participation of the general public, local and regional authorities, and other parties with an interest in the definition and implementation of the landscape policies' (Council of Europe 2000, Ch.2, Art.5c).

For practice, this means that there is a need for participatory and democratic decision-making processes in the protection, management and planning of landscapes. Processes which recognize that all are holders of true justified knowledge relating to their landscape and as such there can be no ultimate (professional/expert) view of landscape. Furthermore, such decision-making processes need to accept that a diverse (and possibly conflicting) range of power-laden values and opinions need to be navigated.

Contradictions in landscape planning

Numerous disciplines engage with landscape planning as both a theoretical and practical endeavour. Landscape architects, landscape ecologists, cultural as well as physical geographers, spatial planners, archaeologists to name but a few, all come to landscape with different substantive understandings based on distinct educational foundations with differing epistemological and ontological stand points. The disciplines engaging with landscape expands further when the measures of the ELC are employed: 'to integrate landscape into its regional and town planning policies and in its cultural, environmental, agricultural, social and economic policies, as well as in any other policies with possible direct or indirect impact on landscape' (Council of Europe 2000, Ch.2, Art.5d). Such a measure potentially brings all disciplines of planning policy, which interact or impact on landscape, into landscape discussions.

The broad spectrum of epistemological and ontological standpoints arising from the numerous disciplines which engage or, according to the ELC, ought to engage with landscape planning, makes it difficult to create a strong theoretical base for the field. The practice orientation of most of these disciplines has been a determinant in the production of knowledge, overshadowing the development of substantive theory. The reliance on practice has meant that landscape planning has been driven by procedural understandings. The focus has been on developing procedures and tools to facilitate practice with little reflection over the substantive aspects of what the democratic conceptualisation of landscape means for '... the protection, management and planning of landscapes'(Council of Europe 2000, Ch.1, Art.1c). As a result there is a predominant visual, objective, professional (outsider) understanding of landscape, which guides processes and practices, this understanding is out off-line with the holistic, dynamic and democratic conception of the ELC (Butler 2014).

The dominance of a professional understanding of landscape is drawn into question when the public are involved in decision-making processes and practices. It becomes evident that the approaches and tools which are engaged remain embedded in the traditional sectorial understandings of landscape. As a result, participatory decision-making processes often affirm professional values and legitimize dominant agendas instead of opening up for new forms of understanding and intervention in the landscape (Calderon 2013).

So while the democratic rhetoric of landscape planning promoted by the ELC has been increasingly recognized and ratified, the conduct of practice still builds on established tools, prioritizing professionals and excluding contradictory understandings (Butler 2014). Consequently it is widely observed that both practice and academia struggle to engage with the dynamic, experiential and democratic nature of landscape.

Democratizing the landscape: from rhetoric to substantive based practice

Moving away from the predominant visual, objective understanding of landscape requires strengthening the substantive aspect of landscape planning theory. This points towards a more deliberative approach to landscape planning, based on multiple values and recognizing all who experience landscape as stakeholders. Subsequently landscape planning could become a means for awareness-rising, learning, and co-creation of meaning. Such a substantive understanding of landscape planning provides the opportunity to engage with more than just the physicality of the landscape, opening up the possibility to discuss the multiple values of insiders formed through practice and relationships with the landscape. The move to a deliberative approach to landscape planning, positions participation as a means of forwarding landscape democracy: *democratizing the landscape.*

Democratizing the landscape tends to be recognised as positively laden aim, yet it raises numerous challenges when discussions and decision-making processes are opened to include the multiple values of all who experience the landscape. Landscapes, especially those which sustain multiple uses, will contain a wide range of stakeholders. In such situations contrasting experiences, goals and agendas may be at stake. As such, participatory and inclusive processes may be challenged by the realpolitik of landscape practices compromising deep differences, conflicts and power relations.

Understanding and knowing how to address such realpolitik is essential for democratising the landscape (Calderon 2013). Different stakeholders may claim the landscape in different ways based on their own values, experiences and interests leading to disagreements and conflicts. Following Watson (2006), we argue that two sources of differences and conflicts are important to understand in order to recognize the issues of democratizing the landscape. The first is 'intergroup-differences', brought about by the claims that different stakeholders (regulators, producers and users) and the social groups that they belong to (based on gender, age, class, ethnicity, lifestyle, world views, etc.) have towards the landscape. The second is 'state–citizen differences', referring to contrasts between today's hegemonic, technical and managerial political and planning systems, and the everyday values and experiences of people.

'Intergroup-differences' draw attention to the challenges that can arise in the provision and management of landscapes due to the way that different social groups' use may overlap and conflict (Selman 2010; Makhzoumi, Egoz, and Pungetti 2011; Kidd 2013). Similarly it can be seen in the contrasting understanding of what different groups, including professionals, consider to be socially, culturally or ecologically significant, what they regard as aesthetically valuable or what they perceive as appropriate, safe or acceptable behaviour (Low, Taplin and Scheld, 2005; Ernstson, 2013; Waterton, 2013).

'State–citizen differences' on the other hand have their foundation on the replacement of the Welfare State with neoliberalism. This shift has introduced a new set of values making all spheres of life (including the political and the personal) to be submitted to a market rationality (Watson 2006). This means that all actions, including landscape planning practices, become rational entrepreneurial actions, seen in terms of the logic of supply and demand. For numerous academics (Watson 2006; Swyngedouw 2010; Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer 2012), this represents a deep conflict with citizenry values, including individual liberties, freedom of expression, collaborative power sharing, political participation, economic and social equity and a concern for the natural environment. Landscape becomes a resource to be exploited rather than an essential component of everyday life.

The disparities and conflicts, which characterise the differences mentioned above, suggests that attention needs to be given to how specific values, interests and agendas become dominant while others are subordinated or excluded in a decision-making process. Central to this is power which inevitably interpenetrates these differences. Power creates the lenses through which problems are accepted and understood, subsequently framing solutions. Consequently, understanding the way that power operates in landscape planning processes becomes central for genuinely democratising landscape.

When discussing issues of power it is important to recognize that the landscape is generated through the interaction of a wide range of stakeholders, not all local or evident in the geographic location. Each stakeholder has access to different levels and sources of power, including economic or political power, valued knowledge or socio/cultural capital. The various stakeholders deploy their power in order to achieve their desired goals. This affects which and whose interests or values are included or excluded from decisions about the landscape. A stakeholder's influence capacity is dependent on numerous factors including; the political agendas of the context; how a project is funded; the professional discourses and ideals that guide practices; the capacity of organization and mobilization that they count on (Calderon 2013). For example if intervention in the landscape is based on discourses giving primacy to economic benefits, the values of certain actors will be reinforced giving their interests and values greater power while diminishing social and environmental focus. Thus, a project may prioritise issues leading to desired effects for some parties but undesirable outcomes for others.

This can be related to the more profound understanding of power and its influence in the knowledge, information and ideas that guide decision making processes. As such power prioritises knowledge that supports its objectives, ignoring or suppresses knowledge that goes against it

(Flyvbjerg 2002). Through the inclusion and exclusion of knowledge, power frames specific ways by which problems are understood, creating the conditions for possible solutions and determining how results are evaluated during landscape planning processes. Power is also exercised when actors interact or communicate with one another (Flyvbjerg 1998; Pløger 2001). Within communication, there are power mechanisms related to language and modes of communication that are difficult to overcome or anticipate. Power is also present in choice of methods or techniques that open or restrict the interaction of different actors. It is present when the agenda is set and topics for discussion are defined, at the moment of guiding the direction of a discussion, or when interpreting the opinions or information that should serve as input for making decisions (Calderon 2013). It defines how landscape is recognised and the tools used to engage with the landscape.

Following the above discussion, what should differentiate democratic and participatory landscape planning practices from other forms of decision-making should be its ability to acknowledge and legitimise different and conflicting values and interest, and be open to power mechanisms and forms of exclusion appearing during and influence the process (Mouffe 2000; Pløger 2004). In doing so, practices of landscape democracy will be better equipped to include disruptive elements which are essential for the authenticity of democratic processes (Connelly and Richardson 2004; Mouffe 2000). Well-functioning democracy calls for a vibrant clash of views and positions. Too much consensus leads to apathy and disaffection with political participation, or worse still it can lead to crystallisation of collective passions around issues, which cannot be managed by democratic process (Mouffe 2000). The result could be a more creative democratic discussion, in this case around the complex values of landscape.

Conclusion

In this paper we recognise the importance of the democratic rhetoric that has developed within landscape planning discussions and the significant support that has been given to such rhetoric at the policy level by the ELC. We find such development valuable for making the landscape an arena as a determinant for the well-being of individuals and societies and for engaging with the plurality of values that are present within the landscape. However, we highlight how such rhetoric remains questionable within landscape planning practice seen through practitioners struggle to operationalize landscape as dynamic, holistic and dependent on perceptions.

To move towards a true landscape democracy we propose the need of developing substantive-based practices of inclusive and participatory decision-making in the protection, management and planning of landscapes. For doing so we suggest the need of:

1) strengthening the substantive aspect of landscape planning theory transcending the predominant procedural based orientation of theory and knowledge production within the field;
2) realigning substantive theory, procedural theory and practice and creating an iterative relationship in which practitioners become more theoretically informed and reflective about their work and where theory development and policy is grounded on the critical exploration of what happens in the real life of landscape planning practices rather than on normative ideals of how these ought to be;
3) giving a central role within theoretical and practical discussions of landscape democracy to the realpolitik of landscape planning, including its differences, conflicts and power relations in order to include and address disruptive elements to decision-making which are essential for the authenticity of democratic processes.

In doing so we claim that landscape planning will be better prepared to advance a true landscape democracy that includes the holistic, dynamic and democratic nature of the landscape.

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The Landscape of wheat. A landscape of power

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Introduction

The economic context of late-nineteenth century Portugal has given birth to huge economic and political instability. Among the measures taken to mitigate the existing problems, one in particular is worthy of mention, that is Lei da Fome[1]. We consider this protectionist measure, implemented in the year of 1899, the critical point that founds a landscape of power, overlapping the power of the landscape itself.

We seek to understand, particularly in Alentejo, southern Portugal, how, in a given time, the ecological diversity and richness of the vernacular landscape gave way to the monotony of cereal. We consider this transformation of the landscape to be a good example of how the landscape of power might lead to the abrupt transformation of an ancestral landscape, with the loss of its ecological memory, and also to the creation of false identities in that same landscape where it is imposed.

Methodology

1 – Our starting point is the concept of landscape as a socio-ecological system that portrays the relationship between people and natural systems. Since this landscape is mainly agrarian, analysis of agricultural statistical data demonstrate a clear intensification of rural production in that particular period of Alentejo's agricultural history, with wheat as the main product. Through the analysis of these data we see how the protectionist measure started the transformation of the socio-ecological system of this vernacular landscape.

Wheat was, and still is, in the context of the history of Alentejo's landscape, the symbol of a multifaceted phenomenon, and a very complex one at that, that sponsored the rupture of a relational bond between people and natural systems. In fact, this *Landscape of Power* demanded a very high price that affected Alentejo's identity, since the wheat crop defines a temporality that emptied the landscape of its social, ecological and cultural meanings and imposed upon it an identity that runs out

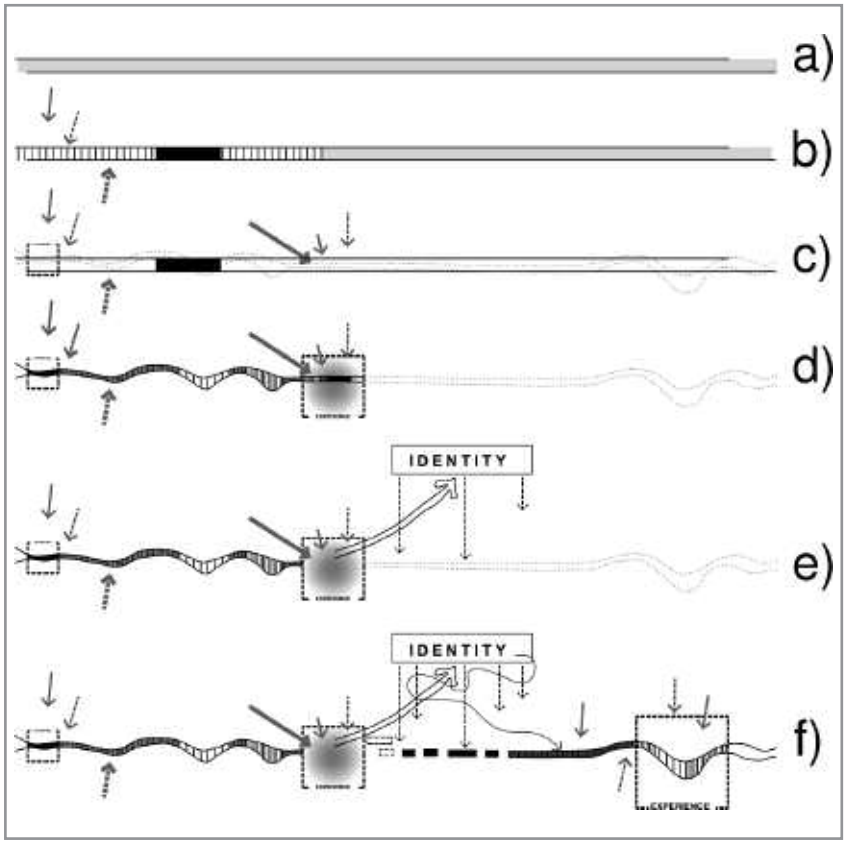

Fig. 1. Construction of the conceptual scheme of the landscape of memory-building process (a) the landscape of memory, expressed graphically by a line, (b) receives materiality that has immaterialities and will be characterized by (c) movements and events (d) that shape this linearity, causing irregularities (e). Sometimes, actions/intense experiences to which the landscape is exposed alter the linearity, assume own time frames or identities, playing themselves out (f) in space and time whereupon the landscape looks to regain its balance. The continuous and systematic process that characterizes the landscape reinvents itself and orientates toward new experiences – whether read-temporality – react in the same way somatising to the line of memory. (author's own collection)

in a given time and in a given space. It was an unprecedented change that led to physical and social transformations, to depopulation and to resource degradation –including fertility and, consequently, loss of biodiversity.

2. Bearing in mind the Courajoud metaphor (1981) that treats landscape as a line where sky and earth meet each other, we have started from a line that seeks to represent the on-going and perpetual transformation of landscape, translated into a process of construction of memory of landscape. This line shapes itself over time, acquiring material expressions, and also enriches itself with numerous immaterialities, which end up shaping it and causing its irregularities (Figure 1).

This scheme-like shape demonstrates that each time that a line undergoes a bifurcation we are indeed witnessing the occurrence of temporalities or identities closed upon themselves, which cause discontinuities, such as in the memory that it represents.

3 – This scheme-like representation corresponds to a landscape depiction (Figure 2), a configuration, which results from the joint work of anthropic action and natural systems.

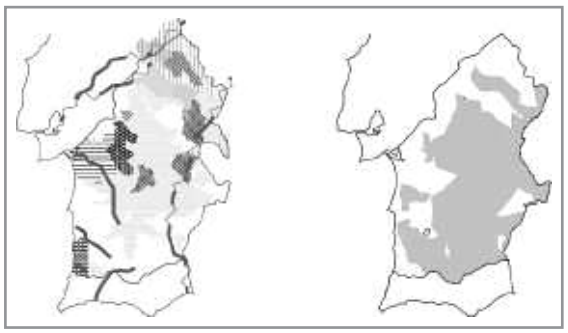

Fig. 2. Vernacular landscape diversity (>1899) vs wheat landscape monotony (1985) (author's own collection)

This illustration, when studied, defragmented and interpreted in a multidisciplinary way, allows us to fully understand the history and identity of landscape, and also the transformations that occurred in a time that was not seen, not lived and not felt. It is a landscape illustration that was built up from a number of different sources (literature, sociology, statistic data, ecological characterizations. etc.) that helped us understand the vernacular landscape and the complex environment that characterizes the time frame that interests us.

This landscape illustration was worked at two scales.
The large scale is that of the space to inhabit, since the transformations occurred after the implementation of *Lei da Fome* have operated a transformation in the ideological and functional dimension of the *monte*.[2] It was the birth of a new architectural morpho-typology: the *assento de lavoura*.[3]

At large scale, and to understand how the wheat protectionist policy jeopardized ecological memory and created a false identity, we have developed a set of schemes and profiles of the farmstead, the base unit of the agrarian structure in Alentejo (the large agrarian property typical of the estate landscape of southern Portugal).

To produce this pre-1899 Alentejo landscape illustration, layers with the representation of data and different content provided by documentary sources — eg. Carta Agrícola e Corográfica[4] 1890/1905 (Gerardo Pery), parochial memoirs and traveler records such as the botanical Link's — were drawn. Consequently, we have identified patterns and vocabulary, and we have reached a depiction of the vernacular landscape. This same model was adopted to build a depiction of the ndustrial landscape of wheat.

The comparison of these layers has highlighted:

- a pattern which highlights the loss of diversity in the pattern of agricultural practices and, in contrast, an enrichment, the monumentality and the complexity of the building set;
- the predominance of wheat cultivation in the vernacular landscape established the idea that the presence of wheat constituted an integral part of cultural diversity in a balanced and diversified operating structure – and never exclusively.

We have also developed schemes that seek to portray the patterns of soil use and occupation. From the basic elements of design (lines, planes, and open and solid volumes) the discontinuities, the fragmentation, the diversity or monotony became evident. And by comparison we managed to obtain a diachronic reading of Alentejo's landscape. In the landscape where cereal production became dominant, the *monte alentejano* became more complex and turned into an *assento de lavoura*. It adapted itself to receive and manage the monumentality of the new identity and eventually became a spatial unit, an industrial complex.

This methodology allowed us to conclude that in the area where the functional pattern of Portugal's barn has potentially implemented itself, where rustic property ceased to be structured in large landowning homesteads, the spread of the *assento de lavoura* ended, since the culture of wheat could not annul the ecological diversity of the vernacular landscape.

Conclusion

The study of an imposed transformation on a particular landscape–which was always solidary, monotonous and plain, and upon which history made us create the idea of Portugal's barn–has led us to understand that this mental image is connected to a particular moment of Alentejo's agrarian and economic history. A time closed upon itself.

The construction of the landscape that is currently considered the memory of Alentejo, takes us to the wheat protectionist policy imposed mainly in Alentejo, at the end of the nineteenth century (1889-1929), and which was an unparalleled milestone in Portugal's agrarian history. This was a complex state of affairs in which the country was immersed, and the notion of 'Portugal's barn' marked the construction of a landscape resulting from the clear imposition of a *Landscape of Power*, where a strong and massive overlapping of interactions and interferences concerning the landscape's ecological and cultural components occurred.

In a short period of time, economic, political and social power overlapped the landscape. It was a moment of bad governance resulting from political decisions unconnected to the identity of an ancient landscape. A reality that is similar to the message that Ambrogio Lorenzetti conveyed in his *fresco* panels *Good and Bad Government.*

In Alentejo, we perceive how the imposition of a massive culture can stifle a vernacular landscape–for which we find reports of a fully diverse and ecologically rich landscape. This is an insane and unbalanced manipulation, which flattened the morphology of relief and annulled/devalued many of its historical, cultural and ecological characteristics, creased since ancient times in a territory full of potential and diversity.

In the course of this work, we also acknowledged the importance of the *monte* as a sign, timeless, a memory attachment point which allowed us to decode the landscape of Alentejo and to explain why the ecological balance is fundamental to social and economic stability of the landscape system, when we permanently watch the creation of new landscapes of power, external to the system.

By comparing the schemes that were prepared for the *Carta das Unidades de Paisagem* (2002)[5], it appears that the landscape sought to recover from the disruption caused by wheat temporality. There is a return to the matrix components. The landscape sought to find its own ecological balance and therefore it reacted to the *Landscapes of Power*, which originated the landscape in the first place.

The strong iconographic image of Alentejo as the *Barn of Portugal*, does not mirror the character shaped by the ecological and historical characteristics that defined Alentejo over centuries. The commodification of natural resources and the imposition of uses beyond the logical and ecologically acceptable limits has created a false landscape. A false landscape that imposed itself as perceptive and cognitive all over the country, until today, and when translated into a graphic image, reveals how the wrinkly vernacular landscape, rich and sustainable in its seasonality, has become flattened in an immense monotony.

In this line of analysis, we quickly realized that much more recently, and as imposed by the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), a similar phenomenon of power came once again to impose itself on Alentejo's landscape. Looking at the present time, at the reality Alentejo's landscape is going through, we can also speculate how false identities, created in a given historical context, are used as trademarks or identity brands, calling into question the identity, singularity and the intrinsic dynamics of landscape as an ecosystem, as a living system.

This study presents itself as a strong and valid evidence that Landscape has power and that the anthropic impositions of power on landscape easily constitute a disruption in the landscape system.
This study intended to demonstrate how a false identity can compete with ecological memory, compromising the true identity of landscape when, on the contrary, any territorial management policy should be guided by multi-functionality, should promote biodiversity, and should meet the needs of communities.

Any political discourse that might support decision-making concerning a landscape should be guided by values that honor the ecological dimension as stipulated in the *European Landscape Convention*. The *Convention* is an important step for the adequacy of measures to adjust landscape management mechanisms as it defends the diagnosis and the recognition of identity, potential and weaknesses in order to shape governance.

Since landscape is a system and because its balance lacks continuity and reflects a relationship of cause-and-effect, any and all actions, or lack of actions, including any

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Notes

[1] "*Lei da Fome*" ("*The Hunger Law*") is a document which imposed on Portugal a set of protectionist measures that sought to encourage an increase of wheat production. That legislative instrument imposed the cereal's sale assurance at a fixed price, calculated for each of the wheat's varieties and according to the volume of sales previously declared by each producer; it blocked imports in order to ensure the flow of national production and, to avoid social upheavals, it also stated the obligation to keep a fixed pricing for bread.

[2] A *monte* is a building that consists of an isolated house, which occupies an area of less than 250m2, designed to accommodate the land owners or farm workers, permanently or temporarily, and which may have outbuildings for the collection and support of animals, or small spaces built for storage. It can also include a small vegetable garden, a well and tanks, in the vicinity. Simões, Paula (253: 2015)

[3] The *assento de lavoura* is the main set of buildings destined for accommodation, animal housing, storage of agricultural inputs and other buildings related to the agro-livestock production. It comprises the necessary facilities to achieve the goals of the farm. Simões, Paula (253; 2015).

[4] Agrarian and Chorographic Maps.

[5] The Maps of Landscape Units is a very recent and pioneering work, innovative in the way it characterizes landscape, aiming to establish contributes for the implementation of suitable landscape management measures.

Place values: how do perceptions regarding health benefits from green spaces and biodiversity influence the availability of therapeutic spaces?

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Introduction

The therapeutic value of landscape is trending internationally as an interdisciplinary research area. In densely populated urban landscapes, excess consumption, sedentary lifestyles and social isolation of an ageing population lead to increased mental and physical illness. Green spaces are therapeutic landscapes as they provide areas for people to recover, to relax, and to exercise; and contact with nature restores wellbeing. This study assessed perceptions of key stakeholders involved in providing urban green spaces in Ireland in relation to health and wellbeing benefits of green spaces. Qualitative methods revealed differences in their perceptions of urban green space function and design. Stakeholders perceived benefits from contact with nature which encouraged them to conserve the environment. Planners, engineers, health practitioners, conservationists now must ask communities what types of biodiverse and therapeutic landscapes can be co-created to suit individual preferences, changing life stages, while promoting health and wellbeing and conserving nature.

Therapeutic landscapes

Therapeutic landscapes encompass four environmental dimensions (natural, built, social and symbolic (Gesler 2003)) to promote health and wellbeing (salutogenesis) (Jiang 2014) from birth (Grazuleviciene et al 2015; Ebisu et al 2016) to old age (Dzhambov et al 2014; White et al 2014). Academics at the interface of environmental psychology and health promotion theorized that contact with nature and therapeutic spaces reduces stress (Ulrich 1999) and restores attention (Kaplan and Berman 2010), but this is rarely incorporated in policy and practice (Bell et al 2015). This study summarises the history of green spaces, delivery of relevant planning policy in Ireland and aims to assess how perceptions of nature-based salutogenic benefits held by green space decision-makers might influence therapeutic spaces.

History of green spaces and urbanisation in Ireland

Irish settlements traditionally used 'the green' for livestock trading. 'Fair-greens' exist in few towns today, eg fairs occur annually in Ballinasloe (Mac ConUladh 2014), but have been redeveloped as parks in others, eg Tim Smythe recreation park in Ennis (Active Ennis 2013). As populations grew, concern over pollution and recreational needs were recognised. In larger Irish cities like Dublin in the 19th century, specialised parks were created to offset social and political conditions (Bruck and Tierney 2009). The global population in urban areas is projected to reach 66% by 2050 (United Nations 2014), with mixed consequences for societal health in Ireland and other densely populated urban landscapes (Bloom et al 2008; Foley et al 2012; Department of Health 2013). Opportunities exist to redesign urban green spaces and innovate solutions for increased liveability and salutogenesis (James et al 2009).

The Irish Planning Process and Green Space Policy

With changing living patterns in Ireland, Planning Authorities must sustain development and provide services such as recreation, waste; while conserving nature and landscapes. Sustainable development 'meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (The World Commission on Environment and Development 1987). The role of the Planning and Development Act 2000 is to create an efficient, sustainable and strategic approach to the planning system (Clare County Council 2009). Subsequent amendments (2010) require development plans to comply with regional/national strategies eg green space policy (Clare County Council 2011).

Guidelines for sustainable residential developments in urban areas require green space (2-2.5 hectares open space per 1000 population) and recommend that open space should constitute a total of 15% of the land area for a green-field residential development plans, 10% of

Sector / Mixed methods	Planners	Engineers	Health Promotion Officers*	Conservation officials	Local Authority biodiversity decision makers	Total
Interviews	3	5	4	3	4	19
Statement scoring	10	10	8	7	8	43

* Health Promotion Officers are a national team located throughout Ireland; all remaining stakeholders were from the west of Ireland.

Table 1. Number of interviews and scored statements by stakeholders

brownfield developments or infill site plans should be open space or 20% of areas in industrial or institutional sites (Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government 2009). Development plans 'outline an overall strategy for the proper planning and sustainable development of the area' (Irish Statute Book 2000). County/local Development Plans identify tracts of land which are zoned for recreational use. Developers may include green space within a planning application to develop a site. In addition, national schemes with associated green space projects may be delivered by Transport Infrastructure Ireland with involvement from local authorities.

Other mechanisms within the Planning Process can deliver Green Space. Green infrastructure (GI) contributes to sustainable development as it connects natural and human environments. Strategically planned and managed, GI is a high quality biodiversity network (uplands, wetlands, rivers and coastlands), farmland, woodlands and other green spaces that conserve ecosystem values. GI provides essential services to society (Comhar 2010) ie water purification, flood control, food production and recreation. Recommendations exist to implement GI through the planning system (Scott et al 2012).

Once a green space has been created, it must be maintained and promoted. Management was traditionally undertaken by local authorities but emerging policies in Green Infrastructure, public participation and multi-governance (Comhar 2010) require additional stakeholder involvement. Green space policies need broad acceptance to succeed; understanding all stakeholder attitudes aids the decision making process, and the implementation of such policies.

Methods

Stakeholders were professionals who provide and promote green spaces but who may vary in their valuation of salutogenic benefits of green spaces. All people fulfilling these roles within the west of Ireland* were invited to take part between July – September 2015. Mixed methods comprising semi structured interviews and agreement scoring were undertaken to ascertain a wide range of important attitudes of key decision makers which may compromise availability/quality of salutogenic spaces. Depending on availability, stakeholders completed interviews and scoring (19), or scoring only (43) (Table 1).

Statement selection and scoring

Statements were collected from interviews and literature and trialled to select enough to reflect the opinions on the topic, and to ensure completion (Barry and Proops 1999, van Exel and de Graaf 2005). Stakeholders scored 39 statements according to their level of agreement (scores: ('strongly agree' (+3), agree (+2), somewhat agree (+1) 'don't know/neutral' (0), somewhat disagree (-1), disagree (-2), 'strongly disagree' (-3)), giving reasons for their choice if possible). Data were collated and analysed for consensus and disagreement (Field 2005).

Results

Stakeholder roles are first summarised based on role-related questions during interviews. Selected statements are presented to outline viewpoints relating to ideal green spaces and salutogenic landscapes.

Stakeholder roles relating to Green Spaces

Stakeholders worked as local authority engineers, planners, health promotion officers, nature conservationists or others with a role in biodiversity promotion/green space decision making in Ireland.

Local Authority engineers often lead in providing green space. In city councils, where parks departments deliver and manage green spaces that may impact on infrastructure (especially traffic or drainage), engineers may provide advice. They draft proposals at the development plan stage (local/county), and provide reports to Councils on planning applications. Area engineers provide new green areas in settlements and deliver local aspects that feed into National projects i.e. the Roads Section of Galway County Council led the proposed Connemara Greenway project.

Statement	Responses	
Spending time in nature allows you to de- stress and problem solve.	-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3	(3)
I feel fitter because being out in nature motivates me to walk more.	-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3	(3)
I relax by seeking contact with nature, from walks to the beach or the woods and having picnics.	-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3	(3)
For me, I don't think contact with nature benefits health and wellbeing.	-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3	(-3)
When I connect with nature I am motivated to look after it and protect it.	-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3	(3)
Most adults do not appreciate nature.	-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3	(-2)
My ideal urban green spaces are tidy, with flowers in neat borders, amenity shrubs and short grass.	-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3	(2)
Open green areas are better than woodlands in urban settings.	-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3	(-2)
If you have young children, playgrounds and amenity areas become more important than wild areas.	-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3	(-2)
Areas designed for biodiversity in urban spaces are unsightly as they may contain dog faeces, litter and needles.	-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3	(-2)
Urban green spaces are more for playing, relaxing and exercising than for wildlife.	-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3	(2)
There aren't enough green spaces in cities and towns to engage with nature.	-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3	(2)
A big green area where people can play sports is much more important than creating areas of biodiversity.	-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3	(-2)
I avoid densely planted urban woodlands as they promote anti-social behaviour.	-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3	(-2)

Table 2. Stakeholder responses to statements (medians (overall median in brackets)).
Legend: (engineer ◆, planner ■, conservationist □, Health Promotion Officer (HPO) ✱, Local Authority Biodiversity decision makers ●).

Local Authority planners play a key role in providing green space. Planners advise parks departments in city councils, where delivery of green spaces interacts with planning functions. They contribute proactively (SEA, to drafting proposals at the development plan stage (local/county)), and reactively (by providing reports to Councils on planning applications). Planners may advise on green spaces in relation to other aspects of their role e.g. through Studies on Outdoor Recreation or Amenity and Recreation Needs Assessments (Galway City Council 2008; O'Reilly 2014).

Other local authority decision makers ie biodiversity/heritage officers or landscape architects usually deliver natural heritage/biodiversity projects within their county, and play important roles in local green space provision. Parks staff in city councils provide, deliver and manage green spaces. They contribute to SEA, draft proposals at the development plan stage (local/county), and compile/review reports to Councils on planning applications. They participate in wider initiatives ie the Healthy Cities Project, or advocate on green spaces and commission assessments of needs (Galway City Council 2008; O'Reilly 2014).

Conservationists participate in green space provision if/when consulted by local authorities or asked to make a submission relating to draft plans or projects that require SEA or AA. They may contribute via Public Participation Networks which are used for consultations

on local authority activities. Health promotion officers can respond to local authority plans. They devise strategies with local authorities to create green spaces, promote sustainability and nature in urban environments. They work with local authorities, recreation and health organisations, to create outdoor gyms, sli na slainte routes, walkways/cycleways, develop trails and can influence green space use through organising events such as the parkrun. The Health Service Executive (HSE) are a prescribed body where development may have health impacts. HSE are partners in the Healthy Cities Forum and may belong to the Public Participation Network.

Overall perceptions regarding green spaces

Stakeholders strongly agree on salutogenic benefits from green spaces such feeling fitter and restored but differ on design and function (see Table 2).

Stakeholders differ in their Ideal Green Space (IGS) design and function

An engineer's IGS is open, tidy and well structured, with flowers in neat borders, amenity shrubs and short grass. They contain sport pitches and playgrounds and are unlikely to have wild areas in them. A planner's IGS is open, with no dense woodland. They will have wild areas for biodiversity close to playgrounds and sports pitches. Planners do not feel that biodiverse areas are unsightly. While they are not concerned that natural areas with long grass might contain litter, needles or dog faeces, they would avoid creating dense woodlands in urban areas as they associate them with antisocial behaviour. Local Authority biodiversity decision makers' IGS contains open grassy areas, woodland, and areas for biodiversity and playgrounds and sports pitches. Tidiness is not an issue. A conservationist's IGS contains woodland (they have no concerns regarding antisocial behaviour) and wild areas for biodiversity close to playgrounds and sports pitches. Conservationists hold neutral views regarding the appearance of biodiverse areas with long grass that might contain litter, needles or dog faeces; and are more likely to recommend that green spaces contain some dog-free zones. A Health Promotion Officer's IGS contains long grass, as they did not worry that grass would contain needles, litter or dog faeces. It is probably more open than closed; unlikely to contain much densely wooded areas or amenity planting. It functions for wildlife, for play and exercise.

Discussion

All stakeholders in this study agreed they felt restored and less stressed when in green spaces. Several studies (encompassing varied social, population and location characteristics) reported positive impacts of green spaces on respondent's health and wellbeing, due to living in close proximity to green spaces (Lange et al 2008; Alcock et al 2015; Triguero-Mas et al 2015; Finlay et al 2015; Madureira et al 2015). Green spaces offer the opportunity for people to undertake physical activities and to alleviate the stress and pressures which are encountered in daily life (Tzoulas et al 2007; Wolf and Flora 2010; Schipperijn et al 2013). People may accrue greater benefits to their health and wellbeing, from areas that are more diverse and perceived to be more natural, regardless of the setting (urban, peri-urban, rural) (Wheeler et al 2012; Wheeler et al 2015). Visit duration and perceived quality of biodiversity resulted in increased restorativeness and was a good predictor of wellbeing (Carrus et al 2015).

Stakeholders value green space functions differently

Engineers went against the prevailing perceptions on several issues whereas all other stakeholders followed the general prevailing attitudes revealed in this study. This difference may be due to the values stakeholders place on nature (Chan et al 2016). In considering families, and other people, engineers prioritised playgrounds and amenity areas such as sports pitches over biodiverse areas, and believed there were sufficient places to encounter nature in urban areas. While they agreed that contact with nature was a benefit to human health, they also agreed that most adults did not appreciate nature. Planners uniquely believed that urban spaces were for people and nature. They desired more biodiversity/nature in urban areas. Planners thought that adults appreciated nature, and recognised the value of multi-functional green spaces. Health promotion officers valued multifunctional space, but did not value sports grounds more than areas for biodiversity.

Implications and recommendations

In Ireland, the planning process provides for green spaces at a number of levels, from a strategic approach to provision as part of a development project. The consultation process is complex. Stakeholders can contribute at different stages of the process. If any stakeholder were to be solely responsible for green space design and provision, three key issues need to be addressed:

(i) Planners, health promotion officers and conservationists are more likely to provide and promote opportunities to connect with nature than engineers but engineers often lead in providing green space.
(ii) Stakeholders do not share the same views with regard to their ideal green space: appearance and function would differ.
(iii) Engineers are least likely to create spaces for nature, or to have areas managed more naturally.

Conclusion

This study highlights issues that may arise if any single stakeholder group had sole responsibility for green spaces. In this study, stakeholders contribute to delivering green spaces for people and nature in different ways. Their perceptions are likely to influence how and what they contribute to the decision making and implementation of green space policies and practices. Interdisciplinary collaboration and careful planning is needed to secure space for wildlife, and for society.

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Ecotourism and Ecolabels in Landscape Protection: A Critical Appraisal of a Governance Mechanism

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Introduction

'Landscape... has an important public interest role in the cultural, ecological, environmental and social fields, and constitutes a resource favourable to economic activity, particularly to tourism.' (CoE 2004)

The above quotation from the European Landscape Convention recognises the central role of landscape in tourism and, by extension, the need for landscape protection for tourism and from any negative impacts of tourism. Landscape is defined as the entire terrestrial and marine territory of a country. Ecological designation and the use of labelling, based on specified criteria, are among the mechanisms of governance (involving governmental and non–governmental entities) used to protect landscapes from negative effects of tourism (Font 2002). This paper discusses the role of ecological labels as governance mechanisms with respect to landscape protection, using the example of Ireland's first ecotourism destination– the Greenbox. Evidence is provided relating to the incorporation of landscape in the understanding of ecotourism held by eco-labelled tourism businesses. Conclusions are reached relating to the benefits and shortcomings of the label adopted and the emerging lessons for eco-labelling in landscape protection more generally.

Concepts

Landscape is central to tourism. It is gazed upon and engaged with bodily by tourists through a diverse range of physical and cultural recreational activities (Urry and Larsen 2011). Gazing is associated with touring through the landscape, stopping to admire scenic views and observing more generally. Bodily engagement with landscape through recreational activities has increased exponentially in the past three decades, associated with increased interest in physical wellbeing and personal health. Any type of tourism may have potentially negative effects for landscape and the broader environment of which landscape is a part. Obvious threats arise from the construction of visitor accommodation and the disposal of the increased waste that results, the construction or widening of roads to provide vehicular access, pressure of numbers on the ecology of particular sites and contributions to greenhouse gases from motorised travel, heating and air conditioning systems. Tourism is recognised as carrying the seeds of its own destruction, as Richard Butler's (1980) classic Tourism Area Life Cycle model illustrates.

Tourism is the fastest growing service sector internationally and its influence is reaching remote ecologically–diverse environments of world significance (Fennell 2008). Well–known examples include areas of the Arctic and Antarctica and the tropical forests of Central and South America and Southeast Asia which provide allocentric experiences in places that are relatively unknown and unexplored (Plog 2001). During the past decade, or so, ecotourism has been identified as a potential source of income for local populations in areas of high ecological value in developed countries which may be marginal economically (Che 2006). Regulation is usually applied at particular sites and involves a range of governance entities and provisions of varying status from local to international levels (Fennell 2008). These include the physical planning regulations that are applied by local planning authorities, EU directives (in Europe, eg Special Areas of Conservation, Special Protected Areas and Natural Heritage sites), and UNESCO designations that are applied to sites of world significance. Experience shows that such provisions are not always sufficient to prevent negative impacts arising for local landscapes and culture (Honey 2008). The European Landscape Convention (CoE 2004) assumes particular importance as a framework for governmental action to protect landscapes of all types but not all European governments have yet signed the Convention. Voluntary schemes have a place in landscape protection and ecotourism labelling is one form of voluntary governance applied to protect sensitive landscapes through the promotion of holistically–benign forms of tourism (Font 2002). Labelling applies to both the types of tourism services that are provided and their environmental and cultural impacts (ecotourism) and to the behaviour of the (eco) tourist which also has implications for local environment and culture. Both are, of course, related. This paper focuses on the provider of tourism services.

Ecotourism designation has been pursued in particular since the 1980s (although ecotourism as such clearly existed in the past) as a low impact form of tourism undertaken in tropical and sub–topical areas that remained off the main tourist routes (Hetzer 1965; Fennell 2009). There are many definitions of ecotourism but seven features are considered diagnostic; namely, that it should: (i) occur in 'natural areas'; (ii) help to conserve the resource base; (iii) respect local cultures; (iv) provide benefits for locals; (v) provide education for tourists and locals; (vi) promote holistic sustainability (as defined by the World Commission on Development [1987]); and (vii) have non–invasive impacts (Fennell 2001, 407). The International Ecotourism Society stipulates that ecotourism should involve low impact travel which is a major challenge because ecotourism sites are usually located in regions which are accessed by air by international tourists. This issue is not dealt with specifically in this paper, although some of the interviewed providers sought to reduce the carbon footprint of the tourists whom they received.

Many ecotourism labels have been developed based on a range of different criteria (Buckley 2002); differentiation is made here between those based on criteria which relate to protecting inherent features of the ecology and culture and their expression in the landscape (green criteria) and those based on technical processes (grey criteria) designed to minimise environmental damage more generally. Both are necessary in order to promote holistic sustainability in tourism which incorporates environment, economy, society and culture. Technical criteria which relate to measuring energy, water use and use of detergents serve to minimise damage to local landscapes and the wider environment. Green criteria which relate to protecting features of ecological diversity are more complex in their composition and more difficult and expensive to monitor. Ideally, an ecotourism label should include both types of criteria but labelling is sometimes based on the more easily measured technical criteria. This was case in the area studied here.

Context and Methodology

The Greenbox study area is located in six counties on the border between the Republic of Ireland (RoI) and Northern Ireland (NI) (Fig. 1). The area was selected as an ecotourism destination as an economic development measure, funded following the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1998, based on its scenic and relatively underdeveloped environment. The project was funded through the EU Interreg III Programme and a number of other international and Irish sources and ran from 2003 until 2008 when the funding stream ended (Conway and Cawley 2012). A management board consisted of eleven representatives of local authorities in the six counties involved, other regional development agencies, the national tourism authorities in the RoI and NI, representatives of tourism providers and the manager of the Greenbox project. The EU Ecolabel (represented by a flower and known as the EU Flower label in the Greenbox) was adopted as a certification label for which tourism businesses were assisted to apply through funding support, information and training (The Greenbox 2010). The label is based on technical criteria which relate primarily to monitoring the conservation of heat and water in accommodation premises and the avoidance of conventional detergents. As a result, non-accommodation tourism providers were ineligible to apply for the label which immediately limited its adoption. The label was monitored by the National Standards Authority in the RoI and the Department of Agriculture in NI.

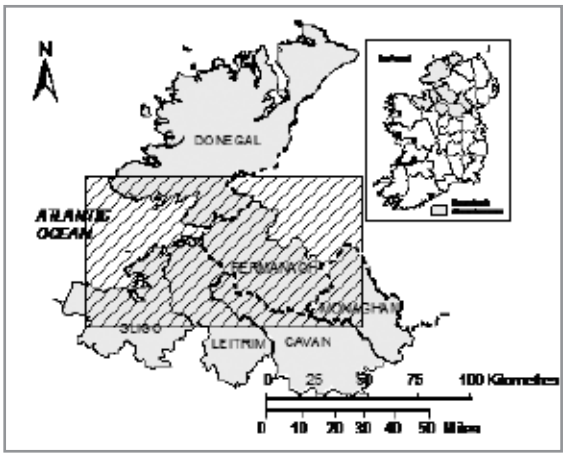

Fig. 1. The Greenbox area (based on mapping held under licence from the Ordnance Survey of Ireland)

The research was based on analysis of documents of the organisational members of the management board, 21 interviews with the board members and with members of other organisations that had remits relating to tourism, 14 interviews with tourism providers who held the EU Flower label and 23 interviews with other tourism providers who were identified as subscribing to principles of ecotourism on their web sites (Conway 2014). The tourism providers were selected purposively so as to include the range of business types present in the Greenbox area. The interviews took between sixty and ninety minutes to conduct, were recorded with the respondents' permission, and were transcribed and

analysed thematically in an iterative way, following Bryman (2008) and Saldāna (2009).

Results

The following discussion focuses on selected EU Flower holders and the extent to which their narratives revealed awareness of the local landscape and culture, as resources to be valued and protected, as well as engagement with environmental protection through compliance with technical criteria. Key differences emerged between two broad groups of providers which were linked to the varying forms of human, social and economic capital held (Coleman 1988). On one hand were providers who had one or more of (i) external experience (human capital) which increased their awareness of ecotourism as a holistic concept, (ii) who benefited from both personal and group knowledge (human and social capital) or (iii) who held resources (human and economic capital) which permitted them to develop a holistic approach in their ecotourism business. On the other hand, there were providers whose application for the label was based on, either, (i) obtaining funding to meet technical criteria, or, (ii) already meeting the criteria (economic capital) and seeing the label as a possible method of attracting new tourists. In the latter instances, the human and social capital that provide deeper understanding of landscape and culture as resources to be protected for ecotourism were less well developed.

Several accommodation providers had a broad view of ecotourism as incorporating recreational activities and use of landscape resources in benign ways. A husband and wife, who had become aware of environmental conservation when living in San Francisco, brought this knowledge back to their home area in county Leitrim and ran an accommodation and activity business which attracted German ecotourists. In order to meet the requirements of a German tour operator, they provided environmentally-benign canoeing and cycling experiences which were embedded in local landscapes and involved networking with other accommodation providers who were either ecologically certified or subscribed to principles of ecotourism. The female partner was also actively involved in local cultural tourism projects. These business owners reflected a holistic understanding of ecotourism. So also did a community environmental group in a remote scenic area of county Sligo. The group was formed to conserve the quality of the local environment from illegal dumping and then developed a hostel with low-impact walking and cycling trails in association with the county heritage officer, who lived locally. Education is provided for the visitor about the local environment, its flora, fauna and cultural heritage, through leaflets and information boards at the hostel and along the trails.

In some cases the resources owned permitted the accommodation provider to develop holistic ecotourism experiences, as in the case of the owner of an 18th century house and estate which provided accommodation, walking and cycling opportunities on site and food from the farm and from local providers. The manager of a country house in county Fermanagh, which is located in an Area of Special Scientific Interest, emphasised the importance of a protected landscape as providing the basis for applying for the EU Flower and creating a new market potential: 'It is more what we do here than defined, because of the location ...very much fits, and Fermanagh is becoming greener and greener... I realised there was a market potential ... it was a sort of natural progression 'cos (property) ticked all the boxes on the environmental side' (BI– business interview #19).

Several of the respondents, when discussing their definition of ecotourism and their understanding of its ethos, prioritised the need to comply with technical criteria in order to obtain funding support from the Greenbox board. These were primarily accommodation providers and, although the physical landscape was appreciated as a resource for tourists, it was not prioritised in their narratives. One B&B owner discussed the need to protect the natural environment in the context of the construction of their house and the use of water but with an emphasis on compliance with the requirements of EU Flower certification, more than engagement with the aesthetic qualities of the landscape: 'We took advantage of a spring down in the front garden, to make a pond so all the rain water could be caught. We have two separate heating systems' (BI#13). An hotelier defined ecotourism as maximising efficiency in current systems of water and energy use and a caravan park owner referred to the need for a clear recording system for resource use as a central tenet of ecotourism. The latter did not consider his business to be ecotourism, although he had gained the EU Flower label because of complying with the technical criteria: 'We see ourselves as a business that does sensible rational things and they happen to be and fall into line with it (ecotourism)' (BI #4). The cost saving benefits of technical criteria also featured in his definition of ecotourism: 'We joined the Greenbox really because they were in the area... and they were offering things like the EU Flower, and plus it didn't cost us anything... like in

the toilet and showers, everything is push button' (BI#4).

These contrasting perspectives on ecotourism suggest that an ecotourism label based on technical criteria may indeed promote environmental protection in the guise of reduced energy and water use and avoidance of certain detergents but may not necessarily be optimum for creating the awareness of landscape and culture that is necessary for their protection.

Conclusion

Tourism's impacts on landscape are regulated mainly through governance provisions relating to the conservation of land, monuments and cultures, nationally and internationally. Nevertheless, threats can arise for landscape quality from increasing tourist numbers. Ecotourism is a mechanism for promoting low-impact tourism in a deliberate way by both providers and tourists and has potential to contribute to landscape protection. There are many definitions of ecotourism but there is broad agreement on key defining features, and labels have been developed to promote these features. Two aspects of these labels were discussed here with reference to a new ecotourism destination in Ireland, those that relate to (i) technical criteria and (ii) to ecological and cultural criteria, with the former being easier and less costly to regulate than the latter. The results illustrate that a label designed primarily to reduce energy, water and detergent use in accommodation premises may reduce damage to the environment. It may, however, fail to inspire appreciation of the need for the broader protection of landscape and culture, unless the tourism provider holds specific forms of knowledge and resources (human, social and economic capital). It is recommended that the governance frameworks adopted by public and private organisations to promote ecotourism engage in deliberate ways with the broader components of landscape protection and deliver supporting knowledge relating to this dimension for tourism providers.

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Encouraging Communities to reconquer Urban Landscapes: Proposals for the city of Carballo (A Coruña, Spain)

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Introduction

In the context of the Summer Course Estratexias Cidadáns para os Tempos Da Crise (Citizen Strategies for Times of Crisis), held in Carballo in July 2012, a series of reflections on the state and future prospects of the tissues and structures - social, territorial, economic, built - of the middle-sized towns in Galicia were proposed.

The objective was not to analyse, but to translate evident social and material realities through forceful responses and proposals for urban action. References to other arts - land art, urban art - have been present as an alternative and counterpart to architectural practice, in a desolate context puzzled by the breaking of expectations for the future. The main concepts that articulated this course were Opportunity, Action and Hope.

There is a refusal of the classical methods of scientific analysis, as they are often worthless for a creative discipline such as architecture. This starting point has brought us closer to unrestricted fields, where the function – the use, the functional issues - fades as something irrelevant or even non-existent. Interpretive and active positions were a priority, beyond the analytical and experimental reflections offered by specialists in various branches of knowledge: philosophy, art, sociology, economics, landscape and urbanism. The result, sometimes light-hearted indeed, has attracted the attention of those responsible for local administration, the university community and the media.

Action versus Analysis

Initially thrown through the field of architecture, we found that the specific vision of this discipline was not enough to comprise problems of a great complexity. The urban reality, the visible items, the built reality, is seen as a snapshot, but in a deeper analysis, emerges as the result of a series of hidden circumstances, often glimpsed and prosecuted in haste and without spanning its kaleidoscopic nature. Moreover, it is not to consider that the architect's interpretation can be limited at all, quite the contrary, but their visions may usually appear distorted by several factors, such as a great confidence in the pedagogical and regenerative possibilities of architecture. This perception, which is sometimes shared by those responsible for public or private management - also at times has really worked out - would require the concurrence of a set of circumstances or 'commandments': urban renewal, regenerative power and community happiness, unattainable in the current state of affairs. A second distortion adds to the previous one: when thinking that the fundamental tool for the management of urban content and space is conventional planning and further, that such planning is largely handled by technicians and planners, who apply logical and well-intentioned objectives and criteria, we are making a big mistake. The current city emerges as the result of tensions between the territory's heritage assets within the strict meaning of the term, expectations of wealth, opportunities for action and personal motivations, both those of the economic agents and policy-makers.

The task was, therefore, to find to what extent, from the capacity for action of a group of young students who had recently completed their academic year, the citizens of Carballo could be encouraged, through bold and ingenious proposals, to resume actions on their habitat, by humanization and intervention with a creative aim. The architecture and construction seemed starting points. Strategies, rather than 'low-cost', should be 'no-cost': making from the mill, recycling, returning to agriculture and handicrafts. Seeking the common ground between urbanism, architecture, urban art, sociology, economics and participation. For all of this, we had contributions of specialists from different disciplines, whose participation revealed invisible realities and opportunities of action.

The approach to the Carballo downtown area, from any orientation is puzzling: a discontinuous urban landscape, a succession of large built volumes and vacant lots conforms the general perception. This perception includes the core areas that break traditional guidelines: a consolidated urban centre and a periphery under endless construction. These patterns do not work now, with the emergence of new poles of attraction and the rebuilding

of traditional frames affected by new uses. There are varying formal gradients that dismantle the entire cityscape. It is easier to rebuild local areas as new units designed at a human scale. Centre and periphery are not absolute categories in this town; the distances and the formal and environmental qualities make substantial changes and expand the possibilities for the project.

The central and peripheral layouts are so mixed, that it is difficult to recognize in its architecture a history of Carballo's urban scenarios. Nevertheless, this story does exist - and resists - in the scarce interesting buildings that survived. We found some notable elements of design and significance, while the town centre aims to major public buildings, town hall, market and library, among other facilities.

Carballo is indeed a city in crisis. Its urban shape is the result of recent periods of economic and urban mistakes that need urgent repairs. Even though there is a wealthy background in the mixture of its economy, linked to the productive area of A Coruña and its major infrastructures (export industries, large estates, outer harbour, etc.), the economy in the region does not show many negative indicators, especially when compared with other areas of the country. There is indeed industrial and trading activity, and great expectations for the future in this metropolitan area of the Galician west axis (Fig. 1).

The crisis of the city and housing has its roots in the sixties and seventies. At this time, a huge amount of housing was built, due to very accessible funding and permissive planning that granted excessive heights and volumes in narrow streets. There was a lack of scheduled deadlines and effective investments concerning infrastructure and urban facilities. All this growth did not decelerate, but increased in the eighties and nineties, before speeding up in the first decade of the present century. This situation led to the burst of the 'housing bubble' that still threatens the Spanish economy.

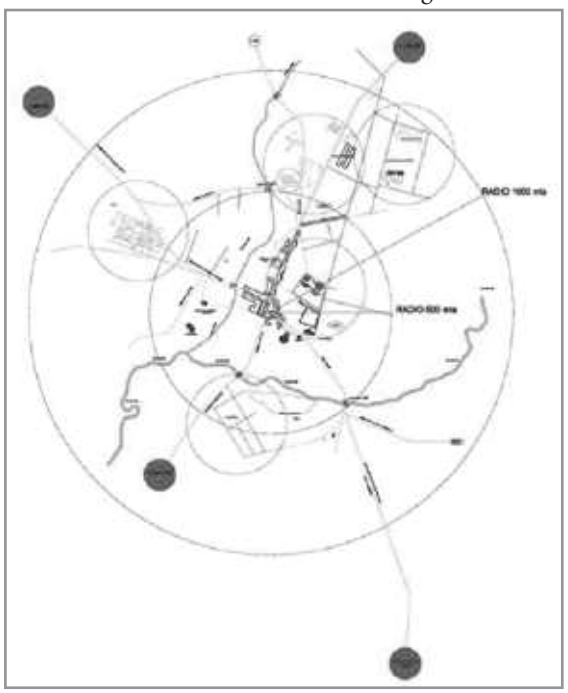

Fig. 1.

The discontinuous city created in the sixties never approaches its regeneration through the classical resources of urban planning: the completion of blocks or the strategic placement of facilities (as usually applied in historic towns). It ends up accepting this situation as normal, without trying to modify the negative consequences of a hyperactive and runaway property market. The vacant lots and misaligned blocks conform indeed a relevant part of the recent Galician urban landscape.

Some media have handled a complex reasoning in which through a concept - summarized in a single word: 'feísmo',[1] with little more argument - have doomed some rough architectures and discontinuous and unfinished landscapes (including evident and tolerated urban disasters) to propose their recovery by adapting historical styles in a very superficial way. This way of thinking deactivates the potential that these territories have - when filled with resources and ambition - to develop a new urbanism. We cannot assume the actual situation as something negative, useless or impossible to recover.

These approaches are not specific or exclusive of Galicia; in great metropolis of the world suffer similar situations: urban neighbourhoods of Southeast Asia, passionately described by Koolhaas (2001, 309), have recently lost most of the few signs of built identity, those that helped its inhabitants to understand their history. There is a risky beauty and an unusually contemporaneity in the materials provided from the daily reality of these territories, from whom we should extract some arguments for making sense in the spaces of the future. In this way, it becomes possible to recover for the 'generic city' (let us accept this condition for Carballo) all possibilities of culture and planning restrictions that seem to deal more than the consolidated city. We can affirm, as Solá-Morales (1997, 15) does, that we can still believe in the 'sophisticated interpretation of the city as a place that gather, fastens and represent the times'.

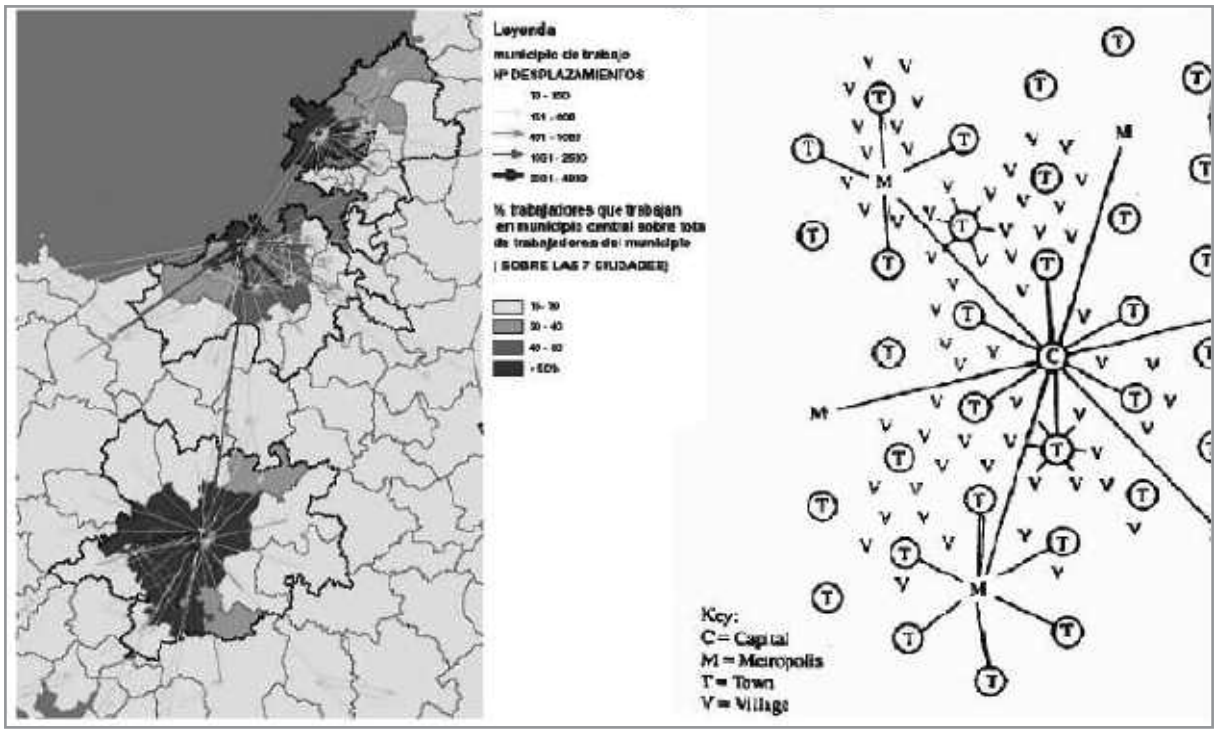

Fig. 2

To undertake the work, six groups consisting of six students and two teachers each, were organized. Four of the groups should analyse the urban landscape from the point of view of a hiker approaching the city by any of its four main thoroughfares, while the remaining two groups would focus on the urban core (Fig. 2). After a session of analysis, reflection and sharing of identified problems and situations, each group should focus on proposals for the area under study.

With all this background, in addition to the issues discussed at symposia, meetings and encounters with local communities, the Workshop engaged on a systematic approach to identify places for intervention, by direct observation, by asking neighbours and by discussing into groups. The task was to discover and document an overview of homogeneous conflicts, collisions and nonsense, to consider it as areas of opportunity and substrate of the proposals for the different groups. The answers were very heterogeneous, but almost all had a common feature: optimism. And through them, it was managed to turn Carballo, paradigm of improvisation, anaesthetic and urban disaster in a bright, beautiful, participatory, original and unique

Fig. 3

town. Transforming places of depression and fatalism into urban gems where to play, criticize, have fun, explore each one's skills, learn from the elderly, find love, etc. Desolate and inconclusive streets into large avenues curded of trees and a magnificent 'wall painted Baroque' (Fig. 3). We proposed to unemployed carpenters to build a pedestrian rollercoaster - low speed and even lower cost - with looping for the boldest youths, brightening the skyline on a unique calligraphy (Fig. 4). There was also a proposal for a (fake) Carballo Underground, the most modern and cheapest in the world, the only one in the world built without annoying works for pedestrian.
Another proposal was to create the Memory Park, in which, among some other interventions, the students asked neighbours for pictures of old local celebrities, such as the local football team that won the regional league back in 1968, or the traditional 'regueifeiros', who used to argue in improvised rhymes.

The experience showed that any urban corner, even the improvised or abandoned, might have a potential of intervention able to enhance them. As graffiti and many other forms of urban art show as well, each dividing wall can be a canvas, every vacant lot a garden or an orchard. Every single space is willing to accept, and even propose, a sensible intervention that improves it. The rejection of the traditional forms of urban intervention, the use of very low cost materials or even waste, and the dissolution of the concept of authorship were valid strategies, despite their identification with marginal or anti-establishment movements.
We believe that all the reflections done throughout the previous academic year[2] were useful to obtain relevant conclusions on architecture and the landscape of this region. Very much was learnt, and the results will be useful to operate on this city in the coming years. It will be helpful, too, for technicians and public managers. The City Council has worked actively in the realization of this work by providing facilities, information and material and financial resources.

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Beyond all this, the course had a significant impact on the public and the media. In subsequent years, the City Council adopted some of the initiatives that emerged from this course. In fact, they printed a large format picture that, placed on the dividing wall of a new building, showed the former configuration and housing of the town's main square, that all citizens longed for (Fig. 5). Out from the course, the Council also organizes, on an annual basis, an international call for urban artists to propose interventions in Carballo.

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Notes

[1] 'Feísmo' is a recently invented word used by Galician media to describe a sort of ugliness in construction caused by neglect and ignorance.

[2] Most of the students who have participated in this course spent the academic year - in the subject Projects 3 - 3rd Course at ETSA A Coruña - to develop a series of exercises in the vicinity of the town of Carballo, so they had a previous knowledge of this specific urban reality.

Domitian's bridge and the Volturno river

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In a document contained in *Leges Langobardorum*[i] namely *Sicardi principis pactio cum Ne politanis in quinquennium facta* in particular cap. 13. *de hominibus qui per fulmina transierint: et ut non detineatus navigia in portibus nostris* written in the year 836 it reads:

> *item stetit de fluminibus qui in fine Capuana sunt : hoc est Patria Velturnas atque Melturnas ut in ipsa traiecta sint licentia transeundi tam negociantibus quam et responsalibus vel militibus seu aliis personis de ducatu vestro Neapolitano salva consuetudine nostra, inlesi debeant transire. Barcas enim quae ibidem ad hora canseverint vel pro tempestate subduerint aut applicaverint per tota ipsa palgia vel ubicumque in fine nostri principatus nostri venerint securae et inlese sicut superius legitur debeant esse ; si autem et voluerint negotiare ibidem persolvant secundum antiquam consuetudinem*

The document quoted refers to two rivers in the region of Campania, near Capua, ie the Volturno the Minturno, and even to a small stream that runs along lake Patria. This is interesting in that is said that these rivers are crossed by a *traiecta* ie a kind of ferry-boat that serves as a passage for the rivers. So, in the ninth century, the Volturno river was crossed by a *traiecta* and there survived no trace of the bridge here on the road works commissioned by Emperor Domitian, whose works ended in AD95.

The Domitian way (Via Domitia) diverged from the Appian Way near the *aquae sinuessanae* precisely southeast of *Sinuessa* near Mondragone, with an honorary arch erected by citizens in honor of Domitian, and headed south to the *Volturnum* colony. Passing the Savone, the *Domitiana* continued with a path to the river Volturno. Built on a former track of the Republican Era, under water and sand, this directly connected Rome, Pozzuoli and Naples, avoiding the long journey for Capua, where the two roads branched off to Pozzuoli and Naples. A monumental work declared by *Statius* in his poem *Silvae* IV 3, to have eliminated the long and winding meanders of the more ancient route, as we read in verses 20 and ss: *hic segnis populi vias gravatus/et campos iter omne detinentes/longos eximit ambitus novoque/iniectu solidat graves arenas.*

In verses 27 et seq. *Statius* celebrates the advantages of the new location, highlighting that before flood damage to crops and settlements:

> *hic quondam piger axe vectus uno/nutabat cruce pendula viator/sorbebatque rotas maligna tellus/et plebs in mediis Latina campis/horrebat mala navigationis;/nec cursus agiles, sed impedimentum tardebant iter orbitae tenentes/ dum pondus nimium querens sub alta/ repit languida quadrupes statera/ At nunc quae solidum diem terebat /horarum via facta vix duarum*

So the *Via Domitia* greatly facilitated the traveller who, before this imposing building programme, took a day to complete a journey that was now possible in just two hours, and moreover, on a paved road rather than a muddy track. And on this road, as always, *Statius* reminds us to do the same (poem verses 67 et seq.) that on the Volturno River a bridge has been built:

> *at flavum caput umidumque late/crinem mollibus impeditus ulvis/Vulturnus levat ora maximoque/pontis Caesarei reclinus arcu/raucis talia faucibus redundat:/"Camporum bone conditor meorum, /qui me vallibus aviis refusum/et ripas habitare nescientem/recti legibus alvei ligasti,/et nunc ille ego turbidus minaxque/vix passus dubias prius carinas,/iam pontem fero perviusque calcor;/qui terras rapere et rotare silvas/adsueram (pudet!), amnis esse coepi;/ sed grates ago servitusque tanti est, quod sub te duce, te iubente cessi, /quod tu maximus arbiter meaeque/vicotr perpetuus legere ripae.*

The bridge over the Volturno, as evidenced in the text, put a stop to the impetuous river embankments, *turbidus minaxque,* and made it possible to cross the river on foot. Moreover, the bridge has, as we read in *Statius*, an inscription in the name of the emperor Domitian.

The Volturno River, as recalled in *Livius* XXVI, 7, 9, was navigable up to Capua; *Ovidius* also *(met.* 15, 714 et seq. *hinc calidi fontes lentisci ferumque tenetur Liternum multamque trahens sub gurgite arenam/Volturnus niveisque frequens Sinuessa columbis /Minturnaeque graves et quam tumulavit alumnus/Antiphataeque domus*

Trachasque obsessa palude/et tellus Circaea et spissi litoris Antium.), Lucanus (2, 422 *delabitur inde Vulturnusque celer nocturnaeque editor aurae Sarnus et umbrosae Liris per regna Maricae*), Silius Italicus *(Pun.* 8, 527-8 *Sinuessa tepens fluctuque sonorum Vulturnum*,) and subsequently Claudianus *(Panegyricus dictus Olybrio et Probino consulibus,* v. 256: *Vulturnusque rapax)* remind us in their works of the tumultuous and restless waters of the river. The bridge built over the river, not only changed its course but also changed the surrounding landscape by containing the river by reinforcing and strengthening the levees created to prevent the leakage of water from the riverbed.

But then when was the bridge destroyed? As we have seen, in AD836 the bridge no longer existed. Erchemperto, on the other hand, the author of an *historia Langobardorum* Beneventanorum, the only existing historical source relative to all of *Langobarda minor*; which stops abruptly in the year 887; makes no mention of Domitian bridge, as if it collapsed much earlier. If we peruse chapters 25, 42, 44, and 62, where Capua and the Volturno are mentioned as important waterway, there is in fact no reference to the bridge.

It has been suggested, but without any source that can support it, that the bridge was destroyed during the barbarian invasions of AD455: as is well known Genserico, on the pretext of avenging the assassination of Emperor Valentinian III, headed a mighty fleet up the Tiber and sacked Rome first and then Capua, whose public and private buildings were almost completely destroyed.

In 476 Odoacer ended the Western Roman Empire in Constantinople by posting signs waterproof the wings. Capua passed first under the control of the Heruli in 493, and then under that of the Ostrogoths of Theodoric, keeping intact its territorial units long enough for it to flourish again thanks to agricultural production and trade in grain.

If it is true that Capua was destroyed by Vandals, (cf the hypothesis that the bridge was destroyed then), it is equally true that the city of *Volturnum* with its harbor at the mouth of the river itself, continued to play its commercial market role of neighbouring places. Certainly the Christian community that was there was now so numerous and important that its bishops attended and underwrote the synodal decrees of the Roman church: the *Acts* of the Second Roman Council (AD495) were signed by bishops including *Pascasio Vulturnensi*,[ii] most likely the same ones who signed the acts of the *First Roman Synod* of 499 *Pascasius episcopus ecclesiae Vulturnensi subscripsi,*[iii] the Second Roman Synod of 501, *Pascasius episcopus ecclesiae Vulturnensis subscipsi*[iv] and the *Acts* of the Third Roman Synod of 502, *Pascasius episcopus ecclesiae Vulturniae subscipsi.*[v]

In addition, the resident population in the plain of the Volturno and the territory of the city of *Volturnum,* was still dedicated to agriculture. In fact, in AD508 Theodoric, responding to the dearth of wheat in newly won Southern Gaul, sent *navicula* canals of Campania, Lucania and Tuscia, to transport food to that region, as *Cassiodorus* reminds us in Variae, IV, 5, 2:

> *Atque ideo devotio tua praesenti auctoritate cognoscat omnes navicularios Campaniae, Lucaniae sive Tusciae fideiussoribus idoneis se debere committere, ut cum victualibus speciebus tantum proficiscantur ad Gallias, habituri licentiam distrahendi sic ut inter emptorem venditoremque convenerit.*

Campania, therefore, had at this time enough grain to be able to share without any problems, and large quantities of grain reached the city of *Volturnum*, with its still perfectly functional port. Neither does it present signs of demographic impoverishment from the spread of swamp-related malaria resulting as was the case for example in the Pontine Plain during the Theodorican age.[vi]

Even during the Gothic-Byzantine war the plain of the Volturno retained its primacy as a wheat producer. In 552 Procopius of Caesarea, in his *The Gothic War*, tells us that general Narses was ordered to go immediately to Naples to fill with as many ships of grain and gather all those who had been left in Naples, for the custody of horses or some other any reason, having heard that many soldiers were scattered throughout Campania.

Procopius, just arrived on site, managed to gather no less than five hundred soldiers and loaded on ships a substantial amount of wheat. As soon as they reached the military reinforcements from Byzantium, together they set out with their carts along the coastal road, in the hope that their goddesses would attack their enemies, and prepared to surround themselves with a sort of palisade of wagons if they were attacked. In addition, continued Procopio, before leaving all loaded a good amount of

wheat in the wagons and filled the ships, not only with wheat but also with wine and every other kind of supplies.

This then is the story of Pocopius. According to some studies, primarily Crimaco,[vii] wheat retrieved by the Byzantines and transported by wagons to Rome along the seashore, almost certainly had to have been produced in the plain of the Volturno, where the harbor *Volturnum* was probably still in use active. The wagons, as stated by Procopius, were made to continue along a coastal road leading to Rome: this route, according to Crimaco,[vi] was bound to have been the Via Domitia, still accessible at that time and still with its bridge over the Volturno, since the Byzantines would hardly risk a load so precious by navigating the river.

Thus, in the sixth century, the city of *Volturnum* had a population that allowed her to still have significant agricultural production and a Christian community that had considerable prestige if we recall Pelagius I's Epistle XII 558-559 which speaks of a dispute arising between the *Pariensis* church (ie the Lake Patria) on one side and that of *Vici Feniculensis* (Vico Pantano, the current Villa Literno) and *Vulturnum* on the other; the latter intended to defend the interests of the *ecclesia* of *Vici Feniculensis* to which it was united. The Campania region, threw off the Goths in 553 and became part of the Byzantine possessions, to be administered by Greek officials. Local economic life seems, however, to continue but from the sixth century both the city of *Volturnum* and its territory seem for the most part to have been abandoned.

The plain of the lower Volturno, in fact, and with it the city of *Volturnum,* was again the scene of clashes, conflicts and devastation a few years after the Byzantine conquest, due to the invasion of the Lombards and later the Saracens. Unlike in the north, in southern Italy the Lombards did not favour the great Roman consular roads.This barbaric people, in fact, preferred to follow the streets of the north-east that led to the Molise, Sannio and Irpinia, ie the central areas of Campania, rather than coastal ones. The new conquerors did not attempt any mediation with the Latins, they simply destroyed and looted. After being repeatedly looted, cities and fortified villages, including Capua, were finally conquered by the Lombards.

The city of *Volturnum,* in the seventh century was without a bishop: the Lombards created the Duchy of Benevento, which included all the mountain region of Campania, with only two landlocked, that of Salerno and that of the Volturno river estuary. Capua became a center from the ducal court of Benevento, and in AD839 became one of the sixteen gastald which made up the principality of Salerno. In the struggles that followed between princes, dukes, and gastalds, Lombards also inserted Saracen bands who submitted the Campania region to all sorts of raids. In AD841 the remains of the ancient city of Capua succumbed to their violence. The Saracen raiders also took the abbey of San Vincenzo in Volturno and also that of Montecassino.

In summary the devastation and destruction wrought first by the Lombards and then by the Saracens who came by sea, also had to determine the decadence of the ancient Roman city of *Volturnum* located at the mouth of the same river.

It is possible that the great bridge of Domitian might have succumbed to neglect and enemy raids, although some studies including Maiuri,[ix] suggest that the fall of the bridge might be attributed to changes in the riverbed, re-opening old channel 'so coming to invest alongside and to damage in the piers and arches of the river eddies'[x] Similarly, according to recent studies, between late antiquity[xi] and the Early Medieval Period, there were significant accumulations of alluvium in the coastal plain of the Volturno that covered over the site of the Roman colony of Volturno, reinforcing the possibility that natural causes lie behind the bridge collapse. Regardless, we do not know exactly when the bridge collapsed on the Volturno, and what exactly were the causes.

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[i] *Leges Langobardorum*, in *Monumenta Germania Historica*, *Legum* t. XIII, 220

[ii] *Acta Conciliorum et Epistulae Decretalis ac Constitutiones Summorum Pontificium*, t. II col. 941, in *Monumenta Germania Historica,* vol. XII, 400

[iii] *Acta Conciliorum et Epistulae Decretalis ac Constitutiones Summorum Pontificium*, t. II col. 961, in *Monumenta Germania Historica,* vol. XII, 408

[iv] *Acta Conciliorum et Epistulae Decretalis ac Constitutiones Summorum Pontificium*, t. II col. 971, in *Monumenta Germania Historica,* vol. XII, 435

[v] *Acta Conciliorum et Epistulae Decretalis ac Constitutiones Summorum Pontificium*, in *Monumenta Germania Historica*, vol. XII, 453

[vi] *Cassiodorus* in *Variae,* II, 21, 33, informs us of the actions taken by Theodoric to remedy these problems: in fact promises to him that will restore these swampy areas to take ownership of the rehabilitated land.

[vii] L. Crimaco, *Volturnum*, Quasar, Roma, 1987, 29 ff.

[viii] Crimaco, *op. cit.*, 31

[ix] A. Maiuri, *Cuma- Nuovi tratti messi in luce della via Domitiana* in *Nsc*, 1928

[x] A. Maiuri, *op. cit.*

[xi] Between the fourth and fifth centuries as we have said, agricultural production in Campania according to sources does not seem to stop. In the *Expositio,* Campania is defined as the *cellarium* of Rome; Also in many areas cattle breeding is practiced,. *Simmacus* infact in *Ep*. VII, 18, 2, states that it is still practiced farming together agriculture in many areas of Italy, including Campania as evidenced also by a law of 364 d. C. mentioning sheep and cattle in this region (cfr. L. Crimaco, op. cit., 30)

Landscape and food: a mutualistic symbiosis to be valued

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Abstract

Linking food and landscape quality is considered an important issue for sustainable development in both rural and peri-urban areas. Agricultural land is a major component of food security and landscape preservation. The global population continues to concentrate in and around cities and the demand for food and the multi-functional roles of peri-urban agriculture is expected to increase. In Italy, the number people interested in culinary tourism is growing and many initiatives address the improvement of the mutualistic symbiosis of food and landscape values. This paper aims to critically analyse the phenomenon and to report some important experiences carried out in Italy. We will particularly focus on the UNESCO vineyard landscape in Piedmont.

Introduction

'Eating is also an ecological act' Michael Pollan wrote in his book titled *The Omnivore's Dilemma* (2008, 287). In addition, naturally it is both a necessity and a pleasure, an opportunity to socialize, a way to enter into contact with nature, landscape, a means for expressing your own identity and getting to know those of others. According to Carlo Petrini, founder of Slow Food, the international movement that protects biodiversity, the risk we run today, is 'getting eaten up by food'. Monocultures, OGM crops, chemical treatments, highly polluting packaging, exploitation of people and resources, the privatisation of seeds and the homogenisation of food are just some of the trends that are now dominating the market, with significant consequences for both man and the environment.

In this context, linking food and landscape quality could and should be considered an important issue for sustainable development in both rural and peri-urban areas. Agricultural land is a major component of food security and landscape preservation. However, the global population continue to increase concentrating in- and around cities and the demand for food and the multi-functional roles of peri-urban agriculture are expected to increase. According to the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment Report (WHO 2005, 64) valorising the agricultural activity is an international priority. Farming has extended to play a range of different roles: as well as preserving the hydrogeological structure of the land and conserving landscapes of important historical and cultural value, it safeguards biodiversity. In this context, protecting, sustaining, and valorising traditional agricultural landscapes are priorities for the international community (EC 2005, 24). Moreover, identifying new strategies, innovative models to valorise food production, traditional products are priorities.

Rural landscape sustainability

Frequently, historical values and permanences, and traditional cultivations are in conflict with commercial demand and social needs. In the interest of sustainable development, it is crucial to find a methodology able to conjugate the cultural and historical values with the socio-economic trends. The European Commission's Agri-Environmental Measures (EC 2005) considered farmed landscapes as a primary objective. These measures refer to maintaining farming systems, and sustaining historical landscape, traditional food productions and rural development. Since 1990, in the European Union (EU), several rural landscapes have been in transition, losing their primary agricultural functions, traditional crops, and historical land uses (Lastra-Bravo et al 2015). Furthermore, up to 2016, 17 historical agricultural sites were included in the World Heritage List as 'cultural heritage' by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). These sites are mainly recognised for their distinctive agricultural systems and historical features such as cultivation practices, land uses, techniques and productions or traditional cultivations (Gullino and Larcher 2013).

In Italy, the number of people interested in culinary tourism is growing and many initiatives address the improvement of the mutualistic symbiosis between food and landscape values. The present paper aims to critically analyse this phenomenon and to report some important experiences carried out in Italy. We will focus on the UNESCO vineyard landscape in Piedmont. Moreover, with the aim to understand the relationship between landscape and food, we decided to analyse the Nomination file and the Management Plan of "'Vineyard

Landscape of Piedmont: Langhe-Roero and Monferrato', internationally recognised as 'cultural heritage' by the UNESCO in 2014. Several strategies and actions applied were analysed and developed.

Landscape and food: strategies and actions in the Piedmont UNESCO Heritage site

During the last decade, policies and planning promoted the creation of virtuous actions devoted to link food quality with landscape identity. In the following paragraphs, some examples are reported.

Production protocols and zones

The 'Vineyard Landscape of Piedmont: Langhe-Roero and Monferrato' consists of a selection of five distinct winegrowing areas (Core Zones) whose names evoke profound and ancient expertise in the relationship between man and his environment. They reflect a slowly developed association between a diverse range of soils, grape varieties that are often native, and suitable winemaking processes. In this area (total property 10,789 ha), historical grape varieties (Nebbiolo, Barbera, Dolcetto and Moscato) are cultivated for the production of different traditional wines, the best known examples are Asti sparkling, Barolo and Barbaresco (Fig. 1). Most of them must follow specific production protocols for winemaking (Denomination of Controlled Origin (DOC) and Denomination of Controlled and Guaranteed Origin (DOCG)). DOC and DOCG regulations specify the grapes to be used for a specific wine, the yield of grapes per hectare, the production zone, the manner in which the wine is to be vinified, and the aging period. This strategy is the most common action applied 'Vineyard Landscape of Piedmont: Langhe-Roero and Monferrato' site.

Marketing: landscape in the wine labels

Regarding the 'Vineyard Landscape of Piedmont: Langhe-Roero and Monferrato' site, wine is a transversal element for the culture of a territory, because a unique range of meanings are shaped around the vine and its fruit, from religion to philosophy, art and science, and for centuries whole landscapes and territories have been created and forged. The current landscape is the result of a strong link to the land by countless generations of farmers during centuries of constant hard work, necessary for the implementation of an agrarian transformation of such exceptional size. Some farmers are also winemakers. Most of them have decided to 'translate' this concept into their marketing strategies. Their labels represent several identifying features as well as the municipality, or the historic landscape and cellars (Fig. 2), or the country roads. All these elements have contributed to characterise a unique landscape that has been preserved and maintained over time.

Fig. 1. Production of Barbera DOCG in the Nizza Monferrato municipality (Asti province).

Fig. 2. Fratelli Gancia company (Canelli municipality, Moscato core zone). A Historical Moscato wine label, with the historical wine farm and cellars easily recognisable.

From a marketing point of view, the embeddedness of local food in such alternative agro-food networks can be an interesting niche for rural entrepreneurs wanting to establish a close relationship with consumers interested in local food, popularly interpreted as produced in a socially and environmentally sustainable manner (Sidali et al 2015). In the 'Vineyard Landscape of Piedmont: Langhe-Roero and Monferrato' site, several wine routes and traditional networks were restored. Recently, different winemakers and local artisans created a specific label called 'Made in Langa'. Designs and ideas inspired by Langa rural world, such as the head of the vineyard rows poles, used barrels, old tractor seats transformed in new modern objects: tables, lamps, chairs and bottle holders. All these elements retain in themselves the character of the territory with a touch of modernity and current technology.

Architectures in the vineyard landscape

In the Asti and Cuneo provinces there are testimonials of a rich historical-artistic past, dotted with Romanesque Churches and elements that recall to the great farming tradition that has been able to shape the hills and draw, as well as wine and food production, also an excellent landscape. Another unique feature of this area is the presence of the extensive underground architectural heritage that consists of the cellars of the oldest companies of Canelli (Asti province) called 'underground cathedrals' for suggestiveness almost 'sacred' of the atmosphere and the architectural features that they exhibit (Fig. 3). Some of the oldest companies in Canelli municipality (Bosca, Contratto, Gancia) have underground cellars, recently restored and available to the public that play the dual role of inestimable resource image and essential place for the production process. In "Vineyard Landscape of Piedmont: Langhe-Roero and Monferrato", site is also characterized by typical rural architectures called the "infernotti". These common elements are carved into the tufa rock and represent the realities of wine farm of smaller size: points of conservation and often vinification, which were scenery of the "pre-history" of the reality of wine production.

Multifunctional farms

In the studied site, the production of the excellent food-wine and the presence of producing companies, allow a close relationship between the production – consumption-sale with cellar specification. According to Ori (2016) these relationships generate integration between hospitality and agriculture. In fact, some of the historical wine farms are organized and equipped to receive visitors and offer tastings of local products, accompany them to visit their companies and present the main attractions of the surroundings. Visitors will not be limited to use the facilities, but the neighbouring estates. The receptive settlements not only satisfy the traditional tourism request but the 'ecological' and environmental request. Using this strategy, the consumers are in a relationship not only with the product but also with the vineyard landscape. In this context, the short food chain is implemented and the relationship between consumer – user and producers – is direct. Moreover, some of wine farms are also educational farms and are associated with producer cooperatives. A historical company has also created an artistic park entitled 'Orme su La Court' (Castelnuovo Calcea municipality, Asti Province, Barbera core zone) where several land art works are collected. The connection with the productive activities, both rural tourism and education, is considered a strategic point towards the agricultural multifunctional.

Future prospects and values

The landscape is becoming the crucial element in a new model of farming, based on the characteristics of the environment and gastronomic points of excellence. Products linked to wellbeing and leisure time, with wine in the first place, need to be identified with specific places, because their worth is closely linked to the rural

Fig. 3. The historical cellars are recognised as cultural heritage by UNESCO

landscapes where they grow. Traditions speak of continuity over time, the direct transmission of the practical know-how needed to make a certain speciality. These are notions that often do not get written down and are not to be found in recipe books. The agricultural landscapes that forge highly distinctive panoramas are those characterised by balanced human intervention on natural elements. According to Cavallo et al (2016), some emblematic landscape elements could be used to valorise and promote the products of Protected Designation of Origin.

Analysing the Management plan adopted by the 'Vineyard Landscape of Piedmont: Langhe-Roero and Monferrato' World Heritage Sites over time, Gullino et al (2015) identified the best practices and measures applied. Supporting farmers' income, encouraging the sustainable tourism activity, enhancing the production and optimizing the food quality are common operational actions. The authors outlined also that linking the rural landscape with food quality and obtained products is considered a strategic measure and could be implemented. In fact, the multifunctional system, the diverse and typical wines, the production of high-quality food, the transformation processes of these products and direct sales, can be regarded as having the most important potential and value for this site. In conclusion, the mutualistic symbiosis between landscape and food should be considered a development strategy. Using different measures and actions is possible to connect the concept of food - agriculture with historical, cultural, social and environmental values. It is an opportunity for the development of rural areas and at the same time a challenge.

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Varieties of place attachments and community responses to energy infrastructures: a mixed method approach

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Abstract

This research draws on insights from the disciplines of human geography and environmental psychology. Two empirical studies are briefly presented that outline the ways that place attachments influence how communities respond to proposals to site large-scale energy infrastructures, often dubbed 'NIMBYism'. The first study revealed a series of 'life-place trajectories' - patterns of people-place relations across the life course - to better understand present day place relations and responses to a power line proposal in South-West England. The study found that relations to the current residence place are informed by processes of continuity and discontinuity in settlement type over time, and levels of residential mobility. The second study involved a nationally representative questionnaire study conducted across the UK (n=1519) that assessed strength of belonging to places at local, national and global scales. The analysis illustrates the differences between individuals according to how they define their identities in relation to geographical scales, with clear implications for the acceptance of energy infrastructures deemed 'nationally significant' such as electricity grids. Both studies illustrate ways that a place-based approach can contribute to understanding community responses to the siting of energy infrastructures.

Introduction

Policies to mitigate climate change are leading to widespread changes to energy infrastructures, notably the construction of large-scale renewable energy projects (e.g. onshore and offshore wind farms), nuclear power stations and associated transmission power lines. Such projects produce significant impacts and typically meet with strong objections from affected communities that is often dubbed 'NIMBYism' (Not In My Back Yard). In recent years, researchers have critiqued the NIMBY concept as a way of describing and explaining local responses (Burningham et al.. 2015) and proposed alternative lines of inquiry that are less pejorative and more empirically grounded. One of these is the place-based approach (Devine-Wright, 2009), informed by human geography and environmental psychology, which investigates the spatiality of energy projects and the role of place attachments and identities in shaping public responses. Places have material and symbolic aspects (Easthope 2004), including socially constructed meanings about place history and distinctiveness (Williams 2013).

Place attachments are the emotional bonds that people form with particular places, typically a familiar 'home' place of residence (Altman and Low 1992), which can foster a sense of social identity or community belonging (Twigger Ross and Uzzell 1996). In particular, we draw on Hummon (1992) and Lewicka's (2011, 2013) typology of varieties of people-place relations, encompassing different forms of attachment (*traditional* attachment, referring to an unselfconscious taken-for-granted bond to the residence place, and *active* attachment, designating a reflective and self-conscious bond) and non-attachment to place (*place alienated*, referring to a dislike of one's residence place, *place relativity*, an ambivalent and conditionally accepting attitude, and *placelessness*, designating an absence of emotional association with place.

Large-scale energy projects impact upon both physical and symbolic attributes of places (Devine-Wright 2009). When proposals are interpreted as 'out of place' (e.g. to 'industrialise' a rural setting constructed as 'natural'), then local residents with strong place attachments are more likely to object (Batel et al. 2015). However, if proposals are interpreted to maintain or promote local distinctiveness and historical continuity, then local residents with strong place attachments are likely to give support (Devine-Wright, 2011a). This pattern of findings has been observed in case studies of hydro-electricity (Vorkinn and Riese 2000); offshore wind (Devine-Wright and Howes, 2010); wave (McLachlan 2009); tidal (Devine-Wright 2011b); nuclear power (Venables et al. 2014) and power lines (Devine-Wright 2013a).

This paper aims to extend this literature on a place-based approach to understanding community responses to energy projects. Two studies, using contrasting methods, are drawn upon to provide insights into the role of place

attachments in influencing community responses. Both studies focus upon high voltage power lines, a form of energy infrastructure that has led to strong objections in many countries, including the US, Norway, Germany, the UK and Ireland (e.g. Aas et al. 2014). Existing research suggests that, when thinking about power lines generally, people tend to perceive them as necessary to transmit power and guarantee security of supply; on the other hand, locally, they are perceived as impacting negatively on environmental (e.g. landscape aesthetics), social (e.g. health concerns from electro-magnetic fields, EMF, Porsius et al.. 2015) and economic dimensions (e.g. property values, Soini et al. 2011). Given that over £100 billion investment in grid networks is forecast in the UK alone for the next decade (Department of Energy and Climate Change 2013), understanding public beliefs about power lines is of strong policy importance.

Study one

The first study was conducted in Nailsea, a small town in Somerset in South-West England that is faced with a nearby proposal to construct a high voltage power line. The town sits in a rural hinterland that is predominantly used for agriculture, and has grown from a small rural village with a history of glass making into a town that is used by some residents to commute to the city of Bristol eight miles away. The study had two aims. First, to reveal a series of 'life-place trajectories' - patterns of varieties of people-place relations across the life course – in order to better understand the formation of people's present day place relations with Nailsea. Second, to explore relations between these 'life place trajectories' and their views about the power line.

A qualitative method was used, involving narrative interviews with 25 residents recruited to be diverse in age, gender, occupation and length of residence in the town. During the interviews, participants were asked to reflect on their dwelling histories, both in Nailsea and, if appropriate, other places and then to describe their feelings about the power line proposal and its likely impacts. All interviews were recorded, transcribed and subject to a combination of thematic (Bryman 2008) and narrative analysis (Riessman 2008) to identify life-place trajectories and beliefs about the power line.

The study found five patterns or life-place trajectories. The first was characterised by long-term residence in Nailsea, strong local family ties, extremely low residential mobility, and a strong sense of autobiographical insideness. This life trajectory led to a way of relating to Nailsea that has been previously described as the 'traditional' variety of place relations (Lewicka 2011). It is largely unselfconscious and taken for granted. The second involved participants that grew up in Nailsea, moved elsewhere for short periods of time in early adulthood, received a negative life experience in those places, and returned to Nailsea seeking to re-assume a strong place bond, a social support network, and commitment to long-term residence in the place. They tended to evoke an unreflective bond to Nailsea and relatively low involvement in place-based communal activities (features of traditional attachment); however, this was combined with some interest in the goings-on and historical roots of the place (features of 'active' attachment, Lewicka 2011).

Our third life-place trajectory is characterised by participants that moved to Nailsea as adults having lived in and formed active attachments to prior semi-rural residence places that were valued for their nearby scenic countryside settings and outdoor recreational activities. These individuals sought continuity in semi-rural settlement type, consciously moving to Nailsea and forging an 'active' attachment (Lewicka 2011) to the place. The fourth life-place trajectory is characterised by strong active attachments to former urban residence places, such as large towns and cities, which are generally valued for their 'buzz' and 'energy'. Subsequent discontinuity in settlement type upon moving to Nailsea led to the development of an estranged, and in some cases ambivalent, relationship to the place. Finally, we found life-place trajectory that results in generalised placelessness (Relph 1976; Lewicka 2011) across the life course, and is characterised by high residential mobility, a lack of place attachment formation to former *and* present residence places, and a tendency toward non-territorial identity formation.

Our next step was to investigate whether any consistent patterns existed between these diverse dwelling histories and participants' views of the power line proposals. These associations are summarised in Table 1. We show clear patterns of association that hinge on ways of representing the town and its surrounding countryside (e.g. as pristine and 'natural' or as already industrialised), ways of representing the power line (e.g. as familiar or intrusive) and stance towards the proposals (to accept or to object). These patterns suggest a narrative connecting past, present and future for both individual participants and the place that is Nailsea. If Nailsea is a longstanding 'home' that is viewed as already containing familiar

energy infrastructure, then the proposal does not seem to pose a threat. By contrast, if Nailsea is viewed as surrounded by natural and scenic countryside, and valued for this by individuals who consciously chose to live there as adults, having grown up elsewhere, then the power line was perceived to pose a significant threat and to be strongly objected to. In conclusion, the study found that relations to the current residence place are informed by processes of continuity and discontinuity in settlement type over time, and levels of residential mobility, and that these do shape community responses to novel proposals for place change, in this case for a high voltage power line.

Study Two

The second study involved a sample of participants drawn from across the UK (n=1519) and sampled to be representative of the population in terms of age, gender, educational attainment and social class. The method employed was an online questionnaire survey that contained questions about place attachment as well as questions about high voltage power lines. The rationale for the study was based on two related propositions. First, that place attachments and identities are not only local in character. People may feel connected to places elsewhere to where they live (e.g. previous residence places, see study one) and to places that are less immediate in terms of physical or embodied experience, yet still important to them, notably nations and the Earth.

Several decades ago, it was theorised that the Earth could be conceived as a place and object of attachment (Tuan 1977). More recently, research on climate change has argued that a 'sense of planet' (Heise, 2008) might motivate more effective human response (Feitelson 1991; Jasanoff 2012; Devine-Wright 2013b). Empirical research that has shown how individuals with strong global identities are more inclusive of national outgroups fostering human cooperation (e.g. Buchan et al., 2009, McFarland et al., 2012). We argue that both local and non-local place attachments and identities are important for understanding human responses to environmental change. This spans global processes such as climate change (Devine-Wright et al., 2015), regional changes such as the designation of protected areas (Carrus et al. 2005) as well as local changes arising from the siting of energy infrastructure (Batel et al. 2015).

The study devised groups of participants according to how they responded to questions about their strength of belonging to the neighbourhood where they lived, to their country and to the whole world. Individuals with weak attachments at local, national *and* global levels (i.e. scores of 2 or less on a five point scale) were included in the 'low attachment' group (n=52). Individuals with strong attachments (i.e. scores of 4 or more) at local, national *and* global levels were included in the 'Glocal' group (n=166). Three further groups were devised. 'Locals' (n=219) are participants with higher local than national and global attachments. 'Nationals' (n=245) are participants with higher national than local or global attachments. 'Globals' (n=175) are participants with higher global than local or national attachments.

We found that individuals with the 'national' pattern of attachment held more positive beliefs about power lines generally, with less recognition of negative local impacts – in particular health impacts from EMF - and less willingness to accept blackouts. This is consistent with viewing the grid as symbolic of national prestige and guarantor of national security, representing a modern society that is able to 'keep the lights on' (Stevens, 2010). By contrast, the 'local' pattern of attachment was associated with a lower likelihood of viewing power lines as necessary for a modern society. These individuals were also less likely to be willing to support a new power line if it transmitted electricity from renewable sources. The implication is a form of belonging that is highly sensitive to local impacts arising from infrastructure siting and is unwilling to 'sacrifice' (see Ellis et al., 2007) local places in response to national or global concerns.

'Glocal' place attachment was associated with a personal willingness to take action and strong support for community participation in planning. 'Glocal' individuals were most willing to reduce their energy use to avoid constructing new power lines, to support the mitigation of local impacts (e.g. by placing new power lines underground) and to maximise global benefits (e.g. by transmitting electricity from renewable energy). This is a novel and interesting finding that is notable for joining up demand and supply aspects of energy systems. The 'global' subgroup were characterised by strong support for a European 'supergrid' *and* decentralised energy. Previous research has indicated that individuals with stronger global than national belonging viewed climate change less as an economic threat and more as a social opportunity to bring people together for a common cause (Devine-Wright et al. 2015). A pan-European energy grid may be viewed as an opportunity for greater cooperation between national societies, consistent with previous research linking global identities with human cooperation (Buchan et al. 2009; McFarland et al. 2012).

Life-Place Trajectories	Representations of the countryside around Nailsea	Representations of the power line proposal	Stance towards the power line proposal
Long-term residence and Traditional attachment Return to the home place and traditional-active attachment	Replete with existing electricity infrastructure	'Familiar' infrastructure (In place)	Project acceptance
Active Attachment and continuity in settlement type	'Natural' Scenic Picturesque – devoid of existing electricity infrastructure	Industrialising impact (Out of place)	Project opposition
Continuity in settlement type and Active Attachment	'Natural' Scenic Picturesque – devoid of existing electricity infrastructure	Industrialising impact (Out of place)	Project opposition
Discontinuity in settlement type and place alienation or relativity	Un-developed simple descriptions	None	Project opposition (on project-based grounds)
High residential mobility and placelessness	None		

Table 1. Life-place trajectories informing fit between place and project representations and ensuing project stance

'Low attachment' individuals were least likely to regard the grid as a national necessity and to support a pan-European 'supergrid'. They also expressed lowest levels of trust and seemed both spatially and politically disengaged. A lack of support for residents' participation in grid planning is consistent with a lower willingness to vote expressed by this group. As well as differences, some commonalities were found, notably low levels of familiarity and trust in the grid operator; beliefs that power lines reduce landscape quality and damage tourism; preference for distancing new lines from homes and schools, offering compensation to residents, and low levels of support for local siting.

To conclude, both studies help to deepen understanding of the roles that place attachments and identities play in shaping public beliefs about energy infrastructure. Whilst each has limitations in scope and method, taken together they show how place attachments span time and scale in subtle and complex ways, and relate to community responses to energy infrastructure proposals in clear patterns.

Future research is required to deepen and extend these findings, thus providing policy makers and energy companies with a more substantial explanation for community responses than the NIMBY concept.

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Landscape values in decision-making: Implementation of the European Landscape Convention in Sweden

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Introduction

Many scholarly articles have been written about the European Landscape Convention (ELC) and the challenges associated with its implementation. Governance issues of how to balance top-down expert views of landscape values with bottom-up perceptions are recognized as one of these challenges (Howard 2004; Olwig 2007; Rowe 2013; Scott 2011). Another challenge, as stressed by Scazzosi, is the two possible relations between the fields of landscape planning and town- and land-use planning at different administrative level: studies of and instruments for landscape planning that are independent from land-use planning, and studies and instruments that are part of land-use planning where specific landscape issues are inserted (Scazzosi 2004). The latter is a precondition for any ELC contribution within spatial planning.[i]

Many scholarly articles have also been written about landscape values (Brown & Raymond 2007, 2006; Brunetta & Voghera 2008; Scazzosi 2004; Zube 1987). In relation to the ELC, Brunetta & Voghera stress that the convention calls for an essential rethinking of the main approaches to landscape planning prevalent in Europe (Brunetta & Voghera 2008). The newer approaches to the ELC imbue the notion of landscape with different meanings and values that rely on innovation in approaches to both landscape interpretation and policymaking. For instance, they suggest evaluations of landscape that focus on the construction of landscape values instead of evaluations only focusing on established values identified by experts (Brunetta & Voghera 2008).

This paper is based on a study of the implementation of the ELC at different policy levels (national, regional and local) in Sweden. Landscape is approached as a part of land-use planning and the ELC as a 'new' way of conceptualizing landscape in planning. Meaning-making and the use of framing concepts[ii] for the landscape and its values have been analyzed at the respective policy levels through document studies and semi-structured interviews with officials involved in the ELC implementation process (See Table 1 below). The study shows that in Swedish planning practice, the implementation of the ELC is in its infancy. However, in ELC-inspired policy and planning projects the legitimacy of landscape as a phenomenon has increased. Furthermore, the study shows that through the ELC, planners are motivated to further develop sector-integrated approaches and expand citizen dialogues (Dovlén forthcoming).

In their implementation work, Swedish officials usually use the Convention text and its definition of landscape 'an area perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors' as a starting point (ELC, Council of Europe 2000). The vagueness of this definition is considered both a weakness and a strength. While its ambiguity makes the definition difficult to implement in practice, it also provides an opening for the inclusion of various perspectives on landscape held by different individuals and groups. However, the sector-integrated approach and the need to include 'landscape as perceived by people' together with limited understanding of how to identify

	Study 1	Study 2
Policy communities	Swedish national agencies Swedish County Administration Boards (CABs)	Municipalities
Method	Semi-structured interviews, document review	Semi-structured interviews, document review
Interviewees	9 (numbered a-i)	18 (numbered j-ä)
Date	December 2012-June 2013	September-December 2013

Table 1: Summary of two empirical studies on ELC implementation in Sweden that form the basis for the paper

and prioritize between different landscape values and interests creates major challenges for planners (Dovlén forthcoming). This paper outlines how 'landscape as perceived by people' is framed in planning by officials at the national and municipal policy levels.

How to insert landscape values into planning and decision-making?

The traditional concern of planning and planning evaluation has been identifying goals, their impact in terms of costs and benefits providing an 'objective' statement that aids in the selection of options in decision-making processes. This input-output perspective has been called into question by numerous scholars for several decades (Alexander 2011; Crabbé & Leroy 2008; Faludi 2012). However, in everyday planning practice the traditional, rational perspective still prevails (Almendinger 2002, 41-2; Innes & Booher 2015).

Demand for a more comprehensive approach in planning practice that integrates different societal values has been growing. Today, planning activities often aim to develop relationships between various policy areas despite the fact that public administration is often organized into various policy units or departments, each with its own set of expertise, professional roles, routines and strategies. New policy issues in planning are often introduced top-down with the expectation that they will be implemented bottom-up. As such, actors involved in the implementation policy process interpret each policy and give it meaning within their own policy context, translating and adapting the policy into their specific situation through framing processes (Kågström 2016).

ELC implementation in Sweden

Conceptual framework

The research presented in this paper applies a relational approach to policy implementation inspired by Healey (Healey 2007).The approach rests on the foundational understanding that policy actions are shaped in a social context dependent on organisational elements (Gergen 2009), where the meaning-making process and the competition between discourses and priorities is essential (Hajer 2009; Wagnaar 2011; Yanow 1987). In this context, policy actions are reliant on three focus areas: how organizational elements and relations are understood (i.e. the evolution of policy communities); how meanings are made (i.e. the evolution of ideas, frames and framing concepts and the competition between different discourses and priorities); and how actions are shaped in a social context (i.e. the evolution of strategy-making practices) (Healey 2007).

Multi-level governance

Sweden signed the ELC in 2000. The preparation process for ratification took 10 years and the ELC entered into force in May 2011 without any changes by the Swedish institutional and legal frameworks. Swedish authorities are independently responsible for ELC implementation, monitoring and evaluation within their respective fields and areas of work (Riksantikvarieämbetet 2011). There are several Swedish national authorities responsible for sectors encompassing matters affected by the ELC.

At the local level, the main responsibility for spatial planning is entrusted to the 290 Swedish municipal authorities. These local authorities have a high degree of autonomy and a monopoly in planning. This strong position held by the local authorities represents the Scandinavian model of public politics and administration (Khakee & Elander 2001). In Sweden, several authorities have been inspired by the ELC in their recent planning work. For example, in wind power planning, landscape characterization has been carried out in a number of municipalities (Boverket 2009). Yet landscape values are most commonly linked to sector values, eg ecological, cultural, recreational and aesthetic values (Dovlén forthcoming).

Meaning-making of Landscape Values

National authorities

A number of central authorities responsible for work considered to be particularly relevant for ELC implementation formed a joint policy community in 2011. Subgroups for specific tasks requiring more frequent contact were also organized. According to interviewees, formation of the policy community was time-consuming and the group continues to meet a few times each semester. A common view of landscape was that 'landscape needs to be used as a dynamic concept, otherwise there is a risk of excluding views and people' (Interviewee A). Two framing concepts were frequently used: 'landscape as a whole' and 'landscape perspective.' Landscape as perceived by people was included in the overall discourse often framed as 'emotional values.' The interviewees stressed emotional values as an important dimension of the ELC, in contrast to measured landscape values, which governmental agencies traditionally focus on. The 'ownership' of the landscape was also a central

Policy level	Main concepts and definitions of landscape	Similarities	Defining characteristics
National	Landscape as a whole, landscape perspective	Landscape includes ecological, social and economic values as well as both urban and rural areas.	*Landscape is mainly linked to a cross-sectoral approach to work*
Local	Landscape as a whole, democratic aspects of landscape, landscape perspective, everyday landscape		*Landscape is mainly linked to citizen participation and concrete land use projects*

Table 2. Major understandings of landscape used by officials in policy communities organised at national and municipal policy level

theme: 'Expert monopoly should be opened up for new actors and citizens should have greater influence on landscape issues' (Interviewee A). However, many interviewees stressed that 'emotional values' are seldom seen as valid within decision-making authorities.

Interviewed officials at the national authorities discussed and reflected on the meaning of the ELC definition of landscape but seemed to have limited ideas of how to handle the task of implementation. 'Emotional landscape values' created particular difficulties because the authorities had neither the mandate nor the tradition to deal with them.

Local government

ELC implementation activities covering the entire area of a municipality were not found in the present analysis. However, the municipal professionals interviewed draw from experiences of ELC-inspired tasks and projects. The holistic approach to landscape and the democratic aspects of management and planning of landscape were the most commonly used. Landscape as a whole was used in two different ways. Some officials adopted an expert-orientated perspective, where the concept was used to include other officials in a municipal cross-sector view. In a different interpretation, the holistic approach was viewed as something that municipal officials could only contribute to in cooperation with relevant stakeholders in a democratic process. The democratic aspects of the ELC were used to emphasize the role of citizens in the management and planning of landscapes and the importance of providing opportunities for citizens to present views on their living environment. The democratic aspects cited included organization and mobilization of actors other than employees at local government in defining, valuing and managing the landscape: 'The democratic aspect, engaging the public and getting their approval for how to use the landscape. It's new! Just to engage people in a different way. Previously we had been using traditional methods ... [the new democratic method] gives a better basis for decisions and strengthens the image of (landscape) values within the region' (Interviewee P).

The everyday landscape, i.e. users' and landowners' view of the landscape, appeared to be a key component in the creation of meaning for the ELC at the local level. However, not all officials included everyday landscape in their interpretation of landscape values.

Discussion and Conclusions

National ELC-implementation actors' definition of landscape 'as perceived by people' is often interpreted as 'emotional landscape values'. These actors stress that emotional values lack legitimacy in the decision-making process. Framing the perception of landscape of non-experts as 'emotional' values leads to the marginalization of those values within traditional decision-making. Local governmental actors, on the other hand, seem motivated to try new types of participation and incorporate perceptions and values identified by local citizens and other local players into decision-making. However, instead of using concepts like 'emotional values,' local planners mainly refer to 'everyday landscape' in order to incorporate values 'perceived by people'.

The analysis indicates that national policy actors have difficulties in framing landscape and its values in ways that differ from established practice (eg sector by sector). In contrast, some local planning officials seem open to the inclusion of additional landscape values beyond the established, traditional values. This re-framing process creates possibilities for the construction of new landscape values in line with the ELC approach, as Brunetta & Voghera suggest (Brunetta & Voghera 2008).

The common use of everyday landscape at the municipal level shows that citizens and their landscape perceptions have become essential primarily at the local level. The present analysis indicates that the local level is central to translating the ELC definition of landscape into workable strategies. The call by Scott to overcome 'elitism' in

landscape governance seems appropriate at the municipal level, as those officials may be motivated to incorporate landscape perceptions and values identified by local citizens and other local players (Scott 2011). It seems that 'new' ways of conceptualizing landscape and inserting 'landscape as perceived by people' into planning and decision-making has the best chance of being performed at the local level.

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Notes

[i] According to Healey the term spatial planning refers to self-conscious collective efforts to re-imagine a city, urban region, or wider territory and to translate the result into priorities for area investment, conservation measures, strategic infrastructure investments, and principles of land use regulation.

[ii] Framing concepts group and name a given phenomenon in order to make it 'visible.' They are a simplified and selective viewpoint.

Mapping the Historic Landscape: recent work in Ireland

Ian W. Doyle

The Heritage Council of Ireland

Introduction

'I come from scraggy farm and moss,/Old patchworks that the pitch and toss/Of history have left dishevelled'. So wrote Nobel Laureate Seamus Heaney (1939– 2013) in a poem entitled 'A Peacock's Feather' in which he contrasted the gardens of an Elizabethan country house in Gloucestershire with the farmed landscape of his childhood in County Derry. Heaney's work embodies the idea of a sense of place or of a deep rooted sense of understanding of a particular area and this is a recurrent theme in his works.

The writer John McGahern (1934-2006) is equally known for his evocative portraits of the Irish landscape and in a little known essay he wrote 'I am back in the rushy hills now, back in my own place. Life is the same everywhere. I think that the quality of feeling that's brought to the landscape is actually much more important than the landscape itself. It is the light or passion or love, if you like, in which the landscape is witnessed that is more important than whether it contains rushes or lemon trees' (McGahern 2009, 114).

What could be termed descriptions of landscape character feature in these short descriptions: Heaney's 'scraggy farm…patchworks' and McGahern's 'rushy hills' are ways of describing the landscape. Interestingly, Heaney accords a sense of time depth by noting the 'pitch and toss of history' which has shaped the landscape he was thinking of. For heritage professionals, thinking about landscape, this sense of time depth is critical, yet can it be adequately captured by modern practice? Arising from this how can such character be managed at a landscape scale and, finally, can McGahern's 'light or passion or love' for the landscape be reflected in the cut and dry practice of modern assessment techniques?

Fig. 1. Time depth in the landscape: the river Nore in Co. Kilkenny winds its way through an agricultural landscape that contains a former demesne (now used as a golf course at Mount Juliet), a deserted medieval town at Newtown Jerpoint and numerous prehistoric cropmarks at Jerpoint West (Ian Doyle).

Irish Landscape

Some of the most memorable pieces of popular culture are strongly based in the landscape, such as the film *Ryan's Daughter* set in the rugged landscapes of west Kerry, or *The Field* filmed in rain soaked Connemara or in literature the Wexford landscapes of writer Colm Tóibín or the rushy fields of McGahern's Leitrim. This distinctive character of the Irish landscape is based on a fusion of natural and cultural elements. Homesteads and settlements, field boundaries and field patterns, buildings and monuments, demesnes, planted woodlands, cut bogs, roads, quarries, mines and factories all attest to the imprint of people on the landscape. These cultural elements, combined with the natural landscape, give distinctive character to different places. Connemara, in western Ireland, for example, with its bare hills and wetlands, has a different character to that of the farmland of lowland Kilkenny in the southeast, and this has been shaped dramatically by the way that people have lived in the landscape over time (Fig. 1). Such differences, added to by the ways in which we perceive them, help to define local identities and a sense of place. Equally the Irish landscape is one laden in meaning and one subject to ongoing change. As an example of the former, it is interesting that the Irish republican intellectual Ernie O'Malley (1897-1957) wrote of the deliberate training of new volunteers in demesne landscapes during the Irish war of independence so as to remove the sense of deference that prevailed amongst them. In terms of change, the intensification of agriculture in the south and southeast based on cereal and dairy production is contrasted by an extensive regime in the west and northwest based on extensive grazing and this general trend is likely to polarize even further due to the impacts of globalization on agriculture.

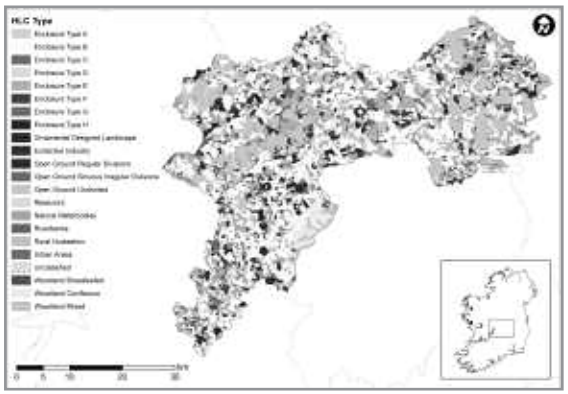

Fig. 2. Historic Landscape Characterisation for Co. Offaly dating from 2005 (Discovery Programme).

Characterisation

Just as the European Landscape Convention defines landscape 'as an area as perceived by people' for those coming to landscape from a cultural heritage perspective the sense of time depth is critical. Yet, as heritage managers or landscape professionals there is a gap between this rich seam of place understanding and current assessment techniques. Landscape Character Assessment (LCA) is currently the dominant way of analysing differences between places, though often at a very broad or coarse grain. Criticisms of this technique centre on its lack of time depth, its failure to engage local communities and what can be seen as a highly technical, if not off-putting, appearance (Dalglish and Leslie 2016, 214-6).

The traditional approach to mapping the archaeological landscape has been the distribution map showing monuments or remote sensing data draped over a growing variety of cartographic or aerial photographic resources. While this approach clearly has its uses it cannot be said to fully capture sense of the wide historic character in the landscape.

Historic Landscape Characterisation

Ongoing work in Ireland has taken the practice of Historic Landscape Characterisation as devised in the UK and assessed its utility in Ireland. This attempted to understand its usefulness to study the pattern of time depth in the landscape, as a precursor and key informant of LCA and as a technique in its own right. Historic Landscape Characterisation involves taking an area of landscape or townscape and dividing it up into the smallest constituent parcels. HLC then attributes each parcel to one of a series of predetermined types: 'enclosed land', 'woodland', etc. This technique has been tested in Ireland at a number of different scales including small study areas, at a county level, along one road corridor, and at a townland level. These have been for a variety of purposes which have included academic projects, as a means to inform planning studies and as a part of formal Landscape Character Assessments.

The initial test of HLC in Ireland was the Archaeological Landscapes Project (ALP) 1998-2001 followed by a ALP stage II in 2003. This project was conducted by the School of Archaeology, University College Dublin, and sought to test the HLC method in Ireland in counties Clare, Limerick and Louth. Further studies were also carried out in the Irish midlands in Co. Offaly where the

Discovery Programme carried out a HLC in 2005 (Fig. 2). Each of these studies sought to test the HLC methodology as developed by English Heritage. These were followed by a suite of studies in the rapidly urbanizing areas around Swords, Portraine and Balbriggan in north Dublin. These were commissioned by Fingal County Council with support from the Heritage Council.

A review of all these projects noted good progress and, unsurprisingly, HLC was perceived as having a strong value. Yet a number of observations were made including that the role of the general public in characterisation studies was variable, that the datasets consulted for these studies varied in extent, and that the level of ground-truthing or field work needed greater definition. Moreover, the relationship between HLC and LCA needed to be strengthened.

Arising from this review, in 2013 the Heritage Council published guidance on carrying out HLC in Ireland. This set out a number of principles that underpin HLC. These are:

- That HLC looks at the time-depth of the existing landscape
- It is about landscape and not sites
- In keeping with the European Landscape Convention it is about all landscapes and not just special landscapes or important sites
- HLC from the start is about interpretation not record as character is perceived by people
- The views of local people matter as much as those of experts
- HLC is intended to inform change and not to prevent it
- That there should be a clearly articulated process, and that finally
- HLC should be capable of integrating with other records and other forms of assessment e.g. LCA

In addition to this, a framework to carry out HLC was set out using a series of Historic Character Types (HCTs) arranged on three levels of increasing detail– 1) Broad, 2) Generic and 3) Specific.

After the drafting of these guidelines a number of HLCs were undertaken using the Historic Character Types proposed. In particular, HLCs were undertaken in the Brú na Bóinne UNESCO World Heritage Site, Co Meath, and at a county wide scale in Donegal in parallel with the completion of the statutory County Development Plan in 2014.

The results of both studies have been impressive. The Brú

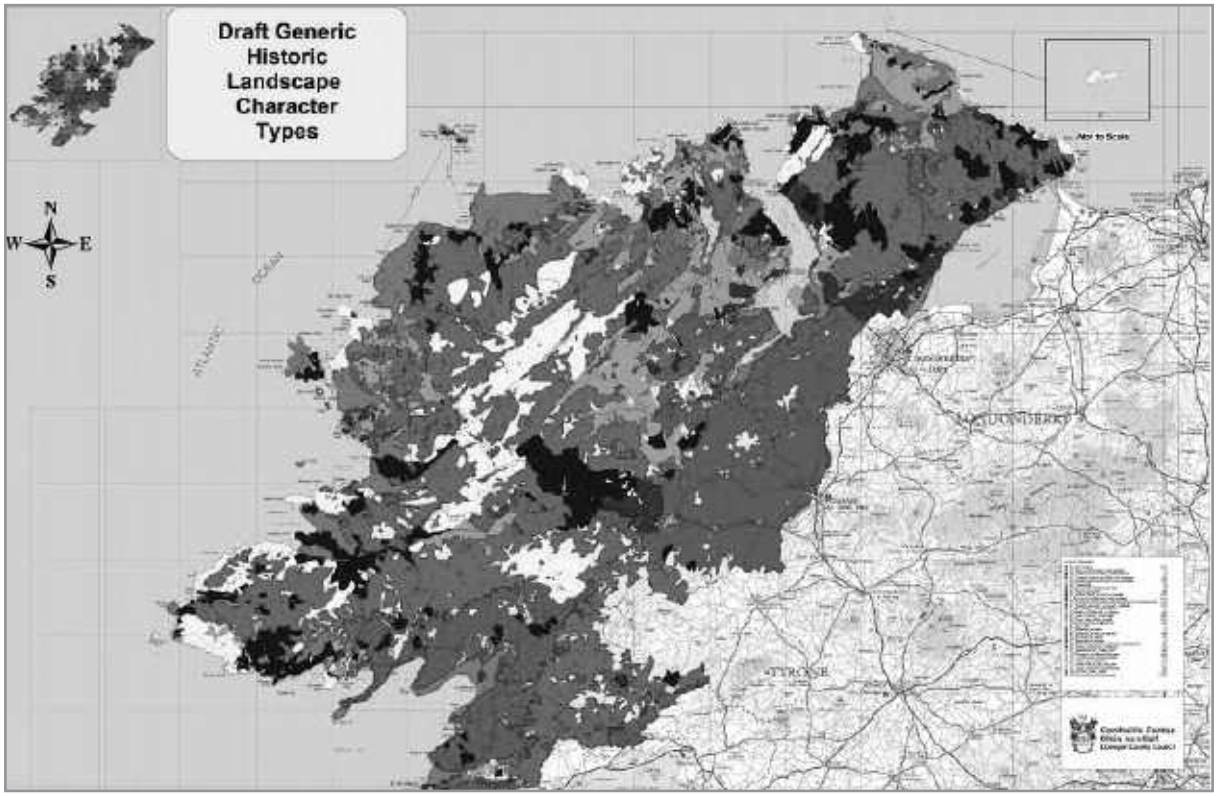

Fig. 3. Level 2 Historic Landscape Characterisation for Co. Donegal (Donegal County Council)

na Bóinne HLC was carried out at a field-by-field or land parcel level across the 780 hectare World Heritage Site. As this was commissioned by the local authority, Meath County Council, it has informed planning and land-use strategies in the area, yet it was not conceived as a core component of any LCA at the time. However, the Donegal HLC was done at the level of an entire county to level 2 Generic detail as per the 2013 guidance and was intended as a key element of a county-wide LCA (Fig. 3). The definition of Donegal Historic Character Types proved influential in defining the forty-four Landscape Character Areas and dialogue between the consultant undertaking the HLC and the Council's own planning and heritage staff engaged in the LCA proved important. The historic landscape content forming and helping to define the Landscape Character Areas are derived from the HLC and these add significantly to the description and justification of the final landscape classifications.

The motivation for carrying out such a county-wide HLC came from a desire to adequately capture the historic attributes of the landscape. While at least one county-wide LCA had previously incorporated HLC (the Co. Clare LCA in 2000), the different professional and technical backgrounds of individuals and consultants often results in a fragmented assessment exercise (eg where planners or landscape architects lead on LCA studies while archaeologists or historic geographers carry out HLCs). While the merits of this have been debated and, in at least, one case an argument made in favour of such technical separations being 'strong, unavoidable and...valuable' (Fairclough and Herring 2016, 195), it is important that measures to share information and to jointly scope out a project and to compare are put in place to ensure that the results of a HLC are adequately reflected. Arising from this how can such character be managed at a landscape scale and, finally, can McGahern's 'light or passion or love' for the landscape be reflected in the cut and dry practice of modern assessment techniques?

Managing landscape to retain historic character is a daunting challenge in the face of changes like infrastructure development, climate change, urbanisation, and the varying scales of agricultural practice. As remarked by Antrop 'change is an essential character of landscapes' yet a key aspect of managing change is understanding the existing historic landscape (Antrop 2006, 188). Experience in Ireland to date tells us that HLC provides a good starting point in a journey in which a key issue is the management of future change rather than simply protection (Bloemers *et al.* 2010, 673). Yet, arguably HLC remains a technocratic (albeit subjective and transparent) exercise and successful measures to involve local communities are rare to identify in the actual characterisation aspects. Perhaps the key issue here is the need for parallel and strongly related public events and participative initiatives centred on the landscape and surrounding environment (Dalglish and Leslie 2016) rather than events based on formal characterisation and character types which have consistently struggled to engage the public. Such an avenue can be a means to gain sight of intangible values and traditions such as folklore, traditional practices or of hidden meanings.

Finally, the publication of the National Landscape Strategy (NLS) in 2015 by Ireland's government offers a new national policy context, not just for Landscape Character Assessment but also for Historic Landscape Characterisation. To date such a policy fit has been weak not just for the development of consistent LCA practice but also for mapping the historic character of the landscape. The implementation of the National Landscape Strategy offers an opportunity to develop this potential and should not be missed.

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People, Place, Quality of Life: Green Infrastructure & Place-making in Ireland

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Landscape Architect

Background and Context[i]

In 2007, the Urban Forum (UF) published its General Election manifesto, *'A Better Quality of Life for All'*,[ii] containing proposals for sustainable planning, site value taxation, landscape/parks policy, housing and transport. UF met with all political parties, and was well-received. Simultaneously, the Irish Landscape Institute (ILI) published its *Landscape Manifesto*, which was, in part, incorporated in the Programme for Government.[iii]

Subsequently, the global economic crises, Irish bailout and austerity measures brought damaging humanitarian and social consequences. Their origins and related dysfunctions were sown during Ireland's flirtation with the resource-hungry, neo-liberal economic model, and attendant corruption and ineptitude in planning. This unsustainable model impacted deeply on citizens, severely diminished their quality of life, and marginalised environmental imperatives.

Today, Ireland faces a legacy of challenges: urbanisation,[iv] car dependency, declining public health, social division, demographic shifts, and environmental degradation. Climate change is real and present: severe storms and flooding disrupt daily life. A fragile economic recovery is underway, against a background of diminished public resources, a housing crisis, and rising health demands, planning deficiencies - all exacerbated by dysfunctional governance, inept policies, and light-touch regulation.

Despite these systemic failures, inspiring examples of progress exist, driven by civil society and public sector champions. There's evidence of effective community activism in placemaking, renewable energy, 'green exercise', Circular Economy, and urban horticulture; sometimes linked to local government. This energy is relevant to achieving more profound advances in Green Infrastructure/Placemaking, social solidarity and economic sustainability.

Issues and Imperatives

The UF and ILI manifestos calls for progressive measures remain relevant. But, a facile mantra that '*the lessons have been learned*' has emerged,[v] vaguely suggesting someone knew of (unspecified) '*lessons*'. There strong contrary evidence - significant deficits remain. Regarding Green Infrastructure, the longstanding failure to put Urban Green Infrastructure & Landscape Services on a statutory basis is inexcusable. These services remains an optional function for councils (solely in the gift of the chief executive), dependent on personality-based patronage, and bureaucratic whim; so often, captured by narrow techno-economic drivers and the seductions of ICT, infused by dubious efficacies in public sector 'reform'. Very few of the 31 councils provide Urban Green Infrastructure & Landscape Services or employ landscape architects, horticulturists, tree or biodiversity officers. Ireland is a laggard compared to much more progressive EU and US states. Since 2001, ILI has called on successive governments to address this matter.

It is clear that the lessons have not been learnt - mindsets and values remain unaltered and subservient to flawed ideology. Prevailing *'clientelist'* culture is disengaged from urgent environmental issues, with little media or public pressure on politicians; its focus is short-termism. For some, the resumption of '*normal service*' (the 'Celtic Tiger'), would be welcome![vi] The Irish –not known for environmental consciousness (a *'minority sport'*?!) – seem wedded to the dominant capitalist ethos, reflected in unfettered materialism and consumptive lifestyles, of which Pope Francis so eloquently warns us in '*Laudate Si'*.[vii]

Significant deficits in governance, policy, law and investments - in housing, climate change strategies, Green Infrastructure and place-making[viii] - are '*self-imposed errors*', revealing Ireland's comparative delinquency, vis-à-vis progressive states and city regions (e.g. Norway, Sweden, Germany, Netherlands, Portland, Seattle, New York, Vancouver).

GE#2016 reflected this malaise: the minority government eschews a radical shift towards sustainability, despite glaring challenges to undertake significant capital investment in housing/ sustainable communities, infrastructure (including Green Infrastructure),[ix] public transport, environment and local services. These, exacerbated by severe reductions in human resources and capacity in the public sector (e.g.10,600 less staff in

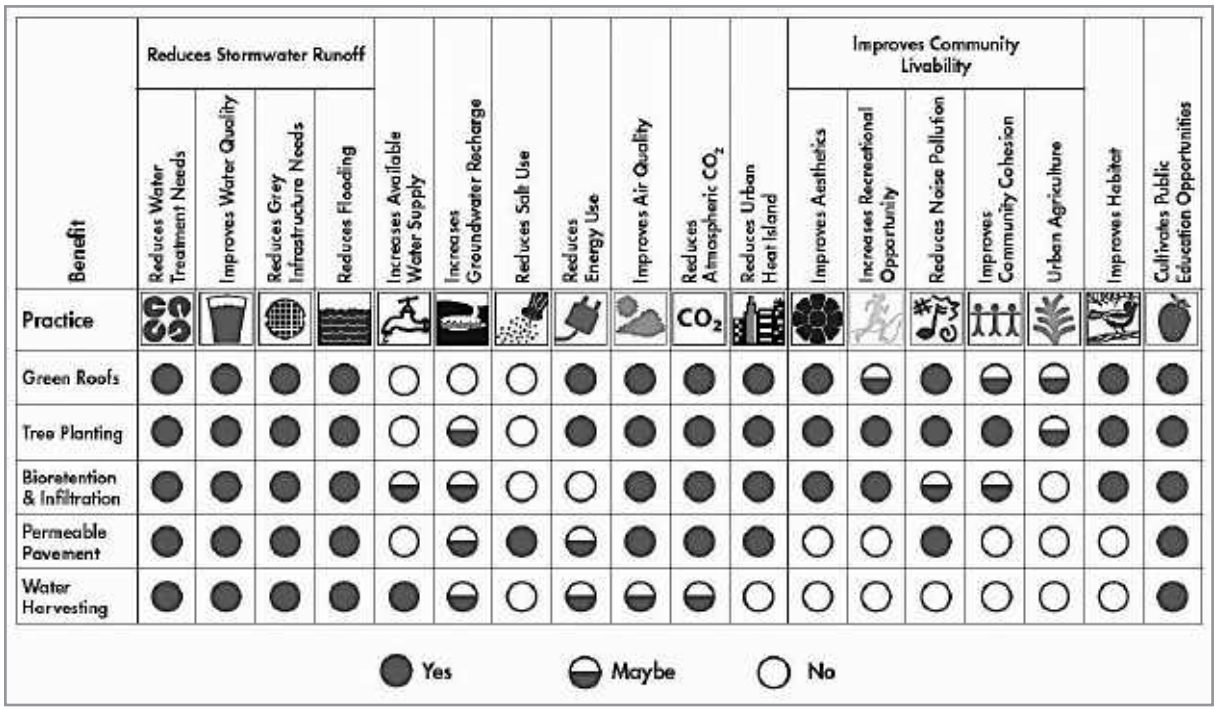

*Fig. 1. Green Infrastructure practices and benefits (from 'The Value of Green Infrastructure. A Guide to Recognizing its Economic, Environmental and Social Benefits'*_CNT, American Rivers, 2011)

councils - 28% less), harm Ireland's competitiveness and resilience; current imperatives are clear:-

- *COP 21 Paris* –EU targets to reduce carbon emissions
- *Climate Change Adaptation and Mitigation* – sectoral plans a legal obligation
- *Housing and Sustainable Communities and Public Health*
- *Green Infrastructure & Landscape Services* – outdated Parks Policy (1987) [12], requires linked statutory obligation, investment in resources

Definitions

A cogent, comprehensive definition, applicable to Ireland, is not easy, because of a variety of emphases and priorities among practitioners (planners, ecologists, landscape architects). Common ground is achievable – Green Infrastructure is inherently cross-disciplinary and 'silo-busting' (e.g. conventional 'grey'/engineered infrastructure meets ecology, landscape architecture). I suggest the following working-definition, (see also Fig.1).

The planning, design and management of natural, semi-natural and manmade environmental assets and resources, for socio-economic-ecological goals, by studying, understanding and applying their inherent multi-functionality and Ecosystem Services,[x] *through policy and practice*

The definition is anthropocentric and critics are concerned at Green Infrastructure's Natural Capitalism, based on naive expectation and ethical and spiritual critiques: nature has an intrinsic self-referential value, independent of *Homo sapiens*. Pope Francis has eloquently expressed the dangers in econometric-technological reliance.[xi] Will *the Anthropocene* usher-in enlightened self-interest (*'enlivenment'*), an entwined relationship with Nature?[xii] The Green Infrastrcuture/placemaking approach can reflect and evoke Earth stewardship.

Projects and Initiatives in Ireland

Linking Green Infrastructure and placemaking is beneficial: a wide variety of projects bear testimony to this. Some involve admirable voluntary activity, evocative of previous generations' love of the *meitheal (Ir.)*: seasonal gatherings in rural communities, with collective harvesting. *Meitheal* - an act of mutual, neighbourly support,[xiii] is at the heart of place-making philosophy. Perhaps *meitheal* partly fulfils humans' innate desire for belonging to *place*, so eloquently expressed by the late John O'Donohue, Ireland's most loved poet-philosopher of landscapes. Nowadays, *meitheal* is not confined to the countryside; it is alive in self-reliant urban community projects - a model worth expanding.

Irish Green Infrastructure is relatively new in policymaking and practice.[xiv] It is sporadic and varied, as

shown by the following random selection of projects, with common characteristics – authenticity, shared-ownership, partnering and collaborative practices.

National and Regional levels

- *The Wild Atlantic Way and Mayo Greenway:* Fáilte Ireland and Mayo Co.Co 2,500 kms long, with places designated as points of interest; objectives include local economy stimuli, sustainable eco-tourism and, landscape management.
- *Heritage Council (HC) Annual Grant Scheme and Community-led Planning:* local community projects; HC's admirable expertise, successes in fostering, promoting partnerships is testimony to vision, persistence of a State agency that has survived recessionary cutbacks and continues to provide an excellent public service

Local level – Dublin

- *Dublin Bay UNESCO Biosphere* Blue-Green Infrastructure. resource - special UN designation; intimate to Dublin city. Biosphere Partnership (Dublin County Council (DCC), Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown County Council (DlR, Fingal County Council, Dept. of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht, Dublin Port) runs the project
- *Temporary Urban Landscapes (Arts, Community Gardens etc.), Dublin*: various project from early 2010's, in the inner city, on abandoned, derelict sites, led by bottom-up, grassroots community activists
- *Dublin Mountains Partnership (DMP)]:* active recreation in peri-urban landscapes (SW County Dublin); partnership of 3 councils (DlR , South DCC, DCC), Coillte, Dublin Mountains Initiative and National Parks and Wildlife Service, in collaboration with landowners
- *Shanganagh Community Gardens, Shankill,:* active citizenship and community gain, from a 'grey' infrastructure project (sewage plant); steering committee of local growers, administrative help – DlR, Southside Partnership, located in a low-income, neighbourhood; social engagement a strong key to success
- *Community Placemaking URBACT EU Project 2013-15*: DlR Community led this, with support of enterprise officer; focus on capacity building, social capital in disadvantaged housing estates in Loughlinstown; results = stronger sense of place identity, empowerment of previous disengaged residents and enhanced environment

Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown County Council Green Infrastructure Strategy 2016-2022 [xv]

A multi-disciplinary project jointly-led by landscape/parks and planning professionals, working with a team of consultants. The Strategy involved an holistic approach.[xvi] It's one of the few, comprehensive strategic investments in Ireland, and integral to DlR's new County Development Plan 2016-2022, giving it a legal status, not applicable if it were a policy document. The Strategy contributes to DlR's emerging Climate Change Strategy – now required of all councils (Climate Action & Low Carbon Development Act 2015).

Analysis revealed that DlR's investment has contributed significantly to the county's reputation as a vibrant place with the highest quality of life in Ireland, and vital to the socio-economic and environmental well-being of the county's people.

The Strategy's 3 mutually-reinforcing themes are:

- *Accessibility, Recreation, Health and Well-Being:* quality and continuity of connections of the Green Infrastructure (e.g. Greenways, walking routes, transport); ease of access to open spaces and recreational resources; activities taking place in key amenities
- *Natural Heritage:* natural and man-made assets of value; areas for biodiversity, (watercourses, woodlands, coastline); cultural assets
- *Water Management*: opportunities for Climate Change Adaptation, Green Infrastructureto optimise stormwater management and water quality.

Spatial Framework: Providing a structure for decision-making, it spans short to long-term, distinguishing between existing and planned Green Infrastructure:-

- 6 overlapping, multi-functional corridors, connecting higher-level Green Infrastructure hubs mountains, urban areas and coast
- A 'chain' of improved 'gateway hubs' (parks), in transition between the mountains and the urban area

The framework reflects DlR's slogan '*O Chuain go Sliabh*' as the county's is located between Dublin Bay and Dublin Mountains.

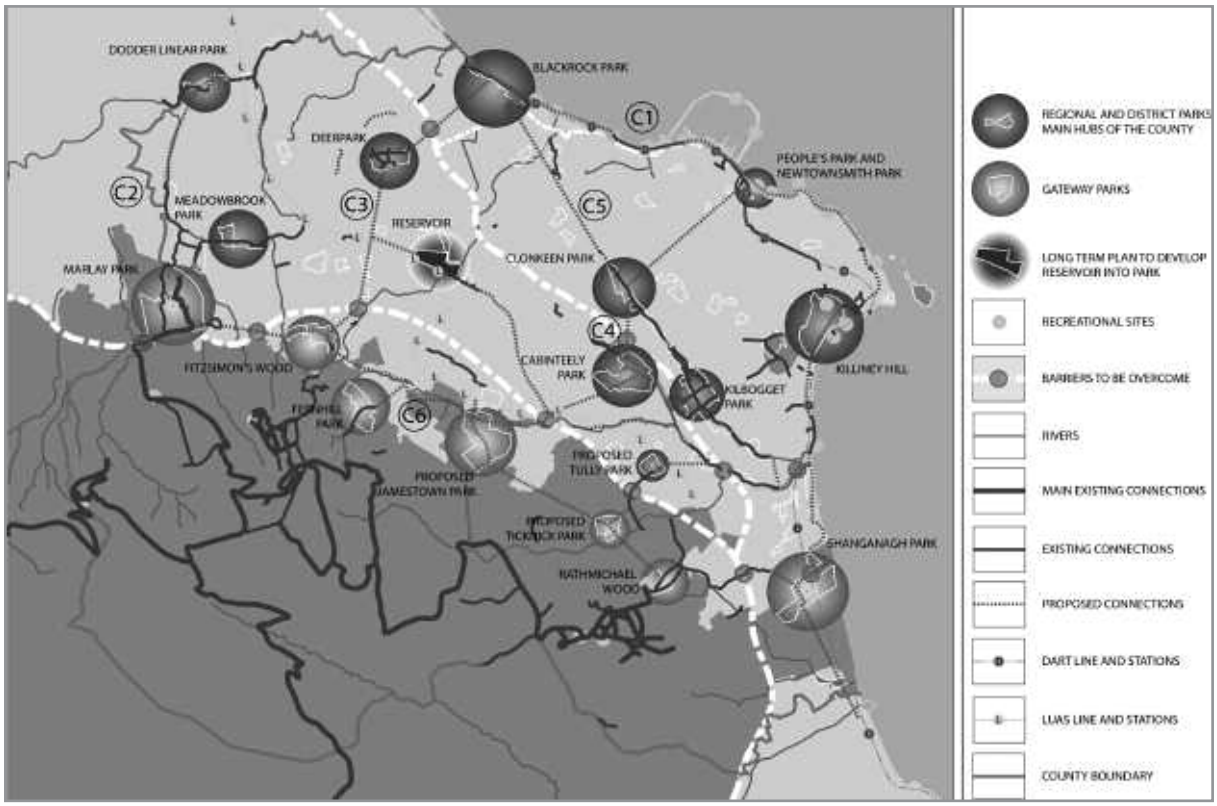

Fig. 2. Dlr Strategy: Spatial Framework

Delivery: A robust approach as essential, pointing to an opportunity for Dlr to lead and build new partnerships; key recommendations:

- a multi-disciplinary, inter-departmental Working Group reporting to CEO
- Delivery Plan
- Local + external funding
- Tools for integrating Green Infrastructure into Planning

Pilot and Demonstration Projects: The Strategy harnesses existing initiatives, while recommending specific pilot projects to demonstrate practical benefits. Projects include Constructed Wetlands, Green Streets and SuDS. ***Green Streets*** could help Dlr meet its obligations under the EU Water Framework Directive, and attenuate flooding; contributing to Placemaking by enhancing aesthetics, biodiversity and public participation. Draft criteria are underway for selecting streets for retrofitting as Green Streets, based on best international practices.

Health & Wellbeing - Social Enterprise: As the Strategy was being finalised, an inspiring, civil-society initiative ('*eco-therapy*') emerged locally. A social worker, forester and health researcher – all living in the locality – launched the project at a public meeting in Dún Laoghaire *(Health & Wellbeing through Contact with Nature', "to improve quality of life and build resilience in communities")* It links to the Strategy's Theme: Health/Well-being.

Conclusions

> *"The measure of any great civilisation is its cities and a measure of a city's greatness is to be found in the quality of its public spaces, its parks and squares".*
> (John Ruskin)

Implications for Healthy, Just, Sustainable Cities: The volunteer-ethic and practice remains strong surviving the recession; aided by dedicated public sector champions. In future, civil-society – public sector alliances could radicalise public consciousness, in turn bringing concerted pressure on the political system to fully address the aforementioned deficits. Key lessons include:

- Build healthy, synergetic relationships between Civil Society and State
- Don't rely on a relationship-based model (OECD 2006: Ireland's relations-based society is prone to cronyism, corruption, unlike more systems-based societies, e.g. Scandinavian, Benelux, Germany)
- Prioritise systemic governance (policies, laws), invest in services and capacity building/HR

- Put Green Infrastructure & Landscape Services on a statutory basis (as a core service with drainage, housing, ICT, roads, planning): as long as it is optional, delivery will remain weak

It is useful to dissemble some myths regarding Urban Green Infrastructure-Parks and LS:-

- **They are not luxuries** – they're vital to human well-being, economy and resilience
- **They are dynamic assets -** vital to human culture, tourism, leisure, social cohesion, prosperity and biodiversity
- **They are indispensable** to the imperative of Climate Change Adaptation

These claims are based on a growing catalogue of evidence-based research by academics, think-tanks,[xvii] agencies and advocates. Elaboration is not possible here - sources are readily available on the Web.

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inspiring, practical, social enterprise working with a range of local and national partners, supporting development and management of greenspaceswww.greenspacescotland.org.uk

Green Streets, Portland City Oregon www.portlandoregon.gov/bes/45386

Notes

[i] Views and opinions expressed are the author's and do not represent those of DlR or ILI

[ii] *A Better Quality of Life for All'* General Election Manifesto. Urban Forum, Dublin. Feb. 2007

[iii] Government committed to finally implementing the CoE's Landscape Convention, in Planning & Development (Amendment) Act 2010, providing 1st. legal definition of landscape, after 20 years of campaigning by advocates.

[iv] Urban population: 63% of total population (2013); 46% (1960) - 48% of increase occurred in last 20 years. 1.8 million people (39.2% of total live in Greater Dublin ReGovernment Investmenton, (projected growth = 400,000+ by 2031 (CSO, Dublin;)

[v] IPI National Planning Conference , Limerick, April 2014: IPI President's opening address included this phrase, but didn't elaborate or substantiate vague claims, with any evidence (e.g. as to what lessons, where's proof and who had learned them); _DAHG, Dublin. (www.ahg.gov.ie/app/uploads/2015/07/N-Landscape-Strategy-english-Web.pdf)

[vi] Begg, D. 2015 'Should people who have visions see a doctor?', Annual TASC Lecture 2015, Dublin, Ireland (www.tasc.ie). Progressive think-tank points to "*a real danger*" of failing to learn from " *near death experience of the last eight years",* calls for sustainable development model, highlighting " *significant infrastructural deficits"*.

[vii] Pope Francis I *Laudate Si: Care for our Common Home,* Chapter 4 Integral Ecology V. Justice between the generations.

[viii] The previous government's National Development Plan 2007-2013, '*Transforming Ireland - A Better Quality of Life for All'* allocated €1,137billion under 3 headings, that could be categorised as Green Infrastructure: Natural Heritage (National Parks, nature reserves, raised bogs), Waterways and Community Infrastructure

[ix] *Capital Investment Plan 2016-2021*: no Green Infrastructure, but a narrow view of "infrastructure". Allocation of €430 million for flood mitigation (grey infrastructure) could be used to incorporate and reduce costs, by using Green Infrastructure (eco-enGovernment Investmentneering)

[x] *Ecosystem-based Adaptation: "the use of biodiversity and ecosystem services to help people adapt to the adverse effects of climate change"* (Convention on BioloGovernment Investmentcal Diversity)

[xi] Francis I *Laudato Si,* Chapter 3, The Human Roots of the Ecological Crisis; III The Crisis and Effects of Modern Anthropocentrism. 115-123

[xii] The experimental praxis of German landscape architect, Professor Martin Prominski – *'ANDSCAPES'* – is useful here. (http://ead.verhaag.net/fullpapers/ead06_id194_2.pdf ; www.urbanelandschaften.de; http://www.irishlandscapeinstitute.com/2016/04/29/andscapes-ili-may-lecture-by-martin-prominski/

[xiii] *Mountain Meitheal* (http://mountainmeitheal.ie/) has adopted the term: it is an voluntary group of enthusiastic hillwalkers (some drawn from hillwalking clubs) who construct and maintain facilities and infrastructure on mountain trails and walks across the country, in partnership with state bodies and local landowners.

[xiv] *Green Infrastructure – connecting nature, people & places* _ International conference _ Fingal CCl_Nov. 2008, Malahide, Dublin

[xv] DlR Green Infrastructure Strategy 2016-2022_ Planning + Parks & Landscape Services (www.dlrcoco.ie/files/devplan2016_2022/media/pdf/Appendix_14.pdf)

[xvi] This included an all-day workshop of invited guests (parks professionals, planners, landscape architects), representing Dlr's neighbouring local authorities (Dublin City Co, South Dublin Co.Co. Wicklow Co.Co.), so that trans-boundary issues and opportunities could be included in the discussions; *Green Infrastructure in Ireland*, COMHAR (National Sustainability Council) 2010.

[xvii] *How cities use Parks : for Green Infrastructure, for Climate Change Management, to Create Safer Neighborhoods, to Improve Public Health, for Community Revitalization, for Economic Development, Promote Tourism.* City Parks Forum Briefing Papers. American Planning Association.

Sustaining Places in Action: Facilitating Community Involvement in Heritage Stewardship by Co-Creation

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In light of recent cuts to public spending in the United Kingdom, the Council for British Archaeology (CBA) has established projects to raise the capacity of local volunteer communities to take a more active role in heritage stewardship. In co-operation with the Department of Archaeology at the University of York, CBA research has led to the establishment of the Local Heritage Engagement Network,[1] which aids individuals and local groups' campaigns for their historic environments. More recently, the collaborative 'Adopting Archaeology' project has been initiated, which is investigating the sustainability and impact of community-led heritage stewardship projects. While other projects involve communities in stewarding places,[2] the Adopting Archaeology project is concerned with sustaining actions of place stewardship. While the project was created in response to perceived threats and risk, professional and academic literature is littered with calls for local and inclusive approaches to archaeological and heritage practice. Through governmental ratification, the European Landscape Convention[3] plays an important role in authorising these alternative approaches;[4] nevertheless, the extent to which ratification has led to increased participatory practice is questionable.

While there are a number of reasons for the lack of community agency in archaeological and heritage management, entrenched perceptions of 'expertise' and the practical challenges of participatory approaches, not least financial concerns, are important factors. As the number of local councils announcing crippling cuts to heritage services continues to increase,[5] public involvement in heritage management will become a necessity, not merely an idealistic dream. The impending absence of professional expertise can therefore be considered an opportunity to override professional concerns of the public's capability to steward heritage responsibly. However, the voluntary sector has not been prepared; it is surely naïve to believe that participatory approaches, recognized as expensive and inefficient (Jones 2016) can be enacted without professional support, at no cost. Concurrently, the question of whether professional archaeologists, conservation architects and heritage managers *should* be replaced by volunteers must be considered (Buddery 2015). Nevertheless, the changing landscape of heritage stewardship in the UK can be considered one of both threat and opportunity, requiring both advocacy and action. The co-creation of a digital platform to increase the sustainability of community-led heritage stewardship projects is one such action proposed by the CBA. Although tailored to current financial and digital realities in the UK, it may also be applicable elsewhere.

Diversifying Landscape Identification and Interpretation

The European Landscape Convention asserts that members of the public should play active roles in the decision-making processes of landscape management. It defines a landscape as 'an area, as perceived by people'[6] and explicitly includes 'everyday or degraded landscapes,'[7] stressing that 'procedures for the participation of the general public'[8] must be established, to allow all interested parties to participate in the identification, analysis and monitoring of landscapes[9] and to contribute toward assessments of landscapes' values.[10] Public consultation is performed in the management of high-profile landscapes, such as Hadrian's Wall (P. Stone and D. Brough 2014) but is this the case for less recognized landscapes, or indeed, where no specific 'landscape' has been identified? So-called 'stakeholder consultation' is generally time-consuming and thereby expensive; furthermore, the professional language of heritage values may implicitly marginalize opinions voiced by members of the public (Fredheim and Khalaf 2016) as may the means by which consultation is performed. Practical issues such as these limit the extent to which participatory approaches are implemented in practice for all categories of heritage, yet are perhaps most acutely apparent in the case of landscapes due to their scale, complexity and public nature.

One of the planned features of the proposed CBA platform is a digital tool for capturing and communicating interpretations of heritage and its values. The platform will be a co-creative venture from its inception in order to instil a 'participatory culture' (Giaccardi 2012) utilising social media and physical encounters between people and heritage.[11] The intention

is to adopt Stephenson's 'Cultural Values Model' for capturing landscape significance, which accommodates the identification of forms, practices (or processes) and relationships as heritage (Stephenson 2008). Each user will be allocated a page they can populate with text, images, audio and video that together communicate each user's interpretation of their local heritage. Users may interact with each other's pages to create rich webs of local perspectives that highlight the complex, both fiercely personal and inherently public, multivocal and often contested nature of heritage and its 'social values.' It is hoped that by utilising an inclusive typological language for capturing interpretations and developing intuitive interfaces for their communication, this feature of the platform will support the diversification of landscape identification and interpretation.

The open definition of landscape in the European Landscape Convention allows anything, 'the entire surface of the planet,' in fact, to be identified as a landscape (Jørgensen, Clemetsen, Halvorsen Thorén and Richardson 2016). While it is becoming more common for non-professionals to be asked to contribute their interpretations of heritage, volunteers are rarely included in identifying heritage (Taylor and Gibson 2016). The use of a digital database and interface that can synthesize and connect individual perspectives will allow landscapes to be conceived organically, at a scale that is appropriate to each context, rather than be predetermined or identified from the outset. By contributing series of individual posts, geographic and conceptual landscapes will come to be, consisting of the identified forms, practices/processes and relationships. As people who identify common heritage features are connected to each other, shared landscapes will be identified, facilitating the formation of communities of interest of which members want to be a part (Flinn 2010) that can develop 'collective memory' (Labrador and Chilton 2009) and common heritage agendas.

Why Digital?

Most digital heritage projects involve digitising heritage,[12] processing digitized data by transcribing text or describing images and video[13] or communicating set narratives.[14] Digitized heritage can be accessed and analysed more effectively, even remotely. However, digital heritage can be much more (Giaccardi 2012). Anyone working with qualitative research methods will be aware that processing interview and questionnaire data can be as time consuming as data collection. If this consultation data was instead born digital, attention could be focused directly on analysis. Digital methods also allow effective sharing of access, which can be used to move beyond mere consultation, which can be perceived as tokenistic (Fouseki 2010), to more interactive and transparent forms of participation. The platform feature proposed by the CBA will allow users to interact with each other's perspectives and see how their views relate to those of others. Furthermore, the use of a digital platform allows users to contribute their views at their own convenience. This encourages the perception that heritage is an everyday concern for everyone about which views are continuously changing, as opposed to the notion that heritage and interpretations of heritage are immutable and communicable during a single consultative interaction. It also facilitates the development of a current and accessible source of information for decision-making.

It is worth pausing to recognize the weaknesses of digitising stakeholder consultation. As Lorna Jane Richardson has gone to some length to demonstrate, issues of digital illiteracy and the 'digital divide' are complex and have very real consequences for the implementation of digital technology in approaches to public archaeology and heritage (Richardson 2014).[15] Furthermore, while digital methods, especially those that 'crowdsource' voluntary contributions, have been promoted as cost-saving, it is increasingly apparent that digital participatory projects are often more expensive than traditional approaches due to high design costs and the continuous need for maintenance and updates. Sara Perry and Nicole Beale have highlighted the lack of critical reflection on the use of the social web by archaeologists and heritage professionals and the real possibility that digital projects can cause 'disempowerment and abuse' rather than 'emancipation and egalitarianism' (Perry and Beale 2015). These concerns are equally applicable to the proposed platform as a whole and are addressed by the co-creative nature of the project.

Co-creative Processes and Co-created Products

The Adopting Archaeology project asks whether communities take an active role in stewarding their own heritage, how sustainable their stewardship efforts are and how NGOs such as the CBA can make community-led heritage stewardship more sustainable. It is hoped that the proposed digital platform will help provide a basic level of support that the CBA does not have the capacity to offer on an individual basis. A key purpose for the platform is also to connect different community groups with each other to share resources and expertise.

Emphasis will be placed on providing and sharing resources for training as opposed to services that create dependency in order to promote personal development and community resilience. In line with this mission, the project will be co-creative from its inception to help participants recognize their own expertise and experience partnership working with peers in their community and professional specialists. Participants' involvement in communicating their interpretations of local heritage and designing a digital tool to capture, communicate and analyse these interpretations, with a view of synthesising statements of significance for strategic decision-making, is intended to instil confidence and develop clearer understandings of heritage, heritage management decision-making processes and the potential role of volunteer communities in these processes.

Co-creation has also been selected as the process for design and production of the CBA platform in order to ensure it responds to real needs in heritage stewardship communities, is practical to use and encourages diversity of users and perspectives on heritage. The quality of design and coding is of little consequence if potential users are not interested in the functionality provided (Warwick 2012).[16] As already noted, levels of digital literacy in heritage stewardship communities vary considerably, in this regard accessibility is a complex subject. Cross-platform access from social media sites such as Twitter is likely to be equally important to attract those who are most digitally active. It is easy to assume that online platforms inherently promote diversity and democracy; however, studies of user demographics on platforms such as Wikipedia have contested this (Paling 2015).[17] By ensuring diversity among participants in the co-creation of the platform, the CBA hopes to facilitate diversity through digital design that is sustained by diverse moderators.

Developing a sense of ownership of the platform among co-creative participants is central to its sustainability. While it will be possible to fund the creation of the platform by grant money, grants are not a sustainable source of income. Equally important is the intention to involve stewardship communities in sustaining the service that facilitates their sustainability, in order to transfer agency for heritage stewardship, as opposed to perpetuating dependency. While the University of York and the CBA are initiating the co-creation of the platform and the CBA is committed to hosting it, the long-term role of the CBA is intended to be one of support rather than initiative. Together, academics, professionals and volunteers will be creating a platform for volunteers, to be monitored and managed by volunteer communities; a successful co-creative process is essential for realising this ideal. By developing the various features of the proposed platform through iterative stages of action research, providing participants with the support needed to develop functionality that satisfies their own needs as potential users, it is hoped participants will have developed the capacity and motivation to maintain and modify platform content.

Facilitating Sustained Action

Unlike many crowdsourcing and citizen science projects, which ask volunteers to perform professional tasks (Ridge 2014) the proposed platform is intended to share knowledge and skills within and between stewardship communities, and can therefore be better understood as community-sourcing.[18] While professional expertise will be utilized in the creation of the platform, the nature of digital platforms allows this expertise to be stored at the time of creation and accessed when required in the future. Co-creating the platform is likely to be more expensive than simply commissioning a platform from a professional company, but in the current financial climate where heritage is increasingly dependent on grant funding, an expensive co-creative process that enables user communities is more sustainable than one that is perpetually dependent on renewed grants, irrespective of overall costs. Furthermore, the transfer of agency for sustaining heritage stewardship to local communities can only increase the social relevance and vibrancy of heritage, which are arguably crucial to developing and sustaining places in action.

By connecting developments in Critical Heritage Studies to current issues facing the management of archaeological sites, Keith Emerick has demonstrated how narrow interpretations of heritage and expert-led heritage management processes have 'shorn... local associations', preventing communities from connecting with their local heritage (Emerick 2014). Despite their explicit inclusion in many value typologies for heritage management, 'social values' continue to be marginalized in heritage decision-making (Byrne, Brayshaw and Ireland 2003; Waterton 2010). A transfer of agency in heritage stewardship to local communities cannot be made upon the assumption that the marginalisation of 'social values' should continue; while many local communities, no doubt, value professional interpretations of heritage highly, authority must be shared if volunteers are to take on the responsibilities of paid professionals. The development

of a means to capture, communicate and integrate 'social values' with professional assessments of heritage is therefore the first stage of the CBA's digital strategy for developing and sustaining heritage stewardship places in action. Once a current database of 'social values' is established and communities have developed confidence in their own capacity to contribute meaningfully to heritage stewardship, the process of developing the necessary infrastructure to support community involvement in heritage stewardship can continue.

Conclusion

The co-creation of a digital tool for capturing, processing and communicating interpretations of local heritage and its values is the first stage of a project to develop a digital product by a transformative process that together will facilitate the sustainability of community-led heritage stewardship projects. The overarching emphasis of the platform is on training and sharing, determining platform features and development processes. In conclusion, it is worth considering why documents like the European Landscape Convention are so adamant that communities should be involved in every stage of heritage stewardship, from identification to decision-making and implementation. While participatory approaches may produce more appropriate decisions, the participatory processes themselves are equally important. Such processes can transform citizens from 'consumers' to 'producers' in a society of 'social productivity', where citizens co-produce public services (Buddery 2015, 10). Approaches to heritage stewardship can play a part in this transformation; arguably, they must, for heritage to be considered relevant and more than a luxury, thereby justifying public attention and public spending.

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[6] Council of Europe, European Landscape, §1a.

[7] ibid. §2

[8] ibid. §5c

[9] ibid. §6C1a

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Reconsidering Partisan Memorial Landscapes in un-brotherly and disunited times

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'It is vain to dream of a wildness distant from ourselves. There is none such. It is the bog in our brains and our bowels, the primitive vigor of nature in us, that inspires that dream. I shall never find in the wilds of Labrador and greater wildness than is some recess of Concord, i.e. than I import into it.'

Thoreau, Henry David, *Journal 30th August 1856*

The human landscape was described by Pierce Lewis as 'our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears, in tangible, visible form... All our cultural warts and blemishes are there, and our glories too; but above all, our ordinary day-to-day qualities are exhibited for anybody who wants to find them and knows how to look for them' (1979, 12). In a similar vein, Michael Conzen considered the human landscape to be the 'objectification of the spirit of society in its own cultural context and in the historical context of the area' (1981, 57-58).

Cultural landscapes are the product of the innumerable changes wrought by previous generations who modified their environments to meet their aspirations, vanities, ambitions and weaknesses (Sudjic 2006, 326). Neil Leach's description of the metropolis as more than just the amalgam of buildings, roads, parks and rivers; '... it is a patchwork quilt of traces of human existence' (2002, 2) could be extended to the cultural landscape. The incremental nature of how cultural landscapes evolve as inhabitants alter their environments, without entirely erasing all traces of the past, has led to urban landscapes being described as 'palimpsests of history, incarnations of time in stone, sites of memory extending both in time and space' (Huyssen 2003, 101).

The accretive nature of landscape change lends itself to textual analysis as different layers of historical time are superimposed on each other in the form of changing means of agricultural production, land use changes and architectural strata. James Duncan argues that landscapes are ordered assemblages of objects, and texts through which 'a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored' (1990, 17). This echoes Duncan's description of the traditional mode of interpreting landscapes as 'reflections of the culture within which they were built or as a kind of artifactual "spoor" yielding clues to the events of the past, particularly diffusion' (ibid. 11).

Don Mitchell explains that landscapes can be understood as being 'authored' to the extent that they '... are 'made' (by hands and minds) and represented (by particular people and classes, and through the accretion of history and myth)' (2000, 121). The representational aspect of landscape reflects how sanctioned narratives are ascribed to particular sites by those in positions of authority to create cultural memories. The spread of the landscape conservation movement coincided with the age of the nation-state in the 19th Century, when western nations started to identify and sanctify their national monuments, built heritage and symbolic landscapes.

These symbolic landscapes were identified for veneration as part of a sanctioned national heritage that forms the 'iconography of nationhood, part of the shared set of ideas and memories and feelings that bind people together' (Meinig 1979, 164). To create a national heritage, decisions on which events, mythologies, literary associations, folk memories, surviving physical relics, landscapes, places, buildings and historic sites are deemed worthy of passing onto the next generation are necessary.

The work of Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone on 'regimes of memory' recognises that for nationalism; '... the continuing transformation of the supposedly eternal physical environment – is one of its most powerful and contentious tools, as well as one of power's most explicit attempts to rewrite the past, literally re-inscribing the surface of the world, and changing the name on the map- often while laying claim to something more ancient and authentic than the 'old' one' (2009, 11-12). The values ascribed to these symbolic landscapes are malleable, present-orientated and political cultural constructs, which the nation state uses to portray its peoples' history, shared identity and collective memory to the outside world. The following section will discuss how post-World War II Yugoslavia created symbolic memorial landscapes through the construction of abstract Partisan *spomenik* (monuments) which dominated former battle sites.

Sanctifying the soil: Memorial Landscapes of Socialist Spomenik in Yugoslavia

'Nothing in this world as invisible as a monument'

(Musil 1987)

The former Yugoslavia has always been framed as a place apart from Western Europe, an interstitial place at the religious and cultural crossroads of Europe. The ethnic diversity of the former Yugoslavia is encapsulated in the following quotation, that it was a 'federation of seven neighbours, six republics, five nations, four languages, two scripts, and one goal; to live in brotherhood and unity' (Crnobrnja 1996, 15). After the Second World War ended, Yugoslavia was in ruins as the wider global conflict was the setting for a bitter civil war that erupted from the failings of ethnocratic, Serb-dominated, First Yugoslavia (previously known as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes).

The internal combatants in this civil war were: the fascist Croat Ustaša regime under Ante Pavelić; Serbian nationalist Chetniks, who desired the creation of a Greater Serbian Kingdom led by Draža Mihailović; and the multi-ethnic, anti-fascist Partisans led by Marshal Josip Broz Tito. When the Partisans eventually emerged on the victorious side at the end of World War II, they inherited a land where all 'religions and nationalities ended the war as victims and victors, cowards and heroes, torturers and tortured, traitors and loyalists on all possible sides' (Lovrenović 2001, 176).

When Tito became the leader of the country, he had to deal with the nationalist tendencies within the region. To do this he introduced a strict socialist regime, which emphasised the similarities and mutual dependency of the different ethnic groups of the six republics within the region (Mackic 2014). Mindful of mistakes made in the interwar years, Tito set out to build a structure that would be more stable and durable than those of the first Yugoslavia by advancing the slogan of '*bratsvo I jedinstvo*' (brotherhood and unity), which was to remain the political credo of the years he spent in power (Crnobrnja 1996, 69). Rather than re-opening the wounds inflicted by the ethnic wars Tito pursued a strategy of national forgetting by closing this 'chapter of history rather abruptly' (ibid.) in order 'to throw hatred into history's deep freeze' (Glenny 1996, 148).

Part of this strategy of national forgetting involved the symbolic appropriation of the landscape from 1960s to 1980 when the Yugoslav landscape was to be altered by the banal nationalist interventions of the construction of more than 100 Partisan *spomenik* (monuments) to commemorate the victims of fascism. These monuments commemorated a war in which citizens fought on opposing sides, so '... the war monuments could assume neither a heroic nor a patriotic guise' (Neutelings 2008) as they had to be neutral enough for both victims and perpetrators. Most of the monuments are located in areas where the fiercest battles against fascism happened.

To avoid the often militaristic tendencies of war memorials with armed horse bound generals and thundering cannons, a more neutral and abstract visual language was adopted, whereby the Partisan spomenik look more like sculptures in an open air museum with Fig. 1 from the outskirts of Banja Luka illustrating the abstract aesthetic of these huge memorials. Their aesthetic reflected the socialist 'regime of forgetting' that looked towards a future of freedom, equality, independence, progress and a better life for everyone – a future that could only exist thanks to the fact that others had given their life (Mackic 2014). The constriction of these spomenik to mark the symbolic landscapes could be described as part of what James Young describes as 'the state-sponsored memory of a national past [which] aims to affirm the righteousness of a nation's birth, even its divine election. The matrix of a nation's monuments emplots the story of ennobling events, of triumphs over

Fig. 1. Banja Luka Spomenik

barbarism, and recalls the martyrdom of those who gave their lives in the struggle for national existence – who, in the martyrolgical refrain, dies so that a country may live' (1993, 2).

Willem Neutelings (2008) argues that their design was abstract to aid in the forgetting process as they '... formed a cheerful backdrop for the bright future awaiting the socialistic model society, the official policy line of which was to smooth over all of the former conflicts'. Each monument was located to be consciously out of place: the futuristic concrete structures lost in natural landscapes were designed to become public memorial spaces. They were often prominently located on higher ground to which visitors would have to hike to mourn their friends and family members who died at the battle sites or to learn about the history and the origin of Yugoslavia.

Given that these imposing edifices commemorated those who died fighting fascism in a civil war, those associated with the defeated Ustaša and Chetniks forces would not have shared in the glorification of the heroic Partisan values that formed the nation's foundational myth as Young states; '... the relationship between the state and its memorials is not one-sided, however. On the one side, official agencies are in a position to shape memory explicitly as they see fit, memory that best serves a national interest. On the other hand, once created, memorials take on lives of their own, often stubbornly resistant to the state's original intentions' (1993, 3). The frozen conflicts that these symbolic landscapes sought to forget were to be reignited in the 1980s by the rise of nationalist leaders who placed '...a profound strain on the map of a unified Yugoslavia and soon this tired document began to tear along nationalist lines. The frightening complexity of Yugoslavia's ethnic composition, which had been largely forgotten over forty years, began to reveal itself' (ibid. 32) as the largest war on European soil since World War II was waged as the country fragmented.

Partisan Pasts: Post-conflict heritage interventions at landscapes of the ideological 'other'

The protagonists in the wars associated with the fragmentation of Yugoslavia utilised a policy of urbicide, ie the targeting of religious and cultural heritage sites to remove the traces associated with the memory, identity and history of the 'other'. This practice involved the widespread destruction of religious heritage and sites associated with historical adversaries including those sites associated with the socialist regime. Partisan heritage was systematically targeted with nearly 3000 monuments to the World War II Partisan movement destroyed or damaged in Croatia during the war (Pavelic 2013; Schäuble 2014). Despite this conscious targeting of Partisan memorials, their peripheral locations, solid construction and massive scale meant that many could not be demolished during the Yugoslavian civil war (Mackic 2014). The shifting boundaries and new independent nations that resulted from the war meant that the meaning of many of these symbolic landscapes had been transformed as the regime they represented, whether revered or reviled, had been consigned to the history books as 'each monument is a tombstone that reminds visitors of the land that used to be called Yugoslavia' (ibid.).

In the post-war period, many of these secular Partisan memorials have been neglected and left to nature or subject to systematic targeting for destruction and vandalism because of their associations with the former regime. The overgrown and vandalised state of the prominent Partisan memorial complexes in Sarajevo and Mostar (Fig. 2) show how the built legacies of the Communism are residual relics of a defeated ideology in a context in which ethno-nationalism prevails. These complexes, constructed from the 1960s as memorials to the victims of the struggle against fascism in World War II, have been incorporated into their national heritage registers since the Communist period as part of a national

Fig. 2. Partisan memorial complex in Mostar

narrative of a shared struggle against fascism. This version of World War II history in Yugoslavia was not accepted by the ethno-nationalist combatants in the Bosnian war and the occupying Croat forces, whose uniforms bore the insignia of the fascist Ustaša state, dynamited the Partisan Memorial complex in Mostar in 1992 because it memorialised their antecedent's enemies (Andrić 2011).

In the post-war era, the memorial complex in Mostar was subject to an unsuccessful proposal to remove the headstones to the almost 800 Partisan dead interred at the site and to restore and convert the monument into an outdoor theatre. This proposal was approved by the Croatian authorities who sought to erase this part of the region's history from their urban palimpsest before the decision was overturned following vocal resistance from local World War II veterans. The veterans then gained the financial support from the international community necessary to fund the reconstruction of the memorial site but within a short period after it was restored the site had more damage inflicted by Croatian 'hooligans' than it received during the war (ibid.). The Mostar authority's refusal to provide security and surveillance cameras at the site has meant that, despite being restored again it has been subject to further vandalism and a lack of maintenance which has resulted in it being overgrown with weeds, its pools becoming full with empty beer bottles and graffiti bearing fascist slogans and symbols daubed over the monument.

The lack of political will to protect this artistically significant (but ideologically deviant) national monument represents how the ethno-nationalist Croat 'regime of memory' has been unable and unwilling to incorporate this memorial landscape associated with the ideological 'other' into its narrative. Challenges of how to accommodate sites designated by the Communist regime because of their significance to the struggle against fascism extend beyond Bosnia and Herzegovina, as Croatian regional heritage authorities have been reviewing these political heritage designations. In the Primorje – Gorski Kotar county in Croatia, the heritage professionals were taxed with reviewing outdated inventories that contained a wide variety of sites associated with the Second Yugoslavia.

The example of the socialist *spomenik* at Podhum (Fig. 3) illustrates how heritage cannot be divorced from its social context, as meanings are malleable and narratives from the past are open to reinterpretation through the perceptual lens of the present. The memorial complex which, was constructed in the 1960s to commemorate the massacre of 91 Partisan villagers by Italian fascists in 1942, has been appropriated by the relatives of the dead who have 'sacralised' the space by gaining permission for a cross to be erected inside the walls of the site and for the local priest to hold an annual commemoration ceremony for the dead. The 'Catholicisation' of the site, despite the fact that it commemorates atheists massacred by Italian Catholic fascists, demonstrates that 'regimes of memory' are present-orientated and selective in their interpretation. Furthermore, it demonstrates that decisions to sanctify sites by constructing monuments are designed primarily for their audience, the living, rather than those they are to commemorate. The heritage intervention at Podhum illustrates that this heritage site, like all others, is a 'vessel of value' that becomes increasingly vulnerable to 'obsolete transmissions' as increasingly less people who remember the war are still alive leaving these dramatic landscapes as legacies of a 'lost world of yesterday' (Zweig 1964).

Fig. 3. Podhum spomenik

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Landscape values in Europe: Insights from participatory mapping research

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Introduction

Landscapes are crucial to individual and societal wellbeing. Their importance resides not only in providing food, soil, air, or water, but also cultural values and place attachment. This paper provides an overview of the state of knowledge relevant to the assessment of the place-based perception of landscape values that draws on approaches in the field of Public Participation GIS (PPGIS). To this end a literature review was performed and 17 European PPGIS studies were examined. This overview underpins a series of hypotheses that will inform further empirical analysis. The results reveal that PPGIS is a suitable method for the assessment of the spatial distribution of landscape values, and that this distribution responds to multiple factors, where non-material and cultural aspects play an important role.

Landscape values

Human well-being is linked to landscapes across a multitude of aspects. Currently, the ecosystem services concept is the dominating paradigm in conceptualizing and categorizing these linkages. The main reference regarding ecosystem services has been the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MA), which defines them as 'the benefits people obtain from ecosystems' (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment 2003, 49) and distinguishes four categories: **provisioning**, **regulating**, **supporting**, and **cultural services**. Drawing on the ecosystem services framework Termorshuizen and Opdam (2009) developed the landscape services concept. They define landscapes as spatial human-ecological systems that deliver a wide range of functions that can be valued by humans for economic, sociocultural, and ecological reasons. Whereas functions exist regardless of humans, services are created only through people using and valuing these landscape functions (ibid.). Building on the landscape services framework, Vallés-Planells et al. (2014) developed a classification of the ways in which landscapes contribute to human well-being, which included self- and social-fulfillment aspects. From a different perspective but also putting people and their values central to the ways in which the environment contributes to human well-being, Brown et al. (2015) presented the concept of ecosystem values as 'measures of how important ecosystem services are to people and contain both use and non-use values associated with ecosystems'. Taking into account all these perspectives, in this paper we will use the term 'landscape values', referring to the socio-cultural perception of landscape/ecosystem services.

By outlining that landscapes constitute areas 'as perceived by people', the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe, 2000) has enhanced the role of local stakeholders in landscape management, contributing to its democratization and triggering a growing awareness of the importance of safeguarding landscape values. Therefore, understanding the ways that biophysical landscape features are connected to the broad range of landscape values is decisive if an integrated management of the landscape, built on the involvement of civil society (as called for in the European Landscape Convention), is to be achieved.

Public Participation GIS

In the last decades a significant number of participatory mapping approaches to study the distribution of landscape or ecosystem services and values have arisen. Drawing on the field of Public Participation GIS (PPGIS), these approaches connect perception-based and biophysical data, fostering the integration of natural and social sciences towards the understanding of the landscape from a holistic perspective (Pietilä & Kangas 2015). The suitability of PPGIS approaches in the assessment of these values for landscape management purposes, based on the participation of the affected community, has been well captured by García-Nieto et al. (2015, 142), who state: that 'PPGIS aims to collect the diversity of stakeholders' knowledge and empower people to participate in spatial decision making exercises.'

Although PPGIS methods applied to the mapping of ecosystem services have been used since the 1990s (Brown & Fagerholm, 2015), in Europe the first studies occurred within the last decade and are currently developing. Albeit first studies were mainly concerned with the assessment of provisioning, regulating and supporting services, in the last three years there has been a shift towards a more holistic approach, where socio-

cultural and non-material aspects of landscape have gained in importance, in line with the demands of the European Landscape Convention and the Convention on Biological Diversity (de Vries et al. 2013).

Aim of this study

Given the increasing number of PPGIS studies a summing-up becomes necessary. Brown (2013) examined 11 PPGIS studies from Australia, New Zealand, and USA to study the connection between social values of ecosystem services and land cover; and Brown and Fagerholm (2015) published a review and evaluation of PPGIS methods comparing more than 30 studies from all over the world. The aim of the study at hand is to draw insights into the current European panorama of PPGIS studies paying particular attention to their purposes, values mapped, and main findings. This review permits some hypotheses about how the perception of landscape values is connected to different socio-economic backgrounds and physical landscape characteristics. These hypotheses will be tested in a coming European broad, cross-site comparison study.

Methods for the review

The methodology consisted in a literature review where the following steps have been performed.

Scope of the studies to be reviewed Studies considered in the review had to display the following criteria: i) be place-based studies, at any scale but in Europe, ii) within their objective should be the identification or assessment of landscape values in relation to landscape characteristics and socio-economic backgrounds, and iii) the study should draw on participatory mapping approaches.

Collection and classification of studies

To find and collect the studies we performed Internet key-word searches in Google Scholar, Web of Science and Science Direct. Key-words used included terms such as landscape, ecosystem, services, values, public participation, and mapping. Studies collected were incorporated to an Excel database where they were classified according to country, year, methods, purpose, and phenomena mapped. Based on this classification the most relevant studies for our research were selected. The references cites in all selected studies were scanned in order to collect studies that were not reached through the Internet key-word searches: those that shared the previous requirements were then incorporated into the database and included in the final selection.

Results and Discussion

Seventeen studies were selected (Table 1) from a total list of fifty-one. All studies collected have been performed within the last 5 years, and belong to 10 different countries. Most of the studies were in Norway, Finland, and The Netherlands, followed by Spain, UK, Germany, Denmark, Italy, Portugal, and Poland. Moreover, studies published in a same country tended to share some of the authors, and some names even appeared in studies from different countries. This highlights the novelty of the application of PPGIS methods in the assessment of landscape values in Europe, and indicates a concentration within a limited number of research centers and scientists.

Cultural services and landscape values

Many authors claimed that cultural services and landscape values have been traditionally overlooked in ecosystem assessments and decision-making processes (Beichler 2015; Davies et al. 2015). A reason for this can be found in their intangible, heterogeneous and subjective nature, which makes them difficult to evaluate and quantify. Nevertheless, as revealed by this compilation of studies, in the last few years landscape values are becoming central in ecosystem and landscape research in very different fields (eg, recreation, tourism, nature conservation, land management, and urban planning). Plieninger et al. (2013, 119) highlight their importance 'for comprehensive accounting of the contributions of ecosystems to human well-being and, thus, avoiding bias toward other ecosystem services and unwanted trade-offs in land management.' Authors of the collected papers used different terms to name them (Table 2) –ie, ecosystem values, social values for ecosystem services, cultural ecosystem services, social landscape values, community values, cultural services, and landscape values. For consistency reasons, in this paper we use the term landscape values.

Aims and applications

Most of the studies collected worked at a regional or local scale. Studies targeted multifunctional landscapes but with an important focus on rural areas. Some of them were more specific and targeted protected areas (almost 25%), urban or metropolitan areas (15%), and marine environments (one study) (Table 2).

The final purpose of most studies was to test and develop methods to contribute to the integrated management of landscapes or protected areas by including the knowledge and participation of site users. To do so, they analyzed different facets of the respondents' perception –ie, how

ID	Year	Authors	Title	Country
1	2011	Ruiz-Frau, A., Edwards-Jones, G., & Kaiser, M. J.	Mapping stakeholder values for coastal zone management	UK
2	2013	de Vries, S., Buijs, A. E., Langers, F., Farjon, H., van Hinsberg, A., & Sijtsma, F. J.	Measuring the attractiveness of Dutch landscapes: Identifying national hotspots of highly valued places using Google Maps	The Netherlands
3	2013	Plieninger, T., Dijks, S., Oteros-Rozas, E., & Bieling, C.	Assessing, mapping, and quantifying cultural ecosystem services at community level	Portugal
4	2014	García-Nieto, A. P., Quintas-Soriano, C., García-Llorente, M., Palomo, I., Montes, C., & Martín-López, B.	Collaborative mapping of ecosystem services: The role of stakeholders' profiles	Spain
5	2014	Nora Mehnen, Frans J. Sijtsma and Michiel N. Daams	Managing Urban Wellbeing in Rural Areas: The Potential Role of Online Communities to Improve the Financing and Governance of Highly Valued Nature Areas	UK
6	2014	Palomo, I., Martín-López, B., Zorrilla-Miras, P., García Del Amo, D., & Montes, C.	Deliberative mapping of ecosystem services within and around Doñana National Park (SW Spain) in relation to land use change	The Netherlands
7	2014	Scolozzi, R., Schirpke, U., Detassis, C., Abdullah, S., & Gretter, A.	Mapping Alpine landscape values and related threats as perceived by tourists.	Italy
8	2014	van Berkel, D. B., & Verburg, P. H.	Spatial quantification and valuation of cultural ecosystem services in an agricultural landscape	The Netherlands
9	2015	Beichler, S. A.	Exploring the link between supply and demand of cultural ecosystem services – towards an integrated vulnerability assessment	Spain
10	2015	Brown, G., Hausner, V. H., Grodzińska-Jurczak, M., Pietrzyk-Kaszyńska, A., Olszańska, A., Peek, B., Rechcinskie, M., Lægreid, E.	Cross-cultural values and management preferences in protected areas of Norway and Poland	Norway and Poland
11	2015	Brown, G., Hausner, V. H., & Lægreid, E.	Physical landscape associations with mapped ecosystem values with implications for spatial value transfer: An empirical study from Norway	Norway
12	2015	Clemente, P., Calvache, M.F., Antunes, P., Santos, R.	Mapping stakeholders perception on ecosystem services provision within the Portuguese southwest Alentejo and Vicentine coast natural park	Germany
13	2015	Davies, H., Frandsen, M., Inwood, H., & Wharton, A.	How participatory GIS can help integrate people's cultural values into landscape planning	Germany
14	2015	Hausner, V. H., Brown, G., & Lægreid, E.	Effects of land tenure and protected areas on ecosystem services and land use preferences in Norway	Norway
15	2015	Pietilä, M., & Kangas, K.	Examining the relationship between recreation settings and experiences in Oulanka National Park – A spatial approach	Finland
15	submitted	Fagerholm, N., Oteros-Rozas, E., Raymond, C. M., Torralba, M., Moreno, G., & Plieninger, T.	Assessing the associations between ecosystem services, use, protection and ownership of land, and self-reported well-being in an agroforestry landscape	Spain
16	submitted	Raymond, C. M., Gottwald, S., Kuoppa, J., & Kyttä, M.	Integrating elements of environmental justice into urban blue space planning using public participation geographic information systems	Finland

Table 1. Studies selected for the analysis

ID	Application	Subject under study	Phenomena mapped	Study site character	Population targeted
1	marine environment management plans	elicit and spatially define community values for the marine environment	community values	marine	members of the Wales Maritime and Coastal Partnership
2	Cost Benefit Analysis (CBAs) and Environmental Impact Assessment (EIAs)	identifying social landscape values at the national level that can eventually be used in Cost Benefit Analysis (CBAs) and Environmental Impact Assessment (EIAs)	social landscape values	regions and municipali-ties	members of an Internet panel of a marketing research agency
3	test or develop methods	explore the potential of two different ES mapping methodologies	ecosystem services	protected area	representatives of municipalities and institutions
4	landscape planning	differences in the spatial perception of service-providing units and service benefiting areas between stakeholder groups	ecosystem services	rural and natural	high influence stakeholder and low influence stakeholders
5	landscape planning	how the general public perceive and value landscape and ecology allowing their integration into decision-making alongside traditional environment data	cultural ecosystem services	rural	residents and site users
6	test or develop methods: quantifying cultural services	locate and quantify the cultural services provided by the landscape and provide a monetary valuation of these services	cultural services	rural	tourists
7	landscape planning and sustainable tourism	estimating and mapping values and threats as perceived by tourists	landscape values	rural and natural	visitors
8	management of protected areas	empirical exploration of nature appreciation. Urban–rural connection	social landscape values	country	Amsterdam residents
9	conservation planning	assess the association between land use changes, conservation policies and ecosystem service delivery, focusing on a protected area and its surroundings	ecosystem services	protected area and surroundings	policy makers and researches
10	management of protected areas	cross-cultural values and management preferences associated with protected areas	ecosystem values	protected area	residents and site users
11	test or develop methods	relationship between ecosystem values and physical landscape characteristics	ecosystem values	rural region	residents and site users
12	integrated vulnerability assessment	identify the link between ecosystem service supply and demand as well as ecosystem services and wellbeing integrating several social factors into the assessment	cultural ecosystem services	urban region	local planning institutions, economic organizations, an environmental and a social NGO, a civil protection department, and a science department
13	sustainable land management	spatially explicit mapping of the full range of cultural ecosystem services as perceived by local people	cultural ecosystem services and disservices	rural	residents
14	landscape management	how land tenure regimes overlaid by protected areas influence the ecosystem values held by local people and the preferences for land uses	ecosystem values	rural and natural	locals
15	management of protected areas for recreation	relationship between the recreation setting and the experiential outcome in a National Park	recreation experiential outcomes	protected area	visitors
15	landscape management	spatial associations between the spatial distribution of ecosystem services and human well-being	ecosystem services	rural	residents
16	landscape planning and management in urban areas	spatially assessing multiple elements of environmental justice with respect to urban blue space planning	activities	metropolitan area	residents

Table 2. Objects of study and proposed application of the findings as expressed by the authors

this perception is spatially connected to biophysical, cultural and/or social aspects (eg, land tenure regimes, protected areas, recreation facilities, accessibility, and land cover) and determined by different socio-cultural backgrounds (eg, nationality, place of residence, age, gender, incomes, and level of education).

Findings of the reviewed studies

In this section some common findings and trends from the comparison of these studies are presented (Table 3). Many studies (41% of the studies collected) ascertained that different stakeholder groups perceive landscape values in a different way (Brown et al., 2015; Fagerholm et al., submitted; García-Nieto et al., 2015; Plieninger et al., 2013). The socio-cultural factors that affect this perception were: age, gender, level of education, profession, current activity status, income, place of residence, and familiarity with the area. García-Nieto et al. (2015, 148) observed that these differences are 'sometimes related to the different information that stakeholder groups have' and to different 'mental models, connections to the landscape or values.' At the same time, the authors highlighted the importance of bringing together different stakeholder groups, with their different relations to the landscape and their different knowledge, to achieve a comprehensive assessment of the services landscapes provide and avoid unwanted trade-offs in management strategies.

Most studies that focused on landscape values pointed at recreation (70% of the studies) and aesthetic (62%) values as very frequently mapped by respondents, followed by values related to the naturalness of the site (38%). In the studies that focused on the mapping of all types of ecosystem services the importance of non-cultural and cultural services was balanced: two studies highlighted cultural services as the most frequently mapped values, and in two other studies a balance of provisioning, regulating, and supporting services was evidenced.

In half of the studies the presence of water bodies played an important role in the location of landscape values, especially those related to aesthetics, tranquility and recreation. Forests were appointed in 42% of the studies for their connection to different landscape values (eg, recreation, aesthetics, education and nature). Grasslands (mentioned in 25% of the studies) were also associated with a diversity of values ranging from education, inspiration and beauty, to values connected with regulating and provisioning services. Other land covers mentioned in the studies were: settlements (linked to cultural heritage and social relations), agriculture (mainly linked to food production but also to recreation), and marine landscapes, beaches and dunes (connected to aesthetics and recreation). In some studies, agricultural land is where less landscape values were mapped; and Palomo et al. (2013) found a possible cause in the intensification of production that threaten the supply of other services.

Many writers identified areas where multiple values coexist. Hausner et al. (2015) describe bundles of landscape values in relation to the land tenure regime and the physical qualities of place. In their study, values linked to cultural and provisioning services concentrated on private lands or common (property) areas near settlements; whereas values linked to biological diversity and tourism activities coexisted on State common lands or protected areas of scenic beauty and undisturbed character. Ruiz-Frau et al. (2011) found a correlation between areas of ecological value and values related to recreation, identity and heritage. Plieninger et al. (2013) identified one bundle comprising different recreational values, and another bundle where social relations values were connected to spiritual, inspiration, and aesthetic values. Other studies revealed that some individual landscape values tended to cluster in specific areas (eg, values linked to culture, heritage, and outdoor activities); whereas other were more dispersed (eg, spiritual and religious values, and values linked to nature activities and to provisioning -harvesting- and regulating services) (Beichler 2015; Brown et al. 2015). The coexistence of different landscape values was explained by the challenge of separating the different categories of cultural services due to their 'interlinked, holistic nature.' (Plieninger et al. 2013, 126)

Conclusion

In this review we have examined 17 Public Participation GIS studies with special attention to their findings on how the perception of landscape values is connected to the socio-economic background of the respondents and to the physical qualities of the landscape. We found that even though the studies pursued different aims, addressed different landscape services, involved different stakeholders, and targeted different land covers, there is consistency in their findings. This allows us to present the following hypotheses:

- People do not appreciate a site for its physical qualities only; they value the specific place, in all its

ID	Most frequently values mapped	Physical landscape qualities linked to the most frequently mapped values
1	tourism and recreation, followed by ecological value	x
2	x	green, quiet, natural, and presence of water
3	cultural services (recreation and aesthetic) followed by regulating services	marine waters followed by inland water and wetlands, and forests
4	low influence stakeholders: provisioning (food) and cultural ES / high influence stakeholders: regulating ES	agricultural fields / protected areas (regulating and cultural services)
5	outdoors recreation, followed by solitude, calm, and tranquility, wildlife and nature, beauty and inspiration	arable and horticulture areas, sand dunes, and suburban areas (outdoors recreation) / heather, bog, fresh water and coastal habitats (tranquility) / broadleaf woodland (wildlife and nature) / heather grassland and montane areas (beauty and inspiration)
6	aesthetic beauty and recreation	cultural buildings, tree lines, lakes and rivers, forests and animal habitats / mosaic landscapes (leisure)
7	nature and scenic value followed by outdoor activity value	natural areas which are, at the same time, easily accessible
8	x	x
9	habitat for species and water provision, followed by food from agriculture, scientific knowledge, and recreational activities	wetlands and inland waters (provisioning and regulating services) / shrub lands and beaches and dunes (cultural services)
10	In Norway: hunting/fishing, recreation, scenic, and natural values In Poland: cultural identity	x
11	x	forested areas
12	aesthetics and recreation	Coastline, white sandy beach, and a promenade / nature reserve where there is a hiking trail / the city center
13	aesthetic values followed by social relations, "other" recreational uses (specified mostly as bicycling), walking, and educational values	water bodies (recreation, education, aesthetics, and heritage) / settlements (social relations, sense of place, and inspiration) / forests and grasslands (education and spirituality)
14	recreation, scenic beauty, hunting/fishing, pastures/grazing and undisturbed nature	x
15	scenic beauty	water bodies, cliffs, and campfire sites and famous sights in the park
15	outdoor activities(mainly walking), followed by sites of beautiful landscapes, social interaction and culture and heritage values	Oak trees and dehesa, views of the mountains and rivers, and panoramic view from old castle (beautiful landscapes) / vicinity of settlement areas (social interaction) / town and monuments (cultural and heritage values). Most of the mapped places were distributed in grasslands followed by agroforestry areas (provisioning, regulating and cultural services), and urban surfaces (local culture, cultural heritage or history)
16	recreation	x

Table 3. Most common landscape values and associated physical landscape qualities as expressed by the authors

socio-cultural dimensions. This makes PPGIS a suitable method for incorporating the knowledge, perceptions and preferences of local communities in the integrated management of the land. The mapping of different landscape values as perceived by different land users identifies trade-offs between landscape services, and therefore contributes to the reductions in conflicts and achieves comprehensive land management strategies. PPGIS methods also contribute to knowledge-exchange and awareness-raising, both crucial to obtain the commitment of the local community in the sustainable management of the land.

- The socio-economic characteristics of the respondents and their different experiences and knowledge systems play an important role in the spatial perception of different landscape values. Therefore, it is important that PPGIS studies include a representative sample of respondents in terms of number and variety.
- Non-material, cultural values are important aspects to take into account in the management of the land. Whereas aesthetic and recreational values are the easiest to recognize by the respondents, there are many other aspects such as sense of place, tranquility, and spirituality, difficult to separate but irreplaceable and essential in the relationship between people and landscape.
- Some land cover types were a constant in the most valued sites mapped by respondents (eg, water bodies and forests), and others were associated with specific landscape values. Nonetheless, these associations were not found in all studies, revealing that there may be other structural aspects that have an influence in the spatial distribution of the values mapped, such as, possibly, land tenure regime, protection status, or accessibility to the area.

All these findings highlight the complex nature of the concept of place where many layers overlap to give a space a specific meaning. This leads to the final conclusion that the assessment of landscape values carried out in order to inform management cannot be based merely on physical landscape features and structures. For each landscape management plan a specific spatial assessment needs to be conducted, trying to include a representative sample of the stakeholder groups and knowledge systems present in the area.

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Community-led Village Design Statements (VDSs) in Ireland Toolkit

Alison Harvey

The Heritage Council of Ireland

"The judging panel was particularly impressed by this submission because of its far-reaching ability to enable village communities (both urban and rural) to seize the initiative and implement their own village design statements.....the Toolkit has the potential to reach an even wider area..."

Irish Planning Institute,
National Planning Awards 2014 *(see Fig. 1)*

Introduction

The *Community-led Village Design Statements (VDSs) in Ireland Toolkit* (Heritage Council 2012) is at the core of the Community-led Village Design Statement Programme, which was developed by the Heritage Council and partners, to promote and support the design and delivery of community-led VDSs in Ireland – a new approach to environmental planning and place-making. The Toolkit has been designed and delivered in the spirit of the *European Landscape Convention (ELC),* the *UNECE Aarhus Convention (on Access on Information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters) and the Faro Convention* (ratified by Ireland June 2012). The aim of this participative planning Toolkit, which is the first of its kind in Ireland, is to empower and enable village communities to seize the initiative and start out on the very rewarding road towards creating and implementing their own Village Design Statement. Put simply, the community-led approach to village planning and place making – in both rural and urban villages – seeks to give a shared voice to communities in order to facilitate real and meaningful public participation and engagement in environmental planning, management and decision-making matters. In addition, the Community-led Toolkit aims to promote and enhance best practice rural and urban development and regeneration in Ireland and elsewhere.

The Community-led VDS Toolkit (100 pages including eight pull-out Fact Sheets) was developed in collaboration with the village communities in Julianstown, Co. Meath, (Rural Pilot) and Sandymount, Dublin city, (Urban Pilot) along with Planning Officers and Conservation Officers in Meath County Council and Dublin City Council. It is a colourful, practical and user-friendly resource with a clear step-by-step guide (using an equine theme), and includes Useful Tips, Lessons Learned and Checklists to assist communities in developing and delivering their own VDS. Process outcomes include (i) a Shared Vision, (ii) Agreed Design Principles and (iii) an Agreed VDS Action Plan, all contained in one document – the Community-led Village Design Statement.[i]

Other organisations that have adopted the collaborative approach designed by the Heritage Council and partners include Local Authorities, former LEADER groups, Tidy Towns Groups, EirGird and the Dept. of Environment, Community and Local Government (DoECLG). The Community-led VDS approach was adopted by Meath Partnership/LEADER (cf. Village Renaissance Programme (€2m), introduced in 2011 following discussions with the Heritage Council) and Wicklow Partnership/LEADER who circulated copies of the Toolkit to local community groups during a training seminar in late 2012 involving the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht and the Heritage Council. Local Authority Planning Departments (eg Mayo County Council, the former South Tipperary County Council, and South Dublin County) as well as Tidy Towns Groups are consulting the Toolkit to assist in the review of their county development plans and in meeting their obligations under the UNECE Aarhus Convention. In 2015 South Dublin announced a €7m village enhancement programme. The Department of the Environment, Community and Local Government's Environmental Policy and Awareness Unit formally requested the use of the Toolkit in 2013 to demonstrate implementation of the *UNECE Aarhus Convention* in Ireland, and the Toolkit was included in Ireland's first UNECE Aarhus National Implementation Report, which was submitted to the UN Secretariat in early 2014.[ii] It is envisaged that the Community-led Toolkit process will assist in the implementation of A Programme for a Partnership Government announced in May 2016, particularly in relation to rural and urban development and regeneration.

Innovative Project Management Structures

Following numerous multi-level Steering Groups

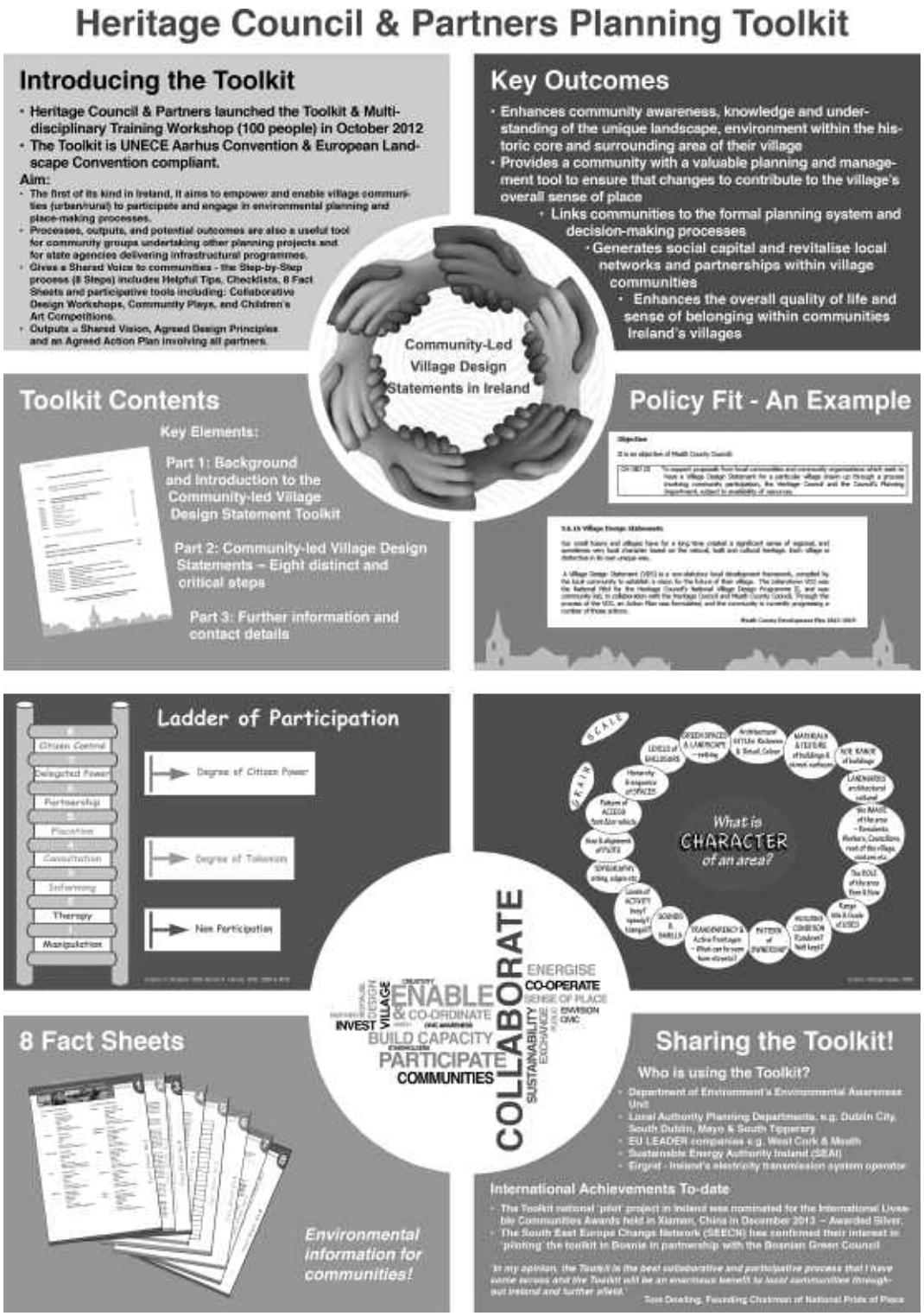

Fig. 1

meetings during 2007-2012, a management architecture comprising of a National Community-led VDS Steering Group, which includes planners from the DoECLG, Local Authorities and Third Level Institutes, and two Community-led VDS Pilot Steering Groups in Julianstown and Sandymount were established. These latter, chaired by the local community, involved planners from the relevant local authorities as well as local community leaders. Two Local Working Groups were also established. In total more than sixty people, from all backgrounds, were involved in these innovative project management structures, including planners from all levels of government working side by side on a collaborative basis with wider local village communities, which included children, young people and the elderly. The wider collaborative and participative process designed for the pilots involving the village communities, which is set out in the Toolkit, included community workshops,

children's art competitions & story writing, community plays, etc. (*Appendix 1* of the Toolkit provides a list of all the people involved in the three Steering Groups – i.e. the programme community.)

Project management also focused on ensuring that this innovative and collaborative approach strengthened the Irish Planning System and planning processes and structures at a national and county level, and enhanced the overall quality of life in the rural and urban villages where the Toolkit has been applied.

The new approach set out in the Toolkit also ensures that there is a clear planning 'policy fit' for the community-led project with the statutory County Development Plan. As a result of the pilot project in Julianstown, for instance, Meath County Council introduced a specific planning policy and objective into the *Meath County Development Plan 2013-2019* (Ch. 4, Economic Development Strategy, *policy 40* and Ch. 9, Cultural and Natural Assets, o*bjective* 23) to support further community-led village design statements.

Following an external evaluation of the national pilot in Julianstown, and the launch of the Sandymount Community-led VDS in September 2011, the Community-led Village Design Toolkit was designed and developed by the Heritage Council's Planning Officer, with the communities of Julianstown and Sandymount and relevant local authority officers, reflecting the overall collaborative ethos of the initiative. Throughout this process, the writer met regularly with members of the Steering Groups to, as it were, test the emerging recommendations with the programme and pilot village communities as it emerged.

The Toolkit was launched at the Inaugural Multi-disciplinary Community-led VDS Toolkit Training Workshop for 100 civic leaders in Kilkenny City in October 2012. This training event consisted of presentations, group exercises and group discussions. Workshop attendee evaluation forms were also used and are available from the Heritage Council.

Wide-ranging benefits & outcomes of the Toolkit approach

While the Toolkit relates to the setting up, developing and evaluating of a Community-led Village Design Statement, it is envisaged that the guidance provided on relevant project management structures, processes (including effective public participation methods), outputs and potential outcomes, and evaluation techniques (process and output evaluation) will enable and empower local communities throughout the island of Ireland to become involved in the shaping of their local environments. As stated in the introduction to the Toolkit, it is also hoped that the published resource, which is available free on-line and in hard copy, will become a useful tool for community groups who are considering undertaking other sustainable, community-led heritage and planning projects, in Ireland and further afield. In addition, proven wider socio-economic and environmental outcomes and benefits resulting from using the Toolkit include:

- links communities to the formal planning system and decision-making processes thereby increasing the likelihood that Community-led Village Design Statements will be used by local authorities and the private sector to improve local distinctiveness and character
- helps build trust in the planning system
- promotes participative democracy at a local level – enhance the democratisation of the Irish planning system
- Assists communities, local authority planners and others by creating a Shared Vision, Agreed Design Principles and an Agreed Action Plan that enhances a village's historic form and fabric, and sense of place
- generates social capital and revitalises local networks and partnerships within village communities, both rural and urban
- builds on existing community knowledge base, enhances community awareness, knowledge and understanding of the unique landscape, environment and heritage features within the historic core and surrounding area of their village
- provides a community with a valuable planning and management tool to ensure that changes to their village add to and amplify local distinctiveness and character, and contributes to the villager's overall sense of place
- stimulates socio-economic regeneration, wealth creation and growth in the local village economy, and act as a focus for investment
- enhances the overall quality of life, health and well being, and sense of belonging within communities living and working in Ireland's villages, both rural and urban

These outcomes and benefits have been clearly demonstrated within the pilot villages of Julianstown and

Sandymount, which have been transformed as a result of the Community-led VDS process. The production of the Toolkit and accompanying multi-disciplinary training will enable other communities to benefit from the practical and clear guidance. The fact that local authorities (former LEADER Groups), Tidy Towns are purchasing and distributing copies of the Toolkit is extremely positive news for all involved in its design and delivery.

Measuring Benefits & Outcomes: before & after scenarios

Prior to the formulation/implementation of the two pilot projects the village communities in question were without a shared vision for their village, they also lacked a plan, and the communities were disjointed and not working together in a collaborative manner. They were also disconnected from the statutory planning system and had significant mistrust of their local planning authorities. The community-led has, however, resulted in significant social, environmental and economic benefits and outcomes, a small sample of which is listed below:

1. **Julianstown Village** – secured ongoing LEADER funding from Meath Partnership to enhance the village in accordance with their Agreed VDS Action Plan;
2. **Julianstown Village** – retired County Manager Tom Dowling, Chairman of the National Pride of Place Competition has recently joined the Community-led VDS Steering Group;
3. **Julianstown Village** - its Community-led VDS is used as the Best Practice village planning 'model' by Meath LEADER;
4. **Julianstown Village** - won the county Pride of Place Competition in Meath in 2012, was runner up in the national community garden category of the Pride of Place Competition and the Julianstown community garden has been nominated for the *2013 International Livcom Awards*;
5. **Julianstown Village** – the process has encouraged the village community's continued engagement with the planning system including the preparation of a written submission in relation to the review of the county development plan – this was the first time that Julianstown Village had engaged with the formal county development plan process;
6. **Sandymount Village** – preparation of a draft Architectural Conservation Area (ACA) by Dublin City Council in partnership with the local Community-led VDS Steering Group – this was a key project in the Community-led VDS;
7. **Sandymount Village -** Preparation of a Historic Landscape Characterisation study detailing the 'time-depth'/historic development of the unique urban village from the 13th century onwards;
8. **Sandymount** – reinstatement and revitalisation of the Sandymount Tidy Towns Group;
9. **Sandymount Village** - won the IPI Award for Best Urban Village in the National Tidy Towns Award 2012;
10. **Sandymount Village** – development of an Annual Bloomsday Celebration;
11. **Sandymount Village**- ongoing improvements in Green Infrastructure (GI) within the urban village including the enhancement of the historic Village Green, provision of a children's playground, outdoor gym, ecology trail in partnership with Dublin City Council.

All the above listed benefits and outcomes came about as a direct result of the process set out in the Toolkit.

Given the enormous interest in the Toolkit from local authorities, Tidy Towns Groups and other interested organisations including SEAI and EirGrid, along with the endorsement of the DoECLG and the Irish Planning Institute (IPI), it is envisaged that the Toolkit will enable and encourage the sustainable transformation of villages and village communities – both rural and urban - in Ireland and elsewhere.

Notes

[i] See www.heritagecouncil.ie/planning/our-initiatives/village-design-statement-programme/vds-toolkit/. The Toolkit is available to download for free from the Heritage Council's website and hard copies are available to purchase.

[ii] http://www.environ.ie/sites/default/files/migrated-files/en/Publications/Environment/Miscellaneous/FileDownLoad%2C34986%2Cen.pdf – see page 7.

Cultural Planning as Landscape Research

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Introduction

This paper is divided into three main parts. I will start with an introduction to the concept of cultural planning as a place-based and culturally driven mode of planning and local development. Next follows a discussion on the common aspects shared by the cultural planning approach and landscape research inspired by the ELC principles. Thereafter a case study applying cultural planning to a Finnish suburban area in the city of Pori is described. The paper is concluded by a reflection on how the approaches of cultural planning and ELC-based landscape research could be combined for mutual benefit.

Cultural planning

'Cultural planning' is an umbrella term covering a variety of approaches that aim at mainstreaming culture in local and areal governance. The concept has been used in its present sense at least from 1970s and 1980s, originating from Australia and the USA (Ghilardi 2001). Its core idea is the use of culture as an integral part of strategic planning and development, which entails cross-sectoral action. Culture is understood here in broad anthropological terms rather than narrowly as institutionalized artistic activity and canonized cultural objects – such as heritage sites or otherwise specifically valued landscapes (Young 2013).

Cultural planning is closely connected to the concept of cultural mapping, a sweeping study of all aspects of local culture in a given place. Cultural mapping contributes to social justice by acknowledging the whole range of cultural self-expression among local community and by conveying an interpretation of local culture with grassroots anchoring to the strategic decision making. Cultural planning approach in general aims at reducing the hierarchy of governance by putting an emphasis on horizontal and network-based co-operation.[1]

The benefits of cultural planning are described in the literature as wide and many. It is presented as a tool for democratizing societies, strengthening cultural diversity and facilitating strategic policymaking. Furthermore, it may contribute to building up culture-based local economies, mainstreaming culture into all governance sectors, establishing public-private partnerships and reshaping public spaces, not forgetting the polishing of local images. The suggested range of positive influences may sometimes border on the unrealistic (Stephenson 2010).

Comparing cultural planning with ELC-based landscape research

There are several converging points between the approaches to landscape suggested by the ELC and cultural planning. Both suggest the importance of place as lived human experience of the environment, merging together tangible and intangible aspects as well as different disciplinary angles and sectoral interests. Both also entail spatial and/or place identities. Furthermore, they stress the need for participatory dialogue between experts, policymakers and stakeholders, building on criticisms of top-down, expert-led and sectoral visions that largely ignore the local notions of place or culture. From the research point of view, both are multi- or interdisciplinary, different fields of inquiry contextualizing one another, and involving qualitative methodology besides 'hard' quantitative data (Filippucci 2009; Stephenson 2013).

There are also some marked differences between the ELC-inspired approaches to landscape and cultural planning. Cultural planning, as described above, deals with the strategic and collaborative development of individual places, usually cities or their parts and sometimes regions. It aims to enhance local cultural identities and promote local pride, establish social networks, support economic viability and enrich the lives of communities and public spaces. This ought to be realized as a joint effort between administrative sectors and stakeholders (Young 2012).

Similar processes might also take place concerning individual landscapes, but these are carried out against the background of more generalized and comparative studies of landscape, supporting landscape policies at national levels and beyond. Such 'metalevels' of study or policy do not exist in the same way for cultural planning, although there are networks of cities and international co-operations involved in cultural planning activities (Duxbury and Jeannotte 2013).

In terms of the application areas the ELC-inspired

landscape approaches and cultural planning would at the first sight seem different. As was stated above, cultural planning is mostly – although not exclusively – about urban areas, the processes taking place within city administration. The wide definition of landscape in ELC covers urban as well as rural landscapes in different scales. Whatever the type of target area, however, landscape-oriented approaches take into account its natural characteristics and the entire range of land uses, which seldom is the case with cultural planning processes. The latter may single out landscapes, heritage sites, wildlife areas or green spaces to the extent that they prove meaningful parts of local everyday life and thus could be deemed as shared cultural resources (Bianchini 2013).

The relationship between landscape and planning has a long and glorious pedigree. The inclusion of societal uses and meanings in has a slightly later origin. It has been pioneered by visionary scholars and planners such as Patrick Geddes, who created a generalistic and laborious methodology for studying the characteristics and development needs of a given place from all relevant angles. These he famously named Place – Work – Folk (Boardman 1987). The Geddesian holism has during the 20th century inspired several planning movements. For a time, it became sidetracked by sectorally based Functionalist planning (Young 2013) but has more recently been rediscovered – among others in the cultural planning context (Ghilardi 2001).

Trial of cultural planning at University of Turku Landscape Studies

The subject of Landscape Studies was founded at the University of Turku in 2001. Its general orientation is humanistic, informed by the research on landscape of parallel disciplines but focusing on the cultural human-environment relationship expressed as signification, land uses and place experience. In a research project on the eastern suburbs of the Finnish coastal town Pori, funded by the Housing Finance and Development Center of Finland (ARA), we had an opportunity to try our hand in cultural planning. This gave us a vantage point in comparing this approach with the field of landscape research in general.

Cultural planning was chosen as the main approach for the research project. The objectives were to mitigate areal segregation of the formerly working-class high-rise suburbs. This was to be achieved by providing the city of Pori with an extensive information base for strategic planning and development, by empowering local residents and other stakeholders and by building public-private partnerships. Following the course of the project the applicability of the cultural planning approach in the Finnish context was to be studied (Häyrynen 2015).

The cultural planning approach was chosen because it seemed to offer a holistic and interactive grasp of city areas largely missing from the urban planning sector. More specifically, the methodology of cultural mapping, based both on ethnography and on GIS, was for us familiar to begin with. Yet another reason to opt out for cultural planning was the fact that the approach is in Finland relatively new and untested, whereas there is a wealth of international experience and literature available on the subject. The widespread use of cultural planning in Sweden was of particular interest, since the urban development and planning system there are in many ways similar to those in Finland (ibid.).

The situation of Pori, a regional center of 80.000 inhabitants with an industrial past, differs somewhat from that in the main growth centers of Finland. The traction of industry has largely ceased and no major growth factors have replaced it, thus leaving the high-rise suburbs of the city as containers of ageing and retiring population. Especially in the area under study in Eastern Pori the proportion of the elderly is high and expected to rise, younger families tending to move out from the suburbs to the growing detached house areas and small-income retired people from elsewhere replacing them. Immigration plays no significant part as yet. The changing age structure has pacified the formerly troublesome areas but is also leading to a dominance of the elderly in public space. The project was initiated by the cultural mapping of the eastern Pori suburbs, carried out in co-operation with the city and the residents' associations in 2014. To achieve a multiple framing of the area the mapping was roughly divided into three parts: firstly baseline studies on the demographics, history, environment and planning situation of the area as well as its mediated image, secondly a participatory mapping of cultural resources and thirdly studies focusing on particular suburbs and social groups. National and local statistics as well as previous studies, literature as well as media and internet materials were used in the baseline studies (ibid.).

Cultural resources were understood widely and mapped in terms of residents' views and valuations, public art, built heritage, professional artists, cultural institutions and cultural activities in general. The residents'

appreciations were mapped by interviews and their views on the surroundings and developing needs by means of participatory GIS, besides which different groups and key actors were approached by an inquiry (families with children), interviews (elderly residents), walking interviews (younger residents) as well as hearings and workshops (elderly residents and children) (ibid.).

The combined results of baseline studies and the views of different resident groups portray an area mostly appreciated by its predominantly working-class inhabitants but underrated by the rest of the city. The spatial distinction between the eastern suburbs and the center was marked considering the relatively short distance between them. Of the social divisions that between age groups emerged as the most salient. For instance an actor network mapping showed the local networks and public-private contacts to be divided according to age groups. There were also internal tensions among the elderly (ibid).

All in all, the eastern suburbs were seen as relatively peaceful, with lots of space and free nature as opposed to the busier and more tightly built areas of the city. Precinct centers were identified both as trouble spots and as activity centers and meeting places, although the residents also held the city center important for contacts and activities. As regards future expectations, the partly deteriorating condition of the 1970s high-rises caused concern, while eventual infill development was generally not seen as a problem (ibid.).

In terms of cultural resources the eastern suburbs of Pori did not strike one as a 'cultural desert' (Ashworth 2013). Public cultural investment in the area remained low, though. Despite the scant support a fair amount of local cultural activities took place. In the area and its vicinity officially recognized but locally little known Modernist architecture could be identified as 'hidden heritage' (Ashworth 2013), most importantly a kindergarten (1984) and a rest home (1988) by Raili and Reima Pietilä and a Functionalist DX radio station by Hugo Harmia, the latter originally built for the intended 1940 Helsinki Olympics that only took place in 1952 (Häyrynen 2015).

An interesting feature was the activity of a fairly recently established local artist group in the suburban area. In a short time they had gained importance by organizing events, art projects and artist visits. Their presence in the area was visibly marked by a 'sculpture park' surrounding the old DX station that served as their home base (ibid.).

To sum up the results of cultural mapping, the eastern Pori suburbs appear to be a socially and culturally homogenous area, having largely retained its original working-class character. The earlier basis of working-class culture is however slowly eroding, no distinct alternative identities emerging as yet. The eastern suburbs seem to have mostly escaped the efforts for restructuring and rebranding having taken place elsewhere in the city. For instance festivals, the cornerstone of Pori cultural policy, do not have much spillover in the area. Neither are there any visible signs of urban regeneration (ibid.).

The mapping results were discussed with the residents, artists and representatives of city administration in different occasions, resulting in an action plan. A notable outcome was the mutual interest of both the active residents and the artist group in joint action concerning public spaces and cultural activities. Four main lines of action were suggested: (1) the strategic adoption of a cross-sectoral approach by the city for the development of the suburbs, (2) the establishment of permanent public-private partnerships with delegated power and responsibilities, (3) the development of public spaces by means of community art, and (4) the supporting of artistic and cultural activities in the area. Culture-based interaction was seen as a means to bridge the gap especially between the age groups, having little contact between them. The suggested foci of activity were the precinct centers, the library branch and the old DX station with the surrounding sports park (ibid.).

Discussion

Judging from our experience, there are several strengths that might render cultural planning a valuable contribution also in landscape research. In short, they could be listed as follows:

1. Foci on the relationship between communities and place and on the everyday place experience
2. The holistic approach, requiring multidisciplinarity and wide range of methods
3. The strategic policy orientation, ensuring a positive impact of research
4. Participation, emic definition of place features and values
5. The iterative process-like character, responding to change.

At least the first four points could also be seen as drawbacks. To start with the community – place relationship, its oversimplified interpretation leads to the

dangers of overlooking the inner tensions and divisions among the population (Palmer 2009); of romanticizing or mystifying the character of the place or *genius loci* (Filippucci 2009); of letting policymaking guide research; or of a too narrowly bounded view of a place (Massey 2005). In a world of limited project durations even the fifth point could seem encumbering, as it would require a long-term commitment to the monitoring and reassessing of the place-related process often not feasible from the resource point of view.

The incommensurability following from the case study nature of cultural planning processes, already referred to above, could also be considered a flaw. This would depend both on the goals set to the process and on the general research orientation. From an ultimately qualitative angle generalizing of knowledge would not be a foremost aim and might not be seen possible at all in view of the unique and multifaceted nature of cultural situations and contexts under study. The ensuing 'messiness' would only correspond to that of the lived experience being studied (Palmer 2009). This stand could be countered with the problem of superfluous information produced by such studies and by the impossibility of making empirically grounded generalizations on their basis, which in turn would undermine their applicability for policymaking (Filippucci 2009).

One is reminded of examples from comparative landscape studies, providing ground for generalizations and classifications of landscapes. Here the problem is what has been termed in the cultural studies as 'butterfly collecting' (ibid.). The cleansing of the messy cultural meanings of places enables commensurality but largely misses the insider views about the places as well as their temporal change, leaving the field to the more easily measurable and mappable formal characteristics. It would appear that the place-based approaches would as a rule lead to a qualitative case study orientation at the cost of generalizing and comparative research goals (Stephenson 2010).

Interestingly, the landscape research approach has attracted some interest within the cultural planning as well as heritage studies circles. There it may be understood as a wider context for place-specific interventions, made easier by the dual character of landscape itself consisting both of material 'thingness' and intangible cultural meanings located in space and time (Garden 2009). Landscape may also link with the intentional transformation of place, a key strategic aim of cultural planning. Places need to be reinvented both materially and symbolically and the process has to combine these dimensions with political and planning considerations. The resulting notion is identity politics articulated at the level of landscape (Nyseth 2013).

In sum, opening up a wider dialogue between cultural planning and landscape research would certainly benefit both sides. Neither approach is uniform but contains a bewildering array of disciplinary and methodological biases as well as practical goals. However, relating individual place-based processes such as cultural planning to a wider-scale multiple framing of landscape would in most cased do no harm. This could be done without giving up the richness of everyday place experience captured by cultural planning.

In turn, landscape research could learn from the way cultural planning has managed to define its modalities. The span of a cultural planning process reaches from information gathering – in the form of cultural mapping – to collaborative planning, framed by strategic policymaking. In the center of the process are the cultural resources that first have to be recognized by the different parties and then used as starting points for cultural development. Such a co-creative approach to landscape would help in committing the stakeholders to its values and, at the end of the day, to help in reinventing places without losing their identities.

Places, landscapes and identities based on them are not static. Cultural planning is often characterized as a process to tackle change by discovering cultural resources that might help navigating through it – whether triggered by changing economical scene, migration, new development in the surrounding environment or a new cultural interpretation. Even if landscape research strives to view landscapes systematically, it cannot undergo the fact that landscapes and their defining features are dynamic as well. Also for this reason the cultural planning approach should be able to find extensive use in landscape research and policy.

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Notes

[1] See Creative Cities Network Canada, Cultural Mapping Toolkit (Legacies Now, 2010), http://www.google.fi/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCUQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.creativecity.ca%2Fdatabase%2Ffiles%2Flibrary%2Fcultural_mapping_toolkit.pdf&ei=Ma1cVa3MIMu6sQGJsIDgAw&usg=AFQjCNEDAf9SKvVfGY-JsMq1w2OGD6Qoqw&sig2=Lrc76blS8NzQENG4EjcvVw&bvm=bv.93756505,d.bGg.

Thin Place: An Alternative Approach to Place-based Curation.

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Introduction

What does it mean to live in an ensouled world? As the certitude of knowing what is sentient and what is not comes under scrutiny, we find ourselves increasingly encountering what Felix Guattari called the 'animist problematic' (Melitopoulos and Lazzarato 2012). The animist problematic is, to some extent, an invitation to take responsibility for the more-than-human world and to recognise that it does not exist solely as a resource for human consumption.

This paper uses an action research case study to demonstrate that neo-animistic theory can transform how place is valued when applied to gallery education and curation. It will also propose that curatorial models engaged in addressing the animist problematic in the cultural heritage sector can offer a new mode of literary and ecological knowledge, which can, in consequence, cultivate a deeper, more meaningful sense of place in a particular community.

Developing a place-based curatorial practice

Whilst living and working as a curator in West Wales I searched for a way to represent what the pragmatist William James (1985, 70–76) once called 'the unseen orders' in a contemporary art exhibition. These 'featureless and footless' shadows are, according to James (ibid, 50–53), the ancestral inhabitants of our landscapes, the entities that bring place to life. I was interested in the growing number of contemporary artists, particularly those living and working in remote rural regions along the west coast of Wales and the west coast of Ireland, who articulated this idea in their creative practices.

Thin Place was a practice based interdisciplinary curatorial research project which explored the notion that humanness and humanity come from a place, not a people. As Canadian spiritual activist Stephen Jenkinson (2014) asserts: 'Human life does not derive from human life. There is no beginning for humanity that is human. The first ancestor that gave your ancestor life is an animal. Their first ancestor is a plant. Their first ancestor is place. Place is the ancestor of all. It is place that keeps you alive.' Developed with a large grant award received from the Welsh Arts Council in 2015, *Thin Place* was presented at Oriel Myddin, a national gallery in Carmarthen, West Wales. It drew inspiration from both neo-pagan and neo-animist place-based discourse and acknowledged in particular Declan Kiberd's (2004) concept of the 'archaic avant-garde.'

Thin Place: a historical perspective

The exhibition, education programme, publication and symposium I put together attempted to dissolve the boundaries which separate fields of knowledge, and, in so doing, create a conceptual thin place within the gallery.

In its archaeological and theological context a thin place was believed to be where the delineation between worlds was more permeable. In pre-Christian Europe these thin places were found in certain anomalous areas in a landscape and were sometimes signified by burial mounds or standing stones. Poulnabrone Dolmen in the Burren, Co. Clare or Newgrange being relevant examples.

The scientist and philosopher Roger Corless (2002) described this kind of permeability and co-existence of multiple worlds as 'coinherence.' The five exhibiting artists and the many other contributors to *Thin Place* were concerned with coinherence in two particular locations: west Wales and the west of Ireland. It was believed in the past that these locations were points where souls could easily enter other worlds.

For example, the western coasts of Europe in pre-Roman times were seen as significant entrances into an Otherworld because they were perceived to be on solstice paths (Robb 2013, 284-285). There was a certain psycho-geographical logic to this: if the sun sets in the West at the edge of the known world, then this is where the soul must go in the afterlife.

Variations on this world view prevailed in western Europe, one famous example being Finisterre in Galicia, Spain, where many pagan pilgrimages predating St James on the Camino de Santiago would travel to worship or convene with their dead ancestors.

Other examples of coinherence can be found in the

documentation of the trial and confessions of Isobel Gowdie. Gowdie was a Scottish woman who, in the 1660s, inhabited a world that could easily be described as an animate polyverse: a thin place. This world had its own agency and spirituality. It was also radically at odds with the strictly monotheistic universe of Scottish Calvinism at the time (Wilby 2010). Isobel Gowdie was accused of witchcraft and subjected to a cruel inquisition. Her testimonial describes the ways in which she believed herself to be part of the land, how what felt to her to be natural human desires were categorized as demonic temptation; how the survival of her village and her peasant neighbours was governed by the plants, stars and the various powers inherent in her local, vernacular and emotional geography.

In researching and considering her world-view, and its violent extermination I wanted to suggest two things through my curatorial practice. The first being that, in certain respects, the dense, complex webs of interdependences that Gowdie experienced in the world she inhabited in her time share more similarities with the interdependences that impact on our current ecological and cultural conditions than Enlightenment-based dualisms, which separate us from the animate world.
The second point is that despite the violent reframing of Isobel Gowdie's world view, which declared her understanding of the world as both illegal and damnable, the offspring of her persecuted perspective still haunts us in the west today in the form of Gothic poetry, fantasy fiction and, most relevant to this paper, in the practices of contemporary archaic avant-garde artists.

Engendering the Thin experience

The body of work produced by Jonathan Anderson for *Thin Place* culminated in a collection of strange effigies cloaked in rags and bitumen. They made pan-cultural references that alluded to Crucifixes, Asian Buddhist statues, South American and African voodoo dolls. Yet their inspiration also came from the many hundreds of electricity pylons that criss-cross the Welsh Landscape. His work raised questions about the direction and focus of our worship today.

Over a period of two years Adam Buick developed a series of performative Votive Jar Walks in response to the conversations we regularly had online and during studio visits. These walks took place along the Pembrokeshire coast and informed the development of his film, sound and ceramic works. A number of unfired porcelain votive jars were placed in particular thin locations along the Pembrokeshire coast. The documentation of this work was then installed in the gallery.

Christine Mackey was interested in blurring the boundaries between natural science and the numinous.

Fig. 1. Thin Place exhibition installation curated by Ciara Healy. Image courtesy of Ciara Healy and Oriel Myrddin.

Fig. 2. Thin Place publication. Image courtesy of Ciara Healy and Oriel Myrddin.

She made repeated walks over two years in a number of locations in Ireland collecting seasonal wildflowers as she went. Each flower was labelled and recorded on individual log cards. She then used the practice of chromatography – an extractive process that draws out pure pigment from each plant – to create a fingerprint or colour code of each plant. These fingerprint pigments were stored in vials and used to recreate each walk as a painted map or mandala.

Flora Parrott's sculptural work addressed infrastructures and their collapse, and ruminated on the notion that the solidity we take for granted is perhaps always more fragile then we like to acknowledge. The materials she used also shared a similar sensibility to those of Jonathan Anderson, creating an interesting dialogue in the gallery space (Fig 1).

Ailbhe Ni Bhrian explored the idea of a place unfolding, unravelling and coming undone. There was also an acknowledgement of brokenness and of abandonment in the imagery she produced. Her films became a visual testament to the cracks in the realities we construct and hide behind. Her work conveyed a subtle political commentary on the aftermath of excess, particularly in post Celtic Tiger Irish landscapes.

Literary and textual influences

In order to create a coinherent understanding of the intentions of the exhibition, and propose an animate polyverse called *Thin Place*, I invited people from many different worlds to mediate the artworks through different lenses in a publication (Fig 2). I asked the contributors to the publication to simply write about their work and their world-view in the hope that these texts might form a dialogue or transform how the images of the artworks in the book could be read and understood.

I worked with Irish writer and Royal Literary Fellow Cherry Smyth. She kindly gave me permission to publish one of her poems from her collection titled *Test, Orange*. The poem proposed that memory, 'insists like a film [we] can't walk out of' (Smyth 2012, 12).

Dr Haley Gomez, a senior lecturer in astrophysics at the School of Physics and Astronomy in Cardiff University contributed an essay. Her research looks at the formation and evolution of cosmic dust and acknowledged the participatory nature of matter.

I also commissioned an essay by Mark Jones, a psychotherapist and astrologer based in Bristol. His essay drew on poems by Rilke and focused in particular on the direction of the soul from this life into a next. His central argument was that nothing from our childhood, our love

Fig. 3. Winners of the children's writing competition. Image courtesy of Oriel Myrddin.

lives, our dreams, is merely dead stone, instead, he suggested that it is a living alchemy of many interconnected encounters, which re-emerge and recede through time.

The final essay I commissioned was by Dr Joseph MacMahon, a member of the Franciscan Order (OFM) in Ireland and a lecturer in theology in Dublin. I invited him to write about the Franciscan world-view for many reasons. One of the most significant site-specific reasons was to reveal its hidden legacy in Carmarthen. There was once a significant priory and friary in the town, both of which were severely damaged during the Reformation. Today the remains of the friary are buried under a Tesco superstore and the priory lies under the tarmac of a Lidl car park. Both were poorly excavated when the building work for these supermarkets began.

Because the essays in the catalogue discussed existence using more than one register, they created constantly shifting lenses and portals through which the work on show could be understood.

Education programme and events

To extend this further I also curated a number of education events. These included a children's education programme, a national critical writing competition open to children aged between 7 and 9, a symposium and a series of adult education events.

The children's education programme drew inspiration from Irish artist and curator Mainie Jellett who was one of the founding members of an academic and avant-garde annual exhibition programme known as the Irish Exhibition of Living Art (IELA) in the 1940s. She was one of the very first artists in Ireland to initiate an education programme that would engage children with avant-garde art and cultural literacy. She achieved this by advertising a competition to write an exhibition review of the first IELA show in the national Irish newspapers.

Emulating this approach in my own curatorial practice, I collaborated with a number of primary schools in Carmarthenshire and spent time with small groups of children aged between 7 and 9 in their classrooms, reading folk and fairy tales specific to the region. The schools I worked with were in areas identified as some of the highest listed in the 2011 Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation.

Children used a *Magical Hat* to read, interpret, play and apply words from the stories I had read them. They then reflected on the stories during a guided meditation using a system of deep relaxation described by Michael Harner as 'sonic driving' (Harner 1992). Their visualisations were then described and discussed with the whole group using a *Shamanic talking stick*.

Part 2 of the workshop involved engaging the children I had worked with in previous weeks with the gallery space. They developed artists' books in response to the artworks and submitted entries to the critical writing competition

I had organised. All submissions received were bound into a publication and displayed in a specific reading area in the foyer outside the gallery space. The winning children received a magical medieval writing set (Fig 3).

For the adult education programme I hosted a book club discussion on Neil Gaiman's 2001 *American Gods* and Hirokazu Kore-Eda's 1996 film *Afterlife*. These events fostered much discussion amongst the local community on topics relating to town planning, local history, local oral testimonies about death rites in Wales and the consequences of turning place into a commodity. The symposium helped foster further discussion as it included presentations from archaeologists, community groups, new age therapists, literary academics, filmmakers and artists.

Public Response

On the whole, *Thin Place* garnered an extremely positive response and yet it was also contentious. Some audience members found the juxtaposition of different world-views presented in the symposium to be particularly challenging. However the fact that they felt compelled to confront their own dualisms was a deliberate objective of the symposium, and indeed for the project as a whole. (Interestingly, none of the speakers found the interdisciplinary nature of the symposium problematic). The majority of responses I collated from the surveys I conducted commented on how *Thin Place* had allowed audience members to see the world with a new porosity, which, as David Abram (2010, 235) notes, provides the perfect habitat to enter into a 'felt relation with other, non-human forms of sentience'.

As this key statement collected in response to *Thin Place* proves, the presence of the archaic avant-garde in contemporary curatorial practice can act as an affirmation and validation for those who feel themselves to belong to more than one world: As one anonymous contributor (Anon 2015) noted: *All my life I have experienced slippage into (and out of) other spaces (prophetic dreams, strange experiences when awake). I have consistently kept these experiences to myself because I was unsure of other people's reactions to this ability/experience. And now at last I feel found, and that I am part of a larger community. It is truly wonderful.*'

The positive responses to both the exhibition and the education events were therefore hopeful, in as much as the majority of visitors quickly identified with a broader spectrum of emotional and relational experiences of existence. By allowing the shapeless shadows we intuit from other worlds to become equally present, *Thin Place* proposed that this 'globe of life', as Virginia Woolf (1992) once put it, 'has walls of thinnest air.' This perspective, I argue, is an essential part of what makes a sense of place exist as a *communitas* in West Wales.

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Stories of place. Presenting the local in an online world.

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Abstract

This paper presents a series of digital mapping projects initiated by a community oral history archive, the Cork Folklore Project. The maps are digital representations of Cork city with associated audio stories and anecdotes taken from oral history interviews. The audio excerpts are pinned to places or points on the map. They are narratives that relate personal and embodied experiences of place (and of the things that happen there). The overall effect is a textured and multi-dimensional narrative of Cork city that highlights local experience.

Theoretical interpretations of digital projects like these often examine memory and interpretations of place identity and place attachment. The final part of this paper will explore some preliminary ideas about the roles of digital technologies in the articulation and construction of experiences of belonging and locality in a globalized world.

Introduction

The Cork Folklore Project (CFP) is a folklore/oral history organization that has been collecting stories of everyday life in Cork city and county since 1996. Oral history practice at CFP is reflexive and critical, always striving to question 'who our communities of contributors and resource users might be, and how they might be meaningfully represented, served and/or challenged' (O'Carroll 2013, 23). The CFP interviews are maintained as a public oral history archive, currently including more than 570 recordings. Collecting and archiving oral histories forms the core of CFP's activities, but researchers also actively engage in dissemination and the organization has produced and collaborated in the production of books, radio programmes, short films and websites. The CFP also produces an annual journal, *The Archive*, which is distributed freely across Cork city.

In recent years the CFP has been involved in a number of digital initiatives, including an oral history map of Cork. This is a digital map representing the city, with associated audio stories and anecdotes pinned to places or points on the map. All of the embedded audio pieces are excerpts taken from oral history interviews in the CFP archive. Technical problems with the early iterations of this map mean that the CFP has recently embarked on the creation of a new map, using new software. This paper presents the old and the new iterations of the map, and discusses plans for the future.

These maps are community representations in the sense that the CFP is a community organization, hosted by a community education and training initiative (Northside Community Enterprises). The CFP also has strong links to the Department of Folklore and Ethnology in University College Cork and to the Department of Social Protection (research staff are hired as part of a Community Employment Scheme). All of the stories presented in the oral history maps are the words and the voices of community members, who have given freely of their time, memories and creative self-expression in order to contribute to the CFP archive, as well as to the associated research and dissemination projects. The oral history maps present narratives of personal and embodied experiences of place (and of the things that happen there).

Background information – digital mapping projects by the Cork Folklore Project

There are 3 different digital oral history maps to discuss:

1. The original *Cork Memory Map*
2. *Cork's Main Streets* – a pilot project that presents oral history excerpts about North and South Main Streets in Cork
3. *Stories of Place* – the replacement *Cork Memory Map*, under construction, using the software platform piloted in *Cork's Main Streets*

The original Cork Memory Map

The first *Cork Memory Map* (Figure 1) was created by Cheryl Donoghue, in association with the CFP, as part of her MSc in Interactive Media in 2010.[i] It was subsequently supported by the Heritage Council and Cork City Council through grant aid for technical support. It was developed using Google Maps as the background. Embedded audio (excerpts from oral histories), transcripts and images are used to explore the narratives and stories associated with Cork city. This project was inspired by a digital project called the *City of*

Fig. 1. Screenshot: Cork Memory Map www.ucc.ie/research /memorymap; accessed 20 February 2016).

Memory, a New York video and audio stories project.[ii] The *City of Memory* includes specially curated stories as well as those that have been uploaded by site users (these are moderated). This was considered one of the most sophisticated online story mapping projects available at the time when the *Cork Memory Map* was being created (O'Carroll 2011, 184-5).

The *Cork Memory Map* generated a lot of positive publicity for the CFP, including an RTÉ radio documentary.[iii] However, as is frequently the case with digital projects that have been supported by one-off grant funding (as opposed to ongoing, regular funding), the rate of change and development in digital technologies can often mean that resources are subject to technical difficulties after a relatively short life-span.[iv] This has been the case for the original *Cork Memory Map* and it is now necessary to look at ways to replace the original *Cork Memory Map*. My work with the CFP (part of my research for my PhD in Digital Arts and Humanities) is to create this replacement, particularly focusing on creating a project that is sustainable and easy to use in the long-term. To this end, I have built a pilot project, using open source software (*Cork's Main Streets*, described below) and tested this extensively with staff and stakeholders at CFP

Cork's Main Streets

Cork's Main Streets (Figure 2) is a pilot project that I built during my doctoral research. It uses open source softwares developed by the scholarly digital humanities community (Omeka and Neatline). I built this digital oral history map to focus on a small collection of oral history interviews (taken from the CFP archive) about life on North and South Main Streets in Cork city. The aim of this project was to test the new softwares in terms of usability and sustainability, and to gauge the response to the projects from amongst the CFP's stakeholders (staff, former staff and contributors). The ultimate aim was to use this pilot as a first step along the way to building a replacement for the original *Cork Memory Map* (which is now in need of an upgrade).

Cork's Main Streets uses Open Street Maps as a backdrop.[v] Like with the *Cork Memory Map*, this is populated with a series of audio excerpts from the CFP archive, photographs and text (most of the text being taken from transcripts of the audio recording). Users are able to browse through a collection of audio stories of (past and present) everyday life in North and South Main Streets.

Responses to the *Cork's Main Streets* map (measured from user interviews and a focus group with CFP staff and stakeholders) has been positive. The next step is to use my experience, gathered and documented while building this pilot project, as a stepping stone towards building a completely new memory map. This new site is currently named *Stories of Place*, and it is still in development.

Stories of Place

The third oral history map is *Stories of Place*, a new Cork Memory Map (Figure 3). This map is currently under construction. Because of the success of *Cork's Main Streets* CFP decided to extend the use of the digital humanities platforms (Omeka and Neatline) in order to build a new and more extensive digital oral history map that will

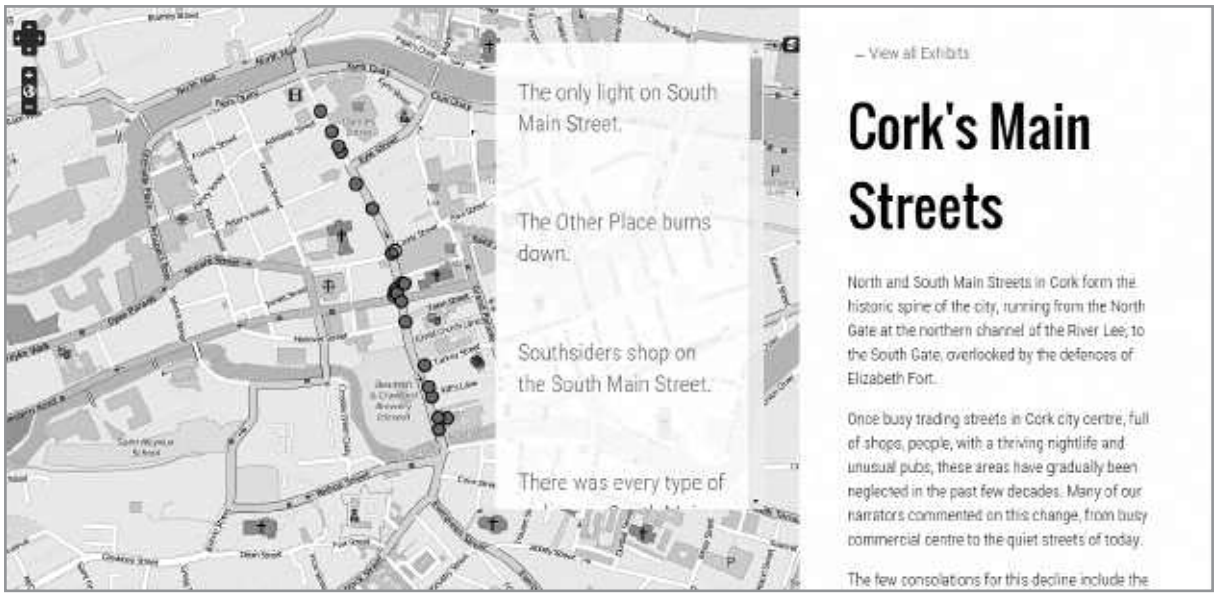

Fig. 2 Screenshot of the digital oral history map of North & South Main Streets (http://pennyjohnston.org/exhibits/neatline/show/north-and-south-main-streets. Accessed 25 November 2015)

replicate and, eventually, replace the original *Cork Memory Map* (with the URL http://www.corkmemorymap.org eventually being forwarded to the new *Stories of Place* website).

The aim of *Stories of Place* is that the CFP staff will continue to add stories and contributions to the map on an ongoing basis. For this to remain a realistic possibility, the amount of technical knowledge needed to design and contribute to the map needs to be kept to a minimum. This is because CFP staff are employed as part of Community Employment schemes, where technical expertise is not a hiring requirement (so technical expertise cannot be guaranteed in the long-term). In addition, personnel turnover can be high as staff members are on limited-term schemes and regularly leave to take up full-time employment. Because of this, the design and look of the *Stories of Place* site does not exactly mirror that of *Cork's Main Streets*, (the installation process for the latter project was more complicated and required additional technical know-how). Instead, *Stories of Place* uses an iteration of the Neatline platform that is easier to install, and the software for the site has been successfully installed by CFP staff (with minimal guidance). A set of step-by-step instructions has been specially written to ensure that it is quick and easy to maintain, sustain and, if necessary, re-build this digital resource in the long term. The stories presented on this map replicate the stories of the original *Cork Memory Map* and these will be gradually added to in the coming months.

Aims and use in oral history digital mapping projects

The outcomes from oral history projects are primarily audio and they represent a primarily aural experience, focused on listening rather than seeing. Oral history practitioners working to gather memory narratives understand the recording of audio testimony as having distinct advantages over more visual recording and presentation methods (see O'Carroll 2015, 34-52). However, putting this material online in a visual format such as the web can sometimes look unappealing because it does not adhere to the presentation conventions for current websites, which tend to be highly visual. This can make it difficult to attract an online audience. One way of tackling this is to present visuals alongside the audio and oral history projects associated with locality or place are increasingly using digital maps as their primary visualization: 'maps situate our stories, tie them to specific places, and are among the most useful tools to aid in our ability to understand the world around us.'[vi]

Maps can exclude and constrain representations of space and place and critical cartography aims to expose these limitations, focusing on 'hidden, and sometimes hideous, narratives embedded in maps' (Caquard 2011, 136). Nevertheless, one of the attractions of digital maps for oral historians is that they help to create and re-create place through the representations of everyday worlds of past and present (in the maps, in the oral histories and in their accompanying images and text). They are a way for users to 'access the rich tapestry of memory and informal histories that overlay the city' (O'Carroll 2011, 184). It

allows them to explore spatial stories and to imagine and evoke the city as it is to them, or as it has the potential to be. Most importantly, it exposes the city as it is to others, many of whom have a very different view/experience of the city when juxtaposed with official and historical narratives. This is an important aspect of the CFP's archival holdings. As well as traditional oral histories recording the voices of residents and their stories of everyday life, the CFP archive includes several special oral history projects. These include, for example, recordings documenting the experiences of migrants to Cork. Another example is an ongoing project collecting oral histories of LGBT experiences of the city.

In the CFP's latest digital oral history maps the intention is that stories can be continually added, so that the narrative of the space is changing and developing as more stories are added. The emerging narratives created around digital oral history maps go beyond the representations in the maps themselves, since the addition of memories and stories from oral history adds another dimension: sounds, particularly human voices 'evoke place in visceral and profound ways' (Tebeau 2013, 28). Using this extra evocation, in voice, stories and memories can be seen as a process of creating meaning in space, transforming it to meaningful place. The changing and cumulative process of creating the digital oral history maps could be interpreted as an appropriate evocation of place since, as Massey suggests, the meaning(s) of place is/are not stable, instead places are configurations of space that have a temporary meaning and purpose, can mean different things to different people, and at different times, and are in a constant state of negotiation and re-negotiation (Massey 2005, 140-1).

The CFP's core activity is the collection and archiving of oral histories of everyday life from Cork. As with other oral history projects, the gathering together of many different individuals' memories can form a kind of memory bank, transformed into collective memories that are sometimes used by groups and individuals as a way of finding a place in the world, a sense of belonging (Said 2000, 179). This is even more the case when combined with representations of place, such as a map: 'Together, social memory and social space conjoin to produce much of the context for modern identities' (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004, 384). If we accept these theories about the (temporary and negotiated) configuration of meaning and place and the powerful combination of collective memory and social space in the construction of a sense of belonging, then digital oral history maps could be said to present narratives associated with spaces, where meanings can be configured and re-configured over time as stories of places accumulate, overlap, compete and interweave to reveal a multi-layered cityscape of narrative and stories.

Conclusion

This paper has described three different iterations of a digital oral history map of Cork city, created as part of the everyday work of the Cork Folklore Project. In each iteration, the aim is to use memory (personal and collective) to present individual interpretations of place identity and place attachment. When the individual interpretations of many different narrators are juxtaposed on the same background, the aim is to create a textured

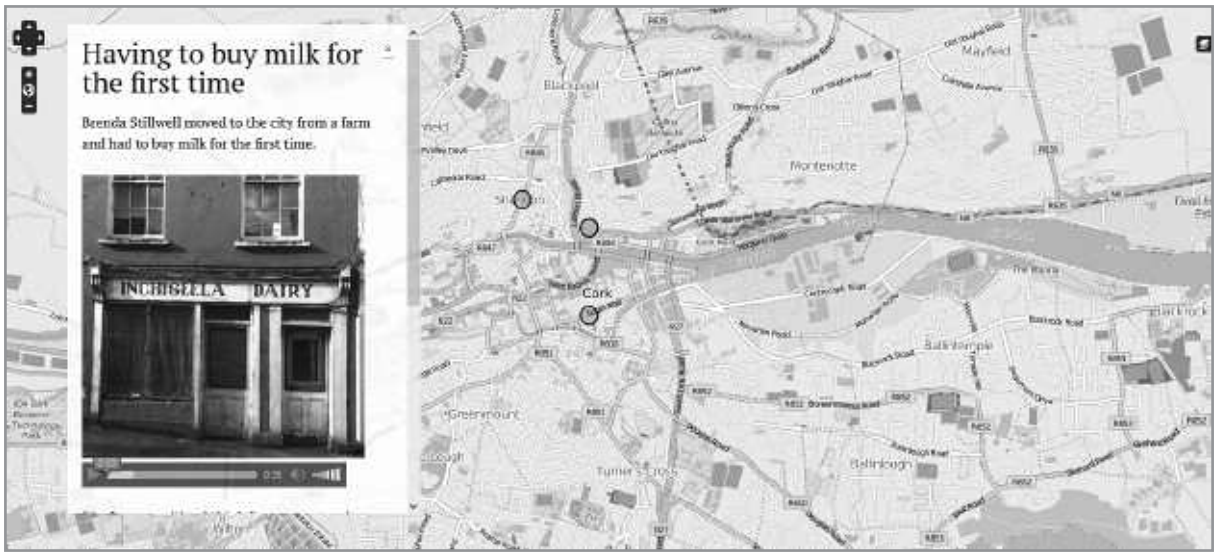

Fig. 3: Screenshot: New Memory Map under construction www.storiesofplace.org/neatline/fullscreen/stories-ofplace #records /2; accessed 25 November 2015)

and multi-dimensional narrative of Cork city, highlighting local experience. This is one way of exploring how digital technologies can play a role in the articulation and construction of experiences of belonging and locality in a globalized world.

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Notes

[i] http://www.ucc.ie/research/memorymap/. Accessed 20 February 2016.

[ii] http://www.cityofmemory.org. Accessed 20 February 2016

[iii] www.rte.ie/radio1/doconone/2011/0816/646858-curious-ear-doconone-cork-city-memory-map/ Accessed 17 February 2016.

[iv] N.L. Maron and S. Pickle 'Sustaining the Digital Humanities Host Institution Support beyond the Start-Up Phase', http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc463533/m2/1/high_res_d/SR_Supporting_Digital_Humanities_20140618f.pdf. Accessed 9 January 2015. (See p.11.)

[v] Open Street Maps is © Open Street Map contributors https://www.openstreetmap.org/copyright. Accessed 21 February 2016.

[vi] See P. McCoy at http://ohda.matrix.msu.edu/2012/06/storymapper/. Accessed 21 February 2016.

Making Music and Making Place: Mapping Musical Practice in Smaller Places

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Musical art continues to play an important role in Irish society (Kearney 2007). Indeed, the Arts Council of Ireland's most recent strategic development plan asserts that *'the work of artists inspires and reflects the rhythm of the everyday as well as momentous events in public life [...] At home and abroad the arts are the hallmark of our creativity as a people'* (The Arts Council 2015, 4). Yet geographic research on the role of music in constituting this 'rhythm of the everyday' in places, in particular in non-urban settings, is limited. This is surprising, for places, as centres of felt-value, experience and memory, are central to the constitution of identity and belonging (Tuan 1977). As I suggest in this paper, through distinctive 'textures' of place, musical practices constitute a dense mesh of social relations and networks that connect places and peoples in multiple locales (Adams et al. 2001, xiii).

In my past and current research, I explore place-/music-making relationships in smaller Irish city and town contexts. In this paper, I will describe my methodological approach to studying 'musical ecologies', or 'music's many modes of being in place' (Watkins 2011, 405). I argue that place- and music-making are co-constitutive in at least four ways. First, place inspires and fosters musical composition and performance; thus, music composed about and performed in place communicates and generates affective place knowledges. Second, place affects the ways music is learned, performed and experienced, such that the textures of memories, experiences and emotions attached to particular places transform them from generic spaces into places in which music takes on new and particular meaning and resonance. Third, the process of making music generates what Tuan (1979, 416) calls 'fields of care'. Through music-making, musicians and listeners create environments that support and attend to the flourishing of places. Lastly, music-making creates a distinctive sense of place, where opportunities to build identities for and promote places are realised.

By examining these multi-faceted emotional, institutional, and social geographies sustaining place- and music-making in smaller locales, my research aims at cultivating community building, informing policy making, and allowing musicians and others to foster the co-production of place and music. I approach the creation of a musical ecology of place in two ways, extending my role as both artist and geographer (Hawkins 2007, 1-2).

Firstly, when music is understood as a form of lived and embodied artistic practice, understanding musicians' experience of performance, and how place and musical performance influence each other, is critical. Morton (2005, 668) describes how researching musical performance practices offers new ways to access aspects of place-making that might otherwise go undiscovered or overlooked, including the roles of the senses, emotions, the body, and non-verbal communication. Geographers researching performed artistic practices, including dance, performance and visual art, argue similarly (O'Conchuir 2015, Till 2008). The unique nature of performance, happening in one particular space at one particular time, means that its immediacy and ephemerality need to be captured (Duffy 2009, 230).

As a musical artist, I understand the unique and often difficult to describe experience of performance. I relate to the excitement and nervous anticipation, among many other things, that can accompany performing, and I understand the processes of planning and preparation beforehand. Thus, as a researcher, I can endeavour to explore aspects of musical performance and place from the position of performer which others may not enjoy. I am developing a form of performance-based participant observation during performances, taking extensive notes on what I observe of my fellow performers, audience and others, as well as my own reactions and feelings. These observations are complemented by conversations with performers and audience members in the course of the performance (mostly before and after), and with in-depth interviews with the artistic/musical directors/producers of performances before and after the event. Through this process, I access the immediacy of and reactions to performance as outlined above, but also the wider factors shaping performance production, including those related to place.

Additionally, understanding the creation of musical artistic works is critical, since composition is another

Fig. 1. A group of participants mapping their musical stories

process through which musical artists reflect on place; I think compositions can be considered a medium through which such reflections are communicated. Compositional analysis has few direct precedents in geography, and so I draw on musicological methods. I notate and analyse musical scores, based on either live recreation or recorded performances of an original work, followed by in-depth interviews with the composer. We listen to/play through the work and discuss the musical points and themes of the piece, its background, and the relationship of its composition to aspects of place. Here too, the ways in which place was facilitative of the composition, and/or the challenges faced during the composition process, come to the fore.

This study of the practice of performers and composers provides valuable insights into their everyday working experiences in place. However, there are aspects of place- and music-making that are not fully accessed through this process, which need further attention. A second approach to understanding the place-/music-making relationship is through examining the social-spatial processes of learning music creating and forming musical groups and communities, developing places that become known for music, adapting the functions of existing places in everyday life to include music-making, and experiencing and producing the informal spaces and interstitial sites important for music-making (Finnegan 2007). As part of these processes, some communities develop and maintain musical fields of care; sometimes places may also become well-known for their musical qualities to 'outsiders', which may result in certain forms of place promotion. Critical to understanding these spatial processes are the perspectives of non-professional, voluntary and community-based musicians. I believe that developing a way to understand this more day-to-day work of music in place is an integral part of building a place's musical ecology, and accessing the lived reality of place for musicians.

These working premises underlie a second way of shaping an ethnography of place-based musical practice, which I operationalise through community deep mappings of music and place. Community mapping emphasises giving voice to people in places to uncover and document that which might otherwise be overlooked (Clifford 2015). Deep mapping similarly involves the intensive exploration of a particular place using engaged, participatory and interactive methods (Biggs 2010, 5). Deep mapping allows the exploration and illustration of the 'materials, perspectives and temporalities' that constitute place (ibid, 6). Both community and deep mapping use a variety of ethnographic, archival, creative, and participatory methods, for instance walking, photography, and various other forms of artistic crafts.

I bring elements of both community and deep mapping together to understand the 'musical stories' of places, from the perspective of amateur, community-based, and professional musicians, and musical audiences. Building on Krinke's (2010) *Mapping of Joy and Pain*, I use a large base map onto which participants mark the places of

musical significance in their lives. Groups of participants gather around the map and discuss their musical stories with each other, describing for instance music during their childhood and in school, music in the home, and their memories of performing or attending at concerts (Fig. 1). During this process, the networks of family, friends, communities and colleagues, the formal and informal spaces of all sorts (indoor and outdoor, public and private, big and small), and the many infrastructures that exist in and could be said to form a constituent part of place more broadly, are mapped and detailed by the participants. Importantly too, participants describe those aspects of place which are not facilitative of music, and the challenges musicians face in their practice. This all occurs in an informal, engaging and egalitarian atmosphere (McLucas n.d.). According to mapping participants with whom I worked in Carlow during my M.A. (2015), mapping musical places was a positive and enjoyable experience. The resulting map, itself a sort of visual art piece, and the rich transcripts of mapping conversations, provide extensive insight into the musical 'textures of place', and how these textures are woven into the larger fabric of places more generally (Adams et al 2001, xiii).

I think that these two artistic and ethnographic approaches to studying place-based music, the in-depth study of performances and compositions on the one hand, and the creation of maps of music and place on the other, provide effective ways to understand the place-/music-making relationship. These approaches are not without their challenges, however, and I especially consider my position as an artist when carrying out this research. Most obviously, my position as artist-practitioner-geographer equips me with the skills, experiences and connections which make this research possible. One who undertakes this sort of performance research must know the conventions of performance, and must endeavour not to cause too much interruption to the wider performance process (Morton 2005, 670). Being an active performer helps somewhat here, and so this is an advantage of taking this particular position. Further, the sort of 'insider' positionality afforded by my role as a working musical artist affords both a unique and valuable insight, and existing connections with others which make the forging of connections over time required of ethnographic research more manageable and attainable (Hall 2009, 263). I also reflect on the challenges of competently undertaking each aspect of the tasks of performing and researching. As a performer I must listen carefully to what is happening around me, follow cues, and perform well; doing so while, as a researcher, observing my fellow performers and audience, and taking notes, sometimes proves difficult. I have considered recording performances to ease the process of recording events, but this does not alleviate the need on my part to record the reactions of myself and others during the performance. This is, after all, of particular importance to the whole endeavour; these emotional, sensory and experienced reactions are valuable parts of the place-/music-making relationship, most readily accessed through performance.

In my experience, participants in both compositional and performance ethnographies give a great deal of their time, and place much trust in me as a researcher. Working with musical colleagues in Carlow provided valuable illustrations of this. Here, for each case study performer/composer, engaging in a research experience was new. Some expressed nervousness, but also reassurance at the fact that they knew that I would comprehensively convey their work to others, and would engage with them in an open, friendly way. These feelings were fostered, I believe, by my existing familiarity with these artists, and by my position as a musician myself. In this instance, I was warmed to learn that, after performance/compositional ethnographies and community-deep mappings alike, participants enjoyed their participation. Performers and composers valued the experience in terms of reflecting on their work in new ways, or from the perspective of place, which may not previously have been especially noteworthy for them. For the mappings, participants commented on how they enjoyed reflecting, and remembering past musical experiences, sharing their stories with others, and engaging with maps in new ways. Another positive aspect of this process, which I will aspire to continue to foster, is the ability of participants to discuss both the positive and negative experiences and aspects of music in place. Just as place is a weave of experiences, feelings and memories, there are negative aspects to place, and both arms of the methodology I describe are, I would argue, facilitative of accessing this important part of place-based research. Given my interest in understanding the sometimes overlooked contexts of smaller towns and locales, understanding the challenges musical artists face is key.

Mindful of the possibilities and challenges of these approaches, as well as the challenges Irish artists

increasingly face, I have suggested that it is important to build an understanding of the role of music in place-making, and have discussed how this might be achieved. Musical art effectively conveys the experiential and sensory nature of place through its capacity to convey experience and emotion, foster belonging and identity, and nurture (Tuan 2004). Scholarship on music and place, while extensive and varied in terms of themes and interests, has, to a significant extent, taken place in larger urban/city contexts (Sorenson 2009). This means the work of small towns in creating and developing their sustainable futures (through music as well as more broadly) is overlooked (Gibson 2010). As a result, the challenges artists in smaller contexts face are not highlighted. I argue that understanding the musical ecology of these places, working with musicians of all backgrounds and positions within these smaller contexts, will contribute to our understanding of place-making through music and art, and to working to sustain and support these processes.

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Writing in the Margins: Unfolding the Tim Robinson Archive

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Introduction

The Tim Robinson Archive was acquired by the James Hardiman Library at NUI Galway in late 2013, and in the intervening years, a rich and multi-disciplinary programme of collaboration has grown out of this project. Tim Robinson's mapping and interpreting of the landscape of the Galway Bay area for over four decades was organised and recorded meticulously, with a clear evolution of his work demonstrable in the content of his archive. Preliminary digitization, and work on map visualization mark the next steps of this evolutionary journey, allowing us to build a platform upon which his material can be engaged with in new and exciting ways.

Tim and Máiréad Robinson and the beginning of the Folding Landscapes project

Arriving on Árainn in the late 1970s, Robinson describes the beginning of a compulsive relationship, '*to explore an island is to court obsession. We returned to live in Aran as soon as we could leave the city'* (Robinson 1997, 1). In the introductory pages of 'Setting Foot on the Shores of Connemara' (1996), he outlines the circumstances that led to his decision to create a map. Foremost among them was the need for one – the only map available was the six-inch Ordnance Survey, which divided the islands up into five awkward sheets. The islands, while not impenetrable to visitors, were not explored to their full potential, and visitors were often critical of the island's ways. Robinson was interested in the effects of tourism on such communities, and so inspired, he began sketching out a rough design for his map. He embarked on this mission with gusto, even though in his own words, '*I was anxious to get on with the actual mapping as soon as possible, though I had little idea of how to go about* it' (Robinson 1997, 3). His approach echoed back to the Naturalists' Field Clubs of the 19th century: He explored the landscape by walking, drawing and asking questions throughout it. This immersion was similar to the approach taken by botanists, archaeologists, naturalists, and pastoral writers, and conjures up associations with epic pilgrimages, rituals, and journeys from history, literature, and our imagination.

In 1984, Tim and Máiréad founded Folding Landscapes, a specialist publishing house and information centre from which the maps, and later books were sold. The maps are highly esteemed by hill walkers, archaeologists, and discerning tourists for their accuracy, detail, and artistry. The studio operated out of their home, quayside in Roundstone, and in 1987, Folding Landscapes won the Ford Ireland Conservation Award, and subsequently the European Award on behalf of Ireland. The project's 'unique combination of culture, heritage and conservation' was specifically commended (Folding Landscapes n.d.). A bilingual body of cartographic and literary work grew throughout the 1980s and ensuing decades. Folding Landscapes artfully represented the cartographic work, but, as alluded to in the title of Derek Gladwin and Christine Cusick's beautiful essay compilation, 'Unfolding Irish Landscapes, Tim Robinson, Culture and Environment' (2016), Robinson's literary output could be said to have un-folded the landscape in its cultural and meditative ethos and approach. In the course of his work, Robinson uncovered a challenge – interpreting and transmitting a complex landscape that covers coastal regions and topographical features, a landscape which is inseparable from the influence time has exerted on it. His writing explores this challenge, enriching his study with a trace layer of values that can be embedded in a landscape.

The Robinson Archive

The field work that went into the production of the Folding Landscapes maps was significant, and amassed records of considerable breadth. A beautiful, self-contained sub-collection within this archive is a set of over 7,000 record sized cards, carefully drawn from the weather beaten notebooks that Robinson brought on his field trips into the landscape. These also reside in the archive. The notebooks were later transcribed on to the record cards with added reflections, and built upon to include contextual information.

This sub-collection arrived in the Library with the other material in late 2013, organised within a traditional wooden library card cabinet. The Robinsons told us that the cabinet was in fact enjoying a homecoming, having been gifted to Tim by the former University Librarian Marie Reddan. The cabinet had not suffered from anything approaching the indignity of disorganisation at

its foster home. Each drawer was utilised to denote a Civil Parish, and within each drawer, the Parish's constituent townlands, 567 of them in total. Each townland is assigned several of these record cards. The cards trace the Irish and English language placenames, occasionally accompanied by a musing on the placename's origin, and they also record the local features of historical, ecclesiastical, archaeological, and geological significance, as well as occasional snatches of place and folklore. For each townland, this collection of local knowledge is enriched with a record of the people who contributed information. In the rare cases that they are not credited by name, a description of the person or their dwelling is captured instead. These were people Tim encountered throughout his journeys, some sought him out, some he met by chance. The interpretation of the landscape that he presents includes his and their collective viewpoints. They are entwined with his legacy through his meticulous recording.

The archive also includes a comprehensive body of reference maps and charts which fed into the output of Folding Landscapes. 19th century admiralty charts, an extensive body of OS maps, detailed tracings and annotations of these, geological charts, soil maps, artistic representations of the land, and various other sources of data and inspiration are included here. Annotated drafts of the Folding Landscapes maps are also included, incorporating corrections that were applied following dialogue with colleagues, or conversations with those he encountered while out on his field trips. Each townland that is recorded in the placenames index, as well as several of their features are coherently and diligently represented in the maps. Photographs of Tim carrying out his field work on site illustrate his methodology and the conditions he worked in.

Eighty further boxes of manuscript material encompass his research work, writing, and involvement in local ecological matters such as the campaign to save Roundstone Bog. There is extensive correspondence with writers, botanists, experts in folklore, and authorities on the Irish language. This portion of the archive dispenses a further layer in the evolution of his landscape work. Robinson writes '*that is one function of my work, this translation of the dense web of place lore out of speech and memory, into the world of books and maps, and it is a troubling aspect of the enterprise*' (Robinson 1987, 130). He feels a responsibility to preserve the landscape for future generations, and the act of recording rituals, traditions, and stories, and binding them to a sense of place, and protecting these in an archive, is a valuable way of doing this.

Listing of this archival material is underway with the placenames index, and the maps fully catalogued and available to researchers. The final part of the listing project - the manuscript material will be complete in the summer of 2016.

Digital Work

Thanks to the generosity of Nessa Cronin, during the summer of 2015 the Library benefitted from two weeks of work from Nell Buckley who was awarded the Tim Robinson Summer Fellowship. We were keen to make inroads in planning a digital representation of Tim's work, because it is such visually engaging material, and we wanted to open up access to it. We decided to focus on the townlands index initially. Rather than digitize all 7,000 plus cards, which might dilute our ability to clearly present Tim's work, Nell digitized the title card for each of the 567 townlands. The title card includes the Irish and English language versions of the placename, occasionally a musing on its origin, and often something extra by means of illustration. This could be an extract from Griffith's Valuation, a poetic quote, an anecdote, or an artistic sketch of some feature of the townland. In short, a hint at the wonder and knowledge waiting to be uncovered upon further excavation of this archive. This coincided with the library setting up a digital exhibitions platform, and the need for a pilot project to test out its features. We wanted to adequately represent the breadth of his work, and engage people visiting the site. The goal was to create a visual narrative that clearly represented the archive in an engaging and accessible way, and so our idea was to keep Robinson's mapping alive, and hopefully facilitate the continued evolution of the mapping project. We decided to create a cartographic base layer that could be built upon and enriched with multi formatted, multi disciplinary research. This could mean incorporating audio visual files on to points on the map, tracing a timeline or a pathway, and other potential research projects.

While clear on the principal, digital mapping was new territory for the Digital Library team. We felt it was important to establish something that would be accessible on an open platform so that it could interoperate easily with other initiatives and projects. The data points we needed to trace an outline of each townland were available thanks to the Irish Open Street Map community. There were still challenges, for example we

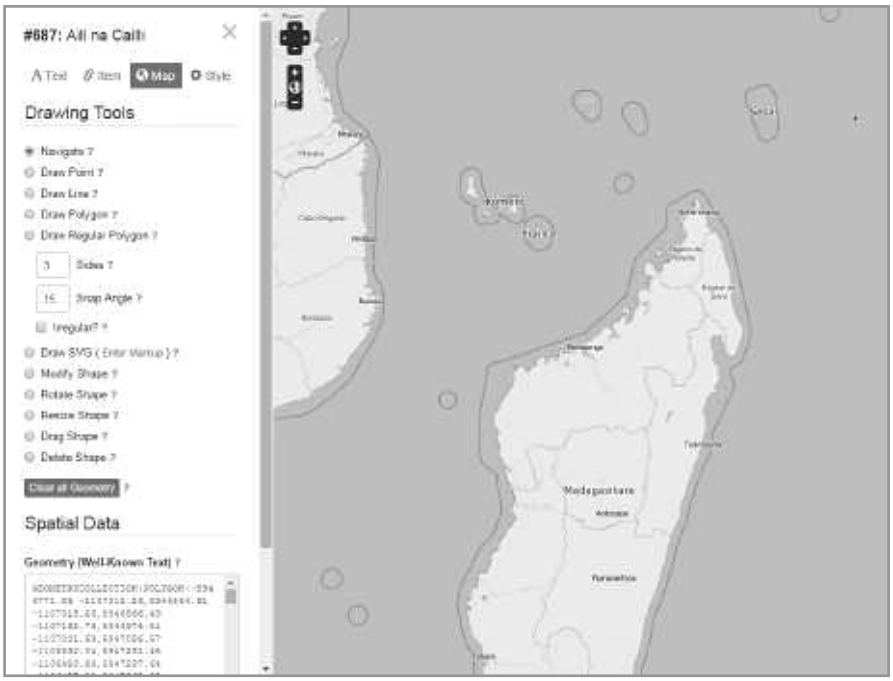

Fig.1. The arrow points to a dot, the townland of Aill na Caillí

had to transform these data points from an open source GIS format to a markup language, which was what our platform supported. A code was written and tested a number of times to iron out inaccuracies. Our first attempt successfully re-created the shape of the townland of Aill na Caillí, albeit slightly askew, and mysteriously surrounded by blue. Upon zooming out of the map, we were surprised to discover its location – North East of Madagascar (Fig. 1)!

Some head scratching and recalculations ensued, and resulted in something that looked less askew, and more promising. Indeed it was over 6,000 miles closer to its correct location, and very precisely South of where we needed to end up: off the West coast of France.

The 3rd attempt saw all prayers and expletive-filled supplications answered, we found ourselves in the right place at last!

The journey taken to reach this success felt epic in a way that seemed to honour Tim's life's work, and so the endeavour felt vindicated. When the project is completed, it will be accessible to all from https://exhibits.library.nuigalway.ie. Upon clicking on a townland, whether on the map itself, or from a menu in the left hand side of the screen, visitors to the site will see the digitized title placename card, a description of what other material relating to that townland can be found in Tim's archive, and have a visual entry point in to his work. The intention of this project is to create a platform for collaborative learning. Various aspects of landscape can be similarly mapped, giving the University the capacity to present a virtual landscape that is rich in knowledge.

Landscape Archives at NUI Galway

Tim Robinson's archive complements several other collections on the West of Ireland and landscape that are held at NUI Galway. These include the Balfour album of photographs taken in late 19th century that depict life in the West of Ireland. It was commissioned as a gift for Arthur J. Balfour in recognition of his support for the building of a Galway to Clifden railway. Photographs taken by George Pickow, who visited Ireland in the early 1950's with his wife Jean Ritchie capture many of the musicians who Jean recorded

Fig. 2. The arrow points to the townland of Aill na Caillí

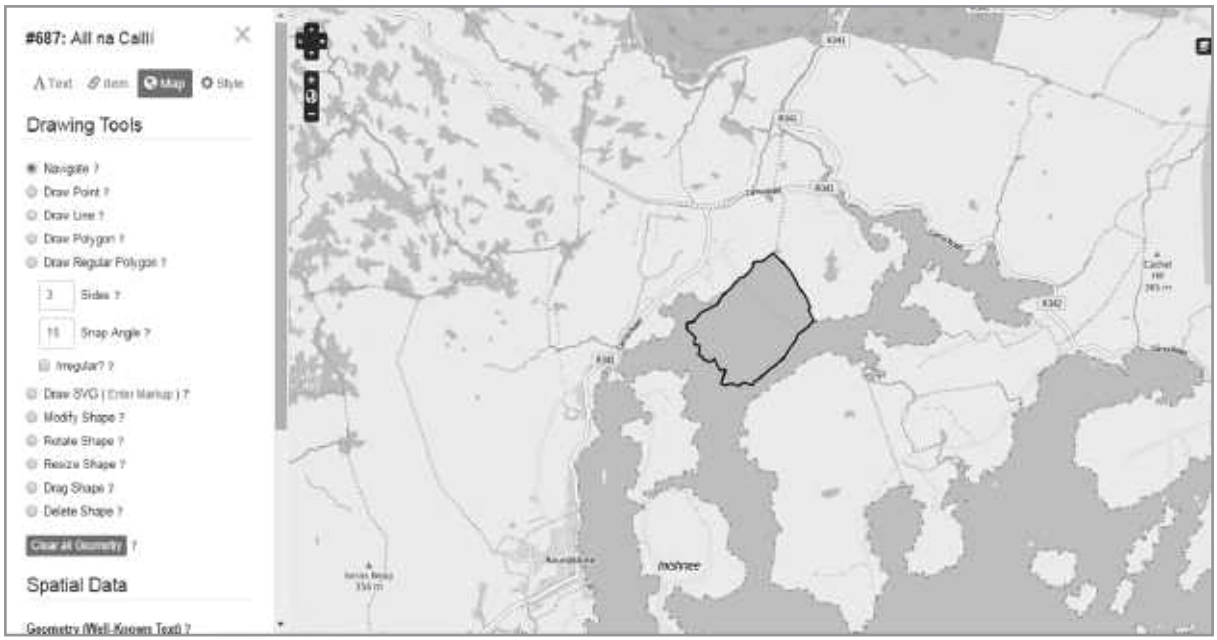

Fig. 3. The correct location for Aill na Caillí.

as part of a project to trace the roots of the music she grew up with in the Southern Appalachians. NUI Galway is home to a wealth of collections of local landed estate holding families that cover their legal dealings, and the management of various lands. Heinrich Becker's papers, Eamon de Buitlear's archive, a collection of Bob Quinn's photographs are also held here.

In celebration of the archive, and to accompany the launch of the book, *Connemara and Elsewhere*, an exhibition entitled 'Interpreting Landscape, Tim Robinson and the West of Ireland/Rianú Talún: Tim Robinson agus Iarthar na hÉireann' was held in the foyer of the Hardiman Research Building from September 2014 to February 2015. The exhibition offered a preview of the Robinson archive, and displayed photographs and extracts from *Connemara and Elsewhere*. A Moore Institute symposium accompanied the exhibition. Collaborative efforts in the meantime have included the awarding of a Tim Robinson Summer Fellowship, and the appointment of three artists in residence to work creatively with the archive.

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The Non-Sense at 'Non-Place'

Braha Kunda[1] and Ran Biran[2]

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"Today's terrorism is not the product of a traditional history of anarchism, nihilism, or fanaticism. It is instead the contemporary partner of globalization. To identify its main features, it is necessary to perform a brief genealogy of globalization, particularly of its relationship to the singular and the universal."

(Baudrillard 2003)

Fig. 1

Our ever-changing world is on the move from a modernized post-industrial era world to a hypermodern, post-humane world. Places - defined on their relational, historical and identity values - gave way to the creation of a new kind of space: a 'Non-Place' that is no longer defined by those values.[i]

The material and spatial conditions sensed at body proximity to highways, airports, malls and other generators of Non-Places, challenge humans' primary nature at the biological level. The air-pollution, noise-pollution, confined views, rough materiality, and more, affect people's health, and blur sensual perception. The resulting conditions evoke emotions of detachment and disconnection that are associated with Capitalistic alienation (Berger 2015, 44-48).'Non-Place' environments generated in proximity to major car arteries are experienced locally, but they accumulate globally as persistent viral phenomena.[ii]

The 'Non-Place' project is an artistic investigative endeavor which incorporates various media such as photography, dance, conceptual art, and installation, architectural and cultural analysis. This art and design research was initiated by the team of the Dancers and Choreographers, Kaiser-Antonino, the Photographer Ran Biran, the Architect and Environmental Designer - Braha Kunda, and Wolfram Lakaszus - a Multi-Media Artist. At the essence of our process we investigate, the dissonance between body primal knowledge and expression and it's relationships to the components of space, objects and materials, in environments that initially disregard these primary human perceptions. It is thus a commentary about the micro implications of macro-scale planned landscapes that put forth car traffic as both the means and the end goal, while ignoring human primary needs and environmental conditions.

At its out-set, 'Non-Place' as an art process is an opportunity to examine the micro effects of Highways' environments on *human ecology* and *sense of place,* and reflect on the principal value systems, perceptions and praxis which generate these environmental duplications globally. Recognizing the ills and faults in values that generated unpleasing environments is the first step forward. Consequently, the antidote to 'Non-Places' as lost-spaces that are virally spread, may lie in the expanding of consciousness and in alternative design methodologies, which will reconsider and resolve humans' primary need for place, at its primordial bio-neurological and corresponding cognitive and social levels.

The aftershock of taming a river - the Ayalon Highway

The plans for constructing a major state highway route and train rails through the Ayalon riverbed (Wadi Musrara) was published and announced at the early 1960's. Back then the Ayalon was a seasonal water stream - running from ancient times down the Judea hills and curving through the shore's sand dunes to the Mediterranean. Throughout the 1950's the Ayalon as a water way was considered a problem requiring a resolution due to repeating winter floods that eroded the built infrastructure and blocked connectivity in its vicinity for a few days yearly. The flood problem was considered by urban planners and decision makers as a challenge to the idea of a functional metropolitan area,

Fig. 2

and as a problem that road engineering may solve for good. The environment as a fragile ecosystem was not appreciated back then and was overruled by the modernist Zionistic idea of manifesting progress as the conquest and even defeat of natural powers.

The initial idea of the Ayalon engineering project was to channel the waters westward to the sea instead of the existing north-west course spilling into the Yarkon River. Estimations regarding the prehistoric route of the Ayalon River, adhered to this idea, yet, it was never realized due to limited resources and bureaucracy. Instead, a concrete water channel was constructed along the highway and the flooding persists. Evidently, the forces of nature were not tamed as foreseen.

The ideas of progress are embedded in the Zionist ethos that consistently employs Modernistic construction as means of both defining territory and constituting a national identity.[iii] The political agenda of construction is concealed in specific sites along the Ayalon banks where Arab villages such as Jamusin and Sheikh Munis existed until the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. The village of Sheich Munis is a part of Tel Aviv University campus, whereas the village of Jamusin was resettled back then by Jewish new-comers, who are being evacuated throughout the last decade, to allow for Neo-Liberal developments.

The Ayalon highways infrastructure was constructed in several stages. Its first part was opened in 1981, and the last at 2013. The north section of the Ayalon - (between road #1 to Jerusalem and the Yarkon River) follows the course of the natural channel and was constructed between two urban banks that were initially separated, whereas, the south section of the Ayalon continues straight south in between the municipal borders of the Holon and Bat Yam townships. This border was a top-down planners' line in maps, but in reality the urban fabric was quite continuous. The bold insertion of the highway into initially deprived neighbourhoods along the Ayalon-South was a blow to the residents' sense of place, both individually and collectively (Blank 2003).

Consequently, among the predominant scenes of the Ayalon-South are amputated streets. Such is Ha'Tanaim - the once main street of the Jessy-Cohen neighbourhood in Holon. Much like other streets in this area, Hatanaim Street was blocked by a separation wall, and ceased to function as a connecting public space. Structures for passage and control were crudely applied and positioned resulting in the division of the Jessy-Cohen neighborhood into two distinct sections. It was executed efficiently through 'concrete precast wall elements', 'Stair towers' and a 'pedestrian bridge'. These duplicated bold elements serve their main purpose: separation, noise insulation, and traffic control. The distance between the wall and the first line of apartment buildings is approximately eight meters. The resulting territories and spaces within the neighbourhood are oppressive and are not inviting as public places. The bare material condition reflects the reality of isolation, neglect and alienation.

Apparently, these environs were not pre-conceived in micro scale which then generated lost spaces in between, under or above the car routes.

Acknowledging the non-sense of 'Non-Place'

Re-acknowledging humans' primary need to be connected and belong, and conceiving the body as both a mediator and sensor through which we perceive and relate to physical places, motivate our special artistic collaboration in this joint quest. So far, most of our activity infield was along the Ayalon State Highway in the central Dan Metropolitan, Israel. As a comparative experience seemed necessary our team had also examined several sites along the Bundesautobahn A40 that intersects the city of Essen and the Ruhr Region, Germany.

Throughout our investigative artistic process we respond to the cohesiveness and alienation caused by top-down macro-scale planned environments, as manifested in the micro scale. Along the Ayalon we have explored a variety of 'Non-Places' differing in their relative scale and attendance, from amputated neighbourhoods at the Ayalon South environs, to the vast spatial emptiness near skyscrapers at Downtown Ramat-Gan. Exploring the lost spaces, fragments and left-over elements along the Ayalon highway through the 'Non-Place' art projections, revealed a socio-geological section, which echoes gaps between rich and poor and wounds caused by a detached mechanistic approach. At the outset, it is about the lack of interaction between the individual intelligence of the body and the body of urban environment.

The spatial and sensual perception of urban highways' environment ranges between car commuters and pedestrians to those who live in proximity to it 24/7. Yet, the expressions reflected through our repositioning of the dancers at the marginal territories along the Ayalon Highway, and by the Autobahns that intersect the Ruhr Region - portray similar existential aspects of solitude, unease and no-escape.

The 'Non-Place' project's photographs by Ran Biran express the vulnerability and despair of the human body in ways that attract and agitate us simultaneously. Unlike scientific data presentations through charts or schemes that help digest facts (while putting feelings aside), sensing the harsh realities of Highway environments through artistic media - touch people in ways that arise empathy and contemplation.

The obsessive series of images depict different spatial conditions in diverse sites along the Ayalon environs, and portray the duplicated landscapes composed of rough material textures and the bare-concrete elements which confine territories and allow them to become 'Non-Places' from their outset. The exposed dancers' body positioned against these elements - their posture and expression communicate the range of sensations in a verity of 'Non-Places' and reveal the *human factor* left aside and the silent stories of local residents whose lives were devastated by the highways' appearance at their windows and balconies.

Most of the 'Non-Place' art products are intimate in their expression and scale. The eye level perspectives, in both the photos and the dance choreography, intend to convey the range of sensations at highways' margins and landscapes. These close proximity view-points reveal realities which the authorities and top-down planners tend to put aside and overlook. 'Non-Place' as art praxis is thus meant to document and raise the consciousness needed in order to mend these physical and social scars. Consequently, this project touches base with contemporary sustainable ideas and values. Portraying the extremely confining living environmental conditions along highways reaffirm the need and call for body-scaled and integrative design in public spaces and for the making of places that respond to humans basic needs.

Towards Urban Eco-puncture - an integrative sustainable development

"Human beings have typically produced a nested hierarchy of spatial scales within which to organise their activities and understand their world. Households, communities, and

nations are obvious examples of contemporary organisational forms that exist at different scales. We immediately intuit in today's world that matters looks differently when analysed at global, continental, national, regional, local or household/personal scales. What appears significant or makes sense at one scale does not automatically register at another"

(Harvey 1988)

The injured environments we traced along the Ayalon highway were generated through the implementations of non-integrative planning schemes that ignored the corresponding social, economic and political circumstances, gaps and conflicts. These areas unfold the exclusion of deprived local inhabitant's from development process, and expose the little consideration given to humans' bio-psychological and social well-being in the local building culture. Neglected and alienating urban environments reflect the authorities' and professionals' lack of inspiration, heavy handed development and short sighted solutions. The planning praxis of such mega scale projects is subjected to the values of late Capitalism. Preventing such ill outcomes and healing such environments constitutes a cross disciplinary and multi scaled urban challenge.

Consequently, scientists, artists, planners and change-makers develop deeper understanding on how the social, economic, political and cultural values work as a framework that encourages actions and interventions, which in turn, accumulates and in effect change earth as an object and as living systems (Dawkin 1976).

Holistic perceptions and their accompanying values, followed through integrative and cross disciplinary methodologies and knowledge are at the essence of design for sustainability. Generating better balanced environments and healthier habitable places is pre-conditioned to understanding and addressing design processes in light of ecosystem principals and eco-human values. If sustainability would be embraced as a leading human-friendly paradigm we may then sense and conceptualize urban environments and their components as complex Living Ecosystems - rather than as a

Fig. 3

compilation of functional mechanisms. But as of yet, the top-down Modernist mechanist planning paradigm in Israel is still in effect reproducing shopping centres - suburban crawl - highways - settlements and separation walls, while affecting environments brutally through these mega scales interventions. The lack of bottom-up grass rooted human-scaled design oriented praxis lead to social alienation and environmental high costs. So, in light of sustainable values and principles, the development of new paradigms and design methodologies for the healing of problematic environs extend wide beyond the application of 'green technologies' and clever solutions. It is first and foremost about encouraging connections and interaction between people, and between people to their places.

Consequently, the universal human sense of 'Belongingness' and our need to relate to people, places and ideas are the essential key factor in the social and psychological level which should be considered and addressed in relation to the ways by which human senses inform and mediate emotions and knowledge evoked through the physical reality and its material conditions. It is thus entailing the cultivation of a new planning culture, and new ways of integrative methodologies - such as multi-disciplinary implementation of participatory place-making as an urban sustainable tactic - to name an option.

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Notes

[i] The phrase 'Non-Place' was coined in 1995 by Marc Augé in an essay and book of the same title in reference to spaces of transience that do not hold enough significance to be regarded as places. Among the examples Augé presented, were motorways, a hotel room, an airport and a supermarket.

[ii] 'Non-Place' as a concept is perceived primarily as the antithesis to a place. It is basically grasped as the opposite to the sense, need and meaning of a place for humans well-being. Therefore, if the idea of a 'Place' is associated with: Security, Identity, Belongingness, Connection, Responsibility, Comfort, Orientation and Life supporting systems, then 'Non-Place' is identified with: Anxiety, Anonymity, Alienation, Disconnection, Indifference, coercion, Disorientation, Dis-Attachment, Neglect and Polluted environment.

[iii] Nathan Alterman 'Morning Song,' 1938, Tel Aviv: *"...we shall dress you with a concrete and cement dress".* This famous poem echoes the formation of the Zionist ethos. Modernist concrete constructions were in effect perceived as the national revival material manifestation.

Chorography Approach as Strategy in the Architectural Design

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'Any native land forms a sacred geography. Bucharest is, for me, the center of an inexaustible mythology. Due to this mythology, I succeeded to understand his history. Maybe also my own history.'

Mircea Eliade, *Journal*

Introduction

This paper refers to a research project 'From City to Program: the Social Dimension of Architecture', in development at the Department of Basics of Architectural Design, Faculty of Architecture, 'Ion Mincu' University of Architecture and Urbanism in Bucharest, by a studio team led by professor of architecture Dana Chirvai. Focused on the reconsideration of what has become, as consequence of various unfortunate events in time, a neglected place, the project reconsiders a certain area in the context of a wider territorial system, belonging to the historical structure of Bucharest, extending the limits of the anachronistic concept of 'historical centre' to 'historical structure'.

Concept definition

The concept of chorography, formulated by Dennis Cosgrove and Kenneth Olwig, reconsiders Cultural Geography, continuing the ideas formulated by Christian Norberg-Schultz. Refering to existential space and having in mind the concept of *genius loci*, appreciated since Antiquity, Norberg-Schulz (1980) considers that a space acquires the quality of 'inhabited space' when a human being living there can orientate and identifying with his/her environment there.

Simon Schama[i] analyses the spirit of a place, evaluating its rythms, recognizing the equilibrum and sensitivities regarding harmonic relations included in its genetic coding and how it has adapted to environmental conditions. Between a human being and his/her space there is established in time a sense of belonging, that allows for communication of specific cultural values, depending on the way(s) of thinking, perception, emotional reactions and images. Place, including its material essence, form, texture, colours, satisfies the cultural necessity for integrative symbols and the psychological need for spirit of place.

Methodology of reference

Trying to understand the actual world, regarded from the perspective of science and sacredness, in a systemic and quantic vision, and considering scientific knowledge as an imperfect sphere–that includes also small spheres representing the unknown–the physicist Basarab Nicolescu, in *The Transdisciplinary Manifest,*[ii] defines sacrum as something that is "continously present and irreductible at the mental operations", searching out Reality and looking at how it belongs between the disciplines, passing through and existing beyond any one discipline. (Nicolescu 2007). The aim of transdisciplinarity is understanding today's world from the perspective of science and sacredness, as an unity (Ibid.), (see Table 1).

The perspective of integrated valorisation of the potential of a place demands that transdisciplinarity plays a key role within the architectural project, closely related to and determined by urban planning policy, in landscape management. Interpretative reading of the territorial

Disciplinary Knowing	Transdisciplinary Knowing
IN VITRO	IN VIVO
External world	Correspondance between external world and internal world
Knowing	Understanding
Analytical intelligence	Intelligence as an equilibrium between body, feelings and mind
Power and possession-orientated	Wondering-orientated
Binar logic	Including the third logic
Excluding values	Including values

Table 1 Disciplinary Knowing and Transdisciplinary Knowing

system, the recuperation of its historical role and reconsideration of the aesthetic dimension of the landscape, are only few of the considerations within the project strategy.

Fig. 1. design proposal by Alexandra Andrei

Using cartographic, archaeological and literary sources, the project attempts to both discover and reconsider remanent characteristics of the past, as signs that guide you, creating a complex route or path, full of significances in the urban laboratory of the old quarters, the so called 'mahala' (approximating to 'neighbourhood'). The path became an organizing axis for the elements of the landscape, the goal having less importance (the journey being more important than the destination). Gaining clear and stronger identities, paths give the observer the feeling of coherence and possibility of self-orientating through the former ‚mahalale', inhabited districts, each of them organized around its own church or its own monastery

Keypoints in the chorographic approach

The myth of the labyrinth as route through a world based on certain values, spirited by certain crafts, as genuine praxis related to a certain place, offers a premise for an aesthetic category of revelation as an initiatic journey of recovery of identity.

Bucharest has played a key role in the creation of characters in non-fiction as well as in fantasy novels. Mircea Eliade dedicated to Bucharest a geography in a mythical key, assigning emblematic places in the collective memory as referent spaces in Romanian literature. The spatial elements that are analized speak to the interaction of psyco-analysis, anthropology, and how fictional space participates in narrative evolution or in the structuring of personal mythology.

The streets, the boulevards, the so called 'mahala' quartiers, confluence areas, the routes of each character, vehicle or house, become a landmark of a personal geography, autobiographical, imaginary, or mythic.

Horizons and new perspectives arising from modernization processes inherent in the city, transform the birth place, or a street visited somewhere in time, into new labyrinths or gateways to initiatic paths.

Other spaces, such as cellars, vaults, lofts, attics, old rooms, etc, become places of memory, carying unique and strange signs, sacral or hierophanic.

Among these symbolic things a particular place is occupied by the tram, the window, the gallery, bridging public space, the street, and private space, the courtyard, and the symbol of the labyrinth. The tram as a symbol of straight line, connecting the mahala with the center, is amplified by the author's own biography. The nodes, the paths, the organization and the constitution of the social images of the city or character's personal status.

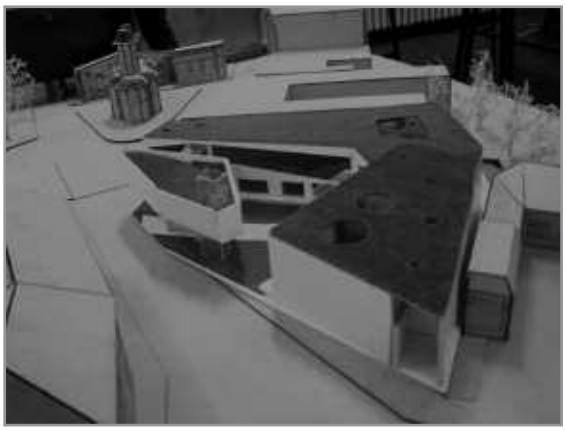

Fig. 2 design proposal by Marian Solea

The windows, or the false windows as mirrors, photos or paintings are mediators between the two worlds, the real world and the imaginary one.

Results and conclusions

The area (more than 1000sqm) considered in this project belongs to Calea Mosilor, one of the oldest streets of Bucharest, and is situated at the junction of this old street, Sfintilor Street and Armeneasca Street. It is an area closely connected with Mircea Eliade's personality and, built over time, is part of the historical structure of the city.

The projects on Calea Mosilor relates to the proposed regeneration of the old part of Calea Mosilor, so called Calea Mosilor Vechi.

The first proposal, by student architect Alexandra

Fig. 3 design proposal by Alexandru Carstea

Andrei, (Fig.1) consist of a multiethnic space dedicated to the different communities that have lived in this area over time. The concept aims to reconsider the old praxis in the area–creating ateliers to revive them–in order to discover hidden resources in the landscape, and organizing them to enhance the parcours as the labyrinth myth. The form is inspired by the typology of the existing buildings there, adapted to the organic irregular, but yet full of expressiveness, shapes.

The second project, by fellow architecture student Marius Solea, (Fig. 2) is a center dedicated to experimental theatre, for communication through performing arts. The volumes are configured so as to attract the public and to orientate them to the small square around Sfinti Church, enhancing this square by the newly created one within the ensemble, configured as an end perspective of the main route on Calea Mosilor. Circulation around the interior is on platforms forming an art parcours, ending in an open air space offering a wide perspective over the whole area, including the tower of the old church. The building is opened to the square, creating an alveola in the public space. The unbuilt space descents slowly through the site, offering a lower area for underground art and open air exibitions.

The third project, by student architect Alexandru Carstea, (Fig.3) proposes a center for visual arts, having functions as public attractors: dance studio, film, café-concert and theatre halls. The transparent façades reflecting the silhouette of the church, the cornice having different heights related to the existing buildings, the terrace at the last level and the newly-formed square in front offering a continuum to communicate between the street space and the inner space, allowing the extension of the exposition area into the street space.

All these studies have in view a revitalization of the whole area; a starting point in a long process to give back to this forgotten place of the city, but still alive in a virtual, mythical reality, the meaning and position it deserves.

From the chorographic perspective, the urban landscape does not mean only scenery, but it represents a history repository, a sum of human experiences, offering different levels of reading and understanding the landscape, and finding new network connections to provide new synergies.

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Notes

[i] Simon Michael Schama (born 1945) is professor of history and art history at Columbia University. His work *Landscape and Memory* belongs to the New Cultural Geography current, started by Cosgrove in 1985.

[ii] In Transdisciplinary Charter, adopted at the 1st World Congress of Transdisciplinarity, (Convento da Arrábida, Portugalia, 2-7 november 1994), Basarab Nicolescu maintained the necessity to understand reality according to its different levels. Starting from the idea that, as Mircea Eliade proposed, constitutive function of sacredness is not only an historical stage of the development of consciousness, transdisciplinarity offers the possibility of discovering the sacred in the area of the reality comprising our social relations, of the perception of our interior universes, in the normality of each day, rethinking education through artistic, affective and sensitive dimensions, as important as the analytical dimension

Place Values – *Glas Journal*: A Deep Mapping of Dun Laoghaire Harbour (2014-2016)

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Abstract

Glas Journal: A Deep Mapping of Dun Laoghaire Harbour (2014-2016) may be summed up as a postdoctoral artistic research project that documents the experiences of women, men and children on a particular harbour stretch bordering the sea. In the present context I propose a narrative enquiry of identity in a visio-spatial context that touches upon the intimate traces that are interwoven in the liminal spaces of our lives. A contemporary map of shelters and refuges, based on artist books that contain old map prints, photographs, written memories drawings and paintings, has been connected to processes of anchoring and homecoming. These liquid mappings reflect social and cultural regimes of value in spaces that are fluid in their production of meaning, whereby ritualistic and performative action help to convey the atmosphere of a harbour on the threshold to cultural change.

Liquid Mappings: The Harbour as a Chronotopic Threshold Structure.

This paper meditates on '*Glas Journal*: A Deep Mapping of Dún Laoghaire Harbour (2014-2016)'. A postdoctoral project funded by the Irish Research Council. *Glas Journal* is a collaborative, multidisciplinary cartography project that explores the layered emotional geographies of Dún Laoghaire Harbour, Dublin, Ireland. As a project in its entity, it is held together by map fragments, temporary art installations and two series of artist books that the writer created with partners in the local community, whose work and living spaces border the sea. The literary and visual practices that take place in *Glas Journal* performatively map the intimate rituals and everyday performances of those individuals who live and work in the harbour; whose quotidian activities structure the very fabric of the harbour space. They are, in a Bakhtinian sense, chronotopic.[1]

The harbour is a matrix-like structure encompassing the physicality of land and indeterminacy of the sea. Its shape, its actual representation of safety with its embracing pier arms, is often regarded as 'historical', whereas the sea as a mythological force ties in with feelings of obsession that very often bring up notions of wilderness and voracity. Yet, the chronotope of the harbour as a threshold to the open sea supports a narrative enquiry of identity in a visio-spatial context that is liquid. It helps to convey the atmosphere of a place on the threshold of cultural change that is made up by unstable feelings. *Glas Journal* invites the participants as well as the audience to negotiate the relationship between time and space, and their function to stabilise or to calm such instability. Furthermore, like memory bites, the journals are fragments, unstable ephemera that may challenge the structured and secured framework of an objective historical discourse.

Reserved for the indefinite shades of green, blue and silver present in the sea, the Old Irish word *glas* opens onto the world of possibilities that may be reflected in the translucent qualities of water. This chromatic generosity is used as a marker for this alternative mapping project that crosses art with geography. *Glas Journal* may be summed up as a two-phase project that documents the experiences of women, men and children on a particular harbour in Dublin. The first phase of the project (2015) was based on fourteen hand-sized and hand-made artist books that represent fourteen sequential harbour locations between the West and the East Pier of Dún Laoghaire Harbour bordering the Irish Sea. The books were made in the writer's studio space in the former coastguard station, which is one of the central spaces that shape this particular stretch of coastline. During this phase of the project, a temporary installation housing the journals was situated in the Irish Maritime Museum,

Fig. 1. Glas Journal installation in the Maritime Museum of Ireland, September 2015.© S. Loeffler

which overlooks Dún Laoghaire Harbour.

The journals contain old map prints, photographs, quotes by the renowned local maritime historian John de Courcy Ireland,[2] and drawings, all arranged around words that emerged again and again, in literature, in conversations and in workshops with local participants. These words—protection; emergency; navigation; rescue; loss; nostalgia; melancholia; guidance; safety—refer to how people relate to the harbour environment. Such fragments are included in the journals where they become fluid mappings; they are stained in ink and, often, become abstract, watery paintings. Instead of employing an objectively measured rationale for the examination of the hybrid and performative nature of the fragment, these fluid mappings are an emotional and visual manifestation that agitates the seeming cohesion of this particular harbour as an urban space. When something incomplete like a 'fragment' is presented as a cultural form, irritation surrounds not only the moment of its creation but also its interpretation. The satisfaction of analysing a wholesomely structured text cannot be achieved if the topic of enquiry is based on fragments that are emotionally defined by flat and ongoing moods.

The integration of fragments into a fluid, performative, artistic practice and discourse speaks of the possibility to accommodate multiple narratives, and to create a form of mapping that goes beyond territorialisation and labelling. Liquid mapping goes deeper, it becomes deep mapping by addressing a specific harbour location by the Irish Sea as a liminal space. Such an approach opens up a discussion about fluidity as well as solidity, by allowing for subjective visual and emotional narratives to be embedded by artistic practice in the overall discourse of the harbour where they work as a rhetorical device that reflects on the liquidity of the harbour space. Deep mapping as a practice is centred upon rituals of space that reveal themselves over time and in the context of the everyday. Such a form of a slow residency entails the mapping of connections and intersections, loose bits and gaps of territory that is considered as alive, in constant change and movement, with the sea and its layered colour as a borderline setting the stage of action as well as the mood.

The journals from the first phase of *Glas Journal* are a valuable source of information for the visual and emotional geographies and vocabularies that constitute the harbour as an urban palimpsest[3] (the palimpsest referring to the multiple possible readings of public space as a text). When Sianne Ngai explained her work *Ugly Feelings* to be a meditation of minor affect across a variety of art forms, she aimed at producing a theoretical work that offers 'a more fluid reading across forms, genres and periods than is the prevailing norm in academic criticism today (Ngai 2007, 7). In order to expand Ngai's examination of cultural forms in literature and film that express ambivalent and, sometimes, ugly feelings, and to introduce them to the field of visual culture a process of visual emotional mapping of the harbour space was chosen for the *Glas Journal* through the integration of fragments. Leaning on Ngai's transdisciplinary approach to affect, the ongoing work may be described as a deep mapping that explores the interactions between corporeal, material and emotional investments, intensities and flows—conscious or not—concerning the affective inhabitation of space and place, as well as the individual's or community's psychical capacity to be anchored in the geography which they inhabit.

For the second phase (2016) a further fourteen handmade books are currently being made with people who live and work in Dún Laoghaire Harbour, in order to record what the harbour space means to the residents based in the old coastguard station as well as to individuals who work or have worked with the Royal National Life Boat Institution, in the Ferry Terminal and the Marina, in the various yacht clubs (Motor; Royal Irish; Royal St. George; National Irish), for the Commissioners of Irish Lights, for MGM Boats, for the Quay Fish Shop, for the Irish National Sailing School, for the Dún Laoghaire Power Boat School, and for St. Michael's Rowing Club. A personalised *Glas Journal* is being made for each location with participants who agreed to take part in the documentation of 'their' place in the harbour, in order to gain insight into the cultural history of a maritime environment and what the harbour space means to its users in emotional terms.

The research for *Glas Journ*al has taken place over two years on a daily basis: it is a slow process of encounter between artistic practice and the daily engagements in Dún Laoghaire Harbour, where all activity is surrounded by sea. Donating the term 'Liquid Mapping' to this process, the work engages with the visual-emotional geographies and vocabularies of the spaces located in the protective function of the harbour arms and within a space that is also called 'home'. The word 'home' reverberates with the multiple references to being rooted, to belong. In its common usage, home evokes the

meaning of being in one's own home as well as making oneself at home in a place that is not one's own. In this sense, 'home' not only designates an actual space or place in which one dwells, but is also a symbolic placeholder for a space or place in which one feels safe, or, at least, keeps 'the Uncanny' at bay.[4] As a threshold structure bordering the boundless and, to a certain extent, mythical sea, the harbour relates to crossings over blank spaces of aquatic landscape. The journey to 'the harbour' may be muddled and disorientating with difficult attachments and fantasies implicated in processes of reaching home. However, the harbour is also a containing space intimately implicated in this endeavour to reach home (whatever 'home' may stand for).

Fig. 2. Space of Homecoming. July 2010.© S. Loeffler

When the idea of home as a space of protection continually emerged from the research process as one of the project's thematic strands, a scenographic representation of the two harbour arms of Dún Laoghaire in the former Mariners' Church in Dún Laoghaire that now houses the Maritime Museum of Ireland for the *Glas Journal* 2015 exhibition (during the first phase of this project) was installed, 14 hand-sized and hand-made books that represent the14 sequential harbour locations between the West and the East Pier were then homed in this haven as if they were reference points on a maritime map. Conversing with the history of Dún Laoghaire harbour as both a transitory space and temporary haven, this installation explored the harbour as a space of guidance and, possibly, healing. The project journals were situated within the constructed harbour arms which acted as a space of protection or a sanctuary in which an alternative, emotional maritime map could be created: a map capable of reflecting the multiple meanings of harbour. These symbolic haven-like sites ('haven' as it was formerly used to stress the safety elements of harbours) support a contemporary map of shelters and refuges, of guidance and connection, and of processes of anchoring and homecoming to evoke the atmosphere of a place by the sea that has been shaped by loss, separation and nostalgia, and is trying to find new passages to cross the unknown.

Since the 19th century and until early 2015, Dún Laoghaire Harbour operated as a passenger port for ferries travelling between Ireland and Holyhead in Wales. For the many migrants who have taken this journey over the years, the Dún Laoghaire harbour arms can signal both homecoming and leave-taking from home. Now the former pulsating heart of the harbour, the ferry terminal, is an in-between space awaiting its transformation. So are the empty units in the residential coast guard station and the former mailboat pier, the Carlisle Pier, which is currently used as a car park. The chronotope of the threshold encompasses the intervals, the gaps, the empty pages of the harbour mappings, charting a place 'somehow out of sync' of what the harbour traditionally 'had been'. When we consider the harbour as a haven, a sacred, liminal space that, like the womb, is a temporary home, it then extends itself as a space of crossings - of journeys, separations and returns, of longings, belongings and dispossessions - which are both physical and emotional in nature. It also opens a space for continued becomings. 'We can call these becomings liquid and they are supportive of liquid subjectivity as conscious thought, which is held in abeyance from its normative conceptual anchors, is literally and metaphorically "at sea, on sea, in the sea."[5]

'Thesis 56' by Werner Hamacher (2009) elaborates on philological associations with *topos*:

> *Topoi also have their time. Philology—which pays as much heed to the usury of tropes in the baroque and in Romanticism as it does to the disappearance of topoi in the twentieth century—will notice that the drainage of language, on the one hand, allows predication to emerge as the (ideological) central topos and, on the other hand, multiplies a gap—an interval—into gaps—and intervals—that cannot be contained by any topos but hold open an a -topy or u -topy. The time of space is suffused with the time of spacing; time spacing is no longer a condition of phenomenality but its withdrawal into the aphenomenal. Time also has its time: it is ana - chronistic.*[6]

Hamacher's notion of 'time spacing' is synonymous for the processes of becoming that are at work in the harbour,

which relate to the interactions between human beings and their habitat. There is no universality, but a constant flux of appearance, disappearance and re-appearance that may be compared to a tidal system regulating liquid states of times and places. *Glas Journal* embraces and contains these performative patterns that reveal themselves throughout this continuous flow of change and exchange in the 14 locations between West and East Pier bordering the sea.

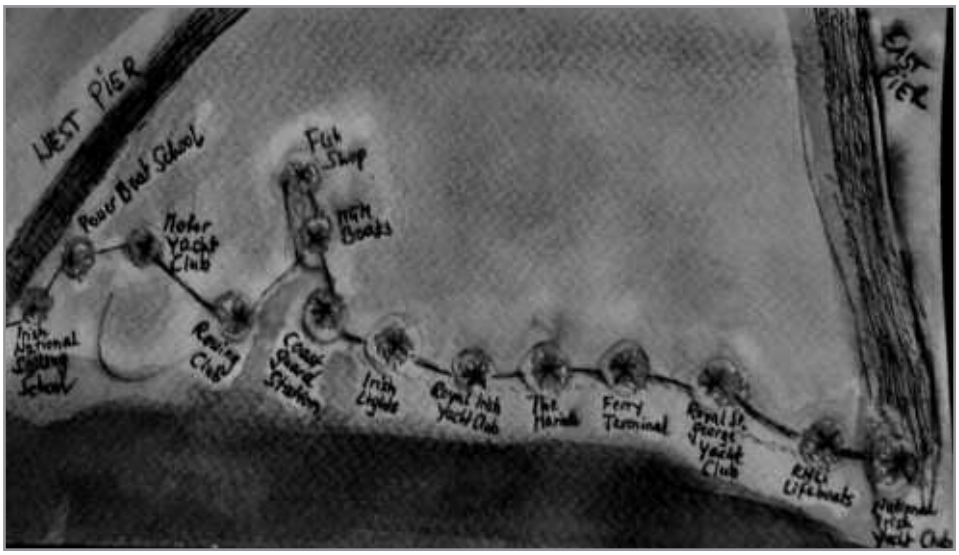

Fig 3. Glas Journal Border Map. September 2014.
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Notes

[1] In his *Dialogical Imagination* Bakhtin uses the expression of the chronotope for the study of the relationship between time and space in literary works, and how the inseparability of the two effects a person's way to form a memory, expressing that 'chronotopes thus stand as monuments to the community itself, as symbols of it, as forces operating to shape its members images of themselves.' (Bakhtin 1981, 7).

[2] For a historical account of the development of Dun Laoghaire Harbour see de Courcy Ireland (2001)

[3] For a detailed discussion of the urban palimpsest in the context of monumentality and modernity, see Huyssen (2003, 30-48)

[4] The German word for 'uncanny' is 'das

Unheimliche', which literally means 'the unhomely', and could also be translated as 'the unsettling'. Referring to the German use of the word, Vidler points out that in a Freudian connotation "unhomeliness" 'was more than a simple sense of not belonging; it was the fundamental propensity of the familiar to turn on its owners, suddenly to become defamiliarized, derealized, as if in a dream' (Vidler, 1992, p. 7).

[5] Tina Kinsella's collaborative writing about *Glas Journal* and her notions about the sub-real in the context of the harbour as a womb-like space are published in "Liquidities" in the "On Sea / At Sea" special issue of *Performance Research Journal* (Taylor & Francis Online, forthcoming in May 2016).

[6] See Werner Hamacher's *95 Theses on Philology* (*diacritics* Journal, 2009) for a detailed discussion on how our choice of words and silences are connected to time and place.

Trail use and perception of a diverse mountain farming landscape by hikers in the protected area Allgäuer Hochalpen in the German Alps

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Introduction

Attractive scenery, the opportunity to experience nature, and authenticity are key factors in the choice of destination in Europe and crucial for regions where nature-based tourism is an important economic factor (Tyrväinen et al. 2014). Within the Alpine arc, a complex interaction of mountain farming and nature has often led to high biodiversity and outstanding scenic beauty (Bätzing 2002).

Alpine mountain farming landscapes with its distinct patterns of open space and patches of forests are endangered by land-use changes like intensification or abandonment (Konold 1996; Kampmann et al. 2008; Zimmermann et al. 2010) and depend on regular extensive farming practices. Recreational activities can have a direct negative, such as disturbance of wildlife or trampling of vegetation (Liddle 1997) and is often connected with informal trail use (Rochefort and Gibbons 1993; Liddle 1997; Rochefort and Swinney 2000). For nature conservation, site and visitor management, it is important to gain information on how sensitive Alpine mountain farming landscapes are used and appreciated by tourists.

The NATURA 2000 site 'Allgäuer Hochalpen' is situated in the southernmost part of Germany in the Bavarian district of Oberallgäu. It is considered to be one of the most valuable nature conservation areas in the Alpine arc (Moerschel 2004) and dependents on regular grazing and related management to maintain its open character. We selected a section of the protected area located southeast of the skiing area at the Nebelhorn Mountain (2224 meters above sea level) and stretches down to the Oytal valley, situated at 1.450 meters (see Fig. 1). Without grazing and management, large parts of the protected area would be dominated by forest and Green Alder (*Alnus viridis*) shrubs.

Using this study area,[i] we assessed the use of the trails by

Fig. 1 Impression of a section of the study area. Note the cattle trails at the slopes. Continuous line: official hiking trails, dashed line: used informal trail, dotted line, informal trail, not used during surveyed period. Line thickness represents trail use

aerial photographs, photos taken in the study area and posted on the internet, our own observation and interviews. In a second step, we analysed the perception of landscapes and mountain farming.

Materials and methods

First, the trail network was mapped. We tried to map the trail network including informal trails by using aerial photos according to the method of Denecke (1969). However, there was no way to detect accurately whether marks on the aerial pictures were informal trails used by recreationists or paths trampled by cattle. Therefore we had to carry out on-site investigations and interviews (Garz and Kreimer 1991) with the landlord of the Alpine hut, two farmers operating in the study area and the Natura 2000 site manager.

Web 2.0 applications allow people to share their movements by posting (geotagged) photos or routes on the internet (Orsi and Geneletti 2013). In a second step, we assessed the importance and the positive or negative connotation of landscape elements in the study area as well as trails used to take these pictures. In summer 2013, we collected photos from the internet using the Google search engine and carried out a content analysis (Macnamara 2005). Search terms were names of the two huts, the lake or surrounding peaks as well as names of torrents, canyons or the hiking trails. Only private posts with a minimum of ten pictures were considered. Sceneries and landscape elements were evaluated according to how important they were for promoting the attractiveness of the study area. Posts on commercial websites were selected if they contained at least three pictures. Pictures were only analysed if they correctly presented the study area or parts of it. Categories were formed to analyse the content of the picture: 1. By using the name or title of the picture, 2. If the description was incomplete or missing, and if it was quite similar to a previous one with a description, the previous one was used. 3. If no description was attached, the dominating element in the picture was assessed and considered positive, if this was not applicable, the element taking up the most space in the photograph was used to categorize the picture.

Finally, recreationists were interviewed at the about their landscape preferences in the High Alps of the Allgäu. The survey was conducted during the early summer of 2013. The Zeigersattel (a mountain pass at 1,923 metres above sea-level) was selected for interviewing (Fig. 1 is taken around 300 metres away from this place). It is about 15 minutes walk away from the upper gondola station of the Nebelhorn.

A questionnaire with a quantitative approach (Atteslander 2008) was developed dealing with outdoor recreation activities; a map to draw in the used trails was given, and questions about awareness of being in a protected area, appreciation of different landscape elements in the study area, and finally, some demographic data were included.

The combination of the photo assessment and interviews helps to reduce the disadvantages, e. g. misinterpretation of photo contents and bias due to social interactions between the interviewee and the interviewer.

Results

Interviewees were asked to name and mark the places within the study area where they had already passed or intended to visit. According to the interviews, 41.2% of all interviewees had just used the trail from the cable car to the rest area and returned without any further use of the trails in the study area, and the vast majority of the people going further would only do so for another 30 to 60 minutes. Main reasons for carrying on are gaining access to the lake, reaching a viewing point other than that from the Zeigersattel or visiting the hut, where food and drinks are available. Only about 4% of the interviewees used informal trails. No other individuals were observed on informal trails during the survey period. The main reasons given for using the informal trails were climbing to the top of the nearby peaks (Schochen and Seekopf) and enjoying a panoramic view or hiking around the entire lake.

303 different pictures on the internet could be assessed. 93 of them could not be assigned to any category. They either showed objects outside the study area or the study area during the winter months, which were not the subject of this study. The remaining 207 photographs could be allocated to one of the categories. 60 showed trails, 37 peaks, 30 lake scenes, 19 total panoramic views, 10 huts, 10 plants, 8 valleys, 5 people, 5 torrents and 23 other motifs. Only three photos were described with attributes directly related to Alpine farming, two pictures with a grazing animal, and three showing (Alpine) meadows in more detail. None of the pictures were taken from the informal trails.

Compared to the average population, the 40 to 59 age group was extremely overrepresented in the interviews compared to the German average, also persons with high

vocational backgrounds. Though almost half of the interviewees only walked the short trail between the gondola and the interview site, almost 70% considered themselves being 'hikers.' 80% of the interviewees were aware that they were in a protected area and for 17% of the visitors the protected area was the main reason for coming. The most frequently mentioned were observing nature, fresh air and enjoying the quiet. In a second step, people were also asked if they intended to look out for specific plants or observe specific animals. This answer was ticked by 27.6% of the interviewees. 19.6% could name the animal or plant species that they wanted to observe. The marmot (*Marmota marmota*) was the most frequently mentioned, followed by *Gentiana* species and chamois (*Rupicapra rupicapra*). The most preferred elements were the panoramic view, the lake and the mountain peaks. Least liked were the green alder shrubs (*Alnus viridis*) and the scree slopes. Signs of Alpine farming, such as visibility of cattle and huts, were ranked in between. Livestock trails, resting places for cattle and cattle watering tanks were less liked.

Discussion

In the interviews it could be shown that people are aware of being in a protected area. Only very few hikers used the informal trails in the study area. The main motivation for using informal trails was to reach a mountain peak or to hike around the entire lake. Informal trail use in the study area, might be explained by efforts to avoid crowding (Manning 1999) because of high visitor numbers on the nearby Nebelhorn peak, which is accessible gondola and to reach attractive places (see also Dumont et al. 2005).

Both the results from the photo analysis and the results of the survey show that elements dependent on mountain farming were most frequently photographed or are perceived as being the most beautiful. However, they were not associated with farming activities and direct evidence of mountain farming activities and grazing animals were rarely photographed at this place. Interviewees seem to perceive those grasslands as a 'natural' landscape. It therefore should be free of disturbing elements needed to maintain these landscapes, such as huts or infrastructure connected with mountain farming (Burckhardt 2010). Considering the statements by visitors indicating high appreciation of diverse species-rich Alpine agricultural land (Lindemann-Matthies et al. 2010), in this study the highest preferences were expressed for panoramic views, the lakes and alpine meadows as a whole. This preference supports the view that an appreciation of biodiversity is based mainly on a scenic landscape level, on land-use patterns and on just a few flagship species (Lupp et al. 2013).

Conclusions

It could be shown that almost half of the interviewees only walked a 15-minute trail and that frequentation of the trail dropped to only a few hikers per day walking beyond a one-hour hiking distance. Only very few people had used informal trails in the study area during the interview period. However, regulation of informal trail use will be difficult, since mountaineers want to reach the Schochen peak to enjoy a scenic view away from the crowds or to hike around the entire lake. Moreover, it will be difficult to prevent people from doing this if they so wish, especially considering that a large number of interviewees were already familiar with the study area and its nature conservation value.

The high appeal of the scenic qualities is based on a perceived high naturalness. While most of the visitors are aware that they are in a protected area, even frequent visitors to the study area are only partially aware that it needs regular management and the related infrastructure for animal husbandry. One solution might be that infrastructure needed for mountain farming could be better designed and integrated into the scenery in order to reduce its visual impact. In addition, more information and raising awareness for mountain farming seem to be necessary and could be a more important part of the communication work of the Natura 2000 site manager. The relevant authorities might also work on the acceptance issue or help farmers to improve the overall scenic appearance of the infrastructure. Not only for the Natura 2000 site managers, but also for the responsible authorities, focusing on raising awareness and acceptance of management and mountain farming in the general public is essential and worth pursuing.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

[i] This paper is a shortened version of our publication: G. Lupp, M. Feuerstein, L. Heuchele and W. Konold, 'Perception of mountain farming and trail use by outdoor recreationists in the Protected Area "Allgäuer Hochalpen" in the German Alps' *Eco.mont* **8**(1), 12-20.

How Terrain Becomes Landscape: Antarctica Landscape Language Case Study

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Abstract

In this paper, terrain refers to the physical shape and texture of land and ice, including vegetation, at landscape scales. Landscape incorporates the complete relationship (physical; utilitarian; cultural; spiritual) that a person has with terrain. Antarctica provides a unique case study because humans first saw the continent in 1820 and have only been living there (in isolated small groups for short periods) for about 100 years. Antarctica has no language other than the ones spoken by its visitors; hence there is no Indigenous landscape language. The case study investigates the geography and history of Antarctica, how generic landscape terms from various languages have been applied there and toponyms. The paper also discusses the role of national mapping standards and international agreements (Antarctic Treaty 1961; Madrid (environmental) Protocol 1998; SCAR WG-GGI; etc.) in developing Antarctic landscape language.

Introduction

This paper reports results of Phase 1 (November 2015 to February 2016) of the Antarctica Landscape Language Case Study. It starts from the proposition that: prior to 1820, when it was first sighted by humans, the Antarctic Continent had terrain but not landscape.[1] Terrain is defined as the physical shape and texture of land and ice; whereas landscape incorporates the complete set of relationships (physical; utilitarian; cultural; spiritual) that a person (or a group of people; eg a language community) has with landscape. Landscape, as place, is lived-in terrain. This phenomenological approach considers landscape language as pertaining to practices performed on/with/for/about landscape (Turk 2011; 2013) as discussed in the paper by Turk (in this volume) and Enthnophysiography case studies (Mark, Turk et al 2011).

Antarctica has no language except those spoken by visitors; something applying to no other large landmass. Direct (primary) relationships with Antarctic landscape experienced by visitors to the Antarctic are partially transferred via communications to others, developing (secondary) relationships. These processes are influenced by international agreements more intensively than for any other region (except perhaps the European Union). The Antarctic Treaty proposes 'in the interests of all mankind that Antarctica shall continue forever to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and shall not become the scene or object of international discord.'[2]

Geography of Antarctica

Antarctica encompasses the area south of latitude 60 degrees; the Antarctic Continent (fifth largest), islands and adjacent sea-ice sheets (some virtually permanent and some varying considerably). 'The Antarctic ice sheet smothers nearly 98 per cent of the continent's land, having an average thickness of 1.6 kilometers and locking up around 70 per cent of the world's fresh water' (Bown 2012). There are also jagged rock outcrops and mountain ranges, from which flow glaciers, some of which are huge (eg Lambert Glacier).[3] Antarctica is very cold, with winter temperatures as low as minus 90 degrees Celsius and summer temperatures that usually don't rise above plus 10 degrees Celsius. It is very dry and often windy. In the summer the coastal areas are home to many species of birds. However, only two coastal fauna species remain throughout winter; Emperor Penguins and Weddell seals. There are no animals inland and the only flora is lichens and mosses.

The terrain of Antarctic is similar to major islands in the Arctic. However, the South Pole is in the middle of a huge continental ice cap (altitude of 3,000 metres) while the North Pole is located in the middle of the Arctic Ocean (4,000 metres deep), on water that is usually covered with ice 2 to 3 metres thick. The closest thing in the Arctic region to the Antarctic continental plateau is Greenland, with the second largest ice body in the world, after the Antarctic Ice Sheet.[4]

For this paper, the key difference between the Antarctic and Arctic is duration of occupation. Humans reached areas around the Arctic Ocean at least 5,000 years ago, perhaps in some regions much earlier (eg possibly 40,000 years in Western Siberia). Thus Arctic terrain started to become landscape from those early times. There are

indigenous landscape languages covering sections of the Arctic, but none in Antarctica.

Recent History of Antarctica

In July 1772, Resolution, commanded by Captain James Cook RN, and HMS Adventure, commanded by Lieutenant Furneaux, sailed from Britain in search of the Great Southern Land.[5] On 17 January 1773, the ships became the first known to cross the Antarctic Circle.[6] They sailed alongside pack ice for two months without finding a way to proceed further south. With winter approaching and Cook very ill, the ships turned north and sailed to what is now New Zealand. The next summer Cook returned south and circumnavigated the Antarctic continent without sighting it. On their way back to Britain, Cook's ships visited South Georgia, made the first landing on the island and claimed it for Great Britain. Cook's account of many seals resulted in sealers visiting there. By 1819 sealers had ventured further south, beyond 60 degrees latitude.

Captain Fabian von Bellingshausen from the Imperial Russian Navy, on 27 January 1820 saw the Antarctic continent. His charts were not published in Russia for eight years, and not available to the West until 1836, however, it is now accepted that this was the first confirmed sighting of continental Antarctica. Three days later in the Antarctic Peninsula region, Captain Edward Bransfield RN is credited as being the second person to see Antarctica.[7] However, both Bellingshausen and Bransfield probably did not conceive Antarctica as a continent. Twelve months later John Davis went ashore during an unsuccessful search for seals. His log includes: 'I think this southern land to be continent.'[8] The American Charles Wilkes, after sailing 4000 kilometres along the east Antarctic coast (1839-40) also used the term 'continent'.

Voyages during the latter 19th century were driven by scientific endeavors. Reports of voyages by Captain George Nares in the HMS Challenger (1872-3)[9] and the (Norwegian) Bull expedition (1893-5) were presented to the Sixth International Geographical Congress in 1895 (Bernacchi 1901). This triggered renewed Antarctic exploration, including wintering expeditions. The De Gerlache (Belgium) expedition sailed in the Belgica in 1898. It explored the North West coast of the Antarctic Peninsula, making 20 landings and charting and naming islands until, in the vicinity of 71s 86w, they spent the winter stuck in pack ice, until February 1899.

Borchgrevink, a Norwegian living in Melbourne (Australia), was taken on as a crew member of the Bull expedition and claimed to be the first to set foot in Eastern Antarctica, at Cape Adare. Borchgrevink then arranged funding for the British Antarctic Expedition, which was the first to winter ashore in Antarctica at Cape Adare. Three prefabricated huts were used and scientific observations carried out under (Tasmanian) Louis Bernacchi, with exploration of the immediate area by Lt William Colbeck (ibid.). After their expedition ship (Southern Cross*)* returned, they completed furthermost south dog sledge journeys on the Ross Ice Shelf to latitude 78°50' before returning to Hobart in April 1900.

The Seventh International Geographical Congress (Berlin, 1899) reinforced the reawakening of interest in Antarctica by European nations, resulting in five expeditions being planned. These heralded in the Heroic Age of Antarctic exploration at the start of the 20th century. Key expeditions included that under Robert Falcon Scott (1901-1904) in the Discovery wintering at McMurdo Sound. They carried out local explorations before an attempt to reach the South Pole, which turned back on December 31st 1902 having reached 82°17' S. This was followed by the Ernest Shackleton's expedition (1907-9) in the Nimrod*,* which located the South Magnetic Pole, climbed mountains near their McMurdo Sound base and travelled to within 150 kilometres of the geographic South Pole; the first encounter with the polar plateau.

The Amundsen and the Scott expeditions to the South Pole in 1911-12 exemplified the spirit of national competition to reach geographical 'prizes'. The publicity surrounding these expeditions, initially for fund raising, then for celebration of achievements and mourning of tragedy, caused many more people to think about Antarctica. Thus the number of people with a secondary relationship with Antarctic landscape was rapidly increasing via accounts of those who had direct experience of the continent.

The Australasian Antarctic Expedition (AAE) 1911-14 investigated the landscape via multiple sledging expeditions from the base at Commonwealth Bay. Brigid Hains (2002) describes the relationships which expedition members developed with Antarctic landscape via analysis of their diaries. The expedition lead by Douglas Mawson had a major impact on Australia's

perception of the ice continent and development of landscape language. He created toponyms like Lands End and the Grottos.

With these and later expeditions, the conversion of Antarctic terrain to landscape increased rapidly in area and range of facets, as more people spent more time carrying out a wider range of activities. Headland (2009) summarizes the location, wintering dates and nationality of 139 sites of occupation (103 on the Antarctic continent and 36 on nearby islands) established by 24 countries. This very significant development of scientific stations, was facilitated by the International Geophysical Year (1957-1958) and the International Polar Year (2007-2009). The largest, McMurdo Station, has a (summer) population of about 1,200.[10]

Antarctic tourism is developing rapidly; 36,700 visitors in 2014/15. Impact on key Antarctic sites would be disastrous, but for the 2011 Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meeting (ATCM XXXIV, Buenos Aires) agreement, where Treaty Parties adopted tourism guidelines. These are implemented via the International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators (IAATO); its website provides access to information papers and visitor guidelines in nine languages.[11]

Despite the many nations involved in Antarctic activities, using various languages, English seems to be evolving as the default language for SCAR and Antarctic Treaty Meetings, research reports, conferences papers, articles in learned journals and for data bases. This is a significant development for Antarctic landscape language.

Development of Antarctic Landscape Language Terms

In Antarctica, with no indigenous population, landscape language was imported (eg from arctic environments) or new terms were created for geographic features (eg polar plateau). Antarctic explorers needed to describe the terrain for communication on site and in expedition reports. Examples of terms borrowed from northern icy regions are:

- ***nunatak***: (from Inuit *nunataq*) is an exposed, often rocky element of a ridge, mountain, or peak not covered with ice or snow within (or at the edge of) an ice field or glacier.
- ***névé***: (from French dialect (Swiss), from Vulgar Latin *nivatum,* from Latin *niv-, nix* snow) is a granular type of snow which has been partially melted, refrozen and compacted, yet precedes the form of ice. *Névé* can also refer to the alpine region in which snowfall accumulates, becomes *névé,* and feeds a glacier.
- ***sastrugi***: (from Russian dialectal *zastruga*, via German) are sharp irregular grooves or ridges formed on a snow surface by wind erosion, saltation of snow particles, and deposition, and found in polar and temperate snow regions.

The case study is investigating landscape terms in *The Antarctic Dictionary: A Complete Guide to Antarctic English*[12] and other sources regarding communication about Antarctica; maps, books, research articles, government reports, documentary films and audio recordings. Such materials are sometimes gathered together in databases, often covering particular projects or themes; eg the International Polar Year Publications Database (IPYPD). National organizations involved in Antarctic Research also manage collections of data (eg Australian Antarctic Data Centre) (Hince 2002).

Antarctic Toponyms

The 19th century sealers gave place names (toponyms) to Antarctic features; mostly physical descriptions or names from their homelands. As sub-Antarctic sealing gave way to wider exploration by whalers, and then scientists, more geographical features were named. With mapping began the assembly of lists of toponyms, although inaccuracies in positional reporting led to some confusion. As early explorers were mostly English speaking (from the UK, USA and Australia) this became the most common language used to describe landscape. Although Spanish, German, Norwegian and Russian expeditions published maps, the findings were usually presented to English speaking learned societies such as the British Royal Geographical Society (eg by non-British explorers Amundsen, Borchgrevink, Drygalski and Charcot).

The 20th Century saw countries involved in mapping Antarctica using their preferred language toponyms to enhance national territorial claims; with no overviewing authority to approve or reject place names. The territorial claims of Britain, Norway, Australia, Argentina and Chile produced tension in the duplication and flooding of names across landscape, before even being explored or accurately mapped (Day 2013).

After WW2, the Royal Geographical Society discussed protocols needed for orderly acceptance of toponyms. In British and Australian operations manuals, Brian Roberts' hierarchy of feature types was published to guide

expeditioners in submitting toponyms for consideration by polar names boards for gazettal. These nations together with France, and Norway respected each other's territorial claims, and each nation's right to produce toponyms. However, the USA and USSR did not accept any territorial claims and reserved the right to make toponyms across the continent. The toponyms issue subsided somewhat with the signing of the Antarctic treaty in 1959, setting aside territorial claims. However, some countries still generated toponyms in case the treaty should fail and territorial disputes would be settled by an international court, which would view toponyms as evidence of administration of an area.

Role of Treaties, International Agreements and National Specifications

Twelve countries were original signatories to the Antarctic Treaty in 1959; seven claiming territory in Antarctica ('Claimants'). The Treaty entered into force on 23 June 1961. Since then, 41 other countries have acceded to the Treaty, making a total of 53 'Parties.'[13] Resulting international agreements include: the Madrid (environmental) Protocol 1998; the Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research (SCAR) formed in 1960; and its working groups (eg SCAR Working Group on Geodesy and Geographic Information, which has evolved to become the SCAR Standing Group on Geographic Information). SCAR advocates free access to, and ready interchange of, all Antarctic related scientific information. The SCAR Working Group on Geodesy and Geographic Mapping encouraged uniform mapping with a set of symbols and specifications and a Composite Names Gazetteer of Antarctica (CGA); first published in 2006.[14] It maintains a web accessible digital data base of geographic information across Antarctica.

Conclusions

This paper has described how Antarctic terrain has become landscape since 1820. This has led to borrowing Arctic landscape terms and creation of new terms and toponyms. The role of Treaties and International Agreements has been very important. This has implications for other jurisdictions, including the EU. There is now satellite mapping coverage of the whole continent at small scale and much at medium scale (eg 1:250,000), with detailed mapping near scientific stations. This plays an important role in landscape language. This paper describes a unique landscape in language (Ethnophysiography) project; as it investigates a recent case of terrain becoming landscape. Results to date support continuation of this case study.

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Notes

[1] See explanation in paper by Turk (this volume).

[2] http://www.scar.org/antarctic-treaty-system. Accessed 31.12.15

[3] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lambert_Glacier. Accessed 17.12.15

[4] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greenland_ice_sheet. Accessed 21.12.15

[5] http://www.captcook-ne.co.uk/ccne/timeline/voyage2.htm. Accessed 15.11.15

[6] The Antarctic Circle is the northernmost latitude in the Southern Hemisphere at which the sun can remain continuously above or below the horizon for 24 hours, changing with celestial and Earth movements. As of 14 November 2015, it was at 66°33'46.0' south.

[7] http://www.localhistories.org/antarctica.html. Accessed 30.12.15

[8] Log of the Cecilia 7th February 1821 - https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Davis_(sealer). Accessed 30.12.15

[9] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Challenger_expedition. Accessed 31.12.15

[10] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Antarctica. Accessed 15.11.15

[11] http://iaato.org. Accessed 31.12.15

[12] http://data.aad.gov.au. Accessed 22.12.15

[13] http://www.ats.aq/devas/ats_parties.aspx?lang=e. Accessed 22.12.15

[14] https://data.antarctica.gov.au/aadc/gaz/scar/history.cfm. Accessed 3.12.15

Landscape quality objectives as vectors of landscape transformation: A new approach to landscape quality assessment

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In the convulsive change that occurs due to deterioration, stretch marks and expansions, our everyday landscapes seem to have no strategy to define their image, always faded, always out of focus. Nowadays, urban landscapes, more than any others, transform their configuration quickly, changing their footprint in the imagery of people, in their memory and future projects. Those ancient, readable scenarios, which were the result of a constant compromise between human needs and natural necessity and that for centuries traced in the landscape clear horizons of sense, seem to be lost.

Faced with the speed of transformations that occur in the global economy, the current planning instruments, including strategic plans and structural plans, are failing to keep up. In this process of acceleration and inertia in trajectories not concretely defined, spatial planning has become too slow to meet the needs of global society, so that the 'government of the territory' in many cases, such as Italy, has become an oxymoron because of the bureaucracy it implies and the slowness of its responses. Today only design approaches are capable overcoming the discrepancy between social demand and formal response in proposing and building a city model that offers a viable alternative to the scattered city. Today's need to transform the city calls into question the necessity to recover a sense of place.

> '*As an essential factor of individual and communal well-being and an important part of people's quality of life, landscape contributes to human fulfilment and to the consolidation of a European identity.* ' (Déjeant-Pons 2014, 3)

Living in a quality landscape then becomes an issue of primary importance, both for European policies, and for research and design thinking. The European Landscape Convention (E.L.C. 2000, Firenze) is born in the wake of this need, unanimously felt and shared. As Déjeant-Pons (Ibid. 3) puts it, the ELC aims to '*respond to the public's wish to enjoy high quality landscapes*' and thus improve the quality of people's lives.

Therefore, it has a primarily ethical mission, but whereas the protection, the management and planning of environmental, cultural, artistic and architectural heritage are practical consequences of this approach, they are conceptually secondary.

The failure of today's practices of planning and spatial governance, which produced the landscapes we see, is in having reversed this logical connection, misrepresenting, or rather, not accepting the meaning of the new definition of landscape introduced by the Convention, that clarifies finally the distinction between Landscape (article 1a European Landscape Convention 2000), Environment and Territory. Landscape is '*an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors*, its quality therefore cannot reside in or arise from only the natural, aesthetic or ecological characteristics of a given territory for it is shaped also by an assignment of values and an emotional charge that is strictly dependent on the people who inhabit it, and varies according to spatial, temporal and cultural contexts. Given the different nature of landscape, which in fact acts as a subject and not as an object (Turri, 2006), the tools and approaches used in reaching and assessing its quality must be different. The ELC in fact demands a revolutionary change in landscape quality assessment by foregrounding perception as the main vector of landscape evaluation.

Determining the quality of the landscape is entirely different from determining or assessing the quality of the land and the environment, to which end there exist long and respected traditions of study, methodologies and research produced by the various scientific disciplines. The epistemological misunderstanding, described above, has resulted in a methodological error that until now has dealt with the issue of Quality Landscape according to an inductive rather than deductive logic, with an operating model oriented towards Evaluation (understood in the scientific sense of measurement) rather than Design. In Italy, for example, until a few years ago, landscape analysis was influenced by our long, national tradition of spatial and urban planning that has always regarded measurement of the quality of public space to have an objective character. This objectivity was arbitrarily interpreted according to thresholds and standards of

quality values which, in the case of the landscape, were represented, in a first instance by biological indicators and, in the second by 'Landscape Quality Indicators', measurable through mathematical models and indices of ambiguous composition. Based on this approach, over the years there has been a plethora of reflections, research and experiments, internationally, which have been, in different ways, assembled to give a precise definition of indicators for the landscape, and to define a suite of criteria capable of covering the whole spectrum of landscape's components, to describe it and to be universally applicable. Here we refer to work by O'Neill et al. (1997), Colombo and Malcevschi (1999), Vallega (2008), Socco (2003), the Landscape Observatory of Catalunya (2009), Dale & Kline , Cassatella and Peano, Cordara (2011), and many others.

It is wrongly assumed that these instruments should be able to provide a scientific and rigorous evaluation of landscape quality (Vallega 2008), when, in fact, it they have led us off the road, confusing means with ends: we concentrated on evaluation methods forgetting the project that can lead to Landscape Quality. But even if you want to establish a shared framework for assessing the quality of the landscape, at no point in the Recommendations set out in CM/Rec(2008) 3, it is specified that the landscape quality indicators should consist of a finite number of uniquely defined tools, and that they should work across parameters and mathematical models.

This *modus operandi* bears witness to the degeneration of a well-established tendency to conceive the 'construction of knowledge' as an empirical approach, which requires an absolute domination of phenomenal reality with respect to the processes and systems of relations. Bateson noted this degenerative trend already at the end of the 1970s. In his 1977 *Verso un'ecologia della Mente* (Steps to an Ecology of Mind) he said that to counter this drift it was necessary to '*create a bridge towards those sciences that explore issues of form and not of substance*', thus promoting a systemic view of the phenomenal world and a new perspective from which to read the man-nature relationship.

Nowadays the contents and objectives of the ELC reverse completely the conceptual and operational pre-eminence of the Analysis of the Project. The paradigm shift consists of converting the empirical approach that has proved its ineffectiveness in managing the complexity of territorial phenomena and dynamics, into a deductive one, that is certainly more far-seeing and better suited to understanding the dimension and magnitude of human desire. This is essentially the meaning of a conception that sees 'Landscape as a Project' (Zagari 2010), which makes it the end goal, the intrinsic reason for every plan and every project, while retaining the humility and the awareness of not being able to completely dominate it. 'We cannot plan or design Landscape' (Paolinelli 2011) however, we can think in terms of objectives and plan for the area in accordance with the maximum shared criteria, sustainability and resilience. The present study questions current landscape quality assessment and highlights the need, which is clear in the Convention, to stop trying to *quantify* landscape quality and assume instead a *qualitative* method that sees perception and the satisfaction of people as the only valuable landscape quality indicator. To answer the urgent demand of transformation and quality, and solve the current impasse of our landscapes, rather than ask 'Can we 'measure' the quality of landscape?' (Cassatella and Peano 2011) we should ask: 'Which landscape do we want to have in the future?' (Neugebauer and Stoeglehner 2011). '*Quin paisatge volem*?' (Nogué and Sala 2005).

Is there a tool, defined by the ELC that responds exactly to this question, which is having considerable success in the European scene and that is informing the spatial planning practices even in those countries that have not signed the Convention?[i] It is Landscape Quality Objectives (LQOs)?

According to article 1c of the European Landscape Convention, landscape quality objectives are the shared synthesis of the social perception of landscape and of the wishes for transformation expressed by all the main actors of the landscape. The same definition of LQOs is a synthesis of all the epistemological pillars on which the European Landscape Convention relies: the centrality of the people, the landscape intended as a common good, protection intended as active practice of sustainable transformation of the territory, and the economic value of landscape. Therefore, the formulation of LQOs not only results in a snapshot of the current quality of the landscape as perceived by people, but it is also able to anticipate future sustainable possibilities to achieve quality and at the same time to be monitoring tool.

Likewise, in the words chosen to describe them is already encapsulated their application potential. The first term of the expression highlights the scope: Landscape Quality. The ELC finally frees this concept from an

unbalanced interpretation moving it towards the aesthetics and ecology. The result is an unconventional and brilliant definition of landscape quality, which reveals itself in the form of tension, as well as the 'unfinished' of Michelangelo, depending, strictly, on people. Since the ELC tells us that the landscape exists only as it is perceived by people, it follows that its quality becomes real only when we can enjoy it.

The second term indicates the right approach. An 'objective' is the purpose of a strategic operation, the result of a ripe intention or a desire that you want to realize, therefore, it requires a design approach–that famous Design Thinking (Simon 1969) that is in vogue in the world of business management. To define an objective, as well as to define a project or solve a given problem, three complementary actions are actioned: the ability to observe (critical thinking), creativity, and interpretive synthesis (practical sense). These are the characteristics of so-called 'Diffused Design' (Manzini 2015), that is, design capacity potentially accessible to everyone as part of the human capacity. If it was enough to merely define landscape quality objectives, we would have thousands of particular visions, whereas the LQOs must form a 'common program'. So a third dimension has to support this widespread design capacity as a continuous check on the feasibility of envisaged solutions, vis-à-vis a pre-vision of the realized objective for its translation within the formal and social relations system of the territory. The intervention of cultured knowledge is necessary, therefore, to the Expert Design, which in this case is the result of the combination of scientific and humanistic knowledges called Sciences of Landscape (Donadieu 2015) that the Convention addresses ultimately to the competent authorities (ELC articles 1c, 5c & 6d). An intervention of this nature will assess the adequacy of the envisaged solutions, and facilitate revisiting and adjusting of the targets identified at the discussion stage, until the long-awaited 'A-ha moment' (Saloner 2011), ie the synthesis of shared scenarios, namely the 'possible futures' (H. Khan 1950). In the concept of landscape quality objective the Project is of essential value, and LQOs prefigure Design Oriented Scenarios (DOS), whether the objectives aim is the protection, enhancement or entire reconfiguration of certain landscapes. Prescribing the formulation of landscape quality objectives in all the territories for which it applies, the Convention states that the whole territory must be designed (CMRec (2008) 3. I.1.H Part), whether it be "in urban areas and in the countryside, in degraded areas as well as in areas of high quality, in areas recognised as being of outstanding beauty as well as everyday areas;" (ELC Preamble).

> *The definition of landscape quality objectives combined with an approach which gives them a decisive role in the interpretation and research of landscape quality, does not claim to be the only tool for the analysis and management of Projects, but surely it constitutes an instrument coherent with the principles of the ELC and easy to apply because it is uniquely defined and shared by all signatories.*

It strengthens a deductive and systemic approach able to be translated into action and policy measures for the government of territory, with the advantage of being understandable and transversal to different target users; site specific and transcalar, or suited to application in regional and local contexts. This approach and this method does not exclude but rather integrates and makes the most of empirical analysis methods specific to each discipline. In fact the intervention of Expert Design, presupposes that there must be specialist knowledges that constitute the sound scientific basis for the study of landscapes and the phenomena affecting it.

We can think of the Landscape Quality Objectives as *vectors* of landscape transformation. Interpreted this way, a system of LQOs can describe the landscape and can be described with respect to three essential elements: Magnitude, Direction and Way.

Magnitude [Interpretative function]
Magnitude, as well as vector, represents the content of each objective. It indicates the topic, identifying the scope to which it refers, geomorphological, ecological, social, cultural and so on. The definition phase of landscape quality objectives, of their precise content, is preceded by a phase of careful study and consultation, and finally is the result of the interaction between People and Expert Design. The content of a group of landscape quality objectives thus always reveals the peculiar and strongly identifying characteristics of the landscape, or else what are considered the most pressing issues. Through their magnitude the LQOs express the salient features of the area and they define the landscape structure of the examined territory. They are therefore effective interpretative and communicative synthesis tools oriented to the project.

Direction [Managing function]
The action that they define expresses a clear design intent, a shared choice of land transformation, Landscape quality

objectives, therefore, always have a *direction* that is necessary to stimulate creative and innovative solutions, establishing the development trajectory and ensuring the coherence of the project.

Way [Monitoring function]
LQOs take account of all the reasons that have led to a certain model of transformation and its effect, thus allowing the attribution of the merits and responsibilities of certain choices. Once formulated, the LQOs have a deadline for their completion. By their own definition, their fulfilment satisfies the expectations of the population, so it can tell a lot about quality as perceived by the citizens. Attributing a positive or negative way to their path, they become monitoring tools. They are easy to verify and they ensure consistent monitoring with premises and an estimated time of completion.

Based on this reasoning, landscape quality objectives constitute an absolutely innovative tool: '*Landscape quality objectives represent the end result of the process of devising landscape operations, which implies knowledge production, public consultation, policy formulation and action and monitoring strategies*'[ii] the scope of which is implemented when, evaluating their fulfilment or process of creation, they assume the function of monitoring tools indicative of landscape quality.

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Landscape Identity within never-ending process of changes: Evaluation of significance as a tool for analyzing place identity in an urban and rural landscape planning practice context.

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Abstract

The purpose of the paper is to focus on a site identity and its evaluation as the cornerstone of the detailed spatial plan. The premise is that landscape protection, based on the philosophy and standards of the European Landscape Convention (2000) with its aims to promote the protection, management and planning of landscape in Europe, still lacks the implementation in spatial planning. Recently, the research of landscape heritage areas has been the topic of various studies in a variety of disciplines. In addition to traditional disciplines such as history, art history, architecture, landscape architecture and ethnology, this area is also increasingly addressed by psychology, sociology, economics, spatial planning and other disciplines.

A new approach to rural and urban landscape planning is needed, aiming at change management and ensuring that, while change is taking place, the identity of the existing character is not only recognized, but is proactively used as a reference and site-specific guide for new development.

The methodology of multicriterial valorization of each "minimal unit" by different stakeholders is proposed and illustrated, to finally form a synthesis map, defining an identity value for long term development strategy. The planned work is divided into several stages, of which the following three are the most important: Compiling a digital database of index units; Defining the indicators of place identity (areas of significance) which are evaluated; including a multidisciplinary expert staff, local experts, and - most importantly - local residents and all stakeholders with interest in the identity evaluation workshops. The evaluation is to take place as part of workshops following the Charette Procedure (brainstorming multiple evaluations with multiple stakeholders in limited time).

The critical part of the presented method is the statistical value of workshop results, which should determine the quality of collected data as an objective set for further implementation. Confidence interval (arithmetic mean) was the first step in which a given degree of certainty was the estimated parameter. Statistical results in case of positive synthesis arithmetic mean values clearly define the ground rules that the units must be preserved within their significance, while negative values identify a need for visual or use changes. In the case of landscape change scenarios the same method can be used considering the different scale of the cultural heritage area, forming an added value to the site structure and use.

Through the process of understanding and appreciation of cultural heritage sites are facilitated and strengthened by public awareness and engagement in the need for their protection and conservation. To be prepared for changes that can happen in case of natural disaster or slower deterioration caused by climate changes it is necessary to manage potential changes with a well-researched and established identity value. Avoiding dependence on the subjective and ever changing economic views and political pressure of the decision makers it is necessary to employ an objective set of clearly defined spatial planning ground rules that are well understood by all prior to considering and designing a change, preservation or reconstruction. The objective clarity of proposed methodology for strategically defined protection of cultural heritage areas has the potential to generate area-specific planning design solutions which maintain and enhance the overall harmony of the cultural landscape.

Introduction

In Slovenia, spatial planning and cultural landscape protection are based on two acts which require a Conservation Management Plan in the case of developments in cultural heritage urban or rural areas as part of the spatial planning process. Unfortunately, the content of this legally required document is still unclear, especially due to the lack of practical experience in Slovenia. As the use of established methods like SAVE method (Survey of Architectural Values in the Environment) in Denmark (Danish Ministry of Cultural Affairs 2011) or DIVE analysis (Describe, Interpret,

Valuate and Enable) in Norway (Riksantikvaren 2010) is inappropriate due to the specific nature of this small and young country with extremely diverse natural and cultural landscape and specific legislation, new approaches had to be found.

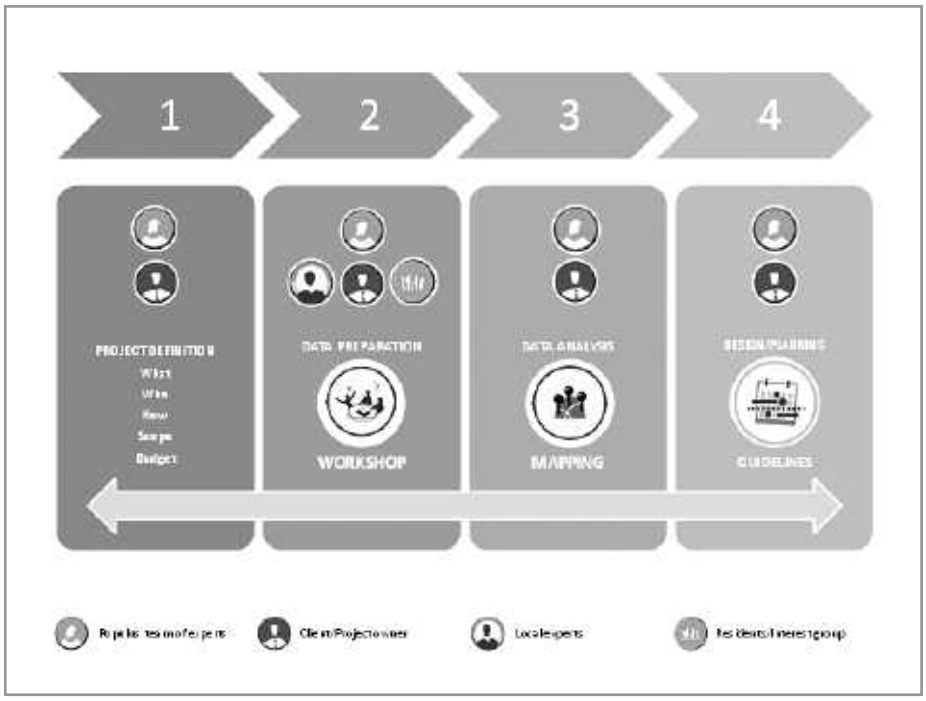

Fig. 1. Populus method phases and participants

This paper introduces a new approach to urban and landscape heritage evaluation that aims to manage change using active integration of spatial planning and protection of cultural heritage by ensuring that while the protection and redevelopment of the historic environment is taking place, its intrinsic identity is not only protected, but is proactively used as a reference and site-specific guide for redevelopment. The methodology, adopted to define the local identity, uses values that can be measured and defined numerically.

Due to many years of experience in spatial planning, it was of key importance during the preparation of the project assignment that a systematic approach would be used. Therefore, the planned work was divided into several stages, of which the following are presented: (1) project definition, (2) data preparation, defining the bearers of place identity, carrying out evaluation workshops, (3) evaluation of the data through statistical methods, (4) synthesis map as guidelines for detailed planning (Fig. 1).

The identity evaluation method is simple and thus flexible, it can be adapted to a variety of sizes and purposes of the recording unit, as it must take into account specificities of the considered areas.

What is Identity?

As Fearon (1999) states: '*Our present idea of "identity" is a fairly recent social construct, and a rather complicated one at that. Even though everyone knows how to use the word properly in everyday discourse, it proves quite difficult to give a short and adequate summary statement that captures the range of its present meanings*'. One can find different brief definitions in many places but understanding identity within the scope of the method presented is important because of the breadth of the goals set; to this end, the following definition was selected, which, however, refers to the attitude towards the space rather than a person. '*My identity is defined by the commitments and identifications which provide the frame or horizon within which I can try to determine from case to case what is good, or valuable, or what ought to be done, or what I endorse or oppose*' (Taylor 1989, p.27).

Populus method

One cannot get to know, protect or plan the areas in question without good knowledge of the individual elements that make up the whole. Every element, every unit adds value to the so called 'big picture'. At the analysis stage, it unfortunately too frequently happens that in losing the data from previous generations, one also loses both time and funds. This is why establishing a database of current conditions with the option of updating the information represents the first stage of a methodological approach. The method involves the preparation phase, which includes the project definition and formation of a GIS database as a spatial information system of the municipality. The database includes spatial elements such as cultural landscape elements in rural areas or structures with the appertaining functional area (residential, business, and industrial buildings), squares,

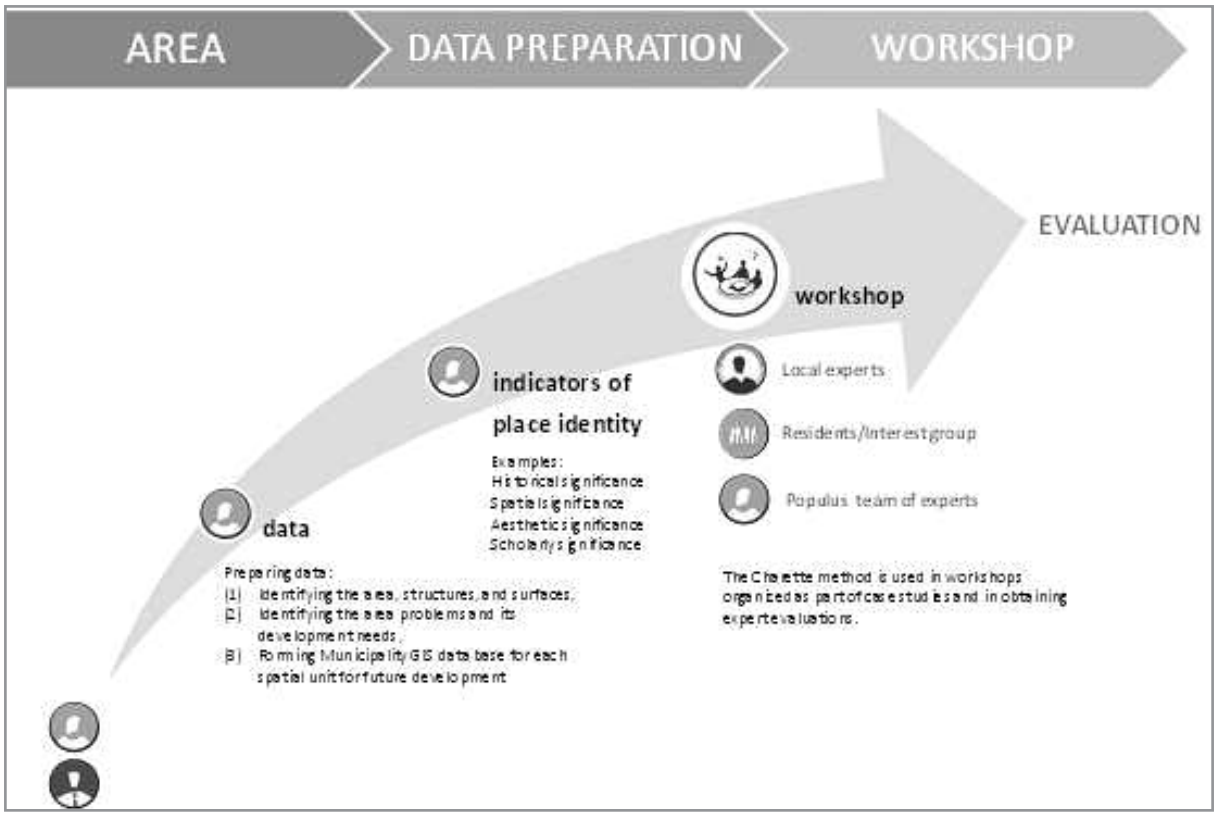

Fig. 2. Preparation and evaluation steps

parks, streets, green areas, waterways, infrastructure areas, and others.

The next stage is the definition of the areas of significance of the relevant site elements, and presentation of the specific features of identity. The goal of this stage is primarily to determine indicators and problems in a place and use the results to define the priorities for solving them (Fig. 2).

The workshops are the mechanism for including experts from the research group, local experts and local residents with interested stakeholders in the multiple criteria evaluation. In our daily lives we may be comfortable with the consequences of decisions that are made based on only intuition, but when stakes are high, such as when protecting sites *genius loci*, it is important to properly structure the problem and explicitly evaluate multiple criteria. In making the decision of whether to change the area or not, and where to build modern architecture or infrastructure, there are not only very complex issues involving multiple criteria, but also multiple parties who are deeply affected by the consequences.

Evaluation of the data through statistical methods is the fourth stage. Average (arithmetic mean) is used to evaluate the significances of each unit (Fig. 3).

The result: Synthesis Identity Map

The synthesis maps of interest groups serve as the starting point to determine guidelines for the site redevelopment planning, including reconstruction, renovation and new construction, seeing the area as the whole and correlations between units. In this case attention must also be drawn to the fact that certain differences may become lost in synthesizing such a large number of units. If differences occur among graphs, the results must be analysed once again in terms of weighting individual evaluation parameters. So, for example, differences are possible with regard to the economic significance because the owners evaluate it differently than other residents. Or the historical significance, which the residents that moved recently to the settlement evaluate differently than historians.

The synthesis map (Fig. 4) shows a clear identification of the majority of the areas in a settlement that have a very positive identity and therefore certainly must not be changed in the future (blue areas). It is interesting that areas with the oldest structures, as well as those with the most recently built structures, can be identified as equal. Areas with an identity evaluated as average are those that can be changed in the future, although it is vital to define individual significances that must be preserved, whereas the others may completely change, ultimately

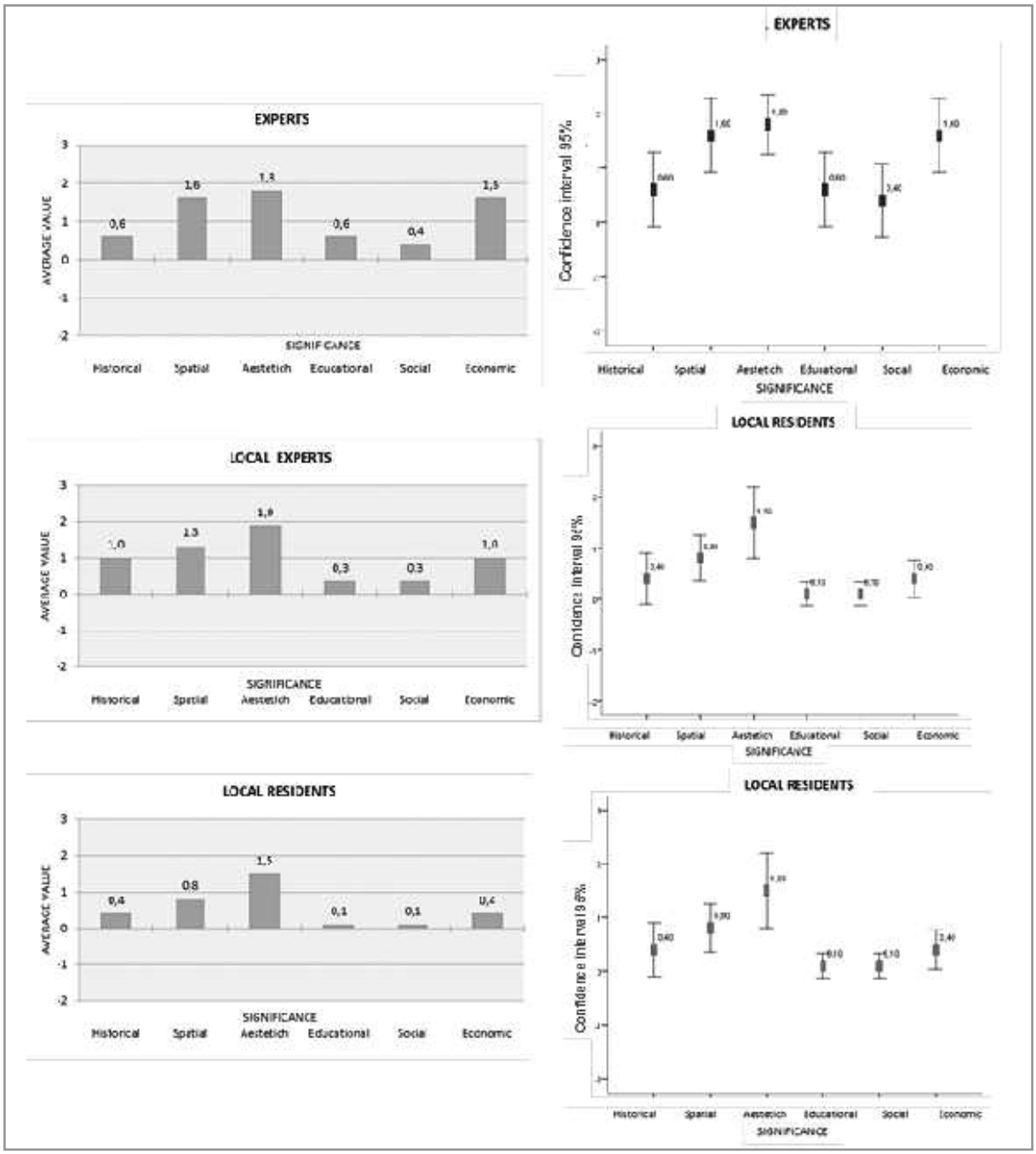

Fig. 3. Evaluation by experts, local experts, and local residents with confidential interval presentation

contributing to a positive identity of a structure or area, and consequently also the settlement as a whole.

Discussion

The method presented is simple and thus intelligible to all users. The four cases already implemented in different locations in Slovenia and studied have shown that the results of the three groups included in the workshops overlap, although they differ in some units. The advantages of this method lie in the multi-layered results of defining place identity. At the workshops significances and thus place identity are evaluated, the residents must evaluate a structure or area they pass on a daily basis and thus no longer even notice from a completely different perspective. This means they study it and take a stance on it. The results obtained at workshops are anonymous, which means they are not influenced by more vocal and more powerful individuals that influence the local community's decisions by making themselves heard. Because of the limited time available for evaluations, decisions on the value of significance are intuitive. By attending the workshops, the participants better know and identify spatial issues. This also increases the opportunity to resolve these issues more effectively.

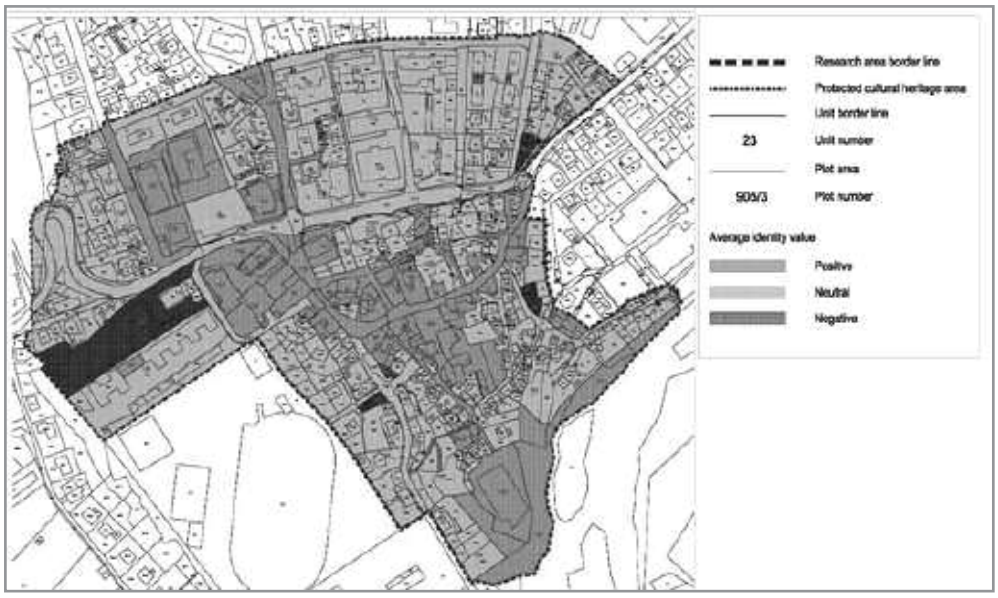

Fig. 4. The synthesis Identity map.

Due to the inclusion of local experts, it is possible to more objectively establish whether the differences between the experts' and residents' evaluations are the result of an expert opinion or familiarity with the special features of the area studied. The results and the evaluation of the significances can be directly compared between the interest groups. The publication of index sheets on the municipality website not only expands the knowledge of the area, but also enables the widest circles of the community to follow the renovation project. Regardless of whether a landscape is formally protected as cultural heritage area or not, this method should be implemented in spatial planning because seeking places identity is universal.

Conclusion

The biggest problem in making a spatial plan for cultural heritage sites is the integration and collaboration of experts of various fields with the users of the considered area. The consequences of non-cooperation are visible in significant loss of positive space identities. Protection and spatial planning are multi-disciplinary processes and dependant on teamwork. In our case study various areas of knowledge and skills were required. Because the professional team was well chosen and had been fully motivated, the results exceeded expectations and were well accepted by the local community.

The prerequisite for the implementation of the presented method in Conservation management plans for renewal and spatial planning processes is certainly a change of legal provisions and regulations, as well as enabling the production of a considerable number of examples through the entire process, including the adopted spatial implementing act. Redefinition of the systemic regulation of relations and responsibilities between stakeholders and thus of the spatial planning, founded on the integrated conservation of cultural identity, could provide a substantial contribution also internationally.

The final result is the creation of the synthesis map of the evaluations of structures and areas, with the goal of defining spatial planning methods and priorities. The Identity map therefore provides a specific and objective contextual set of guidelines and defines the scope for compatible cultural heritage protection and spatial planning. The specificity of the result is important as it leaves little room for individual subjective judgments where objectivity is what matters most. On the other hand it makes it possible to act in short-term decision making with long-term vision of ever changing identity.

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Landscape areas (*It.* 'ambiti') as a tool for the implementation of the European Landscape Convention. In the case of Italy

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This paper[i] is dedicated to landscape planning in Italy in particular, and is concerned with the integration of the *European Landscape Convention* (CoE, 2000) into the Italian legal system and with the development of the regional landscape planning tools. Through those tools, the national landscape strategy of landscape planning is realised.

The *European Landscape Convention* is a result of the framework of the Council of Europe's cooperation at the international level, and was adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in 2000. The *Convention* is an economic tool: at the international level in the legal framework 'an area, as perceived by people'[ii] is defined as an economic resource; the landscape is presented as 'a resource favorable to economic activity'.[iii] It supposes many opportunities for development and cooperation but also creates many risks. In addition, the *Convention* imposes to obligations on the Parties that have ratified it, among them 'to recognise landscapes in law as an essential component of people's surroundings'.[iv] The fundamental concepts (ie 'definitions') form a basic network for the Parties: 'landscape', 'landscape policy', 'landscape quality objective', 'landscape protection', 'landscape management' and 'landscape planning'.

Italy ratified the *European Landscape Convention* on the 4th of May 2006, and as a Party has developed, and continues to develop, mechanisms to integrate the principles of the *Convention* in its legal system, in spatial management, and in the systems of spatial and landscape planning. Research of this experience can be of practical interest to States that have not yet accepted the *Convention*.

On the national level, the integration of the addresses of the Convention is regulated by Decreto Legislativo 22 gennaio 2004, n. 42 - Codice dei beni culturali e del paesaggio / The Code of Cultural Heritage and Landscape. The Code is an integrated document applicable throughout Italy, which includes the interests of the field concerning the cultural heritage in general, objects of cultural heritage, and objects of landscape heritage, and their administrative regulations. Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo (MIBACT) / the Ministry of cultural goods and activities and tourism, oversees the control functions of cultural heritage.

A new type of plan covering the entire Italian territory was introduced by the Code. The main goal of it is that the territory should be 'adequately known, protected, planned and managed' considering the 'different values expressed by the different contexts that constitute it'[v] with its diversity and complexity that represent the Italian landscape. A new type of regional plan–the Regional Landscape Plan or Urban-Territorial Plan–with specific consideration of landscape values is mandatory at regional level. The priority in all decisions is the protection and enhancement (*It.* valorizazzione) of cultural and landscape heritage. It is expected, therefore, that the national strategy of valorization / enhancement and protection of landscape is delivered through this Plan.

The Landscape Plan has priority over other types of plans, and has prescribing and prognostic importance. Some directives were established for its elaboration, one of which introduces the concept of Landscape Areas (*It.* ambiti) at defined borders: 'The landscape plans, with reference to the considered territory, recognize the peculiar aspects and characters, as well as the landscape characteristics, and delimit them into the relative areas'.[vi] By Landscape Areas is meant the characteristic part of landscape representing a clearly expressed territory and distinguishing it from others. The criteria for identifying Landscape Areas are defined by the Landscape Plan, and therefore, for each region, the identification of such areas represents an integrated research and design problem in consideration of the unique features. The identification of areas according to these prescriptions and regulations represents an innovative tool for the landscape plan, because it is an additional way for realizing protection and enhancement of the landscape. Each Landscape Area has defined prescriptions and requirements for different uses or functions with regard to specific themes;

Typologies of comparison	Piano Territoriale Paesistico Regionale (PTPR) of Lazio Region	Piano paesaggistico regionale (Ppr) of Piedmont Region	Piano Paesaggistico Territoriale Regionale (PPTR) of Apulia Region	Piano di indirizzo territoriale (PIT) con valenza di piano paesaggistico of Tuscany Region
Macro groups	3 of systems landscapes and areas with specific characteristics	7 general categories 12 macro areas	–	–
Quantity of landscape areas	12 landscape areas e 2 areas	76	11	20
Micro groups	–	535 landscape units (UP)	38 territorial and landscape figures	–
Transversal element	Landscape areas of continuity	Landscape units form 9 types	–	–

Table 1. The structure of landscape areas system in the landscape plans

conservation, rehabilitation, protection, the identification of guidelines, urban development; specified in Atricle 135 c. 4 of the Code, to provide adequate quality objectives for the landscape. The regions may use such tool in different ways.

Comparing and analyzing the introduction of Landscape Areas offers a way of researching the implementation of the processes of the European Landscape Convention's definitions and concepts into the Italian landscape planning system. For this research, four Regional Landscape Plans were selected: Apulia, Lazio, Piedmont and Tuscany.

The Regional Territorial Landscape Plan (PPTR)[vii] for the Apulia Region was approved on the 16th of February 2015. Eleven Landscape Areas were identified, each of which is divided into territorial and landscape figures (the minimum unit of landscape). A territorial figure[viii] is a territorial unit recognized for its specific morphological and typological characteristics that persist throughout the different historical strata and cycles. Thirty-eight territorial figures were identified.

The Regional Landscape Territorial Plan (PTPR)[ix] for the Lazio Region was adopted on the 25th July 2007. The plan has identified 2 interacting systems: geographically-based systems structuring the territory of Lazio (physical and hydrological characteristics); and landscape-based landscape configuration systems. In the case of this latter, 3 landscape groups or systems were identified: natural landscapes, agricultural landscapes, and human settlement landscapes. Inside each group typological variations of 'landscapes' are identified. At the same time, these 'landscapes' fulfil the role of Landscape Areas. In total, there are 12 landscapes or Landscapes Areas. In addition, 3 groups are distinguished as 'areas with specific characteristics', viz. areas of recovery, of enhancement of the landscape, and areas of visual points. 'Areas of landscape continuity' were also identified, representing connecting elements between different types of landscape or landscape areas, where landscapes types interact.

The Regional Landscape Plan (PPR)[x] for the Piedmont Region was adopted on the 18th of May 2015. The Plan has identified 76 landscape areas. The Landscape Areas have been aggregated into 12 macro areas, which were, in turn, also aggregated into 7 general categories. At the same time, the Landscape Areas are divided into 535 landscape units (UP) of which there are 9 types. Each type refers to the dominant component of the landscape, or the presence of specific conditions of multiple components, natural, rural and urban,

The Territorial Direction Plan (PIT)[xi] for the Tuscany Region was approved on the 24th of July 2007; the Act of Integration, with a same standing as a Landscape Plan, was approved on the 27th of March 2015. The Plan identifies 20 landscape areas. In order to improve the effectiveness of the policies, and in recognition of the sense of belonging to local community, municipal boundaries were generally respected when defining the

areas, with just one exception (Castelnuovo Berardenga) whose shape was determined by the particular spatial configuration.[xii]. In the Tuscany Region there are 279 municipalities.

The structure and typology of the Landscape Area system in the plans are different. Each plan developed its own approach and language in interpreting and applying the tool of Landscape Areas, and of the obligations issuing from the *European Landscape Convention*, and the regulations associated with the Code of Cultural Heritage and Landscape. Landscape Areas represent a tool for enhancement of landscape and does not exclude other tools, such as special programs, strategies, project, guidelines etc. And whereas the criteria for identifying Landscape Areas are different, they are based on a similar approach that foregrounds historical and cultural, morphological, ecosystem and environmental, settlement structures and perceptional criteria that underpins the diversity and identity of every landscape and territory, and its unique character.

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Notes

[i] Supported by the Erasmus Mundus Action 2 Programme of the European Union

[ii] Council of Europe, 2000 *European Landscape Convention*. Report and Convention (2000), Art. 1 c. a.

[iii] Op. cit., Preamble

[iv] Op. cit. Art. 5 c. a.

[v] DECRETO LEGISLATIVO 22 gennaio 2004, n. 42 - Codice dei beni culturali e del paesaggio. Art. 135 c. 1.

[vi] D.Lgs 22 gennaio 2004, n. 42 - Codice dei beni culturali e del paesaggio. Art. 135 c. 2.

[vii] http://paesaggio.regione.puglia.it/

[viii] Piano Paesaggistico Territoriale Regionale (PPTR) approvato con DGR 176 del 16/02/2015. Relazione generale. Art. 3.1.

[ix]http://www.regione.lazio.it/rl_urbanistica/?vw=contenutiElenco&id=8

[x]http://www.regione.piemonte.it/territorio/pianifica/ppr.htm

[xi] http://www.regione.toscana.it/-/piano-di-indirizzo-territoriale-con-valenza-di-piano-paesaggistico

[xii] PIT con valenza di piano paesaggistico. Atto di integrazione approvato ai sensi dell'articolo 19 della legge regionale 10 novembre 2014, n. 65. Cartografia identificativa degli ambiti.

Cultural landscapes and ecological values: a methodology for determining significance on the landscape of the former landed estate at Gurteen, Co. Waterford

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Background

This study sought to develop a methodology for a strengthened assessment of the landscape of the former landed estate (hereafter estate landscape), which can lead to a better understanding of how it can be ascribed value today. The former landed estate operated as a system of local governance in Ireland's past and comprised demesne lands enclosed with stone wall, which was developed for the use of the landed owner, beyond which the wider estate's tenanted lands sat. Literature relating to the landed estate in Ireland is far reaching and the wide range of study interests testify to its national importance, as discussed by Dooley (2007). However, the suitability of some measures for the protection of estate landscape (or more particularly the demesne) in Irish legislation, such as the Record of Protected Structures (RPS) and the Architectural Conservation Areas (ACA) are found to be generally currently unsatisfactory and utilised to various effect without consistency by planning authorities (Lumley 2007, 12-14; Heritage Council 2010; MacDonagh 2010; Murray n.d.). The RPS and ACA offer statutory protection to built structures or areas considered to be of special historical, archaeological, artistic, cultural, scientific, social or technical interest, which may include the 'designed' landscape by association under curtilage or attendant ground. The ACA has begun to be employed by some local authorities for the protection of whole demesnes, but its application to date relates to the historic designed elements, which this paper suggest is to the neglect of other aspects. The National Inventory of Architectural Heritage Gardens Survey (NIAHGS) is a non-statutory instrument that identifies historic gardens and designed landscapes and provides an assessment of their condition and historic designed integrity. It has been considered a useful mechanism, providing a basis for protection of demesne landscapes, but it is acknowledged that an agreed value of these landscapes is needed in Ireland (Heritage Council 2010; Reid 2010). Cork County Council has prepared guides for assessment of the estate landscape in the context of proposed development (Cork County Council 2005). Assessment is based on the historic integrity much like the NIAHGS however it does recognise wider values such as ecological and archaeological, but no method for determining these. Building on Scazzosi's (2002, 55) view that all landscapes 'can all be read for their cultural and natural meanings', this study proposes that there are a range of cultural and natural values, which are currently unconsidered in the NIAHGS assessment method.

Concentrating on the woodland component of estate landscape, this paper presents research conducted at Gurteen Estate, to illustrate the ways in which the temporal, spatial, cultural and natural (ecological) aspects of woodlands can be given strengthened assessment, thus offering a broadened range of potential values. By examining these aspects the study can propose an integrated and interdisciplinary research approach to estate assessment, as is widely advocated for landscape in general (Council of Europe 2000; Tress 2001, 2005). It also addresses some specific objectives in the *National Landscape Strategy for Ireland, 2015-2025* (Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht 2015) relating to increased awareness, protection and management of landscapes and development of local authority guidelines. This study was confined to the area within the demesne walls at Gurteen Estate and included a section to its south and east located outside these walls. It is acknowledged that this is not the full extent of estate lands in historic ownership and continued studies will widen the focus to reflect such ownership.

Current NIAHGS woodland assessment

The NIAHGS has been rolled out as a staged programme. Phase two involved a desktop survey and is currently completed for the entire country. It assessed woodlands at Gurteen Estate under the categories 'movement within site' and 'landscape features' (National Inventory of Architectural Heritage n.d.). The former category relates to 'woodland drives or walks' and the latter to existence of woodland blocks with commentary on any changes in footprint between the six-inch ordnance survey map (1837–1842) and contemporary aerial photography. Phase three of the NIAHGS has currently been completed for counties Louth and Donegal and therefore Gurteen Estate has not been assessed at this level. It conducted site surveys on location

and the method is reviewed in brief here for insight into its assessment process (National Inventory of Architectural Heritage 2005, 2012). In taking a random sample of 40 sites completed at this level, a review of the notes found reference to what has been categorised here as related to age, area, condition, quality, association, management, ownership and type/species. None of the surveys include all of these aspects and there was variation in the ways in which each was determined. For example, of the 40 sites reviewed 32 considered 'age' and of these the means of appropriating ranged as follows: with reference to '19th century maps' or more specifically to '1835 OS map'; as 'older trees dating to the first 50 years of the garden'; as dating 'from *c.*1860' or 'pre 1836'; as 'mature tree' or 'mature trees in their traditional position' or a 'traditional belt'. Inconsistencies continue across all categories, for example 3 of the 40 surveys reviewed made reference to 'type', such as deciduous or coniferous, and 8 listed some individual species present. The category 'movement within the site' from the former phase two surveys was not referred to in the sites reviewed at phase three level. The report describes what currently exists in terms of woodland, but there is inconsistent application and use of terminology and temporal reference points and virtually no commentary on historical, cultural or ecological meaning and significance.

Existing and emerging assessment methods for woodland

A Guide to Habitats in Ireland (Fossitt 2000) provides a unified methodology that identifies, describes, and classifies habitats at a range of scales for the benefit of conservation and management, which is intended for general recording rather than detailed study and evaluation. It is the national standard habitat classification system for Ireland.

A provisional inventory of ancient and long-established woodland has been produced for Ireland, but sites on Gurteen Estate were not represented (Perrin and Daly 2010). Although provisional the methodology used enables the identification of ancient and long-established woods and while this methodology was not followed in detail at this stage of the study, its findings can be drawn upon in two respects. Firstly, the classification for woods based on age can be considered in respect of defining historic woodland types. The inventory defines ancient woodland (AW) as being continuously covered since before 1600s, long-established woodlands (LEW) as continuously covered since *c.* 1830 of which there are two sub-categories, and recent woodland (RW) as originated since 1830. Secondly, the list of associated indicator plant species produced for the inventory can be compared with the species list recorded at Gurteen during the course of this research. Thus, the provisional inventory will be a useful reference in assessing woodland significance on the estate in terms of age and associated indicator species.

Methodology

This paper suggests that woodland significances can be considered historically, culturally and ecologically and the manner by which they are determined can be given more consistent consideration than heretofore. In order to strengthen the assessment method woodlands needed to be spatially, temporally and ecologically defined. This was established with reference to standard and emerging woodland classifications in respect of habitat and age. These were then integrated on a common platform enabling spatial geo-referencing using ArcMap Geographical Information System (GIS). Furthermore, the assessment method sought to widen set of woodland significances than previously considered by drawing from a range of historical sources and field survey data.

Habitat and field data

The only existing study found with reference to woods on Gurteen Estate, the *River Suir Heritage Audit* (Muyllaert et al 2014) was assessed as a potential data source for the woodlands. Woodlands identified in the audit were categorised as mixed broadleaf conifer, broadleaf and immature woodland and it also noted a portal tomb in one of these woodlands. Although the sites were mapped the audit did not provide enough detail to benefit this research as woodland habitat types or age was not assessed. Therefore a field survey was conducted in spring and early summer 2015 in order to determine woodland habitats in accordance with Fossitt (2000). A desk top review of Gurteen Estate woods using aerial photography provided by the ArcMap software identified wooded sites on the estate. A field survey recorded species lists at canopy and ground floor layers and communities were classified according to Fossit habitat types, and thus to a national standard. Field notes also recorded boundary and internal features, such as stone walls, watercourses, drives, bank and ditch, fencing, gates, historic monuments, and designed features as these features could potentially increase understanding of historical and cultural meaning of woodlands on the estate (Rackham 1995; Muir 1998; Perrin and Daly 2010).

Historic sources

A number of historic documents were available to the study (OSi 1840, 1841, 1904a, 1904b, 1904c, 1904d; Andrews 2005). The six-inch ordnance survey map, which was conducted for the area between *c.*1840–1, was important as it provided continuity with the NIAHGS phase two survey. Also available was the twenty five-inch ordnance survey map conducted for the area in 1904. These maps provide woodland information relating to two temporally defined periods and provide nationally consistent coverage.

In addition, sourced documents and manuscripts pertaining to the Gurteen Estate were consulted. These were located in two archives, one private, which held an estate map from 1824 and one publically accessible, which is currently being catalogued, but allowed limited access to woodland accounts of the 1800s (Anon n.d.; Rooney n.d.: Chaloner 1824). The 1824 estate map was the oldest one sourced and consulted thus far and contains information on woodland location throughout the demesne, recently reclaimed land and woodland names, which are distinguished from new plantation. The woodland accounts consulted thus far related to the years 1838 to 1852 and include detailed valuations, woodland related maintenance and information on workers and income, which are itemised and costed.

Printed historic sources were also consulted for information relating to woodlands at Gurteen in the years 1824, 1837 and 1894, which include *The History and the County and City of Waterford*, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* and *History,* and a *Guide & Directory of County and City of Waterford* (Ryland 1824; Lewis 1937; Egan 1894) These visitors' accounts describe the visual impact of woods at Gurteen within a wider landscape composition and provide commentary on their quality in this respect.

Integration

The habitat types, now classified to national standard, were spatially mapped in ArcMap GIS and overlaid on the current aerial photography. The twenty five-inch ordnance map was brought into this ArcMap file and the areas of woodland were digitised (meaning new shapefiles were created) by category according to the ordnance survey characteristic sheet's key for coniferous, deciduous, mixed and brushwood. This allowed the area and extent to be measured and compared for two temporally defined periods, upon which a range of queries could be made. The historic six-inch map showed inaccuracies in alignment with the aerial photo and twenty five-inch maps and so was not digitised (ie shapefiles were not created) for this reason, but was incorporated as a base layer in ArcMap for the purposes of visual analysis, which allowed a high degree of comparison. This enabled potential ancient or long-established woods to be identified and aligned with the provisional inventory's classifications for Ireland. The results of species lists collected showed comparisons with the provisional inventory indicator species and thus supported woodland age at Gurteen. Historic woodlands and current habitat types were now spatially georeferenced on a common platform with defined temporal periods, thus locating woodlands historically, ecologically and spatially at Gurteen for the first time.

The 1824 estate map was in delicate condition and therefore scanning or photographing the map in complete form to use in ArcMap was not possible. As with the woodland accounts, the visitors' descriptions and the field notes relating to cultural, natural or historic features, the 1824 map was examined for information and was integrated into a written account of woodlands on Gurteen Estate. These must now be incorporated in associated ArcMap attribute tables and text files so that they may be integrated with the ArcMap platform being developed, but further examination of the potential historic and cultural meaning is needed in order to devise related categories for use in this format.

Analysis of significance

With the field data and historic sourced material related to woodlands at Gurteen Estate collated and located on a common platform the study can start to develop a set of categories for an examination of widened significances and potential value of woodland on the estate. Further analysis of the field work and historic material is needed, but findings thus far suggest the range of current considerations (categorised here as related to age, area, movement, condition, quality, association, management, ownership and type/species), can begin to be delivered in a more consistent and standardised manner and expanded to include habitat type, plant species, indicator species, woodland age (preliminarily defined with support of the provisional ancient woodlands inventory classifications), historic visual composition, past management, estate economy, historic features, designed elements and spatial relationship for example.

Further research to be developed

Following an assessment of a more comprehensive set of categories by which to assess woodland, there is potential to develop an overarching perspective that provides more holistic and synthesised assessment into which these categories can be re-organised and applied across the whole estate landscape at Gurteen. These ideas need further development and could draw from approaches to landscape study, such as, but not limited to, Widgren (2004, 463) who suggests form, function, process and context as 'a checklist for a critical, formalised and structured reading of landscapes'. Such an approach, if applied here, could examine Gurteen Estate for a better understanding of natural, cultural and historic significance than is currently considered. This would lend to an integrated assessment so that the potential range of landscape values, both past and present, can be determined at Gurteen Estate. This study is mindful of the fact that not all estate landscapes offer the same range of material for assessing their unique and individual significances, but the method and range of categories being developed here could be applied in a similar fashion within a general framework to estate landscapes elsewhere. This could strengthen the current NIAHGS model and assist planning, protection and management of estate landscape at national and local authority level.

Conclusion

This study, thus far, allowed a range of new considerations in an assessment of the woodland component of estate landscape, which can contribute to an understanding of its cultural, natural (ecological) and historical significance. Furthermore, it encourages the development of a more consistent assessment of woodland by setting classifications related to habitat and age (both standard and emerging) within an estate landscape context, which can potentially strengthen the current NIAHGS assessment model. Crucially, it spatially, ecologically and temporally located the woodland component of Gurteen Estate on a common platform. Future analyses of significance can begin to be developed within an overarching framework enabling an integrated assessment method to be applied across the entire estate landscape so that value, both past and present, can be ascribed to the landscape of Gurteen Estate.

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Learning through landscape: place-based learning in the Burren

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Introduction

Evolutionary psychology points towards the importance of landscape as a learning medium. The 'savanna hypothesis' is based on the assumption that the ability 'to read' landscape was a valuable survival trait for hunter-gatherers. As our species spent the greater part of its existence as a hunter-gatherer in the savanna lands of Africa, it is hypothesized that we have a genetic predisposition for these types of landscape (Heerwagen and Irians 1993). We also have an unconscious affinity for nature. This may be why, at a young age, playing in nature is the best way to learn. Educationalists have long observed that children tend to play joyfully and imaginatively in natural and semi-natural environments. In the United States Sobel has identified seven play motifs that apply to all children, irrespective of class and ethnicity (Sobel 2012). He believes that, by making use of these motifs, 'educators can structure learning experiences that provide powerful vehicles for curricular knowledge and court the possibility of transcendental experiences.' (Sobel 2012, 10).

Learning in one's own surroundings is therefore a natural way to learn. But, over the last century, as education has become more structured and formal and increasingly organised around national curricula, the practice of learning outside the classroom has been in decline. Even fields of study, which we might expect to embrace landscape, have turned their backs. According to Mayne (2009, 175) 'Disciplines at the cusp of the humanities and social sciences- such as history, geography, archaeology and anthropology- have largely disregarded landscape as a platform for learning' and are 'regarding space as a passive stage or a backdrop for the dramas of social life.'

Learning through landscape may not now be in the mainstream of educational practice but the situation is changing. There is disillusion with established approaches and attention is being given to place-based education (PBE) or place-based learning (PBL) as an alternative. Gruenewald (2003) has argued for our learning to be grounded 'in the lived experience of people and the actual social and ecological contexts of our lives.' An educational movement, called PBE, which originated in the United States in the 1990s and which is primarily focussed on primary school teaching, is expanding rapidly (PEEC 2012).

The potential of landscape as a learning medium is now recognised across the world. That potential has a number of distinctive characteristics, which can classified under two headings, 'what we learn' and 'how we learn.'

What we learn

A holistic approach, which enables students to fulfil their individual potential through connecting with their communities and the natural environment, is a familiar strand of educational philosophy. It is difficult to avoid such an approach when learning is centred on landscape. Kenway (2009) identifies six strands of place-based enquiry; the temporal, spatial, ecological, political, imaginary and personal. According to Wally Penetito (2009), 'in its deepest sense (education) is a blending together of science with imagination, technology with craft, and the secular with the magical. Place-based education appeals to me as an ideally suited educational agenda for now and for the future because of its reliance on the integration of all these elements to imbue in each student the wonder of learning.'

Landscape is a superb medium to learn about the past. The physical landscape, as palimpsest, offers a partial but beguiling record of the past, decipherable with patience, learning and imagination. As Newman (2009, 9) observes 'in so far as the landscape is constructed in, and according to our likeness, it is capable therefore of being a classroom, a storehouse of personal, tribal and communal knowledge.'

Landscape study also illuminates the present and recent past. Everyone sees the world differently, and, as Williams (2001, 3) has stated, 'place + people = politics.' In Somerville's (2009, 9) words 'specific local places offer a material and metaphysical space for the intersection of multiple and contested stories' and it is vital that 'teachers are able to rise above place prejudice and to move beyond simplistic and romantic views of place.'

How we learn

More so than what we learn it is how the learning happens that is the attraction of learning through landscape. There

are at least four aspects to this. First, the learning is firmly anchored in physical/material things and the relationships that people have with those things. This aspect contrasts with the vicarious nature of learning through digital media. Susan Pinker (2014), a champion of the power of proximity, does not believe that the digital revolution has delivered the educational benefits that were anticipated. An OECD study (2015) in supports this conclusion, showing no appreciable improvement in performance of students from countries which have invested heavily in ICT.

The second aspect, related to the first, is that learning can be experiential, that is, it is learning by doing. Third, the learning can take place within a community. This opens up possibilities that are at the limits of, or beyond the scope of formal education. Sue Clifford (2016) of Common Ground powerfully evokes some of the challenges and rewards of learning in a community setting. 'Knowing your place, taking some active part in its upkeep, passing on wisdom, being open to ideas, people, development, change but in sympathy with nature and culture which have brought it this far, will open the doors of dissent. But conversation, tolerance and the passing on of memories, are civilising forces. Whatever the forms of knowledge we shall need for the next millennium, humanity and imagination must take a high priority in organising them.'

The fourth aspect, hard to pin down but widely accepted, is the capacity of an engagement with landscape to stimulate creativity and spark the imagination.

Types of learning experience

To pursue the idea of landscape as a learning medium it is useful to differentiate the learning experience. I am proposing two general types of experience; that of 'the visited landscape' and that of 'the lived place', representing two halves of a wide spectrum of experience The words 'landscape' and 'place' are used interchangeably in the landscape literature, but, as Newman (2009) has pointed out, there are nuanced differences. 'Landscape' carries an unavoidable sense of detachment while 'place' evokes 'the intimacy and embeddedness of everyday' and of 'lived experiences.' (Newman 2009, 8-14). It is these differences which differentiate the learning potential of 'the visited landscape' and 'the lived place.'

The 'visited landscape' is the experience of a field trip from school or college or a site visit by a landscape architect or an environmental scientist. It is also the experience of a 'weekend away' or a 'holiday in the sun'. Seamus Heaney (1980, 131) wrote that, 'When we go as tourists to Donegal or Connemara or Kerry we go with at best an aesthetic eye, comforting ourselves with the picturesqueness of it all or rejoicing in the fact that it is unspoiled. We will have little felt knowledge of the place, little enough of a sense of wonder or a sense of tradition.' This is the most superficial kind of 'visited landscape' experience. Our overall experience of landscape is skewed towards the visited landscape experience, as travel is an integral aspect of modern life, and we are all 'armchair travellers' in front of our TVs. We are primarily observers, to a degree detached from what we are observing and the experience is of relatively short duration.

'The lived place', by contrast, is direct experience acquired over a period of years, consciously and unconsciously, within the confines of a geographic community. We and the other members of the community are as much a part of the place as its other living and non-living constituents. The distinction being made resembles one made by Seamus Heaney (1980, 131), about two ways to know a place; 'two ways which may be complementary, but are just as likely to be antipathetic. One is lived, illiterate and unconscious, the other learned, literate and conscious.'

Place-based learning in the Burren

At first glance the Burren is not a promising locale for successful place based-learning. This is because it is part a country distinguished by the degree to which its society is alienated from the physical landscape that it inhabits (McGrath 2013). One manifestation of this alienation is the lack of official recognition of the country's exceptional landscapes. Assuming guardianship of a

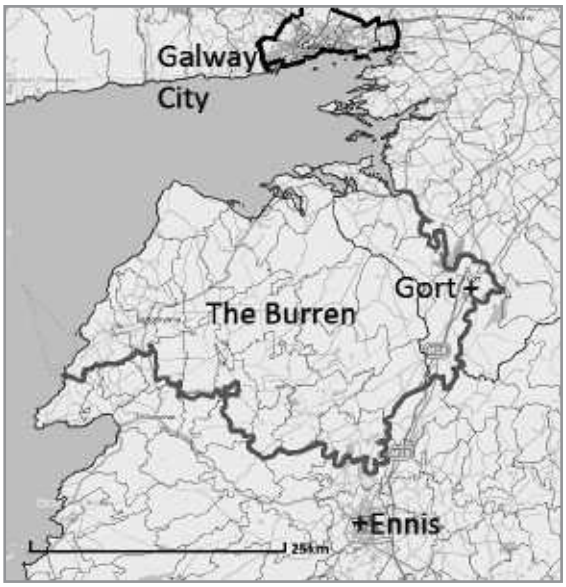

Fig 1. Location of the Burren (The boundary follows census area boundaries)

Fig. 2. A field excursion to Mullaghmore by the Burrenbeo Trust, photographed beside the site of the abandoned visitor centre

country's outstanding landscapes was a natural impulse of West European states during the 20th century. More than 10% of the land area of the United Kingdom, Germany, Austria, Italy and France is designated for special protection. In Ireland, by contrast, less than 1% is designated (McGrath 2013).

The Burren is an outstanding cultural landscape. Straddling counties Clare and Galway, with the bulk of the district in County Clare, the Burren is about 600km^2 in extent, with a dispersed population of about 14,000 (Fig. 1). The area is famous for its unusual flora, striking glacio-karst scenery and archaeological heritage. Taken separately, each one of these characteristics represents a rich heritage; taken together, they are an exceptional legacy.

Until very recently, however, the Burren landscape was largely ignored by local communities. It only had substance as a 'visited landscape'. The 1990s saw a decade of conflict as a result of a plan by government to build a visitor centre at the foot of Mullaghmore, a mountain at the southern edge of the Burren. The majority of local people regarded the project as a godsend for the local economy. Many considered the place where the centre was to be built as no more than 'just a bit of old crag'. According to O'Rourke (2005), viewed through the eyes of many locals, the Burren was a 'landscape of shame', 'a place cloaked in the mantle of shame and inferiority complex.' She wrote 'Many of my informants remarked on the fact that the Burren must be a special place, but that they were unaware of it until recently. Neither did they really know why it is special. The local branch of the IFA (Irish Farmers Association) has on occasion brought in 'experts' to explain to its members exactly why the Burren is considered so special today.' (O'Rourke 2005).

The visitor centre was never built (Fig. 2). Whether the conflict about it acted as a catalyst is open to question but there can be no doubt there has been a change in the nature of the engagement of the local community with its landscape. An altogether more positive relationship is developing, not as a result of some form of coordinated state intervention, but through initiatives by four disparate local organisations; a charity, geopark, EU-supported farm programme and a college of art.

The Burrenbeo Trust was originally launched in 2002 and relaunched as a charitable trust in 2008 (Burrenbeo 2012). The trust describes itself as Ireland's only

landscape charity. In 2012 it commissioned a feasibility study of the Burren as a Learning Landscape (McGrath and McNally 2013). With only one full-time staff and two part-time staff, the Trust is overwhelmingly dependent on its volunteers.

The trust programme includes:

- Lectures and walks throughout the year,
- An environmental programme for local primary schools,
- A programme for transition year students in Gort Community College,
- Organisation of local festivals; the Burren in Bloom festival and the Winterage Weekend,
- A bi-annual Learning Landscape Symposium, begun in 2012,
- An annual teacher training event for primary school teachers, begun in 2014,
- Burren Conservation Volunteers: an ongoing programme of conservation, and
- Hosting a European conference on pastoralism in 2015 (The Trust being the Irish member of the European Forum on Nature Conservation and Pastoralism)

The Burren and Cliffs of Moher Geopark (2016), established in 2010, is managed by the local council and grant aided by the EU Life programme to 2017. The Burren Geopark has set up a Burren Ecotourism Network (BEN) for local businesses, which requires them to undertake training in sustainable development practices. The 'Locally Led Burren Programme' is a successor of a Burren Life (2015) farming project, an incentivised programme for the sustainable management of species-rich grasslands. Twenty-five farmers took part in 2010 pilot project. By 2014 the number had risen to 160. Finally, The Burren College of Art, established in 1993, is the only third-level college in an upland rural area in Ireland. A founding principle of the college is 'providing Time, Space and Inspiration for artists in the unique Burren landscape' (Burren College of Art n.d.). Courses offered include a masters in Art and Ecology. The College hosted the first 'Climate Gathering' in 2013, 60 people from 10 countries to discuss climate change in advance of the COP 21 Summit in Paris.

In summary, about two dozen people in four organisations, living and working in the Burren, connected by a web of formal and informal links, are the leaders, managers, teachers and role models of an expanding network of place-based learning, enabling the Burren to approach its learning potential as both 'lived place' and 'visited landscape'.

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Infrastructural struggles: the making of modern Arklow, Ireland

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Introduction

This paper describes aspects of on-going research project carried out by the author and students at the School of Architecture and Landscape, University College Dublin (UCD). The project traces over two hundred years of effort and infrastructure building that went into the making of the small town of Arklow, and considers its consequences. In tracking the town's metamorphosis, identifying drivers, and tracing and retracing the physical phenomena associated with them, the project aims to spotlight interaction between society, economy, man-made interventions and the natural landscape and its processes. Maps, models and other visual materials help peel back the layers of the palimpsest – revealing the physical (and other) consequences of decisions made and actions taken long (and not so long) ago, as well as identifying attitudes that guided local development.

Context

The UCD School of Architecture Planning and Environmental Policy's postgraduate Masters in Architectural Science places emphasis on resilience, sustainable design and development, and takes place against a multi-disciplinary background. In the first semester of the programme, students from Landscape Architecture, Urban Design, Conservation and Heritage and Sustainable Building Design work together in a combined effort to understand a particular urban (or suburban) environment. Sustainable design starts with the understanding of site-specific processes and this studio undertakes a critical reading of a site. This is not a traditional studio; its emphasis is on research, and analysis seen as a creative act intended to help uncover local opportunities and potential for future directions.

Our study of Arklow began in the 2013 multi-disciplinary Postgraduate Studio described above. Having sparked students' interest in a time-depth approach, work continued as part of a Landscape Research module, and as part of a funded initiative in the field of Spatial Arts and Visualisation supported by the Higher Education Authority of Ireland. This latter funding enabled us to start experimenting with the possibilities of 3D immersive environments, and the visualisation of change; its results are discussed elsewhere.

Methodology

Our approach can be considered as aligning with the biographical method for understanding the landscape, developed by the author, and described in a paper in *Landscape and Imagination. Towards a new baseline for education in a changing world* (Meeres 2013). Our investigative analysis starts with the gathering, interpretation and overlaying of maps, plans, texts and images, as well as observations in-situ, in an attempt to identify traces, consequences and causes of past situations.

The landscape biography approach attempts to identify the layers of the palimpsest that reveal significant physical and cultural conditions and their subsequent consequences. 'The biographical approach seeks to better understand local cultural conditions, issues and circumstances by linking present conditions to the past physical, social and economic "life" of a place and its people. The aim of the biographical approach is to better understand the "essence" of a place and thereby follow its "scent" in the elaboration of proposals for future development. The hypothesis is that greater and more detailed understanding of a settlement in its milieu can lead to (more sustainable) development proposals that respond better to place.'[i]

Sources of information

The Arklow project is informed by a range of professional, scientific and general texts, surveys, maps and images that describe various aspects of the town's past and present life. Documents date from the 18th, 19th, 20th and 21st Centuries. The first and subsequent editions of the Ordnance Survey were particularly useful. A recent historical publication served as our starting point: Jim Rees' *Arklow: story of a town* (2004, 29) was a great read, provided an excellent introduction and indicated many further sources of information.

Research involves both desktop, and in-situ studies.

Arklow – first impressions

Located 70km south of Dublin, on the east coast of Ireland, the town benefits from its picturesque setting at the mouth of the Avoca, on the southern border of county Wicklow.

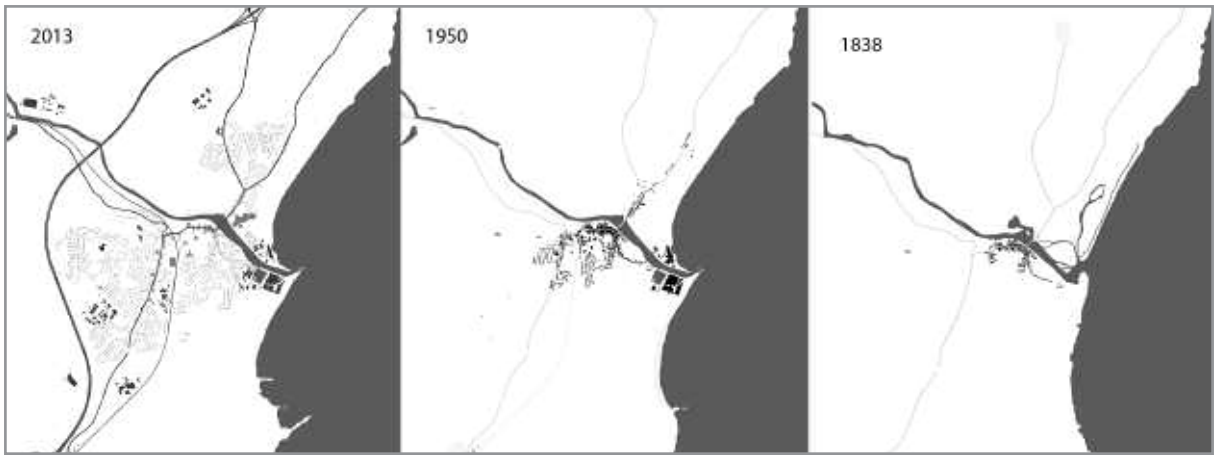

Fig. 1 (left) Arklow 2013 (centre) Arklow 1950 (right) Arklow 1838

On our first trip to Arklow, on a Friday morning in September 2013, the picturesque Main Street is quiet. Of 136 commercial units on this street, over one third are still empty today.[2] The main street is a gentle hill that rises up from the Nineteen Arches, a stone-arched bridge completed in 1756. Cars are queuing in the street to cross the bridge, which is undergoing maintenance. The river is wide, the water shallow but fast flowing – it's tidal up to the bridge. On the opposite bank, to the northwest, is a large natural site, obviously a flood plain.

At the bottom end of Main Street, the land flattens and the 'lower' road leads down to the Fisheries. This area of the historical core reveals little of its past – in fact nothing remains. It's a residential part of town, most noticeable for wider streets and pavements and a complete lack of vegetation. There's no sign of the sea. We return to the river, to find a small harbour, and a dilapidated industrial hinterland. Views across the river speak also of decline. An enormous abandoned site occupies the seaward edge of the North quay, too. But there is something next to it – a large commercial centre; it may explain the traffic jam.

The view from the end of the pier is disappointing. The entire length of the bay has been subjected to a coastal protection scheme: the beach has been buried under rock armour. We learn subsequently that the stone was quarried at Arklow Rock.

At first sight this small town appears to be typical of other settlements in the periphery of Dublin. Its form and demographic was affected by Ireland's economic boom, its outskirts doubled in size in a single decade, and it has suffered from the effects of the national downturn. It's hard to imagine much ever happening here, apart from the age-old struggle to survive off the land, or the sea. The industrial buildings add an incongruous note.

Arklow: a look back through time

The sea was Arklow's past doorway to the world. Its importance was in fishing, boat building and trading with other ports. If recent times have seen a decline in shipping and fishing, and the boatyards have closed, the presence of the river, and the port, not only gives the town character, it explains its existence.

For two thousand years Arklow subsisted thanks to its location on the Avoca – a river mentioned by Ptolemy in 150 AD. The name is undoubtedly 'Viking' (Rees 2004, 29). It seems that the first settlement here served as a base for travel inland (raids!) via the river. Indeed, until the late eighteenth Century, Arklow was an isolated place '... with only muddy tracks, impassable in winter, connecting it to the hinterland.' (Forde 1988, 17)

The village

The map of the first ordnance survey of Arklow, carried out in 1838, depicts a small village on the south bank of the Avoca. The OS map (published 1868) shows no such detail, but the village, its single street, and sixty-three slate roofed houses, is described in several texts dating from close to the time, in particular those of Henry Lambert Bayly (in 1816) and Thomas Cromwell (in 1820). Houses in the east of town were poor cottages, thatched, with mud walls. The cabins of the Fishery described by Cromwell were 'badly constructed and irregularly placed'. He notes however, that 'This town... affords a striking instance of a prosperous change within a comparatively short period: about fifty years since, it was merely a fishing hamlet, consisting of a number of thatched mud cabins, and a single slated house' (Rees 2004, 303-11).

By the census of 1831, Arklow with its seven hundred houses houses was one of Irelands chief fishing towns, but it also facilitated trade. It grew, or at least maintained its

population during the famine years and by the end of the 19th Century, numbered almost five thousand inhabitants housed in one thousand buildings (Ibid. 149). It had jumped the river to start building on the Ferrybank – the road that traverses the estuary.

Arklow's good times would last much of the 20th century. Its population grew to eight thousand by the 1980's, by which time the town's suburbs more than equalled the area of the historical core (Ibid. 312). By the end of the 'Tiger' years, the Arklow population was thirteen thousand, with speculative residential development having doubled the area of the town again (Central Statistics Office).[ii] Arklow's outskirts offer car-reliant families open green spaces and the tranquillity and comfort of suburban life – in exchange for a journey to work. The last Census (in 2011) indicated unemployment at twenty-eight percent.

The estuary, a shifting coastline, the beach

The 1838 ordnance survey depicts the Avoca as it descends from the hills, flattening and widening as it travels the final part of its journey through an estuary. At the coastline, freshwater and seawater meet in a marshy hinterland of sand dunes, a sandbar stretches the length of the beach, deflecting the river outlet but creating a natural "harbour" from the sea. Exceptional events intermittently change this shifting landscape. Storms would cause the river to break through the bar; high seas could flood the dunes, and wash them away.

The 1838 survey captured a certain moment in time. In January 1839, on the 'night of the big storm', the river broke through the sand bar and straightened itself.

Arklow seamen often struggled to access the sea despite living literally on the beach, forced to offload their cargo offshore, or elsewhere, or await the right tides, or the right boats to traverse the sand bar. Nevertheless, the village survived, first because of local salmon, later herring, and then oyster dredging. Its men sailed the length of the Irish coast, fishing off the Shetland Islands and in the North Sea, and transporting miscellaneous cargos (Forde 1988, 229-56). The Fisheries was valuable to Arklow, not only for fish, but also as nurseries for skilled sailors.

In 1840 improvements to the entrance were initiated by the Wicklow Mining Company, not to improve conditions for the fishermen, but in response to a boom in the price of sulphur. In 1848, the building of Arklow Chemical Works on the north beach was the first sign of Arklow's eventual turn away from the sea.

Industrial developments

By the late 18th Century, the Industrial Revolution had begun to exert influence on this little village, and growth of a town began. For the next two hundred years, the mines would produce ores that would pass through Arklow's small port, in either their raw state, or processed form – an era that would finally come to a close with the fertilizer factory, in 2002.

In adapting to a succession of opportunities offered by Avoca's mines, this small community, along with its river, and coastline underwent a gradual and irrevocable transformation that changed the way it saw itself and any 'other kinds of opportunities' offered by its own particular landscape. The river, the harbour, the beach and the sea supplied waste disposal, land bank and transport opportunities that served the towns goals of growth, and employment.

There were early signs of some unintended consequences of industrial priorities. In 1752 Pococke observed of the Avoca that the '...country abounds very much in copper mines' noting that Arklow '...formerly had much fish in the river, but the Coperas of the mines has corrupted the waters, so as that most of the fish are destroyed.' (Stokes 1891, 159) The lower section of the river is still highly acidic and since mining ceased, the workings have been allowed to flood, worsening the situation.[iii] 'In their heyday, the mines were major contributors to the local economy,' the then Minister for Environment, Heritage and Local Government, Dick Roche, said at the launch of the Avoca Mines Pilot Plant Treatment Trials, in 2007.[iv] Active treatments exist that could be a solution for the Avoca.

Arklow's native oyster beds thrived until the mid 19th Century. But in the summer of 1865, large quantities of young oysters were taken from Arklow to stock French beds. The Irish Times, outraged, wrote that "In that country pisciculture has become a commercial science, and is under the direction of a Cabinet Minister" (1866).[v] There was to be no careful management of the Arklow beds, and subsequent pollution finished them off. Today the Irish oyster seems to have become a rarity of the west coast, and it is interesting to imagine what kind of town Arklow would be today had it nurtured its salmon and oysters.

Arklow Chemical Works, producers of artificial 'manure', were first to reclaim a part of the north beach. Although we do not know how ACW disposed of its waste materials, one hundred years later, Nitrigin Eireann

Teoranta (NET), later Irish Fertiliser Industries (IFI), built a version of the same factory. Two km upstream of the harbour, on the banks of the Avoca, the "Fert" employed over a thousand staff, and legally dumped gypsum slurry (a by-product of the phosphoric acid production process), carbon slurry (a by-product of the ammonia plant) and solid waste on its site next to the river. The factory closed in 2002.

Arklow town continues to discharges its raw sewage directly into the river. Irish Water intends to build a wastewater treatment plant, and after years of disagreement about a site, it currently favours construction on the North Quay of the harbor, where Arklow's original Chemical Works once stood.

Conclusions

Arklow's coastal landscape altered over two centuries in response to industrial drivers that have ceased to exist, one after the other. During that time the river, the harbour, the beach and the sea offered waste disposal, land bank and transport opportunities.

The river has been channeled, land has been reclaimed, and sea defenses built. Engineered jetties extend out to sea at Arklow Rock, and at the South and North Quays, and the natural coastline has perceptibly shifted. Successive surveys indicate that in some parts land has been gained, in other parts land lost. On site, windblown sand piles up behind the South Pier. The pier defends the entrance to the Avoca, but it and the big jetty at Arklow Rock somehow interfere with the long-shore drift northwards. Where once there was a sand bar, the North beach now suffers from scour. These phenomena are the subject of technical enquiry, but locals describe how the profile of the beach shelved more steeply as the beach itself disappeared. Arklow remember summers at play in the sand dunes on the North beach. But after the 1989 flooding inundated the hinterland of dunes, damaging installations recently built there, Arklow installed new defences. Since 1990, rock armour covers the entire length and breadth of the beach.

The river and the port add character to the town, but we believe, the current configuration limits the town's prospects. Contemporary Arklow illustrates the 18th, 19th and 20th Century mind-set of creating infrastructure to exploit natural resources. 21st Century Arklow (and towns like it) must seek to prioritise the cultivation of their natural assets so as to ensure a better future of another kind.

Fig. 2. Aspects of Arklow

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Realising the cultural values of Green Infrastructure: Exploring cultural differences in the teaching of 'landscape' with international students

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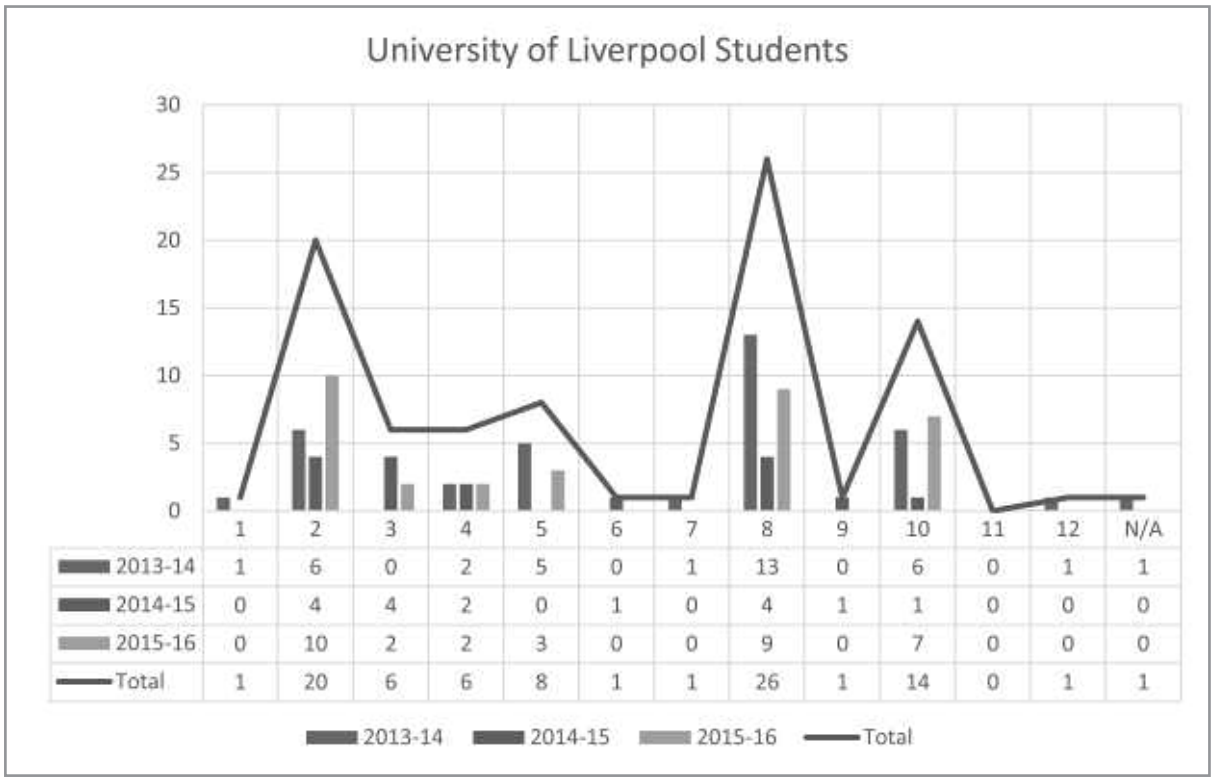
Introduction

As the teaching environment of higher education in the UK becomes more internationalised the techniques used to frame our understandings of the physical, cultural and socio-economic nuances of *landscape* has to evolve. Although the research literature (Matless 1998; Campaign for the Protection of Rural England and Natural England 2010) argues that a grounded understanding of landscape exists in the UK, predominately focussing on a nostalgic interpretation of historical landscapes, there is a growing realisation within the academy that such notions need to be challenged (Brown et al 1994; Herlin 2004). As a consequence the profession of Town, County and Landscape Planning has started to consider the utility of a diverse range of designations, economic valuation practices, and landscape protection campaigns to examine its own, and the wider understanding of landscape values within the public consciousness, and more recently within academia (Selman 2006; Roe et al 2009). The growing number and diversity of students studying planning, sustainability and landscape in the UK has therefore required academics to rethink *what* they are teaching, to *whom*, *how* they are teaching it, and *why* (Isserman 2014).

With an increasingly international student body, predominately Chinese in composition, there is a need to consider how we present 'landscape studies' to ensure that cultural nuances are not lost (Li et al 2005; Xu et al 2011; Wu 2015). One approach to landscape planning that is being used to address these differences is the teaching of Green Infrastructure Planning. Due to the fluidity of its conceptual framing discussions of Green Infrastructure have engaged directly with the myriad nature of socio-cultural interpretations of landscape in the UK, Europe and more recently China and India (Tuan 1990; Nassauer 1995; Wu 2015). The teaching of Green Infrastructure could therefore be seen as acting at a confluence of cultural understandings, which uses both a global perspective and localised interpretations to



	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	N/A
2013-14	1	6	0	2	5	0	1	13	0	6	0	1	1
2014-15	0	4	4	2	0	1	0	4	1	1	0	0	0
2015-16	0	10	2	2	3	0	0	9	0	7	0	0	0
Total	1	20	6	6	8	1	1	26	1	14	0	1	1

Fig. 1. 'The Bund' Shanghai – internationally recognised landscapes

investigate how different stakeholder groups value landscapes (Mell 2016).

This paper discusses some of the mechanisms used at The University of Liverpool within its teaching of Green Infrastructure[i] to explore how the subtleties of various cultural understandings of landscape value are embedded within the module[ii]. These are used to situate the discussions of how alternative media (maps, photographs and videos) can be used, along with a more internalised curriculum, within staff-student interactions to promote better understandings of which landscapes, and what features, are considered valuable (Fig. 1). Finally the paper reflects briefly on how the teaching of the ENVS345/545 Green Infrastructure has evolved following input from student feedback to aid the evolution of its focus and application.

Internationalising landscape to UK and overseas students

Higher education in the UK has seen as rapid increase in the number of international students sitting degree programmes (Universities UK 2014). Partially this reflects the global standing of British educational institutions but also illustrates a growing wealth and access to education for citizens of countries including India, China and the Middle-east. Furthermore, there is a pervasive view borne out in the academic literature and anecdotally from discussions with students at The University of Liverpool that oversees education is an important mechanism for social mobility (Findlay et al 2012)[iii]. Currently over 75,000 international students are registered at Russell Group universities in the UK of an estimated 280,000+; 24.4% of whom are registered in Architecture, Building and Planning degrees (Espinoza 2015; UK Council for International Student Affiars 2016). At The University of Liverpool approximately 30% of the student body (composite of undergraduate and postgraduate) or 6,700 international students are currently enrolled on campus based programmes (The University of Liverpool 2016).

The University of Liverpool has also been forward-thinking in its approach to the growing internationalisation of higher education, and specifically the Chinese market for overseas study. In 2006 they founded the collaborative Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University (XJTLU) in Suzhou. This development provides a '2+2' route for students to study in Suzhou and Liverpool and has provided a significant number of students entering Year 2 of The University of Liverpool undergraduate degrees.

As a response to the increased number of international students studying in the UK, and the impacts that the National Student Survey (NSS) has on recruitment, there has been an emphasis placed on internationalising the curriculum at The University of Liverpool and other institutions (Kuh 2001). One aspect of the NSS, and more generally in student feedback, which has become increasingly visible has been the call for the teaching of landscape planning to be more international in its focus. Moreover, there have been requests within the student body at The University of Liverpool to place more emphasis on the application of planning issues in a Chinese context. Whilst it would be unwise to diversify a curriculum to meet the expectations of one student group, even where it may be a dominant group, there is value in providing teaching materials that reflect the globalised nature of planning praxis. The outcomes of which have been the inclusion of a geographically wider range of teaching materials, which provide more accessible texts, examples and case studies within the curriculum.

Moreover, there is an ongoing discussion of how best to facilitate an engaging learning experience within higher education. Normative 'chalk and talk' lectures are still used extensively, however, a greater emphasis is being placed on the use of workshops, seminars, online and audio-visual forms of teaching to ensure that all students remain engaged (Fry et al 2009). Whilst, such diverse approaches to teaching may not be appropriate in all areas, the use of a variety of learning techniques has been well received within the discipline of Planning[iv]. Although there are significant cultural differences between education in the UK, Europe and globally the pedagogical research favours multi-method teaching as a method of improving the inclusivity and relevance of higher education to a wider audience. Furthermore, if the composition of student demographics in the UK continues to reflect a largely Chinese and/or international audience these issues will become increasingly important.

Contextualising landscape in Higher Education teaching

One incident in December 2015 contextualises the variety of Green Infrastructure/landscape discussions under examination here. During a PhD supervision the notion of greenspace use in China was discussed. Moreover, the specific understanding of why people were

not allowed to walk, relax or play on grassed areas in Chinese parks, especially when in Europe and the UK such behaviour is common place (Tate 2015; Mell 2016). However, in China they are largely restricted, the reason: the cost of replacing grass if too many people used these resources. An understanding of the economic cost-benefit analysis undertaken in China to manage parks thus appears to differ significantly from those held in the UK, and illustrates why it is important to appreciate the nuances of use, management and valuation in our teaching of landscape studies[v].

At the University of Liverpool landscape is taught with its Planning degrees where 'landscape' discussions are related to planning policy and practice, environmental sustainability and environmental assessment. The teaching of planning, therefore, conforms to a more traditional reflection on contextual praxis and does not extensively cover the pluralities associated with understanding landscape in different locations. As a consequence the teaching of landscape could be considered normative in a UK perspective, with 'landscape' being considered as one component of the wider process of spatial planning (Sheppard and Smith 2014; Cullingworth et al 2015) . Thus it may be more appropriate to look to other disciplines, i.e. architecture, landscape architecture or urban sociology, where the physical and socio-cultural context of a 'landscape' is debated to a far greater extent than in Planning. Moreover, as Planning is a process orientated discipline it is taught to address specific spatial issues. However, it could be argued that such a rationale places an overtly western perspective on how discussions of landscape are presented (Jorgensen and Keenan 2011). Historically this would not have raised any significant issues for graduates as they would have been engaged in western based planning practice. Current graduates are though more mobile, global and internalised in their outlook and require a more reflective approach to gain experiences, skills and information that reflects the changing characteristics of Planning as a discipline.

ENVS345/545 Green Infrastructure

The teaching of ENVS345/545 has evolved out of an identified need in the teaching curriculum to provide contemporary materials related to landscape within urban-environmental planning. Although a range of modules teach environmental sustainability and Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) there was a recognised deficiency of landscape studies. Even where landscape is an integral part of the programme, i.e. within the ENVS289 Rural Planning module, there is a lack of conceptual discussions about the nature of landscape perceptions. A second reason for the development of the module was the growing awareness that an internationalised teaching of landscape studies would provide more appropriate materials for a growing overseas student body[vi]. These changes are of specific relevance to the Chinese student body who had expressed a need within module/programme feedback to integrate the teaching of sustainability and urban design with a more nuanced understanding of landscape planning, policy and investment.

The module has been developed to inform, direct and engage students in an ongoing discussion of landscape, the socio-economic, cultural and ecological value of different locations, and for students to gain an understanding of how praxis shapes such places. It makes use of research-led teaching by integrating examples, experiences (from research and real-world practice) and reflections of Green Infrastructure projects being undertaken in the UK, Europe and North America, as well as the more recent discussions emanating from India, China and South-East Asia into the curriculum. This is a direct reaction to both the composition of the student body but also the nature of Green Infrastructure planning, which has gained credence globally over the past ten years (Benedict and McMahon 2006; Rouse and Bunster-Ossa 2013; Austin 2014; Sinnett et al 2015; Mell 2016). The teaching of the module comprises normative lectures, in-class quizzes, activity-based seminars, and peer-to-peer discussions of key Green Infrastructure issues.

One of the first activities undertaken in the module is a perceptions exercise[vii], which requires all students to express a preference for one of twelve landscape images (and a least favourite) (see Fig. 2). This quiz requires students to think about the physical landscape elements that they value before asking them to express socio-cultural, contextual or personal understandings and/or feelings that the images elicit. The aim of this exercise is twofold: to identify 'simple' preferences in landscape features but also to look beyond the immediate to the more nuanced socially constructed interpretations of the landscapes on show to deconstruct the physical image into through a contextualised discussions of the different cultural understandings of each landscape. Following this activity the module discusses conceptual explorations of

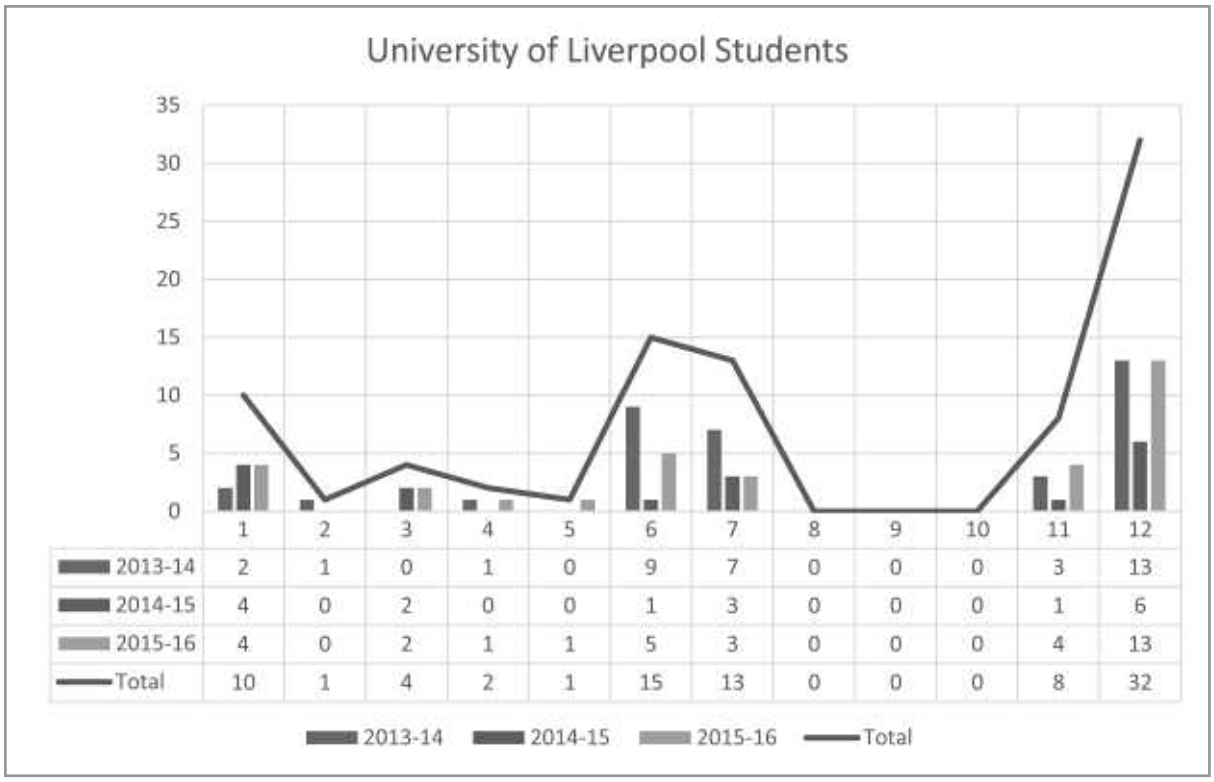


Fig. 2. Perceptions survey responses University of Liverpool vs. other locations/institutions.

landscape using cultural anthropology, cultural geography, visual culture and planning perspectives (Tuan 1990; Rodaway 1994; Nassauer 1995; Ingold 1996). This is succeeded by a series of debates regarding the value of landscape art, films and literature drawn from 'western' and more esoteric sources from Canadian, Australian and South Asian indigenous communities. Students are therefore provided with practical examples of how landscape can be discussed and valued through the quiz, and the theoretical examination of how 'landscape' can, and is, perceived within academia and literary/media criticism (Schama 1996; Herrington 2009; Roe and Taylor 2014).

The module also uses Kevin Lynch's (1960) exploration of place to discuss the use of using urban landscapes as

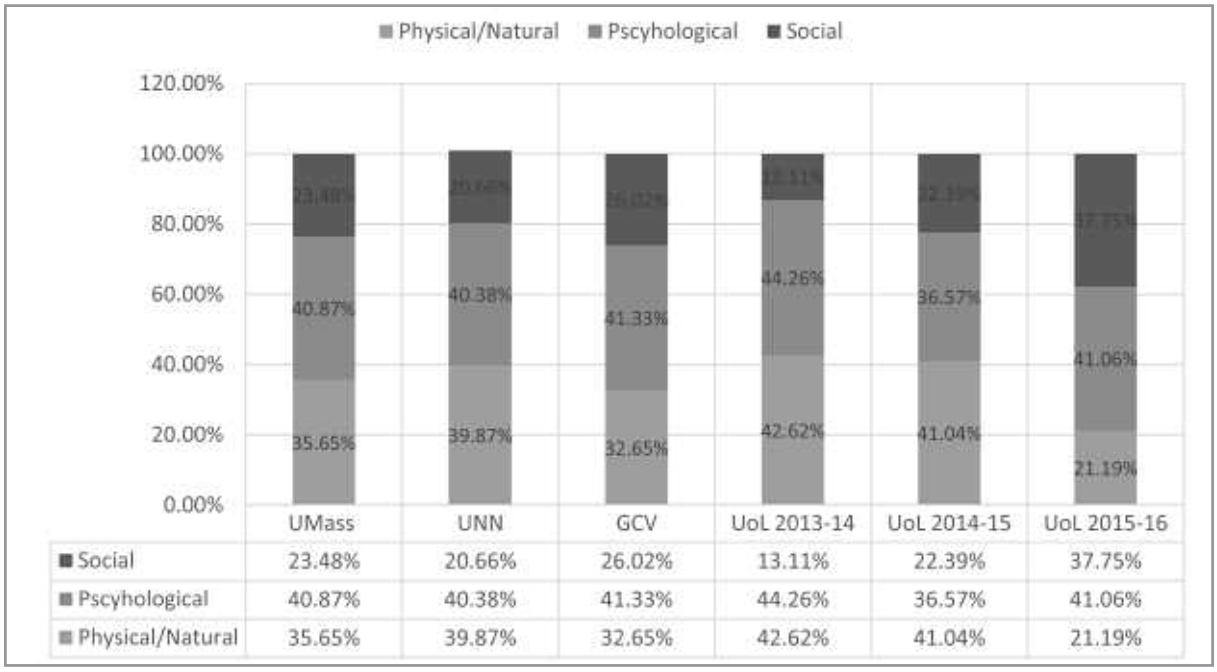


Fig. 3. Student Green Infrastructure mapping exercises

signifiers of meaning. To explore Lynch's approach students use participatory mapping as an entry into the broader debates about multi-functionality and connectivity of Green Infrastructure, and the diverse debates relating to landscape value. By engaging students in mapping exercises aimed to illustrating how they attribute socio-economic and ecological values to specific locations the module requires students to think about how they interact with landscapes, and subsequently interpret them in terms of their home towns *and* Liverpool. This activity is undertaken firstly as a 2D mapping exercise but is subsequently extended through the ongoing development of a visual assessment/portfolio of 'meaningful' green space/locations. The synthesis of understanding regarding local spaces in both mapping and photographic mediums enabled students to think more extensively about how biodiversity, water management, and climate change, as well as human interactions with amenities can be associated with specific landscape features. This has been successful in translating the broader principles of Green Infrastructure into interpretations of specific landscape features, as connectivity, access and multi-functionality become easier to identify through the mapping of amenities and socio-economic or ecological functions in Liverpool and other international locations.

The inclusion of alternative mapping exercises has therefore been used to facilitate student thinking, visually and spatially, about how Green Infrastructure can be used to understand landscape functionality. Moreover, where examples of non-UK locations are used there is greater scope to identify and explore specific cultural interpretations of landscape value from a student perspective, which can subsequently, be used to examine how the accepted principles[viii] of Green Infrastructure align with our myriad understandings of landscape. Visual representations of connectivity and accessibility, as well as the location of Green Infrastructure resources within urban landscapes are also discussed by students as being beneficial to their understanding. This aided cross-cultural discussions of landscape functionality, as students from different parts of China has debated the ways in which planning at different institutional scales and for alternative development priorities influence the value of landscapes in urban China. Wu (2015) debated the positive impact that such an understanding can have in promoting knowledge exchange, especially when debated alongside more personal experiences of the impacts of developments.

The future of Green Infrastructure teaching at the University of Liverpool

The current teaching of landscape studies within the ENVS345/545 Green Infrastructure module has gone some way to integrating the nuance of alternative cultural interpretations into a more internationalised curriculum. Drawing on research and practitioner experiences from Europe, North America and Asia the module provides a more fluid discussion of landscape, the influence of praxis in different locations, and the value of the myriad interpretations that an international student cohort bring to the higher education environment. Such diversification is required to meet the needs of the student body and places the teaching of landscape in an interesting position, as it can look to a wider range of sources to investigate how the planning for, use, and interpretations of landscape differ across planning environments. A further benefit is the added input we receive as educators from students engaging more directly with teaching materials because there are more culturally attuned to their existing knowledge. If such experience can be aligned with the range of theoretical and spatial research underpinning landscape studies we may also be able to promote a better student experience. The ENVS345/545 module will therefore continue to evolve to meet the needs of an increasingly international student body. Additional examples, concepts and research from Asia (and globally) will continue to be incorporated into the module to ensure that the teaching and learning environment remains engaging and contemporary.

The discussion presented in this paper is viewed as timely due to the growing interest in studying Green Infrastructure in urban and environmental planning in China and other non-European nations. However, there has been a lag between the growing diversity, and in some cases a continued homogeneity of the student body of higher education in the UK, and the diversification of teaching materials to internationalise the curriculum. This paper presents an introduction to the ways in which landscape studies are being taught to international students at The University of Liverpool. It also proposes that Green Infrastructure planning can be used as a testing ground for the exploration of a more global discussion of landscape, which reflects more directly on the socio-cultural understandings students have (and can gain) from a more internationalised teaching curriculum.

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Notes

[i] Elements of Green Infrastructure are taught throughout all years. The ENVS345/545 module is taught final year undergraduate (Level-6) and postgraduate students (M-Level).

[ii] Based, in part, on the outcomes of an on-going survey of landscape perceptions with students (now in its 5th year), the paper describes some of the differences in how and why students interpret social, ecological and physical characteristics of landscape.

[iii] This view is even more embedded within the mentality of some students who view specific institutions as more desirable because of their standing in the student's country of origin, regardless of whether the programmes are reported as being academically good/excellent.

[iv] Given its spatial and visual nature Planning is more adaptable than some disciplines to a more flexible set of teaching materials.

[v] In North America discussions of landscape differ between geographical region and notions of urban, rural and wilderness which influence use and value (Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989). Whilst in India paying to enter 'public' parks is a common practice (Mell, 2016). Moreover, there are culturally constructed understandings of forested and rural landscapes in central Europe which differ significantly from those in the UK (Herrington, 2009).

[vi] In the 2015/16 academic year the class has 81 students (66 UG and 15 PGT) of which 8 are UK/EU based, 67 are from China and 2 are from other international locations (Kenya and Malaysia).

[vii] The perceptions exercise has been undertaken continually for three years in its current form at The University of Liverpool but has also been completed for a further three years with students at Northumbria University, the University of Newcastle, volunteer students at the University of Massachusetts (Amherst) and with the Gateshead Volunteer Service.

[viii] Green Infrastructure is widely accepted to discuss notions of multi-functionality, accessibility, connectivity, sustainable urban/landscape development, strategic investment, and development/management within a holistic evaluation of human-environmental interactions (Austin, 2014; Davies, Macfarlane, McGloin, & Roe, 2006; Mell, 2010; Natural England & Landuse Consultants, 2009).

The Western Front: the creation of meaning and value in a war landscape

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Introduction

It would be difficult to overestimate the impact the First World War (1914-18) had on the nations of Europe; in Britain and Commonwealth countries it left a deep trace on wide areas of public and private life throughout the 20th century and even after a hundred years refuses to settle down, remaining prominent and newsworthy in public culture. We refuse to relinquish our collective and private memory of the war and this is no more clearly reflected than in the places where it was fought. The Western Front was a long sinuous line of trenches, strongpoints, bunkers, forts, fortified villages and overlapping saps which extended over 460 miles (760 km) from the North Sea to the Franco-Swiss Border. British and Commonwealth troops were mainly concentrated in the northern part of this front where they fought a savage war of attrition against German forces.

The Western Front was the theatre of combat where Britain invested the majority of its efforts and resources and it has consequently played a dominant role in the nation's perceptions of the war. This is in no small measure due to the appalling human cost of war on this Front: over 6 million dead and 14 million wounded from both sides including over 750,000 British and Commonwealth dead. It has been estimated that in one area – the Ypres Salient - between October 1914 and October 1918 there were 7 British casualties for every hour of time between these dates (Miles 2016, 15). But what is most chilling are the numbers of bodies that were never recovered – some 300,000 – which makes this a war-scape unlike any other in human history.

The creation of memory in a war landscape

The war had not only devastated lives – the ground over which it was fought was altered beyond recognition. Productive agricultural and pastoral areas before the war were, by its end, pockmarked by shell craters and where forest had once stood shattered splinters of trees now lay. Nine months after the Armistice the north-east Marne area was described as 'a tabula rasa, a silent desert with fields split open by shells' (Clout 1996, 40), and as late as 1924 the French government announced that 55,000ha were too badly disturbed to be brought back into cultivation (Ibid. 261). But as the land was slowly recovered for economic production, villages re-built, and communities re-established, a new material layer was being added in the form of large memorials that have remained a prominent feature of the landscape to this day. Between 1920 and 1925 30,000 memorials (on average 50 per day) were being built along the Western Front (Dyer 1994) later augmented by the addition of the monolithic Menin Gate at Ypres (1927) and Memorial to the Missing of the Somme at Thiepval (1932). These are complemented by the ubiquitous cemeteries – described by the poet Rudyard Kipling as the 'silent cities' – which dot the landscape and stand out glaringly against the natural colours of their settings. Today 725,559 British and Commonwealth dead from the First World War are buried in 2,316 military and around 2,000 civilian cemeteries in France and Belgium.[1]

The greatest problem for governments in the wake of this terrible conflict was how to commemorate the loss and sacrifice of those who had no known grave; the vast quantities of names that appear on memorials along the

Fig. 1. Names of the 'missing' - Menin Gate, Ypres (author's own collection)

Western Front became the only focus for grief for those families without a body to bury and remain so to this day. The grim taxonomy of these carefully engraved names, their symmetry and uniformity, and the lapidary care with which they are carved, is the most visually and emotionally powerful aspect of memorialisation along the Front - row upon row, name upon name (Fig. 1). The power of the name is brought our most starkly by the intensely moving recorded reading of the names of the dead and their ages by British schoolchildren in the Tyne Cot Cemetery Visitor Centre near Ypres. This is a form of incantation, mirroring religious funerary rituals, and binding the community closer together through common participation (Wasserman 1988). At Tyne Cot it is given added significance in that all these names were real people now buried only metres away. The name underlines the potent 'emotional geography' of the area.

Since the end of the war the landscape has changed considerably and very little of the complicated trench systems, pillboxes and bunkers that marked the region now exist; visually there is not a great deal to see but the presence of memorials and cemeteries provides a tangible 'commemorative layer' which affords the area a special significance serving as a trigger for memory and a focal point around which memory activities can be staged. Moreover the last survivors of the war have now passed away and this gives the landscape an even greater burden of responsibility as the 'last witness' to events. Although subject to change the landscape is timeless in its ability to inform, shock and educate because 'whereas...written texts are 'infinitely malleable' and readily abridged, films edited and photographs airbrushed, the landscape feels immutable'. But the Western Front landscape is unprepossessing, its true significance hidden, and a keen eye is needed to decode the events of war. Interpretation is essential to look beyond a bland rural landscape, to unpeel its layers of meaning, and truly understand the significance of place.

Tourism: providing validation

The British ban on the repatriation of bodies meant that battlefield pilgrimage would always be a prominent feature of the Western Front as families and friends returned to the area to visit graves or read the names of the 'missing' on memorials; others visited out of curiosity, including ex-combatants wanting to visit the places where they fought. In 1938/39, 157,583 signatures were recorded in Imperial War Graves Commission site visitor books Lloyd 1998, 109). Tourism to the Western Front increased dramatically after the 1960s and the Centenary (2014-18) has seen an enormous rise in numbers with 551,000 and 351,000 'World War One tourists' to the Westhoek area of Belgium and Northern France respectively between July 2013 and June 2014 (Miles 2016, 32). Battlefield tourism is a major component of the local and regional economies of the modern Western Front nations with an enormous range of amenities and services at the disposal of visitors.

Tourism brings much needed economic benefit to modern Western Front communities; but conversely it can have less desirable effects such as overcrowding at memorials and cemeteries, damage to heritage resources, traffic congestion, conflict with local people and loss of atmosphere at sites. The commemorative nature of the area and its association with mortality adds a special layer of concern to the effects of large numbers of tourists: behaviour at cemeteries, memorials and commemorative events and the commodification of war through a souvenir industry are the most notable of these. Battlefield tourism can create 'attractions' out of the suffering of others, with questionable ethical objectives. Tourism is a powerful force in promoting certain sites over others which might be just as worthy of attention but not be commercially viable or physically accessible as the more popular places; it can also privilege certain battles or even stages of battles for underlying nationalist purposes at the expense of other narratives (Gough 2007).

But battlefield tourism can also have many positive and enlightening outcomes: as an industry it can provide opportunities for people to visit the places where events took place and in turn create an appropriate context for memory of others' sufferings; it can foster feelings of respect and empathy and encourage reflection and a deeper understanding of human concerns. Tourism along the Western Front has the capacity to provide validity and meaning to places and sites which, because of their lack of visibility, are in danger of becoming moribund and forgotten. It can also stimulate public interest in war heritage and the growing number of First World War museums appearing within the Western Front landscape has a close relationship with tourism and the burgeoning heritage industry.

Museum collections are central to any tourist understanding of the war and provide much needed context to any visit; tourism has a part to play, therefore, in the validation of objects associated with the conflict imbuing them with increased 'aura' and endowing them

with a second or even third life in their biographies (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1999). Many of these are un-aesthetic objects – the 'rust and dust' detritus of conflict – now elevated in importance within the vitrine and underlining the point that 'heritage…is the transvaluation of the obsolete, the mistaken, the outmoded, the dead and the defunct' (Ibid. 149).

Orphaned heritage: validation 'from without'

So great was the investment in human lives along the Western Front that the places where this enormous sacrifice was made have become seared into the national psyches of the combatant nations. War landscapes have become integral to national mythologies and the 'imagined community' of the nation where people consider themselves to be part of a group even though they do not have face-to-face communication with each other (Anderson 2006). For Australia, the battles of Fromelles (1916) and Villers-Bretonneux (April 1918) have become key sites; for Canada Vimy Ridge (April 1917) and Passchendaele (Third Ypres) (July-November 1917); for New Zealand the Somme (1916) and Le Quesnoy (November 1918); and for India the Battle of Neuve Chapelle (March 1915). This is reflected in the devotion and care which is still given to places which have quasi-sacred significance for these nations – as with the Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Battlefield and Memorial (Figure 2).

Heritage valued by one population located on the sovereign territory of another is known as 'orphaned' heritage; (Price 2005) war, and its aftermath, frequently provides a powerful stimulus for this. But the validation of landscapes and the sites with them on another's soil can lead to tensions: the 'owning country' can have a variety of responses ranging from being co-operative to completely disinterested, destructive, or not enacting any form of protective legislation for this heritage which they might not see as 'theirs'. (Ongoing political differences between the 'owning' and 'stakeholder' communities can also be problematic as with site of the Battle of the Boyne (1690) in the Republic of Ireland; nevertheless such political issues are seldom present along the modern Western Front). Whose heritage is it'? If lying on foreign soil is it the heritage of the owning nation or those who attach the greatest value to it? In the case of built heritage is it the heritage of those who constructed it? This conundrum is illustrated by the pillboxes at Hill 60 near Ypres – built but the German army but later taken over by Australian forces yet lying on Belgian soil – and also the German blockhouses at Tyne Cot Cemetery, captured by the Australians but grafted into the site after the war when they were used to form the base for the Cross of Sacrifice (Miles 2016, 73-4). What is noteworthy about the phenomenon of 'orphaned' heritage along the Western Front is the lack of value attached to the landscapes of war by Germany: the victors who take possession of the ground after any conflict are normally in a position to attach their own meanings to sites.

Fig. 2. Preserved 'battle-scape' at the Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Battlefield and Memorial (author's own collection)

Issues of validation are brought to the fore when sites, valued by other nations or communities of interest, are threatened. In 1978 the Briton Richard Dunning brought the Lochnagar Crater (Fig. 3) near La Boisselle on the Somme from a local landowner who had threatened to fill it in. This is an enormous hole - 300ft (91m) in diameter and 70ft (21m) deep – caused by the detonation of a powerful mine under German lines on 1 July 1916, the first day of the Battle of the Somme. It is the largest mine crater along the Front and, because of its visually

Fig. 3. The Lochnagar Crater, La Boisselle (author's own collection)

dramatic appearance and role in the most iconic day in British military history, is afforded particular value. It is, nevertheless preserved as a memorial to all who died.[2]

Conclusion: a variety of meanings

The Western Front is a complex landscape comprising a multi-layered assemblage of historical sites, museums, cemeteries and memorials each with their own stories, audiences and symbolic resonances. What is fascinating about the region is that its war narrative can mean many different things to many different people: the meanings attached to it by a tourist from the north of England, for example, will be different from an Indian from the Punjab in a post-colonial context or an Australian interpreting it from a more nuanced nationalistic viewpoint. In addition the region is subject to the many different interpretations by heritage and remembrance organisations.

But to interpret the Western Front from the point of view of the battlefield tourist is to see it only from one perspective. Landscapes have a plurality of meanings and the region can be viewed very differently from a range of human standpoints: by a farmer or landowner opposed to intrusion by tourists onto their land; local residents frustrated by further tourism-induced traffic congestion; local authorities eager to improve infrastructure; or the organizers of commemorative services concerned by the 'touristification' of *their* events. But, conversely, alternate views might be expressed by those with a subterranean bunker on their land keen to gain some extra income; souvenir shop owners making a living from battlefield tourists; archaeologists aware of the rich repository of the past lying beneath the soil; or a Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC) eager to maintain their cemeteries despite increasing pressure of numbers. For some it has no value apart from as an economic resource; but for others it is exceptionally highly valued, bought with the blood of the countless dead.

The Western Front is a fascinating palimpsest of richly embroidered meanings serving a wide array of emotional, intellectual, spiritual, communal and political functions. It is a consummate example of a landscape of great value and possessing intense and deeply-felt significance, despite there being little firm evidence of events on the ground. Because of this it has been suggested that people engage with the area and its narrative not so much from what they can see, but through their imaginations and emotions (Iles 2007, 155-72). It would be wrong to attach meaning solely to those sites and features where a narrative is nourished; the war affected the entire region that we now label the 'Western Front', a huge and sweeping human and material tragedy taking in all the 'places in between'. For this reason the entire landscape is a huge memorial in itself, and no matter how much it changes, will remain a powerful witness for generations to come.

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Notes

[1] Figures based upon CWGC 1931 Annual Report and an e-mail form the CWGC to the author dated 26/01/15. Of these 317,770 and 92,288 are 'identified dead' in France and Belgium with 213,077 and 102,424 commemorated but 'whose graves are not known' in these countries respectively.

[2] Friends of Lochnagar (undated) website, at: http://www.lochnagarcrater.org/

"Why do we conserve special places?"

Colm Murray

The Heritage Council of Ireland

Introduction

There are four basic and distinct types of reason why people wish to 'prolong the cultural life' of 'familiar and cherished' buildings, places and landscapes. I use these 'meta-categories of value' to create a conceptual framework to map the values people ascribe to them. This disaggregates concepts and motivations along a scale from the concrete, objective properties which places and buildings have, through the terms provided by charters and legislation to articulate values, to the most abstract and all-embracing concepts such as 'society', 'culture', the 'economy'. The map is intended to be used as a tool for recognising power relations and in negotiating stakeholder conflicts about the significance of places.

Further, the approach outlined above queries the centrality of the concept of 'authenticity' in conservation, and replace it with a communicative theory. Along with 'Commodity, Firmness and Delight', the structures we build, as well as the places and landscapes that we inherit and choose to cherish, embody messages, meanings and symbols; they **communicate**.

Meta-categories of value

> *The way in which we conceive of, and give value to, cultural heritage determines the way in which we 'protect' that heritage. While it may appear axiomatic that cultural heritage should be 'protected', its scope, importance and the basis upon which 'protection' is sought, is a complex and emotive issue.*
>
> (Forrest, 2010)

In 2006, the UK Heritage Lottery Fund and English Heritage published '*Capturing the Public Value of Heritage*' (Clarke 2006), which described three main categories of value provided by heritage. These were 'intrinsic' value, the more or less conventional expert-identified set of criteria and reasons why we designate places, for their architectural, artistic, historic and (more recently) 'social' values. There is ample literature that describes how values can be ascribed to places within the expert-technical paradigm.[1] Secondly, there are instrumental values, those reasons described in the Council of Europe's 2005 *Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* ('the Faro Convention'). This form of value has been frequently advanced by institutions to justify spending on heritage conservation for the benefit of society more generally. The Heritage Council has, for example, made the case for the economic benefits of heritage-led urban regeneration, or the health benefits of children's interactions with the natural heritage. Thirdly, there is 'Institutional Value' in State expenditure on heritage. Based on the ideas about the public sector developed by Mark Moore, this relates to the various forms of positive attributes that the public can derive from the existence of responsible public sector organizations. These include trust, solidarity, stewardship and the strengthening of communities, as well as efficiency or delivering 'value for money' in public expenditure. The Heritage Council's grants and financial support for NGOs have, for many years, supported this form of value. It is not only found in the heritage sector, but heritage places provide distinct aims around which these social processes and benefits congregate.

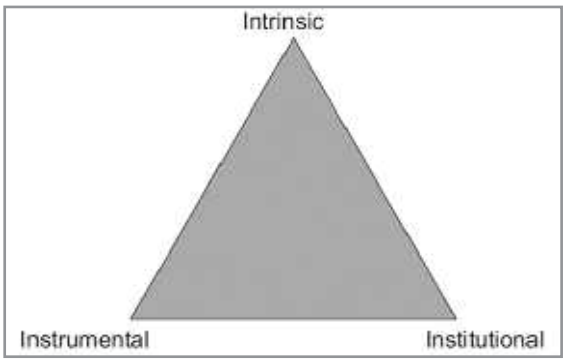

Fig. 1. The Demos Triangle of heritage values (from Clarke (ed), 2006, Capturing the Public Value of Heritage)

I describe these groups of similar values 'meta-categories' of value, because they represent discourses about value that we tend to segregate from each other. The discussions that happen at the level of (what is called) intrinsic value do not influence decisions to allocate money to heritage. The value of heritage as a catalyst for social organization, which it shares with other public goods, gets taken for granted, or is barely noticeable, because it is stitched into the very fabric of our society. What differentiates them is their relationship to power, specifically, the power to allocate fiscal resources, and, again more to the point, public funding.

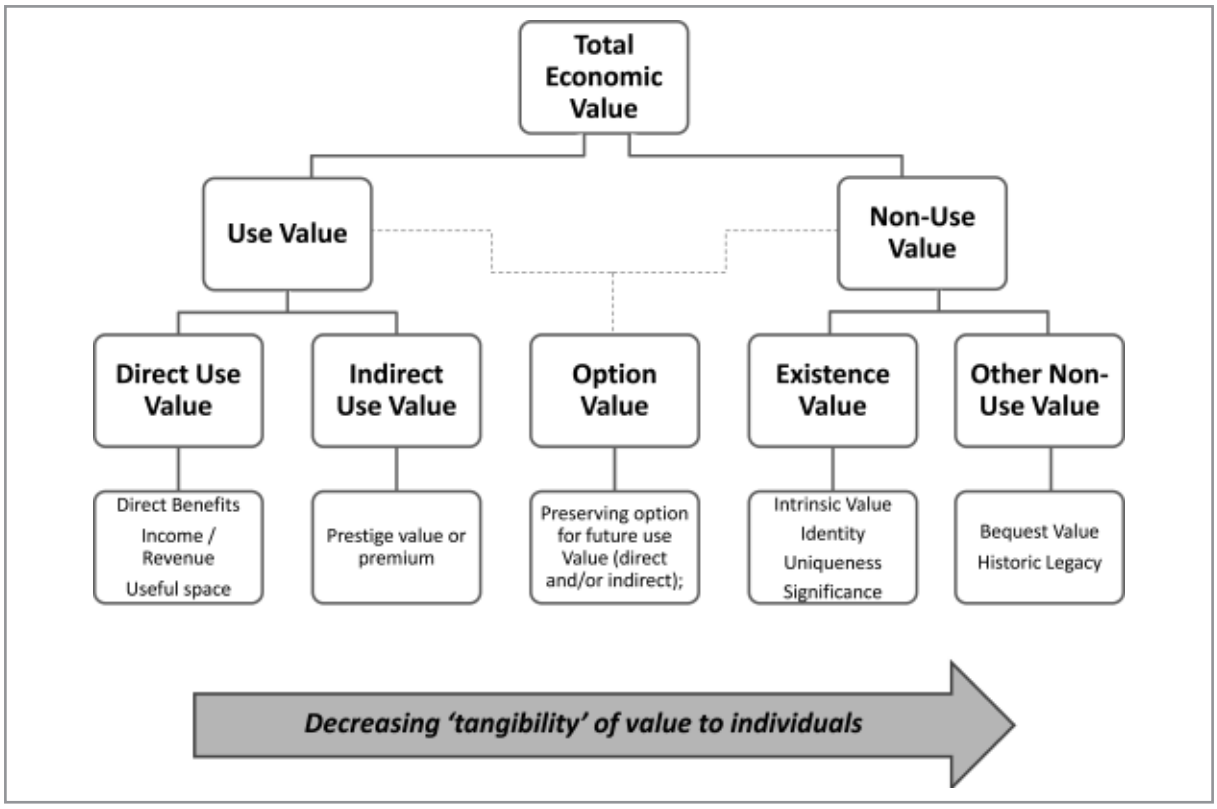

Fig. 2. 'Categories of Economic Values Attributed to Cultural Heritage Assets' (from Ismael Serageldin 'Very Special Places: The Architecture and Economics of Intervening in Historic Cities', The World Bank, Washington)

Public value as societal value

I contend that 'Institutional Value' does not reside only in the institutions of the state, and can be understood as a more pervasive form of social or cultural value in the way that non-state groups of people organise themselves, including around heritage interests. From the residents' association through tidy towns committees, to archaeological and historical societies, to tourism and business development groups, heritage becomes the catalyst for collective action. This activity, as well as the interaction or dialogue between parties, constitute social relations. This is the essence of citizenship and participation in society. 'Public' or 'Institutional' value is not confined to the State, but is pervasive in functioning societies. The heritage sector stimulates the creation of this type of value, and it ought to be recognised and supported in a functioning society.

Instrumental ways of looking at what heritage 'does'

The Heritage Council has made the case over many years of the 'paybacks' that come from investment in heritage. During the on-going downturn, to get the attention of government budget-holders, requests for public funds had to be couched in terms of their responding only to the most pressing economic and political pressures. Council presented a national conference on *'Place as Resource'*, in October 2011, the publication of *'Economic Value of Ireland's Historic Environment'* report in 2012, *'Heritage as an Engine of Economic Growth in Mid-Sized Towns'* conference in 2012, and launching a report on *'Assessment of Possible Fiscal Incentives in relation to the Built Heritage in Ireland's Towns'* in 2014. The use of this form of thinking in Irish heritage policy in recent years has been analysed and critiqued by Maja Lagaerqvist, primarily for reneging on the importance of the so-called intrinsic value of heritage.

Consider figure 2, which provides a totalising discourse of how value can be ascribed to a place by putting a price on it. Does the reduction of value to a single metric – money – resolve all issues of valuing, or capture all aspects of the human perception of value? I think not. The psychology of value ascription is fundamentally discursive, and for this reason the reduction of value to a single dimension of measurement does a disservice to the perceptions of value-holders, as well as the concept and process of valuation.

Heritage represents a cultural and material resource. The built environment that surrounds us has endured in large percentage from before our lifetimes, and will endure afterwards, providing structure, shelter, ornament and symbolic meaning to our predecessors, ourselves and our

descendants. Buildings, gardens and agricultural land in particular are useful, are meant to be useful, and derive their meaningfulness to us through their utility. These places also demand and teach people skills, know-how, stewardship and respect. A pleasing well-made modern masonry wall is a substantial material contribution to our culture and landscape.

Inherent value?

Philosophers and environmental ethicists are sceptical that value is inherent in the landscapes that we live in, and instead perceive that human beings 'ascribe' value to their surroundings, their 'habitus'.[2] Values emanate from us. They are subjective, based on structures of cognition in the human mind. Our meaning-hungry brains interpret our surroundings and remember their utility and fruitfulness. The landscapes, places, habituses, worlds that we live in become part of who we are, and our empathy with them lend us our identity. I contend that rather than being inherent in things, places and landscapes, our valuation of our habituses constitute ways that we explore and affirm our identity.

Identity value

Heritage provides us with a means to explore and declare our identities; to answer the question 'Who are we?' We may even to discover that sometimes there are multiple answers to this question. Salvador Muños Viñas refers to 'inter-subjectivity' and builds a theory of meaningfulness for cultural heritage on the multiplicity and confluence of meanings and values (Muños Viñas 2005, 153). Buildings, places and landscapes are meaningful to us, they communicate with us through their symbolism, at a series of different levels, from the unconscious, the phenomenological, the practical to the ideal or metaphysical. Meaningfulness operates through many strands. The durability of those meanings, and their transmission to our descendants, are matters that preoccupy us, and, philosophically, are part of the 'Good Life' that we might strive to lead. In this form of meaning, the value a place has for a person is firmly located in the mind of the value-holder, and the question of whether the building, place, landscape or object has intrinsic 'value' is by-passed.

The use of heritage in cultural identity is not limited to the negative drawing of boundaries around culturally distinct groups. Heritage can be used to explore identity as much as to erect barriers between people. If this were to be expressed by reference to a simple concept that is already available to us, it would be to refer to the impossibility of drawing boundaries to places. More positively, sets of linked places can be used to understand and celebrate difference and connectedness. Consider these lines from Patrick Kavanagh's poem *Lines Written on a Seat on the Grand Canal, Dublin*:

A swan goes by head low with many apologies,
Fantastic light looks through the eyes of bridges -
And look! a barge comes bringing from Athy
And other far-flung towns mythologies.

The linear canal connects places, and provides the poet with a mental escape route from the parochial into universal themes and a language that invokes the world of literature or ideas. It carries cultural difference with it, and that difference can be a source of richness.[3] 'Landscape', seen in this way as a proper setting for heritage, can make places (in the plural) a 'praxis' of identity affirmation and exploration.

The negative use of heritage, as for example in wilful destruction of the heritage of others, emphasises that identity is indeed a dominant way that heritage is understood and valued. In the form of the destruction of the Buddhas of Baniam in Afganistan, or of the ancient Roman remains at Palmyra in Syria, it could be seen to be a retreat from interculturalism, and the world contains many current examples of the deliberate destruction of the heritage of the enemy as an aggressive action.

Evidential value

I contend that we should distinguish this identity value from another more particular and more modern approach to 'inheritance'. This centres on the way we think of the past as different from the present. We develop our understanding of the difference by looking at evidence. The sense of reverence for the past was clearly defined by conservation theorists Ruskin and Morris in the nineteenth century, and carries through the methodologies of history (including art and architectural history) and archaeology and other forms of investigation of the past. The cult of rational objective enquiry has been used to assert the 'scientificity' of the conservation approach, with an emphasis on truth in art, integrity of fabric and 'authenticity'.

The interpretation, treatment and presentation of evidence should be considered to be a distinct and separate reason for taking care of special places, for undertaking conservation. The desire to enquire into the qualities of heritage in a manner consistent with scientific method is not the major reason why people like places: it

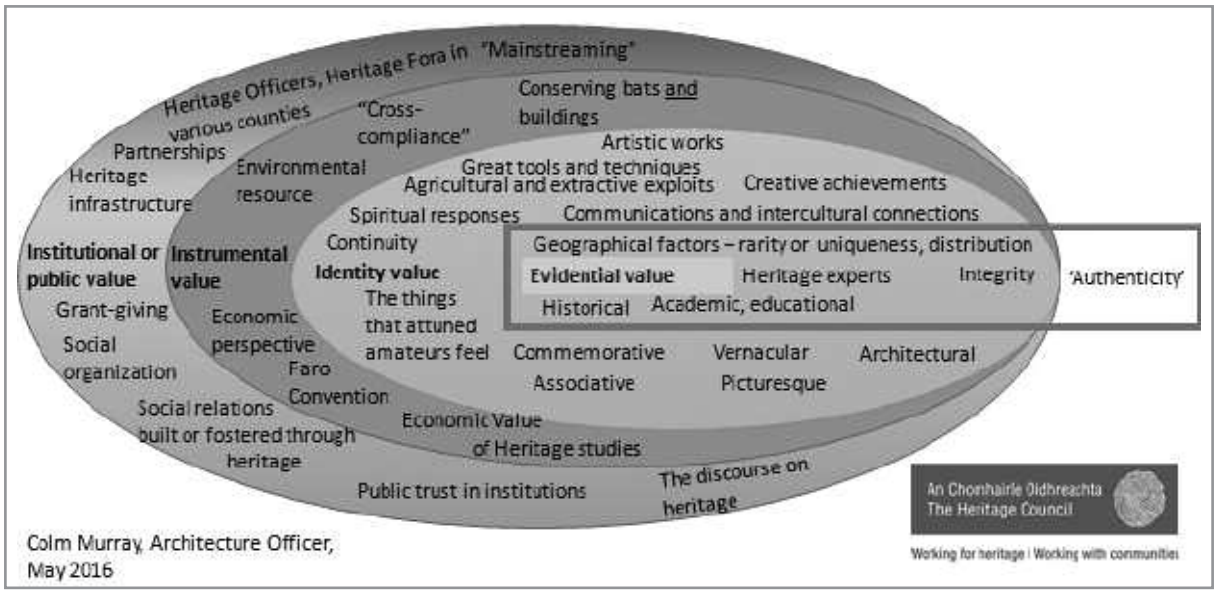

Fig. 3. Conceptual map of meta-categories of heritage value

is because they are meaningful to us. If 'evidential' value is recognised as separate motivation to the celebration and exploration of intrinsic value, conservationists, be they professionals or amateurs, can give more precise reasons for their motivations.

In summary, the four types of reason ('meta-categories ') which explain the urge to conserve are:

a) to celebrate, explore and affirm the identity of local, regional, national or international groups of people. This is the most familiar to us, but not the most important. Artistic and historical values have been augmented in the last twenty years by broadening and democratising social and cultural considerations.
b) to protect evidence of the way things were in the past. This is concealed within the artistic and historic norms, but it is my contention that it resolves some issues to think about it separately.
c) to prudently manage landscapes, places and buildings as environmental and economic resources, and
d) because the processes of caring for heritage share characteristics with other social activities that build public, social organisation or institutional value.

These relate to each other in the sense of each successive type providing a context in which the following can be understood. Contrariwise, the more practical the context the more reliance can be placed on the latter meta-categories.

Value ascription is an engagement with the world. It is multi-stranded, subjective, tentative, iterative, and intrinsically demands affirmation from others. In this communicative aspect lies its very purpose. How can this understanding of the values we ascribe to buildings, places and landscapes enhance the ways we conserve places?

In the first instance it identifies the role of agency in the process of valuing. Valuing is unequivocally a subjective process. It can be done by individuals and also institutions. This approach requires that statements about the value of places must be understood as having an origin in some person or institution, as representing a point-of-view. Following from this is the possibility – nay, the desirability – of contestation and disagreement. It is from discourses on value that richer agreement or discussion on the meaning of places can be found, and flowing from this, inclusive decision-making and management.

Secondly, it reinforces the importance of methodologies that search at different levels for value in places as a precursor to action. Conservation Plans (following the Burra Charter methodology) can be limited if they confine themselves to expert-technical forms of value, and can be emancipatory or transformative if they range across the scale of the meta-categories outlined here. A richer praxis of heritage as can emerge from understanding this schemata of values.

Thirdly, the reasons for placing values on places can be recognised for the various motivations that could be attached to them, from reverence to exploitation.

Fourthly, it provides a context in which to understand the

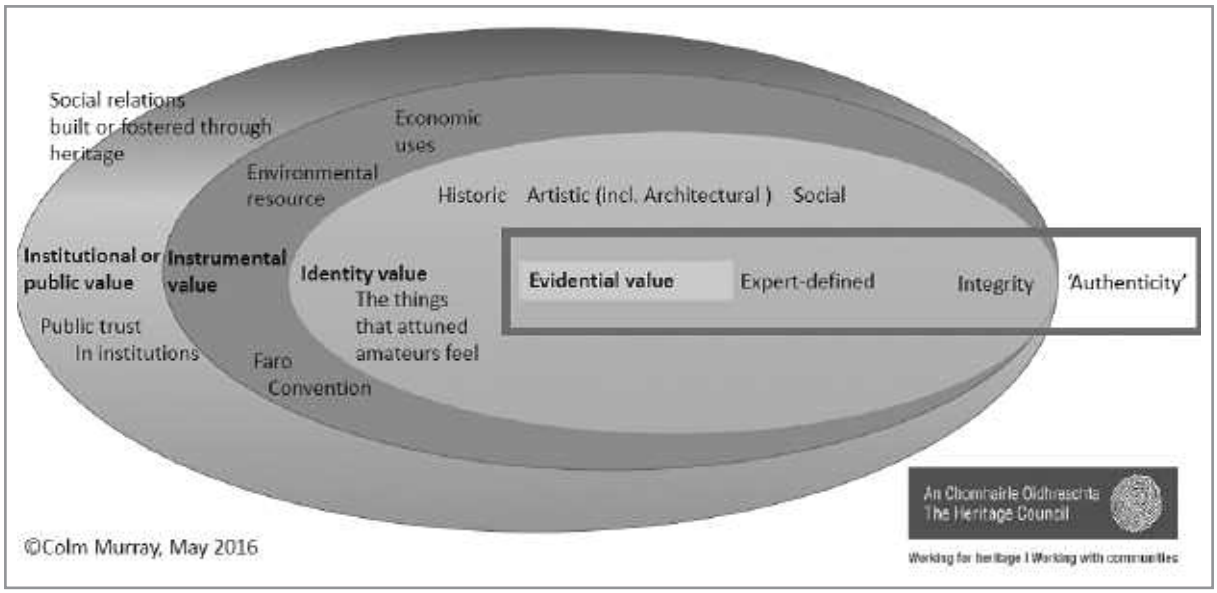

Fig. 4. Simplified conceptual map of heritage values

relative importance of 'identity' and 'evidential' meta-categories of value. In this re-balancing, the 'scientificity' of exert-technical modes of valuing can be understood as subsidiary to more general identity affirmation and exploration urges which are validly felt and expressed by larger groups of people who do not have the benefit of training or formal education.

Authenticity

Authenticity is, according to the most recent description in the cultural heritage context, *"A culturally contingent quality associated with a heritage place, practice, or object that conveys cultural value; is recognized as a meaningful expression of an evolving cultural tradition; and/or evokes among individuals the social and emotional resonance of group identity."* (ICOMOS 2014) A thorough review of the extensive literature on this concept from the last 20 years reveals a lack of transparent meaning (Ibid.; see also Muñoz-Viñas, 33; Deacon and Smeets 2013, 139; Pendlebury, Short and While 2009; Choay 1995). In contrast, the parallel concept of 'integrity' has a well-understood meaning which can be expressed quite succinctly[4].

Authenticity is a concept that has been given priority by conservation specialists, because it thus makes their activity 'scientific' in dedicating the craft to a project of truth-seeking. The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) says *'The understanding of authenticity plays a fundamental role in all scientific studies of the cultural heritage'* forging the link between science and conservation. The concept was used in the Venice Charter (1964) to describe *'historic monuments ... as living witnesses ... imbued with messages from the past ...* [for which we have a] *common responsibility ... to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity'*. It is notable that in this foundational document, 'authenticity' is only mentioned in the context of **communication**, the transmission of messages from the past. However, the seeking of historical truths is only a small part of the urge to take care of special places.

The dilemma for the specialist was described succinctly by Muños Viñas:

> *If conservation deliberately **alters** both the objects and their meaning, instead of actually conserving them; if it does not **restore** meanings or objects, but it rather adapts them to present-day expectations and needs; if **truth** is no longer the necessary ultimate goal of conservation, what can a conservator do? What **should** a conservator do?*
>
> (Muños Viñas 2005, 147)

> *Conservation does not pursue authenticity. In some sense, the opposite is true: conservation is done because we do not like the authentic state of some objects (the objects that are to be conserved or restored) – because what authentically is does not suit our needs, our tastes, our expectations.*
>
> (Ibid., 2009, 37)

> *Once again, it must be emphasised that societies protect these objects not because of the objects themselves, but because of the intangible, symbolic*

effects an unwarranted alteration might have on the subjects that make up that society. The widespread legal protection of heritage objects is based upon (and is proof of) the significance those objects have for an important number of people within the society: this protection has been developed in order to prevent unwanted meanings that their free modification might produce.

(Ibid., 2005, 160)

Each time an object is modified, some of its possible meanings are strengthened, whilst others are restricted forever. The principle of sustainability in conservation mandates that future users should be taken into account when decisions are made. The object is seen as a 'source of meanings' that can be exploited at different levels.

(Ibid., 2005, 195)

In his book *'The Secret Lives of Buildings',* Edward Hollis (2009) eloquently relates the turbulent histories of some of the most iconic buildings in the world, from the Parthenon to Venice (as recreated in Las Vegas). Conspicuous by its absence in the cultural life of these 13 iconic buildings was their 'authenticity'. Their long cultural lives in the minds of people were even independent of their material integrity. What was constant is the powerful meaning that buildings, or the idea of a particular building, has for people. Throughout history this was the grounds for some of the most fervent activity in the name of conservation.

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Notes

[1] In Ireland, the National Inventory of Architectural Heritage uses eight terms that have been written into the legislation to protect the architectural heritage. These replace a richer, more comprehensive set of criteria used before the year 2000.

[2] *It is this durability which gives the things of the world their relative independence from men who produced and use them, their "objectivity" which makes them withstand, "stand against" and endure, at least for a time, the voracious needs and wants of their living makers and users. From this viewpoint, the things of the world have the function of stabilizing human life, and their objectivity lies in the fact that—in contradiction to the Heraclitean saying that the same man can never enter the same stream-—men, their ever-changing nature notwithstanding, can retrieve their sameness, that is, their identity, by being related to the same chair and the same table. In other words, against the subjectivity of men stands the objectivity of the man-made world rather than the sublime indifference of an untouched nature, whose overwhelming elementary force, on the contrary, will compel them to swing relentlessly in the circle of their own biological movement, which fits so closely into the over-all cyclical movement of nature's household.* (Arendt 1958, 137); see also Cooper 1992.

[3] At the international level of World Heritage Sites, this is acknowledged in the 'serial nomination', featuring separate, but linked, places, whose specialness at least in part comes from their relationship across space.

[4] For example, see World Heritage Committee, 2015, *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, UNESCO World Heritage Centre, Paris, http://whc.unesco.org/document/137843

Sounds of the past in west Kerry: Creating, recalling and transmitting cultural values through place-names and associated narratives

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Retrieving lost speech

The title of this paper, Sounds of the Past, is borrowed from cartographer and writer Tim Robinson who has spent over a decade mapping Connemara. Robinson asks: '*How can writing, writing about a place hope to recuperate its centuries of lost speech?*' 'Lost speech,' Robinson explains, is '*the sound of the past as well as echoes of immediate experience*' (2007, 3-4). In this paper I retrieve some of the lost speech, knowledge and belief systems, encased in the place-names and associated narratives of a traditionally Irish speaking community in the west Kerry Gaeltacht of Corca Dhuibhne.[i] I will draw on the accounts of three women who participated in Brenda Ní Shúilleabháin's *Bibeanna* project.[ii] For this project Ní Shúilleabháin, a Corca Dhuibhne native, invited 25 Irish-speaking women from across Corca Dhuibhne to reflect their life experience in 20th century rural Ireland. The women's responses are presented in a six part television documentary series, *Bibeanna* (2007a), which was broadcast on TG4 in 2007 and in an accompanying book, *Bibeanna: Memories from a corner of Ireland* (2007b, 349).[iii] Here I will focus specifically on those elements of the women's accounts where they offer introductory remarks about their home places.

Habitus and thick description

For the purposes of this paper, I will draw primarily on Bourdieu's interpretation and explanation of the concept of habitus.[iv] Habitus, according to Bourdieu, involves obtaining knowledge of the social world in which one dwells and is simultaneously an integral part of restructuring that world (1977, 25). As a person grows up in a particular environment, he/she learns and acquires a set of practical competences, including a social identity: 'the sense of the position one occupies in social space' (Bourdieu 1991, 235). This, Bourdieu believes, is not an entirely conscious or unconscious process. It concerns what individuals do in their daily lives. It is obtained in part by experience, in part through teaching. To help reveal how the Bibeanna use the practice of naming the landscape to acquire social identity and build community, following Geertz (1973), I will present a thick description of that part of the Bibeanna's narratives where they narrate their connection to their home place. Approaching and interpreting the women's narratives in this manner will offer an insight into how the Bibeanna, and by extension their community, create, recall and transmit belief systems of their community as well as geographical and historic knowledge of their location.

Reflecting on home place

While introducing themselves, the Bibeanna frequently name and describe their immediate environment. Geographical location and physical characteristics, both natural and man-made, are remarked upon. The women draw attention to the trace of people on the landscape and they narrate and recall stories and beliefs passed down to them by their ancestors. For the purposes of illustration, I will examine in detail three accounts: Cáit Chosaí Bean Feiritéar's description of an Baile Uachtarach; Caitlín a' Phóist Bean Uí Mhurchú's account of Carraig and Máire Scanlon Bean Uí Shíthigh's anecdote from Baile an Lochaigh.

The first voice we hear is that of Cáit Chosaí Bean Firtéar: 'I was born on May Day, the first day of summer, in An Baile Uachtarach Thoir, and married into this house in An Baile Uachtarach Thiar. So all my life has been spent here at the foot of Ceann Sibéal' (2007, 44).[v] In her account Bean Firitéar gives a number of descriptors that help her locate herself within her environment. In light of the question being examined here, how and why meaning and values become embedded in landscape, perhaps the most interesting feature of Bean Firtéar's account is her distinction between the two almost identically named townlands, an Baile Uachtarach Thoir and an Baile Uachtarach Thiar.[vi] The Irish word baile–a town, a village, a home, a townland, a place–reflects the fact that people dwell here (Dinneen 1996a, 70). Uachtarach can be translated as upper or higher (Dinneen 1996c, 1281). Talamh uachtarach, for example, signifies elevated land or upland. Thoir and thiar refer to the cardinal points translated as east and west. Thiar can mean west but it can also mean behind: taobh thiar, in the western part, and taobh thiar díom behind me (Dinneen 1996b, 1204; see also Island Categories: The

East End and the West End in Ó Laoire 2005, 14-17). The official English translation of the townlands given here are Ballyoughteragh North (an Baile Uachtarach Thoir) and Ballyoughteragh South (an Baile Uachtarach Thiar) (Fiontar 2008-2015). In English Baile and uachtarach have melded into one, Ballyoughteragh, which, without a knowledge of Irish, carries no information. Furthermore, the emphasis is now on a north/south rather than east/west orientation.

The general preference of the Corca Dhuibhne community for an east/west orientation is privileged by several of the women. Máirín na Yanks Ní Mhurchú, for example, tells how she was born in Caherscullibeen 'in the most easterly house in the village, in 1933' (2007, 102). Bríd Bean Uí Mhuircheartaigh recalls her youth with her grandmother and parents in Baile Dháith 'under the Tower, looking west to Tiaracht' (2007, 36).[vii] Corca Dhuibhne writer Pádraig Ua Maoileoin points out that 'siar is aniar', west and coming from the west, have traditionally been used by the Corca Dhuibhne community as points of reference: '"West and coming from the west" is what we have always used in this place, words, I suppose, Galwegians will never forgive me for. The have long since appropriated those words, God bless them! But let them take it easy, I say; if they speak to a Dingle man, they'll hear otherwise. Because, even if he is from the south, by right he is from the west. Isn't Dunquin the most westerly parish in Ireland? ...and all the Galway man has is a little island in the middle of the sea which they call Inis Thiar [the Western Island], and sure that's not it's correct name at all, it's Inis Oirthir [the Eastern Island], if that's true.[viii] I say west and coming from the west' (Ua Maoileoin 1970, 11).[ix] Ua Maoileoin lays a feisty claim here to east and west as legitimate points of reference for use by the Corca Dhuibhne community. Ó Laoire explains that the division of an Baile Thoir and an Baile Thiar 'is an important division in island life, one reflected in other Irish islands, such as the Blaskets' (2005, 14).[x] This division, Ó Laoire explains, effects the cultural life of the community: 'It seems to be that some of the island's dynamic of cultural change can be seen in this geographic distribution' (2005, 14). A close examination of an Baile Uachtarach reveals how in translating place-names from Irish to English, an orientation, or point of view, favoured by an indigenous community can be over written. Cultural values and associated knowledge transmitted from generation to generation through place-names are removed.

The second account I will examine is that of Caitlín a' Phóist Bean Uí Mhurchú: 'I was born in Bóthar Buí, a long time ago now, in the year 1913. We had a little shop in Bóthar Buí, beside Sáipéal na Carraige. In the old days, the church was back in Carraig, about a mile from here, but when the new one was built here, the old name, Sáipéal na Carraige followed it and is used still' (2007, 190). In these remarks Bean Uí Mhurchú places particular emphasis on Sáipéal na Carraige and it's location at Carraig and later at an Bóthar Buí. Carraig, is a townland between Baile an Fheirtéaraigh and an Mhuiríoch on the north-western side of Corca Dhuibhne.[xi] Sáipéal, found in the Corca Dhuibhne dialect, is a variant of séipéal, church. Mac Gearailt tells us that the first stone for Sáipéal na Carraige, the new church, was laid in 1866. By the middle of the 18th century, following the destruction and disturbance of the catholic church during the Reformation and later the enforcement of penal laws, only one church remained in Corca Dhuibhne and that stood at an Carraig. An tAthair Ó Mongáin, a local parish priest (1854-70), set about rebuilding the catholic church in the area. Firstly he built a church at Baile an Fheirtéaraigh and then a second at Dún Chaoin. He set about building a third, Sáipéal na Carraige, and enlisted the help of the local community (Ó hÉalaí 2004, 521-23). Despite their difficult circumstances, the local community are reported to have given generously of their time, and where they could afford it, their money: 'Help was plentiful at that time, and plenty of boasting and bravado which people recount still today went on; the men were strong back then and plenty of them were proclaimed as great heroes and these heroes put all their strength and energy into the heaviest of tasks. Later, when the work was completed those who had helped out were very proud of their achievement' (Mac Gearailt 2005, 258). It is clear from Ó hÉalaí and Mac Gearailt's account that the building of the church was an historic occasion and very much a communal effort. The reference by Bean Uí Mhurchú to Sáipéal na Carraige provides a reminder of the coming together and rebuilding of an element of her community and of the great acts of courage and skill displayed. The name Sáipéal na Carraige holds the history of the building of the church and the memory of hardship endured. Ó hÉalaí confirms that 'the memory of the old church at Carraig is preserved in the oral tradition because the church is still called Sáipéal na Carraige' (2004, 523). The fact that the community choose to bring the name of the original church with them when the new one was being built shows not only the

importance to the community of retaining this piece of history and carrying it forward but reveals also how they do so: in a place-name.

The third account is that of Máire Scanlon Bean Uí Shíthigh. As she recounts stories from her youth, Bean Uí Shíthigh draws on Mount Brandon as a point of reference: 'Baile an Lochaigh is a very stony village, at the foot of Mount Brandon. Just inside it is Com a' Lochaigh, dark and mysterious. It was in there, in Poll na bhFód, where the salmon are six feet long, that I was found as a baby, in the year 1920. This is what my grandmother told me. All Baile an Lochaigh babies were found in Poll na bhFód' (2007, 112). Mentioning Mount Brandon and Com a' Lochaigh gives an indication of Bean Uí Shíthigh's historic and geographic knowledge of her native place. Com a' Lochaigh refers to a valley on the southern side of Mount Brandon along the popular pilgrim's path from Ventry to the top of Mount Brandon.[xii] The element of her account that I would like to focus on is Bean Uí Shíthigh's reference to Poll na bhFód and the associated narrative. The use of the adjectives 'dark and mysterious' to describe Com a' Lochaigh where Poll na bhFód can be found draw attention to the symbolic and imaginative nature of the location. Poll na bhFód is not somewhere which can be found on an ordnance survey map. This is a special, perhaps even extraordinary, place in the minds of the local community. It is presented as a substitute for sex education. A more indebt examination of the Bibeanna's narratives reveals that these women had very little in the way of sex education in their early years. Those fortunate enough to attend Coláiste Íde, the local training college, did receive some instruction from a local priest.[xiii] According to Máirín Feiritéar the priest was an old man and a lot of what he said 'went over our heads...because we had no contact whatsoever with boys at that time' (in Ní Shúilleabháin 2007a. Episode 1). The local priest kept a close eye on the girls extra curricular activities during holiday time and was a key link in the grapevine network, which according to Máire Ní Dhuinnshléibhe Bean Uí Bheoláin, was at that time thriving (in Bean Uí Bheoláin 2007. Episode 1). Bean Uí Bheoláin recalls how a girl who had been dating a boy during the summer holidays was chastised on the doorstep as she returned to Coláiste Íde: 'One year, a girl was doing a steady line during her holidays. The day we came back, the two nuns were at the door to greet us, as they always were. When the girl I referred to arrived, they fixed her with a basilisk eye and asked, 'And did you spend a pure and chaste summer?" Look at that for a question! How would you answer that?' (2007, 82). Given Bean Uí Bheoláin's account here, it comes as no great surprise when Eibhlín Bean Uí Shé explains that a lot of the courting was done in secret 'for fear that you might be seen' (in Ní Shúilleabháin 2007a. Episode 1). In their youth sex education was not a topic openly discussed. When Ní Shúilleabháin prompts the women to tell her about their first kiss or their honeymoon they are very reluctant. Bean Firtéar, for example, very quickly tells Ní Shúilleabháin that she is 'very nosy' and that she should move on to another topic of conversation (in Ní Shúilleabháin 2007a. Episode 1). This perhaps gives some context as to why Bean Uí Shíthigh's grandmother told her that all babies in Baile an Lochaigh were simply 'found' in Poll na bhFód. This image of Poll na bhFód as a site of abundance and reproduction is echoed in 'Poll na mBabies' (2008), the title of a contemporary poetry collection by bilingual poet Dairena Ní Chinnéide, a native of Corca Dhuibhne. The use of Poll na bhFód, and more recently Poll na mBabies, directs attention towards a system of knowledge and belief employed by the community of Baile an Lochaigh and passed on through narratives associated with place-names.

Promoting cultural continuity

Examining those elements of the Bibeanna's narratives where they refer to their native place offers an insight into how members of the Corca Dhuibhne community create, recall and transmit geographic and historical information as well as attitudes, beliefs and values. The accounts offered here by Bean Firtéar, Bean Uí Mhurchú and Bean Uí Shíthigh serve as a reminder of the wealth of knowledge and detail carried within place-names and their associated narratives. As the Bibeanna recount and recreate their life worlds their intimate sense of place becomes apparent. The practice of naming, of identifying geographical location and of accentuating physical features on the landscape, helps the women to distinguish their native place, to locate themselves in it, and to achieve a sense of belonging. The associated narratives reveal knowledge of local history and belief systems. The women draw on this knowledge to help them understand their position in the world where they are located in Corca Dhuibhne. For the Bibeanna, place naming is not merely a lesson in local geography and history, but an exercise in cultural survival. It is clear from the Bibeanna's accounts that place-names have meaning and significance for them and their community. As Tilley points out, and as has been revealed here in the Bibeanna's accounts,

place-names have the potential 'to transform the sheerly physical and geographical into something that is historically and socially experienced' (1994, 18). Landscape assumes a conscious form and takes an active part in establishing and maintaining individual and social identity. Place-names serve as repositories of cultural identity and can relay ideological meaning. Through the stories and narratives they summon, place-names have a significant role in promoting cultural continuity.

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Notes

[i] In this paper Corca Dhuibhne and Corca Dhuibhne community will be used to refer to the Irish speaking area and traditionally Irish speaking community on the Dingle peninsula.

[ii] The word bib, and plural bibeanna, is an Irish word and refers to the apron women traditionally wore over their clothes. It was a kind of uniform and only removed for Sunday mass.

[iii] TG4, Teilifís na Gaeilge, is a national Irish language public service broadcaster founded in 1996. TG4's mission is 'to provide an attractive and innovative television and content service that celebrates Irish creativity and identity – language, culture, music and sport – and to connect to, and entertain, audiences in Ireland and worldwide' TG4 (2016), 'Annual Report', <http://www.tg4.ie/en/corporate/background.html>, accessed 19/02/16.

[iv] The concept is a complex one which can be traced back as far as Aristotle. It is a Latin word derived from habit. In early 13th century usage it referred to one's 'condition, demeanour, appearance or dress', while in early 14th century it came to mean 'customary practice, usual mode of action'. Later, towards the end of the 14th century, the concept was further expanded to refer to a place where one might reside or dwell. Harper, Douglas (2001-2016), 'Habitual', Online etymology dictionary (http://www.etymonline.com/).

[v] All English translations of the Bibeanna's narratives are taken from the English translations provided in Bibeanna: Memories from a corner of Ireland (2007).

[vi] It is interesting to note that in the English translation of the Bibeanna's accounts of their life stories place-names are generally not translated to English.

[vii] An Tiaracht or Tearaght Island, uninhabited, steep and rocky, is the westernmost of the Blasket Islands.

[viii] The official name of this island today is Inis Oírr or Inisheer (see logainm.ie).

[ix] This English translation is provided by the author. Here is Ua Maoileoin's original text: 'Siar agus aniar' a bhíonn againne i gcónaí agus sinn ag cainnt ar chúrsaí na háite seo, focail, is dócha, ná maithfidh na Gaillimheánaigh go deo dhuinn. Tá canntáil déanta acu súd le fada ar na focail seo, bail ó Dhia orthu! Ach tógaidís bog é, ar mh'anam; labhraidís le fear an Daingin agus beidh a fhios a mhalairt acu. Mar, más aneas féin é siúd is aniar le ceart é. Nach é paróiste Dhún Chaoin an paróiste is sia siar in Éirinn? Nach ann atá an tOileán Tiar, agus gan age fear na Gaillimhe ach oileáinín mara go dtugann sé Inis Thiar air, agus nach é a ainm le ceart in aon chor é ach Inis Oirthir, más fíor? Deirimse siar agus aniar leat'.

[x] Although Corca Dhuibhne is technically a peninsula, it is clear from the Bibeanna's narratives that at the time they were growing up and rearing their families, Corca Dhuibhne was so remote that it had many characteristics of an island. An Baile Uachtarach, being on the very tip of the peninsula, is in itself a place apart.For further discussion on east/west division on the Blasket Islands see Ua Maoileoin, Pádraig, Na Blascaodaí/The Blaskets, trans. Liam Ó Muirthile (Dublin: Government Publications Office, 1993).

[xi] Sáipéal na Carraige is also referred to as Sáipéal Maolcéadair. Cill Mhaoilchéadair lies directly east of Carraig, on slightly higher ground under Rinn Chonaill.

[xii] Traditionally pilgrims would have arrived by boat and come ashore at Ventry harbour to being their medieval pilgrimage Heraghty, Michael (2016), 'Mount Brandon', <http://www.chooseireland.com/kerry/mount-brandon/>, accessed 15/02/16.

[xiii] Coláiste Íde was an all-Irish preparatory school for girls established by the Department of Education in 1927 and run by the Sisters of Mercy. The aim was that

Title: Place Thinking – Space Thinking

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'Space and place are basic components of the lived world; we take them for granted.'
(Tuan, 1977, 3)

Introduction

For geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, 'space' and 'place' were two closely related concepts which denoted common experiences (Tuan 1977). They were and are 'familiar' words found side by side in discourses across the academic and practice environmental disciplines. Combined thinking about place and space has occupied the minds of geographers, architects, landscape designers and planners for decades. While discussing the 'phenomena of place' in *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*, Christian Norberg Schultz states that ' structure of place ought to be described in terms of "landscape" and "settlement" and analyzed by means of the categories " space" and " character" (Norberg Schultz 1991, 11).

Preparation of this paper has enabled a thought process about place thinking related to space thinking in the context of landscape. Taking Tuan's view that we take for granted that space and place are basic components of the lived world, it could be expected that space and place would be found as 'basic components' within guidance and policy literature for the lived world of landscape. However, as this paper proposes to demonstrate, a preliminary review of landscape guidance and policy literature from Ireland and the UK suggests that while place thinking is to the fore of landscape guidance and policy, space thinking has taken a less prominent position with the two rarely sharing the same page. It prompts the question: what value is attached to spatial thinking within landscape guidance and policy?

The review offered here proposes that the separation or dislocation that has apparently occurred between concepts and ways of thinking about place and space within landscape is most evident in Landscape Character Assessment (LCA) which is the primary methodological tool used to formulate landscape guidance and policy. Current LCA is examined for spatial references and a proposal is later put forward for a spatial approach within LCA methodology based on preliminary findings from a spatial condition/character assessment of a case study landscape in the South-east of Ireland.

Landscape Character Assessment: A Spatial Critique

'Landscape is about the relationship between people and place'
(Swanwick, 2002).

A snap-shot of the significance of 'place' in LCA methodology can be seen in the 'Landscape Wheel' (Fig. 1) which was developed by Professor Carys Swanwick for

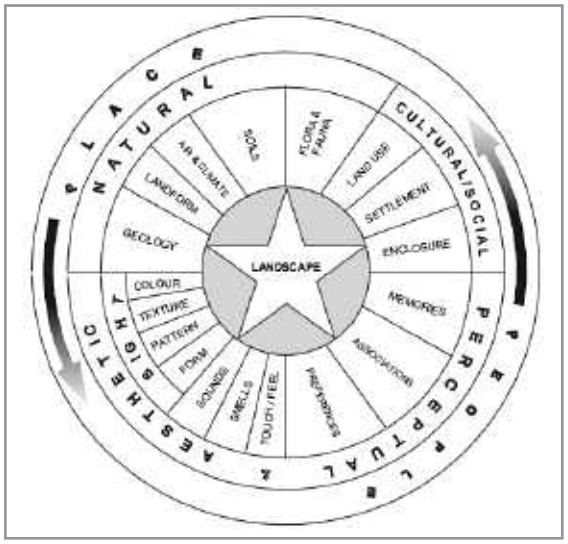

Fig 1. 'What is Landscape' (from Swanwick 2002)

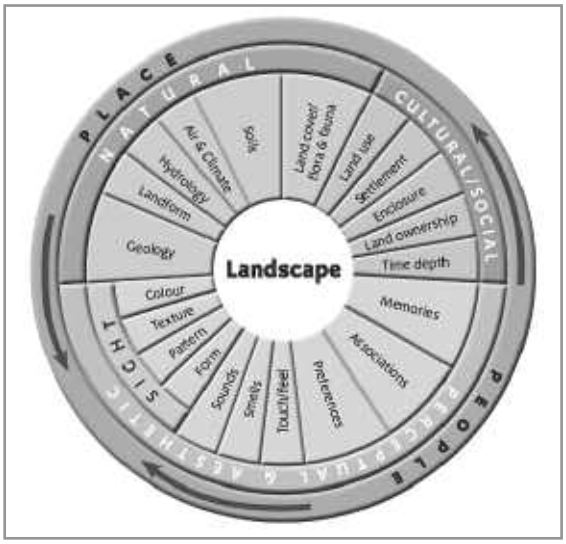

Fig 2. 'What is Landscape' (from Tudor 2014)

the 2002 publication *Landscape Character Assessment: Guidance for England and Scotland*, revised in 2014 with additional elements in *An Approach to Landscape Character Assessment* authored by Christine Tudor on behalf of Natural England (Fig.2). These influential image tools for LCA are familiar also in an Irish context having been referenced in the Heritage Council's 2009-2010 multi-disciplinary LCA CPD Training Course (Heritage Council, 2010).

The 'Landscape Wheel' is devised to synopsize what landscape is composed of, and landscape is according to Tudor (2014) 'a product of the interaction of the natural and cultural components of our environment, and how they are understood and experienced by people.' The 'wheel' provides us with an insight into the approach to spatial aspects of landscape character assessment. Spatial aspects such as 'enclosure', 'pattern' and 'form' and are found under the categories of Cultural/Social and Perceptual and Aesthetic which has a sub-section of sight. The absence of 'space' beside 'place' on the Landscape Wheel, the landscape components shown and their respective allocations, and a preference in guidelines for 2D map-based assessment through overlays and bird's eye views, may indicate a requirement for additional 'spatial thinking' within LCA.

A Synthesis of Spatial Thinking on Landscape

'Spaces are considered the primary means by which landscapes are organised, understood, used and experienced' (Dee, 2001).

In *Form and Fabric in Landscape Architecture* Catherine Dee advocates for 'visual-spatial thinking' and the development of a '3D visual design sensibility' on landscape (Dee, 2001, 3). Within the discipline of Landscape Design, practitioners such as Dee and Bell have sought to promote and define spatial thinking about landscape. Both create a spatial vocabulary for landscape that could be used by environment professionals such as planners, architects, engineers and land managers. Writing in *Landscape: Pattern, Perception and Process* Simon Bell encourages broader thinking about the relevance of spatial patterns and processes in landscape beyond Landscape architecture by asking' *what does an understanding of these patterns and processes tell us and is there anything to be gained from an approach to planning, design and management based upon them'* (Bell, 2012).
Evidence for the adoption of 'visual spatial thinking' within national official guidelines for landscape and a spatial approach within a methodology for landscape assessment can be found in the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Parks Service's National Register Publication, 'Guidelines for evaluating and documenting rural historic landscapes' (McClelland, 1989,1999).
In these guidelines the landscape is documented (data gathered and assembled) under 11 Characteristics. The landscape 'Features' to be identified under each 'Characteristic' are prescribed along with specific instructions on how and what to document. Authors are asked to describe, indentify, locate, name and most importantly, in the opinion of this paper's author, (and this is a clear distinction to LCA) they are asked to 'relate' the characteristic and features to each other and also to the other 10 characteristics, thus creating an in-depth and coherent matrix of inter-connected knowledge and understanding of the relationship between different components of the landscape. The second of 11 characteristics; 'Pattern of Spatial Organization' is identified as one of four processes of landscape (Fig. 3).

A Spatial Landscape

Taking the US Department of the Interior, National Parks Services' guidance document for evaluating and documenting rural historic landscapes as a partial model with emphasis on its classification; Characteristic Process 2, 'Patterns of Spatial Organization', a research case study is currently underway by this author to apply an objective process of describing, analyzing and documenting the spatial character and spatial condition of a typical rural landscape in the South East of Ireland. Spatial condition is a term used in this study to describe the extant physical spatial elements in the landscape. The intention of the case study when completed is to propose a baseline

Patterns of Spatial Organization	Overall pattern of the circulation networks, areas of land use, natural features, clusters of structures, and division of property.	• Describe any patterns characterizing the landscape as a whole. • Relate patterns to land uses and activities, responses to nature, and cultural traditions. • Relate spatial organizations to components, including vegetation, boundary demarcations, and circulation networks. • Describe and locate any areas where historic spatial organization is particularly visible or substantially lost.

Fig. 3. Documentation of Landscape Characteristics Chart (from McClelland, 1999)

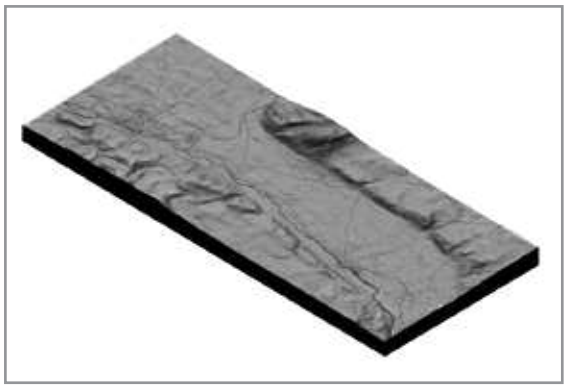

Fig. 4. Terrain Model (Dept. Architecture WIT 2015)

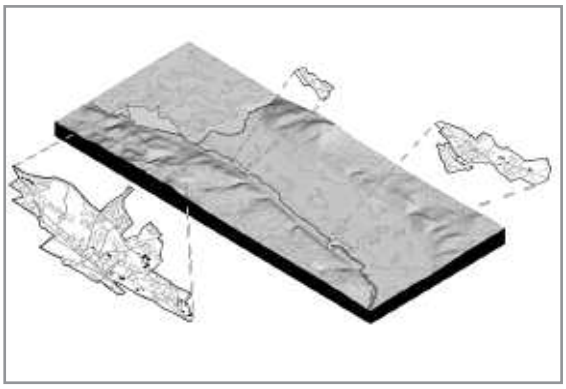

Fig. 5. Terrain Model (Dept. Architecture WIT 2015)

landscape spatial character assessment methodology within LCA.

The use of spatially explicit 3D digital terrain modeling to document spatial condition in the case study is explored as an addition to the spatially implicit 'contour mapping' and 'map overlays' predominantly specified in LCA guidance documents. The rural landscape in question is a section of a river valley between two urban centers (Fig.4).

An initial 'spatial' reading of the landscape indicates multiple spatial zones and typologies that can be identified, documented and represented for the purposes of spatial landscape assessment and characterization within LCA.

An initial application exercise below was carried out (examples only - not exhaustive) in the case study landscape based on the Documentation of Landscape Characteristics Chart from the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service devised to identify and relate spatial patterns of organization amongst a selection of features/components (Fig.6).

In addition to the physical spatial aspects in Figure 6, other spatially relevant date will be documented and analyzed, namely historic and contemporary cultural

Characteristic	Features (Overall Pattern of)	Documentation
Pattern of Spatial Organization	Circulation networks	Historic: River, roads, rail (post 1850) - linear pattern of spatial organization related to the spatial structure of the landform. Spatial orientation east-west. Current: Roads, rail - linear pattern of spatial organization for movement systems related to the spatial structure of the landform. Spatial orientation east-west.
Pattern of Spatial Organization	Land use areas	Agricultural land use spatial organization pattern over-lay on historic demesne landscapes remnants. A wide variety of agricultural land use spatial organization patterns exist.
Pattern of Spatial Organization	Natural features	Demesne avenues – visually dominant pattern of spatial organization related to landform geometry and historic aesthetic spatial theories/concepts and practices.
Pattern of Spatial Organization	Clusters of structures (settlement)	Tower House & Precinct – dispersed pattern of strategic spatial positioning and organization related to defense & landform. Demesne 'Big House' – small to medium scale dispersed pattern of spatial organization related to historic aesthetic spatial concepts. Housing – linear pattern of spatial organization (road-side) related to historic spatial theories and practices (agricultural & gov. policy) and contemporary planning policies.
Pattern of Spatial Organization	Boundary demarcations	Field enclosures - visually dominant and varied geometric pattern of spatial organization related to landform geometry, drainage, type of farming and land ownership.

Fig. 6. Spatial Landscape Characteristics Chart (from writer's case study).

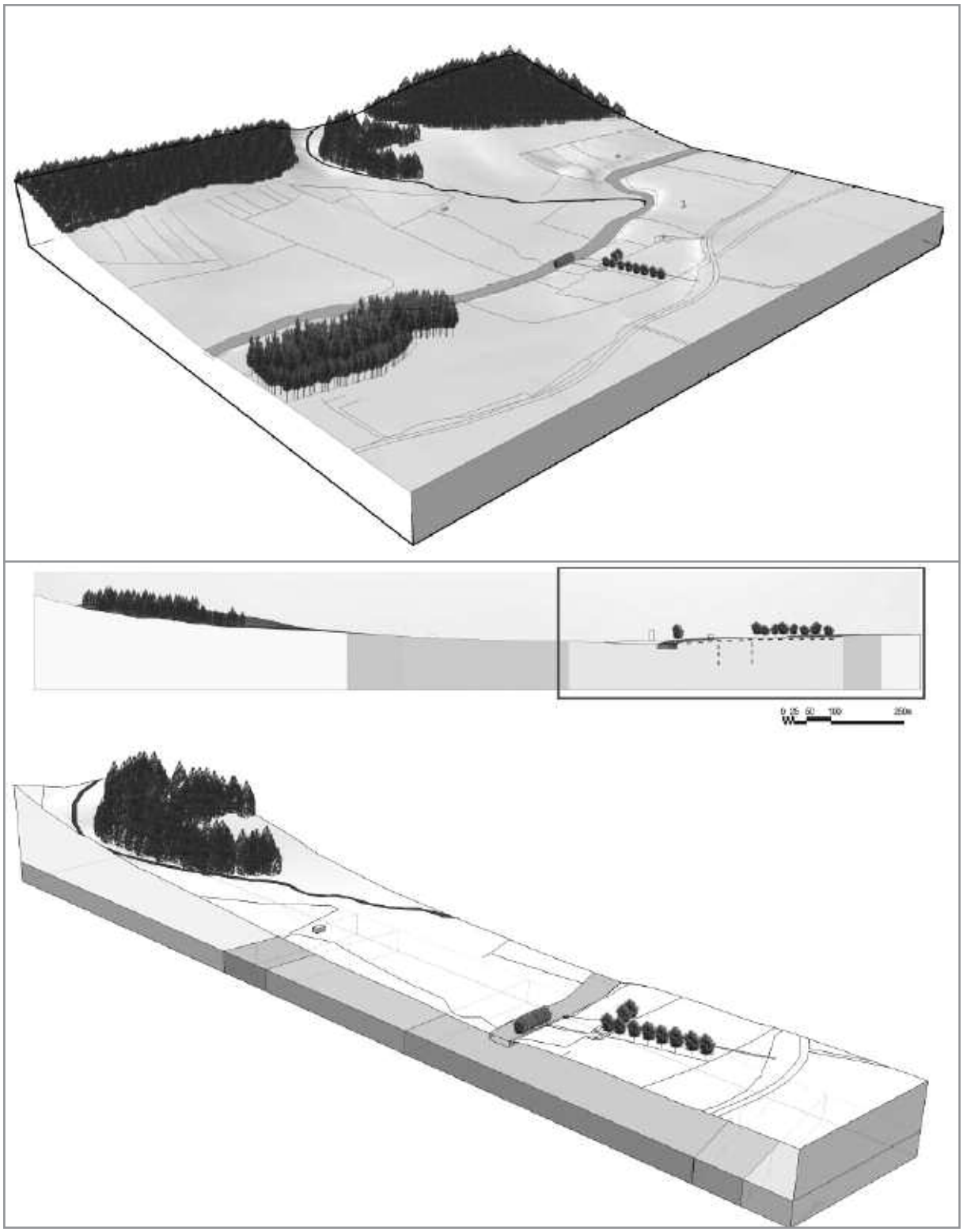

Fig. 7 Case Study 3D Landscape Model (Dept. Architecture WIT, 2015)

spatial practices linked to everyday working and social practices which further add to a rural communities 'spatial identity'.

Preliminary findings from the case study research would indicate that the value of a spatial approach within LCA methodology at the regional and local scale lies in its ability to identify spatial typologies and to reveal the spatial practices, strategies and theories behind them that have shaped the landscape. This approach used with 3D visual representation (Fig. 7) could enhance LCA's capabilities as a decision making instrument for the purposes of landscape development and management,

introducing 'visual-spatial thinking' as suggested by Dee (2001).

The spatial character of the case study landscape that is beginning to emerge is one dominated by spatial linearity which is orientated east to west as a result of natural landforms which have pre-determined the patterns of spatial organization of landscape features/components, the majority of whom either align or position against it. For example the primary longitudinal field boundaries are perpendicular to the main linear space of the valley for the purposes of drainage to the river at the valley floor. This in turn has created a very distinct pattern of spatial organization for the agricultural landscape.

Conclusion

> " .....statutory guidelines on local Landscape Character Assessments, following best international practice, and incorporating Historic Landscape Characterisation, and other appropriate assessment methodologies, will be prepared for Planning Authorities under Section 28 of the Planning and Development Act 2000 (as amended)"
>
> (DoAHG,2015)

The recently published National Landscape Strategy for Ireland 2015-2025 sets out key objectives and actions, and in relation to LCA the intention is for specific Irish guidelines to be prepared. As we are about to determine our own approach to LCA, this paper advocates for the inclusion of a methodology within LCA for the documentation and analysis of the spatial character of a landscape to guide those who intervene in landscape to engage at all levels of decision making with both place thinking and spatial thinking.

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The Carricks of Whitehaven
Irish Famine *Dinnsheanchas* in the New World

Gearóid Ó hAllmhuráin

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Place naming and tracing are perennial tropes in Irish topographical history. Once the preserve of the bardic caste, *dinnsheanchas,* or place lore, first appeared in Irish onomastic literature in the twelfth century (Hughes 1972). Its origin, however, predates the written text. Incorporating the mythological cycles and protohistory of pre-christian Ireland, these pseudo-etymologies explained the physical features of the landscape, as well as cataloguing castles, battles, saints, wells and churches that form the nodal points of Irish place memory. Dense and ubiquitous, *dinnsheanchas* extends from provincial pays to isolated hamlets, from metropolitan hubs to small family farms in any one of the 61,400 townlands that fan out across the country. Ostensibly Irish in linguistic origin, most placenames were abruptly anglicized over time, yet they contain trace elements of an archaic nomenclature that has endured for millennia. By the time the Great Famine inflicted its wrath on Irish society in the 1840s, *dinnsheanchas* had given an innate sense of place to Irish people for centuries, each generation adding its own experiential glosses to a vast and textured palimpsest. In the intensely settled West of Ireland, population swelled as never before in the 1830s and 1840s and Irish vernacular culture enjoyed its highest densities of native speakers (Whelan 1995). When famine ravaged this world, it also ravaged its place memory and *dinnsheanchas*. For those Irish who crossed the Atlantic to start new lives in the US and Canada, placename memory was slowly swept aside by the 'deplacialization' (Casey 1977) of exile. Mental geographies of the Old World devolved into imprecise post-memory and nostalgia, and withered in the amnesia of successor generations.

Despite this fraying of place memory, some Irish retained a sense of *dinnsheanchas* in the New World, albeit, in the nomenclature of the trauma that brought them there. This is particularly so in Quebec, where thousands of Irish settled after fleeing the famine. Irish toponyms are speckled throughout the province, from the Gaspé peninsula in the northeast to the wilderness of Pontiac in the southwest. Names of Irish saints, towns and counties are inscribed in places like Saint-Colomban, Saint-Malachie, Mayo and Kildare. Bitter memories of exile, however, find poignant expression in lieux de mémoire like Grosse Île, Montreal's Black Rock, and Percé's Chemin de l'Irlande that mark the mass graves and pathways of refugees fleeing famine. One finds these sites in the heart of metropolitan Quebec, as well on the isolated shorelines of the St. Lawrence. One of largest mass graves in North America, Montreal's Black Rock, marks the burial place of 6,000 famine victims who died in fever sheds in the summer of 1847. Today, a daily surge of cars drive over them, scurrying from casinos to supermarkets, their drivers oblivious to the history that lies beneath their feet. Nine hundred kilometers further north in Cap-des-Rosier, where the Appalachians plummet into the sea, there is another mass grave. This lieux de mémoire—a mound of moving sand, a ship's bell, a cross, and a triad of flags—has found cultural custodians among the Kavanagh family who have preserved its *dinnsheanchas* for five generations. Farmers and fishermen from Jersey Cove, near Cap-des-Rosier's picturesque lighthouse, the Kavanaghs are fifth-generation Quebecois. Their ancestors transitioned from Irish to French a generation after arriving in Quebec and the family has spoken French since. The tragedy that shaped their *dinnsheanchas* occurred on the night of April 28, 1847, when the brig Carricks of Whitehaven carrying their ancestors from Ireland sank within sight of the New World.

Squaring Lord Palmerston's Land

The subaltern story that frames this tragedy began in south Sligo in March 1847. The Kavanagh ancestors, their great-great grandparents, Patrick Kaveney and Sarah McDonald and their six children (five daughters aged between two and ten, and a twelve-year-old son) lived in Cross, an Irish-speaking clachán near Ballymote on the border between Sligo and Roscommon. Cross is the birthplace of King Cormac Mac Airt who ruled Ireland during the second century. Folklore recounts that Cormac was raised Romulus and Remus-like by a she-wolf in a cave on Keash Mountain that overlooked Kaveney's farm. The celebrated Book of Ballymote was written nearby in 1391 and sold for 140 milch cows to Aed Óg O'Donnell in 1522 (Ó Concheanainn 1981). The ancient lords of the region were the O'Garas and the

Mac Dermotts Roe, who sponsored the Annals of the Four Masters and patronized the music of Turlough O'Carolan. In 1847, the Kaveney's were tenants of Henry John Temple, III Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865), one of the most powerful British politicians of his time. Serving twice as Prime Minister, Palmerston was in office almost continuously from 1807 until 1865. As Foreign Secretary, he dealt with crises in Europe, the Middle East, Asia and North America, among them, the establishment of a British colony in Hong Kong (1842). As Home Secretary (1852-1855) and Prime Minister (1855-1858), he stage-managed Britain's involvement in the Crimean War (1853-1856) and the Indian Mutiny (1857) (Brown 2011). In the midst of all this diplomatic action, his estates in Ireland—20,000 acres and 14,000 tenants—were a mere sideshow he left to his lawyers in Dublin and his land agents in Sligo (Laxton 1997).

In contrast to the global clout of their landlord, the pressures felt by Palmerston's tenants in Sligo were considerably more local. Like their neighbours on the Gore-Booth estates, they feared the consequences of population growth and the acute shortage of arable land. When blight killed their potatoes for three successive seasons, their rundale farms imploded and the occupants starved. As the crisis worsened, Palmerston's lawyers, J.R. Stewart and Joseph Kincaid and their agents in Sligo set about squaring his land, a process that involved systemic clearances, abolition of rundale strips and the consolidation of holdings among industrious farmers. They also selected tenants for assisted emigration.

Patrick Kaveney and his family were selected as beneficiaries of assisted emigration and given the option of relocating to Canada. The rationale for their selection is not at all apparent. Their drumlin farm near Coolavin was thirty miles south of Palmerston's main estate in Ahamlish in north Sligo. Oral history suggests that the straggle of small mountainy farms in this Coolavin 'estate' were won by him in a gamble and presented little economic advantage, even after rationalization. Tradition hints that Kaveney may have been a dissident tenant, possibly involved in agrarian resistance. His farm housed a penal church that was used illegally by catholics before they were granted emancipation in 1829. The Kaveneys were known as the 'Giants of Keash,' sárfhir (great men) a moniker which suggests that their standing in the community stood out in opposition to the law of the landlord and the peeler. Whatever the cause of his selection, Kaveney and his family were given a few weeks to prepare for the journey and left, possibly, on the morning of April 4, with 117 of his neighbours to walk the twenty miles to the port of Sligo, from where 65 ships carrying 13,000 famine emigrants would sail between April and October 1847—among them, nine vessels hired by Palmerston to transport 2000 surplus tenants. His lordship, by all accounts, a forward-thinking agrarian capitalist, sponsored 10% of all assisted passages from Ireland in the period 1846-1852. His clearing strategies, however, incurred the wrath of authorities and port officials in Canada. The emaciated condition of his tenants, especially the 428 souls on board the Aeolus that arrived in New Brunswick on November 1, 1847 made headline news on both sides of the Atlantic. Records show that they disembarked half-naked, starved and barefoot—just as the Canadian winter closed in around them. Unable to progress up the St. Lawrence because of ice, most spent the winter in an almshouse in St. John (Laxton 1997, 76-77).

The vessel Palmerston hired to transport the Kaveneys and their neighbours to Canada was the 242-ton Carricks of Whitehaven, a two-mast brig built in Workington, Cumbria in 1812. This was the first of his nine sponsored ships to leave Sligo. On board they met tenants from his larger estates in north Sligo—from Mullaghmore, Creevykeel, Drumfad, and the monastic island of Inismurray, four miles off the Sligo coast. A seasoned workhorse, but old by the maritime standards of the time, the Carricks was used to transport lumber from Canada and human cargo from Britain and Ireland. Its master was Captain Robert Thompson who was responsible for a crew of ten, as well as 173 passengers. The Carricks made exceptional time crossing the Atlantic. It left Sligo on April 5 and reached the mouth of the St. Lawrence on the night of April 28-29, just three weeks out of port. However, when it reached Cap-des-Rosiers on the edge the Gaspé, disaster struck. Caught in a late nor'easter (a storm caused by Labrador cold currents clashing with warm currents from the Gulf Stream), it was wrecked off the rocks and sunk in a matter of hours in the darkness. The small crew's inability to handle frozen canvas sail quickly—which caused the ship to roll over before hitting the rocks—clearly contributed to its demise.

The Unquiet Ghost of the Carricks

The morning after the sinking, the gravity of the disaster quickly became apparent, as survivors combed the coastline for loved ones and neighbours. Of the 183 people who left Sligo, nine had died crossing the Atlantic.

Of the remaining 164, only 48 survived the wreck—including one woman and an infant who floated ashore when the tide lifted her skirts to give her buoyancy. In the days that followed, 87 bodies were recovered from the sea and were buried in a common grave. In 1900, St. Patrick's parish in Montreal raised a monument on the site. The ship's bell was washed ashore along the Straits of Belle Île, 300 kilometers away on the north shore of the St. Lawrence in 1968. Today, it hangs beside the memorial—a sonic reminder of flight that ended within sight of the New World.

The topography of this disaster, its place lore and memoirs has been preserved assiduously by the Kavanaghs for 169 years. The patriarch of this *dinnsheanchas* is maître conteur, Georges Kavanagh. Describing the flight of his ancestors and conditions on board the Carricks crossing the Atlantic, his testimony is delivered in the first person plural, as if he still identifies personally with their plight:

'In Ireland at the time, we're in an economic crisis, a social crisis, and a human crisis of violent proportions. The only solution we have is to flee. April 4, 1847, Patrick Kaveney, Sarah McDonald and six children, one boy and five girls, took their place aboard that boat .... We're lodged in the hold beneath the bridge; there are no amenities for hygiene, there's no place for intimacy, we're sleeping on supports attached to the side of the ship, lying head to feet to save space. We even have to wait for people who are sleeping to wake up, so we can take their places. ... We feed ourselves, probably, with fresh fish while we're near the coast and we can fish. But, otherwise, it's salted meal, galettes, and a little tea. This is not a nice jaunt on a Sunday afternoon. We're there cupped in humidity with unbearable smells. We can imagine conditions that lead to cholera, dysentery, and even seasickness and the vomiting it induces. People are dying, and often, we have to wait several hours, or maybe a day to take them out and throw them into the sea.'[i] (Translated from the French by the author).

Had the Carricks continued upriver to Grosse Île, less than a week away, it would have been the first ship to arrive from Ireland on that fateful summer of 1847. That record went to the Syria that arrived from Liverpool in mid May (Laxton 1997, 44). Within two weeks, 40 ships carrying 12,500 passengers lay anchored at Grosse Île all waiting to clear quarantine. For many, it would be their final resting place. On July 8, 1847, 21 survivors from the Carricks boarded the Maria Julia bound for Quebec. A handful remained on in the Gaspé, including Patrick Kaveney who adamantly refused to board another ship. After appealing to a seigneurie for land, (without success), he eventually got a farm that was abandoned by Jersey fishermen. Kaveney's wife Sarah gave birth to four other children between 1848-1855. While she was pregnant with her fourth child, tragedy struck again. On March 16, 1855, Patrick left Jersey Cove to celebrate St. Patrick's Day with an Irish community in Douglastown, a day's walk away. The journey took him over the tip of the Appalachians and across the frozen bay of Gaspé. He never reached Douglastown, however. Four days later, his body was found on the ice. It seems he had lost his way in a fog and became disoriented. Not knowing where the opposite shore was, he circled on the ice until it cracked beneath him. Patrick's wife Sarah was now left to raise his children without him. She died aged 85 in 1889. Her grave overlooks the sea that took her five daughters in an April gale in 1847.

Cartographies of Memory in the New World

For the majority of emigrants who left Ireland in the past three centuries, afterlife in the diaspora entailed a near total absence from the historical record. Similarly, precise memories of the Old World did not survive the transculturation and ethnic fade that result from diasporic diffusion. While Georges Kavanagh's knowledge of the lives and places left behind by his ancestors in Ireland may be limited, his sense of an Irish gemeinschaft in the Gaspé is nonetheless textured and storiated. The *dinnsheanchas* and oral vignettes that frame this third space are drawn from a rich canvas of experiential history. These layered synesthesias of diasporic space also envelop the lifeworlds of 140 families who claim descent from Patrick Kaveney and Sarah McDonald. Kavanagh's poetics of place is also laced with reflective nostalgia and what Russian historian, Svetlena Boym (2001) styled the off-modern. A detour from the determinism of modern history, the off-modern facilitates exilic reflection and longing, estrangement and affection simultaneously. For displaced people all over the world, this leads to a curative rethinking of place, not merely as a nostalgic devise but as a strategy for survival, a way to make peace with the inevitability of never returning home.

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Notes

[1] Ward, Pat, Interview, Keash, Co. Sligo, July 24, 2014.

[2] Ward, ibid.

[3] Duffy, Patrick, Interview, Murrisk, Co. Mayo, July 26, 2014.

[4] McGowan, Joe, Interview, Sligo, July 23, 2014.

[5] Kavanagh, Georges, Interview, Cap-des-Rosiers, June 17, 2014.

[6] Kavanagh, ibid.

[7] Kavanagh, ibid.

Travelling Methodologies – from Cork to Prishtina!

Terry O'Regan

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Introduction

This paper reflects on the writer's involvement with local development projects based on the heritage resources of communities, places, stories and landscapes in southeast Europe over the period 2008–2015, and in particular on the contribution of a dynamic cultural interaction between Ireland and Kosovo based on heritage and landscape methodologies.

Only two age categories appear consciously to read their landscape - children and senior citizens; children whose landscape is often new and both threatening and inviting; the senior citizen because the landscape where intact evokes memories or challenges fading memories when unrecognisable.

The child's reading of landscape is conditioned by the layers of adult explanatory text. Growing up in 1950s Waterford City and environs I became aware that there was a Protestant landscape and a Catholic landscape, a Gaelic landscape and an Anglo-Saxon landscape, a landscape of the gentry and a landscape of the people, a landscape torn from us and a landscape ultimately reclaimed violently. These local landscapes were set against virtual faraway landscapes informed by comics, books and movies.

Struggling to make sense of this fragmented landscape, the bombing of Nelson's Pillar on the 8th March 1966 left me in part elated and in part deflated! 50 years on, I would draw on those early experiences to read the fractured and fragmented landscape of Kosovo.

Kosovo

Kosovo, a small (10,908 km^2) elevated land-locked state in the centre of the Balkan Peninsula borders Albania, Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro–one eight the size of Ireland. It is surrounded by high snow-covered mountain ranges (Gjeravica near Deçan is 2,650m O D) enclosing two expansive plains–Dukagjini Valley and Kosovo Valley–separated by central uplands and the Kaçanik Gorge.

With a continental climate of hot summers and cold winters it is well served by rivers including the only bifurcation in Europe. [i]

The complex characteristics of the place and its people reflect the cultural influences that have flowed back and forth across its landscape over the centuries, adding and subtracting cultural heritage in the process–Illyrians, Romans, Albanians, Croats and Serbs and Byzantines. Religious influences have been equally diverse–Christian both Roman and Serb Orthodox and Islam. The region was the centre of the Serbian kingdom until the mid-14th century and Serbs regard Kosovo as the birthplace of their nation. Communism has also been a strong recent influence. In the midst of this cultural turmoil the concept of an independent or autonomous Kosovo ebbed and flowed, being articulated for the first time in 1878 by the League of Prizren.[ii] Within the past century two world wars brought short and medium-term cultural influences, and in the centre of the melting pot there were complex power struggles relating to Serbian control of Albanian Kosovars. The pot had begun to bubble over prior to the break-up of the Social Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and during the 1990s (despite attempts at peaceful resistance) it tragically spilled over into vicious repression and destruction by the Serbs and growing resistance from the Albanian Kosovars. The conflict peaked in 1998-9 when the total death toll reached 12,000, with a further 6,000 missing. Following the Serbian rejection of the OSCE-brokered Rambouillet Agreement the NATO forces initiated a bombing campaign which finally resulted in the ending of the conflict in June 1999.[iii]

Aside from the terrible loss of life the conflict resulted in the displacement of some 800,000 Kosovar Albanians and 70,000 Serbs and many minorities, more than 120,000 houses and 2,000 religious (including some 225 mosques and 30 churches/monasteries), cultural and public buildings were either damaged or destroyed.

Kosovo was administered by The United Nations Mission in Kosovo from 1999 until February 2008 when Kosovo declared its independence - since recognised internationally by most but not quite all states.

Legislatively Kosovo already has a range of laws similar to most developed European states reflecting EU directives and international conventions, but struggles to match implementation to legislative intent. Administratively it has central government and some 38 municipalities. The population is circa 2M, the ethnic breakdown is roughly; Albanians 88 to 92%, Serbs 4 to 8%, minorities (Bosniaks & Gorans, Turks, Roma, Ashkali, Egyptians and Janjevci/Croats) 4%. Three municipalities in northern Kosovo with large Serb majorities currently lie outside the effective control of the Kosovan administration.

The economy is weak, the few heavy industries of the previous regime have largely closed, and there is very high unemployment among the young population; funds sent home from the scattered international diaspora is vital for the survival of many families. Administrative and technical records for many aspects of life in Kosovo appear to be held in Serbia and are not accessible to the new administration and its experts. Available heritage data bases prepared prior to the recent conflict no longer accord to the greatly reduced reality on the ground.

Setting standards and reinforcing systems for place governance

I was in Kosovo as a member of the Promotion of Cultural Diversity in Kosovo (PCDK) team having already been involved for 3 years with the wider Local Development Pilot Project (LDPP) in Bulgaria and elsewhere in SE Europe.

The PCDK process has been one of a range of related EU and/or CoE initiatives in Southeast Europe in recent years. In Kosovo, linked to the LDPP, pilot projects have been implemented since 2004 as a Joint Programme with the European Union, first through the Reconstruction Implementation Commission (RIC), followed by the PCDK Project phases I (2010-2012) and II (2013-2015).

These initiatives in SE Europe have been based on principles of good and responsible governance with particular reference to heritage as an economic and cultural integration resource in line with the values inherent in Council of Europe and UNESCO conventions on heritage and landscape - Granada 1985; Valletta 1992; Florence 2000 , Paris 2005 and Faro 2005.[iv]

A Heritage Plan in my Cabin Baggage?

My role was to provide expert assistance in assessing the feasibility of cultural tourism as a mechanism to address both economic and cultural diversity issues in the Kosovo West region comprising of six municipalities.[v]

In 2010 an integrated framework of local municipal working groups and a regional task force guided by the PCDK team had been established and extensive data collection had been undertaken and parallel pilot actions initiated.

The feasibility study involved a data evaluation/analysis exercise, identifying local strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats in relation to the development of sustainable heritage tourism in the region.

Initially the focus had been on the presentation of sites and the infrastructural needs of tourists, but the close engagement with local communities indicated that an economically-driven approach might not deliver on the cultural diversity aims of the project and a more lateral approach was adopted with the Irish heritage plan methodology emerging as an option.

Parallel Stories

There are obvious cultural conflict parallels between Ireland and Kosovo. In its 100 years as an independent state Ireland has slowly been coming to terms with its complex cultural heritage.

One initiative facilitating that process has been the Heritage Plan – which followed the establishment of the Heritage Council on a statutory basis in 1995, the publication of a National Heritage Plan in 2002 and the subsequent preparation of heritage plans for most local authorities/municipalities in the state.[vi] The heritage plans provide a valuable focus for cultural heritage engagement at community level.

Having considered all options to progress the PCDK project in Kosovo West it was decided that the Irish Heritage Plan model could provide a sustainable methodology to achieve the aims of the project if modified and adapted to reflect the cultural and contextual differences in Kosovo.

The Irish Heritage Council generously agreed to assist the implementing the Heritage Plan process for Kosovo West and supporting local stakeholder capacity

development. Regional Heritage Plan Kosovo West was launched in September 2012 as a rational continuation and co-ordination of the preliminary heritage tourism actions already in train.

The plan focused on awareness-raising, education, training and suggested actions in relation to cultural and natural heritage and addressed practical issues through a facilitated partnership process involving central, municipal, community, heritage and tourism stakeholders in the region. The capacity-building aspect was greatly reinforced through a study visit organised by the Heritage Council to Kilkenny in October 2011.

The success of the pilot action in Kosovo West led to the decision to extend the heritage plan process to other regions in Kosovo with continuing support from the Irish Heritage Council including a second study visit to Kilkenny in March 2014. Four further regional heritage plans were launched in early 2015 for Kosovo North, East, South and Central.

All five plans are based on the Irish heritage plan template; the first section setting out the basis for a heritage plan is largely drawn from a Heritage Council methodology document.[vii] But there are many modifications to the rest of the documents as whilst the heritage plan in Ireland is set in scenario of many other related plans and publications, the plans in Kosovo have to fill a much larger vacuum in terms of place governance and easing cultural diversity tensions.

The PCDK process was very diverse with heritage addressed at all levels and languages including setting standards for heritage conservation, management and education and these initiatives featured in the heritage plans.[viii] The need to address landscape heritage was identified as an action in the heritage plans. A pilot exercise under Heritage Plan Kosovo West involved an exploration of the implementation of the European Landscape Convention at central and municipal level recognising that this framework convention provides a structure that integrates heritage conventions and international instruments into spatial and related legislation.

The PCDK landscape initiative progressed to a pilot study in the municipality of Klinë/a undertaken by an inter-ministerial/municipal working group, with workshops at ministry level and a multi-disciplinary working group engaged in field work and report preparation.

The process included an examination of Irish methodologies from the development plan process to examples of landscape character assessment in Counties Clare and Wexford and the landscape circle study guide produced by Landscape Alliance Ireland.[ix]

The outcome of the pilot study has been published as a PCDK action, delivering an interesting hybrid of a basic landscape characteristic assessment approach identifying the predominant character types and a landscape circle approach identifying the special landscapes of the municipality. [x]

A major concern as the end of the PCDK project approached was how best to provide for the future implementation and advancement of the heritage plan process, again here the Irish model provided guidance and regional Heritage and Diversity Programme Co-ordinators were trained and a tentative structure put in place to fund their activities. These are intended to function to some extent along the lines of Heritage Officers in Ireland.

Reflections & Conclusions

At the final conference of the PCDK project in May 2015 I presented a paper on the experience of participating in the project over some 5 years.

Many characteristics of the PCDK process are shared in varying degrees with other initiatives in SE Europe. There were however features of the PCDK project that appear distinctive and innovative as evidenced by the diverse publications and videos available on the PCDK website reflecting parallel activities taking place at all levels of society and administration throughout the life of the process and this appears to have delivered a high level of cultural integration and geographic outreach.[xi]

Wherever appropriate, templates and methodologies from elsewhere were taken and adapted to the local context and needs. The Irish methodologies were a good fit for PCDK and the connection with The Heritage Council of Ireland was effective, productive and innovative in many ways, with training sessions being built into the study visits and mentoring and training being provided by Heritage Council experts in Kosovo. But the potential success of the Irish travelling

methodologies in this case was primarily due to the committed intense immersive engagement between the Heritage Council and the PCDK team.

But methodology sharing is a two-way process and the structured but flexible PCDK project methodology and management structure would be useful not alone elsewhere in Southeast Europe but in all EU states (including Ireland) with specific reference to addressing the challenges faced by many communities peripheral or otherwise, urban or rural who are experiencing problems such as multicultural tensions, social deprivation, unemployment, depopulation, abandonment, heritage decline etc.

Reflecting on the PCDK project I was reminded of a somewhat similar Irish project–the Bantry Bay Charter project 1997 - 2002. But when that ended prematurely in 2002 due to the withdrawal of funding some reviews suggest that much of the value may have been lost. [xii] The continuation and embedding of the PCDK process in Kosovo will not require substantial funding and/or resources, but it will need some. I would hope that both the EU and CoE will continue to be maintain links with the on-going process. The Bantry Bay Charter experience explains why I express these concerns, it is vital that hopes raised are not dashed. Engaging intensively with communities germinates a delicate seedling, if it is deprived of nourishment and care it not alone dies, the resulting social landscape takes on the severe characteristics of an unproductive desert!

To gain a deeper insight into the PCDK project and perhaps to test my thesis on the effectiveness of the travelling methodologies I recommend a visit to the PCDK website - a treasure trove of information. I can only hope that the website remains live for a long time to come; it is a valuable resource not just for Kosovo but for all communities who recognise that places, peoples, their stories and their landscapes are deeply and inextricably linked.

Notes

[i] The Nerodikima River divides and flows in two different directions – south to the Aegean Sea and east to the Black Sea.

[ii] The League for the Defence of the Rights of the Albanian Nation commonly known as the League of Prizren was an Albanian political organization founded on June 10, 1878 in the old town of Prizren, in the Kosova Vilayet of the Ottoman Empire.

[iii] OSCE: Organisation for Security & Co-operation in Europe. Rambouillet agreement: The Agreement was the outcome of a peace conference held in Rambouillet near Paris in February 1999

[iv] The full titles of the referenced conventions are: Protection of Architectural Heritage, Granada 1985; Protection of Archaeological Heritage, Valletta 1992; European Landscape Convention, Florence 2000; Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO Paris 2003; Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, Faro 2005.

[v] The 6 municipalities included in the Kosovo West region were: Pejë/Peć, Klinë/Klina, Deçan/Dečane, Istog/Istok, Junik/Junik & Gjakovë/Dakovica

[vi] http://www.heritagecouncil.ie

[vii] A Methodology for Local Authority Heritage Officers on the Preparation of County/City Heritage Plans, July 2003

[viii] Guidelines on Cultural Heritage, September 2012; Handbook for Teachers about Cultural Heritage and Cultural Diversity + Teacher appendices, September 2012; University Module about Heritage and Diversity, September 2012; Training program "Teaching Cultural Heritage and Cultural Diversity" - Trainers' guide Prepared by: Jenny Otting and Veton Sylhasi, October 2013

[ix] http://www.lai-ireland.com & also available as a pdf from terryjoregan@gmail.com

[x] Landscape Protection Management & Planning, Klinë/Klina Initiative 2015

[xi] http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/cooperation/Kosovo/default_en.asp

[xii] http://www.globalislands.net/greenislands/docs/ireland_Bantry-Bay.pdf

Landscape Values: High Nature Value Farming on the Iveragh Peninsula

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Introduction

The quality and diversity of European landscapes constitute an important element of the continent's natural and cultural patrimony. At the root of that diversity are the land uses, in particular the farming systems that along with natural processes have shaped the landscape since prehistory. The term high nature value (HNV) farming emerged in the 1990s, and has gradually crept into European environmental and agricultural policy (Baldock et al 1996). In essence the HNV farming approach recognises that nature conservation in cultural landscapes cannot be met solely by habitat protection and designation, but depends on the continuation of traditional land uses (Beaufoy 2008). HNV farmlands are broadly equivalent to traditional low intensity farming systems, characterised by low intensive use of fertilisers, pesticides, machinery and the presence of semi-natural vegetation of high biodiversity value (Bignal and McCracken 1996; EFNCP et al 2010; Oppermann et al 2012). They are often associated with pastoralism and extensive livestock grazing. They are usually found on poorer land, often with natural handicaps such as elevation and poor soil. Approximately 30% of farmland in the EU is classified as HNV (Paracchini et al 2008; EEA 2010). Despite their social-ecological significance HNV farmlands tend to be marginal in terms of their agronomic production capacity and to be outside of market oriented policy interests. However, the HNV farming concept has become a focus for conservation and countryside management in Europe, and is central to meeting the EUs 2020 biodiversity targets. In policy terms HNV farming systems are justified in terms of the environmental services and public goods they provide, and are positioned within the EU multifunctional model of agriculture. In summary HNV is an integrating concept that recognises the economic, social and ecological functions of farming systems, the interdependence of nature, culture and heritage.

Case Study: The Iveragh Peninsula, Ireland.

The Iveragh peninsula is an isolated mountainous peninsula of approximately 1,700 km^2 jutting out into the Atlantic ocean in south west Ireland. Its highest peak is Carrantoolhil at 1,040 m, within the sharply glaciated MacGillycuddy Reeks mountain range. The whole peninsula is designated as 'Severely Handicapped' under the European Less Favoured Area Directive (Regulation 950/97). Approximately half the peninsula is designated as a Special Area of Conservation (SAC) under the European Habitats Directive (Directive 92/43/EEC), because of its internationally important habitats of heather moorlands, blanket bogs, and heaths. The coastal rim of the peninsula ('Ring of Kerry) is a designated area of 'Outstanding Natural Beauty', and is a major tourist attraction. This research is based on semi-structured interviews and a detailed farm management survey administered to eighty Iveragh hill sheep farmers' in 2007/8 and to a further thirty in 2014. The aim of the paper is to explore the links between farming systems, the landscape and landscape values.

Traditional Hill Farming System

The landscape, ecology and society of the Iveragh uplands are intimately linked with its past and present farming systems. The Iveragh has been farmed traditionally for centuries on a semi-subsistence basis, which was often complemented by seasonal work on lowland farms or in the UK or Scotland. In more recent times the influence of globalised market forces and European subsidies have strongly influenced the hill farming systems, which in turn is reflected in the ecology and landscape of the Iveragh. Under EU headage payments in the 1980s the Irish uplands were severely overgrazed, whereas under the current decoupled Single Farm Payment (SFP)[i], undergrazing and semi-abandonment is emerging as a major issue on the Iveragh and elsewhere. Both under and over-grazing have adverse landscape and biodiversity implications.

A traditional hill farm on the Iveragh consists of varying proportions of improved or reclaimed grasslands, known as 'green land' (or in-bye land), higher enclosed land and open mountain (Kramm et al 2010, 128). The improved and fertilised green land, generally located in low-lying ground near the farmstead, while being of low species diversity plays a key role in determining the stocking capacity of the farm. It provides important grazing land for out-wintered stock, for use around lambing time, as well as for the production of silage or hay for winter fodder. The higher enclosed land, located in the foothills,

represents the transition between lowlands and uplands and is made up of rough grazing. The open mountain, either privately owned or held in commonage, consists of semi-natural vegetation and provides extensive areas of summer grazing for sheep and cattle at low stocking densities (O'Rourke and Kramm 2009). Traditional farming on the Iveragh involved a mixed livestock system of sheep in combination with hardy local breeds of cattle, such as the rustic Kerry cow, which were traditionally put on the uplands towards the end of summer to browse and trampling vegetation such as strong grasses, bracken, gorse and hard rush, which the sheep could not eat. The hardy Scottish Blackface and Wicklow Cheviot sheep remained outdoors all year round, being brought down to the green-land for the lambing period in March/April. They remained there until the lambs were strong enough to follow their mothers up the mountain for summer grazing in early June. The young lambs learnt to maintain a certain well defined home range or 'heft', while avoiding indiscriminate mixing with adjacent flocks. In the past lambs were rarely sold, ewe lambs being retained for breeding and the wethers (castrated rams) kept for their wool. The sheep offered for sale were 2-3 year old wethers or cull ewes, for which there is no market today and the wool market has also disappeared. In effect, the functionality of the uplands has been compromised. On account of the hardiness of the mountain breeds, the small returns and the relatively small amount of capital involved, extensive upland farming on the Iveragh was traditionally a low cost system.

Changing Farming Systems

The principal change in the above traditional high nature value (HNV) farming system was found to be an overall simplification of the management system, in line with a part-time farming model (reduced labour input) and changing market demands (O'Rourke et al 2012, O'Rourke and Kramm 2009, Kramm et al. 2010, Anderson 2013, 220). This is manifest in the increased dependence on reclaimed, 'green land', followed by a reduction in the labour intensive shepherding and management of the high uplands. The concentration of grazing in the lower altitudes has resulted in the scrubbing up or rewilding of the middle mountain slopes, with significant biodiversity and landscape implications. In effect the dual process of intensification and marginalisation is occurring, often on the same farm. There has been a considerable reduction in the outdoor grazing season, from the traditional year round grazing of the hardy Blackface sheep, to an average of 220 days outdoor grazing today, along with more use of slatted units and supplementary feeding (O'Rourke et al 2012). One of the ecological consequences of supplementary feeding is that the sheep and cattle are less likely to forage for themselves up the mountain.

There has also been a change in sheep breeds, or rather the cross-breeding of the rustic Blackface ewes with such lowland breeds of Texel, Charolie and Suffolk, in an attempt to produce a heavier lamb for the market. The resultant cross-breeds are not suited to the rigours of out-wintering on the high uplands. Another important change in the management of the uplands, is the removal of the rustic cattle and/or a shift towards continental breeds of suckler cows, which spend much of the year in-doors, and are fed on bought-in feedstuff. Research suggests that a mixed sheep and cattle grazing system is the most advantageous in term of upland management (English Nature 2001; Evans et al 2006; Gardner et al 2009; Bonn et al 2009).

Aligned with changes in the hill farming system is the loss of traditional management skills, such as the collective management of the commons, including regulating stocking density, the periodic burning of the heather and gorse, the yearly round up of all the sheep for dipping and shearing, repairing dry stone walls and mountain fences, along with the break down in hefting. In the past these were also important social occasions that helped to bind local communities. The overgrowth or re-wilding of the uplands has resulted in an increase in wild fires over the summer, and increased ticks infestation that affect both sheep and humans. Overall the closing-in of the landscape and the loss of agricultural land, weakens the economic base of local communities with knock-on effects for nature tourism, cultural heritage and recreation users, such as hill walkers. Like many peripheral areas, the Iveragh has undergone significant demographic change. Its current population density is 11 people per km^2, but the sparsely populated mountainous interior supports a considerably lower population. There is a high dependency on primary sector employment, with 30% of Iveragh's active male population employed (under-employed) in agriculture as opposed to 7.6% nationally (CSO 2011). Other farm viability concerns relate to an aging population (many of whom are bachelors), the lack of successors, and heavy dependency on ever changing subsidies (O'Rourke et al 2012). The lack of economic viability and low social status, are seen as the main reasons young people do not see a future in hill sheep farming.

Farm Diversification

The vast majority of Iveragh's hill farmers complemented their farm income with off-farm work, undertaken by the farm manager, his/her spouse or both. During the so called 'Celtic Tiger' economic boom, many of the Iveragh hill farmers' found work in the construction sector, which has subsequently dried up. Finding off-farm work within commuting distance is today problematic. As a survival strategy off-farm work is far more popular than farm diversification in for example, agri-tourism. As previously stated, the peninsula and county Kerry in general is one of the premier tourist destinations in Ireland. However, the majority of tourists stay in towns such as Killarney and Kenmare, and visit the spectacular landscapes of the Iveragh on day tours. It is ironic that the farmers, as the custodians of the landscape benefit little if not at all from tourism (O'Rourke and Kramm 2009). We cannot assume that tourism led multifunctionalism is the panacea for marginal farming systems, even in scenically beautiful areas (see also Burton 2009; Short and Dwyer 2012).

There is little evidence of other forms of farm diversification on the Iveragh. A 'Ring of Kerry Quality Lamb' label was launched in 2009, but its greatest success is with labour intensive house to house sales. It has not been adopted by the tourist hotels in Killarney who continue to source cheaper lamb from elsewhere, be it from Ireland, New Zealand, or Argentina. There are other individual farm diversification initiatives, such as farm walks, but overall innovation is not high. The majority of the older farmers left school early, and have no skills in areas like computing and marketing. They also lack institutional support, investment capital and a lot of elderly farmers are risk averse. Besides their identity and 'way of life' is embedded in farming. There is a strong socio-cultural attachment to the land, something that is rarely sold on the open market. Ultimately it is attachment to the land, tradition and family history that binds the sheep farmers' to their hill (O'Rourke and Kramm 2009). They want to fulfil the responsibilities entrusted on them by their forefathers and hand on the farm, preferably enlarged or improved, to the next generation. Some of the younger farmers may be more innovative, more production orientated or simply prepared to 'farm subsidies'. But for the vast majority of the over one hundred hill farmers interviewed in this research, their main objective in running the farm is tradition and to make a viable living for themselves and their families. They are not necessarily 'rational economic actors', and economics alone does not capture the complexity of their decision making process. They may describe themselves as 'busy fools', but they quickly add that they have to have a reason for 'getting out of bed in the morning', and that sheep farming is 'like a drug'. Besides their social identity and standing in the community has traditionally being linked with flock size. None of the farmers' interviewed felt either geographically or socially isolated, even though they could go for days without meeting anyone. They have a strong 'sense of place', but one suspects that the 'sense of community' is nowadays far more fragile. With depopulation and the out-migration of the young, it is self-reliance that comes to the fore, and ultimately it is family rather than neighbours or community that they count on.

The people brought up in the cradle of the Iveragh hills may not perceive themselves as isolated. They are used to the bad roads and poor services, but this is not necessarily the case especially for the in-marrying wives, who find it unacceptable that they may be cut-off from the outside world for days on end during bad weather. They are also concerned that their children have to travel hours on bad roads to get to school, and that they have no or very poor access to internet to help with homework.

Landscape Values

In terms of landscape values, the farmers see the Iveragh hills via its productive capacity and also as a link with the past, home and family heritage. They particularly admire the patches of reclaimed green-land that are of no value in biodiversity terms. The tourists and recreation users admire the aesthetics of the wild rugged scenery, and the conservationists prioritise the rare habitats, species and other ecosystem services. However, both the scenery and nature in what is ultimately a cultural landscape are dependent on the human hand and the grazing of livestock. Things like biodiversity and ecosystem services are abstract concepts for the farmers', and are more often than not associated with restrictions in terms of planning permission and nature conservation designations. Their objective has always been to tame the mountain, and they do not take kindly to recent attempts to 're-wild' it, which was how the recent reintroduction of the white-tailed sea eagle to the area was perceived (O'Rourke 2014). However, the vast majority of interviewed farmers stated that they were prepared to farm for countryside management, provided they could make a living from it.

In EU policy terms there has been a shift from landscapes of production to landscapes of consumption, in

disadvantaged but scenic places like the Iveragh (see also Soliva et al 2008; Shucksmith and Ronninger 2011). As stated by Mansfield (2008, 180) 'hill sheep farmers' traditional produce is no longer wanted, but instead their by-products, such as (landscape and wildlife) are'. Is what we are witnessing just another post-modern play with imagery? The question remains as to whether it is possible to maintain the traditional landscape and desired ecosystem services without the farming system, livestock husbandry skills and culture of the community that co-created them?

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Notes

[i] Decoupling refers to the decoupling of farm subsidies from production. Under the SFP subsidies are based on historic payments, irrespective of current stocking density / production levels.

The Landscape of The Galway Hooker

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This paper argues that to understand the islands and coastal communities of South Conamara, the concepts of 'landscape', 'seascape' and 'taskscape' offer insight to the nature of dwelling in the region. The paper draws primarily on the insights of the bádóirí an húicéire (hooker boatmen), who occupy a central position in enabling 'dwelling'.

As part of the extensive research carried out on this subject thirty three interviews were carried out in the region. This paper explores habitation within landscape from a phenomenological and dwelling perspective, that is adhering to the ideas of Heidegger (1962), Merleau-Ponty (1962) and of Ingold (2011), each defining landscape in terms of being-in-the-world (Wylie 2004, 520). In addition to the 'intertwining' of Merleau-Ponty and the 'wayfaring' of Ingold, I refer to Heidegger's, 'embeddedness' of people in the world, who build only because they are capable of dwelling (Ingold 2000, 185). Thus landscape is not to be looked at, rather it is to be lived or dwelt in. It is this enacting of dwelling and interacting with all other animates and in-animates present in the environment that enabled the landscape and seascape to facilitate a taskscape for the bádóirí and the húicéirí of South Conamara.

The Galway Hooker

Nobody knows from where the boat form of the Galway Hooker emerged, or how it got it's specific design. Various theorists have proposed links with England, Norway, Spain and the Netherlands, however the lack of any credible documentary evidence makes this speculative (Scott 2004, 39-40). What is beyond doubt however is the necessity to travel and conduct carriage by sea and water-routes in this region. Noël Wilkins, in his description on what awaited Maria Edgeworth as she travelled through Conamara in the early 19th century, penned the expression, 'Connemara was as impenetrable to wheeled carriages as any desert' (Wilkins 2009, 89). Wilkins relates that Alexander Nimmo (a Scottish engineer) came to Conamara in 1812 and planned a network of roads, bridges, piers and harbours. He observed that 90% of all inhabitation in Conamara was clustered on the coast (Wilkins 2009, 79-89). In fact it was Alexander Nimmo who planned the bridge at Béal a'Daingin, so that it could open in order to let the hookers pass up and down, facilitating the trade links from Cill Chiarán and Ros Muc with Galway City and the Aran Islands, avoiding the necessity to go around the dangerous Golam Head. Whatever its exact origins, Scott writes that it is not unreasonable for Galwaymen to claim it as their own, so 'tailor-made' is it to these waters, coastlines and needs (Scott 2004, 40). From a dwelling perspective, the evolution of such a craft marrying the needs of the inhabitants with the given environment enabled a landscape capable of facilitating dwelling (Jones 2009, 267). Without it, it is unlikely that anyone could have dwelt there.

Dwelling

To dwell is to live in an environment and thus participate in the creation of a landscape. Heidegger wrote that a house is not a dwelling, in fact while the house facilitates dwelling, it is only built as part of dwelling and because we can dwell (Heidegger 1971: 146-60). There are strong similarities between Heidegger's famous illustration of the 'Dwelling Concept', the 200-year-old- peasant farmhouse in the German Black Forest, located and built within a certain environment, facing south and protecting from the snows, enabling sustenance, enabling dwelling and Ingold's analysis of Pieter Bruegel the Elder's painting *The Harvesters* portraying the same concept. To Ingold

Fig. 1. The collaboration of land & sea. The Volunteer catching the off-shore wind.

Fig. 2. Bád Chonraí bringing essential resources to the island communities after passing through Béal a' Daingin opening bridge (pre 1960). This bridge can no longer function this way.

the scene depicts how life is entwined in and through all elements therein (Jones 2009, 267). Utilising a similar methodology to illustrate 'dwelling' in South Conamara, I use a picture of badóirí sailing a Hooker carrying building materials from Galway to Ros Muc.

Figure 2 illustrates how critical the hooker was to enable dwelling in the South Conamara Area. As one of my interviewees related, the hookers were used not out of the love that the people of Conamara had for them, rather they were the arteries of transport for the region, they were the life-blood of the people (11, 2013: 7.00-08.00). The hooker facilitated the carriage of fuel and materials, whilst it itself was facilitated by the sea and the wind elements. Without the bádóirí this could not have happened either. The interaction between these partners in carrying the building materials enabled people and cattle to dwell in an island environment, and thus created landscape. The same boat might carry a load of turf in the opposite direction, facilitating the earning of money (or with fish the bádóirí could earn more), which could then be used to pay for the building materials. If the bádóirí were contracted to somebody else then they were also paid. On the return journey from the Aran Islands, after delivering turf, of which Conamara had an abundance, the hooker often brought back pieces of limestone which were burned to gain lime with which to fertilise the soil. Every element human and non-human were connected. Up until the 1950s and the availability of the automobile, especially the truck, the Galway Hooker represented the primary mode of conveyance in South Conamara, of both people and goods, especially so to the west of Indreabhán. From there into Galway, there was a good track for a pony and trap, approximately 15 miles distant. Previous to this time, to have a Hooker of any class (Hooker, Leath Bháid, Gleotóg Mór nó Beag, or a Púcán), invariably meant being able to dwell. Of course this also allowed others to dwell and to facilitate a community. The Hooker owner was like the chieftain, always having a few pounds and/or bread on the table, as some of my interviews illustrate:

> 'Oh!! Rud amháin, an fear a bhí an bád mór aige fadó, mar a deirfheá, bhí punt i gcónaí aige.' (33, 2014: 6.30)
>
> 'Nó teach ar bith a bhí 'even' púcán nó gleotóg nó leath-bhád ann bhí punt ann. Bé sin chuid mhaith tithe.' (11, 2013: 12.30).

In fact the hooker owners / skippers were held in such high esteem within the community that they were sought after, 'Anyone then who had a bád could get a bean (woman) no problem, he could marry. Women would come to them... Bádóirí were looked up to and there were stories about their "feats". They had a legacy'. (01, 2013: 9.00).

Right up until the end of the Second World War the Hooker represented the relational connection between man, environment, culture and time, or the fulfilling of Heidegger's Dwelling Perspective. As an integral part of the landscape, the human cannot experience or interact with the other elements therein if sitting at home. This is not dwelling in our 'Life-world'. However our experiencing and interaction within the landscape is best facilitated through movement because as we move, so too does our surrounding space (Von Maltzahn 1994, 82). Ingold calls this movement 'wayfaring', that is movement in life and practical engagement with the environment, leading to a practical understanding of the life-world (Ingold 2011, 142-55). A. Irving Hallowell in his Ojibwa ontology, describes that for the Ojibwa, knowledge is grounded in experience not mediated between mind and nature, as these are not separated in the first place. It is rather intrinsic to the process of being alive in the world (as cited in Ingold 2000, 11). Ingold himself writes that 'This is linked to a view of personhood in which the self

Fig. 3. Map of Conamara

is seen to inhere in the unfolding of the relations set up by virtue of its positioning in an environment' (Ingold 2000, 11). The bádóir was there in the middle of all interactions in the South Conamara Region and was facilitated in this by the Galway Hooker.

The South Conamara Landscape

This landscape of South Conamara, as with all landscapes, is comprised of both animates and in-animates living together in symbiosis, or in Ingold's words, 'in a landscape, each component enfolds within its essence the totality of its relations with each and every other (Ingold 2000: 191). The men of Conamara cut their turf, footed-it to dry and brought it to the nearest accessible waterfront, by donkey and creel, cart or whatever means they had. After loading their boats, the bádóirí utilised all their tacit (learned/practical) knowledge to manoeuvre their craft in the seascape, through shallow waters and narrow passageways, that really should not have been possible, so rugged and inhospitable is the coastline. However, as described by Robinson, by little imperceptible evolutionary sequences of physical work, carried out by the generations in dwelling there, this incredibly complex coastline now contains 'endless hundreds of tiny landing stages (Robinson, 2007: 18-21), (Stones removed from the underneath the water-line were piled upon one another, thus deepening a berth and creating a landing platform all at once).

With a patience born of respect and knowledge of their craft, and of the immediate environment, the bádóirí used wind and tide to transport their cargo to Galway, the Aran Islands or to County Clare and returned with their payment. From a 'Dwelling Perspective', these Conamara bádóirí, the Hookers, the rugged coastline and the bogs of Conamara have together created a landscape which is "an enduring record of – and testimony to – the lives and the works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in so doing, have left there something of themselves" (Ingold 2000, 189).

The Hooker and Bádóir 'As One'

The Hooker and the Bádóir were 'as one'. "Bhí pride acu as a bháid... Bhí said connectálta don báid" (01, 2013: 18.00), or another bádóir on testing out a new hooker and was not at ease until a considerable time was spent adjusting the rigging, was then happy to declare to all on board 'Ah! She's talking to me now!' (17, 2014: 51.00). Another interviewee portrayed how the boat was akin to a lady in the house, always addressed as she/her, her sails were her clothes (éadaigh), the boat to them was alive. It was the only one in the village and it was seen as belonging to the whole community (07, 2013: 5.00-08.00). It's the fact that the boat creeks and groans and makes all sorts of noises, and it's a living breathing thing almost, (17, 2014: 44.00).

Intertwining is the word used by Merleau-Ponty to describe man's relationship with the landscape (cited in Wylie 2007, 151). 'The lived body' is at the core of this philosophy, seeing the body as both the basis and conduit for knowledge. Thus it required active engagement with one's environment in order to gain knowledge. This portrays how the bádóirí of Conamara gained the necessary amount of tacit knowledge to both sail and carry out the running repairs on their hookers (Wylie 2007, 148). The aesthetics of the seascape aided this intertwinning. The vast majority of interviewees were 'hooked' from the first time they set foot in the boat. Reflection on the sensory elements of the experience aids understanding of the everyday life of the bádóir in the hooker taskscape, (Strati, 1992, 1999, 200 as cited in Mack 2007, 376). Many interviewees spoke of the sight of the hooker sails in Galway Bay, but one in particular referred to many of the senses:

'I still remember how big and deep the boats were to me when I was young and the smells of oakum and natural smells in the boats ...I loved that!!! Seeing where they lit the fire and made the tea. They'd light the fire below deck and open the scuttle to leave the smoke out. When I'd hear the blocks and pulleys as they were getting the boats ready to sail, I'd ask the teacher's permission to go to the toilet and once I rounded the corner he couldn't see me and I'd stand there staring at the boat and all the preparation activity. The size of the sail then was 'unbelievable' to me. I'd try to imagine what the places the boat might be going to looked like, Árainn, Cinn

Mhara, East to Galway etc!' (01, 2013: 3.00-06.00)

Regular and repetitive working in one's taskscape creates a familiarity with that place and a sense of place, even when it is the sea. Tuan writes that one can easily appreciate the visual quality of a place, but that it takes longer to get a feel for a place. He writes that this takes constant, perhaps daily exposure to the unique blend of sights, sounds, smells and a unique harmony of natural and artificial rhythms. 'This feel is registered in one's bones and muscles' and develops a subconscious kind of knowing' (Tuan 1977, 183-4). So familiar were some of the hooker sailors with their natural environment that they could tell where they were in Galway bay by the sounds of the waves on particular rock surfaces or in particular bays or inlets on the South Conamara coastline as they sailed out from or into Galway in the pitch black of night (13, 2013: 30), 'Cloisfidh tú an sean-dream gur athainn siad chuile 'sound' a bheadh ann san oiche leis na farraigí ag briseadh i chuile cuain ó Gaillimh go Leitir Mealláin.' (13, 2013: 30).

So knowing or in-tune were the bádóir and the hooker that the tiller was almost as an extension of their muscled arm. The constant repetition of the familiar task gave them a knowledge of the necessary amount of pressure to be applied to the tiller. Bachelard wrote that action enters into the muscular consciousness after many repetitions of familiar tasks in intimate spaces. It's as if the acted upon (in this case the tiller, Bachelard wrote of a road on a hill), had muscles, or rather 'counter muscles'(Bachelard 1994, 9-11). Many of my interviewees spoke of the hooker and the bádóir being 'as one'. Yet, when one constantly repeats an exercise, it becomes so familiar that it is accepted as being understood and quite often it is not, or perhaps forgotten. One of my interviewees expressly highlighted how 'all crew members and the hooker are as one, they in fact are part of the hooker'. He related how an internationally renowned sailor and sail teacher recently spent a season on the hookers and remarked that he had 'just learned to sail again'! (06, 2014: 1.20.00)

As previously mentioned, all bádóirí had to be in a position to carry out running or minor repairs to their boats. From where did they get this tacit knowledge? Jones writes that Ingold attributes the growing up in environments created by the previous generations as resulting in children actually carrying 'the forms of their dwellings in their bodies – in specific skills, sensibilities and dispositions' (Jones 2009, 268). Many of the existing Hookers have been passed down through the generations of family. One, a 160+ year old Hooker is now being skippered by the fifth generation of the same family from Coileán in An Cheathrú Rua. All bar one of the interviewees stated that they learned how to sail informally, while in the boat with their grandfathers, fathers, brothers or uncles. Ingold writes that 'a practice is mastered and becomes part of the body's "modus operandi" through practice and experience in an environment' (Jones 2009, 268). An example of this is presented by Gísli Pálsson (1994), in explaining how young fishermen gain their 'sea legs' in Icelandic fishing boats. He writes that it is not just a case of mimicking the others on board or merely 'internalising a stock of knowledge or a cultural model', rather, they become skilful by attending to the task at hand while actively engaged with a social and natural environment (Pálsson 1994, 901-7). While a majority of my interviewees stated that anyone could learn to sail a hooker, they were all in agreement that it helps if you are in and around the boats from almost as soon as you can walk. Some were steadfast that it has to be in one's blood (02, 2013).

The Ever-evolving Landscape

Agencies affecting cultural landscape change include both climate and man. A phenomenon of landscape is its fluidity of change. As Schein put it, the landscape is always 'becoming', that is, how the landscape changes and adapts, how it is manipulated, whilst it itself manipulates life and dwelling (Schein 1997, 662). The bádóirí used landmarks to guide their craft through narrow passageways and to avoid submerged rock formations. Such local knowledge was vital in order to manoeuvre and dwell in this taskscape. However any change in the chosen landmarks, would send a badóir too close to rock formations and into peril. One example of this was the use of a chimney on a cottage in Cuigeil Bay and when correctly aligned by the bádóir, it would lead a safe passage between submerged rocks in the bay. However the cottage owner built on to his cottage and moved the chimney, throwing the alignment into disarray (09, 2013: 32.45). If the bádóir couldn't find a new landmark with the same alignment, then perhaps he would have to cease using that particular passage and thus change his taskscape. In the same interview I was told of another landmark change, where a householder after having an argument with a few of the bádóirí and he knew that they used one of his walls as a landmark for navigation. So he knocked the wall and subsequently one of the boats went up on the rocks (09, 2013: 32.00)

While living on Inis Barrachin Island, John William Seoighe's family were often subject to the sea-waters coming into their house on stormy nights. Their mother would tell them stories around the fire, trying to keep their minds off the storm. When their cousins (Muintir Uí Chonghaile) moved to Meath, they moved into the newly vacated house at the back of the Island (01, 2013: 20.00). Thus dwelling was maintained, though the landscape had changed. Another major change in the landscape and indeed the taskscape of the bádóirí was instigated by the permanent closure of the bridge at Béal a'Daingin in 1960, forcing all cargoed craft to go around Golam Head, which was a 'Bad Place' and added time and danger to their journeys (02, 2013: 42.00).

Fig. 4. Re-enactment of bringing the turf to Aran Islands & South Galway (which was the primary function of the hooker). Hooker: An Capall (pre 1845).

In South Conamara, the physical environment has changed relatively little over the last centuries, in comparison to towns and cities not 40 miles distant. Roads have improved somewhat, to a level where the carriage of goods is mainly by truck or van. Houses are bigger and electricity is widely available, however little else has changed in the environment. One must still travel to Carraroe and to Galway City for most essential services. Thus, it was with a sense of deep understanding that one of the youngest of all my interviewees spoke of the unchanging nature of the physical environment in Conamara, where it remains master over man, rather than the other way around, which is the common elsewhere. He says that the people of South Conamara have a deep respect for the environment, with a name for every field, lake and stone. There was a story in relation to each because the people understood that they were dependant on the environment (03, 2013: 25.20). Basso explores this concept, describing how man must embrace the countryside and become aware of the complex attachments that link him to features of the physical world. Through this awareness of place and identity, man actually understands himself more as it is through his interanimation with the environment that landscape is enacted (Basso 1996, 106-8). O'Donoghue speaks of this also, saying that to bring your body out into the landscape is to bring it home to where it belongs, and through this 'The outer landscape becomes a metaphor for the unknown inner landscape', (O'Donoghue 2009, 3.00-04.30). Similarly, Chief Seattle's reply to the 'Great White Chief' in Washington who had made an offer to buy Native American lands in 1854 contained; 'This we know - the Earth does not belong to man - man belongs to the Earth. This we know. All things are connected like the blood which unites one family. All things are connected. Whatever befalls the Earth - befalls the sons of the Earth. Man did not weave the web of life - he is merely a strand in it. Whatever he does to the web, he does to himself' (Jefferson 2001).

Conclusion

From the Aboriginal's 'Walkabout', to Ingold's 'Wayfaring', From Heidegger's 'Dwelling' to Merleau-Ponty's 'Intertwining' and onto O'Donoghues 'Pilgrimage' it's clear that, not alone was the bádóir of Conamara, but that the Hooker itself was, in the words of Mac Cárthaigh, 'Evocative beyond mere words, in fine weather or in foul, they are Conamara, Conamara is them, indivisible' (Mac Cárthaigh 2007, 151). Is beagnach go dtéann Húicéirí agus Conamara isteach in aon focail amháin ar aon nós. "Sílim gur ionann iad; Conamara a thug ann an Húicéara agus nuair a bhí an Húicéara ann thóg sé slán Chonamara" (11, 2013: 46.25).

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Disciplinary relationships and landscape values: star vehicles or ensemble pieces?

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In order to address complex subjects such as the environment, climate change, and sustainable development it has long been accepted that cross disciplinary ways of working are prerequisites for effective action (see for example, Bhaskar et al 2010). These topics are simply too complicated, too multi-layered and – perhaps - too open to contestation - for them to belong firmly within the knowledge and skills framework of any individual professional discipline. Landscape, which is often presented as a space in which different disciplines need to work together, also falls within this category particularly when viewed through the holistic interpretation advocated by the European Landscape Convention (ELC). As the signatory countries and territories of the convention come to terms with what this means in practice it is perhaps timely now to explore the challenges that these concepts present both for practitioners and researchers within the different disciplines that contribute to the 'wide semantic field' of landscape (Ray 2016, 26).

A quick overview of the 2013 Uniscape 'Landscape & Imagination' conference shows that papers from university departments of architecture, landscape architecture and engineering together account for half of all contributions – with architecture alone accounting for more than one third of the total - suggesting that the built environment is a dominant theme in landscape, at least as important as cultural studies or the natural environment (Newman et al 2013). Does this suggest that there are one or two 'lead' professions with the agency to set parameters for landscape and around which others should gather in order to be effective? Or should each discipline remain deliberately within the rigour or its own scholarship, drawing on its own claims to knowledge and exercising its own practitioner skills and competencies?

Indeed, to carry out a thorough analysis of the various disciplines that concern themselves with landscape is problematic for a number of reasons. For example, the ways in which different professions or fields of study define themselves (or the categories and sub-categories that apply to them) are continuously changing both within their own disciplinary frames and from country to country. Also, where some disciplines – such as landscape architecture or cultural geography - identify very strongly with landscape as a field of study and action, others - such as politics, law and engineering - which might not address landscape questions head-on (or give them priority) may have very direct day-to-day impacts on landscape processes and outcomes.

Disciplines working together, separately

In North America and Europe, professionals in the environmental arena have been working together in formal ways for over half a century. The official incorporation of environmental impact assessment (EIA) and, more recently, strategic environmental assessment (SEA), into statute-based regulation of development projects and appraisal of plans and strategies respectively has meant that disciplines are well used to working together in analysing and reporting possible impacts on people, air and water quality, landscape, flora and fauna and other indicators. But to what extent is this work simply a 'side-by-side juxtaposition of different types of knowledge' (Frodeman 2014, 3) in which each discipline contributes a well-researched chapter – validated according to its own norms and orthodoxies – to a collected work combined only by a common introduction, executive summary and conclusion? At best, this is *multi-disciplinarity*; a process where representative contributors from a range of different professions – usually only one from each discipline - produce independent pieces of work without stepping outside their own disciplinary boundaries.

Whilst this might be a rational way of working that meets regulatory requirements it throws up a number of fundamental issues. For example, do individuals from the different disciplines interrogate (or even read) each other's work or do they leave it up to a co-ordinating discipline to adjudicate on the relative importance of the different inputs? How does this co-ordinating discipline take on board the intellectual tensions and different perspectives that naturally exist within any one discipline when compiling the final multidisciplinary report? And how can the different forms of knowledge – such as quantifiable, physical landscape indicators on the one

hand and value-based, culturally-informed qualitative information on the other - be synthesised in effective ways to assist the decision-maker?

For landscape, the dangers of increased specialisation and segregation of knowledge found in this kind of multi-disciplinarity can be profound. The author's own discipline –urban and regional or spatial planning (which, like landscape, has practical and scholarly traditions in the hard sciences, the humanities and the social sciences) – has a long track record of dealing with these kind of issues. Like landscape problems, planning problems are real-life ones that affect actual places and actual people. And according to the planning theorist Heather Campbell, planning issues are not straightforward; they are contested: *'...they are contested in their process and they are contested in their outcomes. In making choices about places, different knowledges and lived experiences rub up against one another, raising questions about whose knowledge constitutes proof, and, indeed, what constitutes proof, and when, where and how such knowledge should be deployed'* (Campbell 2002, 278).

This contestation is perhaps the crucial challenge for all disciplines. What is methodologically sound, scholarly based and technically precise in one discipline may be naïve and simplistic in another. And, indeed, the normative or ethical frame in which each discipline operates may differ in small ways or in large.

Crossing disciplinary boundaries

In a clear challenge to the kind of idealism about joint working found in the ELC, the planning writer Simin Davoudi, in teasing out the difference between similar-sounding concepts such as multidisciplinarity, interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity, warns about 'disciplinary tribalism', points out that 'disciplinary structuring is so deep that it is difficult to overcome just by good intentions' and suggests that nevertheless that 'there is value to be gained from moving across disciplinary boundaries; not least because complex societal challenges do not respect disciplinary boundaries' (Davoudi 2010, 33).

In simple terms then, *interdisciplinary* ways of working go beyond just seeing problems from multiple perspectives: it allows people to move into new spaces between disciplines and to modify their understanding and to create new perspectives and knowledge. With adequate time and resources this new way of working can be relatively straightforward; at least for disciplines that have a shared scientific or methodological outlook. In the right circumstances for example, civil and environmental engineers can learn from - and find common cause with - ecologists and biologists on issues to do with sustainable design in river systems and drainage catchments. Current innovative thinking on green infrastructure therefore might not have emerged from any one discipline working alone.

Yet this cognate interdisciplinarity has its limitations especially where different disciplines directly or indirectly challenge one another. In the realm of landscape values – where questions of common good and environmental ethics often arise - this can become problematic. Some disciplines (such as planning for example or political science) have a much longer experience of engaging with communities and questions of social justice than others and so are much less likely than to advocate 'integrated systems approaches' to landscape or environmental issues (as many engineers and scientists still do) most likely because such approaches – in planning terms at least - have been seen to fail spectacularly in the past. (Taylor 1998, 72-73). A more challenging – and arguably more creative – space for disciplines to work in is often described as *'transdisciplinarity'* or *'pluri-disciplinarity'* where different disciplines 'problematize and challenge each other' (Davoudi 2010, 33) and lead to 'the co-production of knowledge' (Frodeman 2014, 7)

Disciplinary interactions in landscape character assessment

The three main stages of the landscape character assessment method currently recommended for planning authorities in Ireland (DoEHLG 2000) can, in some ways, be seen as a reflection of these different ways of working across disciplines. The first phase, the identification of areas of common type or character can be seen perhaps as an exercise in a *multidisciplinary* compilation of factual information and knowledge about places by professionals from different fields: topography, land cover, land uses, rates of change, the presence of artefacts of various kinds including archaeology and built heritage, the degree of urbanisation, the extent of viewsheds, visual units and landmarks. This form of work is linear, methodical and, depending on the technology and resources available, it is largely non-problematic and non-controversial. The second phase - the description of landscape character - is an *interdisciplinary* project primarily because it involves the concept of *values*, a

landscape indicator that does not lend itself to the language or methods of any one discipline. Creating this new perspective of values involves a synthesis of cultural, aesthetic, economic, environmental and geographic information all validated through participation, engagement and dialogue. When done well, this is generated by the various disciplines – together with other stakeholders - in a shared space beyond the disciplinary boundaries. The final stage – the identification of sensitivity of landscapes – appears to be the most problematic and the most challenging of all by raising political and economic questions about the acceptability of change. By also raising questions about power dynamics and perceptions of equity in society, it goes beyond the competencies of any one discipline or even those of different disciplines working together: it requires new forms of knowledge and priorities (some of which can be generated and negotiated perhaps from the earlier phases of multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary work) and engagement on the level of ethics and values.

Reflective practice: challenges of working together

For effective working between disciplines along these lines it would be desirable for each participant to be conscious of the boundaries, values and potential for the discipline; not only of his or her own discipline but also for those of all other participants. This in turn raises questions for initial professional education and for how continuing professional development addresses cross-disciplinary approaches to problem solving. This goes beyond mere professional codes of conduct and behaviour. For a field such as landscape there is the particular added dimensions of public and community participation which are increasingly seen as crucial to the discourse around values and democratic validation. In these circumstances there is a common good or public service aspect to decision-making about landscape issues.

There may then be discernible differences between how each discipline thinks about what it is seeking to achieve 'either as a motivating intention or a desired objective or both' (Upton 2002, 254).

There will undoubtedly be tensions when disciplines work together on a common problem or challenge. Whilst some disciplines may be inclined to take the lead and a more prominent role in certain areas of landscape work. And, whilst the creative potential for working across boundaries is attractive, care should also be taken not to create a new discipline out of interdisciplinarity itself (Frodeman 2014, 54). In the meantime, for landscape and other complex areas of study, three questions about disciplines seem to be emerging:

- How do we deal with situations in which current thinking in one discipline is directly at odds with that of another (- the learning gap)?
- How can we resolve relative differences in how the 'voices' and ethical positions of different disciplines are heard in public discourse and decision-making (- the power gap)?
- What are the prospects for evidence or research findings gathered in one discipline to be persuasive in other disciplines (- the knowledge gap)?

These questions will continue to challenge us, especially as the broad field of landscape becomes more and more grounded in public discourse and policy-making. For any kind of joint working and joint learning between and across the disciplines that engage with landscape it remains an important pre-requisite that people are sure of their own disciplinary ground to start with; that the values, ethical basis, methods and theoretical frameworks of each discipline can be explained, argued for and understood; and that traditional assumptions about other cognate disciplines are continually re-assessed.

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Peeping through the walls

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Introduction

In his book, John Wylie (2007) listed the tension between the observable and the inhabitable as one of the main conflicts landscapes – and landscape studies – should address. In this paper [1]let me take this tension literally and focus on the landscape meaning and practices of military places; how these places are currently understood by local people. Are they (still) seen as hostile landscapes of the other, or are the memories of the past being buried under the layers of time? The key-word for all cases is re-domestication, creation of a completely new meaning for the landscape that helps people to deal with the past

First – Käsmu

This story begins sometime in June 1987 in Käsmu, northern Estonia. I had taken my final exams at secondary school in Rakvere, 42 km from here, I had just got my driver's license, I had somehow got hold of my parents' Lada, of course I had picked up some girls and came here, to the top of the peninsula, to meet the sunrise – about 4 am. A romantic moment was spoiled by a Soviet border guard who stepped out from behind a boulder and in a very convincing tone suggested that we leave immediately – this was a restricted area, a border zone. He was kind enough not to arrest us – some years earlier we had come to Käsmu on a winter night and some of us got into serious trouble with the border guards. Being in the border zone – that included everything north of the Tallinn-Narva highway – without special permit was crime.

Theoretical background

In Eastern European landscapes the layers created by the political changes of the 20th century are much more visible than anywhere else (Palang et al. 2006). Mostly we have departed from Cosgrove (1984) who showed how each socio-economic formation tries to create its own landscape. He (ibid. xiv) argued that landscape history should be understood as part of the wider history of economy and society. So every socio-economic formation tries to create its own landscape, by wiping off the land the uses and symbolic values of previous formations and replacing these with its own. The emergence of the Soviet military landscapes can be understood as an outside interference within the "natural development" of landscape in Estonia. They were created to enforce the new political order, and thereby were always perceived alien by the local population; the fence surrounding the military base was a border between two different worlds.

Most studies explore military areas after the soldiers are gone. The Bonn International Center for Conversion is dedicated to promoting and facilitating peace and development; Davis (2005) gave an insight into how the Bikini atoll has been changed into a tourist site. Many (see *GeoJournal* special issue 2007) have delved into different environmental issues, with Davis (2007) arguing that while usually military areas are seen as extremely polluted or with badly damaged nature, the truth is often the opposite – the military usually influence just a fraction of the territory they control and nature has plenty of space in the verges. Davis (2008) invites a reader on a walk: 'Walk with me on Orford Ness. Walk where those who once belonged were men of science and war: secluded men, men testing bombs, guns and armour, men developing radar, men protecting information. Walk where all who now belong are rare species of bird, insect and plant; species whose habitats are protected. Walk with me along the narrow path laid out for visitors like you, by the National Trust, and do not stray where you do not belong.' But there seems to be no view from a military base to the surroundings ...

Second – Rehagen

Let me invite the reader to a Soviet military base in Germany. Place: Rehagen, time: winter 1989.

In the Soviet army recruits were not asked questions, they were sent were someone had decided. Being an Estonian in the Soviet army in Germany is a weird feeling: you are doing to them – the Germans – the same thing the Soviets are doing to us. You can't identify yourself with that army, it's not your army, but somebody else's, but still you are part of it and if something happens, the enemy does not care.

On the Google Earth image from 2005 Rehagen looks deserted. One user has put up a photograph titled Tote Straße – the dead street. An unused cobblestone road,

unused 5-storey apartment blocks on both sides. Another one has uploaded a photo titled Roter stern – the red star – of the locked gates of the base, buried in autumn leaves. And there are two photos of the old railway station – but the tracks are rusty and the platform overgrown with grass.

In 1989 it was all different. Trains ran, apartment blocks were inhabited and the fence stood strong. The fence, although not guarded, was high and provided security – and it is difficult to figure out afterwards who needed this security more, those inside or those outside. The fence was a physical barrier, but much more a mental one. It was a Soviet military base in Germany, a remnant of an occupying power on an occupied land. The Germans were always referred to as fascists in the everyday conversations of the soldiers, or fritzes, when the day was good. These ones were perhaps not that dangerous, but still a fence would be good to keep them away. The fence was a language barrier: the soldiers were trained to shout "Halt zurück!" while on guard, but that was about all the language knowledge they had. Soldiers, not officers, were not normally let out of the fence, the exception being the morning exercise – a 3km run around the fenced area – and a rare case of a field exercise somewhere else. The morning run was noisy: imagine half a thousand young men running in their boots, singing, or rather roaring, at 6 o'clock in the morning, and imagine the locals trying to sleep ...

Still the fence united. There were trade routes – excess gasoline, tools, perhaps some more gadgets found a way out for exchange of east marks. There were rumours that all local cars run on the petrol smuggled out of the military base and there are enterprises that depend heavily on the 'imports' from behind the fence – but no one knew for sure.

We knew everything that happened in the West German air space. The planchetist – a soldier sitting behind a Plexiglas screen – drew the trajectories of alien airplanes on the grid map in mirror script, so that the officer on guard could easily see it from the other side. We saw the passenger planes approaching one of the three air corridors stretching out of West Berlin; we knew a weather balloon would be released at a certain time somewhere close to the border and then we had to be alert as the wind could carry the balloon across the border and we had to report this immediately; and late night there was usually just one single AWACS up there making its way north towards the Baltic or coming back from another mission. But we did not know anything that happened in the village, in East Germany or elsewhere in the world. 1989 was a time of change, but the fence withstood that wind.

In 2011 I´m back in Germany. Amazed by the length of concrete walls on the roadside – kilometres of them. In places like Wünsdorf (which then had a direct train connection to Moscow), Zossen, Rehagen, Sperenberg etc. Behind the walls there are trees, and ruins, of course.

Across the street there is life. People live next to the ruins, as they did in 1989. A workshop with large doors, obviously a legacy of the Soviet army, with 'DMB Gomel vesna 90' in large letters on the rugged wall. A huge black Mercedes is parked there, doors are open and some men, about 50 years old, are working. They definitely remember 1989. Is that the practical sense that does not let emotions interfere?

In Rehagen, parts of the former military base have been bulldozed down. The buildings are destroyed, but old trees still mark the alleys and marchways. The old headquarters are restored, and next to it a new real estate development is launched – a completely new place is being created.

Back to Estonia

'In 1971, the Soviet writers Arkady and Boris Strugatsky published a science fiction short novel titled 'Piknik na obochine' (Roadside picnic). The novel describes aliens having visited the Earth and then departed, leaving behind all sorts of pieces of their advanced technology, which are then picked up by the people living nearby. The visitation zones were under military control, but stalkers still managed to sneak into the zone and bring out all sorts of gadgets. A theory arises that the Zones and artefacts can be thought of as evidence of an extraterrestrial "roadside picnic" – after the picnickers depart, nervous animals (i.e. humans) venture forth from the forest and discover the spilled motor oil, balloons, candy wrappers, and other detritus. The Soviet film-maker A. Tarkovsky based his movie *The Stalker* on this text.

I used this paragraph in another paper (Palang and Rammos, forthcoming) that explored how the local inhabitants in Estonia coped with two Soviet military bases after the military had left. We ended up in some sort of confusion there. Wylie, in his disciplinarily-biased, but otherwise excellent book, describes the opposition between landscape observation and inhabitation. One of

the military bases we studied, Pärispea, was built by the Soviets on lands formerly used by the locals – an inhabited landscape was turned into an observable one – observable through or over a fence. And when the Soviets left, the locals still observe the landscape unable to decide how to re-inhabit it. The other base, Kangru, was built on a land that was rarely used before – observed perhaps. But when the Soviets left, a residential area was built there and the landscape got inhabited. In interviews, the new residents did not pay much attention to the military past of the area, but considered it home.

In another study (Kõivupuu, Printsmann and Palang, 2010) we interviewed local people on the northern coast of Estonia, about the life in the border zone:

> *-How did you get to the sea during the regime times? Did you have a barbed wire fence?*
>
> *- No, we didn't have wired barriers, we had a thread fence with poles inserted – in old times there were similar fence around apple yards, three laths and spruce branches woven in between, then you cut the small branches and you had a fence – these times are gone now – cobnut sticks, young birches they were poking in around 10 cm, even a chicken didn't go to the sea, we didn't fear that our chickens would go to the sea and they didn't go to Finland either. Now all the boats have been unlocked and no one went to Finland, everyone's still here. But back then they were frightened. Then they were in pain. Here in 1949 they broke the lock of a boat that belonged to the brother of my wife. They took the license to go to the sea. They didn't give it back before he and his friends broke the boat. Then they gave the license back. That's the way they harassed us- we had nothing to do.*

We thought one could assume a certain sense of hostility towards these military areas, or at least bad memories. However, there were many stories around about how the soldiers helped locals do the field work in summer time, and how life was safer and easier when the border regime was still there – better control and less crime.[2] The study about Kangru, referred to above revealed the that people are getting over it. Raukas (2006, 46) concludes his introduction to the inventory of environmental damages with a paragraph:

> "*the former military bases were built here by an alien power, to defend a country that was not ours, and at the same time to display the power of that state, as a reminder – we are here and we are not afraid to use power. But now these landscapes are abandoned, buildings are empty. The military bases have lost their former meaning, and now they are just a silent monument to the past*".

This conciliation came out also from our interviews: the past is over, the ideology that was there is gone, so the meaning is indeed lost. They are just decayed buildings, not buildings of the enemy. They are not ours yet either. This attitude is also described by Kõivupuu et al (2010) who argue that the military heritage is ignored both by the locals and the authorities and should be incorporated into the present-day landscape and heritage discourse, as it might have some tourist value.

Final words

Let me draw the final lines in two directions. First, the cultural semiotician Lotman (2009) has urged the creation of links with the past. The key point in his model is that after a qualitative change (which he calls 'explosion') the culture must be able to describe its own change. During the explosion itself this sort of describing is impossible. If a culture is able to describe the explosion, the pre-explosion becomes part of the culture, if not, the link is lost. As demonstrated, the Soviet military landscapes definitely were not part of the Estonian cultural realm during the Soviet times – are we now able to create that link?

Second, the line between the observable and the inhabitable. The first refers to an aesthetic category the second to a livable arena. The fence around a military installation made this distinction clear. For those inside it was inhabitable, an arena of everyday life with its routines and rules and place names etc. For an outsider it was merely observable – well, sometimes. Now when this division is down – can we cope with it? Yes we can – we forget the bad, redefine the places and just keep the good memories. Or, as Cosgrove (1984) once put it – places "wither out".

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Notes

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[2] For instance, Vahtre (2010: 238 and 255) describes a court case where two Soviet military who were accused of murdering a man explained that they did it partly because the local inhabitants treated Soviet soldiers so badly. The judge replied with a rhetorical remark about whether in their opinion this sort of behaviour helped to change those attitudes. In Russia, as many correspondents in Tammer (2010, 471) remember, locals treated soldiers like their own sons and problems like the one described before did not happen.

Landscape Project as Place and Praxis: Silent Process

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We conceive of landscape as an individual experience, we feel the environment that surrounds us, we experience space-territory in a personal way, loaded with meanings and memories, with commonplace moments; but at the same time we need the public gaze of a social landscape capable of validating the meaning of our personal development.

This essay has taken as its starting point the concept of 'silence', a word derived from the Latin 'silere', meaning to keep quiet: to be silent in order to hear better, in order to listen to the sound of the world. Silence in the sense of a space capable of accommodating sounds and absences in this dual appreciation of a social and a personal landscape, the absence of intentional sounds (John Cage). 'Silence' is also understood as the boundary between growth and development, between production and consumption (collective 'silence'). 'Silence' as an initial premise for making a pause, for perceiving differential elements, for listening to what is usually missed, what goes unnoticed. 'Silence' as a necessary prerequisite for a perception of the transformations of territory. 'Silence' to delight the senses and to justify a whole series of multidisciplinary projects. The sphere of silence is replete with sounds that we can discover. The world is an increasingly noisy place, of growing contrasts, where it is more and more difficult for man to relate to nature. It therefore becomes necessary to understand that distancing oneself from 'silence' can be dangerous and devastating. 'There is no doubt that we have succeeded in dominating nature to an undreamed-of degree, but we have not been capable of dominating our dominion over nature' (Marshall D. Sahlins).

'Silence' as a place where we can project a series of questions, where we can explore the patient capacity of human beings to listen to the music of the landscape, to perceive and extract from 'silence' the harmony or conflicts in its composition and projects and to discover the forms of silence.

'You have to lose yourself in order to start listening. You have to create silence when listening and looking in order to discover the forms of silence. Silence is written, it offers itself to be listened to. In musical notation silence is a symbol, and every note symbol has its corresponding silent symbol, the symbol of a rest. A symbol that measures silence. In verbal language silence is also notated. So suspension dots (three points) leave the discourse hanging, they suspend it. But the value of these dots depends on the word that precedes them. Both silence in language and the silence that is introduced in music tend to be breathings that demand attention. Breathing will create the gap in which our attention can unfold. Silence is therefore like a sigh, the name used in the eighteenth-century French tradition to refer to a crotchet rest in music. A crotchet rest is a 'sigh' (soupir), a quaver rest is 'half a sigh' (demi-soupir), a semiquaver rest is 'a quarter of a sigh' (quart de soupir)... And in that sighing it may be possible to change the way we listen, to transform our ear. Learning to listen, learning to listen to silence and sound, will lead to self-modification. This, as is well known, is the lesson we are offered by the American composer John Cage, who taught us in a masterly manner to listen to the forms of silence, forms which require us to destroy the notation of language, of memory, to show that silence and sound are always continuous with each other'(Carmen Pardo).

But culture changes, and so do technical resources and relationships with physical forms of territory constantly adapting themselves to people's needs and interests, to the fact, on the one hand, that space is physically constructed, and to universal biological needs. Perhaps these are what we need to recognize as the primary basic requirements for listening to the Landscape. 'Man does not invent the landscape, but he is active within it together with nature, in its availability, in its dictates in relation to what man asks of it' (Eugenio Turri).

'Landscape' is a fashionable concept, one of those words that are used so often to define different things that they themselves begin to be indefinable. It is common to begin any reflection on landscape by emphasizing the complexity of the term. But this complexity, if it exists, is recent. 'Landscape' is a modern concept which for centuries was confined to denoting a genre of painting dedicated to depicting the aesthetic values of a country.[i]

Where, then, does the complication come from? Probably from the very modernity of the term. Although the ideology of modernity proclaimed the harmonious development of the great spheres of human knowledge (the scientific or gnoseological, the juridical or ethical and the artistic or aesthetic), the fact is that their historical development was clearly biased towards the promotion of applied rationality. Aesthetics – the real Cinderella of progress – was soon put forward as a counterweight to this dystrophic development. That is why nowadays, when that utilitarian reason threatens the equilibrium not only of the powers of the soul but of the planet itself, many of the groups concerned about the devastation wrought by regarding the land in exclusively pragmatic terms see landscape as a tool with which to reclaim an appreciation of our surroundings without reference to its utility.[ii] So we encounter the paradox that a term which arose as a way of fostering a non-pragmatic disposition of the spirit has turned into a tool of utility for geographers, architects, biologists, economists, politicians, etc.

The complication does not end there. What has just been said does not mean that we think these professions have spuriously appropriated a term that properly belongs to art; firstly because concepts obviously are not (or should not be) subject to property rights; and secondly because art, by virtue of its aforementioned critical disposition against the course modernity has taken, has become by inclination a place of refuge for all those activities that see their survival threatened in a utilitarian world. In other words, even if we wished to ignore the drift in usage of the term 'landscape' and confine ourselves to the strictly artistic sphere, we would come up against the fact that few things are more strictly artistic than to transcend the limits of the strictly artistic towards areas which are at the borders of viability in mercantile capitalism.

This transdisciplinary inclination in art is related to its bad conscience. Ever since Marx declared that the duty of the intellectual was not to interpret the world but to change it, art has felt uncomfortable operating exclusively in the sphere of representation. This leads us to a further paradox: despite the fact that it provides conceptual tools – such as landscape – valued by all critics of the system, art feels – probably as a result of the very pressure and anxiety of utilitarianism – that its contribution to change is slight and it longs for a greater degree of 'activism': it is no longer enough just to paint a landscape, you have to

change it; the image loses confidence in its own ability to bring about change and tends to become a record of a more 'real' activity.

At this point we must recognize that there is a inherent complexity in the concept of landscape that does not depend on its historical circumstances. A landscape is a representation of the beauty or the aesthetic interest (or lack of interest) of a land. But in its turn, and for that reason, it also identifies a (material or immaterial) characteristic of that same land that is capable of being appreciated from a particular viewpoint. A landscape is, at the same time, a representation and the thing represented (always bearing in mind that the thing represented is not the land but a particular way of seeing it). That is why since the term originated two basic possible ways of 'making' the landscape have been envisaged: either by intervening in it in situ, or by altering the way it is perceived or regarded; in other words, intervening in visu. The 'performative' tendency of contemporary art, already commented upon, has recently favoured in situ landscape depiction at the expense of the traditional esteem accorded to representation in visu. However, this tendency seems no less paradoxical, since it is obvious that now, more than ever, our real (social, physical, economic) landscape is being shaped by types of behaviour intimately connected with the culture of images. Landscapes are sculpted by habits, and never before have these been so strongly influenced by appearances. Never has aesthetics been so important to the social approval of public actions, and yet never has aesthetics had so little faith in its own potential, to the point of committing itself to acts at the expense of actions.[iii]

Having reduced the triad landscape-architecture-art to two spheres of development, we could still find a lowest common denominator for the two of them, which we might perhaps deduce from the fourth element involved. Returning to the subject of the complexity of landscape, we cannot forget our most immediate context. The Canary Islands are a territory that is basically dependent on exploiting not only the land but also the landscape, that is to say the aesthetic values associated with it in the paradigmatic context of the industry of leisure, pleasure and desire. Major infrastructure brings in customers and workers from a globalised world, as well as the goods and services they demand, profoundly altering the land/landscape. But this industry, in turn, is built on the imaginary of desirable habits both in terms of wellbeing and pleasure (for the customer) and success and progress (for the supplier). This combination of actions in visu and in situ has altered the territory of the Canaries more in the last few years than in the rest of its history.

The landscape is a product of culture, and therefore cannot be preserved or returned to a 'natural' state. If we find certain landscapes more 'authentic' than others nowadays it is not because coastal fishing or local agriculture are more 'endemic' than tourism. But the fact is that for centuries the country was shaped by the rhythm of socioeconomic activities linked to natural cycles, which, in turn, were supposedly connected to an immutable divine order that determined both everyday habits and special celebrations. The countryman had time to identify with his country. Nowadays our technical and mental capacity to change physical, economic or cultural reality is such that the changes take place at a pace which makes it difficult to assimilate their form and, of course, to evaluate their desirability. Indeed, going back to Baudelaire, we might well identify modernity with the nostalgia ('spleen') produced by progress which advances at a pace that exceeds our ability to identify with it. We cannot hope to go back to a hypothetical primordial landscape, but we must bear in mind that the landscape demands, on the one hand, a non-consumptive treatment of the land, and, on the other, the conditions necessary to project onto it a feeling of belonging.

In order to recover our agency over our own acts and actions in the social landscape we need a time out, a pause to allow us to perceive the imbrication between our points of view and the scenarios that enable us to look and be seen; a certain silence that can allow us to listen to the relationships between what we say, what we leave unsaid, what we pay attention to, and the landscape generated by the murmur of our acts. A silence that will allow us to listen to the many things that need to be said and to appreciate the discrepancy between progress and development, production and creation, consumption and satisfaction.

Silence for the enjoyment of the senses, to facilitate the interaction of human beings with their surroundings. Silence to halt, at least for a few minutes, the vertiginous pace of the production/consumption cycle. Silence as the profound instant in which we can discover and analyse the sounds of contemporary society and find the path to great things. A silence in which man feels empowered to create new criteria for analysis and thought and recognice

instruments, tools and new device:

First Device, Three memory machine
Isola dei morti, il Piave

On the banks of the Piave River, at the foot of Montello, an expanse of gravel becomes, in October 1918, the scene of a battle between the most significant of the Great War. This will place a name - the Isle of the Dead - and the attitude of a memorial that intend to keep alive the memory of the many soldiers in crossing the river at that place, have seen their lives disrupted. In this framework, in which elements such as history, memory devices, relationships of affection, the river and its natural environment are intertwined and are renewed today, it is interesting to point out the need to look at this' 'island' as a 'landscape' and that is the result of a process capable of expressing in a vital presence and the value of these events long gone.

The theme of the Great War that at this time we celebrate a centennial can thus become a stimulus to build tools and innovative looks of places that are likely to dissolve under the weight of rhetoric or indifference to the contexts without which appears useless simple conservation of artifacts and individual material evidence. The Benetton Foundation, with its wealth of studies on memorial sites, especially with the experience 'Outstanding Places' conducted from 2007 to 2012 and the current research on topics cartographic 'The geography is used to make war? 'he wanted to keep working with these task of designing an experimental nature of this area.

Device islands as:

- An opportunity for effective exchange with the area in question and its partners with a 'share' that, with passion and knowledge, surveys and debates, have offered a wealth of information and a witness aware of the problems encountered.
- An experience of multidisciplinary nature, in which they had a chance to interact among professionals: architects, geographical, photographers, historians ..., sitting together at the same table in a cross-disciplinary thinking and a high-profile expertise technique.
- A simulation, recognized as such, but capable of expressing strategies tied to an operation of the future through a vision of possible scenarios.
- A reflection from: being able to understand the complexity of the territory and its elements (vegetation, water, signs / traces legacy of history), proposing that each of them is the protagonist of a part of the whole.

Designing the island of the dead does not mean so much to be able to have its final image, understand what an effective methodology to be able to give a general overview of issues related to different scales, not so much the answers.

- Three islands where the general reading of the whole is conceived as the study found three elements, vegetation, water, signs / traces legacy of history, individually and together, they offer a reflection, a new map, a device, a 'frame 'able to highlight individual problem is a large scale than in continuity with a reference scale nearest to the island of the dead, in the form of the project.

Second Device - Momentum project for ROME.
Nuvola Llupona

The proposal of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria University GROUP named MOMENTUM PROJECT, corresponding to the quadrant 14 of the grid proposed by ROMA 20-25 Council of Rome and Museum MAXXI, is based on the emerges from the reading and the interpretation of the Area throw a Nuvola : LUPONA as divice operator as strategy for the Momentum project. The Project Place Rome 2025 in the European Green Belt (EGB) through a system of parks defined by the geomorphological structure of Rome, connected with the Apennines and with a structure that reproduces a random plantation that will grow and develop based on contemporaries geographical and social parameters. It will be placed and articulated at the junction of the Parks located in the quadrant 14 of Rome 2025, Nomentum and Gattaceca. Enhance, deepen and rationalize the structures and the peculiar characters of Nomentum, Gattaceca, Marcigliana and Inviolata parks as generators of a system of perceptive relations, of uses, activities, communication and mobility with Rome and its metropolitan condition, starting from its own reorganization, requalification, and through the creation of new alternatives to the Via Nomentana with its necessary ramifications (Palombarese).

The transverse connection between the Nomentum natural reserve, Mentana, Monterotondo, Gattaceca and Autostrada del Sole, is articulated through strategies on different scales: starting from the re-proposition of a 'normative horizon' that generates a visible environmental scenario of constructions of quality, to the implementation of a tertiary HUB: the disk of Mentana

with territorial-Metropolitan range. This implementation is connected with the highway as an urban gate, starting from that point will be deployed the transport and communication stations. In this complex area defined by parks, fields and olive trees plantations located between settlements such as Sant' Angelo Romano and Mentana, we propose a productive landscape as Analogous Landscape: with the physical and functional architectural structure of the territory, with the un-urban experience at the disciplinary level of countryside and city relationship and its adaptation and new-technological development and at a symbolic level with the archetype of natural, the tree of life.

The necessary urban re-qualification of building quality, concerning its layout and public spaces of Fonte Nuova, Colleverde, Santa Lucia, arises as a strategy that generates a dynamic landscape, reshaping the internal limits of this dispersed city *(Limes vs Limen).* It is a tactic of localized calligraphic actions that, through cross-scale transformations, draws a new landscape. In this environment aimed to be urban and energy-efficient in its relationship with Marcigliana and Inviolata parks, sustainability is ensured by adding a set of energy systems, accomplishing the creation of an urban ecological landscape; together with the implementation of a new Forum located in the Inviolata natural reserve, with the capacity to host major events. This new landscape is performed by projecting a carved valley between two hills, one reforested and the other one created with residual areas, a controlled landfill transformed into the observatory of the whole orographic system. To subtract and to accumulate, to tread and fill, to innovate with the territorial production cycles from the MOMENTUM PROJECT.

Notes

[i] Landscape requires a 'land' (a given territory or milieu, whether real or metaphorical) and a '...scape': 'there has to be an eye – a representation – that observes the whole, and a feeling has to be generated that interprets it emotionally and assigns it culturally'.

[ii] In the last century all branches of knowledge have seen their practices evolve from 'syntactic' approaches (knowledge of the inner structure of their object of study), via 'semantic' approaches (knowledge of the meaning of those structures that are the object of study), towards 'pragmatic' approaches (knowledge of how those objects of study operate and have meaning in complex, variable cultural contexts). This gradually increasing interest in context at the expense of 'text' has fostered a proliferation in the use of the term 'landscape', designed to highlight the fact that any human activity, however autonomous it may seem, takes place within a physical and mental structure that includes a dense network of affects and precepts. And indeed landscape is not just a place but a set of interpretations, projections and feelings associated with that place, and it therefore constructs a system of articulated elements which include objective and subjective realities.

[iii] Our 'performative' mentality tends to make us believe that great historical transformations are due to acts (datable in time and locatable in space, traditionally regarded as 'masculine' and characteristic of the public sphere), but in actual fact it is social actions (temporally prolonged and spatially dispersed, traditionally considered to be 'feminine' and characteristic of the private sphere) that really transform the environment. The world is littered with the ruins of proud and supposedly everlasting monuments, but it is still built on insubstantial, immaterial images that sustain our desires and behaviour.

Mind the Gap: The Need for Re-Conceptualization of the Aesthetic Dimension in Landscape Character Assessment and Planning

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Introduction

When we look at the discourse on how to protect certain landscapes, we may notice there is a gap–one that is not often discussed–between aesthetic theory and the actual approach in practical landscape protection and planning. This situation is clearly visible in the case of the methodology for landscape character assessment in the Czech Republic where one can encounter vague and uninformed aesthetic terms, and, moreover, where many aesthetic motivations are in fact hidden. But if theory is not reflected, what is lost to practice is confidence and to discourse the meaningful language needed to share the value of our experience in landscape, both of which can have serious social consequences. I will discuss the main inconsistencies and possibilities of how to overcome them.

Knowledge attained by aesthetics as a discipline differs from the actual *approach* to aesthetic aspects in practical landscape protection. Although it is not a problem limited to protection efforts in the Czech Republic, this paper will focus on landscape character protection and assessment methodologies in Czech. Czech law defines landscape character as '*especially the natural, cultural, and historic characteristics of a certain place or area; it is protected from activity that would degrade its aesthetic and natural value.*'[i] The tools that are supposed to ensure that the protection of aesthetic values set by law are acted on and realised are the methodologies of landscape character assessment. Space does not allow for detailed analysis and instead the emphasis here is to identify some of the inconsistencies at play.

In the canon of literature and methodological guidelines on landscape character and its assessment can be observed uninformed confusion around the differences between aesthetic experience and mere sensory feeling. Based on a critical analysis of methodologies and texts written by Löw and Míchal (1999)[ii], Löw and Kučera (1996), Löw and Míchal (2003)[iii], Vorel et al. (2004, 2006)[iv], Bukáček and Matějka (1997, 1999, 2006)[v] and Kupka et al. (2010)v[i], it is possible to demonstrate the way the authors approach the aesthetic dimension by quoting a few statements. According to Míchal and Löw:[vii] '*Here, we can no longer use intuitive aesthetic assessment; it is a result of holistic appreciation of landscape, but it is neither supported by rational analysis, nor does it arise from thinking in words expressed as terminology – it leads just to a generalised aesthetic judgement that says 'I do/don't like it.*' The following are examples of phrases used in the above-mentioned works to describe aesthetic value and its formation: '*visual and sensory effect*', '*intuitive aesthetic assessment*', '*aesthetic value of landscape manifests in the viewer's sensations*', '*aesthetic sensations causing pleasant feelings*', '*the emotional value of landscape*', '*sensorially (mostly visually) comprehensible characteristics of certain place*', '*visual appeal of landscape scenery*'. In summary, the authors seem to believe that typical features and their combinations give rise to positive/negative feelings.

In a similar vein, in its attempt to unify inconsistent methodologies, the Definition Board of the Ministry of Environment published a statement that says: '*the law (...) protects exclusively the aesthetic and harmonic aspects of landscape, perceivable and evaluable solely through senses, especially sight (...)*'.[viii] This claim basically says that one evaluates through his or her senses – mostly by sight.

In practice, aesthetic appreciation mostly tends to be misunderstood simply as a sensory or recreational pleasure; aesthetic appreciation is thus mistakenly confused with the desire for enjoyment, and the whole appreciation process gets reduced to a manner of consumption. In the end, as I discuss later, aesthetic experience loses its specificity, relevance and meaning. Herein, also, we see the effort to identify differences, old structures, and relatively natural areas.

Another related issue is the confusion between appreciation/judgement and assessment. Assessment of landscape character in the Czech Republic means in fact *classification* or description of something that is found outside – what should exist independently of the 'experiencer' (for example, in the methodology advanced by Bukáček (2006), called *Preventive assessment of landscape character,* the process includes identifying attributes of specific features of landscape character in a

given area. Here the description of landscape reads more like a collection of data found in landscape (similarly as in the case of attributes) and their classification. Based on pre-defined characteristics, the landscape is then divided analytically into different types or units and the whole process ends with the identification of values. This is how the authors also 'find' aesthetic values–the aesthetic values here means, in fact, identified attributes. We may identify a very strong need to apply the methodology of natural sciences which is supposed to lead to objective, non-normative findings. As Sklenička writes: *'The evaluating subject must do his best to substitute personal observations, experience and judgements with precise methods.'* But this can hardly be achieved with any values.

A very problematic case of purifying the 'classification of aesthetic values' of ambiguity are the tireless efforts of Kupka, Vojar and Vorel: *'One very useful preliminary "reduction" is not to study the aesthetic value, but rather the visual attractiveness of landscape scenery.'* This underpins their qualitative research of aesthetic preferences.[ix]

Landscape as Trash Literature?

If the aesthetic experience is misunderstood simply as a sensory or recreational pleasure it can have its consequences. Emily Brady[x] speaks about the so-called '*hedonistic model of aesthetic appreciation*' which is based on the faulty presumption that the desire for pleasure or gratification is what drives people to aesthetic appreciation, that people seek out certain landscapes because they cause joy or evoke pleasant feelings. The result of such a process is a pleasant/unpleasant feeling or an exclamation: 'I like it/I don't like it.' How can we weigh the importance of different competing demands? This all because of a purely utilitarian question based on the conventional economic model: will as many different people enjoy a given parcel of land if it is declared wilderness as would use it if it were developed with access to sanitary facilities and picnic tables?[xi] The danger of the hedonistic approach to landscape appreciation–an approach that we often meet in the field of landscape protection–is that it prevents us from finding the value of a place because we measure value solely in terms of pleasure. If we were subsequently expected to judge, we would of course choose the solution that maximises pleasure for local inhabitants or visitors.[xii] It is no stretch to compare these situations to the consumption of trash literature – the experience of trash fiction forces the recipient to grow resigned to art, and leads to the atrophy of his/her ability to (self)reflect.[xiii]

The Need for Re-Conceptualization of the Aesthetic Dimension in Landscape Character Assessment and Planning

Aesthetics long ago ceased to be perceived as a discipline that merely deals with beauty and formal qualities. In the second-half of the 20th century, 'aesthetic experience' has become the main term of today's aesthetics. Aesthetic experience is more closely associated to our overall ability to confront ourselves and delve deeper into the inherent characteristics and 'underground' mechanisms of the environment which we are part of. That is why formal qualities of landscape scenery are insufficient these days and cannot be used to wholly describe the very complex aesthetic experience that we have.

It is important to mention that when we talk about landscape, we need to realise that the term 'landscape' is a metaphor for our experience – it does not exist objectively somewhere 'out there'. The term is just our way of capturing the experience (and we should keep that in mind when using the term). But this important metaphor; which has changed Western society's way of looking at nature; even if problematic now, would not have developed and continue to develop without valuable subjective experience. That is why the opinion of an expert, ie an 'experienced experiencer', who personally wanders through landscape is crucial. It allows us to analyse the aesthetic experience rationally, and is a necessary prerequisite for valuable, informed opinion or advice.

In the context of the debate over aesthetic appreciation, its important not to deal merely with what is visible and audible – this would mean reneging on our ability to reflect the fact that the environment that we experience is an end product of a very poor background mechanism. More important for the aesthetics of environment/landscape are mechanisms and influences rather than formal qualities. Let us think (metaphorically) about form as a product of an 'algorithmic procedure' of material organisation, applied in the given space and time[xiv] – in other words, it is an abstract generative mechanism that can be identified in every organic and inorganic entity. To decode this 'algorithm' means to 'harvest' the inherent vitality of the phenomenon, which, importantly, has no beginning, no end, and no final configuration. In the case of an architectural theory that works with urban mechanisms, the final form is not that important. What *is* important is a correct 'algorithm', whose final form may vary, but

only within certain boundaries. And crucially, an aesthetically sensitive person is better able to 'harvest' this inherent vitality of various phenomena, to see it in context and from different perspectives. In an ideal case he or she will then be able to 'report' about it, as is frequently the case in art.

I believe there are two main mechanisms which create landscape character and the environment –local, and global forces. If a locality is continually suppressed from above, not only it is impossible to express the specific natural potential hidden in 'soil and seeds', but also to express the specificity of the local community. And by that I do not mean that one should under no circumstance admit different cultural influences. For example the unregulated 'dance' of big agrarian and other companies and developers is nowadays the main negative global vitality/algorithm that creates a significant amount of 'imperfections' in landscape. In my opinion, the important questions here can be: to what extent do people have the ability to influence where and how their food is produced, and is the land accessible for good maintenance and protection? In such concrete circumstances can we see how aesthetics is connected with everyday life.

An important consideration is that it is not possible to objectify the interests of big business, whose main purpose is enormous profit for a small amount of people: opposing them through scientific facts is more than they deserve. It is a paradox. The only problem here is the lack of legislative regulations. After they get implemented, we can once more think about, for example, the assessment of perspective in landscape. But what we certainly can do now is to objectify (there has already been a lot of research) harmful impacts on places and communities. We have to admit that all spaces are shared spaces, and make business activities a part of specific places–they can no longer be hidden and privileged. They are a part of a place where other people live, and need to live, and their impact has to be reflected. The most important task is to make 'visible' corporate tentacles which are exceeding too far away from their central bodies/mechanisms, and their influence is therefore hyper-extended. They can limit or support locality, therefore they should act like a real part of it. There are many scientific disciplines that argue that truth demands more and more research, that everything is connected to everything, and that objects and boundaries cannot be unambiguously detected. However, experts, or locals who perform aesthetic reflection on a given place, are able to discuss immediately what is functional, what is not, and what can support the place. As part of a community, people should have more voice than they have now, including the possibility to refuse the tentacles or to define rules under which they would allow their influence.

The mechanism of judgement here is very crucial. Aesthetic judgement has, according to McMahon[xv], a very important role in community consensus. She argues that the process of judging serves as a catalyser for constant refinement of terms inside the given community, which presumes imagination and an indeterminableness of terms. According to this way of viewing aesthetic judgement, the basis for objectivity lies in the process of judging itself, which therefore presupposes communication barriers in the context of the community. This means that the communal context includes the ethical dimension. McMahhon believes that the dilemma between relativism and objective standards, in which relativism prevents any progress while objective standards prevent innovation and creativity, is a false one. She concludes that the main foundation for objectivity in value judgement are processes included either in communication, or in the inference of judgement. To support this mechanism means supporting the value of environment for aesthetic experiencing.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is neither appropriate nor helpful to have a strict delineation between the senses and the consciousness. I believe there is a strong need to develop a form of *landscape criticism,* similar to the criticism of art. This is also connected with a need to support and spread good practice of landscape experts or just of people/initiatives who that reside in the given locality, 'wander around it', and are active there – they can inspire others. They are aesthetically sensitive to the place, and they are usually able to transform formed values into language, just as an art critic would. The more we are trying to objectify the process of landscape appreciation, judgement and creation, the more we prevent other people from its appreciation – facts and tables are not a thing that would change one's motivation. We cannot revive communities of the 'old romantic era'; and maybe they were not romantic after all; but we can be inspired by the mechanism of the negotiation of values. Even today there are many great examples, and there already exist tools for how to keep the term' landscape/environment character' alive – one example is

building local food systems/programs. Supporting them is also more efficient in logistic terms of planning and application of changes.

The importance of the role of an expert/landscape architect is as the refiner of opinions. He or she has the ability to carefully consider the extent to which design interferes with the nature of the place, and what is caused by those who see the environment solely in a utilitarian way, for example as a source of materials, free space but sometimes even of pleasure. Moreover, this way of designing/planning is problematic because it should also include advocacy of living organisms or the defense of what we call nature. In order words, landscape designs should also permit advocacy of non-designing. But there is no space to discuss the importance of places where nature rules and where we do not want to interfere. The paper is devoted mostly to areas which are cultivated. The big issue of our day is not 'which landscape design is the best one', but how to deal with the paralysing force of business.

One of the goals of this paper has been to draw attention to a certain fluidity of our world. From this point of view, there is a need for a never-ending and never-final refinement of opinions and values which are not static over time, which means fostering principles of reconsideration, updating, and integration. Such has always required communication and dialogue, without which we will hardly have a healthy environment.

When dealing with landscape character, what is most helpful are not plans, maps, signs attributes nor finalised designs. Most helpful is to enable people mainly from smaller towns and villages to appreciate their environments, to find words and arguments for them. A large, if not predominant, part of landscape practice is to start dialogues, discuss opinions, offer perspectives, and in doing so, prepare the ground for the formulation of good solutions and for connecting people with places in which they live.

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Cherishing heritage through landscape – a future vision

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Abstract

Landscape and heritage are closely linked ideas and their reciprocal relation is explored within the CHeriScape network (www.cheriscape.eu, under the EU Joint Programming Initiative Cultural Heritage). After organising five interactive conferences, CHeriScape has yielded an astonishing wealth of experiences, perspectives, points of debate and joint opinions about the interacting societal relevance of landscape values and heritage. Five conferences touched on the joint contribution of landscape and heritage in terms of policy and science, of their relationship to community and to environmental change, and of their connections to creative arts and the ways we envision future landscape and construct new heritage. This paper is based on reflections on heritage and landscape that we shared and developed during those conferences. We sketch out the first lines of a future vision of addressing heritage values in a landscape context – and vice versa. For this specific presentation we focus on the inherited values of place. These values are clearly in need of proper attention by the public, the landowner, the policy maker, the volunteer and the entrepreneur (often in tourism), to be able to safeguard a promising future development of living landscapes. The landscape should then accommodate, incorporate or provide an amalgam of at least a substantial part of the heritage values still available, within the boundary conditions posed by new land use functions, whilst also creating new heritage for transmission to the future. But we also discuss the role of the heritage and other experts in providing proper knowledge and making this publicly available, in raising awareness, in facilitating dialogue, in bridging disciplinary boundaries, and in participating in social learning themselves.

Landscape and heritage – what's new?

The European landscape is in transition, as much today as throughout its history. The patterns and traits written on the land by the age-old history of evolving land use systems and ownership patterns can still be recognised, but current land uses and services are rarely in equilibrium with the inherited landscape. In other words: today's land use would not have produced the landscape we have, and sooner or later it must lead to different landscape patterns, adapting to the functions it now has for the user. Today's land use and people's perception and valuation form the landscape heritage of the future. The landscape will follow the use, either in a consciously designed way, such as mechanised farming, land reclamation, land consolidation or rewilding, or in spontaneous unintentional ways, through neglect, the abandonment of farmland, disappearing drove roads, degrading slope terraces, etc. A static, unchanging landscape cannot exist, because a museum landscape in which the inherited features are conserved can only function when certain types of land use are being practiced. And that can rarely be afforded.

A well-elaborated, integrated new management approach for the future of European landscape and heritage is needed, in academic discourse, in policy practices and in the public debate (Bloemers et al 2010), but it still largely to be developed. On the contrary, although almost all European countries have ratified the Florence Convention (the Council of Europe's Landscape Convention (COE 2000)) there is a tendency to leave the landscape to the tourist brochures, and let it be covered as a secondary dossier by sector policies on culture, environment or even economics.

There is thus an urgent – and increasing – need for reflection and debate about current and imminent landscape transitions (EC 2015). The value of the European landscape and its future should be related to the underlying heritage values. Heritage and landscape both require a democratic process capable of responding to the diverse and pluralistic public perceptions of landscape in ways that can enhance transformation in many relevant fields of European life. This takes them beyond questions of conservation or market mechanisms into the sphere of the ordinary and commonplace landscape that is essential to everyday life and citizens'

communities everywhere. This paper is concerned with neither 'heritage landscapes' nor 'landscape heritage', but with what happens when these two concepts are tuned and coordinated with the same perspective, informing and strengthening each other so that threats and problems can become challenges and opportunities. These are all issues and problems that the CHeriScape project (funded by the European Joint Programming Initiative on Cultural Heritage, A Challenge for Europe) has been able to grapple, through its five conferences themes on Policy, Science, Community, Global Change and Imagination (and through sessions that members of the CHeriScape team have organised at other conferences (Fairclough et al 2015; Fairclough et al 2016; Fairclough 2016; Fairclough et al forthcoming). After organising five interactive conferences, CHeriScape has yielded an astonishing wealth of experiences, perspectives, points of debate and joint opinions about the interacting societal relevance of landscape values and heritage. This paper is based on reflections on heritage and landscape that we shared and developed during those Conferences. We sketch out the first lines of a future vision of addressing heritage values in a landscape context – and vice versa.

Landscape as Heritage in Policy

A major question that came up during the CHeriScape project is how to enable heritage concerns to play a more practical role in landscape management and policy that can be balanced against the apparent policy dominance of other sectors such as economy, recreation, biodiversity, flood protection. And what can heritage experts do about this? How to avoid being left in a sort of ghetto-like loop: heritage policy for the protection of heritage? Is landscape any more successful at this, or is 'landscape policy' also too often a matter of self-protection instead of seeking to influence and shape mainstream policy and action and behaviour? Are we able to clearly explain the societal importance of both heritage and landscape to politicians? Under which circumstances do they regard heritage – or for that matter landscape in its narrow aesthetic sense – as 'window dressing'? When is landscape (not) seen as/treated as just nature, green or the scenic areas?

Heritage professionals urgently need to keep up with social media. 'Professional amateurs' are surpassing them at the local level. We conclude that social media is a form of landscape, a form of commons. Is the visibility gap between experts and the public on social media a symptom of something even bigger, that heritage is being carried out (as it was always) all the time, invisibly, under the radar, by everyone else, not by the experts (we have allowed themselves to be corralled into reserves, 'special' sites).

CHeriScape has learned that landscape is at the heart of many scientific, societal and political discourses across Europe. At the same time the definition of landscape remains plural, which is not only an unavoidable, indeed essential, characteristic of the concept but probably a healthy and desirable one. Among the participants of our conferences, there was a large measure of agreement about a holistic, broad approach, although with diverse balances between the ingredients and functions of landscape. When it comes to discussions with 'non-landscape' policy makers and the public, however, the scope of the word is generally taken as being narrower, and is often drawn back into traditional definitions of landscape as 'nature' or 'scenery'. How this gap can be bridged is still unclear. If each group uses their own definitions without explanation, it is difficult to take debate and decision-making forward, yet at the same time, somehow, the validity, indeed 'reality', of each group's perspective is something to take into account and be valued. Much the same goes for heritage: whose heritage, what is heritage, why do we worry about it, how do we use it?

Landscape as Heritage in Science

Not only did CHeriScape discuss what exactly landscape means for research, the public and policy makers, we also reflected on three broad issues. The first relates to daily practice and theory. For example, GIS is used extensively in landscape and heritage studies, but are the theoretical assumptions behind its use always explicit or even understood (no research is ever a-theoretical)? Sometimes the theory is hidden and thus overlooked, becoming an obstacle not a tool. We also discussed the problems with the many different theories that exist to choose among and the lack of a clear direction. New theories may evolve appropriate techniques, and as an example one could analyse eg bodily experience and practice in the past.

A second issue was whether data and methods that have proven to be successful in several situations (such as using LiDAR, landscape biographies, GIS, non-destructive archaeological survey or using photo reconstructions, etc) are as effective in other situations. In other words: can we uncritically transfer our successes in one situation to every situation or do different situations need different

methods? This is part of a much larger need, to continue to question our methods constructively (for example, it is commonplace in landscape studies, and heritage, to canvass the views, eg on place, of elderly people and of children, but it seems we might overlook the bulk of the population).

In cases of landscapes with a heritage coloured by war and other conflicts, how could we develop a kind of heritage management policy that balances preserving historical evidence with the legitimate desire to record the stories of the people involved, independent of which side they were on? How do lessons learnt in the black and white clarity of still-felt grievance or guilt, regret or repentance, transfer to older heritage, or to the shifting mental landscapes of migration? Indeed, looking forwards not back, how will those clear lessons adapt to the passage of time and the changes in perspective that time will inevitably bring? An important question concerning interpretation came up: whose heritage is actually shown in landscapes with a post-war or post-migration heritage: that of the winners or that of the losers? And how do the descendants (or the successors – not every heritage link is through genetics or even ethnic transmission) of these parties perceive the way it is shown in a museum? Recent, easily recognisable situations can be indicative of many less evident cases of labelling heritage values, eg in comparing the heritage of poor with that of rich people, of various religions, of colonial heritage, etc, and in looking into the more distant past beyond living memory. But the reach of 'living memory' is becoming ever-longer – our 'window' on the past is staying open longer with greater human longevity and (perhaps even more importantly?) with the continued presence of the past – for at least 150 years now – in vivid imagery, as opposed to just the written word. The materiality of heritage also brings it towards the category of 'living memory'; the addition of landscape when the past is legible within it also arguably extends the term 'living memory'. Science needs to be very aware and explicit in these issues.

The responsibility of scientists and their academic mode in the landscape debate was another central issue that was raised and discussed – including the question whether scientists are politically responsible and should be obliged to state their opinions. Important conditions for sound science are reflexivity and transparency. To be able to explain landscapes and why they appear as they do is another important contribution of science, in addition to the ability to enhance alternative worlds and views.

Finally, it was stated that some values are measurable and interpreted as 'tangible'. Consequently, unmeasurable values are often considered 'intangible'. But all values are intangible and negotiated. This observation makes clear that interpretation of quantitative data is an intangible action as well.

Landscape as Community

The transformation that the processes and aims of heritage are undergoing has transformed the perception of heritage and landscape, and their relationship to even large spheres such as culture and sustainable development (Dessein et al 2015). It emphasises inclusivity and the relationship to communities and participative democracy; landscape is coming to be seen as much a matter of everyone's everyday heritage as a top-down selected canon of special protected sites. This transformation has accelerated since the 1990s from a slow start in the 1960s. It is represented by the codifying influence of the Council of Europe's Faro Convention (COE 2005), by the 'critical heritage' discourse or simply by the new ways of doing heritage. Its key challenge is to make heritage more reflective and, above all, people-centred rather than object-focused; a key principle is recognising that heritage values are not intrinsic to the object but are attributed by people, a more constructive and instrumentally-useful approach. It is an approach that brings heritage into close alignment with landscape, 'an area as perceived by people' in the words of the Council of Europe's Florence Convention (COE 2000 Article 1).

Community makes landscapes, but at the same time landscape can create, bond or fragment a community. Central questions are how to handle the tension between change and heritage preservation, how to improve policy tools so that they can adapt to dynamic societies and landscapes and support well-being through the relationship between people, landscape and communities. Intangible values are problematic here in the relationship between public/official/material on the one hand and the personal/unofficial/experiential on the other. Almost equally problematic are the relationships between the views and aspirations of local residents, stakeholders (which may not be the same set of people), 'incomers' (and those who have left but who retain memory-based stake), legal (the 'real'?) owners, and every level of governance from municipality to the EU and in some cases to UNESCO World Heritage bureau.

Facing the Challenges of Global Change through Landscape

In another major CHeriScape theme, landscape allows major environmentally-based and -related issues such as responses to environmental and climate changes to be discussed in a people-centred and socially relevant way; this is another critical area – the human/nature/environment relationship into which landscape history (and archaeology) can give such deep, time-embedded insight.

Global change motivated us to explore the potential that landscapes can provide for confronting the transformations in market economy and climate conditions that are seen around us today. Three themes drew our attention.

A first issue addressed was global environmental change and how it affects the landscape. This issue encompasses many current challenges to society, notably though not only climate change. It brought many questions regarding the relation between climate and the landscape, with an eye on how to protect and adapt the latter to the former.

A second issue was tourist pressure, which is a great challenge for landscapes, particularly – though not only – in southern Europe. We addressed this issue by providing non-standard viewpoints focused on assessment and solutions.

A third issue was land abandonment and old landscapes. When people leave rural areas to find new lifeways abroad or in cities, the landscapes left behind can often lose their purpose, and become neglected and unmanaged, and in extreme cases even a 'return' to 'nature', constituting a very direct threat to their inherited character. We saw some of the effects of this constant tension between anthropic landscapes and 'naturalization'.

Landscape in Imagination and Virtual Future

The fifth theme will be discussed during the conference that will take place in the interval between writing this paper and the conference in Galway, and the issues that will rise to prominence are difficult to predict. The conference's aim however is to round off our series by looking hard, and mainly through artistic and creative lenses, at how landscape, and inevitably heritage, resides and is continuously re-created in the human virtual realms of memory, imagination and perception but also increasingly in the 'artificial' virtual realms of cyberspace, social media. It has three overarching themes. First, 'Looking Back from the future: the future legibility of the past': is it possible to imagine future landscapes and in particular to conceive of how and in what ways their history – their heritage – will remain legible to our successors. That which can be imagined can be created. Second, 'New neighbourhoods, New neighbours': how we can (re)imagine landscape after major change in both the physical, material sense (sea levels, climate change, urbanisation) and a perceptual sense at socio-cultural level, though processes of for example migration and mobility. Third, 'Looking Inwards: imagined and remembered landscapes': landscape and heritage at a mental, imaginary level, in which personal landscapes and heritage may be distant in both space and in time, including imagined or wished-for future landscapes, but are nevertheless close to the heart and mind.

Perspective: heritage is more about the future than about the past

One of our conclusions is that to properly manage heritage in the landscape, one should know both the heritage values of the landscape and the feasible options for the future. Interestingly – being values – both are defined by the perception of the people. That makes heritage management in landscape a highly interactive and democratic exercise. The vision developed by CHeriScape has the character of a research agenda, but at the same time represents an appeal to the public, policy makers and other stakeholders to realise that heritage and landscape are two sides of the same coin. Landscapes that contain strong, widely accepted heritage values – be they tangible or intangible – will be the ones that most effectively fulfil the societal demand for sustainable landscape quality objectives. Heritage embedded in landscape as a whole, and sharing landscape's affinity to community and culture most broadly, will be the heritage that most fulfils its potential for social value.

Landscape and heritage theory now share similar intellectual and philosophical positions – people-focussed, inherited from the past but equally (and necessarily) transmittable to the future; the 'possession' of or access to heritage and landscape being a human right (Egoz et al 2011) but of course one that carries responsibilities towards other people's heritage and landscape. This takes the discussion into the realms of intra-community harmony (or conflict) and of migration and mobility that have become so topical in Europe.

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The invisible and intangible landscape: Naming, claiming and managing processes

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Introduction

Landscape is an explicitly multilayered and continuously changing phenomenon. Visible and tangible layers such as topography, hydrology and land cover, intertwine with the invisible and intangible layers –human perceptions, understanding and interpretation of the landscape's material aspect. All these layers are in the continuous process of change and re-creation. Everything about landscape seems to be changing: the very meaning of it, the way we manage it, the way it looks, and the way it functions.

Considering the aforementioned facts, landscape seems everybody's concern and consequently, a place where everybody's interests could be fulfilled. Nowadays the majority of European landscapes are managed by strong sectoral policies like the Common Agricultural Policy and/or Natura 2000 network. O'Rourke emphasizes the fact that Europe is often seen as a two-pole continent, divided into areas of intensive agricultural production, interspersed with islands of biodiversity (O'Rourke 2005, 69-83). But actually the picture is not so purely black and white. Conservation regimes – like prime agricultural land, nature, cultural heritage and groundwater conservation areas – overlap and intertwine with different development proposals, and the result is often the perfect conflict of interests. The key issue which should be addressed at this point is how to achieve integrative planning and management of landscapes, considering all its – often conflicting –aspects: conservation demands and development needs, but also its physical characteristics, and, last but not least, its immaterial, invisible and intangible part.

The emphasis of this paper is on landscape's immaterial aspects – more precisely on toponyms – which reveal much information about its character, history and, last but not least, illustrate the way people understand, interpret and utilize their environment.

The naming process and toponyms' characteristics

Landscape is never created from scratch. It is always re-created from its previous condition. But in spite of that, there is a point in time and space, when/where the creation of landscape begins. I believe that one of the first steps towards the making of the landscape out of sheer physical environment is naming. Naming means claiming, it means domestication and appropriation of land. 'In a fundamental way, names create landscapes,' writes Tilley (1994, 19). Without naming, a place on the map is just a blank space, anonymous and scary, but through the act of naming it becomes a place, invested with meaning.

Naming reflects the way people perceive, understand and interpret their environment. Motifs for naming are quite diverse, from utilitarian to symbolic, but they always reflect the importance of a certain place for an individual and/or society. Some places are simply 'good for thinking' (Basso 1996, 171), while others for orientation (Boillat et al.2003, 663-678) or food production. Several researchers, who studied toponyms from various aspects, have concluded that toponyms reveal a lot of information about landscape's physical character (such as soil quality, microclimatic conditions, water regime), its management practices and cultivation techniques, and, last but not least, its historical and cultural meaning.

The review of references from all over the world has shown, that despite big differences in the physical characteristics of landscape, its social organization and the relation between the people and the landscape, some universal concepts with the regard to naming of places can be recognized. In the following paragraphs I will present some of the basic characteristics of toponyms, which stress their importance in contemporary landscape research, management and planning.

Identical toponyms but no misunderstandings

Identical toponyms appear in different locations, but the fact that they are usually known and used only within relatively closed social communities, prevents misunderstandings in communication. Place names line *tahiq* (lake) or *qamaniq* (river-widening) appear throughout the Arctic, but they only make sense in relation to knowledge of a homeland (Stewart et al. 2004,183-, 221). Similarly toponym *Breg* (slope) is evenly distributed in almost all Slovene linguistic area (Jež 1997, 34-41). Another example from Istria shows, that the name *Breg* and its derivatives appear in as many as

seventeen cadastral communities – in completely identical form in eight cadastral communities (Titl 2000, 259).

Naming motifs

The naming motifs are quite diverse. Many toponyms are derived from landscape's physical characteristics, like topography, land cover, soil type, land cover, etc. Especially toponyms, which were used for orientation, are often very descriptive, like Apache toponyms *T'iis Bitł'áh Tú 'Oląné* – Water Flows Inward Under a Cottonwood Tree, or *Tséé Łigai Dah Sidilé* – White Rocks Lie Above in a Compact Cluster (Basso 1996, 88). Toponyms used for naming cultivated land should also be mentioned here, while they often reflect soil quality, cultivation techniques, ownership, management practices, etc. There is also strong connection between field division system and field names, as emphasized by Ilešič (1950, 120) and Field (1998, 285) for several types of field division system in Slovenia and England, and Calvo-Iglesias et al. (2006, 334-343) for *Agras* field system in Spain.

Longevity

Field names show strong inertia in time, which leads us to the next characteristic of toponyms – their longevity (loc. cit.). They are frequently preserved through long periods of time (Jett 1997, 481-93), even in the areas where the spoken language shifts (Waterman 1922 cited in Thornton 1997). Several researchers emphasize that toponyms are one of the most conservative elements of every language (Kadmon 2000, 333; Badjura 1953, 337; Gelling 2010, 283). Many names from Near and Middle East are mentioned in Egyptian documents from 15th century BC, while hundreds of Israeli names from 12th century BC can be found in the Bible (The Book of Joshua). Many of these names are – in slightly different form – still being used today, either to name inhabited places or archaeological sites (Kadmon 2000, 333). Some toponyms were preserved even when the land had been taken from native inhabitants and names had been literally 'erased' from maps. They survived as strong symbolic connections between people and their homeland (Thornton 1997, 209-228). Gelling denotes toponyms as the 'signposts to the past' and presents several names of pre-Indo-European, Roman, Latin, Celtic, Norman French, and Scandinavian origin in England. Among all toponyms, water names are supposed to be the most persistent (Gelling 2010, 283) Bezlaj (1956, 5) claims that the names of big water streams are even relatively older than the names of places. He substantiates this statement by the fact that colonization had spread along rivers, and that watercourses were also important for spatial orientation.

Migrating toponyms

The primary role of toponyms is to designate certain spatial phenomena. In spite of that, many examples of toponyms, which have 'moved' from one place to another can be found. When Masai in East Africa were forced to move, they took the names of hills, plains and rivers with them, and gave them to new hills, plains, and rivers (Lynch 1972, 41). The members of Scottish clans, who left their homeland and settled elsewhere, also used their place- and family names to 'map' their future on new and for them unknown territory (Basu 2015, 123-150). Similarly, North America is full of names 'borrowed' from Europe: Oslo, Crete, Marseilles, New Prague, Cambridge, and Berlin are just a few of them. Koloini recorded an interesting example how a toponym moved in the village *Vipavski Križ* in Slovenia. Villagers gathered on the place called *Most* (Bridge) in the hot summer evenings. Later, houses were built around the bridge, the place became draughty and villagers chose another place for their evening gatherings. But they named the new gathering place *Most*, although it was far from the bridge (Koloini 1991, 621-3).

Toponyms as designators of land and landscape

Last but not least, the relationship between toponyms and named places should be mentioned. As it was mentioned above, toponyms are in the first place used for designating exact locations. Especially in the cultivated landscape, areas, named with different names could be easily delineated on the basis of field division system and parcel boundaries. On the other hand, especially names, which are used to describe outstanding topographic phenomena, in a way 'control' wider areas, usually regarding the visibility. In a way these names are no longer used only to identify a piece of land, but become designators of the landscape. On one level they can be presented as an entity – a polygon, but on the other, they as a continuous field with the center – eg mountain peak – but also 'controlling' the surrounding landscape. Boillat et al. (2003, 663-78) who investigated the toponyms among two communities in Bolivian Andes, emphasized that such named places are among indigenous people perceived as living entities, as living beings with their own agency. They suggest that toponymy could be used as a tool in ecosystem management, as on one hand it reveals the characteristics of a named place and, on the other hand, the relation between people and that place.

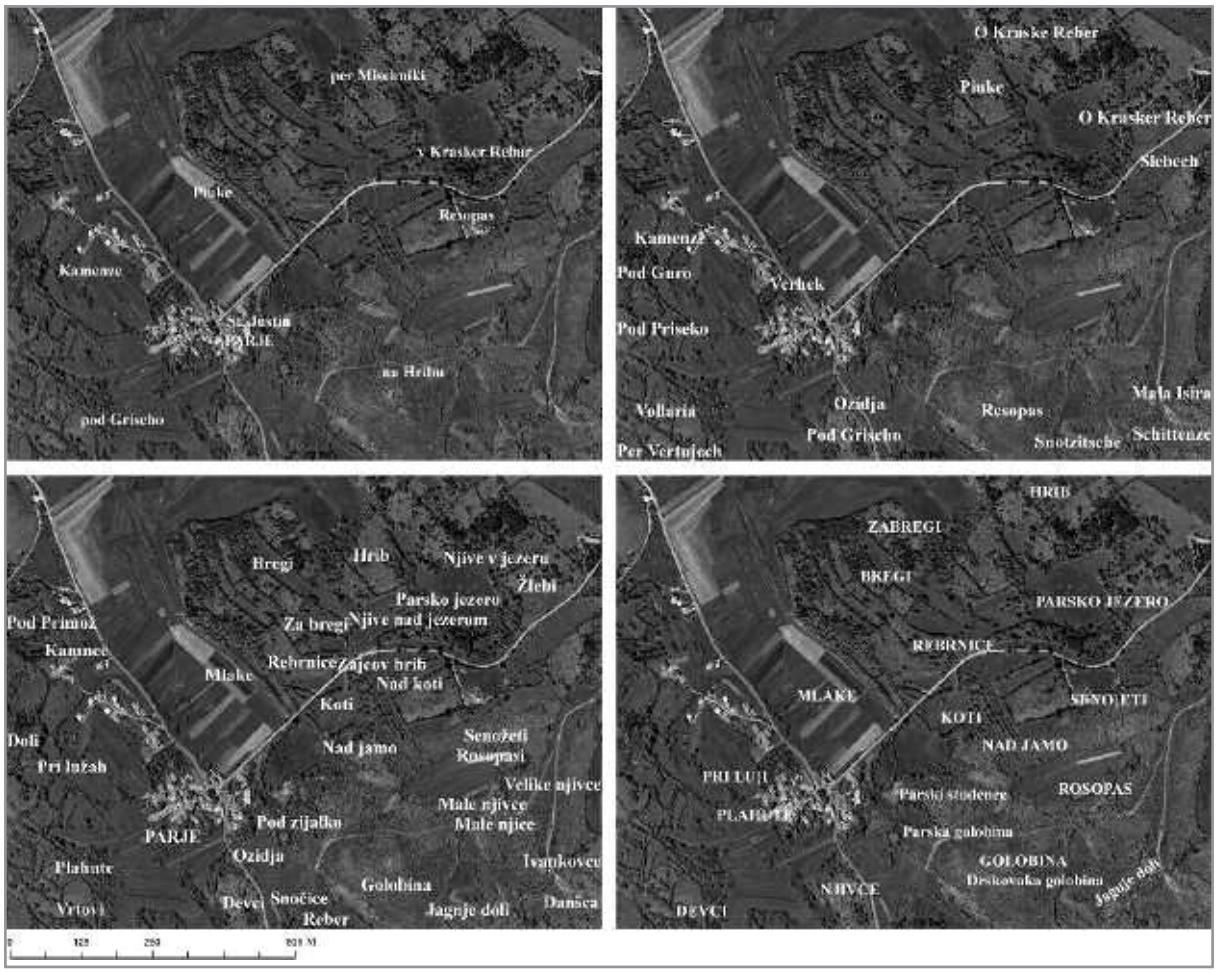

Fig. 1 Toponyms recorded from four different sources

Toponyms and the story of landscape

In the next few paragraphs I will present key findings from the research, which focused on the relation between landscape and field names – toponyms that are used to name mostly agricultural land and are as such strongly connected with field division system. I collected, mapped and analyzed field names within four cadastral communities in SW Slovenia, in an area of approximately 50 square kilometers. Four different data sources (two historical and two contemporary) were used, and altogether 308 toponyms were collected (Penko Seidl 2015, 110).

The central hypothesis of the research was derived from the findings of several researches, where toponyms were studied from various perspectives. I argue that field names reflect landscape characteristics on one side and people's perception and understanding of these landscapes on the other. As such they create an important layer of every landscape, which should not be neglected when we are developing new planning and management concepts for future, especially rural landscapes. The methodology and results were already published in some articles (Penko Seidl 2008, 33-56; Penko Seidl 2011, 437-48; Penko Seidl et al. 2015, 595-608). The basic findings of the research were:

(1) Identical names often appear in several local communities; however, there are no misunderstandings in communication, since it is limited to the members of a relatively small and closed social community. In spite of the fact that many names are derived from the descriptions of the landscape's physical characteristics, and that identical toponyms appear at different locations, we cannot generalize that these locations are similar also according to their physical characteristics. A place is always named according to its surrounding.

(2) Many toponyms cannot be found on official maps. They are preserved with oral tradition and are very frequently known only to the members of one local community or even a single family. Nevertheless, they have proved to be very stable. The comparison between historical and contemporary data sources has shown, that several field names have been preserved

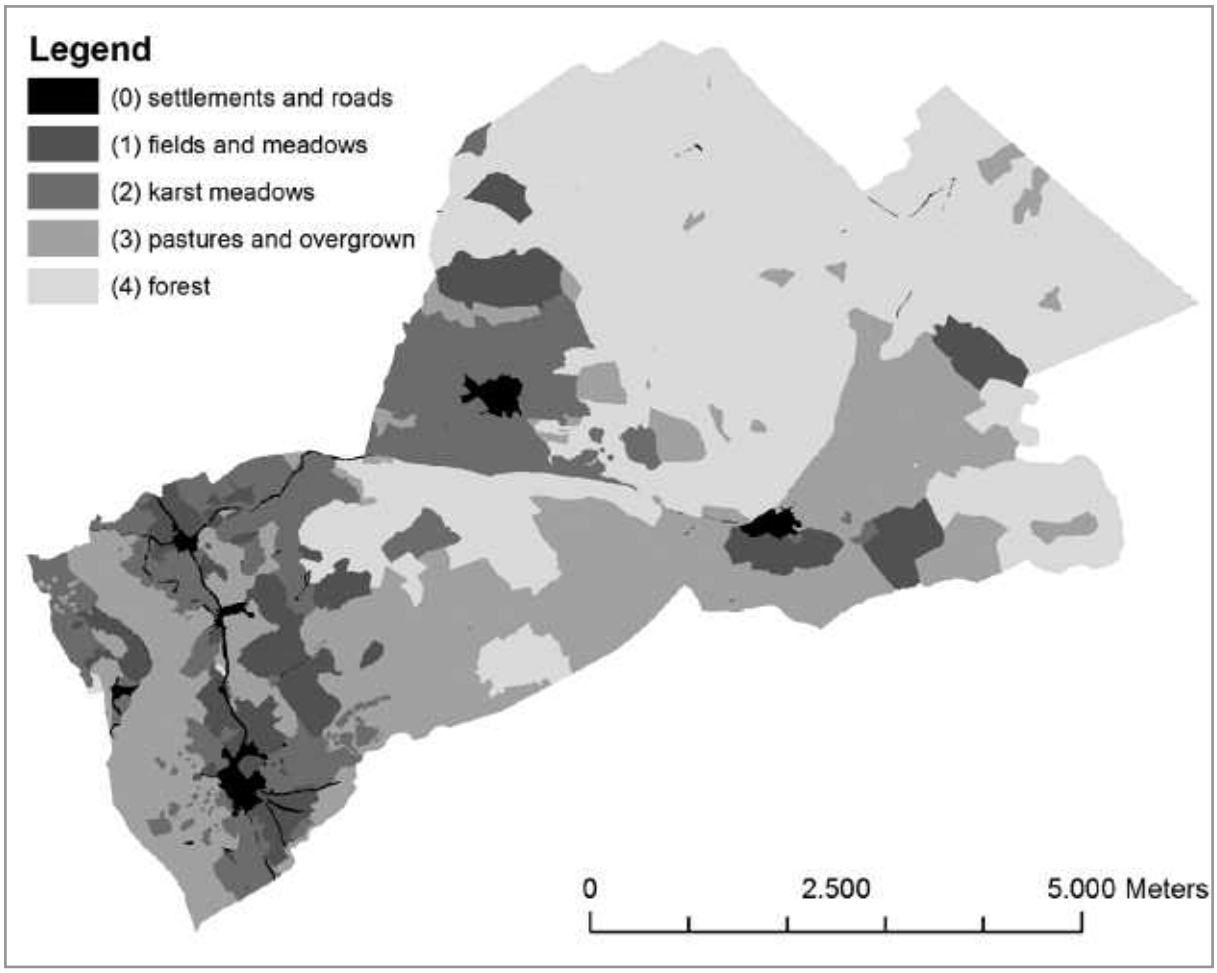

Fig. 2 Four groups of field names

for more than 200 years in the area, which has undergone many changes: change of political systems, official languages and, last but not least, land use change. The structure of field names almost completely concurs with land use around 200 years ago. In spite of the fact that land use has changed, the structure of names has been preserved, revealing the detailed knowledge about the landscape.

(3) The main emphasis of the research was to investigate the relation between names and landscape's physical character. Each area, described by a field name was delineated and described with a series of variables: land use, aspect, height above sea level, slopes, microrelief, the size and shape of parcels, the position of trees and shrubs, etc. While areas, described by a single name are rather small, they were clustered into groups of similarities according to their spatial characteristics. Gower's coefficient of similarity was used in cluster analysis to measure the similarity between units (Gower 1971, 857-71; Kaufmann and Rousseeuw 1989, 342). The results of cluster analysis show that:

- Areas, described by a single field name cluster into four larger areas, which reflect the traditional husbandry organization with the combination of (1) fields on valley bottom and some smaller plains, (2) meadows and (3) pastures on undulating karst terrain, and (4) forest on higher altitudes and steeper slopes.

- Although traditional filed division pattern is very detailed, larger areas (clusters), determined on the basis of toponym structure, can be defined also as landscape character areas. As such they can be used for the purposes of landscape typological classification.

(4) Although the material aspect of landscape has changed, the memory of the past is still preserved in individuals as well as in collective memory. The research results show that names can be mapped and the named areas delineated using parcel boundaries. As such, names actually reveal the detailed knowledge about the landscape's physical characteristics, especially its suitability for different types of cultivation. Names like *Dolge njive* (Long fields) or

Široke njive (Wide fields) were often used for naming the village's oldest and most fertile fields. Even if they are today used as meadows and are partly overgrown by hedges, their suitability for agricultural cultivation can be inferred from their names, without looking at the soil map. On the other hand, names like *Senožet* (Hay-field) were used to describe village's steep and rocky slopes, which were used as pastures and are nowadays completely overgrown. However, a memory of that area once cultivated is still preserved in its name.

Planning and management of contemporary landscapes

Today's landscapes are focusing many challenges. Traditional cultural landscape, which has evolved throughout centuries or even millennia, has changed rapidly in the last few decades. Abandonment on one side and intensification of agricultural production, accompanied with several other development interests on the other, are two most common trends, which are threatening the sculptural aspect of landscape. In spite of the fact that landscape is commonly recognized as a complex system with many functions – environmental, cultural, social and economic – the interests, preferences and goals of different stakeholders are often quite contrary. Moreover, landscapes are managed by sectoral policies, which are often in discordance among each other (eg nature conservation and agriculture), while at the same time, common European governance is dictating uniform measures throughout EU, in spite of the facts that the area has diverse natural conditions and historical development. The results are conflicts of interests on one side and unification of landscapes on the other. Both, the variety of interests and the complexity of landscapes require planning and management approaches, which will overcome one-sided normative approaches. Instead I suggest integrative approach to landscape management, which will include landscape's physical characteristics on one side, but also its immaterial aspects – the way people perceived and interpreted their environment throughout history. An approach, which will take into consideration different development proposals and conservation demands, and will aim to achieve unique solution for every landscape.

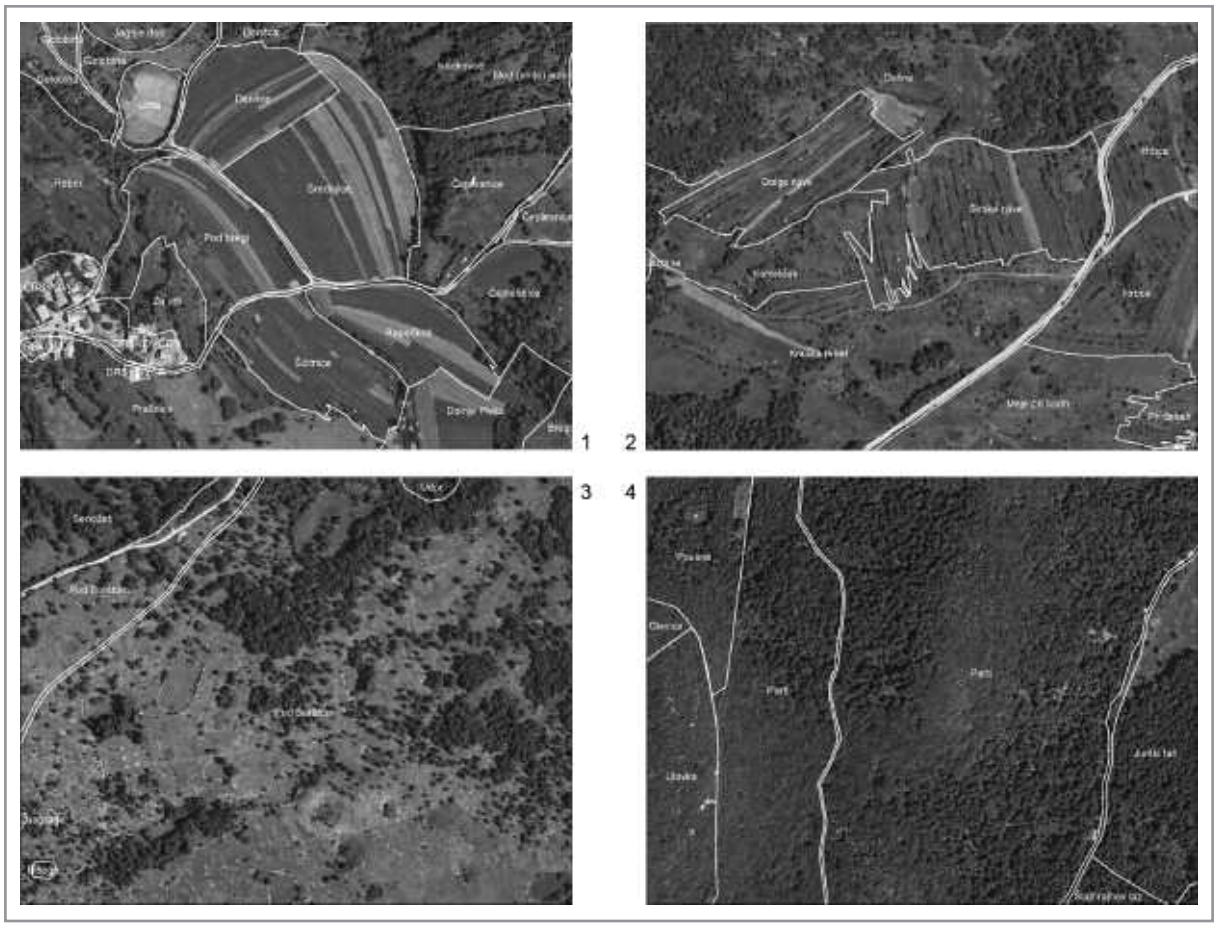

Fig. 3 Four types of landscape

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Place Values and change

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Landscape and values

This paper is concerned with the survival and improvement of the specificities of places, or in particular, landscapes. Landscape is an expression of how society lives and perceives a given place. According to Claude Raffestin, territory is a material system to be used and progressively built on, with special regard to its utilization (Raffestin 2005). Landscape originates at the intersection between gaze and a material territory with visual perceptions of the material world providing images and manifestations as expressed through different modes, such as sounds and light.

Turco affirms that landscape constitutes the result of a symbolic intersection between the communicative essence of territorial action and the situation of the observer (Turco 2002). In his approach, gaze configures a more or less conscious interpretation of something depending on the place and the specific time of observation in history. Therefore, two main ways of 'looking at landscape' can be pointed out: the 'internal' view of the people inhabiting a place, and the 'external' view of those who do not live in a given territory, and yet assume their perceptions of it to be grounded on understanding the values bestowed on the territory by the local communities (Raffestin 2005). Against this background, it is useful to mention Berque, who assumed that spatial, historical, socio-cultural, political and economic factors define and configure places, though the latter can change, (particularly in virtue of temporality), thus affecting values and bringing about changes in the perception of landscapes (Berque 1995).

Landscapes can also become obsolete and be forgotten when they lose their ability to strongly express local identities. This affects their potential for attraction, which communicates cultural values to external actors. The complex phenomena underlying this process of value assignment to landscapes mostly depend on socio-cultural and symbolic aspects. History, myth, art and religion are variable entities that variously determine symbolic value; this is clearly why the value assigned to a specific landscape by a given community is not a-temporal (Cassirer 1972).

The safeguarding and valorisation of landscape should not 'hibernate' externality but rather make room for local communities, retaining their modes of expression and finding adequate ways of perpetuating them. This gives us the opportunity to talk about the value and the quality of places. Ways of perceiving values are firstly related to the information available and to the opportunities to understand and interpret features in terms of their historical development, their authenticity and meaning in relation to different cultures and value judgments. Value judgments may differ from one culture to another, or even within the same culture, and it is therefore important to define criteria which take into account the values which truly represent a culture and its diversity of interpretations.

Places have their own life: they were 'born' and 'founded'; they change and may die; they are abandoned and can be resurrected. This paper investigates the change in values and meaning given to places by a community over time. The paper analyses the story of two places subject to change, to identify how each began to be a centre of values and explores how these values were considered and came to find expression in decision-making. Values and decisions interact in two ways: a) values are deleted from the decisions concerning a given place; b) 'armchair' values are elaborated without any hands-on experience of a place and therefore produce barriers, blocking transformative action and destroying old values by preventing the formation of new meanings. In both cases the result is abandonment.

Piedigrotta: a holy place for twenty-one centuries

In Mediterranean regions there is an indissoluble bond between places and gods, saints and madonnas: the feeling of places always has mythical and sacred roots. The holiness of places is preserved and renewed through successive forms of worship. Piedigrotta in Italy is an example of a holy place whose holiness has survived many centuries and many changes in the religious, political and social context.

The name of the area, literally meaning 'at the foot of the cave', comes from the presence of a tunnel, *Crypta Neapolitana* (first century BC), built to provide a fast

connection between Naples and Pozzuoli. The place was far from the city, in an area surrounded by a high tuff in which the tunnel created a path oriented from east to west. The tunnel was dark and dusty, but at sunset the last beams of light reached through the tunnel from the east side already darkened by dusk, creating a striking effect (Dumas 1985). This provided the site with a symbolic and religious significance. It was a site of 'transition', from darkness to light. Thus, the place held a sacred quality, which was renewed by various religions and materialised in diverse buildings and architectural expression. A funerary monument was built at the end of the first century B.C., according to the ancient Roman practice of erecting tombs off the main consular roads. Revered by tradition as the tomb of the great poet Virgil, the site became a place of pilgrimage for poets and writers and in 1939 became the burial ground of the great Italian poet, Leopardi.

In ancient times, the place was dedicated to different pagan cults connected with the sun and fertility. With the advent of Christianity, it was dedicated to the Virgin of Idra and then to Our Lady of Piedigrotta. A church was first built there in the eighteenth century, and replaced by a bigger church in the nineteenth century. The church entrance firstly faced the *Crypta* and, after a few years, it was opened on the opposite side facing the city. The church became the center of devotion of the seaside village of Mergellina, the hub of the most important religious festival in the city and one of the main events of the urban popular culture. During the eighteenth century the significance of the place was proved by a convergence between 'external' and 'internal' landscape views. The so-called Grand Tour gave prominence to the *Crypta*, which was described in travel guides and represented in many paintings of the period. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the site appears to have acquired a multidimensional character: a symbolic, sacred and cultural space as well as a transit space.

Since the tunnel was not suitable for the new means of transport, in 1884 a new tunnel was built in proximity of the *Crypta* and used by steam-powered trams. In 1925 the first part of the new railway line between Rome and Naples started operating, including the new Mergellina station which stood beside the church, facing the city, with a railway bridge cutting the area. Being unsafe, the new gallery was closed in 1925 until 1939 and all the traffic toward Pozzuoli was supported by another new gallery not far from the original site. This determined a complete marginalisation of the area located in front of the *Crypta*, with a consequent loss of significance. This functional loss and the various infrastructures actually ended up blotting the place from sight. The church and the station beside it now bar the view of the old site which is wedged in between the road and the railway. The space in front of the church of Piedigrotta is currently a mere road intersection and the traditional festival has lost its value. The *Crypta* has become a forgotten place: as the tunnel became deprived of its original function and subsequently marginalised, its sacred, symbolic and cultural values were also obscured. This story shows how values have a concrete expression in space: whether man-made or natural, an entity can hold its symbolic charge and the ability to acquire new values as long as it is efficient, functional, accessible and/or visible.

Bagnoli: looking for new values

The area of Bagnoli has always had a high scenic value, especially in a bird's eye view from the top of Capo Posillipo.

A fine view from a distance, the area has always been a marshy and unhealthy site, so that until the end of the 1800s it was nearly uninhabited. In spite of its rail links with the city, the coastal plain was occupied only on the waterfront by small factories, military areas, and a small, more recent housing district (Andriello, Belli and Lepore 1991). At the beginning of the twentieth century the area was chosen as location for a new steelworks. Over the course of the century the factory extended both inward and on the coastline and a number of highly polluting industries occupied the area; at the same time, the neighborhood of Bagnoli gradually took shape around the small pre-existing allotment. The neighbourhood had strong ties with the factory and its inhabitants had a strong working identity. Set between two railways which separated it from the sea and from other urban districts, the neighbourhood developed its own specific features distinguishing Bagnoli from the rest of the city. It thus became the symbol of a 'different' Naples: working, healthy, unrelated to crime and illegal activities spreading in the rest of the city. This 'idyllic' context was counterbalanced by heavy pollution leading to a situation of risk both for human health and the environment. From an economic point of view, the steelworks went through ups and downs, between recessions and renovations, until the factory closed down in 1992 and the long dereliction of the area began. Thus evolved the myth of Bagnoli, 'the

myth of the untouchable steelwork was replaced by a new myth: the myth of an incomparably beautiful area to be returned to its naturalness and to a long-denied touristic vocation' (Lepore 2007).

Beyond myth, what were the values that could have been addressed in the reconstruction of Bagnoli? The municipal administration first chose to promote the 'natural value'; next, the area was assigned a 'political value', since its reconversion was to be an outstanding example of a new administrative trend bringing urban transformation under a system of predefined rules; finally, the municipality started to fear the 'economic value' of the site and, trying to avoid real estate speculation by private business, ended up completely forgetting the 'social value' of the area. Twenty-four years of ruinous attempts to give new life to the area followed.

The fear of speculative effects led administrations to rule out any participatory and partnership projects: the plan for the renewal of Bagnoli was carried out in an 'old fashioned' style. According to this traditional planning model, decision-making is fully delegated to the public authority which is legitimated by the postulate that institutions are depositaries, interpreters and legal representatives of the general interest (Crosta 1998). The Municipality did not accept any form of dialogue with the private sector and did not even try to manage conflict with it. It proceeded by creating an endless series of struggles with other stakeholders, who were seen as rivals rather than partners or potential allies. The result was endless procrastination, which ultimately made the plan unfeasible.

The plan which had been set up seems to have been inspired by fashionable ideal models and suggestions coming from the past, such as: reconstruction of the coastline; recovery of the beach; construction of a canal harbor with surrounding hotels; creation of a Great Park of 190 hectares; research activities; sports,. sailing, and music. All these projects were aired without taking into account the actual advantages and disadvantages, the existing obstacles, the expectations of entrepreneurs, or the needs of the inhabitants and local community. The Municipality tried to overturn the balance of power that supported real-estate speculation in the 1950s and 1960s, providing for the prior acquisition, reclamation and urbanisation of the land to be then sold to private contractors. To accomplish this strategy, a big outlay of public resources was expected with the compensatory prospect of a future financial return, without taking into account the long duration and huge costs of soil reclamation that the project would incur.

The project is not at all cross-scale. It is exclusively large-scale, everything looking oversized and only adequate on a metropolitan scale, while the local scale of the neighborhood services is totally lacking. The plan contemplates a huge and undefined public space with facilities and activities managed for the most part by public bodies. The space envisaged is largely monofunctional and the time-scale for interventions is totally unplanned. The notion of dealing with uncertainties (soil reclamation times, land uses, investors) by small steps is completely missing.

The issue of soil reclamation is the most complex aspect of the story. A new company was set up, BagnoliFutura Spa, whose shareholders were the Municipality (90%), the Region (7.5%) and the Province (2.5%). The company was to acquire, reclaim, transform, manage and sell the areas. But the plan was 'logically inconsistent and economically impossible to enforce' (Lo Cicero 2002). Beyond the great, fascinating picture inspired by the return to nature, the Municipality basically demonstrated uncertainty about uses and activities and the total lack of a clear strategic and operational vision. Indeed, the Industrial Union warned that 'the costs are underestimated and proceeds overestimated [...]. no entrepreneur will ever acquire, at the cost of 3500 EUR per sqm, hotels from whose windows you look on the back of another hotel' (Lepore 2007). Three auctions for the sale of the area intended for hotels and dwellings ended without any offers. In 2013 the Naples Public Prosecutor filed suit against Bagnoli Futura vertexes for environmental damage: according to the Prosecutor pollutants resulting from the partial reclamation of soils, instead of being transferred to appropriate landfills, had been scattered throughout the territory. In 2014 Bagnoli Futura, no longer able to pay its debts, went bankrupt and the government proceeded to enforce the administration of Bagnoli by an external commissioner.

Beyond the Myths and Values: managing the uncertainty of change

Development of the area was blocked mainly by the long story of soil reclamation, combined with the inability to manage change and to identify the real values on which to focus. The story is dominated by the valiant attempt to pursue and fulfill fascinating images, abstract ideas and

temporary suggestions instead of coping with the actual circumstances. The possibility to actively manage change, rather than merely governing it, was neglected. The principal mistake was to select a symbolic value (the 'natural' one) attributed to the area in the 1800s and stubbornly try to recover it without considering that values change, evolve, in some cases are irrecoverably lost. The past cannot be erased suddenly, so Bagnoli is no longer a natural environment and will not return to be so for a long time: soils, groundwater, beaches and sea are polluted; one century of hard industry has produced serious environmental damage. To this day, nobody really knows the extent of this damage, nor where the toxic processing residues are buried.

In the pursuit of an ideal value, a 'real' value has been forgotten, that is the social value of the area: the presence of an active and cohesive community with a strong identity, which in the post-factory era had needs to be satisfied and rebuilt. But in designing the plan, no attention was given to the civic capital of the area: 'the set of those values and persistent and shared beliefs helping a group to pursue socially valuable activities' (Guiso, Sapienza and Zingales 2007). In twenty-four years this capital has not been lost, and indeed it is 'persistent because it is rooted in intergenerational, long-term transmission mechanisms (family, school, society) ... it includes the notion of civic culture, collective sense of values, principles and social memory and it has a cultural, political and economic dimension' (Settis 2014, 107).

Bagnoli today is suspended between a past that is far away and a future that has not arrived. In conditions of extreme variability, transformative actions require extreme caution; the role of urbanism could not be reduced to devising new forms of development in an over-determined and fixed format but it should support development along a path dominated by uncertainty. Supporting development means reading the current dynamics of the area, selecting the virtuous practices and attending to them through urban and territorial policies, without trying to force them into shapes and rules set by technicians sitting at their desks. This means opting for smaller projects and for more widespread actions of care and innovation of the existing assets, pursuing appropriateness and contextual relevance rather than forcing actions into ideological frameworks. This also means opting for intervention models in consonance with the processes in place rather than uncritically replicating best practices which are distant in space and context.

The story of Bagnoli is entirely imbued with the 'formal determinism' based on the assumption that a spatial order can control history and its processes. When a space is not dealt with in a manner consistent with the social, cultural and economic processes taking place on its territory it ends up being abandoned. There is need to manage uncertainty, rather than try to eliminate it. Managing uncertainty means envisaging and funding a very small number of urban projects with strategic importance, able to form a critical mass, at the same time selecting numerous complementary small interventions, immediately achievable. It means working simultaneously on two scales, the local scale and the wider one, and with two time-lines, the immediate and the future one, in order to respond to the real needs of the people and to create development opportunities for an active and cohesive community.

Conclusions

If landscape is the product of an interpretation assuming the existence of modes of expression defined by a community, it is also true that it is the expression of an adjustment to externalities, which contribute to the configuration of a landscape's value. The images of places play a special role, notably in the age of multimodal media. Images often lead us to reconstruct the psychological environment of the early observations of the place through its physical changes. Beyond values that communities assign to places, it should be possible to speak of images that can help shape the values of places, or to infer the images that can help keep alive and reinforce their attractiveness over time.

There are indeed factors that affect the ability or flexibility of a place; there are factors that cause rigidity and difficulty in raising the attractiveness or symbolism of places. While changes go on territories are active: they are made up of places, persons, 'self-organized' systems because they are complex systems, and so are the images of change (Dematteis 1996). These images require the viewer to be located within the different contexts where change occurs to understand representations, the inner logic of adjustment, in order to identify achievable local responses to national or global stress. Actions selected from these images should derive from a survey of preferences, visions, possible trajectories and should be oriented to discover existing approaches, visions of reality and real values. An action of transformation is successful only when there is a match between uses, symbols and visions of reality.

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Landscape as key element in finding coherence in territorial policies

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A landscape is not an aesthetic option useful for tourist exploitation, (and subsequently) a restriction on or an obstacle to the freedom of speculation and destruction. What we call "landscapes" are the places where we dwell, where we live, and where others before us have lived and where, hopefully, even after us, others can live and reside.

(Bonesio 2002)

Introduction

The term 'coherence' has become a constant presence in the debate on landscape planning: it is used with different meanings and there is still no agreement on a common definition of coherence in relation to landscape. Due to this ambiguity at the theoretical level, the concept of coherence is associated to landscape in several ways:

Coherence as attribute of landscape(s), seen as the equilibrium and harmonization of different spatial, environmental, visual and aesthetic[i] elements constituting the landscape and our perception of it (Odea, Hagerhallb and Sangc 2010);

Coherence as element of landscape planning, related to diverse typologies of interventions/projects and plans/programs and to the integration of landscape planning within other territorial and environmental planning instruments (Handleya, Wooda and Kiddb 1998);

Coherence as a conceptual tool in landscape policy-making, usually linked to other 'key words' (such as diversity, complexity, identity, etc.), where coherence is used to define objectives, criteria of action, strategies and policies, even beyond their territorial connotations (Healey 2007; Kuiper 1998).

This paper analyses the role of coherence in the process shaping the 'Piano Paesaggistico Regionale' (Regional Landscape Plan) for the Region Friuli Venezia Giulia (FVG) in Italy. Within this context, the regional administration of FVG has signed an agreement with the University of Udine (Department of Human Sciences)

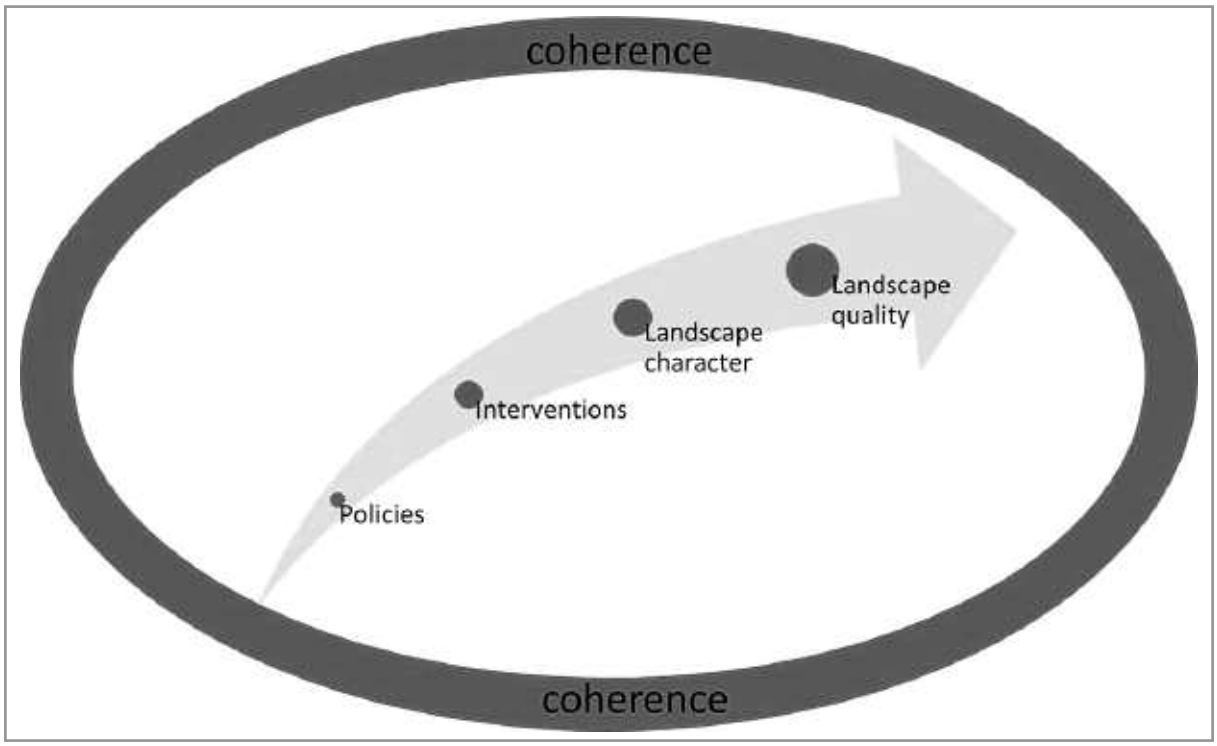

Fig. 1 Processes addressing landscape quality

to develop the 'strategic part' of the Plan.[ii] The authors are involved in different research groups and networks embedded in the definition of the strategies for the Regional Landscape Plan and this paper is a first interim outcome of the ongoing processes.

Using a case-study approach and working with qualitative methods, the research sets the landscape as indicator of coherence, exploring the process of identification of the key objectives and strategies of action in the Plan. It also examines to what extent the 'principle of coherence' has driven the choices of the regional landscape policies. In the final part of the paper, some conclusions on the role of participation and education in fostering 'practices of coherence' addressing landscape quality are outlined.

Addressing coherence in landscape planning

The European Landscape Convention (2000) defines landscape as 'an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors'.[iii] According to this statement, the Landscape Plan in Italy, regulated by Legislative Decree n. 42 (2004) 'Il Codice dei beni culturali e del paesaggio' (Cultural Heritage and Landscape Code), governs actions involving the territory as the result of the interaction between structural and human interventions.[iv]

Landscape evolves not only in relation to the trends of natural systems but mainly following interventions implemented on the territory according to different policies, which are the result of diverse decision-making processes (Fig. 1). In this context, a balanced and harmonious relationship between policies, actions and landscape quality[v] is possibile only if the principle of coherence is respected and applied. In fact, it is possible to argue that landscape is characterized as the factor that summarizes, reveals and verifies coherence in the governance of the territory. Despite this attribution of meaning and value to the landscape, especially in terms of translation and application of the coherence principle, and considering the concept of landscape provided by the European Landscape Convention (CoE 2000), a question arises: how can we effectively understand the factor of coherence and reflection that are entrusted to it?

The document of the ELC emphasizes the role of individual and collective perception, in the interpretation of the landscape components and thus in the value(s) attributed to the landscape(s) by the population. This aspect is very important and involves an inevitable impact on the effort to interweave the factor of coherence with the landscape. In fact, landscape has a complex and multifactorial, both horizontal and vertical, structure. Thus, which landscape can we measure with? Can we refer to a generic concept? How can we assume its 'official' reading: as an outcome of reading made by intellectuals, politicians and technicians? To what extent can we consider the many readings proposed by the people as an official interpretation? By trying to answer these questions, we can state that the application of the principle of coherence is not a constant mode of analysis and a distinctive procedure. It is a synthesis of the cultural situation, the political context and the capacity of representing, observing and capturing the perceptions and the thoughts of the different actors. Moreover, which kind of synthesis can politicians and planners make by placing coherence in such different readings of the landscape?

Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA), as defined at European level (2001/42/EC), focuses on coherence as well. It specifies that environmental protection objectives, established at International, Community or Member State levels, have been taken into account during planning definition. Despite this, SEA was not always able to lead different sectoral policies, or achieve integration at different levels (Jordan and Lenschow 2010).

In this context we argue that landscape can be seen as a coherence indicator of territorial policies, where the contradictions of such planning policies appear and should be intelligible. In fact, different territorial policies modify landscape characters[vi] and determine complex results related to the capacity of dialogue among diverse actions within a context of coherence. For this reason, landscape planning processes have to consider the coherence principle as a key factor in leading territorial policies, with the aim of achieving landscape quality.

The Regional Landscape Plan of Friuli Venezia Giulia

According to the national normative frame, of 2013[vii], the FVG region has started the process of defining the Regional Landscape Plan. The plan is structured in three parts:

The normative part, defining the elements and 'goods' under protection, and zoning the territory of the administrative Region in areas (called 'landscape ambits'; *It.* ambiti), which implement specific policies of

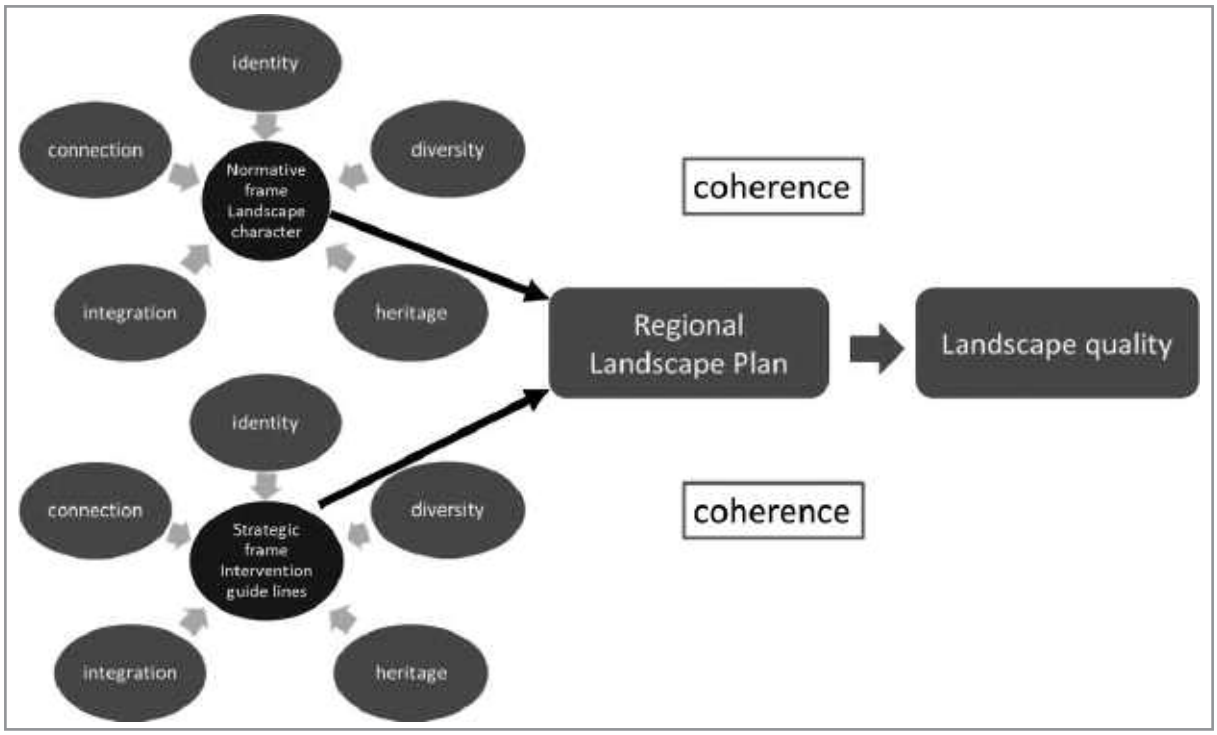

Fig. 2 Mechanisms structuring the FVG landscape planning process.

conservation and development of the landscape, according to the national legislation (see endnote 3);

The strategic part, building a multidimensional strategy, embedded in three networks (dealing with Heritage, Ecology and Soft Mobility) and four guidelines (addressing Territory Consumption, Infrastructures, Energy and Sustainable Tourism);

The managing part, dealing with the implementation of the normative and strategic parts, with monitoring activities in relation to landscape transformations and with the creation of 'landscape observatories' to integrate the tools of the Regional Landscape Plan with the other policies involving the territory.

A key choice, which help connect the three structural parts of the Plan, deals with participation. This process of community involvement is taking place through focus groups at the local level, participatory activities in schools and the activation of an online tool seeking to capture knowledge and values of the regional landscapes.

Following this approach, the FVG region administration is seeking the harmonization of regional landscape planning with other sectorial policies (ie transport, infrastructures, energy, urban planning). In this sense, the process defining the objectives in the Landscape Plan was implemented through an analysis of regional strategic policies and planning instruments in place (horizontal coherence)[viii], formulated in accordance with the European Landscape Convention and the Cultural Heritage and Landscape Code (vertical coherence).[ix]

Using a synthetic image of the landscape plan objectives (Fig. 2), we can identity five main principles that structure both the character of the landscape, understood in its essential components (building the normative frame), and guidelines for the interventions on the landscape (defining the strategic frame). These two aspects inform the Regional Landscape Plan. In this framework, coherence is the key in ensuring landscape quality.
These basic principles, expressed in keywords, are the elements of the sectoral policies of the region that must relate, from the perspective of coherence:

The first is *community*. With reference to the key points of the ELC, the theme of the relationship between man and the natural elements is emphasized. From this comes the organisation of the territory and thus the landscape forms. Furthermore, the role of the populations in defining the dynamics, as well as assigning landscape significance and values, is also underlined. The landscape is intended as an element of identity, not of closure, in which individuals recognize themselves in relation to each other and the territory. Coherence with other plans comes from the ability to strengthen ties between communities and places of life.

The second objective is related to the importance of safeguarding *heritage*. The protection, conservation and enhancement of heritage, recognised as a set of all the resources, both natural and man made, are aspects closely related to the concept of environmental sustainability. The Plan should identify which elements of the landscape require immediate protection, and which are the characteristics that need specific actions to preserve the quality of the landscape. This interpretation shows the need to consider landscape in a transversal manner in all decisions made in other areas and levels of regional planning.

The third key element is the importance of the preservation of *diversity* by recognizing the uniqueness of landscapes, ecosystems and species, and economic and cultural values. Diversity is defined in two general objectives relating to biodiversity and the diversity of the region's landscapes. The FVG region has a great number of landscapes that on the one hand are linked to its natural conformation and the relative presence of habitats, while on the other, it is linked to its history that through man's actions has characterized this territory.

The fourth key word refers to the issue of *connections*. Networks are central for the Plan strategy. Nodes and networks, through which moving flows of matter, energy, animals, people and services, characterize the territorial system and, therefore, the landscape. The whole system is linked to different landscapes and comes to life by these connections.

The fifth element of the regional strategy deals with the issue of *integration*. Levels and sectors organize territorial governance. Actions at different levels determine the transformation of the territory and for this reason the unity of political and administrative work is a key point.

To obtain coherence, these conceptual nodes structuring the Plan should inform other territorial policies. Without this kind of political choice, territorial and sectoral planning will not achieve the objective of coherence.

Conclusions

The principle of coherence is applied and monitored at two levels: the first is related to the concept of landscape itself, while the second is connected to the harmonization between landscape planning and the different sectoral policies. The application of the five key principles of the FVG Plan cannot be related only to normative and political procedures, as long as it is necessary to foster long-term cultural processes based mainly on participation at community level. Participation, which has to be translated into policies and actions, is related to the single essential paradigm of active democracy. In fact, without real participation, the democratic practice is certainly imperfect. Participation is connected with educational policies, which have a primary importance to develop civic awareness, sense of responsibility for the common good, and to ensure real contribution from civil society to decision-making processes (Mortari, 2008; Santerini, 2010). In the case of the Friuli Venezia Giulia Landscape Plan, the attempt is to strengthen participation in a non-marginal way. This is the only way that the perceptions, the analyses and hypothesis of intervention produced by the people can occupy a key position within the processes of drawing and redrawing the territorial scenarios. Besides, 'the people ask to be questioned at least about things that surely will influence their future: they are those who have to live there, they will have to pay' (Turoldo, 2001, p. 96). However, to ensure that citizens are able to exercise their ideal proactive and planning sovereignty with awareness and sense of responsibility, educational policies are needed. These policies should address the understanding of the complex dynamics, which organize the territories and produce landscape mosaics.

Despite the different governments and their diverse political choices, the application of the principle of coherence is connected to participation and to the degree of involvement of civil society in landscape strategic decisions and questions top-down forms of landscape planning.

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Notes

[i] To be emphasized that '[...] a landscape is always more aesthetically worthy of consideration when it shows to have its own identity, that is, a coherence that has overseen its transformations over time, keeping it readable as a harmonic context. It should not be made shapeless and disfigured with incongruous artefacts, or with settlements contrasting with traditional layouts nor should the changes be discordant and out of tune with the setting in which it has been placed, as if by force (internal coherence)' (D'Angelo, 2010, p. 42).

[ii] Signed the 21st July 2014, according to the Regional Law 7, 20th March 2000.

[iii] Art.1.a of European Landscape Convention, Firenze, 2000.

[iv] In particular, as far as the landscape is concerned, the law points out that «landscape means the territory expressive of identity, the character of which derives from natural and human factors actions and from their interrelation» (L.D., 22/01/2004, art. 31).

[v] 'Landscape Quality (or condition) is based on judgements about the physical state of the landscape, and about its intactness, from visual, functional, and ecological perspectives. It also reflects the state of repair of individual features and elements which make up the character in any one place' (Tudor C., 2014)

[vi] 'Landscape character can be defined as the presence, variety and arrangement of landscape features, which give a landscape a specific identity and make it stand out from surrounding landscapes' (Jellema A.et al, 2009)

[vii] Regional Law 14, 11th October 2013 (modification of the Regional Law 5, 23rd February 2007) following the National Legislative Decree 42, 22nd January 2004 (related to the article 10 of the National Law 137, 6th July 2002).

[viii] Horizontal coherence is intended as methodology coordinating different policies at the regional level.

[ix] Vertical Coherence is understood as methodology coordinating European, national and regional policies.

Vegetable garden as a source of identity

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Abstract

The paper will look into the creation of landscape and place identity in the life-worlds among very distinct, tightly-knit, rather closed and traditional community of Russian Old Believers (Starovery) in Estonia, based on oral history interviews. Situated for centuries on marginalized and poor lands where even the hay for a cow had to be transported with boats from mire areas along Lake Peipus, every inch of the land, ie vegetable garden, had to be worked upon. For almost a century onion has been the main cultivar, making the region known from the outside as The Onion Route, yet in the beginning of the 20th century it could have been the chicory route. Despite of the political and social changes, the landscape has gained and preserved its distinct character from the holy trinity: the realm of mainly women tending for garden, men fishing, and faith, is now being threatened by the encroachment of post-productivist landscapes.

Introduction

Gardens are the most intimate touching point of human and nature and, as such, much has been written about them (on situating domestic garden amid recent work on landscape in geography see Ginn 2014, 230-3). There are instances that garden becomes a detachable continuation of home (Tuan 2002, xi-xx). Much time and work becomes invested in gardens making them moral landscapes (Matlass 1994). Caitlin DeSilvey tries to list on several occasions the various merits of [allotment] gardens: public health and nutrition, social inclusion, education, therapy, biodiversity, wildlife habitat, open space, exercise, community-building, urban revitalization, waste management, heritage, skills training, sustainability, etc (DeSilvey 2003). Gardens come in different forms; in this paper the focus is on the feeling of loss while experiencing and witnessing the turn from the productive vegetable (or kitchen) gardens into 'leisure' ones.

In the 20th century the notion of garden has similarities and differences in the West and East of Europe; in the latter garden has mainly meant subsistence agriculture and farming, tended by women and families often after working hours.

Anna *(born 1951): Started to grow cucumbers. Then few did. My sister and I had a greenhouse for 1800 seedlings. Can you imagine the work?! We came from Tartu [45 km] after work and were working in the greenhouse until 1 AM. Then we went back to town and work. In the weekends we went to Leningrad's [now St. Petersburg, Russia] market.*

Anu*: When did you sleep?*

Hannes*: You did not sleep!*

Anna*: Around 4–5 hours.*

Hannes*: You slept during winter, yes?*

Anna*: During winter we rested. As we said, we go to work to have a rest.*

The 'security of tenure' (ibid.) has a completely different dimension in Estonia. In the beginning of the long 20th century the land was owned mainly by Baltic German landlords in the Russian empire, and could be bought for private property, yet many could not afford it even with the help of the bank loan. In 1919 with the rise of the nation state (1918) Baltic German land was nationalized and also given as an award to soldiers. With the soviet occupation in 1940, all land was nationalized and later collectivized. Re-independence in 1991 came with the practice of land restitution for 'rightful' heirs. Thus, the feeling of having something stable as property in this layered landscape (Palang et al. 2006) pattern is not common, although memories and attachments (Maandi 2009) – despite deportations to Siberia, fleeing westwards, resettling, moving to towns – remained. Land identity (Stobbelaar and Pedroli 2011) has long followed Estonians, since before the 19th century they were referred simply to as country-folk.

The case in this paper comes from the marginalized area of Estonia, where very distinct, tightly-knit, rather closed and traditional community of Russian Old Believers (Starovery) on the western shores of one of the biggest lakes in Europe – Lake Peipus – have been settled for centuries. The main political and socio-economic whirlwinds have been shared with Estonians but their situation has been somewhat different. We start with an

overview of the Starovery, followed by an account of their take on vegetable gardens based on oral history interviews and chance encounters while conducting participatory GIS exercise.

Russian Old Believers (Starovery)

The border lake between Estonia and Russia – Lake Peipus (Peipsi in Estonian, Чудское [Chudskoe] in Russian) – began to form a political and/or cultural border zone about 1000 years ago, when the eastern and southern shores of the lake were settled by eastern Slavs. Since 13th century the lake has served as a boundary between eastern and western Christianity and a boundary between Europe and Russia (Kurs 2006).

In Middle Ages the lake was used in common by neighbouring Estonian and Votian village communities. Customary law allowed everybody from the neighbourhood to fish in the lake. Up to the 14th century there was no permanent settlement on the lakeshore – only during the 15th century did the first fishermen villages appear. The land surrounding the lake was not well suited for agriculture, so the lake and the activities connected with the lake provided a living. During the 18th–19th centuries the people of Estonian, Votian, Izhorian (all Finno-Ugric) and Russian origin amalgamated into two distinct groups defined by language and religion – Estonian speakers who were mostly Lutherans, and Russian speakers who divided into two groups – Orthodox and Starovery.

Russian Old Believers (or Starovery or Raskolniks) follow the traditions of older Russian Orthodoxy and do not approve of the church reforms carried out by Patriarch Nikon supported by Czar Alexey I in the 1650s and 1660s. To avoid persecution, they fled beyond the boundaries of what was then Russia, reaching the shores of Lake Peipus sometime around the end of 17th century. A more numerous community of Starovery settled the shores of Lake Peipus after the Great Nordic War (Estonia belonged now instead of Sweden to Russia) in the 1730s and rented land and fishing gear. They cultivated the bad sandy soils that the Baltic German landlords and Estonian peasants showed no interest in.

During the first period of independent Estonia, the Old Believers had not actually owned their land but only rented it from the State. Therefore the forced collectivisation of the Soviet period could not inflict very much harm on the region's economy. After Estonian re-independence, the land could be formulated as a property.

Despite the turmoil of political and socio-economic changes the landscape has gained and preserved its distinct character. The region of Starovery is perceived as different from everything else, a somewhat separate corner. While designating valuable landscapes for planning purposes back in 2000s (Palang et al. 2007) the best description of that perception was given by the late Zosima Sampsonovich Jotkin, the then leader of the Old Believers' community:

> *"Our landscape reaches maximum five kilometres from the lake. Then forests and bogs begin. No, we are not afraid of those people living behind the forest, we do communicate with them, but there is not much to do there. Our life has face towards the lake and back towards the mainland."*

Local folklore has a charming explanation for different settlement patterns: when God sowed people on the Earth he dropped Estonians one by one, but Starovery by handfuls, with the result that Estonians live in scattered farms without any coherent village core, whereas Old Believers live densely, side-by-side, on both sides along the kilometres-long main street – the so-called street-village.

Behind houses there are vegetable gardens that feature unfamiliarly high beds since the ground water level is elevated (Figure 1). The poor soils have led to peculiar agricultural techniques that increase the fertility of the soils. Anna is meshing times:

> *"Nobody claimed these lands very much. That's why we have remained here, because of bogs and bushes! People have made the gardens themselves. Very much manure was brought from cattle. Later also mud from lake was very much used and more, if there was a lot of smelt in the lake, we also used to lay it in the garden. That's why the fertile layer is enough."*

So permaculture is in use – weeds are dumped between the beds one year and a bed is made there the next year. The vegetable growing is still accompanied by beliefs, customs and rituals, such as following the weather omens and sticking to the church and folk calendars.

While conversing, a strong sense of an 'us and them attitude manifests. Enquiring about what makes them

Fig. 1. Part of the garden still features high onion-beds (photo: A. Printsmann, 11.06.2015).

distinct and distinguishes them, first listed is faith, supported by fishing for men and 'gardening' for women – the holy trinity of Starovery.

Thanks to their religion, remarkably, the Old Believers were able to retain a strong social control over their economy, social life and life-style. They are not, however, totally excluded from Estonian and modern society. Many of them speak Estonian freely as they served in farms, traded, worked elsewhere or were educated in cities; they sometimes distance themselves from 'soviets' who are perceived as easy-going and rootless people, whereas Starovery appreciate the morality of hard work, like Lutherans or Estonians. They do use the Internet and mobile phones but when serving a cup of coffee or tea with well-known Russian welcoming spirit, they use an extra service for guests, which they later wash with boiling water.

Onions

As earnings were a few, all the land around a house (plot sizes around and just over 1000 m^2) was turned into a vegetable garden, and the produce was traded for grain and potatoes, or sold to provide subsistence in the long 20th century. Because of the poor soils not many options were available for cultivation and onion has become the bread winner. Good times arrived with the Soviet planned economy and the opening of borders made available the huge Leningrad market some 350km away. Land shortage, however, meant that even hay for cows had to be transported on boat, or sledge during the winter, from mire areas along [frozen] Lake Peipus. This made the landscape to look very neat, tidy and orderly, nothing 'wasted' (DeSilvey 2007).

With Estonian re-independence the population of Peipsiääre (the edge or rim of Peipsi in Estonian) municipality, where the majority has been formed by Old Believers, has fallen from over 1000 inhabitants in 2000 to less than 700 by 2015. The mean gross salary was below 700 euros but it was earned by a mere 160 individuals out of the total population in 2015. Migration, especially among the young, has been huge, leaving more than half of the inhabitants over 50 years old and a third of these over 65. Aging, the bodily decline (Ginn 2014) and free market economy make onion

Fig. 2. Landscape remembers: the pattern of the high onion-beds is visible in the new 'leisure' garden (photo: A. Printsmann, 11.06.2015).

growing unviable as the border-crossing to Russia requires a visa, and the 700km drive is not worthwhile, resulting in landscape change (Figure 2).

Anna's daughter made the calculations of her earnings from garden divided per year – 20 euros per month:

***Anu**: Concerning landscape change, has something remained the same?*

***Anna**: Nothing, first, everybody has lawns in their gardens now.*

Anna describes their life-world with the ties with the land, how 'making' a garden is embedded in their blood:

> *"Here people don't like the overgrowth. All the time feeling sorry for the land. But also sad to abandon it. Do you get with how much pain we desert it bit by bit? Soul is hurting. My old landlady who didn't have kids left me the house. She asked only not to discard the land and not to take the icons out of the house. Icons and land."*

In order to promote the sale of onions on domestic market and to tourists, The Onion Route[1] initiative has been formed (Figure 3). Also, the healthy diet has been realised into the Fish and Onion Restaurant of the Old Believers of Kolkja, which is closed during winter. The Starovery themselves use it only for memorial dinners for the deceased, as everything is prepared according the rules. Currently, it seems that Baldacchino's (2015) suspicions concerning the food fad sustaining rural communities via rural tourism in a glocalized world are justified. On the other hand, it became evident from the interviews that up to the 1920s the main cultivar was not the onion but the chicory, which was sold to Finland and Russia for coffee. Thus the Old Believers have pulled the chestnuts out of fire before, adapting to new situations, albeit still eking out an existence from the vegetable garden.

Vegetable gardens as source of identity

The region's identity is threefold: faith, supported by fishing for men and 'gardening' for women (see DeSilvey 2003 on the small role of women), although the beds were made together – the holy trinity of Starovery. The constant care-taking of the vegetable not 'leisure' garden became the extension of home about which everybody has strong feelings. The attitude towards the garden is much the same as that of Estonians to the landed property – as their whole property is their garden – Old Believers have much more intimate relation to it.

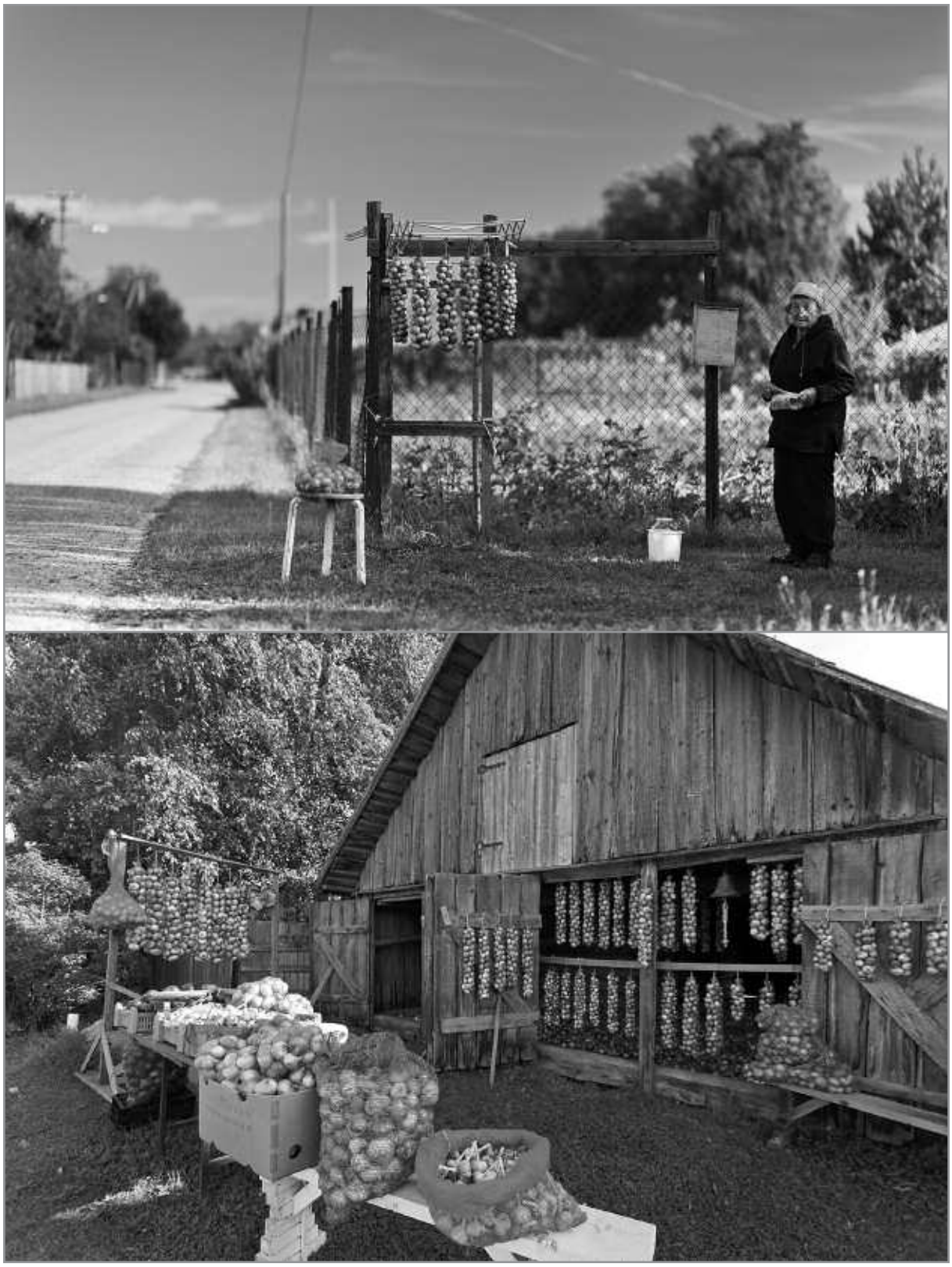

Fig. 3. The Onion Route (http://sibulatee.ee/pildid-ja-videod/pildigaleriid/suvine-sibulatee/?lang=en).

Today's 'leisure' gardens need maintenance as well but it can be done with lawn-mowers and trimmers, while the 'starlings' can live in apartments during the winter. Invested work, and also partly due to relative poverty, deemed that every square centimetre is made use of, constituted in neat and tidy moral landscapes which are nowadays overgrown and disappearing on account of the market economy and aging (see Ginn 2014 on bodily decline). Starovery, being like the last of the Mohicans, mourn and grieve the loss of a 'way of life'; they feel like

'mammoths' in second home or summer cottage landscape.

Garden as individual personal place transgresses and transpires through common community practices into a landscape that is felt, that is lost. As Per Gustafson has indicated, identity raises from the trinity of self – others – environment (Gustafon 2001). Rose, Degen and Basdas 2010) speak of the feelings of *of*, *in* and *about* built landscapes that could be applied to individual and collective facets of the Old Believers' garden landscape identity (Stobbelaar and Pedroli 2006), although their landscapes have been otherwise 'built', constituted, constructed, created through communal actions.

Landscape change and regret is a common phenomenon, would geographies of absence (Wiley 2009; see also Ginn 2014) give it a new twist, as landscapes are absent, not necessarily the people?

Acknowledgements

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Notes

[1]The Onion Route web page http://sibulatee.ee/?lang=en (9.03.2016).

Landscape and Planning: Exploring the Relationship in Decision-Making

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Introduction

Following the European Landscape Convention (ELC) it has often been suggested that decision-making processes need to adapt better to value-laden approaches to landscape. The ELC champions a holistic interpretation that is a bold move for landscape: ambitious, yet vague; an ideal, yet pragmatic. Above all, it responds exceptionally well to a century of rich literature on landscape and place. Yet what if established decision-making processes not only need less adapting than might be perceived but, in reality, actually support the landscape purpose? This paper explores evidence that the cognitive and procedural aspects of the planning domain - in the face of conflict and competing interests- embrace a value-laden landscape meaning and strengthen decision-making.

In 2014 Ireland marked the 50th anniversary of the implementation of its statutory planning system. The *Local Government (Planning and Development Act) 1963*, and its subsequent adoption in 1964, became the foundation of contemporary Irish planning as we know it. Consequently, this legislation was to have a vital role in the shaping of the Irish landscape.

The long-awaited publication of *A National Landscape Strategy for Ireland* in 2015 recognised this fundamental relationship between landscape and planning. Since the emergence of government's Issues Paper for the strategy in 2011, the planning system has been presented as the primary vehicle for delivering Ireland's response to the objectives of the *European Landscape Convention (2000),* which Ireland ratified in 2002. No move was more symbolic of this relationship than that of the adoption of the ELC's definition of landscape into planning law. In unison with the ELC, The *Planning and Development (Amendment) Act 2010* now presented landscape as 'an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors'.

In spite of this, criticisms of the shortcomings of this relationship over the last two decades provided the fuel by which to further arguments for the necessity of a major legislative jolt to how we engage with landscape. While any national or European attention on landscape is a welcome development, especially for empowering landscape discussions and addressing serious inconsistencies in country-wide landscape character assessments, there is evidence to suggest that the landscape – planning relationship is not so under-developed. And this is true for both theoretical and practical contexts. Central to criticisms has been the lack of definition of landscape in planning law, with this oversight conveyed as a core faux-pas of the planning system. Yet it is misguided and incorrect to equate a lack of definition with a lack of proper engagement, as it is to suggest the need to 'landscape-proof' (Heritage Council 2010, 11) all existing primary legislation, government programmes and policies. Notwithstanding the undeniable necessity for improvements in training, public consultation and assessments, as emphasised by invaluable bodies like the Heritage Council, Landscape Alliance Ireland and the Irish Landscape Institute, contributions to the landscape agenda by the planning system in ordinary day-to-day decision making have gone largely undetected. The same can also be said for the similarities in the main paradigm shifts that have separately shaped landscape and planning studies into what they are today. By addressing some key aspects of the cognitive and procedural processes that bind planning and landscape, this paper makes a case for planning in taking on the challenges of landscape.

Landscape and Planning: Synergies in Paradigm Shifts

Up until the 1960s, planning had been largely defined by utopian visions and physical and design-led approaches to improve quality of life. However, at this time, a major shift in the discipline brought about a re-thinking of traditional approaches. The planning discipline now became concerned with a rational view of planning as *process* rather than as a prescriptive blueprint that failed to account for inevitable changes and the dynamism of places. It was a shift that was to hugely define the future of modern planning. However in the 1980s, another equally notable shift emerged from criticisms that this rational view was overly reliant on technocratic decision-making; that, while it had great influence, it still had its

failings in accounting for the nuances and complexities of how places functioned. The concern grew from the realisation of planning as 'a value-laden activity whose success or failure has consequences for the society encompassing it' (Forester 1993, 15) and how 'we have to think more and more deeply about the values that should inform our practices, including how to move from values to action' (Friedmann 2011, 212). The shift was quintessential of a radical postmodern conversion of public policy analysis. Drawing parallels with contemporary theorists like Fainstein (2005) and Sandercock (2000), Healy (2003, 329) encourages this new generation of ideas which defy the previous constraints of what she sees as 'narrow instrumental rationality' and respond to this cultural diversity. This wave of thinking is therefore based on a value-laden, pluralistic and communicative approach, deeply concerning itself with a more democratic practice of place-making.

The emergence of the *European Landscape Convention* in 2000 brought about a fresh appetite for a similarly democratic approach to dealing with landscape. While concerns for ordinary and cultural landscapes had gained attention in the late 1970s and 1980s through the work of writers like Jackson (1985), Meinig (1979) and Tuan (1979), it was not until 2000 that a value-laden interpretation of landscape had been formally presented for serving decision-making. It propelled a new generation of landscape studies and literature that consciously and explicitly addressed landscape through an ELC-based perspective; heavily rich in meaning, highly holistic, value-focused and often championing meaningful community engagement. Juxtaposing these paradigm shifts crystalises the cognitive and normative compatibilities that firmly exist between landscape and planning studies, thus making a case in theoretical terms for the landscape – planning relationship.

Landscape in Practice: Day-to-Day Decision Making

'If contested spaces are exceptional places which illuminate attitudes towards landscape, it is the mundane work of planning authorities in everyday places which is shaping the distinctive contemporary character of most places. Most landscape change that is subject to regulatory control take place without making headlines,' (McGrath 2013, 80).

This observation by McGrath depicts how the combined force of incremental decisions can often have a greater effect on our landscape than any single dramatic change. What gives this further merit is in the fact that planning *achievements* so to speak – in the interests of landscape – are usually of a preventative rather than permissive nature. This is also somewhat reflective of Pickvance's (1977) theory of planning as a *negative* power. Although it may not always be the case, this theory holds some weight in decision-making where landscape is an issue. Landscape is still predominantly regarded as something rural, unspoilt and therefore more often than not considered as something to be protected *against* development. Even though the inclusion of the urban/built-up environment has gained momentum in landscape discussions, the fact remains that landscape issues and contested developments are much more likely to arise in less built-up areas. This is not simply because of a non-urban landscape psyche, but because most changes in rural and coastal landscapes tend to be more obvious – especially to those who live there. As a result, what might be deemed as great planning achievements are in reality often invisible and cumulative; everyday mundane decisions spanning over a lengthy time frame; and reflective of what could be a very good strategic policy operating in any one jurisdiction. In this way, it becomes easier to identify more obvious *failings* of the planning system where landscape is concerned.

Exploring Planning Appeals in the Iveragh Peninsula, County Kerry

However, in keeping with McGrath's insights, there is a greater truth lying beneath the superficial impression of planning so often accompanied by negative criticism of controversial one-off cases which attract most attention. While these provide key insights in their own right, they need to be balanced with a bigger picture of how planning is fairing in dealing with landscape in everyday unassuming cases. A recent examination (by the author) of a large number of Irish planning appeals reveals promising implications for how landscape is being addressed in ordinary day-to-day decision making. By gradually adding various filters and criteria, a workable but significant dataset of 156 appeal cases from An Bord Pleanála was produced. It offered a large-scale perspective of planning decisions across a wide area on the Iveragh Peninsula, County Kerry, in the South West of Ireland.

The cases were also selected as they appeared over an important ten-year time frame (2003-2013) within which a new generation of development plans emerged throughout the country. This is in line with the statutory

requirement by the *Planning and Development Act 2000* for all authorities (City, Borough, Town and County Councils) to make development plans every six years. The making of the *Kerry County Development Plan* (CDP) in 2003, for instance responded to the requirements of the Act. It is these plans that contain the policy objectives relied on by both the local authority planners and the An Bord Pleanála inspectors in each appeal report. When related to the corresponding development plan policy objectives (e.g. scenic designations and landscape character areas), this approach gives a flavour of how policies might be strong or weak in this regard.

The detection of the presence and manifestations of landscape was the central objective in this study which included an analysis of both the Inspector's Reports and Board's Decisions in each of the 156 appeal cases. Landscape was identified in both explicit and tacit forms, so as not to exclude clear engagements of landscape even where the term *landscape* itself was absent (e.g. where reference is made to visual impact, scenic amenity, cultural setting, and aesthetic value to name but a few). A total of 34 An Bord Pleanála Inspectors were recorded as having dealt with one or more of the 156 cases, signifying that the findings are not overly influential by the biases or preferences of individual inspectors.

Figure 1 shows the case study area of the main peninsula overlaid with its key landscape amenity designations, as interpreted in the *Kerry County Development Plan, 2003.* The range of planning appeals selected account for all areas of the peninsula, from those within prime and secondary amenity designations, to those within more ordinary or built-up areas, and from coastal lowlands to steep inland uplands.

Summary of Key Findings

Some of the most significant discoveries of the study were in relation to the frequency of how much landscape is engaged with in planning, together with the level of detail and the weighting of landscape in final decisions by An Bord Pleanála.

With regard to the presence of landscape, landscape appeared in some form (including brief, tacit or contrived forms) in an exceptionally high majority of cases. Cases where landscape was deemed absent primarily centred on

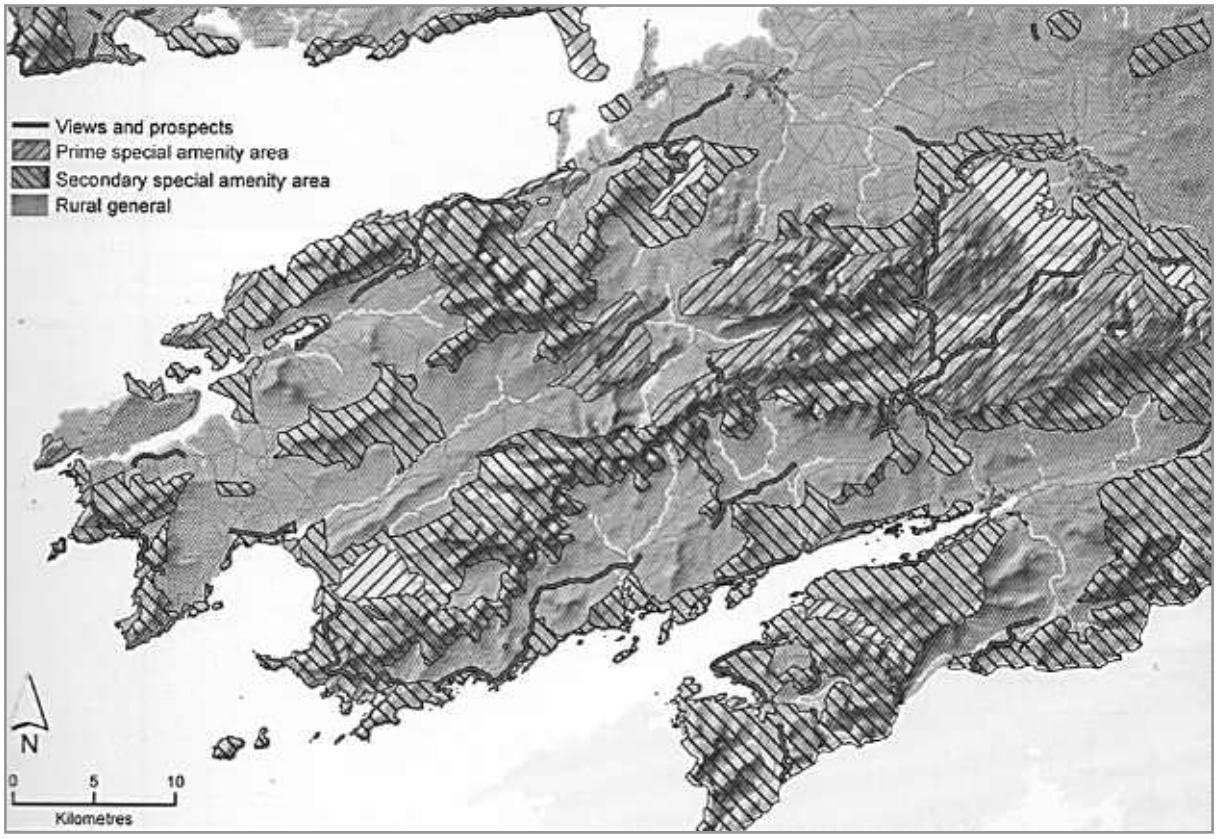

Fig. 1 Kerry County Council amenity designation data on the Iveragh Peninsula, County Kerry, showing large areas of Prime and Secondary Special Amenity and equally large areas of less restrictive Rural General areas. Views and Prospects are also presented which mark the location of scenic routes (O' Sullivan, 2009).

traffic issues. Similarly, a high majority directly made explicit references to landscape. Landscape generally had a much stronger and more coherent presence in refusal cases, reflects the closer relationship landscape has with preventative planning powers as opposed to permissive.

With regard to the weighting of landscape in final decisions, well over half (accounting for both refusals and permissions) were firmly influenced by landscape, whether explicitly or tacitly. Explicit cases scored higher than tacit in becoming a clear determining issue, signifying strength in the direct use of the term *landscape*. Landscape was a clear determining issue in the majority of refusal cases, again reiterating the more preventative trend. Designations also played a significant role in this context, with the majority of cases that lay within a landscape amenity area being refused for such reasons. The same trend applied for cases which lay on or near a scenic route.

With regard to the level of engagement and detail in the planning inspector's assessment, this was categorised using a quantitatively gauged breakdown of: 1) exceptional depth; 2) much depth; 3) reasonable depth; 4) limited depth; and 5) mentioned briefly. Of the 132 explicit cases, 9 reports dealt with landscape in *exceptional* depth with landscape dominating the entire discussion. This was followed by a positive 71% of explicit cases addressing landscape in *much* or *reasonable* depth. A relatively low minority of 22% of cases saw landscape discussed in *limited* depth or mentioned *briefly.* The same pattern did not emerge for the lower number of tacit cases. Of the 22, landscape was mentioned briefly in the majority of cases, thereby confirming a consistent trend that tacit occurrences score lower in weighting, with 6 cases presenting landscape in *much* or *reasonable depth.*

While the majority of landscape manifestations revolved around visual impact, discussions nevertheless covered a wide range of landscape values, from the scenic/aesthetic, to historical, archaeological, cultural and environmental layers of interest, as well as a wide range of landscape types, from the typically outstanding and rural to the ordinary and urban. It is argued that the reason for a lower level of the emergence of deeper and more cultural values is simply due to the fact that these did not arise as issues as often as the visual impact of any one development. However where such values were expressed, planning was well equipped to address them, drawing on sturdy development plan policies and succeeding in landscape arguments in the majority of cases. In this way, these examples of day-to-day planning exhibit a consistent and promising trend of engaging with landscape for the values being both observed by the decision-makers, and the stakeholders involved (ie appellants, observers, objectors, consultants). Together, these factors synthesize with the approaches laid out by the ELC. It also shows that planning has been giving solid attention to landscape regardless of the adoption of the ELC's definition in the *Planning and Development (Amendment) Act 2010*, since the time-frame of the appeals selection covers the 7 years prior to this adoption.

The fact that all cases were applications that had gone to appeal, thus being tied with conflict and disagreement among interested parties, revealed that, where deemed in the interest of proper planning and sustainable development, planning maintained a firm stance on landscape in spite of such conflict and contested issues.

Conclusion

The European Landscape Convention has been a critical milestone for the preservation, management and planning of landscapes. It has brought landscape into national agendas throughout Europe in a new era of landscape democracy and environmental awareness. It has consciously provided a much needed legislative support for decision-makers in the face of accelerated environmental, social and economic changes and in light of rising challenges for achieving sustainable development. While the inseparable relationship between landscape and planning has now been recognised by the ELC and the National Landscape Strategy, this paper unveils that such a relationship has long been embedded into even the most mundane and routine reflexes of the planning system. This system, with its proven capacity and history of making often difficult decisions, and with its principles reflective of planning's democratic and pluralistic paradigm shift, is therefore well equipped to accommodate an ELC-styled approach, and work with such strategic initiatives to strengthen and empower landscape in the decision-making process.

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Beyond Dreaming

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Introduction

In April 2015 Suffolk Coastal District Council formally endorsed the Deben Estuary Plan[i]; this is a holistic management plan for the River Deben in Suffolk, for which the Deben Estuary Partnership[ii] (a partnership of community, institutional and governmental interests upon the river) was set up in 2008. After such a long incubation, its completion would have been cause for celebration were it not for the immediate notification of intention by a local boatyard to reclaim a small area of saltmarsh on the Upper Deben for conversion into hardstanding for boats. In parallel with vital concerns, such as managing flood risk, the plan enshrines the protection of intertidal saltmarsh habitat upon the river and although the local planning department was both partner in the generation of the plan and signatory to it, for perfectly plausible reasons in this instance it is disinclined to protect the river margins from development that would threaten environmental integrity. Unfortunately although the plan has authority as 'material consideration', when it comes to the crunch, it appears to be only as binding as it is convenient.

Well over a decade ago I resolved to concentrate upon exploring and articulating the cultural implications of Environmental Change. At policy level adaptation to and mitigation of change is limited to an utterly instrumental cause and effect approach, experienced on the ground as a business as normal logistical matter with scant consideration given to the inherent value placed upon land and landscape by those people who happen to live in them. As a consequence, it is becoming increasingly clear that to ignore the need to foster a sense of community ownership in policy development is to risk its rejection and consequent failure at governance stage.

In 2005 a draft management strategy for the River Blyth Estuary in Suffolk was published by the Environment Agency[iii], which for all manner of reasons proved to be a lesson in how not to deliver a consultation to a local community. This happened to be a moment when public expectation and central government capability to fulfill it were on a collision course. Perhaps it had not been sufficiently spelled out before, but this was to be a point when it began to dawn on the public that the security of the coastal environment would not automatically be the obligation of a benign authority.

Estuarine Strategies are generated nationally as a rolling programme by consultants working on behalf of the Environment Agency. They are periodically reviewed with reference to previous policy and current condition according to most recent data. Due consideration is given to any shift in the guidelines for application of policy, changes in current and anticipated drivers that might affect the resilience of a particular site such as human usage, increased levels of vulnerability and most crucially, the economic capability or intention to intervene.

We live at a time when approaches to intervention by central government are in transition; this is partly because old methodologies are considered to be flawed and to continue to apply them would be considered unsustainable and ultimately unaffordable. The familiar refrain of the Environment Agency is that it is a statutory agency and has permissive right to manage the coastal environment but is not legally obliged to do so, but communities generally have difficulty with this distinction and therefore feel betrayed when government represented by its dedicated agency claims an inability to act on their behalf. In 2005 when it became the turn of the Blyth Estuary at Southwold to be re-surveyed and the management strategy brought up to date, the engineering consultancy Black and Veatch were appointed to act for the Environment Agency. The Blyth Estuary has a difficult entrance that is kept open by two concrete training walls separating Southwold Beach to the North from Walberswick Beach to the South. Over the last century the marshland lining the estuary, reclaimed progressively over previous centuries, has been gradually returning to its original state as, one by one, flood walls breach and incrementally fail. Although a gradual process, it only takes an extra high spring tide or tidal surge for a tipping point to be reached and the viability of the entire harbor is drawn into question.

This was the state of the estuary when the new study was undertaken. Due to the continued failure of defence walls, more water has been entering the lower estuary on each tide. The amount of water entering and leaving the

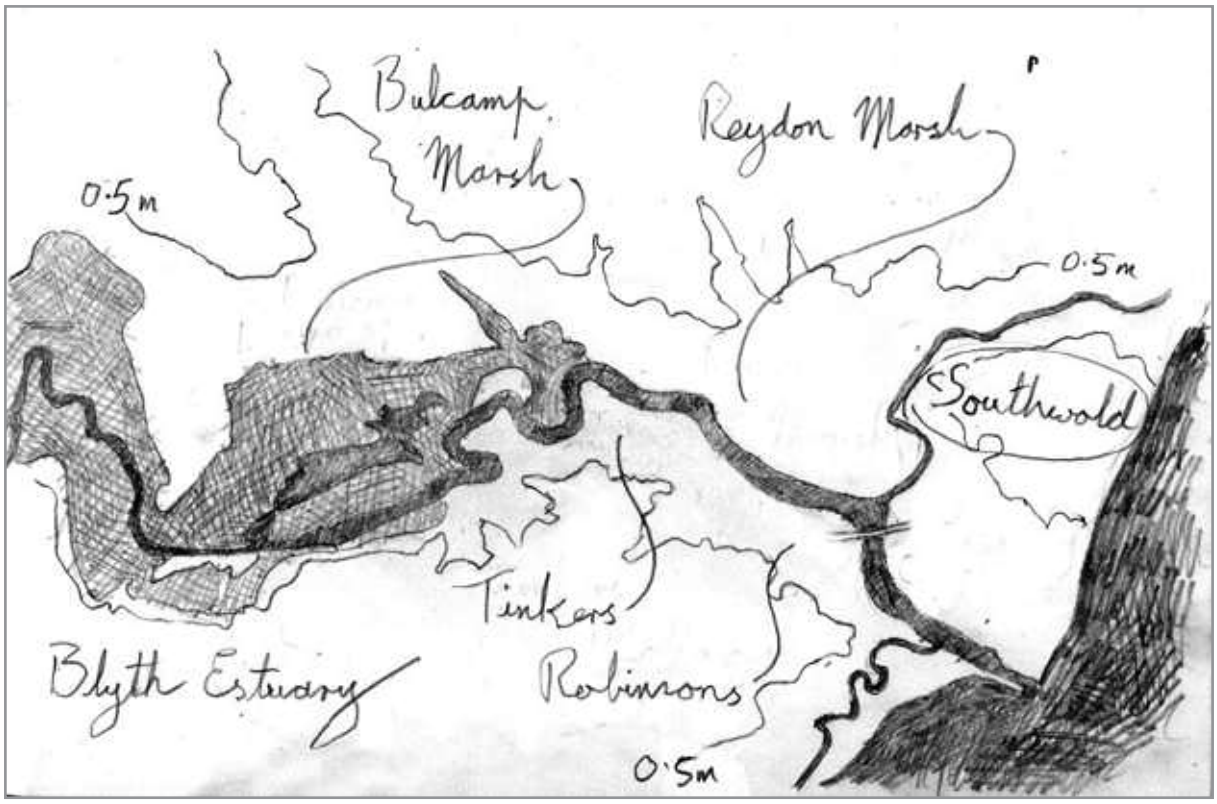

Fig. 1. Sketch of Blythe Estuary (S. Read 2016)

estuary is known as its 'tidal prism', the larger the tidal prism, the more silt is carried with it on the ebb. The more silt transported by the tide as it drains the flooded marshes the greater the capacity of the estuary to contain tidal influx. Since the training walls that keep the harbor open form a bottleneck, tidal velocity is greater at this point and correspondingly its capability to scour the harbor infrastructure and therefore destabilize it.

What to do? Constrained as it is by a cost benefit framework that will limit central government funding for defence works that do not directly protect people and property[iv], there must be another way of managing the impact of an increased tidal prism if the harbor is to be retained in its current configuration. After some detailed research by the Black and Veatch, it was proposed to relieve pressure upon the defences further upstream by realigning the marshes closer to the mouth of the Estuary (Tinkers and Robinson Marsh) and creating a sill at the first bridging point, in order to limit the volume of water entering the upper reaches on a single tide. To all intents and purposes, this is a well considered plan and it came as a surprise when the local community rejected it for the reason that it seemed counterintuitive to deliberately breach two of the surviving defences and open up two neighbouring marshes when the assumed aim was to find a means of lowering the tidal prism not raising it. Considered in tandem with the de facto limitation of navigation upon the upper reaches through the introduction of a sill, this proposal was completely contrary to the expectations of the community who expected to reduce the acreage covered by the tide by improving and reinstating embankments that had historically been breached.

So, failing to convince the community, the consultants withdrew to think again and only after a significant storm surge in 2006 overtopped and breached further embankments did they return in 2007 to recommend withdrawing all intervention; at which point this very proper community went ballistic, became political, formed a campaigning group (Blyth Estuary Group), and staged a demonstration on the beach.

This served as a policy wake-up call for the similarly very proper Environment Agency to shed its reluctance to share information in favour of a change of heart and approach and explore ways of working with communities. Although it signifies a step in the right direction, it can just as swiftly revert to the norm: when it rains and rains and all of the weirs on all of the rivers are fully drawn and it floods, whom do the people blame? The Environment Agency of course and since we live in an age of culpability when it is impermissible for such event to be an Act of

God, it must be his representative on earth, the Chief Executive Officer who will carry the can. Unfortunately, Acts of God are happening with increasing frequency, driving our capacity to cope to a point of no return from which central government can only retain credibility by shutting the stable door after the horse has bolted and the waters receded. It is surprising that four years after the Localism Act of 2011 explicitly empowered communities through the transferal of the power to make and implement policy decisions, reliance upon paternalistic governance still persists. However, when it comes to the crunch, it is doubtful whether community organisations can ever command the necessary infrastructure backup, experience, coordination and resource to cope with major challenges.

Although the Localism Act could be considered a transparently cynical piece of legislature that hides the incapacity of central government to fund all but the most crucial infrastructure projects under the guise of community empowerment, in some instances, particularly on the East Anglian Coast, communities have risen to the challenge to evolve a new sense of partnership with government agencies, which in turn have learned that sharing information and data does not mean forfeiting initiative. It is more a contract with communities to raise the level of informed decision-making and enable targeted co-financing of infrastructure projects that would otherwise be unjustifiable.

This has not been an easy ride. Certainly it is much simpler for any authority to make logistical decisions behind closed doors where everyone speaks the same professional language and mete it out as policy, but now, this is just not an option. At a time of severe financial constraint, Government Agencies have had to grow another operational arm to develop the skills to negotiate hybrid solutions with those non-specialists stakeholders who have their own particular power represented by an embedded level of interest in their own landscape. Where at one time the acceptance of the authority of a government agency might have taken precedence, there is now no alternative but to work in harness with public interest and to develop new models for governance.

So far on the Suffolk Coast I have been party to two particular management initiatives, both loosely based upon the principle of 'integrated coastal zone management' (ICZM). ICZM is an iterative process developed to integrate all levels of interest in a particular location as a holistic and balanced approach to management. This is a complex process that strategically reaches beyond, but incorporates the scope of, the shoreline management plans and estuarine strategies brokered by the Environment Agency.

The first of these was Alde and Ore Futures set up in 2009 as a public consortium to research the factors that influence the wellbeing of the Alde/Ore River, its ecology and local communities[v]. The outcome of this was a group of three consultation publications, 'Managing the Coastal Environment', 'Thriving and Viable Communities' and 'Building the Local Economy' produced in 2012, eventually followed by a draft Management Plan in 2015[vi]. In the beginning this study was a heady mix that considered its remit to be everything from sustainable transport and affordable housing through to flood defence. (I was even initially active on a sub committee devoted to the role of the arts). However, after a protracted gestation period, very little is left of the original intention apart from a plan of action centred upon the fundamental importance of managing defences in an rural estuary, for which the greater responsibility must be shouldered by the community itself.

The River Deben where I live and work, lies immediately to the south of the Alde/Ore Estuary, separated from it by the precarious and dynamic shingle beaches of Hollesley Bay and the soft cliffs of Bawdsey. We have learned a great deal from the Alde and Ore process not the least that we should carefully consider our own remit and prioritise the reciprocal relationship between the river and its hinterland, its systems, ecology and human activity. Our aspiration is to build a structured approach based upon shared interests towards an integrated vision for the river.

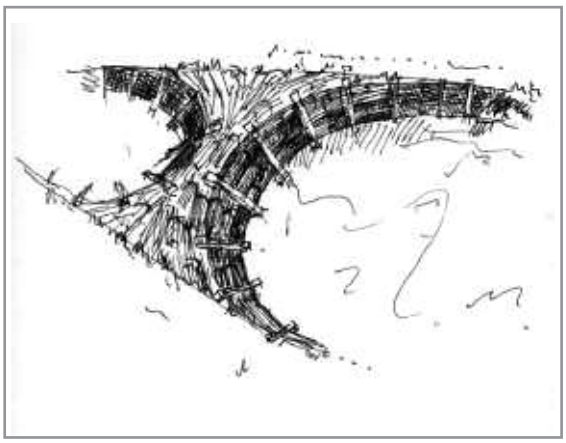

Fig. 2. Drawing for brushwood sill Falkenham Saltmarsh (S. Read 2013)

Fig. 3. Brushwood structure, Falkenham Saltmarsh (S. Read 2014)

For the sake of expediency I keep my vocation as an artist in the background. My involvement throughout is essentially informed by the same curiosity about what makes systems work, be they estuarine, institutional or social and the strategies I adopt are absolutely consistent with my practice as artist and academic. But the stakes are higher; I am not coming from a disinterested point of view but from the desire to foster a broader understanding of what makes landscape systems work and through this engender a more informed response to change. Beyond dreaming, the credibility of any plan must reside in the aspiration and ability to make it happen on the ground. Where in the past the arts have willingly taken a marginal standpoint, it appears to me that if we are to transcend the reflective, reflexive habit, we must get our hands dirty, which might mean doing things that don't immediately resemble art.

Wherever possible I have built the opportunity to develop ideas on the ground into my technical research into estuary and coastal systems in order to bring an element of tangibility to the discussion.

Perhaps it is the faint echo of my vocation as an artist or due to my life afloat that saltmarsh resonates for me as a liminal entity. It is negotiable territory and always has been since, according to the tidal cycle, it is only land for a part of the day. It is a buffer zone between wet and dry and if this uneasy equilibrium is upset it will swiftly degrade and eventually disintegrate. Since an artist's experience is not just predicated upon speculation but also upon rendering it in a tangible form, the only way for me to understand this process of give and take is to directly intervene. This characterizes my contribution to a workable estuary plan, which in this case is to develop projects to test the capacity of our beleaguered saltmarsh system to stabilize through a light-touch, soft engineering approach[vii]. Since 2009 I have been directly involved in four saltmarsh restoration projects, each of which is unique, demanding particular input from partnerships between local and business communities with local, regional and national authorities. Although the gestation for each project is substantial and inevitably tortuous, the outcome is beneficial, not only for the saltmarsh but also for the increased sense of ownership and responsibility achieved at community level[viii].

Notes

[i] Deben Estuary Plan, published April 2015 and formally endorsed by Suffolk Coastal District Council as 'Material Consideration' for the planning process. http://www.suffolkcoastandheaths.org/estuaries/deben-estuary-partnership/deben-estuary-plan/deben-estuary-plan-full-document/.

[ii] Deben Estuary Partnership, set up 2009 as a community partnership incorporating local and regional authorities, Suffolk Coast and Heaths AONB, statutory agencies including Environment Agency and Natural England and representation from major stakeholder groups including landowners, marine businesses, parish councils and other community organizations.

[iii] River Blyth Estuarine Strategy 2005 https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=Blyth+Estuary+Strategy+2005&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8&gws_rd=cr&ei=coGzVqI_y_5pguyZmAQ

[iv] Cost Benefit Framework: is a formula applied to guide the calculation of support for works carried out in an estuarine or coastal environment, the principle is based upon the value of what is to be protected set against the cost of the protection.

[v] Alde and Ore Futures, 2012. <www.suffolkcoastfutures.org.uk http://twitter.com/AldeOreFutures>

[vi] Alde and Ore Draft Estuary Plan December 2015 <www.aoep.co.uk>

[vii] Soft engineering is a term used for structural solutions for protecting shorelines and are based on ecological principles that do not offer permanent solutions but rather are low key interventions in a landscape using biodegradable materials such as brushwood and coir and in some circumstances, modern geo textile based materials where a higher degree of longevity or structural resilience is required.

[viii] http://www.simonread.info/sutton-tidal-attenuation-barrier/ http://www.simonread.info/falkenham-saltmarsh-tidal-management-scheme/

Local Government Citizen Participation in Ireland: Intentions versus Reality

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Introduction

There was reluctance over many years to reform the Irish public sector (Robbins and Lapsley 2005). In the wider reform context, the Irish Government is currently undergoing its most intensive period of re-organisation since independence in 1922 (MacCarthaigh 2013). Recent reforms provide for a greater role for citizens in determining local government policy. This paper examines the changing structures which allow Irish citizens a role in policy making at local government level.

In 2016, Ireland has 31 city and county councils - 3 city and 28 county councils. These 31 councils are the primary units of local government, responsible for infrastructure provision and the delivery of public services in the areas of housing, environment, planning, roads and amenities. Funding for these services comes from fees and charges, local property taxes (on businesses in the form of commercial rates and, since July 2013, on residential dwellings in the form of the new local property tax, the LPT) and central government grants.

The Taskforce on Active Citizenship (2007) found that there was a democratic deficit at local government level, due to a perceived absence of meaningful opportunities for civic participation in decision-making. They found then that citizen participation structures that were in place were not reaching all sectors within communities. Various reasons were advanced for this, among them: a lack of awareness of participation opportunities, lack of interest, commuting and working patterns, family commitments and lack of time and/or resources on the part of citizens. In October 2012 the Irish Government published *Putting People First – Action Programme for Effective Local Government which* set out Government policy for reform and a range of reforms have been codified in the Local Government Reform Act, 2014. This research study investigates the status of implementation of this legislation and whether or not intentions around citizen participation have been realised. The paper is structured as follows: the literature on the role of citizen in a democracy is reviewed as is a range of participation mechanisms available to local government managers to engage citizens. This is followed by a brief review of public sector reforms which provide the backdrop to local government sectoral reform in Ireland. The unique characteristics of Irish local government is then considered together with key recent reforms in this sector. Next, the research approach adopted is explained and this is followed by a section outlining the data set captured to assess the extent of participation in the local government sector facilitated by reforms in both the public sector and local government in Ireland in recent years. A conclusion section completes the paper.

Conceptual Framing

While the essence of the modern state is the exercise of legitimate power (Clegg, 1989, 265) at the heart of democracy is the notion that citizens should get involved in the process of governing themselves (Barner and Rosenwein 1985). However, the pursuit of good governance and the desire for greater participation by citizens in public affairs are tensions at the heart of discussions of systems of government (Dahl 1994). Modern societies thrive when democratic values of good citizenship are encouraged and facilitated (Verba et al. 1995). A bureaucracy or democracy cannot function properly without a minimum input by citizens. A well performing public administration and strong democracy are tightly bound together since they both rely on productive and extensive citizen involvement (Vigoda 2002). Democracy both confers legitimacy on the actions and decisions of public bodies while also providing a check and balance on the influence of bureaucracies (Vigoda 2002). Research that confronts issues of greater citizen participation in decision-making is positioned within a broader political discourse that is supportive of social change towards a more 'participatory' democracy (Saul 1995). The public sector in a democracy is meant to support local community objectives, requirements and challenges (Saul 1995). However, this support is often lacking or completely missing (Cuthill 2002).

Local government policies have changed considerably in most developed and developing countries and now involve partners other than public authorities, such as neighbourhood associations, private businesses, non-

Category	Advantages	Disadvantages
Vote (Ballot) (e.g., budget referenda)	Enables citizens to express opinions on public policy issues (Ebdon, 2000).	May yield inconsistent effects because of budget referenda/rules in different states (Ebdon, 2000).
Public hearing	Enables anyone who is interested to participate (Baker, Addams, & Davis, 2005).	Attendance at public hearings is usually very low (Ebdon, 2002).
Citizen advisory committee	Effective at program planning, identifying community needs and interests, soliciting recommendations to meet needs (Heikkila & Isett, 2007).	Citizens who get involved may not be representative of their community (Ebdon & Franklin, 2004; Thomas, 1995).
Citizen panel (e.g., jury system)	Opportunity to engage in selfgovernance and inculcate civic virtue (Gastil & Weiser, 2006).	Can be compromised by lack of representativeness (Kairys, Kadane, & Lehoczky, 1977).
Citizen survey	Incorporates citizen preferences into local government processes (Watson, Juster, & Johnson, 1991)	Data are not necessarily comprehensive or representative of entire community (Webb & Hatry, 1973).
Focus group (citizen discussion group)	Open-ended, face-to-face sessions maximize ability of respondents to state their views (Schachter & Liu, 2005).	Dominant member may monopolize the floor; many groups may choose not to speak (Schachter & Liu, 2005).
Deliberation (e.g., minipublics, consensus conference, public consultation)	Brings fresh perspectives to bear, scrutinizes all dimensions of complex issues in light of different perspectives, articulates citizen concerns as opposed to special interests (Dryzek & Tucker, 2008).	As with any process featuring multiple inputs, it is not easy to trace direct policy impact of any one input (Dryzek & Tucker, 2008).
Open meeting (e.g., town meeting)	Gives people opportunities to speak and be listened to, thereby affects their beliefs about agency responsiveness and performance (Halvorsen, 2003).	Attendance is often low and not representative of whole community; participants may have insufficient knowledge for effective input (Ebdon & Franklin, 2004).
Coproduction	Builds trust based on mutual relationships; may transfer some power from professionals to users (Bovaird, 2007).	Conflicts result from value differences between coproducers (Taylor, 2003)

Fig. 1: Advantages and Disadvantages of Participation Techniques. Source: Kim and Schachter (2013: Table 1, p.460 unadapted).

governmental organizations, and citizens (Lowndes, Pratchett and Stoker 2001). It has long been recognised that citizen participation in local development issues provides evidence of commitment to a community ideal, an important ethical position which places community needs as equal to, or more important than, individual self-interest (Saul, 1995). Local government reform programmes are introducing fundamental changes into local democratic practices with the aim of creating new opportunities for democratic participation (Lowndes, Pratchett and Stoker 2001). Most governments are asserting that they are making strides to ensure there are ever increasing opportunities for citizen engagement (Dutil, et al. 2007; Burton 2009). However, in recent decades, citizens have become more and more disenchanted with the traditional institutions of representative government, detached from political parties, and disillusioned with old forms of civic engagement and participation (Royo et al. 2011).

Lawton and Macaulay (2014) found that giving citizens a direct and concrete assignment/appointment is more conducive to participatory democracy than just having open-ended town hall meetings every week or making available a whole range of information about new policies through the Internet. Public participation in administration and governance enhances trust but only if the performance of the administration improves (Wang and Van Wart 2007, 265). Participation may be viewed differently by different stakeholders. Professionals may

view optimal public participation as a low level of participation, whereas citizens may strive for a more proactive approach and greater involvement (Berner et al. 2011). In the UK well-developed standards committees were prominent in promoting local participation and enhancing good governance, all within the perspective of localism (Lawton and Macaulay 2014). Participation has been strongly linked, for example, with the development of accountability (Devas and Grant 2003) a key element of NPM reforms. Balancing effectiveness and participation is central to democracy (Lawton and Macaulay 2014). There are links between the quality of participation and perceptions of public service performance (Halvorsen 2003).

Types of Participation

Numerous participation techniques are available (Fig. 1). Constructing a participation system is difficult because simply supporting an abstract right to participate does not identify which participation techniques are most likely to increase accountability in a given jurisdiction (Kim and Schachter 2013). Figure 1 provides illustrative examples of positive and negative aspects of various citizen participation mechanisms identified by Kim and Schachter (2013) based on previous research. It is clear from their analysis that no perfect technique for successful citizen involvement exists and that the most suitable technique emerges from consideration of the specific implementation context. As participatory processes familiarise local government executives about citizen concerns and interests, there is a need for local government to respond to these needs to ensure support the participation process (Kim and Schachter, 2013).

Comparison With Other Countries

Recent legislation in the UK - the Localism Act 2011 – resulted in wide-ranging reform of English local government. At its heart is the concept of localism - empowering local people to make decisions that affect them at the local level, which is part of a broader agenda that aims to 'release councils from Whitehall control' and give them greater flexibility to meet the needs of their residents (Department for Communities and Local Government, UK 2010). The 2011 Act confers on local government a general power of competence to develop innovative approaches to service delivery and governance and it enhances participation in a number of specific ways; community rights have been expanded in terms of ownership of assets and the right to challenge local authority decisions (Lawton and Macaulay 2014).

It is possible that local government may be unconcerned with the potential benefits of citizen participation and may dwell on the disadvantages of public participation. If this is the case, then mechanisms to facilitate public participation may be symbolic rather than instrumental. Participatory processes may be developed and implemented as a result of legitimation concerns. Carson (2000) found that Australian local governments needed to assess their organizational commitment to and implementation of participatory processes. A comparative study of participation in local government in Germany and Spain found that participation mechanisms were provided to increase the level of perceived legitimacy and to comply minimally with legal requirements, and did not take advantage of citizen participation to enhance decision-making processes (Royo et al. 2011).

New Public Management (NPM) and Post NPM

In countries implementing public sector management reforms centralised management structures are being replaced with decentralised management environments, and there is an increasing focus on results (Hood 1995, 2008; Pollitt and Bouckaert 2004; Hood and Dixon 2013). The label 'New Public Management' (NPM) has been used to encapsulate this wave of reform in public management policy and practice. There has been a shift in emphasis from process accountability to accountability for results and increased accountability reporting to the public (Hood 1995; Beeri 2012). The public accountability paradigm requires the reporting of comprehensive information (both financial and non-financial) about the condition, performance, activities and progress of the entity (Hooks et al. 2012). Despite important advances in the use of social media and related technologies to engage citizens, the application for budget and finance functions in local governments remains uneven, and reflects relatively low priority from government officials in US local governments (Smith 2015). With the spread of NPM ideas globally, a desire to enhance transparency emerged as a growing ambition of governments (Pilcher 2011). A second wave of reform has been labelled 'Post-NPM'. Such reforms are primarily inter-organizationally oriented and efforts are expended to enhance coordination between the government and other actors. Post-NPM requires boundary spanning skills, a procedural focus and greater central control (Lodge and Gill 2011).

Local Government Context – Ireland

Historically, Ireland has been slow to adopt public sector reforms although this changed somewhat with codification of NPM reforms in legislation which supported implementation of NPM ideas under the Strategic Management Initiative (SMI) in Ireland from the mid 1990s (Robbins and Lapsley 2005). Initially, the SMI addressed modernisation of the civil service but the reform focus subsequently spread to the wider public sector. The aims of the SMI were to: provide an excellent service to the public; contribute to national development, and make the most efficient and effective use of resources (Humphreys 2002). Sectoral legislation was enacted across the public sector in an effort to embed NPM thinking. *Better Local Government* proposed a range of measures to improve efficiency and effectiveness (Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government 1996) and many of these recommendations were incorporated in the Local Government Act, 2001. Against the backdrop of these efforts at reform, the negative effects of a centralised state on local government and its structures persisted and were the focus of a Green Paper on Local Government in 2008 (Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government 2008). Ireland is today a highly centralised state where local government is considered very weak in terms of democratic representation, expenditure functions, financial autonomy and other powers. However, the local government system in Ireland has witnessed significant reforms since the publication of the 2008 Green Paper. As part of a wider public sector reform agenda, the catalyst for change has been the economic and fiscal crisis, and the EU/IMF Programme of Financial Support for Ireland. Since 2012, we have witnessed three significant pieces of legislation relating to local government, namely the Finance (Local Property Tax) Act 2012 which established the new Local Property Tax (LPT), the Water Services Act 2013 which transferred water services from local authorities to a new national utility company, and the Local Government Reform Act 2014 which introduced a number of territorial and structural reforms. The latter was based on the long awaited *Putting people first: Action programme for effective local government*, introduced by the Minister for the Environment, Community and Local Government in October 2012. The Action Programme covered four main themes, namely, territories and structures, competencies and functions, funding, accountability and governance, and, finally, efficiency and performance reforms.

Where NPM ideas have been implemented globally they have been accompanied by a renewed focus on performance measurement. In Ireland, the Local Government Management Agency has published annual reports since 2004 on the results of a set of 46 service indicators covering key local authority activities. The 46 indicators range from basic measures of outputs, to more meaningful indicators which track financial performance, levels of water leakage and water quality, or levels of investment in libraries.

Recent Local Government Reform Programme

As outlined earlier in this paper many of the ideas for reform of the local government sector contained in *Putting People First – an Action Programme for Effective Local Government* have been codified in the Local Government Reform Act, 2014. Reforms include new municipal districts arrangements, a rebalancing of responsibilities between elected members of the Council and the Council executive (the powers of the Council have been strengthened), stronger oversight of local authority performance - through a new independent National Oversight and Audit Commission for Local Government (NOAC), greater community development through Local Community Development Committees in place of the City and County Development Boards, and new Public Participation Networks (PPNs). PPNs are the new national framework for public engagement and participation and are intended to be the main link through which a local authority connects with its community and voluntary sectors. It is intended that PPNs will facilitate networking and identify issues of common concern. They will elect representatives onto decision-making bodies such as the Joint Policing Committees, Strategic Policy Committees and the Local Community Development Committees.

Characteristics of Irish local government

The Irish system of city and county management (also referred to as local authority management) was adapted from American cities (see Collins 1987, Sheehy 2003). Central to the operation of city and county management in Ireland is the distinction between reserved and executive functions. *Reserved functions* are those reserved for direct performance by the elected members, finance, legislation, political affairs, policy decisions and control of the executive branch. *Executive functions*, which are the preserve of chief executive officers, cover day to day decisions based on established policy and include such functions as the appointment and management of staff,

granting of planning permissions, letting of houses (Quinlivan 2013). Chief executive officers of city and county councils are recruited and appointed through a centralised system, rather than the local authorities themselves choosing the officials selected. Irish local government units have a much more restricted set of responsibilities than many of their European counterparts.

Research Methodology

As mentioned in the introduction to the paper, our work aims to investigate the state of implementation of local government reform legislation directed at greater citizen participation at local level. There were two primary data collection methods used to gather data to address the research question posed in this study. Data collection consisted of: 1) analysis of local council websites to assess data on the new participation fora for citizens under recent legislation, and 2) semi-structured interviews (Fig. 2) with relevant employees in the civil service, public and local government sectors. This study centres around in-depth study of the current state of public participation networks in one local government unit – Galway City Council - and includes study of comparative cross-sectoral data for a selection of 3 other local government units. The study also involved interviews with a range of staff employed in local government, holding a governance role in the sector or indirectly associated with reform efforts and implementation of reform agendas in the local government sector.

Analysis of Data - Public Participation Networks

As part of the process surrounding the reform of local government, the legislative basis for which is the Local Government Reform Act 2014, Public Participation Networks (PPNs) have been established in each local authority area. In Galway City the Public Participation Network is called the Galway City Community Network (GCCN). The Galway City Public Participation Network is a network of community, voluntary and environmental organisations active in Galway City. GCCN is the main link through which the local authority connects with the community, voluntary and environmental sectors. GCCN is supported by a co-ordinator that works on a part-time basis. The aim of Galway City Community Network is to co-ordinate and support the representation of the community, voluntary and environmental sectors in Galway City. The role of Galway City Community Network is:

1. To act as a platform for the groups/organisations engaged in the community, voluntary and environmental sectors in Galway City to develop policy and positions on issues of common concern to the sectors and to communities and to advocate for these policies and positions to be implemented.
2. To facilitate the representation of the community, voluntary and environmental sectors on the Local Community Development Committee, the Strategic Policy Committees, the Joint Policing Committee, other local government and local development bodies and any local, regional, national or international body deemed appropriate by the Galway City Community Network.
3. To contribute to the development and achievement of a vision for the well-being of this and future generations. (Source: Galway city council website access week beginning 25 April 2016)

Within the Galway City PPN - the GCCN, there are three electoral colleges and each PPN/GCCN member must opt for membership of one.

1. Social Inclusion: to join the Social Inclusion Electoral College an organisation's primary objectives and activities must focus on social inclusion / social justice / equality.
2. Environment: to join the environment Electoral College an organisation's primary objectives and activities must be environmental (i.e. ecological) protection and/or environmental sustainability. Membership of this Electoral College will be validated by the Environmental Pillar at a national level.
3. Voluntary: organisations whose primary objectives are other than those listed above for social inclusion and environment.

Department	Interviews
Department of Public Expenditure and Reform	1
Department of the Environment, Community and Local Government	5
Local Government Management Agency (LGMA)	3
Local Government sector – directly employed	6
Total	15

Fig. 2: Semi structured interviews conducted October 2014 to March 2016 (All interviews were recorded, transcribed and edited by the researcher).

	PPN Members	Other committee members	PPN % Total membership
Joint Policing Committee			
Local Community Development Committee			
The Strategic Policy Committees: • Economic Development, Enterprise Support and Culture SPC • Environment, Recreation & Amenity SPC • Housing SPC • Planning SPC • Transportation SPC			
Galway City & County Childcare Committee			
Western Regional Drugs Task Force			
Galway Sports Partnership			
Galway City Partnership			
Other:			

Fig 3: PPN representation on Policy Committees

Secretariat Member	Primary Nature of Work of Secretariat member:				
	Environmental	Social	Economic Development	Arts, Culture	Sport
An Taisce	X				
Environmental Pillar		X			
COPE	X				
Westside Resource Centre		X			
Galway Traveller Movement		X			
Galway Centre for Independent Living		X			
Westside Age Inclusion		X			
Galway Centre for Independent Living		X			
Galway City Partnership					X
Galway Volunteer Centre					
Galway Lawn Tennis Club					X
Grattan Court Residents Association					
JCI Galway					
Galway Cycling Campaign					X
Ballybane Community Resource Centre		X			

Fig. 4: Membership of the Secretariat in 2014

GCCN members meet in plenary four times a year – one of these meetings is the Annual General Meeting. In addition, the Secretariat meets on a monthly basis and the linkage groups meet on a regular basis. There are now almost 100 members of the PPN with representatives on a range of policy committees (Fig. 3):

In addition to the committees and fora above, there is a Galway City Community Network Secretariat comprised of up to 15 GCCN members who work entirely on a voluntary basis. They are responsible for ensuring that the aims, objectives of GCCN are implemented. The Secretariat is elected by the Plenary membership at the Annual General Meeting (Fig. 4), when there is a turnover of at least one third of the group. The members aim to:

- organise business and agendas for the Community Forum
- day-to-day management of the Forum
- co-ordinate activities of the sub-committees
- participate in sub-committees
- act as a support to representatives and facilitate information sharing
- facilitate the evaluation of Community Forum activities

To qualify for PPN membership citizen must meet a number of criteria. These are listed in Figure 5 below.

The Galway City Council website clearly states that that groups formed around specific local issues are not eligible for PPN membership, for example, groups formed around opposition to a particular local planning application.

Linkage Groups are subgroups of Galway City Community Network that meet on a thematic basis to discuss and develop GCCN policy. They provide the platform for electing replacement representatives as appropriate. A number of Linkage Groups have been established in the following areas:

- Social Inclusion, to include the LCDC, JPC, Childcare Committee, Drugs Taskforce
- Environmental, Recreation, Amenity and Sport
- Planning & Transport
- Housing
- Economic & Enterprise
- Arts, Culture & Heritage

PPN membership criteria
Be active in Galway City.
Have more than five (5) members;
Have a written Constitution or Memorandum & Articles of Association (if applying organisations are companies limited by guarantee, they should be not for profit)
Be open to new members;
Be non-party political and non-sectarian;
Be broadly representative and accountable;
Hold an AGM and regular meetings;
Be independent, with a committee or board (not a substructure or subcommittee);
Be a minimum of six months in existence;
If a company limited by guarantee, the organisation must be not for profit.
Groups must be able to establish their bona fides as a community or voluntary organisation.
Groups/organisations registering under the Environment Electoral College must be be validated by the Environmental Pillar at a national level.

Fig. 5: PPN membership criteria

The Linkage Groups meet to discuss and establish PPN policies in these areas. They are open to all PPN members and others that have a commitment to the issues being discussed.

Conclusion

There are clear structures in place to involve community groups and organisations in this local government unit. However, it appears there are still limited opportunities for citizens to become involved in policy development at local level, given the criteria for membership of PPNs. The 'Linkage groups' offer an opportunity for citizens to contribute in the development of policy in their local government area.

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A multi-disciplinary approach to landscape assessment for landscape characterisation

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Introduction

Landscape assessment and characterisation have taken many forms, especially in more recent years, where a number of different methodologies are currently in use to assess the importance of the characteristics of a landscape area. This research investigated a multi-disciplinary and interdisciplinary approach, whereby the history of the landscape is taken in equal consideration to that of the ecological value. The aim of the research was to investigate the extent to which the history has influenced the ecological aspects and the overall character of the landscape.

The research took place near Piltown, County Kilkenny, Ireland, and was the site of the former Bessborough Estate. The original estate was named Kildalton, or in Irish *Cill-modhalla*, and was owned by the Datons or D'Autuns, who were descended from the Anglo-Normans (Carrigan 1905). It is not known when the Daton family first occupied Kildalton, but there are records documenting the death of Daton of Kildalton in 1592 (ibid.). As a result of the Act of Settlement in 1652, Sir John Ponsonby, one of Cromwell's generals, was granted the estate and extensive lands in Kilkenny and adjoining counties (ibid.). The estate was later renamed Bessborough by Ponsonby, after his second wife Elizabeth 'Bess' Brazabon (Ponsonby 1929). Currently much of the estate is owned by Teagasc (the agriculture and food development authority in Ireland) and has reverted to its former name of Kildalton, the remainder of the land remains within the original demesne.

This research builds upon earlier research completed in the UK, and a multidisciplinary methodology was developed to evaluate both the history and ecology of the landscape (Russell-O'Connor 2007).

Approach and Rationale

Different patterns of land use can be interpreted and analysed from many different perspectives to provide a range of information (Zube 1987). However landscape is studied or viewed, it is imperative that there are a number of different disciplines involved, and these in turn will influence the interpretation (Muir 1999). It is therefore important to determine the methods by which the landscape can be evaluated to ensure that all the appropriate investigative disciplines are explored.

Muir states that landscape history can be used to provide explanations for the origins of aesthetic landscape characteristics and applied to investigate the individual components of a landscape, the relationships between them, and their contribution to the overall landscape (Muir 1998).

Landscape ecology has developed in response to the increasing need to investigate areas where there are multiple habitats fragmented within complex landscapes, and it examines the whole landscape with its mosaic of different habitats, rather than individual habitats (Hobbs 1993).

Rackham has defined historical ecology as the study of the history of different habitats, and landscape history as the relationship between those habitats within a landscape. For example, historical ecology may look at the history of awoodland, whereas landscape history would relate the history of the woodlands, hedgerows and grasslands with each other within a landscape (Rackham 2000).

The research involves the disciplines of landscape ecology, landscape history and historical ecology and is thus multidisciplinary. As the landscape is evaluated using all three simultaneously, it is also considered an interdisciplinary approach, since it is impossible to evaluate the whole landscape from different perspectives, using a single methodology (Tittensor 1984).

Initially the investigation of a landscape is often an ecological one, but as the historical activities are examined, the study becomes more cohesive. Thus the historical evaluation is not taken in isolation (Coombes and Pattern 1986, 319). Therefore, in this study, it is important not to evaluate the history without considering the ecology. Furthermore, in order to

understand the ecology and thus the nature conservation value, it is necessary to investigate and describe the history of the landscape and the major influences upon it over previous centuries.

Ecological Survey

The ecological aspect of the survey involved initial habitat mapping of the vegetation using the Fossit (Fossit 2000) classification system and secondly the Phase 1 (used in the UK; Nature Conservancy Council 1990). The results of the habitat survey identified that the most interesting habitats for nature conservation were the woodlands, copses and wetlands. Much of the land is currently farmed, and many of the hedges present on the historic maps have now disappeared. A number of small areas of relatively species-rich grassland areas are present which when compared to historical maps of the site appear to be former wooded areas. The findings of the ecological survey have been represented on a GIS map, thus enabling more accurate comparisons of the historic maps to be made.

Historical Survey

Whilst the ecological phase of the research was undertaken, earthworks or other physical features evident in the landscape were identified, such as banks and ditches. However, due to extensive farming practices, many physical features such as hedgerow banks and ditch structures have been removed. Therefore, the main aspect of the historical survey was that of archival material and map evidence.

The most useful evidence was that of the Bessborough Estate map of 1764 (Scale and Richards 1764), and also the Ordnance Survey historic maps, the 1840 Fair Map for the Parish of Fiddown (Ordnance Survey of Ireland 1840), and the Ordnance Survey 1842 1st Edition map of Fiddown (Ordnance Survey of Ireland 1842).

The 1764 map of Bessborough shows a range of historical features, some of which are common on the Ordnance Survey 1840 Fair Map of Fiddown and the Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 1842 map of the same parish. Most notably, the extent of woodland appears to match on all three maps and when compared with the current map, the main woodland areas are still present, although slightly reduced in some areas. There are also a number of parkland trees and hedge lines recorded on all three of

Fig. 1 Bessborough Estate in 1840 (OSI 1840 Fair Map Parish of Fiddown)

the maps, as is the case for deer parks (old and new). The lakes and large ponds and flowing water appear to be in similar positions but shapes vary between the 1764 map and the Ordnance Survey maps. When compared with the present day map and field work, the wetland areas occupy those visible on the historical map, but in some cases have become reduced. Rabbit burrows are also present on the Ordnance Survey maps, but unfortunately documentary and field evidence are lacking for the present day.

Trees and Woodland

The main area of woodland near the open water bodies, closest to the main house on the historic maps, as shown in Figure 1, is still in existence. Following the ecological survey, a number of different woodland communities were identified whose variation related largely to changes in soil moisture content. As the main tree canopy is made up of a number of non-native trees (beech and coniferous species), together with native ash, holly, wych elm, lime etc, it was difficult to classify the woodland into one of the Fossit classes, as the canopy would suggest mixed broad leaved/conifer woodland. However, based on the ground flora alone, there appeared to be elements of oak-ash-hazel woodland, whereas damp areas indicate pedunculate oak-ash woodland and wetter areas willow-alder-ash woodland (Fossit 2000). In terms of the Phase 1 classification, there is also a disparity relating to classification whereby, based again on the tree canopy, the woodland would be classified as mixed woodland whereas the ground flora would suggest semi-natural woodland. To further confuse the classification, there are a number of ornamental shrubs occurring, such as snow berry, laurel and rhododendron.

The other main areas of woodland are those that follow the tributaries of the River Pil, which are largely still present, but have been reduced in some areas. These woodlands are somewhat easier to classify under the Fossit survey, as they are more natural in appearance, with fewer introduced species and are mostly wet willow-alder-ash woodland, which is representative of their proximity to the river, or in drier areas oak-ash-hazel woodland. However, in all instances the quality of the ground flora has been diminished, which may be due to the proximity of arable farmland. Comparing the Phase 1 classification, these woodlands are all classed as semi-natural woodland, but with relatively poor ground flora (Nature Conservancy Council 1990).

When examining the historic maps, the main areas of woodland is present on the 1764 map, and because of their continuance on later maps, it can be concluded that the main areas of woodland date back at least 252 years.

To add further value to the conservation status and recommendations for management, it is possible to classify this woodland based on its ground flora, alone, as long-established woodland (I) defined in the National Survey of Ancient Woodland in Ireland as: 'woodland that has remained continuously wooded since the first edition Ordnance Survey maps of 1830–44, but for which no positive evidence of antiquity has been found in older documentation. These woodlands may however have ancient origins.' (Perrin and Daly 2010, 6)

However, the presence of the woodland on the 1764 map suggests that this is possibly ancient woodland, defined as: 'areas of woodland that are thought to have remained continuously wooded since 1660, but for which evidence is not so strong, due typically to the somewhat ambiguous nature of names and locations in much of the 17th century literature.'(ibid.). The woodlands at Bessborough were not surveyed as part of the inventory, possibly because they were too small for inclusion or because they had become too degraded due to the planting of non-native shrubs and trees, etc.

Another documentary source that may be used for evaluating the historic landscape is William Petty's Down Survey of 1655-57. Kildalton, as it was named then, was in the Barony of Iverk in the Parish of Fiddowne, and is marked on the map, but there is no woodland identified near the estate. Woodlands were often not recorded on the barony maps, but were still included on the parish maps. However, the parish map and accompanying documents are not available for Fiddown (Perrin and Daly 2010, 7).

The woodlands have been recorded on the National Inventory for Architectural Heritage under the Garden Survey, as have the woodland avenues and woodland drives or walks, but there is no evaluation of their value or importance (National Inventory of Architectural Heritage).

Present on the historic maps are plantation stands of trees which would supports the increase popularity of trees in the 18th century as part of rural improvement (Duffy 2007).

There are a number of freestanding trees on the historical maps, and although there are freestanding trees in the current landscape of Bessborough, they are limited and vastly reduced when compared to the historical maps.

Deer Parks and Rabbit Warrens

During the 18th century there was a move to improve the countryside, which extended beyond agricultural improvement to the creation of areas for field sports, particularly in the demesne (ibid.).

Deer parks were created for hunting and generally stocked with fallow deer that had been introduced to Ireland by the Anglo-Normans, as they tolerated enclosure (ibid.). In England, many deer parks were a part of the early demesne landscape and may date back to the medieval period (Rackham 1995). Recent research on deer parks in Ireland counters the assumption that deer parks in the Irish landscape are of 18th-century origin (Murphy and O'Conor 2006; Beglane 2015).

On the 1764 map of Bessborough the terms Old Deer Park and New Deer Park are listed and appear to occupy a large proportion of the demesne, with a combined area of these extending over 50% of the total demesne. However, on the 1840s maps, only the Old Deer Park is represented where the New Deer Park is situated on the 1764 map. The site of the Old Deer Park on the 1764 map is named South Park (deer park) on the 1842 map. Deer parks were of two kinds: either uncompartmentalized and accessible to deer at all times, with pollarded trees to protect regrowth, or compartmented, where the deer were contained with an area separating them from trees with ditch bank structures topped by palisade fencing or hedges. Based on the 1764 map and field surveys, Bessborough appears to have been of the former type, suggesting a lack of containment (Rackham 1995).

Rabbits were also introduced in to Ireland by the Anglo-Normans and were prized for their meat and fur (Duffy 2007). As part of the 18th-century improvements, many artificial warrens were created in the demesne. They could also have a more natural form, whereby they were enclosed by banks and ditches (Rackham 1995). The area marked on the historic maps Ordnance Survey is enclosed on three sides by the River Pil, and has banks topped with woodland species that would create a natural enclosure area. The remaining side is open to the footpath leading to the village, which may have had a wall to contain them, but there is no evidence of this.

Although rabbit warrens were a common feature in the medieval period, their warrens were often created with earthworks that encouraged burrowing. However, there is no evidence on the ground of any such structure in the location marked on the Ordnance Survey historic maps (ibid.). There is no record of a rabbit warren on the 1764 map, which would suggest that this was created at a later date.

Other Landscape Features

The rivers, stream, lakes and ponds appear on all three maps and are still present. The shapes of the pools and lakes have changed in some areas between the 1764 map and the 1840s maps, and although their extent may have been reduced, they are still evident. The fish ponds and lakes in Figure 1 are identical to those appearing on the Ordnance Survey 1842 map, as well as being recorded in the National Inventory of Architectural Heritage Garden Survey. These bodies of standing water have been classified as FL4 mesotrophic lakes which are moderately rich in nutrients, possibly due to the run-off from adjacent agricultural fields (Fossit 2000). The rivers and streams are all FW2 depositing/lowland rivers (ibid.), and there is no classification for running water in the Phase 1 classification (the lakes are also classified as mesotrophic). The hedgerows, although included in the initial ecological survey and their positions recorded, require further investigation, which is currently ongoing and will involve dating techniques, together with close examination of the ditch and bank structures.

Conclusion

By evaluating the history, it has been possible to place the nature conservation in an historical context. A particular case in point is that of the woodlands, where a combined ecological historical approach has led to a more unified and holistic conclusion than examining just the ecology would have given rise to. As a result of the historical investigations, a greater comprehension of the ecology of Bessborough Estate and its development through historical changes, and how one influences the other, and vice versa, has been realised. This has allowed the development of an understanding of the evolution of the landscape of Bessborough Estate through different time periods. Moreover, this research is particularly relevant to the *National Landscape Strategy for Ireland 2015-2025*, and satisfies one of the main objectives of the *Strategy*.

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Healing Gardens for Seniors: quality assessment of 67 Nursing Homes in Milan (Italy)

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Introduction

'Healing gardens' are green areas specifically designed to improve people's health and well being, through a passive experience (watching or being in a garden) and/or an active involvement in and with the garden (gardening, rehabilitation therapy and other activities).

The authors, in collaboration with the Center for Health Systems & Design of the Texas A&M University (Susan Rodiek) and the Health Agency of the city of Milan (ASL-MI), conducted research to assess the quality of the green spaces of the 67 Nursing Homes in the Milan area, using the 2nd release of the Seniors' Outdoor Survey© (SOS-2), an instrument able to assess qualitative characteristics of outdoor spaces in health care facilities.

The Milan Nursing Homes turned out to have a good supply of outdoor spaces, but they need an increase in quality and awareness that it is necessary to adequately design the gardens in order to obtain the desired benefits.

Professional and scientific interest related to healing gardens has rapidly increased over the past 20 years. Professionals and researchers with very different backgrounds (from landscape architecture to medicine) have approached this issue by exploring different areas of interest, such as design principles, implications for the health and well-being, how to measure their benefits, how to design gardens for certain specific categories of users, etc.

Generally speaking, a garden can be considered 'healing' because of its location (related with an healthcare facility) or because the benefit it can cause to its users. Although the aspect of healing is implicit in the concept of garden (Stigsdotter & Grahn, 2002), a garden specifically designed to be 'healing' is more effective (Senes & Toccolini, 2013).

In this context, we refer to healing gardens as 'an outdoor (and sometimes green indoor) space designed to promote and improve people's health and well-being. A true healing garden must be successful in fulfilling the design intent of healing. Positive outcomes can be achieved through passive experience of the garden (viewing of or presence in the garden) and/or active involvement in and with the garden (gardening, rehabilitative therapy, and other activities)' (Sachs, 2008).

The benefits of gardens on human well-being and health are wide. Green spaces can have a direct benefit on individuals' health restoring mental fatigue (Kaplan 1995; Kaplan, 2001) and reducing stress levels (Ulrich, 1984; Ulrich et al., 1991; Stigsdotter & Grahn, 2003; Ulrich, 2006; Nielsen & Hansen, 2007; Van Den Berg, & Custers, 2011; Adevi, & Lieberg, 2012; Grahn et al., 2005) and an indirect one stimulating and supporting social interaction and physical activity (Maas, 2008; Maas et al., 2009; Sugiyama et al., 2008; Hoehner et al., 2005; Björk et al., 2008; Panter and Jones, 2008; Kondo et al., 2009; Prins et al., 2009 and Coombes et al., 2010), increasing autonomy (Namazi et al., 1992), improving mood (Rodiek, 2002) and quality of life (Sherman et al., 2005; Stigsdotter & Grahn, 2003).

The health-related benefits of accessing green areas are particularly important for older adults, especially in long-term care settings where residents pass the last years of their life. Spending time in the garden can improve mood, sleeping patterns, Vitamin D absorption, and may reduce falls and fractures (Rodiek et al., 2014*), can also improve sleeping patterns, decrease pain, urinary incontinence and verbal agitation, recovery from disability, and even increase longevity (Fujita et al., 2006; Connell et al., 2007; Jacobs et al., 2008; Rodiek & Lee, 2009).

Well-designed outdoors environments can encourage older adults to spend more time outdoors: although

outdoor usage is influenced by several aspects, such as weather, health conditions, lack of interest and staff attitudes, it is also strongly related to the characteristics of the physical environment (Sugiyama & Ward Thompson, 2007; Rodiek et al., 2014**).

The general and increasingly recognized importance of outdoor access in long-term care settings have not yet resulted in generalized and planned outdoor activities. Because spending time outdoors is not a required activity, the systematic evaluation of outdoor access remains a low priority (Rodiek et al., 2014**; Senes et al., 2012).

Starting from the late Seventies early Eighties researchers try to define tools to measure the quality of the long-term care settings environment and how it can influence the general quality of life (Gustafson et al., 1980; Moos & Lemke, 1980). A detailed review of more recent environmental assessment instruments is available in Rodiek et al. (2014**).

In this framework, the Department of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences at the University of Milan, as part of an international research program, has conducted, in collaboration with ASL Milano (Azienda Sanitaria Locale - Local Health Authority), a study of green spaces included in RSA (Social Care Residence) in the Milan area. The research included the survey of the 67 ASL Milano structures, which provided:

- dimensions and conditions of green areas (size, characteristics, vegetation, furniture, state of repair, etc.);
- evaluation, through an ad hoc tool (the updated version of the Seniors' Outdoor Survey ©) developed by the Center for Health Systems and Design at Texas A & M University, the characteristics and quality of green spaces of structures (the quality of the vegetation, the ability to feel the smells and see the colors, the comfort of the seating, the pleasure of viewing, the ability to choose where to sit, the level of privacy in the garden, the sense of security, etc.).

Materials and methods

The Seniors' Outdoor Survey (SOS-2) is an environmental audit tool for evaluating how well the outdoor space in a long-term care setting supports the preferences and outdoor usage of residents, assessing physical environments from the user's perspective (Rodiek et al., 2014**).

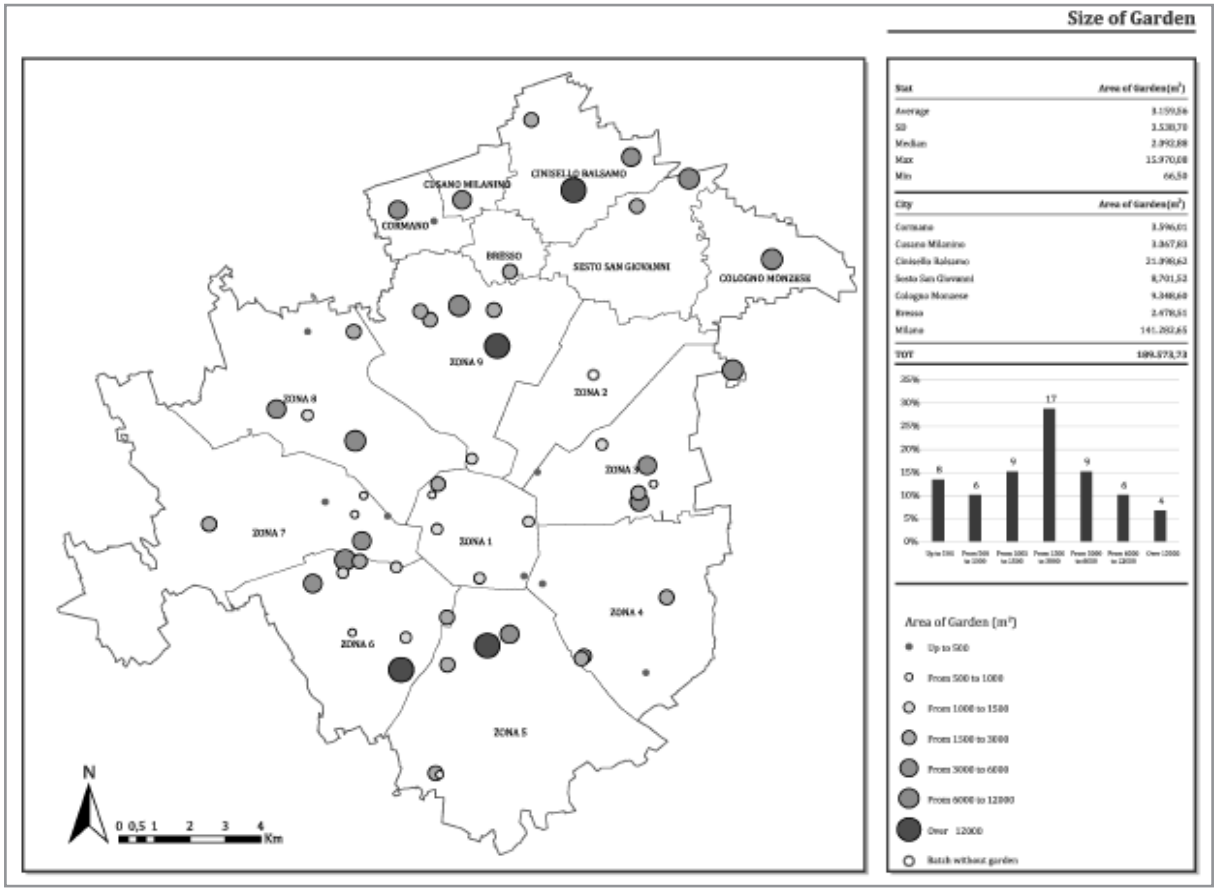

Fig 1. Gardens dimensions in the nursing homes of the study area

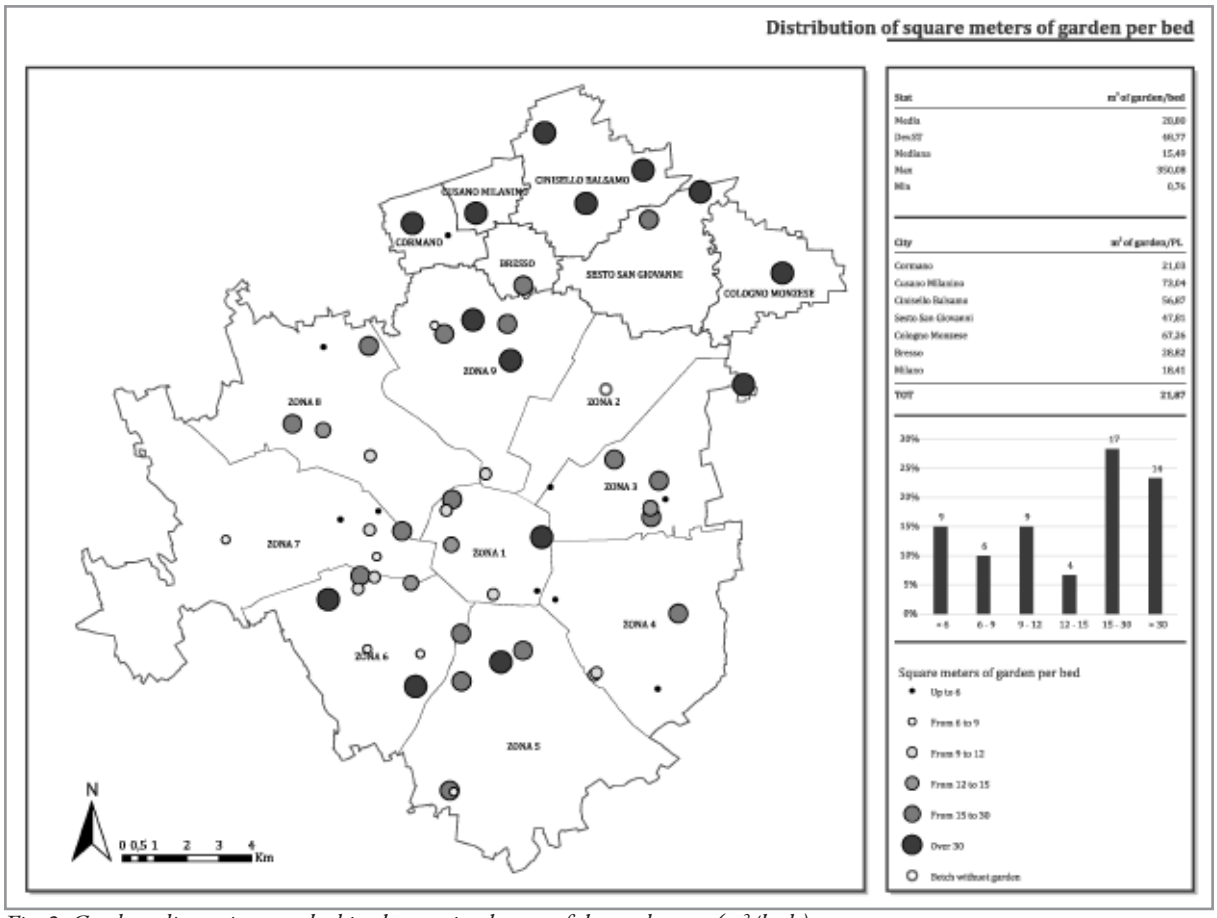

Fig. 2. Gardens dimensions per bed in the nursing homes of the study area (m^2/bed.)

The instrument consists of 55 items divided in three parts:

a) 1 initial question about the overall situation of the garden ("how well does the outdoor area provide a real sense of escape and relief from being indoors?");
b) 50 items about specific characteristics of outdoor spaces and classified in 5 domains;
c) 4 questions about added features.

The 5 domains referred to under (b) are:

1. *Lush garden setting*, 8 items about the composition and quality of planting and natural elements;
2. *Safe and comfortable*, 18 items about outdoor comfort and safety in relation to the main activities that take place in the garden (flooring, chairs, choice, comfort, privacy, quiet, microclimate);
3. *Outdoor walking and activities*, 8 items about walking and outdoor activities as gardening;
4. *Easy to see and reach*, 9 item about indoor-outdoor connection,
5. *Connect to the world*, 7 items about the possibility that the characteristics of the garden offer to establish and perceive a relationship with the outside world

The four additional questions (c) -bonus points- are intended to "reward" the gardens that have solutions that favor the return of the guests from the outside on their own, those with automatic doors, those with a good state of repair, those with a pool.

The score ranging for each question is from 1(minimum) to 7 (maximum). Average score is considered at 4. Each of 2 raters assigns from 1 to 7 points score separately, without any interaction with each other, trying to identify themselves with the users of the garden. The final score for each item is the average of the scores given by the two raters. The survey was conducted in May and June 2013, in order to evaluate the gardens in the period of blooming (spring), and avoiding extreme weather conditions (temperature and rain).

The reliability of assigned rating has been confirmed through the calculation of the Intraclass Correlation Coefficient (ICC) and the Cronbach's Alpha (CA).
The reliability was very high (Table 1), with an average value of 0.98 for CA (with a minimum of 0.95) and 0.97 for ICC (with a minimum of 0.91).

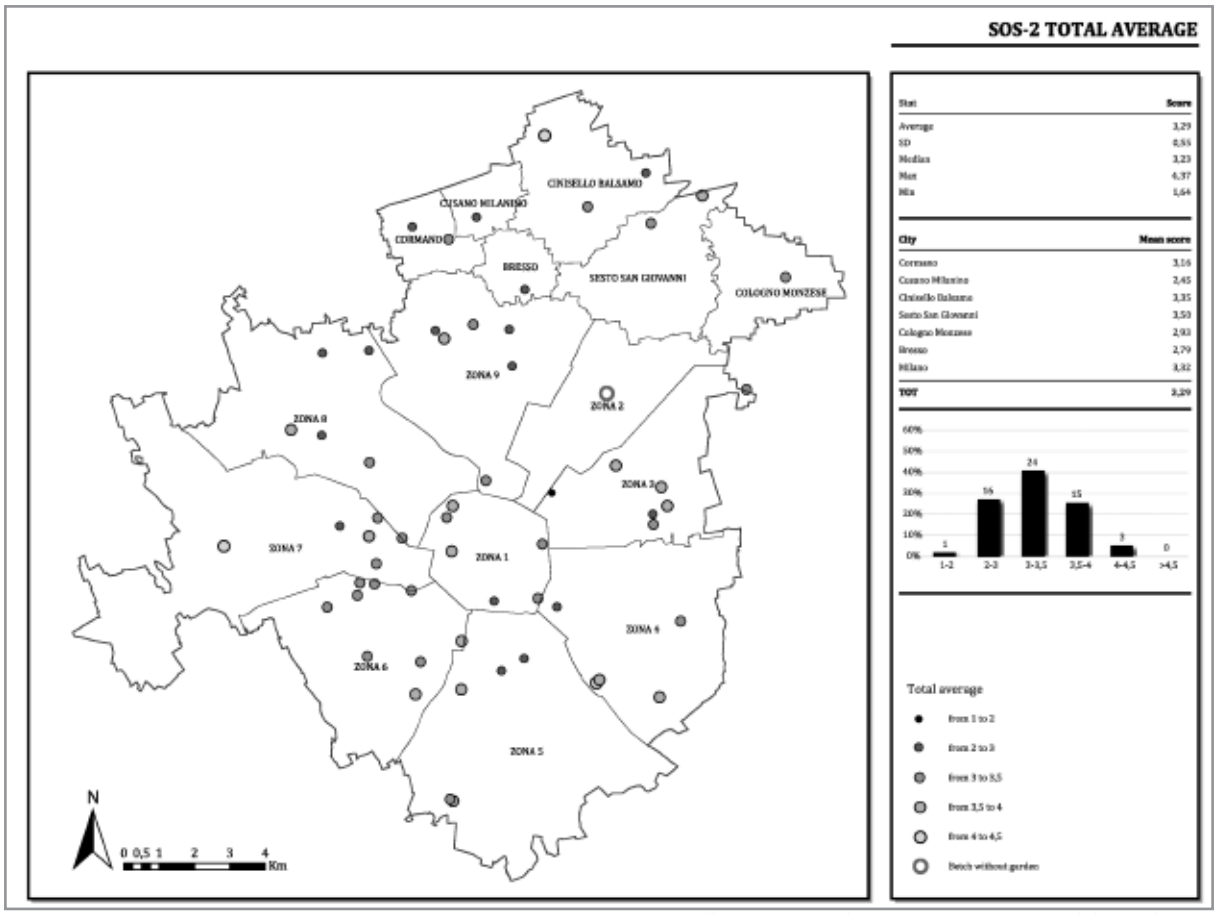

Fig. 3. Overall score assigned at the nursing homes of the study area

Results

SOS-2 was applied to the green areas of the 67 Assisted Living Facilities of the District of the Local Health Authority of Milano ("ASL Milano"), located in Milan (57 of the 67) and in other six near municipalities: Cormano, Cusano Milanino, Cinisello Balsamo, Sesto San Giovanni, Cologno Monzese and Bresso (Figure. 1). Because some of the facilities had different company name (only for bureaucratic reasons), but are physically and organizationally the same structure (they occupy the same building and share the same garden), the facilities finally considered in the study resulted 60.

The average size of the gardens is 3.160 m^2, with a maximum of 16.000 m^2, and a minimum of 66 m^2 with 60% of the structures included in the 3 central distribution classes (Figure 1). Comparing the garden with the total land area, in almost 45% of the Nursing homes the garden is more than 35% of the land area. The garden area per bed has an average of 28.8 m^2, with a maximum of 350 m^2 and a minimum of 0.76 m^2; over 50% of the Nursing Homes has more than 15 $m^2$of garden per bed and over 80% has more than 9 $m^2$of garden per bed (Figure 2).

If from a quantitative point of view has emerged a situation of good level, from the qualitative point of view the situation analyzed is not good: the situation registered goes from a minimum score of 1.64 to a maximum of 4.37, with a global average score of 3.29. The distribution represents about 70% of gardens with an average score of less than 3.5 (Figure 3).

In any of the domain assessed by the tool it has been reached the threshold average score of 4: the situation registered goes from a minimum score of 2.66 (Connect to the world) to a maximum of 3.76 (Easy to see and reach), with a global average score of 3.15 (Table 2).

The variability and the differences among the facilities assessed are very high: the difference between the total average of the best and worst garden is equal to 2.88 points, with only 6 gardens with a total score greater than 4 and the 90%. of the gardens in the range between 3 and 4.

Lush garden setting

The first domain, concerning the abundance of greening, flowers and color, the presence of reachable plants, water

and wildlife and pets, got an average score of 2.79 (in a 1-7 scale), so fairly below the medium score (4), over 85% of the Nursing Homes has less than 3.5 and over 60% has less than 3. Among the questions of this domain, the item 1.1.1 ("This area includes or allows see a significant amount of green plants and healthy?") got a relatively higher score: average 4.08; mode 4. This is confirmed by the quantitative data illustrated above on the quantity of gardens area available.

The gardens have a fair amount of plants but with a little variety of colors and/or odors and few species. Only in few of the gardens vegetation is easily touchable and smellable. There are no elements to interact with water (such as fountains, ponds, lakes, etc.) and with animals.

Safe and comfortable

The second domain, regarding safety and comfort, obtained an average score (3.28) below the medium score.

Paving is generally safe, without deep cracks and with a non-skid surface. The seats are made of material that do not become too hot or too cold, are stable, have armrests and backrests, but not the cushions and are quite comfortable. They are poorly distributed between sun and shade, and, seated on them, visual fairly pleasant are perceived. There are not many tables next to them. Overall, the garden is fairly quiet, but with a little sense of privacy. There aren't systems for climate control and smoking areas.

Outdoor walking and activities

The third domain, regarding the characteristics of the outdoor walkways, the presence of interesting features able to attract outdoor the residents and stimulate outdoor activities, obtained a very low average score (2.82).

There are not looping paths with different lengths; the walkways are not sufficiently shaded and along them there are not interesting views; seating along walkways are not well distributed. There are not interesting features the residents can enjoy or walk toward neither are organized specific activities outside.

Easy to see and reach

The fourth domain, regarding visibility and physical reachability of the outdoor areas, presented a fair average score of 3.77.

The garden is often visible and easy to reach from the commonly-used sitting areas, even if there is usually only one way to reach it. The transition zones, if any, are not comfortable. The doors that access the garden are easy to open and close slowly enough to allow the passage of residents in walkers or wheelchairs. The threshold is easy to cross.

Connect to the world

The fifth domain, regarding the possibility to see what happens outside the facility, presented a low average score of 2.67.

	CA	ICC
Average	0.98	0.97
SD	0.01	0.02
Standard	1	0.98
Median	0.99	0.98
Min	0.95	0,91
Max	1	1

Table 1. Reliability of SOS-2

The gardens are usually located far from the main entry of the building, so that residents can hardly watch people arriving at the facility. There are not amenities for children. The view of nearby landscape features, streets and traffic or human activities is very poor, except some cases in which is possible to see some surrounding building.

Conclusions

This first application to ASL-Milano shows clearly enough the great potential of nursing homes gardens in an urban area as that of Milan. The good supply of outdoor spaces allows to trust in a next increase in quality, but it must be faced with the awareness that is necessary to adequately design the gardens in order to obtain the desired benefits, concentrating in improving the more urgent situations, as highlighted by the present research.

This study is the first in Italy and represent a sort of prototype to the analysis and evaluation of healing gardens, in view of their most appropriate design.

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Locality and landscape change: cultural values and social-ecological resiliency in the Kalinago Territory

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Introduction

As landscapes represent an entity of human and ecosystem interaction, or a social-ecological system, analysis of landscape change presents an opportunity to understand natural and cultural dynamics. Incorporating cultural values into ecosystem processes, to combine social, cultural, and ecological dimensions of landscape change, is the current focus of much research in cultural ecosystem services. The resounding conclusion is the need for the incorporation of cultural values, which are by nature subjective, dynamic and qualitative in data, within ecosystem assessments, which are often quantitative, to produce concrete approaches (Martin and Hall-Arber 2008, Taylor 2012, McLain et al 2013, Plieninger et al 2013; Plieninger et al 2014; Plieninger et al 2015). Recent efforts in landscape research have identified new approaches that are multidisciplinary and flexible (Constanza et al 1997; Folke and Hahn 2003; MA 2003; Groot et al 2005; Stephenson 2008; Fisher et al 2009; Chan et al. 2011; Haines-Young and Postchin 2011; Daniel et al 2012; Chan et al 2012a; Chan et al 2012b; Bieling and Plieninger 2013; Gomes 2013; Ianoş et al 2013; Bieling 2014; Brancalion et al 2014; Greening 2014; Karrascha et al 2014; Plieninger et al. 2014). This paper presents a preliminary effort to examine the impacts of land cover and land use change on cultural ecosystem services and the connections to social-ecological resiliency in local scale of the Kalinago Territory on the Caribbean island of Dominica. Through an examination of land cover change through qualitative methods, this research investigates the impacts of a changing landscape and the associated cultural values present in the Kalinago Territory. While of course subsequent quantitative methods are needed for a complete understanding, this study seeks to build an understanding that is scale specific to analyse social and ecological changes in the landscape and subsequent effects on local communities and their overall wellbeing.

Background

The Kalinago Territory, seen in Figure 1, is one of the few remaining indigenous communities in the Caribbean (Riviere n.d.; Banks 1954; Banks 1956; Layng 1976; Mullaney 2009). Located in the northeast of Dominica, the Kalinago Territory is 15 km2 with 2,145 (Central Statistical Office and Ministry of Finance 2011) people living in 9 different hamlets. The focus of this research takes place in Salybia, the historic centre of the Territory and the surrounding hamlets of Bataca, Crayfish River, and St. Cyr. The territory is rich with history and tradition, often tied to the surrounding landscape of mountains and forests as well as rivers leading to the rocky shores. The Kalinago Territory is unique in that the land is communal, giving no one living in the territory a land title (Layng 1976, 1978, Layng 1983, Mullaney 2009). This is often cited as the reason why the Kalinago population has survived despite the infiltration of colonial rulers and continuation to modern governments. It is also cited as the reason why the community is often ignored in development or strives for modernization (Layng 1983, Mullaney 2009). Thus, the relationship to the land within the Kalinago Territory is often based on principles of reciprocity and exchange. For example, the patios word, 'Koudemain' or helping hand is a noun associated with a joint activity completed by community members, such as clearing land, building the foundation of a house, or pulling in canoes from fishing (Interview A2 2015).

Fig. 1: Map of Caribbean and location of Kalinago Territory in Dominica (Delpuech and Hofman 2004).

Bananas were the base of the Dominican economy and the Kalinago Territory up until the 1990s. This 'Green Gold' (Thompson 1987) along with modernization and technology, brought about rapid changes to the Territory. First, the landscape, which was mostly small plots of agriculture was altered dramatically to only banana plantations throughout the Territory. With a banana boxing plant located in the Territory, weekly incomes and available employment became a normal occurrence. This increased wealth brought new houses, increased opportunity and a changing connection to the landscape.

Banana exportation was severely crippled in the early 1990s due to international trade agreement ruling against preferential trading between the United Kingdom and Dominica as well as the spread of Black Sikatoka disease (Myers 2004; Pattullo 2005; Payne 2006; Pattullo 2007; Moberg 2008; Payne 2008; Fridell 2010; Yarde 2011). Thus, the early 2000s brought an end to mass banana exportation. Without exportation of bananas, there was not only a sudden shift in the landscape, but also a sudden lack of available employment opportunity in the Territory (Interviews A1 2015 and A2 2015). Today, the Kalinago Territory is at an interesting crossroads.

Tertiary education is no longer rare, modern amenities are standard throughout the communities, but unemployment is often a problem. While agriculture was the backbone of the Kalinago Territory, the end of bananas as well as coconuts and copra has left little remaining options for viable agricultural markets. Traditional heritage and culture, while strong and present in the Kalinago Territory, must compete with technology and connection with the outside world. Accordingly, the landscape, including physical as well as cultural aspects, of the Kalinago Territory have changed drastically in recent years, affecting social and ecological processes. This preliminary research came about through collaboration with local partners in the Kalinago Territory. The research concentrates on qualitative methods to investigate landscape changes within the Kalinago Territory and how these changes affect cultural ecosysterm services and in turn the community's social-ecological resiliency.

Methodology

Table 1 identifies what factors, historic and current, local and external stakeholders as well as associated natural resources are considered the main landscape changes experienced in the Kalinago Territory. To understand the historic and present day landscape change impacts presented in Table 1, this paper relies on surveys and interview analysis.

Methods: Interviews and Survey collection

First, interviews were conducted to delve into individual's own reflection about his or her relationship with the community and landscape, as well as the overall changes to both. While 70 interviews were conducted during June- August 2015 fieldwork, this paper presents analysis on 20 interviews from the hamlets of Salybia and Bataca.

Landscape - past to present	Main issues	Stakeholders (inside and outside of local context)	Associated Resource Use
Industrial Agriculture – 1950s to early 2000s			
Banana exportation	• Shaped the landscape • Provided economic stability- weekly income	Kalinago Territory Farmers, banana industry export markets, transportation services	Water, banana crops, associated agricultural crops, soil, cultural associations
Current situation: 2000s to Today			
Decline in Agriculture	• Land has been fallow • No new crops to replace bananas	Kalinago Territory	Water, banana crops, associated agricultural crops, soil, cultural associations
Soil Erosion/ Land Slide in Salybia and St. Cyr	• Public buildings (school, police station, health center) are removed from Salybia • No more public activities such as sporting events, fishing	Community, fishermen. Tourists- no longer come to Salybia as historic tour	Fishes, beaches, coastal vegetation, cultural associations

Table 1: Landscape Assessment

Main Theme/ Indicator	Sub Theme/ Description	Citation Example
Retention of indigenous knowledge (TEK)	Documentation of knowledge acquisition of knowledge- education	" it's my dream to go to the school to start a program from the kindergarten, preschool, to start a language program" (Miranda Langely)
	Transmission of knowledge across generations	"I could give a contribution, pass the knowledge from my elderlies to the young children ,so that it could continue, so as I say, we have a strong culture, strong people, great warriors" (Miranda Langely)
Income Diversity	Economic Activity	"Everyone has become poor since bananas" (Mesclem Fredick)
	Employment available in the territory	"you don't really have to go out of the territory to work" (Gwenyth Fredrick)
Demographics	Level of emigration	"I work in Canada and then come back" (Andy Francis)
	Interactions between groups	"Growing up, we had a lot more socialization" (Remy)
Cultural values	Important sites-buildings	"Well we had the old church, that would be a good thing if we could raise it, and we have some architect or something so we can remember what happened before" (Alicia John)
	Important sites- natural	"The centipede trail. The skeleton trail, we used to go to so often before, well there the nice places to go to" (Alicia John)
	Cultural practices- livelihoods	"the loss of agriculture is that also affect passing down heritage, or is something that most people did before" (Charmagne Fredrick)
	Cultural practices- singing, dancing	"We celebrate culture through dance, because we have the cultural groups" (Miranda Langely)
Integration of social institutions	Use of traditional exchange and reciprocity systems	"And they only do it by koudemain, the koupdemain, free labor" (Mesclem Fredrick)
Food sovereignty and self-sufficiency	Availability traditional foods	"you know normally you would have provisions for lunch, now you would have pasta. And our local drinks, you would find soda or things that you mix" (Charmagne Fredrick)
	Available traditional medicine	"Well for medicine, for a headache or something, I make a local herbal tea" (Florence Tyson)
	intensity of use of artificial fertilizers	"I market that, which is fertilizer thing, but for my home, I also have non-chemical. So, there is a big difference"(Mesclem Fredrick)
Multiple uses of land and plants	Diversity of planted crops, agriculture and cultivation	"You more find that the younger generation they are not really keen into going back into agriculture"(Charmagne Fredick)
	Diversity of food sources- fishing	"Fishing is a big part, but before fishing, to go fishing down by the bay down there. Now, people don't really fish again"(Leandra John)
Conservation of resources	Land degradation	"It is not as good as before, no" (Kerdian Lestrade)
	Conservation of natural places and biodiversity	"even if it is your land, we want to make you understand the watershed, we must preserve it because if climate change, next we may not have a river up in the trails" (Faustolous Fredrick)
Social-capital of landscape	Community Development	"That will help us now, to get those young people to learn a trade and make something for themselves" (Laurence Tyson)
	Community Engagement	"but you know they give back of their time, if their doctors, they do free clinics on Saturdays" (Gwenyth Fredrick)
Customary laws, social institutions and autonomy	Recognition of indigenous institutions-external members	"We can still not get money from the bank or nothing because they have some bad in between and we haven't got a title for our land, so that may cost some of us difficult for us" (Laurence Tyson)
	Recognition of indigenous institutions-community members	"How are those things solved? The chief and council. So if you wanted some land ,what would you do to get some ? If I want land, like if my parents have a lot of land, then they would give me piece" (Leandra John)
	Levels of threat from government, privatization, or other	"Politics, changed everything around. I cant remember anything you know" (Kerdian Lestrade)

Table. 2 Social-Ecological Indicators and Description, used as Codes for Interview analysis

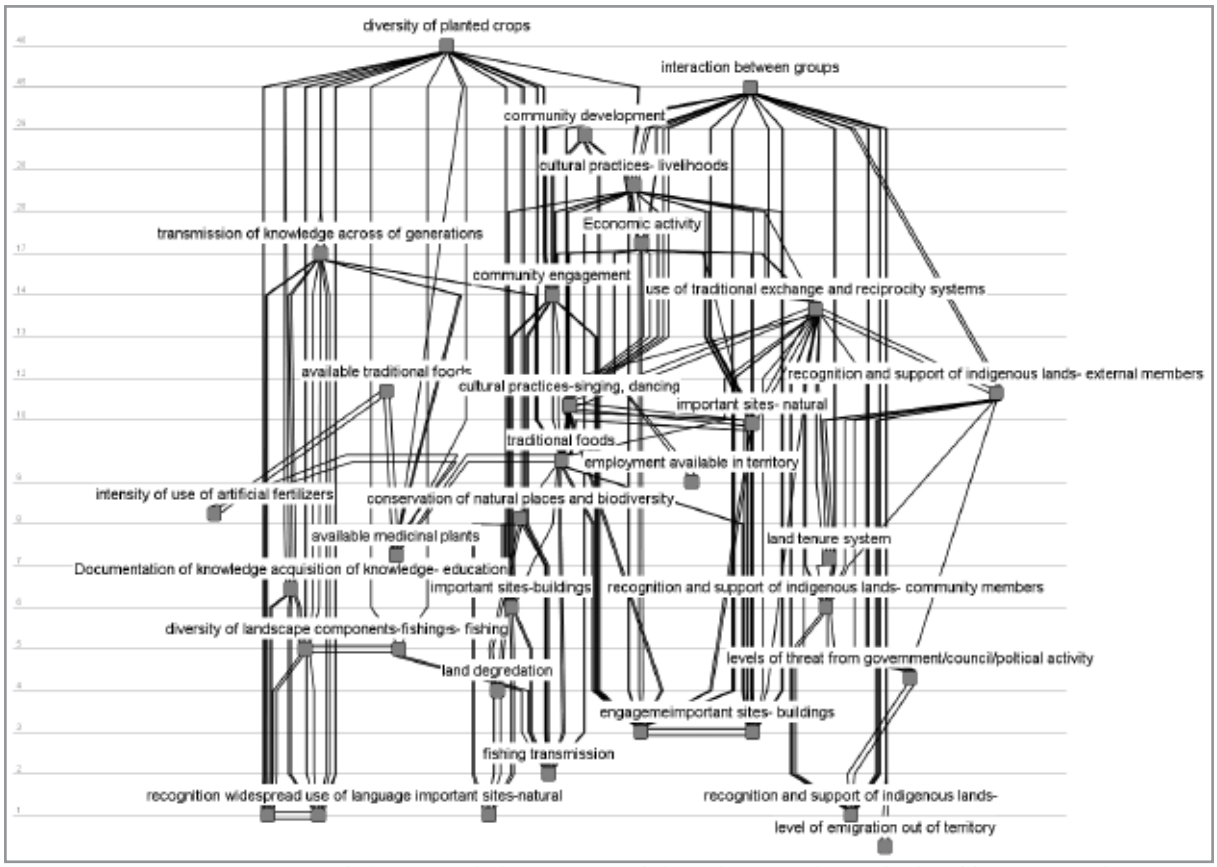

Fig. 2: Co-Occurrence Network, Sub theme X Sub theme compared through Main Theme, displayed by statement frequency

Following the transcription of all interviews, the interviews were coded according to methods of Qualitative Content Analysis or QCA (Krippendorff 1980, Kyngas and Vanhanen 1999, Mayring 2014) to examine themes reflected in Social Ecological Indicators, found in Table 2. These indicators are adapted from previous research done in building community resiliency in similar collaborative research settings (Oudenhoven, Mijatovic et al. 2010, Oudenhoven, Petz et al. 2012, Speranza, Wiesmann et al. 2014). These indicators are reflective of important aspects of social and ecological resiliency and are used here to understand the perceived landscape changes in the Kalinago Territory. Following coding in Discourse Network Analysis (Leifeld 2012), the data was exported to Visone, an open source graph and network software for further analysis. The coded interviews were exported as affiliation networks and Co-occurrence networks. A co-occurrence network is useful to understand the relationship between main themes as a function of their agreement or disagreement to subthemes. Additionally, an affiliation network, or bipartite network, is created to understand how the network is built as it reveals how connections are made between positive and negative relations between main themes, sub-themes and places.

Then, 60 surveys were completed with interested agriculturists throughout the 9 hamlets of the Kalinago Territory. These surveys were conducted together with the Representative for Land Holdings and Registry. The surveys were are a part of an implemented Kalinago Territory land mapping project conducted in collaboration with the Ministry of Kalinago Affairs and the Kalinago Council. The focus of the survey was to investigate further the main elements of landscape change revealed through field work as well as topics mentioned in the aforementioned interviews. As interviews revealed main themes, the surveys were created to collect information specific on individuals' perspectives on landscape change and associated changes in the Kalinago Territory. Further, demographic information was also collected such as age, gender, hamlet location, and occupation. This included perceived soil, land and water resource changes as well as type of farming, inputs used. Further, the survey covered attachment to place, such as valued sites or areas. Finally, the survey collected information regarding social life, including political changes, education and employment opportunities, and community engagement. This was implemented over a month period from mid-January 2016 to mid-February 2016. This data was collected throughout the territory.

Fig. 3: Affiliation Network, Main theme by Sub Theme, combined negative and positive relationships

The survey data was entered into a database and subsequently analyzed statistically.

Results: Interview

Figure 2 or the co-occurrence network, reveals the relationship between main themes and sub themes, highlighting the themes that are most mentioned and discussed in interviews and how they are connected. The importance of agriculture transmission as an overall connector between sub themes is stressed as it is found at the top of the Figure. As described in the Background section on the Kalinago Territory, agriculture has shaped social interactions as an economic and social staple. This is emphasized by the two most frequent and connective sub themes being Interaction between groups and Diversity of planted crops found at the top of Figure 2. This emphasizes the connection of community to land through agriculture, land tenure system, traditional foods and exchange between people. Moving away from the central point, we see the sub themes that are overall less interconnected to the main themes, for example, use of language. The traditional Kalinago language disappeared generations ago, according to many interviews (Interview A1 2015). Figure 2 reveals the importance that interviewees placed on agriculture transmission as a connecter between social, economic and environmental aspects of life.

Figure 3 displays an affiliation network comparing the main theme and sub theme connected through the type of agreement or disagreement that exists between them. If statements are made in agreement with the main theme and sub theme, the line is dotted. If statements are made in disagreement with the main theme and sub theme, the line is dashed and if there are equal disagreed and agreed statements, the line is remains unchanged. This network is important to the understanding of how disturbances, such as economic changes or land degradation, can influence a social-ecological system through a positive or negative relationship. In Figure 3, the positive relationship between the main theme of retention of traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) and sub theme of available medicine plants. For example, when discussing medicinal plants, on interviewee A1 said, 'Yeah, that is something that we still use' (17/6/2015 Salybia). Further, there is also a positive relationship between available medicine plants and food sovereignty and self-sufficiency. Thus, the importance of medicinal

plants within traditional knowledge is an aspect of the social-ecological system that still continues. On the other hand, there is an overall disagreement between diversity of food source-fishing related to multiple uses of plants and food. This is echoed by many interview statements stating the end of fishing that was previously done. Interviewee A2 said, 'Culture-fishing was a part of it, but then the fishing, we have no more boats again' (5/6/2015, Salybia). Thus, few individuals fish anymore, despite the importance of fishing and canoes as a part of the Kalinago livelihood. Figure 3 also reveals a negative relationship that exists between the main theme of demographics and a sub theme of community engagement. Interviews revealed the resounding changes to the community, impacting interaction between groups and engagement. For example, interviewee A3 said 'we were like close before, you would find families going to visit families, especially on a Sunday or when we have a feast like Easter, Christmas, you would find families going to see families, having a little get-togethers, but now we don't really get that' (6/6/2015, Salybia). Thus, disturbances to the social-ecological system have affected personal relationships between people within the community. Visible throughout Figure 3 is the centrality of the main theme: Cultural Values. This once again would reinforce the notion that cultural values are innately tied to ecological processes and conceptions of a landscape.

Results: Survey

From the Table 3a, agriculturists surveyed view changes negatively in relation to water resources, agriculture production, soil fertility and crop yield. Most people spoke of diminishing water resources, less agriculture and soil fertility, leading to declining crop yield and more fertilizers and pesticides being used. Reflective of the interview data results, the surveyed farmers from throughout the Kalinago Territory further support the decline in agricultural productivity, with lower crop yields and lower soil fertility. Further, water resources are perceived to be declining from the increased deforestation in river and stream areas. Also, inputs, such as fertilizers and pesticides have increased. From interview data, this is another reason why individuals find it difficult to continue in agriculture, as inputs led to additional costs. Unfortunately, the use of inputs increased during banana exportation, causing many current individuals to explain the necessity of inputs (Interviews A1 2015; A2 2015) Though, it is important to note, that some expressed that there was a recent increase in the push towards agriculture as more people were becoming involved, but just lacked financial resources for inputs or feared lack of market access to sell crops.

From Table 3b. the perceptions of the changing social landscape are revealed. Interesting to note is the decline in perceived community changes and attendance to community events. This is also reflective of interview data as many expressed a lack of social cohesion expressed as

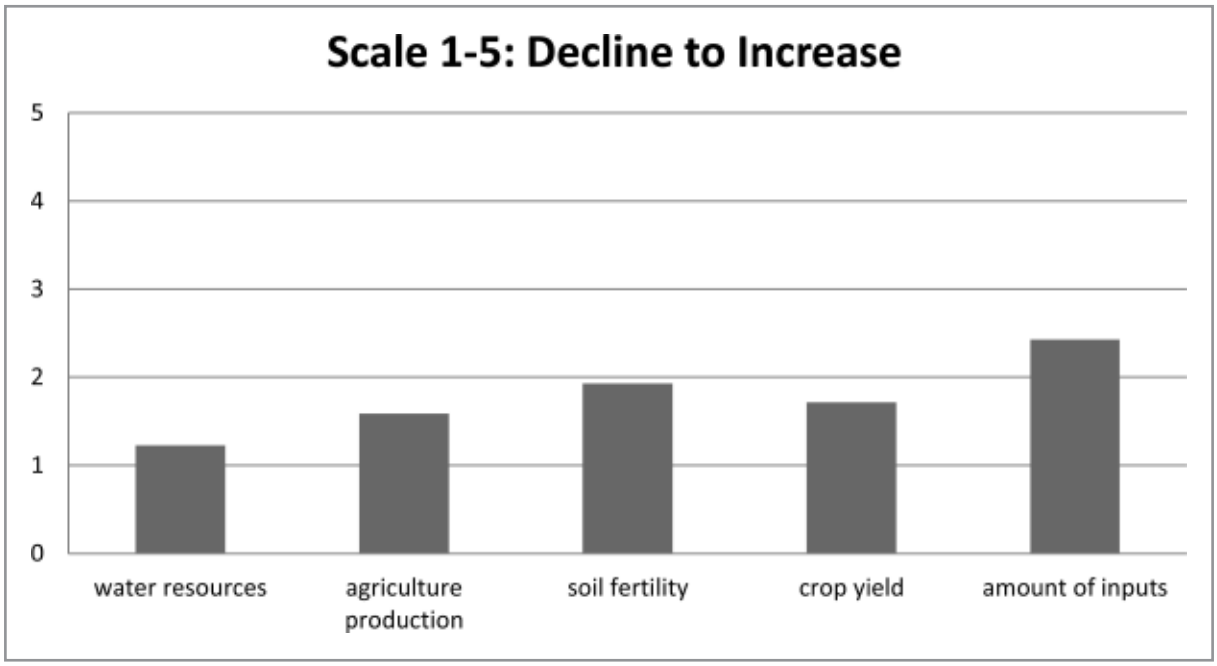

Table 3a Survey results of Landscape changes in Kalinago Territory, focus on land and water resources. Scale represents 1 (most declined) to 5 (largest increase)

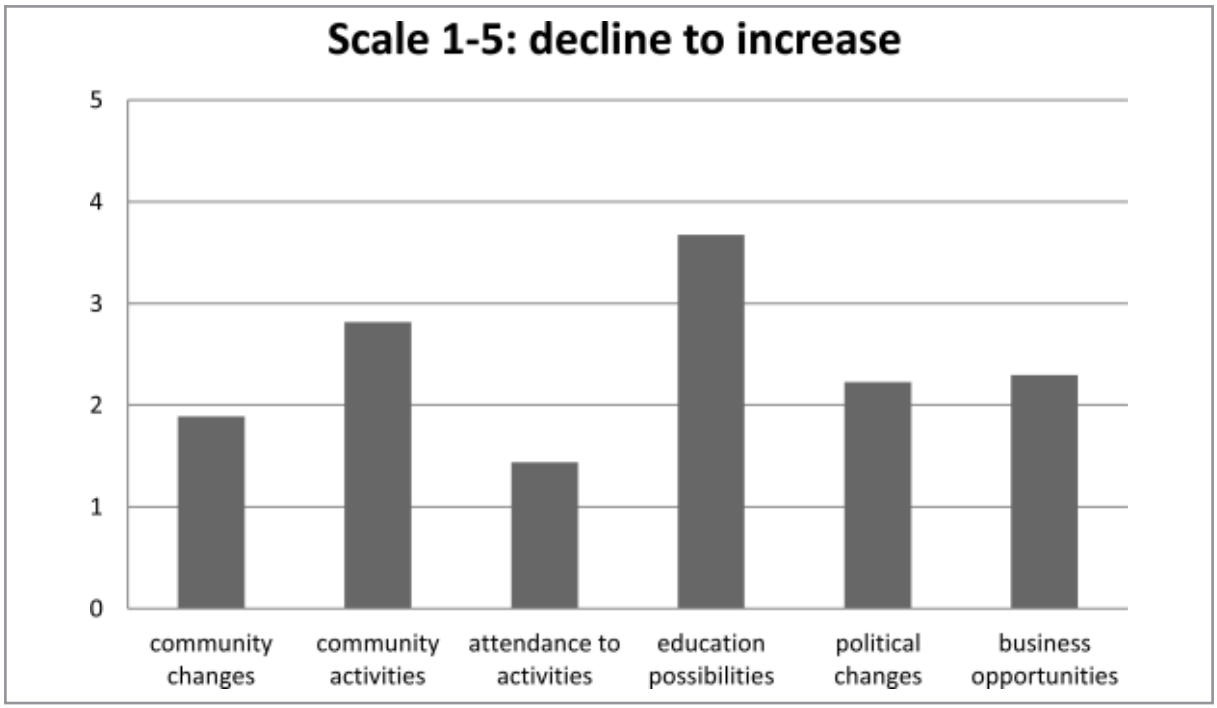

Table 3b Survey results of Landscape changes in Kalinago Territory, focus on social dynamics. Scale represents 1 (most declined) to 5 (largest increase)

either selfishness, lack of interest in the community, or the toils of modern life. Further, the negative impact of political changes impacting the Kalinago Territory speaks to the community divisions present in the community discussed during interviews. The lack of business opportunities speaks to the lack of credit available for those living in the Kalinago Territory due to the lack of collateral as no one possess a unique individual land title. It is positive to note the overall agreement of increased educational possibilities for those living in the Kalinago Territory.

Discussion

From the results, the perceived landscape changes experienced by individuals living in the Kalinago Territory are linked to real changes occurring at both global and local scales. Global economic shifts brought the end of banana exportation, leading to localized land change, including shifts to small agricultural plots and increased deforestation, leading to declining water resources. This has affected the cultural ecosystem services associated with rivers and streams. Further, the end of large scale agriculture experienced during banana export has brought a decline in agriculture as fewer individuals are engaging in agriculture because of a lack of available markets. While there are of course some limitations to ethnographic data, such as coding protocol, consistency and possible interviewee reticence, much of the results in interview data are also supported in survey data. As this research represents a collaborative effort between community members of the Kalinago Territory, the results aid in basing the next steps of environmental analysis on connections with cultural values.

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Farmers' Thinking on Cultural Landscapes in Central Switzerland

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Introduction

In terms of land use, agriculture is still important in shaping the appearance of the landscape. Under the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe 2000) landscape 'means an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors' (Article 1a). It is also essential for the economic strength and sociocultural life in rural areas, as its appearance influences tourists as well as immigration (Burton 2012). For the tourism industry as well as for the local population, aspects of landscape are becoming ever more significant. The perception of landscape among farmers plays a decisive role in the implementation of the multifunctional task of agriculture, which is anchored in the Swiss Federal Constitution.

Swiss Agriculture

With the modernisation of agriculture, an appreciated landscape is no longer the by-product of farming (El Benni and Lehmann 2010). The increasing use of machines and automated working processes in agriculture came along with a significant change in the landscape. The most perceptible change of farming in the landscape is the increase of monocultural management as well as the geometric and topographic adjustment of farm land. This leads to a reduction of small sized landscape elements as hedgerows, orchards and streams (Ipsen 2006).

The concept of multifunctional agriculture aims to provide non-market benefits for the society by farming. In a referendum in 1996 the Swiss population voted to support multifunctional agriculture. Thereupon, the landscape conservation was, along with the maintenance of decentralised settlement and natural life resources, launched as a new task for agriculture within the constitution. With the reformation of the Swiss agricultural policy a system of agri-environmental schemes was introduced to meet the new multifunctional goals of farming. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD 2001) describes multifunctionality as a concept of agriculture that includes to the production of food, the shaping of landscape and the provision of environmental benefits. Therefore, a multifunctional agriculture contributes to the socio-economic viability of rural areas. The alignment of the agricultural policy changed in several steps from product subsidisation to common and ecological direct payments (Meier and Lanz 2005).

Therewith the market failure of the common good landscape is also substituted, as it has a value, but no price (Lehmann and Steiger 2006). Within the multifunctional agriculture the landscape management and the upkeep of countryside is a new societal service provided by farmers.

Theoretical Background

In the perspective of constructivism, landscape evolves out of human perception (Kühne 2006). It is an output of the individually negotiated reflexion of the environment, which is evaluated in terms of aesthetic, economic, cultural and other criteria. Thus, landscape is perceived in a different way by different people, depending on their personal knowledge and experience. According to Kühne (2009; 2013), the basics to read and understand landscape are learned during landscape socialisation. It is further distinguished between the primary landscape socialisation during infancy, through family and school to learn to perceive landscape at an emotional level and the secondary one, learned from landscape-related studies, apprenticeships or further education.

It is further assumed that Bourdieu's (1979) idea of habitus plays an important role in landscape perception based on primary socialization. 'Habitus' is defined as a system of dispositions shaped by experienced history. Those dispositions or rather habits are expressed in individual or collective attitudes, which are passed through several generations in families and other social groups. Unconscious and common behaviour is influenced by habitus, as it is based on embodied habits and experiences within social groups.

The perception of an aesthetically appealing landscape among farmers is highly connected to the way of farming: good farming is the result of good practice, which again

creates good landscapes. Their performed work is visible in it. Therefore, farmed land becomes a 'display of the farmer's knowledge, values and work ethic, and thus farmers appreciate tidy landscapes' (Rogge et al 2007: 160). Within their peer group, professional farming skills can be read in the landscape and therefore reputation among farmers is gained through good agricultural practices to produce food. However, it is not just constituted out of a perspective of cultivation, but also influenced by the meaning of landscape as a living and working space for the rural population as well as the importance for recreation and tourism. Furthermore, ecologically aspects are in the realm of landscape perception, especially in areas of nature and landscape conservation.

Perceptions of Swiss farmers

Three communities in Central Switzerland (one of seven greater regions in Switzerland) were selected to investigate and compare attributes and characteristics of landscape perception among different regions. All communities are based on grassland and livestock farming. Other attributes, such as community area and number of inhabitants, are similar, but each community shows inherent characteristics. First, the community of Escholzmatt (canton Lucerne), a part of the Entlebuch UNESCO Biosphere Reserve, was selected as a community where nature and landscape conservation play a decisive role. The community of Engelberg (canton Obwalden) was chosen as a tourism destination for winter as well as summer sports (806,229 overnight stays in 2008: Engelberg-Titlis Tourismus AG 2009). In the third community, Wolfenschiessen (canton Nidwalden), neither tourism, nor nature, nor landscape conservation plays a strong role in the societal discourse.

Seeing through the agrarian lens

Within the realm of visual sociology several approaches to investigate social phenomena are based on photography. The applied approach of reflexive photography, recently elaborated by Dirksmeier (2007; 2013), aims to visualize spatial experience for scientific social research. Therefore photos are taken by the participants. During a subsequent problem-centred interview, participants analyse their own recorded photos (Witzel 2000; Dirksmeier 2012).

The approach presented above was applied in all three communities to emphasize the perception of landscape among the farmers. Ten farmers out of all officially registered farmers (who were nearly all male in the chosen communities) were selected in each community. The sampling procedure was determined to include characteristics of maximum contrast (Helfferich 2011) as age, educational back-ground, farm size, additional income and others. In each single municipality a key person in relation to agriculture helped to get access to the farmers. A first request by telephone was been made to gain their participation for the data collecting process described above. In the communities of Wolfenschiessen and Escholzmatt famers for participation were easily recruited, whereas it was more difficult to inspire farmers for participation in Engelberg.

A single-use camera was sent to each farmer together with a statistical questionnaire (for data as age, farm size, compensation area, education, private contact details) and the instruction to take 10-12 photos of elements belonging to cultural landscape on their farmland. Those elements could be both, aesthetically pleasant and unpleasant to the farmer. The films were sent back to the researcher in a stamped, pre-addressed envelope and were developed by a local photo shop. For the problem-centered interviews (CDI) the photos of each single farmer in A4 printout served as stimulus (Collier and Collier 2004; Pauwels 2010). The CDI focuses on experiences and reflections (induction) on particular topics given by the researcher (deduction) (Witzel 2000). At the same time, the photos were directly evaluated in the interview by the farmer or rather the photographer himself (Dirksmeier 2013), as the pictures served as a narrative-generating tool during the interview.

Interviews with the farmers took place between July and September 2012. In total 28 interviews lasting between 50-80 minutes were conducted with farmers on their farms. In Engelberg two farmers availed of the option to end the participation within the research process due to personal problems and the loss of the single-use camera. The interviews were subsequently transcribed from Swiss German into written German and analysed with the qualitative content analysis according to Mayring (2010). This systematic, rule guided and theoretically grounded, step by step approach to qualitative text analysis is based on the inductive development of categories close to the given text material, and the application of a deductive verification of those categories regarding the research questions and theory.

Results

Farmers constitute cultural landscape as an ongoing process, which means that they adapt an idea of a changing image of landscape due to the agricultural cultivation. They aim to maintain the recurring image of cultural landscape shaped by their own work as well as by their ancestors. Results of the interviews show further what farmers assume tourists and habitants to appreciate: a landscape they appreciate themselves – a properly cultivated, neat landscape. Farmers mention further the importance of tourists pointing out to them the value of landscape. Due to tourists (positive) appreciation farmers also get to know what is pleasing for society and important for the tourism industry. The discrepancy between the dominating image of landscape in the tourism sector (green meadows and cows with horns) and reality (extensive meadows are rather brown and cows more often without horns). This nuisance creates pressure on farmers to create this image of landscape, as it does not match with their preferences.

Conclusion

The results of this study show that farmers construct landscape out of diverse aspects in their everyday life. Primarily, those are based on the agricultural cultivation. Further the empirical work in this study illustrates that the constitution of landscape among farmers is not just based on farmland cultivation, but also influenced by the meaning of landscape as a living and working space for the rural population as well as the importance for recreation and tourism. Further ecologically aspects are also in the realm of landscape perception, especially in areas of nature and landscape conservation. Moreover, the habitual acting in the landscape is heavily influenced by moral values, which were transmitted during the primary landscape socialisation.

This study points out the perception and appreciation of the common good landscape by the farmers. As the maintenance of landscape is a societal task of farming, there is a need to negotiate the perceptions among farmers (as the producer) and habitants respectively tourists (as a consumer). Farmers are aware of their task, but need to get to know which landscape society appreciates.

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Imaging Place: The Question of Representation

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Introduction

From scientific reports to social media sites, from history books to museum exhibits, and in a host of other contexts, photographs are routinely used to represent place. With the advent of new technologies this emphasis on the visual is increasing; using images is becoming easier and the range of image making techniques is growing. As a result, the question as to whether place can be represented with photographs is a salient one. Can the user of an image of a site be certain that the image is representing the place as they intend it to? Or is it doing something else?

This paper will briefly analyse the mechanisms of perception and representation of place with particular reference to photography. In order to address this, I will be referring to my own practice as an artist using photography as an investigative tool of engagements with and actions in places. This practice took the form of a multi-site typological study, using the woodland as a generic site type, to investigate the processes of place-learning and way-finding (Gibson 1986, 198). This took the form of repeatedly visiting a series of sites to examine the processes of engagement that form the individual's conception of a site as a place. This entailed movement by way-finding and actions in the form of repeatedly making images of scenes within the sites over time. The resulting photographic interpretations were then collated and edited into a body of printed artworks designed primarily for exhibition (Fig. 1).

During this practice it became clear that there is a disparity between my individual experience of a place and the individual's experience of an artwork about that place. The two experiences are so dissimilar to the extent that I have questioned if I am representing place when I make

Fig. 1 Track-way #13 on exhibition at Avenue Gallery, Northampton. UK (original in colour). Photograph: John Sunderland.

an image about it. Are the works about a specific place, or a generic space? And, thirdly, what of the role of time in the experience of place and the viewing of representations about that environment?

Two perspectives on representation

In considering the depiction of the environment in terms of space and place, it is worth making the distinction that they are not opposites in the way that place is a known space and space an unknown place; they are complimentary concepts. In this paper I use space to describe the perceived environment as it is spatially understood through the senses. It is the ground within which perception occurs, whereas place is a set of events and memories associated with a location. It is an ongoing and changing narrative of experiences and memory in both the individual and collectively in society about some*where* that the individual engaging with it relates to, as Doreen Massey points out: '"Here" is an intertwining of histories in which the spatiality of those histories (their then as well as their here) is inescapably entangled' (Massey 2005, 139). It is a narrative that is connected to a location and is constantly evolving. Both space and place are subject to constant change for the individual and society as a whole, particularly when the close association of perception to memory is considered (see below).

This research began with a deliberation on photography's ability, or inability, to document change in the environment, to offer a record of a location with a visual identity that is understandable as a place. This gave rise to the question of whether or not place can be represented, either visually or by other means, but particularly through photography. The answer lies in either accepting the limitations of the medium to represent faithfully a place, or to not accept this supposition, that representation of place through photography is an inadequate method of dealing with place as a temporal experience. Both positions have their advocates as Liz Wells points out 'As has been acknowledged in recent developments in cultural geography, space is rendered into place through visual representation' (Wells 2011, 3). This may well be adequate if it fulfils the intentions of those using visual representation, such as archaeologists, whose photographic records routinely represent place within the context of a broad spectrum of other recording techniques. It may also be the case that, in the absence of other adequate ways of representing details, photography is used as a part of an overall form of representation, despite its limitations. It could be argued that representation is not recording but interpretation, as the prefix re- suggests, it is the presentation of something in a different form from the source. It becomes a conceptualisation of place or a fragment of experience communicated through a transformational medium, although in the example of archaeology, this is rarely, if ever, acknowledged. If it were, if the nature of the medium, the intentions of its user and the cultural contexts of both were taken into account, then the photograph's capacity to represent place as an interpretation could be accepted.

In contemporary art, the tendency is not to accept these limitations. Walking artist Hamish Fulton aptly illustrates the point through his practice; he describes the experiences of his walks as distinctly separate from the artworks he makes 'It's not possible to represent the experience of a walk, either you made the walk or you didn't [...] It's absolutely not possible to represent an experience like that, they are two entirely separate worlds' (Fulton 2006). Fulton points out that the experiences of land and changes in land as place through time cannot be directly related through art, as the artworks are spatially, temporally and perceptually different from the experiences that gave rise to these responses in the first instance, as Lucy Lippard points out 'a painting, no matter how wonderful, is an object in itself, separate from the place it depicts' (Lippard 1997, 19). It is clear from both these stances that there is nothing that can communicate the experience of place to another individual short of actually taking them to the place and being with them, of sharing the experience. Perhaps the concept of place is not something to represent; if it is to be fully understood it is something to be experienced as we move through the regions of our life-worlds.

The distinction between the region of a life-world (one based on inhabitation, knowledge, experience and memory) and a geographically and culturally bounded region that is allocentric and cartographic is that the former is centred on the locus of the mobile body of the individual, rather than a point or points in the environment (places on a map). Every-body (human and non-human) occupies such a region, one that is not determined by a bounded space or by identities associated with places, but rather on movements through space and *events* that are visits through known and changing places. What distinguishes this region is how the individual experiences and relates to it.

Fig. 2 Across #1 (original in colour). Photograph: John Sunderland.

Between and through the two poles of individual environmental experience from the unknown to the known, lies a process of temporal engagement, the building of familiarity with space through time, classically shifting the status of an unknown space to that of an identified place, as something that is static, resolved and interpretively closed; this is something that Massey and others have recognised as deeply problematic. It is an issue that the stasis of photography tends to emphasise and that this research attempted to overcome. This was achieved by considering relationships to places as events and processes, rather than a process of identity formation in itself, and acknowledging this visually by incorporating and symbolically alluding to processes of movement in the artworks (Fig. 2).

This echoes Massey's assertion that: 'A reimagination of things as processes is necessary (and indeed now widely accepted) for the reconceptualization of places in a way that might challenge exclusivist localisms based on claims of some eternal authenticity. Instead of pregiven discrete entities, there is now a move towards recognising the continuous becoming which is the nature of their being' (Massey 2005, 20-21).

The recognition of places as processes (and sets of processes) shifted the emphasis of this research from visually defining place and re-presenting it as a closed and fixed entity through the stasis of the photographic image, to an interpretation where the images themselves are also understood as 'things as processes', as artefacts (digital or physical) that are also subject to change. This occurs in terms of reproduction, scale, and context as well as through time, but also in the eyes and understanding of the beholders. The visit to any site where an artwork is displayed is an event. In this sense the artwork is an event and an artefact that changes through encounters over time.

Place, Image and Memory

Although the connection between environmental perception and memory is a vast field of research and there are many aspects that are salient to the question of the definition of place, one factor stands out as being particularly relevant when considering the representation of place. This is the influence of memory on the formation of conceptions of an actual place, and by extension the impact it also has on our reading of images of places.

The effect of memory on our perception of place can be disruptive to our understanding of it, as Michel De Certeau points out 'Like those birds that lay their eggs only in other species' nests, memory produces in a place that does not belong to it' (de Certeau 1984, 86). It is through memory that the specificity of place is interrupted to the extent that the site may no longer be considered as a place; rather it becomes a space for the processes of remembering and contemplation. The past therefore becomes present to the situation and comingles with the environment in the acts of perception. Memories recalled as a result of the stimuli within a place are not always associated with it, but can be bidden from other places and experiences not directly or rationally connected to that place at all. These memories are in turn also likely to result in further recollections that may bear no relation to the specific place as it is encountered. They are by nature individual and subjective although they play a large part in the perception of the space and the formation of the individual's conception of the place, particularly in terms of what elements in the environment remain of interest to the individual. They indicate that the experience of place is not a universal one, even if the

Fig. 3 A fox I thought #4, 1:35 pm – 1:36 pm, 1 minute (original in colour) Photograph, John Sunderland.

actual visit to a site is shared, individual conceptions will vary on the basis of past experience and memory.

Whether experiencing a place or viewing an image of a place, the individual is engaging the same perceptual mechanisms and drawing on their own experiences and memories to determine their responses. Just as the environment might remind us of a past event, so does an image. There are some important differences in the experiences; firstly, the photograph is primarily a visual medium, it does not include information from the other senses, although in print form it does have a surface and an edge that can be haptic-ally felt, the image bears little resemblance to the three dimensional world around us; it is also mute, offering no sounds from the place it depicts. Furthermore, as Maurice Merleau-Ponty points out, 'the unity of space can be discovered only in the interplay of the sensory realms' (Merleau-Ponty 2002, 258). It is an amalgam of information from all the senses that make up perception simultaneously. In the case of a photograph, this absence of sensory information causes the viewer to rely further on memory and induces imaginative responses as to what more information might be gleaned from a depiction of the environment. This might occur synesthetically, we might be able to imagine the smell of the decaying corpse of a fox for example (Fig. 3).

Between memory and imagination, the beholder of a photograph is bringing much to their interpretation of it from their own lives that may not be actually present at the site depicted, as Jean-Claude Legmagny points out 'In photography I have to learn not to impose meaning because there isn't any, but I can legitimately posit a space and volume. I have the illusion of volume' (Lemagny 1995, 133-143). This indicates that the meaning of a photograph's content is limited, according to Lemagny, to space and volume. Any further information is dependent on the viewer and the context. In the case of the representation of place, this would indicate that it is not possible to record a place, because there are many subjective and even fictional elements to the perception of it through a medium such as photography.

Conclusion

Whether or not place can be represented, that is depicted faithfully in visual form in the case of photography, depends upon the definition of place, rather than on the meaning of representation. In this research place has been defined, in accordance with Massey's conception, as a series of spatio-temporal events linked to a location (otherwise it would not be a place, but a series of events only). As such it is fluid, subject to change and therefore difficult to represent singly, with the stasis of photography (or a drawing, or painting for that matter) when it is experienced and sensed multiply through time. Massey states, 'This is an understanding of place - as open [...], as woven together out of ongoing stories, as a moment within power-geometries, as a particular constellation within the wider topographies of space, and as in process, as an unfinished business' (Massey 2005, 131). As an unfinished business, the direct representation of place is therefore limited. At best a photograph is a trace or fragment of experience and therefore only a very partial representation of place.

Photographs do, though, function as a part of the overall process of place-learning on a cultural level. They can only do this when functioning with a wide variety of other media, including the visual, audio, the written and so on; and when, importantly, considered as part of the temporal continuum. They also would need to be identified, hence many landscape photographs have their place names in the title, as well as the date it was made. All this information would ideally be placed in some kind of an archive, for it to fully function on a cultural level, but need not necessarily be. Photographs of environments have a role in the constantly changing identities of the places they depict as partial fragmentary representations in the overall knowledge that forms the sense of place for the individual or society encountering or researching them, they become part of an ongoing mediation about our understandings and senses of places. They do not faithfully represent place in isolation, but only as part of

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Distinct landscape - distinct well-being? How residents evaluate landscape, environmental and agricultural traits in two contrasting local landscapes of Southern Portugal (Southern Europe)

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Introduction

Findings from recent research highlight that landscapes can contribute in manifold ways to human well-being (Abraham et al 2010; Egoz 2011; Bieling et al 2014). These and other studies also stress the need for more attention by researchers and policy makers to the relationships between environment, landscape, ecosystem functioning and well-being (Vemuri and Constanza 2006; Summers et al 2012). It's known that both material as well as immaterial landscape values can play a role in life quality of those who live or temporarily visit a landscape. However, more specific links between landscape and well-being in rural areas, where agriculture predominantly shapes the landscapes, remain largely unexplored.

Nowadays, the desirable changes in rural areas, such as economic diversification through new forms of agricultural production, food processing, rural tourism, non-agricultural rural economy, as well as innovative ways of managing landscapes, natural resources and ecosystems require knowledge about how the occurred and potential changes impact on the well-being of local communities and individuals. Well-being is a broad and dynamic concept going beyond a purely economic issue which requires likewise involving social and environmental issues (e.g. Stephens and Athias 2015). Given its conceptual complexity, a definition of well-being as well as its measurement has long been under discussion (Dolan and Peasgood 2008; D'Acci 2011; Hicks et al 2016). Nowadays, the subjective well-being has become an important issue in policy goals (Helliwell and

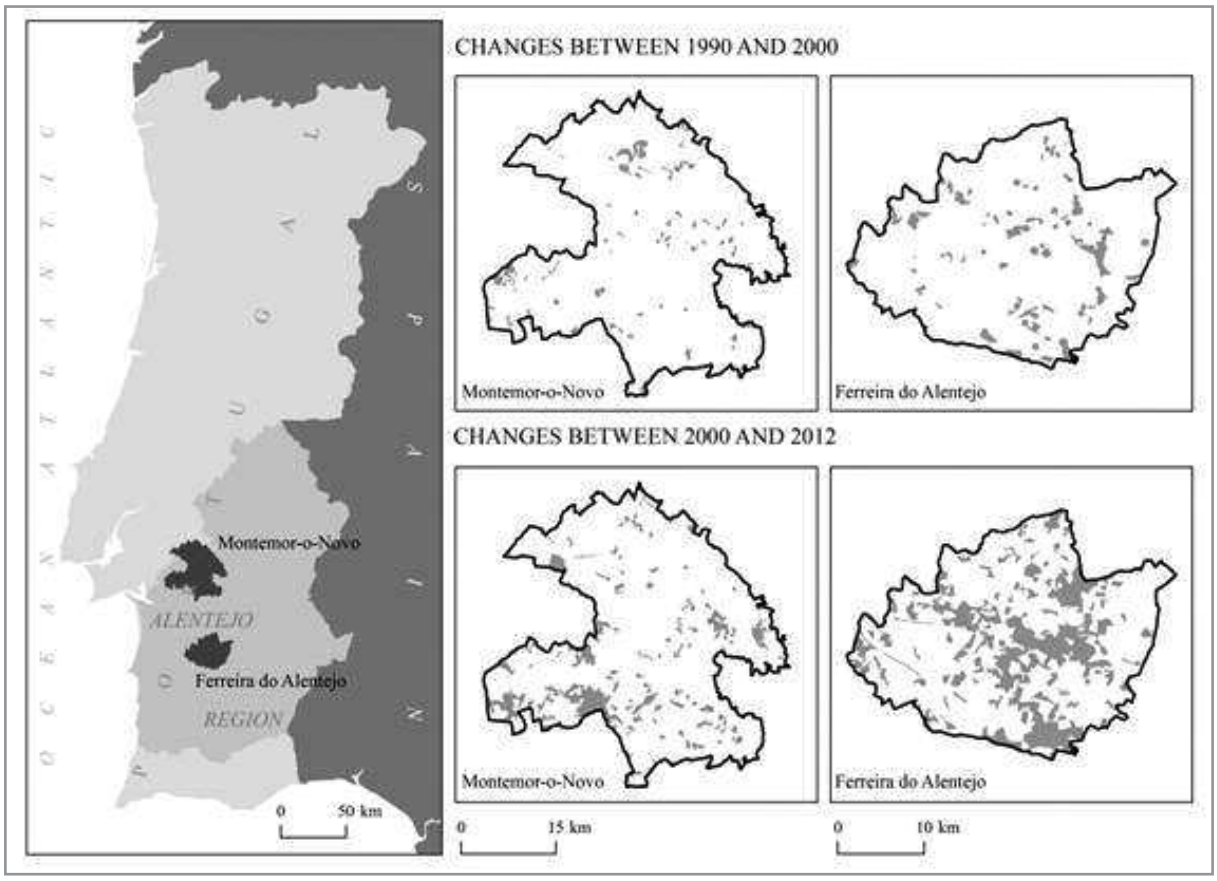

Fig. 1. Localization of the study area and identification of occurred changes in land cover based on CORINE Land Cover data

Fig. 2. Photo from county of Montemor-o-novo

Barrington-Leigh 2010). The reason for this prominence is in the recognition that the subjective well-being can provide important information about certain aspects of quality of life, which may otherwise be neglected or misinterpreted by objective measures (Dolan and White 2007).

The aim of the study is to improve insights into the relationships between the type of agricultural landscape surrounding rural settlements and local well-being issues. Specifically, the study assesses residents' valuation of landscape, environmental and agricultural traits in two rural settlements with distinct agricultural practices and, therefore, showing different impacts at landscape level. The respondents' levels of subjective well-being measures are also compared between the two localities.

Study area

The two surveyed rural municipalities (Montemor-o-Novo and Ferreira do Alentejo) are located in the Alentejo region of Southern Portugal (Fig. 1). They markedly differ in landscape diversity, land cover dynamics, agricultural type and land management intensity (Figs. 2 and 3).

The municipality of Montemor-o-Novo is dominated mainly by low-intensity farming systems, in particular the *montado*. The *montado* is a Mediterranean silvo-pastoral land-use system dominated by holm oaks (*Quercus rotundifolia*) and cork oaks (*Quercus suber*) covering a wide range of tree stand densities (Pinto-Correia et al 2011; Godinho et al 2016). They are recognized in their capacity to deliver a wide number and variety of ecosystem services (Bugalho et al 2011). In this study area, the management of the *montado* is mainly focused on livestock production, combined with forest products such as cork and wood for charcoal production. The county of Montemor-o-Novo represents also a rural area where a demand for non-commodity functions, such as nature conservation, new and second housing, leisure and recreation, is high. This is due to recognized landscape quality, and also the proximity to Lisbon and smaller urban centers such as Évora and Montemor-o-Novo. In the surroundings of the municipality main town, as well as in the other and smaller localities, the landscape is composed of a characteristic small-scale mosaic of farm units between 1 and 5 ha, sometimes up to 20 ha. In these complex land use systems, the land cover is dominated by old olive groves, vegetable gardens and fruit orchards, pastures used for sheep grazing, a few plots of vineyards, and dense vegetation galleries along the water lines. The individual characteristics of the small-scale farmers observed in our study area by Pinto-Correia et al (2016) reveals a large diversity in profiles. This area is a highly attractive area for newcomers who appreciate the gentle landscape and the proximity to urban facilities (Pinto-Correia et al 2010), fostering new dynamics in these patches.

Fig. 3. Photo from county of Ferreira do Alentejo

The second case study is the Ferreira do Alentejo municipality. Due to the access to a large irrigation system from a recently constructed dam Alqueva, the modernized large-scale plantations of olive groves with intensive agricultural management dominate nowadays the landscape in the municipality. Most of the new olive groves arose in the new irrigation projects of the Alentejo region (INE 2011), coinciding with the conclusion of the first phase of the irrigation project of the Alqueva and with the decoupling of direct payments from production (Council Regulation (EC) n.º 1782/2003 of 29 September 2003 – CAP reform of 2003, referred to as Luxembourg agreement or Fischler reform).

Surveys and data analysis

A survey was applied to a sample of local inhabitants in the two studied rural settlements. Respondents were selected through a stratified random sampling, where the stratum was the age class distribution in the studied settlements according to statistical records. The answers were based on the levels of agreement with the statements related to perceived local landscape quality, identity, diversity; and perceived local biodiversity. Subsequently, the preferred agricultural tendencies in the locality were assessed using an ordinal scale, where zero meant the elimination of certain agricultural type from the locality, five was a continuation of the current state, and ten destined that the municipality should contain only that certain agricultural type. In the second part of the survey, the socio-economic data of respondents and their reported levels of subjective well-being (SWB) measures were collected. The reported statements as well as the levels of SWB were measured using the eleven-point Likert scale.

Data were analyzed using the SPSS v.22 software. The Mann-Whitney U test was applied, which is a rank-based non-parametric test that can determine if there are differences between two groups on an ordinal dependent variable. The dependent variables were the perceptions of landscape and agricultural local characteristics, preferred agricultural tendencies and the quality of life measures. The independent variable was the living locality.

Results

Two-hundred and six questionnaires were collected during the summer 2015. In Montemor-o-Novo 105 residents and in Ferreira de Alentejo 101 residents participated in the survey. The sample included 107 women and 99 men. The youngest respondent was 18 years old and the oldest one was 87 years old.

Results show that, in general, respondents in the Montemor-o-Novo in comparison with respondents in Ferreira do Alentejo evaluated higher the landscape, environmental and food aspects in the county they live in (Table 1). There were statistically significant differences in evaluation of landscape visual aspect and landscape diversity between the two groups of residents. Moreover, respondents in Montomor-o-Novo were ranking higher their connectedness to present local landscape as well as the existing possibilities to interact with nature especially through hiking. Soil and water quality as well as the biodiversity was perceived to be significantly higher in Montemor-o-Novo.

In terms of preferred agricultural changes in the local county the two groups were not very different. In both localities, the respondents would prefer to increase the area of the small-scale farming as well as area of large-scale non-irrigated farming. The only observed difference in preferences between the two groups was in desirable change in area occupied by a large-scale irrigated farming. Respondents in Ferreira do Alentejo preferred a

	Mann-Whitney U test		Mean Rank		Median	
Dependent variables - Survey Questions	U	p-value	MN	FA	MN	FA
Landscape, Environment, and Food aspects in the county						
visual aspect of the local landscape	2805.5	0.000	127.28	78.78	9	8
landscape diversity	2885.0	0.000	126.52	79.56	8	7
connectedness to local landscape	3186.0	0.000	123.66	82.54	9	7
possilbilities to interact with nature (hiking)	2664.5	0.000	128.62	77.38	8	7
soil and water quality	3703.0	0.000	118.73	87.66	7	7
richness of vegetation, animals and birds	3019.0	0.000	125.25	80.89	8	6
quality of the local agricultural products	2864.5	0.000	126.73	79.35	9	7
possibility to interact with the local farmers	4930.5	0.000	107.04	99.82	7	5
Preferred agricultural changes in the county						
small-scale diversified agriculture	4976.0	0.437	106.61	100.27	8	7
small-scale specialized agriculture	5811.0	0.225	98.66	108.53	7	7
large-scale extensive agriculture	6029.5	0.082	96.58	110.7	7	7
large-scale specialized agriculture	4135.5	0.006	114.61	91.95	5	4
Subjective well-being measures						
Life satisfaction	4930.5	0.374	107.04	99.82	8	8
Happiness	4463.5	0.075	109.49	95.09	8	8
Life worthwhileness	4294.5	0.015	113.1	93.52	9	8
Satisfaction with the county as a place to live	3654.0	0.000	119.2	87.11	9	8
Trust in local authorities	4340.5	0.023	112.66	93.98	7	6
Optimism about the future	4478.0	0.052	111.35	95.34	7	6

Table 1. Results obtained through the Mann-Whitney U test comparing the evaluations of the county aspects between respondents in Montemor-o-Novo and respondents in Ferreira do Alentejo

reduction in area occupied by this type of intensive agriculture.

The mean ranks of the life satisfaction and happiness were higher in Montemor-o-Novo. However, differences between the two localities were not significant. On the other hand, the eudaimonic well-being measured by self-reported life worthwhileness, the satisfaction with the county as a place to live, and trust in local authorities were significantly better in Montemor-o-Novo. Comparing the two groups, none of them was significantly more optimistic about the future, even if the mean rank was higher in the Montemor-o-Novo group.

Discussion and Conclusions

The aim of the study was to compare local landscape-related characteristics with perception and well-being of inhabitants in two localities with distinct landscapes shaped predominantly by the agricultural activities. Based on the results obtained through the survey, it can be concluded that the county's agriculture plays a pertinent role in the way rural residents perceive their surrounding landscape, especially the visual landscape aspects, environmental and the local food quality. At the same time, significant relationships were not observed between perceived landscape characteristics and all well-being measure. These can indicate that the landscape may have an important but also a complex influence on subjective well-being.

In the locality with relatively more diversified agriculture, and where residents evaluate landscape, environmental and food aspects better, they are also more satisfied with their living place, they trust in local authorities more and additionally, they feel their life is more worthwhile. In relation to preferred agricultural tendencies, the two groups are not very different, except for preferences for large-scale specialized agriculture. It seems that residents in Ferreira do Alentejo, where the last mentioned agriculture became dominating in recent years, would rather prefer less area occupied by this type of agriculture in favor for others, more visually diverse agricultural uses. The results lead to the formulation of new questions for research, especially those relevant for an integrated landscape approaches, in which the landscape is considered as a socio-ecological system and a

management is mainly focusing on local livelihoods, health and well-being. Particularly relevant in rural areas, still in these days, appears to be that agricultural matters have an important impact not only on visual landscape but also on economic, social, cultural and environmental functions in a locality. For now, more research into the influence of landscape issues on well-being of rural communities and individuals is needed. Moreover, the consideration of local context should not be omitted to help formulate policy recommendations towards landscape management with a positive effect on well-being in rural areas.

The results support the idea that the local agriculture as a main sculptor of rural landscape has a vital meaning in residents' well-being and thus should not be omitted in discussions about sustainable futures of rural communities. In this vision, there is a need for a territorial approach to agriculture policy making, what has been much defended lately but only applied to an incomplete extent.

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Place as Pause: the value of collaborative, cross-disciplinary practices in place

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This is a jointly authored paper by a poet and artist who have worked in collaboration on place-based projects since 2011. Our paper will incorporate a projection of images of the ways in which our texts and images operate together and of community involvement in our projects. Our two principle series are both concerned with watery environments: *Tributaries*, based close to our home in the South Pennines and *Excavations and Estuaries,* based further afield at Cleethorpes on the East coast of England. Here we concentrate on the latter, where we moved into a previously unknown area, engaged with a new community, and deepened our joint practice and interwoven explorations of environmental theory.

Walking into place is central to our practice and, while we might start with rambling or sauntering (to use Thoreau's term), in moving from map to land, we quickly realised that the scale of working needs to be small. We realised the need to visit and re-visit the same places. In this sense, we are not epic walkers, but slow, repetitive walkers. We do not move smoothly from 'landscape' to production. We are engaged in all processes simultaneously: walking and talking; making texts, paintings and drawings; researching and producing exhibitions and composing papers and books. All of these interrelate in an open flux. We also research the work of other poet-artist collaborators, such as Frances Presley and Irma Irsara and Thomas A Clark and Laurie Clark, and engage with our various audiences, thus allowing further voices to enter the conversation. Defying obvious boundaries between art and poetry, our collaborative works play with the recording of presence or encounter, acknowledging and yet questioning this possibility, both for ourselves and our audiences, not least because of the multiple forms in which we present it.

Entering Place

Encountering place, as inhabitants in *Tributaries* and as visitors for *Excavations and Estuaries,* has brought into question our individual and collective understanding of place and made us consider what happens when we enter place, particularly place that is new to us. As the artist-critic Ian Biggs writes:

> 'We enter in one of two ways: either by living in a place as an inhabitant or by moving through it as an attentive traveller. Either process involves us in engaging with multiple temporal and spatial dimensions, in understanding both human and natural activity. Our entry is finally achieved only through the marriage of many kinds of knowledge and experience.'
>
> (Biggs 2004, 24)

Biggs is careful not to privilege local or distant work here. Rather he draws attention to what he terms elsewhere a 'polyvocal' approach to creative work (Tucker and Bingham 2008, 7). Wendy Mulford in her preface to *The East Anglia Sequence*, talks about the 'primary difference of context' between the first part of the sequence, written as a regular 'visitor' to Salthouse, North Norfolk, and the second part, written as an 'immigrant — or blow-in' to Dunwich, Suffolk (Mulford 1998). She describes the 'visitor' approach as follows, 'What I was after in the Salthouse text was an encounter with other, experienced as/located in the meterology, archaeology, geology, ornithology, prehistory, the recorded history of place. The quick of it. The knowledge' (Mulford 1998). About the Dunwich text, where she deepens research and experience to 'another "real"', she writes of the 'further tracking after what Buddhists call "nowhere country", the place which is, finally, your home ... retaining its profoundly resistant, unincorporated soul'(Mulford 1998). This account reveals that greater 'knowledge' and experience only increases our sense of place as ultimately inassimilable to our understanding. It acts as a check on our illusion that we can 'capture place', in art or otherwise, because we 'know' it well or, equally, because we don't (that we might be able to just 'mug up' on a place).

Having said that, as both Biggs and Mulford acknowledge, research into the polyvocal pasts and presents of a place are part of artists building relationships with that place. Watching a jerky, 1930s black and white film of Cleethorpes' promenades one cannot but be struck by the vast crowds marching up and down the 'fine sea front', the pier, the quantity of trolley buses and charabancs. There is a sense of nostalgic security in such images of familiar, everyday, tourist landscape, or

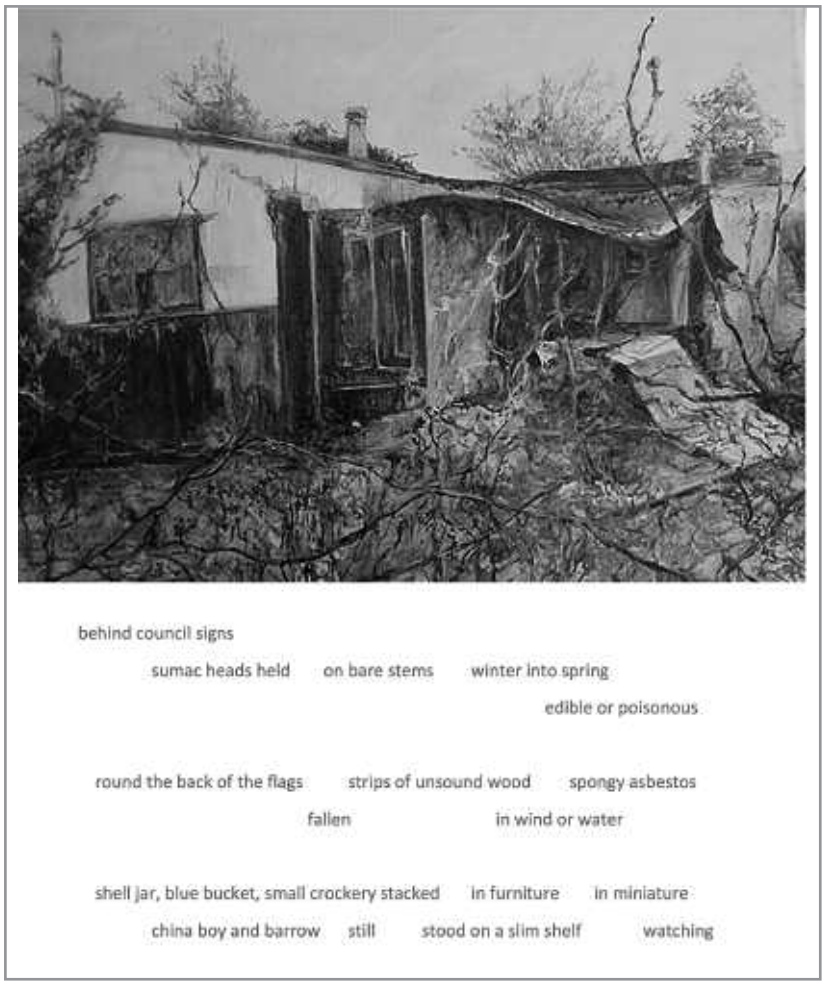

Fig. 1. Once was holiday*, 30.5 x 46.5 cm oil on canvas 2015. Open-form poem: Harriet Tarlo. Oil painting: Judith Tucker.*

Beginning our *Excavations and Estuaries* project we quickly honed in on four small patches of land between Tetney and Cleethorpes and visited these regularly, timing our visits carefully in order to attempt to 'capture' seasonal changes, changes which were of course just as likely to 'capture' us. As climate change studies have revealed, our deeply held cultural conviction in the seasons is one of the unconscious reasons people resist or deny knowledge of climate change until flood, drought or storm brings them up sharp, as they were to do in Cleethorpes that very year.

Our final place emerged unexpectedly when we selected our accommodation for these visits. Travelling to the seaside from Yorkshire we embraced the history outlined above, staying in the Humberston Fitties (these were part of the plotland settlements which cropped up all over the UK). The Fitties plotlands at Humberston were, like much of the low-lying land around the mouth of the Humber estuary, carved out of saltmarsh. They lie low behind marshy beach and dunes, a quirky domestication of land always liable to flood, to a return to its former state. Here, since the early part of the twentieth century, local people and visitors have erected their diverse dwellings with individualistic names and styles, in order to enjoy seaside life. Allowing ourselves to derive around these plotlands, imagining their pasts and engaging with their presents, we began to make work about them despite ourselves.

'working class playgrounds' as John K. Walton frames them (Walton 2000, 29). Cleethorpes' history is closely linked to industrialisation and the rise of the railways. Its long links with Yorkshire, especially around Sheffield, have their origins in a time when tourism for most was limited to the times when the mills were closed for wakes weeks and whole communities made for the seaside. In its heyday it was the destination of miners, steel workers and mill workers. For these people, seaside resorts were places to encounter the 'natural' for therapeutic mental or physical replenishment; they are all about interaction between humans and environment. They still are. Considering tourism, John Urry notes 'I have at times referred to travel as corporeal travel. This is to emphasise something so obvious that it has often been forgotten, that tourists moving from place to place comprise lumpy, fragile, aged, gendered, racialised bodies ...Such bodies encounter other bodies, objects and the physical world multi-sensuously (Urry and Larsen 2011, 21). Urry's notion of corporeal travel resonate with Biggs' polyvocal approach which also remind us of well-rehearsed ideas of painting as an embodied practice (Merleau-Ponty 1993).

Walking into Place

The phenomenologist Edward Casey considers that place 'is what takes place between body and landscape. Thanks to the double horizon that body and landscape provide, a place is a locale bounded on both sides, near and far (Casey 1993, 29). Our own walking into place involved engagement with a particularly uncompromising horizon, that of the low-lying East coast. When walking, the body/landscape horizon shifts constantly. As De Certeau

argues, walking is not to be in one place but to be out of place or between places; the enunciative function of walking is as a 'spatial acting-out of the place' a questioning or circling around place, a placing that is always in process (De Certeau 1984, 98). Visiting and re-visiting and making work about place involves us in a process of repetition and variation. Time and season change from visit to visit, as we ourselves, and the way we relate to that place, also changes.

We appear to engage in the entirely repetitive act of placing one foot in front of the other, of walking, but the pattern of our footsteps as we take a familiar walk is never entirely the same and we choose to pause or turn at different places. The de Certeauan insight that spatial practices carried out within walking are part of a negotiation with our fears and desires as played out in the theatre of place is as relevant to walking wherever it occurs. It becomes more complex when we have more than one person in the equation and also when we are engaging landscapes in which with human and non-human effects are written as large as each other (as opposed to the urban environments de Certeau reflected on, where culture dominates nature).

An artist and poet walking together however are not of course in perpetual motion. In an interview appropriately titled 'Standing Still and Walking in Strath Nethy', Thomas A. Clark lays emphasis on the stopping, standing still, pausing involved in his walking process. It is at these moments that place comes into focus as much as it might ever do. Yi-Fu Tuan's writes in his book *Space and Place* that 'if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place' (Tuan 1977, 66). In this case then, place might be conceived as pause, as it is portrayed here in the poet Allen Fisher's long poem entitled simply *Place*:

Not just here but **held**, a word repeated often in PLACE, again evokes the pause, the moment of rest, stasis in the fluxus of PLACE. 'movement and rest/ beget each other.' (Fisher 2005, 333)

At the very beginning of 'PLACE', the idea of a point, any point, on the loci of a sphere is presented and that image returns throughout the poem, making reference here to another great American poem of place, Charles Olson's *Maximus*:

'the earth won't wait
the loci of a sphere I have seen it
I, not Maximus, but a citizen of Lambeth
Cyclic on linear planes...'
(Fisher 2005, 11)

The poet and philosopher, Pierre Joris, argues that this idea of pause is also relevant to each moment of production in an artist's work — it is a pause, poases or mawqif, defined as follows:

sometimes something flickers intermittent particles shifting surface
rise from below or fall from sky, catching light, seeming
to decide or drift, not one way, but stir
or rock, gentle, within
mud-bowl bank curves
a lapping line of translucent light ..... follow
and it enters shadow, paled edge, reflects marsh plants
somehow stilled from their windblown life above, lying over a leaf

Fig. 2. Crushing tread through*, 60.1 x 183 cm, oil on canvas 2014.*
Open-form poem: Harriet Tarlo. Oil painting: Judith Tucker.

'**The mawqif** has to be conceived as a tension, a movement of a peculiar kind, & not as some static resting point — it is a momentary, moving placement on a smooth space, metonymic in relation to before & after, and not a resting place, metaphor for the final resting place.... It is a (momentary) stance in relation to & with space, the horizontal, thus active, in motion, even if of a different motion than that before or after. A whirling motion, making for the connection (rhizomatic) between today's & tomorrow's nomadic moves, whirling dervish, or that dance/stance, as Charles Olson once put it: "How to dance / sitting down."' (Joris 2003, 45, 58)

Fieldwork

Like Fisher and Joris, Tarlo has also drawn on American Black Mountain poetry, in particular Charles Olson's 'composition by field', Robert Duncan's *The Opening of the Field* and William Carlos Williams' 'field of action', to develop her ideas of poetry fieldwork:

'... a cycle of working the land ... the listening, seeing, writing, editing of the work: land work, poetry work, 'Groundwork', to cite the title of two of Robert Duncan's late books. It is a place ... to perform, to enact and embody our physical relationship with the world. It is a micro-environment. It is an energy field, a trajectory, Olson's threshing floor, Duncan's dance...' (Tarlo 2012, 114)

This is a process-led form of working simultaneously in place and language, exploring the connections between the two.

In common with many other artists, Tucker had also thought of making work on location as fieldwork, not in a strictly geographical sense, but as a methodology that was suggestive rather than over-determined. Stephen Daniels, Mike Pearson and Heike Rom consider the significance and reverberations of fieldworking as 'a richly resonant term [recalling] traditions and techniques of open-air research and teaching, field studies, field trips, field trials, field walking and field notes' (Daniels, Pearson, Roms 2010, 1). Walking, fieldwork, open form poetry, drawing and painting share an open, responsive and flexible approach in which we decide our moves in the field rather than beforehand, thus attempting to diminish the undue influence of our own prior encapsulations of place.

Fieldwork involves a conscious and unconscious gathering of material through our senses and our bodily movements in landscape. We begin to imagine ourselves, and to create from that place of imagining, a part of the ever-changing mesh of that specific natural-cultural nexus we call place. Just as we must decide which direction in which to move, so we must also decide where to stop, and for how long. When we do pause to draw and write from the same location, our work is quick and immediate but very focused – the presence of the other body working alongside enhances the sense of concentration. We accept that notions of time and place are human constructions, but also that they create these moments of pausing/placing, moments made up of the materiality of things (including us) in relation to each other. We are amongst things that are not reducible to 'the culture of objects' but, drawing on Jane Bennett's Vital Materialism, as Latourian actants, which do not have to be classified as either human or non-human and are in fact often both/and/and. In poetry and art, it is perhaps possible to hold in creative tension the sense of inter-connected actants whilst not excluding awareness of human consciousness with all its elaborate mobilities and constructions. Bennett argues that we need 'to raise the status of the materiality of which we are composed', to understand that the 'swarming' inside our heads is itself vital materiality. Human power is a kind of thing-power, a lively and self-organising minerality of bones, metal of blood, electricity of neurons. The ethical tasks for the vital materialist are to recognise ourselves as part of vital materiality, to discern non-human vitality, to become more self-aware of the process of conceptualising and its inadequacies, to develop our sense of nonidentity and our sensory perception, to re-value the body and 'attentiveness', a word to which Bennett returns. (Bennett 2009, 14-16)

Walking can also help us extend this quality of attention beyond the purely human perspective: '[M]otion is the natural mode of human and animal vision: "We must perceive in order to move but we must also move in order to perceive"', writes Joris, citing James J. Gibson's, *The Ecological Aproach to Vision Perception* (Joris 2003, 40). When we understand this, conceptions of walking and placing change. As Doreen Massey argues in her book, *For Space*, 'if everything is moving, where is here?' (Massey 2005, 138). She notes that, when we walk, we join in the mobile processes of the non-human world in which continents, seas, animals, birds and plants are all migrating, moving in small and big scale ways. We begin to see space and place differently when moving through it, especially when we attend as visitor. As we walked

Fig. 3. Excavations and Estuaries at Bank Street Arts, Sheffield, 2014

under the enormous skies of the East coast, we saw crowds of migrating birds coming and going through the seasons, changing the sky-scape radically. Merely being by the sea of course, the tide is a continual reminder of non-human mobility.

The picture we have given thus far of two people walking is a little restrictive and misleading. Our walking becomes yet more companionable and collaborative when we walk with others, from the commissioning curator, our fellow-artists, the Wildlife Trust volunteer, the film maker shooting footage of our creative process in place to all the people who attended our peripatetic readings and workshops. All such walkers are contributive collaborators. Deirdre Heddon and Cathy Turner write about 'walking with' as a convivial or communal activity (Turner and Heddon 2010, 2012). Heddon herself has collaborated with Misha Myers to make 'the walking library' – an ongoing art project that is precisely such a conduit between people and places, between ecology and culture (see https://walkinglibraryproject.wordpress.com/). Heddon and Turner note that 'willingness to acknowledge and exploit entanglement in community and coalition often locates the artist as mediator for communication between people and places' (Turner and Heddon 2012, 235). For us, local responses to the work of 'outsiders' such as ourselves matter as much, if not more, than any other: these indicated that people visiting the exhibition and attending our workshops saw their places anew and were provoked to think about them in a larger ecological context. To quote one feedback form, they 'walked through different eyes'.

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Emplacing 'who we are, what we are': The embodied and historical geographies of ANU Productions' *Laundry*

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Places are thresholds that allow the living to come into contact with those who have gone before and those who may come after (Till 2008). *Laundry* (2011) was one of four ANU Productions' performances about the history of the Dublin city district known as the 'Monto'. It invited audience members to explore a place normally off-limits yet integral to Irish society - the former Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of Refuge Magdalene Laundry in north Dublin, which closed in 1996 (Fig. 1).[1] Through a series of intimate exchanges with actors and actresses, audience members moved through the modern geographical legacies of this laundry, while considering their responsibility to acknowledge the unspoken violences that accompanied the incarceration of women and girls.

Fig. 1. Tracey McCann, Niamh Shaw, Zara Starr, Marie-Claire Hoysted, Catríona Lynch in Laundry. Photographer Pat Remond © ANU Productions, 2011. Available at: https://www.facebook.com/anuproductions/photos/

Below Karen describes some of the moments created through ANU's emotive performance of the personal stories and materialities of place, and Gerry discusses the laundry as a distinctive place in the colonial, postcolonial and religious landscapes of Ireland. The relational and temporal meanings of place -as location, socio-economic locale, and embodied centre of memory - were evoked as we physically and emotionally interacted with artists, sensed the deteriorating building of the former laundry and moved through current-day neighbouring streets (Tuan 1977). In the words of ANU artistic director Louise Lowe who grew up in north Dublin, *Laundry* communicated 'who we are, what we are' to audiences by engaging us as citizen-witnesses rather than as mere spectators (Lowe 2016).[2]

We were told it was time. We went to the imposing entrance of the three-storey high, half-a-block long brick building along Seán McDermott Street, formerly Lower Gloucester Street (Fig. 2). Another audience member joined us. We knocked on the peeling mauve door of one of the last working laundries in Ireland and a set of eyes appeared behind a gridded square in the heavy door, observing us, asking what we wanted. After a long pause, the door opened.[3] Located in the northern part of the 'Monto,' named after Montgomery (now Foley) Street, the laundry was home to many female 'penitents' (Curtis 2015). In 1756, when first mapped, Montgomery Street appeared as 'World's End Lane' (Lennon and Montague, 2010, 33). It developed as a small-scale industrial district, with, in 1850, a saw mill, six grocers, three shoemakers and the separate premises of a builder, carpenter, and bricklayer (Kearns 2015). The straws in the wind of its coming reputation included seventeen tenements and seven (of fourteen) residential places registered as controlled by women - both measures indicative of urban poverty (Thom 1850, 771). In 1846 when the terminus of the Dublin and Drogheda railway was built on Amiens Street, a new market was created for hotels, and for the sex and drink culture associated with unaccompanied men visiting the capital city for business, and the fate of the district was sealed (Goodbody 2014, 86).[4]

The area was soon notorious as a red-light district, depending upon the work of women in the drink and sex trades. Evidence of women's economic opportunities for independent living is offered by census data from 1911 on the number of women who were heads of households or independent boarders.[5] In Elliott Place, for example, with sixteen tenements, 31 households were headed by women and only nine by men. Number 1 housed four women in their twenties or early thirties with no dependents, while number 3 had three women likewise circumstanced.

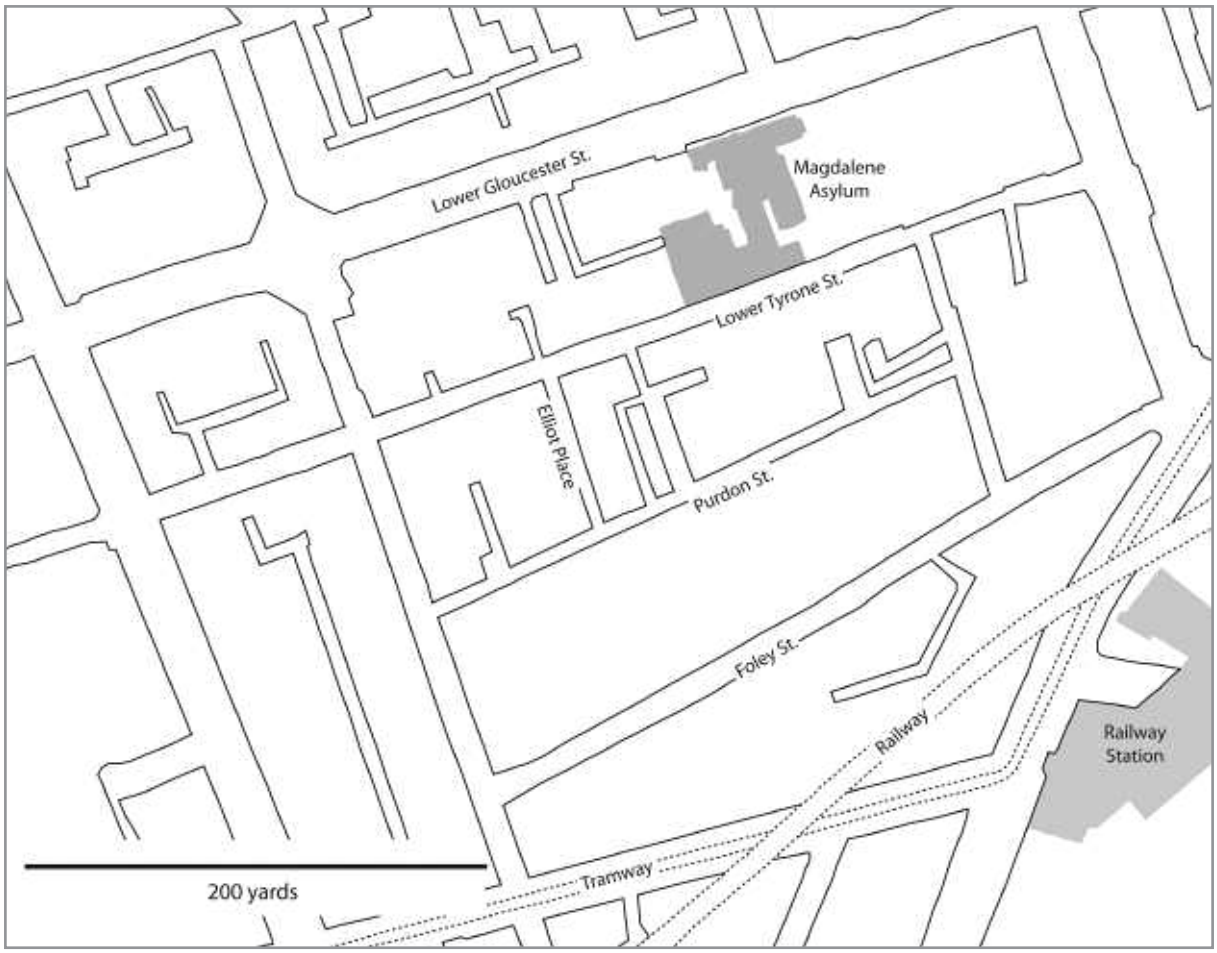

Fig. 2. The Monto in the early twentieth century. Map by Gerry Kearns based on Ordnance Survey, Dublin XVIII, 3. *1:2500 (Dublin: Ordnance Survey, 1911).*

In addition to the brothels, at various times certain streets were also used by sex-workers seeking customers. None of this happened without objection, regulation and suppression. Throughout the nineteenth century the public authorities policed prostitution where it was offensive to wealthy neighbours or the cause of violent affray in the streets. There were also pressure groups that fought vice. The White Cross Vigilance Association organised patrols that harrassed street-walkers and in 1890s claimed to have cleared them from Mecklenberg (later Lower Tyrone, and now Railway) Street (Luddy 1997, 485). The Legion of Mary targeted brothels and in 1925, with police assistance, it closed down those remaining in the Monto, with some of the women displaced taking refuge in the laundry-asylum (Kennedy 2011).

The sound of our voyeuristic shoes clattered loudly on the tiles of the cavenerous building's floors, as we confronted the unreceptive glances of young women who walked by in grey uniforms and rubber boots, heads down, with sweaters rolled up to the elbows, some carrying buckets, all with red, raw hands. I was led to a vestibule to the left of the front door where a young man was pacing in a claustrophic, confessional-like space, framed by a small window that barely admitted light and provided no view outside. His agonised dance of waiting was punctuated by his frustrated breathing as he paced from one corner of the room to the other. On the other side of the entrance, Gerry watched the dance of a daughter attempting to escape her father's physical repression, who, sobbing and nearly crawling up the walls of the small room, finally collapsed exhausted, giving-in to his decision. No words were spoken. As we met again in the foyer, someone was loudly yelling outside, demanding to see his sister.

Dublin's first Magdalen Laundry promised a refuge where sex workers might exchange 'loathsome disease' for 'the blessings of health,' 'the base drudgery of prostitution for profitable employment,' and 'instead of Devils, they will become Christians' (Finnegan 2004, 8). They were funded from charitable donations but also by the unpaid labour of the inmates (Smith 2009). In 1910, there were

at least nine similar institutions in Dublin of which four were Catholic (Thom 1910). After the creation of the Free State in 1921, the Protestant institutions did not survive and from 1922-1996, ten laundries, largely unregulated by the state, operated in the new Irish state under four Catholic orders of nuns (Report, Justice Department Dublin 2013, hereafter 'The McAleese Report'). Magdalen Laundries were nodes in a 'power-geometry' that framed Irish lives under the direction of Catholic doctrine (Massey 1993). In multiple institutions of confinement, the Catholic Church, in some cases as private philanthropy, in others commissioned by first the British colonial and later the Irish independent state, took responsibility for the lives of many of society's most vulnerable (O'Sullivan and O'Donnell 2012). In 1993, a ledger exhumed in a mass grave at the Asylum in Drumcondra indicated the broad customer base for the laundry there, including the Presidential Residence, various Government Departments, Guinnesses, many of Dublin's leading hotels and golf clubs, Clery's department store and the Gaiety theatre (Hayes 2011).

I was given a heavy bucket filled with water to hold, and a bar of strong-smelling dark pink carbolic soap, an unfamiliar stringent disinfectant smell that assaulted me upon entering the building, while Gerry was invited to look at locks of hair attached to information cards in the drawers of a cabinet. She began reciting names and dates of the women, asking us to remember four names ... I immediately forgot them and felt guilty. These names were of women once interred in this laundry, names now on memorial tombstones of the Glasnevin Cemetery.[6] Meanwhile a different group of three audience members followed a different uniformed woman, holding armloads of laundry, to ask the militant front-door attendant if they could leave. (Towards the end of the performance, we would also return through the rooms we had visited to 'help' this woman attempt escape.)

The early association of the institutions with the rescue of 'fallen women' cast a shadow of shame over all inmates even as the categories of inmate broadened. The religious communities now justify giving all inmates a new name upon entry for this reason. Yet the loss of a personal name emphasized the separation between one's life before and after admission (McAleese Report 2013, v). For some inmates, the laundries served as place of legal confinement. The McAleese Committee found that 8.1% of the admissions it examined were from the criminal justice system following 1922, but admissions from other

Fig. 3. Sorcha Kenny in Laundry*; Photographer Pat Remond © ANU Productions, 2011. Available at: https://www.facebook.com/anuproductions/photos/*

institutions may well have felt like extended confinement: 14.8% of admissions were transfers from another Magdalen Laundry, 7.8% from Industrial and Reformatory Schools, and 3.9% from Mother and Baby Homes or Adoption Societies. Priests referred 8.8% of admissions and the Legion of Mary another 4.9%. Many women did not understand why they had been placed in the Laundry: 'In our heads all we could think of is we are going to die here. That was an awful thing to carry' (McAleese Report 2013, 951). The broadly coercive character of the Laundry is shown also by ambiguities in their treatment in the census. In 1901 the inmates of the Laundry on Lower Gloucester Street were returned on Form A, the household form, whereas in 1911 they were returned on Form K, 'Prison, Bridewell, and Police Station Return.'

I was told to leave the bucket of water and led alone to a bathroom where a partially-nude woman began to unravel long gauze panels wrapped around her breasts; she handed me one end to hold as she finished undressing. Behind me another uniformed woman loudly ate an apple, sitting perched atop of a high stool at the head of the bathtub, barking orders at the other woman to hurry up and take a bath. Dazed, she crawled into the tepid water. After a minute or so, we heard a baby's muffled scream and the distressed woman reached out to mourn for the child she would never see again (Fig. 3). She began a dance of loss, a tragically sad performance communicating her pain through the fragility of her aching body writhing in the water. I jumped when the attendant abruptly yelled at her to get out. She reached out her hand to me, silently asking me for help, as she shakily got out and began to rewrap her breasts. I followed her not sure what to do, but was ordered out of the room.

Not only was Ireland willing to inter women and girls as nameless unpaid labourers in the service of the Catholic Church, it enacted psychological and physical violence by repressing any aspect of the women's bodies and behaviour that might be considered too 'sexual.' Humiliation was not only a check against the vanity that was considered the sure path to perdition, it was also a more explicit form of discipline as several former inmates recalled, including one who remarked that as punishment the nuns 'would make you walk in front of all the women in the refectory and lie on the ground and kiss the floor' (McAleese Report 2013, 940).

I was led to a room where five women stood in a line, staring. They began shuddering, and crumpled into distorted forms around the room. Four grasped onto wooden chairs and collapsed backwards on the chairs, as the fifth sat poised between them. She began listing, quite matter of factly, a series of international human rights laws: 'Article 9: Articles of the European Convention of Human Rights,' which was followed by a series of thuds. After naming a legal document, the other women would hit themselves with twisted arms and fists, backwards on their backs. 'Article 18 of the International Convention on Civil and Political Violence'. Another hurtful *mea culpa* - thud/thud/thud/thud. Again. And again. Their inflicted self-harm called attention to an injured Irish body politic. Women who should have been cherished by their neighbours were instead tortured. Standing once again in a line before me, they slowly lifted their heads to look me in the eye before walking away.

An archipelago of carceral institutions was a central feature of the colonial and postcolonial landscapes of Ireland (Arnold 2009). From the dark past of its carceral gulag, Ireland began to clearly hear the voices of the laundry women in the months before *Laundry* was performed. In May 2011, the Justice for Magdalenes (JFM) activist group filed a complaint to the UN Committee Against Torture and called for a 'statutory inquiry into human rights violations at the laundries,' a complaint backed by the November 2010 findings of the Irish Human Rights Commission (IHRC) indicting the Irish state for 'unlawful imprisonment, servitude, forced labour and cruel and degrading treatment' of women and girls (Hayes 2011).[7] Despite the UN's demand for a statutory report into the issue, in 2011 the Dáil announced a more limited investigation to clarify State interaction with the laundries instead of pressuring authorities to hand over documents that might have indicated the whereabouts of women and children who had disappeared into the laundries. In 2013, the McAleese Report found the state culpable in the coerced exploitation of the labour of the laundry women. Taosaich Enda Kenny made a dramatic formal apology, acknowledging that 'the State itself was directly involved in over a quarter of all admissions to the Magdalen laundries,' and the Department of Justice established a reparations scheme (Dáil Debates 19 February 2013, 34). Months after *Laundry* was performed, Maureen O'Sullivan, in a 2012 parliamentary debate on the laundries, recalled being 'totally traumatised' by the experience: 'During the play [*Laundry*], one of the characters said "Will you tell somebody?" and I reacted, as an audience member, and said "Who will I tell?". Thinking about it afterwards I wondered who I would have told because nobody wanted to listen' (Dáil Debates 25 September 2012, 48).

As we moved deeper into the laundry, we individually experienced other intimate moments with performers, in front of religious stain-glassed windows, behind two-way mirrored-walls, across a make-shift bridge, and while peering into rooms; in the relatively preserved chapel, we sat in pews with an older institutionalised woman who asked us to hold her hand while telling her story of returning to the laundry after her husband's death, and danced with a younger woman in a confessional who greeted us with her transgressive whistling. When we found ourselves outside in the streets of the current-day city with sheets in our arms, we were motioned into a taxi by the woman we followed out of the laundry. The driver chatted away about the former Monto district or his failed marriage with a 'Maggie', as we looked out at the present-day landscapes of the city. He dropped us off at a 'Suds n' Duds' Laundry, where 'locals' Tony and Babs asked us to fold and iron clothing, and told us about the Justice for Magdalenes campaign. In the background, the radio reported on the IHRC reports of abuse in the Irish laundries.

In these final moments, inside and outside, past and present, reality and imagination collided with the repetitive physical motions of folding shirts and sheets, listening to the current political debates about justice. Through our embodied and emotional interactions with artist-citzens (and sometimes other 'regular' people) in two laundries — both places previously hidden from our view, one historic, closed and policed, and the other soon-to-be closed — we moved across and through the space-

times of north Dublin, making connections to and acknowledging the suffering of the women whose labour remains embedded in the very making of our city and nation.

Acknowledgements
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Notes

[1] *Laundry* won the best production award for 2011 Irish Theatre. The Monto cycle included: *World's End Lane* (Dublin Fringe Festival, 2010), *Laundry* (Dublin Theatre Festival, 2011), *Boys From Foley Street* (Dublin Theatre Festival, 2012) and *Vardo* (2013). We discuss the Monto below, which James Joyce poetically described in the 'Circe' chapter of *Ulysses*.

[2] Interview with John Kelly, The Works, RTE One, March 10 2016. For a short video of *Laundry*, see: https://vimeo.com/34489217.

[3] See the excellent discussion of theatre performances in 2011 addressing institutional abuse by the Catholic Church by C. McCormack, 'ANU Productions, 'Laundry': This Is Not Rome,' 23 October 2016, available at: http://musingsinintermissions.blogspot.ie/2011/10/anu-productions-laundry-this-is-not.html. Accessed 19 April 2016.

[4] Rob Goodbody, Irish Historic Towns Atlas, no. 26. Dublin Part III. 1756 to 1847. Text (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2014), p. 86.

[5] The data on families has been calculated from the manuscript returns of the 1911 census, available online from the National Archives of Ireland: http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie. Accessed 28 April 2016.

[6] Following the discovery of a mass grave of 133 women at the High Park Convent in 1993, the Magdalen Memorial Committee was organised and established two memorials: a park bench in St. Stephen's Green (1996) and memorial gravestones at Glasnevin that list the names of those interred and under which the exhumed remains are now buried. In 2003, Mary Raftery's story of the suspicious circumstances surrounding the exhumations led to the formation of Justice for Magdalenes' (JFM) in 2004 who: 'expanded their mission to include legislative and reform work to ensure that survivors of Ireland's Magdalene Laundries would not be forgotten, despite the State and religious orders' tacit refusal to acknowledge or apologise to them' (JFM website, available at: http://www.magdalenelaundries.com. Accessed 28 April 2016). See also: P. O'Donaghue, 'Gone for Good: Last Magdalene laundry to be converted into houses and sold', The Journal 25 March 2013, available at: http://www.thejournal.ie/magdalene-laundry-sean-mcdermott-street-924328-May2013/. Accessed 16 April. M. Haughton cites the names recited in the performance she experienced: Margaret Blanney, Gertrude Craigh, Mary Fagan, and Christina Glenn. In: 'From Laundries to Labour Camps: Staging Ireland's "Rule of Silence" in Anu Productions' Laundry', Modern Drama, vol. 57, 2014, pp. 65-93; as does L. Fitzpatrick: Mary Brady, Cecilia Anne Brady, Bridget Brady, Margaret Brady. In: 'Representing systemic violence: the example of *Laundry* by Anu Productions', Warwick Performance and Politics Network Working Papers, vol. 1, 2012, Issue 4, np.

[7] Cited in C. Hayes, 'Justice for Magdalenes brings their case to the UN', Irish Central, 21 May 2011. Available at: http://www.irishcentral.com/news/justice-for-magdalenes-brings-their-case-to-the-un-122385734-237389201.html. Accessed 17 April 2016. The state's 2002 Ryan investigation into the abuse of children by the Catholic Church did not include the Magdalene girls and women, for the laundries were considered 'private institutions' and not a state responsibility.

A Phenomenological Approach to Trans-disciplinary Understanding of Landscape as Place

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Abstract

This paper discusses phenomenology as a potential over-arching paradigm for trans-disciplinary research on landscape as place; regarding social practices performed on/with/for/about landscape. It discusses: 'lifeworlds' and 'taskscape'; embodiment and affordance; inter-subjectivity and communalized intentionality; topophilia and other affective relations; and essences and universality of landscape concepts. It includes findings from the Manyjilyjarra landscape language case study (with linguist Clair Hill), other interactions with Yarnangu Aboriginal peoples from Australia's Central and Western Deserts and earlier Ethnophysiography studies (with David Mark). Reinforcement of community cohesion via preservation of the complexity of traditional landscape language is discussed. One practical application is to the activities, governance and reporting of Martu Ranger environmental management programs.

Introduction

As with the paper by Manning and Turk in this volume, this paper starts from the proposition that terrain becomes landscape through human interactions.[1] Terrain is defined as the physical shape and texture of land, including vegetation, at landscape scales[2]; whereas landscape incorporates the complete set of relationships (physical; utilitarian; cultural; spiritual) that a person (or a group of people; eg a language community) has with landscape. This phenomenological approach considers landscape as place; with individual 'intentionality'[3] (and/or group 'communalized intentionality') involving practices performed on/with/for/about landscape, within a person's lifeworld (Turk 2011; 2013).

The principle method for researching this topic is to examine landscape terms used by people from different languages, cultures and places. Mark and Turk named this field 'Ethnophysiography'; with the basic hypothesis 'that people from different language groups/cultures have different ways of conceptualizing landscape, as evidenced by different terminology and ways of talking about, and naming, landscape features' (2003; 2011). The complexity of this research requires an integrated approach by researchers from many disciplines, including: Geography; Linguistics; Cognitive Science; Philosophy; Anthropology; Information Science; and Cultural Studies. Integration of fields of knowledge and research paradigms is necessary in order to address complex 'messy' problems. According to Booth, Rodgers et al (2000) research approaches of increasing levels of integration are:

Disciplinary:

- Using particular bodies of knowledge, paradigms, theories and methods from a single discipline.

Multi-disciplinary:

- Each discipline uses its own paradigm and methods to do part of the research;
- Results from different parts of research are combined.

Inter-disciplinary:

- The disciplines try to integrate aspects of the research while using multiple paradigms and methods;
- Results from different paradigms and methods of research are combined.

Trans-disciplinary:

- The disciplines integrate their research paradigms and methods via some over-arching paradigm or meta-methodology;
- Integration of methods and results is more effective.

Post-disciplinary:

- A holistic approach is used, which seeks to avoid disciplinary divides;
- Highly reflective practice.

The last of these approaches is difficult to achieve other than in individual or small group projects, hence the objective is to develop a trans-disciplinary approach to Ethnophysiography research. This requires an over-arching paradigm (meta-theory) spanning the disciplines

involved; operationalized in a manner permitting theoretical discussions from the individual disciplines, and analysis of data, to be integrated in a coherent manner. Phenomenology is seen as the prime candidate to provide this over-arching paradigm (Mohanty 1997).

Phenomenological Approach to Place and Landscape

Phenomenology has been employed previously for investigating landscape as place. Edward Casey suggests a revitalized phenomenological examination of place:

> 'To reinstate place in the wake of its demise in modern Western thought ... - one can equally well go to the premodern moments described in ethnographic accounts of traditional societies or to the postmodern moment of the increasingly non-traditional present, where place has been returning as a reinvigorated revenant in the writings of ecologists and landscape theorists, geographers and historians, sociologists and political thinkers - and now, in this volume, anthropologists' (1996, 20).

Malpas (2006) discusses how early phenomenologist Martin Heidegger was influenced by Clauss, who in 1932 wrote: 'The manner in which the soul reaches out into its world fashions the geographical area of this world into a "landscape". A landscape is not something that the soul alights upon, as it were, something ready-made. Rather it is something that it fashions by virtue of its species-determined way of viewing its environment ... It cannot, of course, arbitrarily fashion any landscape out of any kind of geographical area. The area is the matter, so to speak, into which the soul projects its style and thus transforms it into landscape' (Clauss 1932, cited in Maplas 2006, 23-24).

Phenomenology facilitates an approach to structuring the relevant conceptual domain. Casey (2006) emphasizes that places 'gather' layers of meaning via the relationships people have with them, adding to their values. Places also 'gather' together; ie they have relationships with each other or may be considered parts of a whole place (eg locations along a river).

Peoples' relationship with landscape can be considered in terms of actions performed on/with/by/for/about landscape as place; which led Tim Ingold (1993) to suggest that landscape may be referred to as 'taskscape.' When considering physical involvement with landscape, the phenomenological aspects of embodiment should be considered[4] leading to discussion of landscape 'affordance' (Gibson 1977). Gibson coined the term 'affordance' to refer to characteristics of an object or an environment that relate to the potential for an organism to interact with it; ie (in this context) the way parts of landscape afford certain actions (eg: clear, level ground affords camping; a cliff affords falling). People are not usually alone in landscape. Hence, it is important to consider their joint relationships; 'intersubjectivity' (Husserl 1901 translated by Findlay 2000), or more specifically 'communalized intentionality' (Kockelmans 1994), the way people together negotiate and communicate their relationships with landscape. This is important for investigations of language used to describe landscape, which can reveal the underlying concepts and their relationship to communal practices.

It is important to consider not just utilitarian relationships with landscape; eg people can feel strong affection for landscape, termed 'topophilia' by Yi-Fu Tuan (1974). An investigation by Rupert Summerson and Ian D. Bishop of aesthetic aspects of Antarctic landscape involved 337 respondents from 23 nationalities: 'Responses were analysed to determine the effect of human presence, both transient and as infrastructure, on perceptions of wilderness and aesthetic value. ... This demonstrates that human impacts on these values are measureable' (Summerson and Bishop 2012).

People can respond to geographical features with a wide variety of emotions (eg awe; fear) which may be studied via the recent 'turn to affect' in Social Sciences (Massumi 2002). This may be part of a spiritual or ritual relationship with landscape deeply embedded in the religion, or way-of-being, of a people. Ethnophysiography studies of these phenomena have usually been undertaken with indigenous peoples; eg with respect to *(T)jukurrpa* (The Dreaming) of Australian Central and Western Desert Aboriginal peoples (Stanner 2010). It relates to re-enforcement of community cohesion via preservation of complexity of relationships with landscape expressed through traditional languages. This has formed an important part of landscape language case studies in Western Australia; with Yindjibarndi people (Turk and Mark, 2002-07) and with Manyjilyjarra speakers (Hill and Turk, 2013-16).

Manyjilyjarra Landscape Language Case Study

The *Martu Ngurra Wangka: Manyjilyjarra Landscape Language Project* is a collaborative project between the

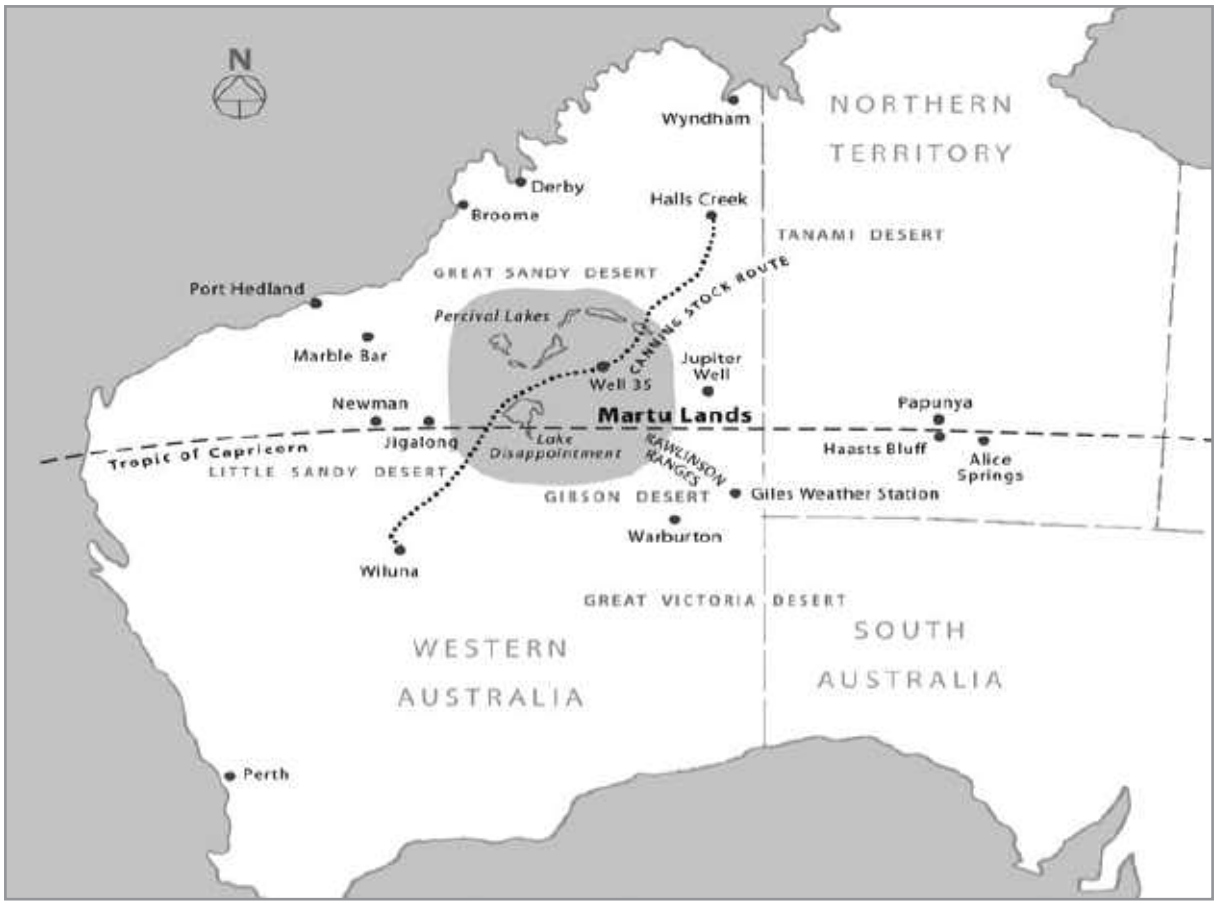

Fig. 1. Map of Martu 'country' (from KJ)

Language, Cognition and Landscape: Understanding Cross-cultural and Individual Variation in Geographical Ontology (LACOLA) research group at Lund University, Sweden (including linguist Clair Hill), the Ethnophysiography Research Group (David Mark, Andrew Turk and David Stea) and Kanyirninpa Jukurrpa (KJ), the Martu cultural and land management organization. Manyjilyjarra is a variety of Western Desert language (Wati subgroup); one of the 12 traditional Martu group of dialects, probably now with fewer than 50 strong speakers. The project included elicitation activities with 16 senior Manyjillyjarra speakers (some having had first contact with Europeans in 1964), sometimes with assistance from younger Martu. The elicitation sessions (including using photographs of landscape features) [18] were completed during three fieldtrips totaling twelve weeks. These mostly occurred at the remote desert communities of Kunawarritji, near Well 33 on the Canning Stock Route (50 people) and Punmu about 200 km to the west (150 people) next to Lake Dora in the Karlamilyi National Park. They also took place at many 'on-country' locations. Figure 1 indicates the location of Martu country. Hill and Turk will publish a Project Report, a Manyjilyjarra-English dictionary of landscape terms, and a journal article later in 2016.

Some project findings are listed below, linked to aspects of the phenomenological approach discussed above:

Lifeworld: *Jukurrpa*; Martu religion, lore, law, social system and way of being in landscape. *Ngurlu* means sacred or taboo and can refer directly to a scared place, either a place with *Jukurrpa* associations or a ceremonial ground.

Taskscape: *jurnu* is a soak, where you can dig for water.

Embodiment: (with respect to walking up-hill or down-hill) *tumun* is a mound or hill, ie a rounded convex or elevated shape of any size; *takurru* is used for a depression, hollow, gully or valley, ie a concave shape of any size.

Affordance: *jiraly* is when something is smooth, slick, slippery, eg a steep slippery slope on the side of a hill (eg scree slope), which does not afford easy walking.

Communalized intentionality: *japiya* refers to a site, perhaps covering a wide area and/or consisting of more than one landscape 'feature' (eg a set of *yinta*: permanent waterholes) which has special sacred

significance, possibly as an 'increase site' (where ceremonies are performed by Martu to increase something, like rain or kangaroos). A 'songline' linking places in a particular *Jukurrpa* dreaming story would be another example of places linked in communalized intentionality.

Manyjilyjarra speakers might use landscape terms while undertaking a routine task in what could be represented as a phenomenological sequence; eg when searching country (*ngurra*) for water (*kalyu*) [task] they might walk down [embodiment] into a depression (*takurru*) where water collects [affordance] and by digging in the bottom find water, because it is a soak (*jurnu*) [taskscape], and, if the water is permanent, it is more properly termed a *yinta*, which is a sacred place where *Jukurrpa* ceremonies may be performed [communalized intentionality], because the snake (*jila*) spirit, which created this place of permanent water, is still there.

An Example of Practical Application of Landscape Language Case Studies

The *Manyjilyjarra Landscape Language Project* is linked with programs run by KJ (eg Martu Rangers; Mankarr endangered and feral species program; Culture and Heritage Program) and aims to assist those programs; eg via input of Manyjilyjarra landscape concepts and terminology into the planning, activities and reporting of the Martu Ranger environmental management program. If these programs are to utilize traditional concepts of landscape (and how to manage 'country') of Manyjilyjarra people, the (mostly) non-Martu who are running these programs need an enhanced understanding of traditional landscape language terms and how they express practical and spiritual aspects of landscape values.

The Australian eco-system developed over tens of thousands of years of frequent fire events.[5] However, without continuous human intervention, more numerous, large, hot wildfires are inevitable due to build-up of vegetation and frequent lighting strikes. Especially in sparsely populated areas such as the Central and Western Deserts, Aboriginal Australians traditionally used *waru* (fire) to produce a patchwork of small areas burnt in different seasons and years, limiting destructive fires. Aboriginal elders know how a fire will move and its likely impact on specific flora and fauna (valuable as food)[6] specified in traditional knowledge systems linked to sacred places (via *Jukurrpa*). Elders are teaching this Indigenous Traditional Knowledge (ITK) to young Rangers.[7] For instance, there are named stages of increasing vegetation re-growth after fire (eg *nyurnma* means freshly burnt patch of land and *waru-waru* is burnt country with some regrowth), which are applied to particular parts of landscape as part of current land-management strategies. This ITK is integrated with scientific knowledge and digital technologies (like GPS and GIS) used by the Rangers. Preservation of the complexity of traditional landscape concepts (as coded in Manyjilyjarra language vocabulary) is vital for this work and for reinforcement of community cohesion via traditional language use by both elders and younger people. The Ranger Program is very important to Martu people living in difficult conditions in small remote desert communities: by providing employment; connecting young people with elders and culture; protecting flora and fauna by re-activating traditional fire practices; and encouraging people to remain in alcohol-free remote communities rather than moving into town. By supporting ranger activities and encouraging community cohesion, the Manyjilyjarra landscape language project can produce practical outcomes of value to the participating communities.

Conclusions

This paper has demonstrated the potential use of phenomenology as an over-arching paradigm for landscape in language (Ethnophysiography) trans-disciplinary research. Further research will examine the potential for identifying relevant phenomenological (universal) 'essences' of being (not merely displaying superficial, nor even structural, sameness), not just as terrain feature types, but in terms of the relationships that people have with landscape (eg as 'taskscape'). The issue of universality (which phenomenology advocates) may be investigated via review (in multiple languages) of the role that landscape language plays in (potentially) universal lifeworld aspects; eg subsistence, habitation, mobility, navigation, identity, ownership, affect and spirituality/ritual. However, this does not imply (Chomsky-like) linguistic universality (Evans and Levinson 2009). Investigation of traditional landscape concepts and language will be increasingly useful to the Martu Ranger Program as the Manyjilyjarra landscape dictionary is completed and copies distributed. Community cohesion is facilitated by enhanced understanding by younger Martu of the language used for traditional land management practices, intrinsically linked to values associated with utilitarian 'taskscapes' and sacred places. This example may have implications for other government-funded programs of land management, especially with indigenous peoples.

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Notes

[1] It is acknowledged that this is a human-centered perspective and that, in other contexts, it would be valid to consider landscape as experienced by other species.

[2] The term 'terrain' is preferred here to 'topography' as it is more effective in referring to the raw land (irrespective of human relationships) whereas topography can mean the study and/or mapping of land and also includes the artificial ('man-made') features.

[3] Intentionality is a fundamental concept of Phenomenology. Human consciousness is always consciousness of something. Intentionality is a person's relationship with a thing in the world. In a landscape context, it might be the reason a person is attached to a particular piece of land.

[4] See M. Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenologie de la perception* (1945). First published in English as *Phenomenology of perception*, C. Smith (trans.) (London: Routledge and Kegan Ltd, 1962).

[5] Some flora species require fire to reproduce.

[6] See http://archive.unews.utah.edu/news_releases/kangaroos-win-when-aborigines-hunt-with-fire/. See also https://www.dpaw.wa.gov.au/images/documents/plantsanimals/monitoring/native_vegetation_condition_manual_full.pdf. Accessed 8.1.2016

[7] See http://repository.ias.ac.in/64142/1/21_pub.pdf. See also http://static1.squarespace.com/static/54e3fc54e4b0f2ad4349a65/t/54eaa06fe4b0663b4a854d4f/1424662639096/KJ+Newsletter+Vol+11+Feb+March+email.pdf. Accessed 8.1.2016

Valuing landscape identity of local inhabitants through a tourism discourse.

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Landscape, people and identity

Landscape is about the interaction of a place or an area with people, which is reflected in the material interaction of people creating or shaping the landscape as well as in their mental perception, valuation and symbolic meaning of that landscape (Cosgrove 1998). This mutual and dynamic interaction forms the fundamental principle of the concept of landscape identity. Landscape identity has been described in scientific literature as a concept to bridge the physical, social and cultural aspects of landscapes. Also policy documents related with landscape and heritage (for example the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, the European Landscape Convention, the Faro Convention) mention identity and landscape as key concepts. In those examples, landscape identity can refer to either the landscape itself - its features that makes the landscape unique (thus the landscape character), or to the social and personal construction. However, there is an interdependency between those two perspectives that needs to be conceptualised. Landscape identity is therefore defined as the multiple ways and dynamic relation between landscape and people (Loupa Ramos et al 2016). Egoz (2013) described this as 'the relation between landscape and identity of humans engaged with the landscape, represents the formative role of landscape in building identify, both collective van individual, in response to the basic human need to belong'. Thus this refers to the identity or character, uniqueness of the landscape itself as well as how people use landscape to construct their individual or collective identity and is conceptualised in a transactional model (Fig. 1). Landscape identity is dependent on the collective and individual values that people attach to a specific place and can also be used to reinforce community cohesion (Bernardo and Palma-Oliveira 2016). This means that landscape identity can be used to define who 'we' are, based on personal, social, environmental characteristics, and thus acts as a vehicle to look for connectedness, constructed in association with socially valued things, people and places. Different dimensions of identity are identified as the content of identity meaning the dimensions of identity that integrate features and properties that define their identity and characterize the individual as unique (Breakwell 2010; Wang and Xu 2015).

Landscape identity cannot be considered as one state, but rather as a continuous process of interaction between people and landscape. In an ideal situation, this optimal state is an equilibrium between people and landscape. In reality, the character of a landscape will change caused by societal changes on the one hand and the individual or common identity of people will also be influenced by landscape changes on the other hand. We see these transactions happening through a sphere of action and a sphere of perception. The first sphere focusses on how a society takes action on the physical level of the landscape (eg management, tenure ship, policies); the second on the perception by the people that consecutively can lead to different aspirations towards the landscape (Loupa Ramos et al 2016).

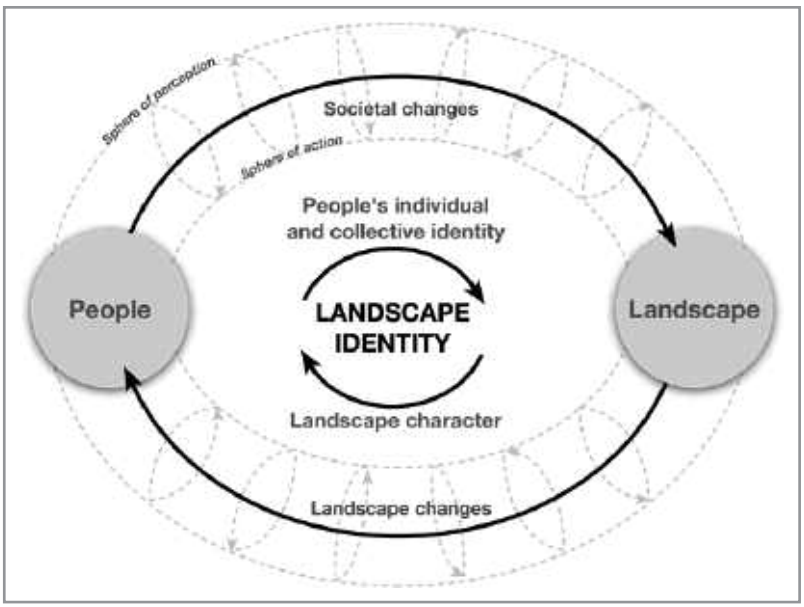

Fig. 1. Transactional model of landscape identity (Loupa Ramos et al 2006)

Case study	Landscape characteristics	Socio demographic characteristics	Initiator or catalyst that triggered tourism	Effect of the trigger
Nazaré	Coastal landscape characterised by beaches and cliffs facing the Atlantic Ocean, traditional fishing villages and a deep underwater canyon that creates 'monster' waves	• Coastal and traditional fishing village with 10,309 inhabitants • Main economic activities are fishing, tourism linked with traditional fishing and beaches	• Recognition of a new potential of 'old' wave by outsiders	• Creation of new job opportunities • Introduction of extreme water sport activities (surfing)
Alqueva	Area in the Alentejo region, characterised by an undulated topography, traditional agriculture, small dispersed villages.	• Very low population density • Main economic activity is agriculture • Remote rural area	• Construction of dam (2002) on the river Guadiana created a lake of 250km2	• Agricultural land, villages and heritage sites were flooded, villages were relocated • Development of irrigation agriculture • Area of the dam became a touristic destination and branded as 'Region of the largest artificial lake in Europe' • Creation of new jobs in tourism (small hotels around the lake) and agriculture
Setúbal & Troía	Estuary landscape near the Sado River facing the Atlantic Ocean, characterised by the peninsula of Troía on the east and the urban area of the city of Setúbal in the west.	• City of Setúbal around 130,000 inhabitants; fisherman community mainly located in historic centre of Setúbal • No permanent inhabitants on Troía	• Increased investment in tourism in Troía • Restriction of access of local population of Setúbal to the landscape of Troía	• Decrease of leisure activities in Troía by Setúbal's population • Decrease of cultural practices (linked with local traditions and sense of place) • Second housing and touristic infrastructure (big hotels)
Westhoek	Agricultural area, ranging from polderland to undulating landscape with dispersed villages and towns, former front zone of the First World War with Yper as main town.	• Yper is medieval town specialised in cloth production • Brain drain: young people leave the area after studying at university/high school.	• The commemoration of the First World War in 2014 increased the number of visitors • International recognition of the area as 'In Flanders Fields', increasing number of visitors	• Private initiatives of battlefield tours as lucrative activities for micro entrepreneurs (as additional income) • Masterplan Remembrance Park 2014-18 • Numerous infrastructures for tourism and recreation • Redesigning of some important commemoration sites
Hoge Kempen	Region on the Kempens plateau (alluvial fan and terraces), characterised by sandy soils, forest and heathland landscape as well as and rural-industrial transition landscape (former region of coal mines).	• No population in the National Park, several towns and villages nearby • Decreasing of job opportunities after closing of the mines (1980's) • Main economic activities are recreation (holiday parks) and outdoor activities and export	• Designation as National Park (since 2006), 5700 ha • Tentative list of UNESCO World Heritage (since 2011)	• Focus on sustainable and nature tourism with balance between nature, people and tourism • Creation of additional job opportunities • Branding and marketing plan of the National Park, including collaboration with local Horeca sector • Design and development of 6 entrance gates with different themes • Recognition of the area, increasing number of visitors
Redu	Rural village on the uplands of the Ardennes, founded as forest reclamation, characterised by circular territory with meadows and forest areas. Traditional architecture of the Ardennes.	• Depopulation of the village (inhabitants: 566 in 1896; 400 in 1984). • Forest plantations due to extensification in agricultural sector • Main economic activities are wood production and agriculture	• Introduction of new activities to revitalise the village (selling books and artisanal fruit products) • Start of the 'book festival' (1984), Redu became the Belgian 'village of books'	• Start of small second hand book stores in the traditional (farm) houses • Increasing number of visitors for one day during high season (summer and festival weekends)

Table 1. Description of landscape character and people of the illustrative cases

One of the questions still to be answered is how much societal and landscape change is acceptable to affect the overall equilibrium of landscape identity (Loupa Ramos et al 2016). The question is how to identify the tipping points were both society and landscape changes in such a way that it would create a new character of the landscape and trespassing into another people's identity. Dossche et al (2016) explored the tipping points of change in the case of a changing mountain landscape in the Northern Apennines and linked this with a possible loss or change in landscape identity in two groups of inhabitants.

To strengthen the conceptual transactional model, to assess the relation between people and their landscape, and to get more insights into the tipping points of change, we are exploring landscape identity through different discourses that might have an impact on the theoretical equilibrium of landscape identity. This paper is using the tourism discourse, since touristic activities and initiatives can influence both the character of the landscape and the identity of the people as well as their reciprocal integration. The objective of this paper is to explore and illustrate how tourism can be framed in the context of the transactional model of landscape identity:

1. How do different tourism activities affect the different components of landscape identity?
2. How is the insiders' landscape identity influenced by tourism?
3. What kind of tipping points and how do tipping points in a tourism discourse influence the equilibrium of landscape identity?

Landscape identity and tourism

The potentials for tourism is strongly determined by landscape characteristics, more specifically different aspects of a landscape can make a place appealing, sublime, unique for tourists to visit (Urry 1990; Bell and Lyall 2002). Especially landscapes that are valued because of their natural, cultural, visual characteristics as well as their legibility, coherence and authenticity are attractive for recreation and different types of tourism (second houses, large-scale tourism). The specific character of the landscape is attractive and can induce economic development that can be considered as contributing to a sustainable conservation of the landscape values. However, the landscape qualities – and thus the content of landscape identity – can also be under pressure when new touristic developments are reshaping the landscape (Bernardo et al 2016). The latter is defined by Vos and Klijn (2000) as the recreation and tourism paradox.

The public of a (touristic) landscape is rather undefined (Loupa-Ramos 2011). The tourists can be considered as consumers of the landscape; they pass by since they visit the region only once and do not live there permanently. What tourists are specifically looking for can depend on the kind of relation between landscape and tourism and it is clear that there is often a link between the intensity of tourism and for example national identity and heritage (Palmer 1999). Furthermore, the potentials of a landscape are often used in promoting or branding specific regions to attract tourists.

The demands of tourists towards the landscape are however different compared to local inhabitants. Selman (2006) made a distinction between 'insiders' and 'outsiders', which can have similar valuation of the landscape, but do have very different aspirations. He considers recreation and tourism as outsider aspirations, related with the scenic aspects of landscape, local traditions, among others. The insider groups' desires are more related with quality of living, jobs, security, way of live, symbolic meaning, memories and associative representations. However, touristic activities and infrastructure can have an influence on the landscape identity of the local inhabitants, clearly considered as insiders, whose gaze on landscapes has a shared familiarity (Selman 2006; Bernardo et al 2016). In this paper insiders are considered as the local people that live permanently in the area as well as secondary housing (with seasonal inhabitants who sometimes previously lived permanently in the area); this community has developed a strong attachment and identification with the landscape. Their long-term and intense relationship with a place is inevitable for the overall landscape identity. Outsiders – are not 'from that landscape' – who just regularly visit the area can have a kind of attachment to a place, but this is not as intense and most probably only with selective places. Additionally, both insiders and outsiders can initiate new touristic activities, since tourism is sometimes considered as a way to create jobs, to earn money or as a solution for regions that are characterised by depopulation and extensification of the landscape.

Illustrative cases

To elaborate the conceptual framework of landscape identity in a tourism discourse, six cases in Portugal and Belgium were selected to illustrate the different relations

between landscape identity and tourism. They are illustrative since similar examples can be recognised in other regions/countries and are examples of how landscape and people interact with (new) touristic activities. The selection of the cases was done based on the authors' field knowledge of the areas and previous research including surveys. The cases are explained by putting them into the different dimensions of the transactional model. Based on their characteristics of the initial landscape identity and the potential impact of the touristic activities on the landscape identity, different types of relationships between landscape identity of the insiders and tourism are distinguished.

The main traditional landscape qualities and the socio-demographic characteristics for the six cases are described in Table 1. The initiator or catalyst is explained that triggered or effected the tourism. This can be a physical change in the landscape or a new appreciation of the existing landscape features and is considered as the momentum that induced an increase of tourism which might affect the landscape identity. The last column describes the effects that the initiatives have had on the landscape and its local people.

Table 2 goes beyond the basic description and tries to explain the initial identity of the insiders, meaning before the introduction of a touristic activity. Furthermore, the table describes the influence of the specific kind of tourism on the identity of the insiders as well as the new content of identity for both insiders and outsiders as a consequent of the changed landscape or perception.

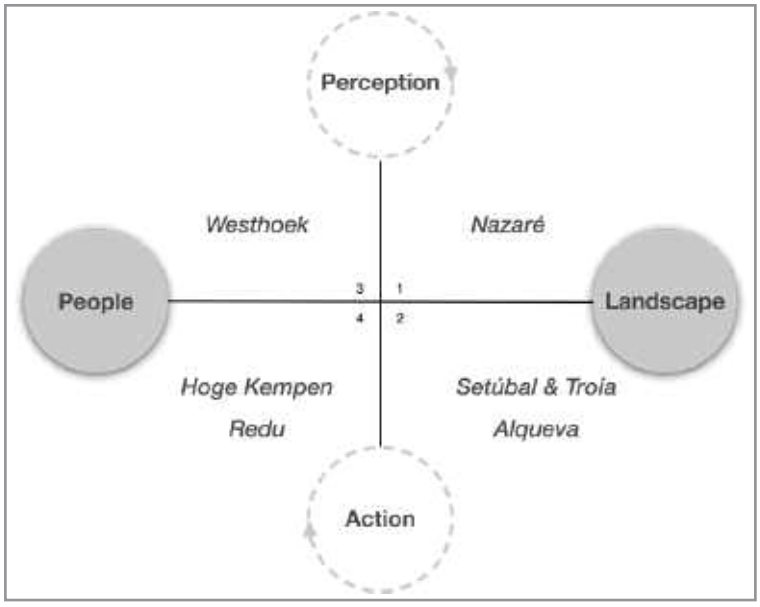

Fig. 2. Relationships between the different dimensions of landscape identity and tourism

Synthesizing and concluding remarks

Based on the description of the illustrative cases, the different dimensions – as the two axes in the scheme – of landscape identity and their relation with tourism is synthesised in Figure 2. The four quadrants of the scheme are considered as different relations between landscape identity and tourism, meaning how touristic activities might influence on the reciprocal interaction between the landscape and its people (thus the overall landscape identity) (Table 3).

The first quadrant combines the sphere of perception and landscape: the intrinsic qualities of the landscape as trigger of changing perception that induced tourism which causes a shift in landscape identity. The trigger is the landscape itself, which is valued for one specific existing landscape quality and enforced a new type of specific tourism. However, no changes to the landscape appear, thus the influenced on the sphere of action is small. The sphere of perception is dominant in the identity shift and therefore the tourism is well integrated to the identity of the local inhabitants. In the case of Nazaré, the value of the big waves is recognized by an outsider, who promoted the place to surfers. This valuation did not affect the traditional activities that form the core of the landscape identity of the inhabitants of Nazaré.

On the interface of landscape and the sphere of action (quadrant 2), landscape changes are considered as trigger for tourism and a shift in landscape identity, both in a positive or negative direction. The changes can vary from small, gradual changes in land use. The illustrative cases however both showed very drastic landscape changes, but each of them with a different impact on the landscape identity. In the case of Alqueva, the introduction of the dam created a new landscape identity for the inhabitants. Although there have been some protest actions against the initial plans of the dam, it now contributes on a positive way to a new landscape identity, which is clearly linked to the water. The region is now even promoted as 'the region of the dam', the largest artificial lake, and this induced new economic activities in tourism and water recreation. For Setúbal and Troía, the introduction of the Troía Resort resulted in a place disconnection: due to high prices for

Case Study	Initial identity of the insiders	Effect of the tourism on the insiders	New contents of identity	
			Insiders	Outsiders
Nazaré	• Traditional place • Traditional activities linked to fisheries • Strong relation with the ocean: • 'Wild ocean, brave people'	• Reinforcement of identity	• Same identity as before • Bravery of people fishing is reinforced by the extreme sports in the ocean	• New and modern activities (extreme sports) • 'New type of tourists: young people, foreigners' looking for extreme experiences
Alqueva	• Human and natural semi-arid place • Low-density area • Identity linked to traditional dry land cultures as olives and 'Montado' • Linked to remoteness, at periphery of Portugal – border landscape	• Restructuring of identity with new contents (water, tourism attractiveness) • Removal from peripheral position to a more attractive one. • New inhabitants results in more development of the rural area (jobs)	• New identity with big lake and new water landscape • Initiation of new tourism activities	• Presence of tourists • 'Welcome in the region of the dam' - branding of the region using its new identity
Setúbal & Troía	• Traditional fisherman population of Setúbal uses Tróia for the traditional religious practices, identity is linked to access to Tróia • The identity of all the population of the historic centre of Setúbal depends on the access to Tróia	• Perceived threats of the local identify due to a reduced accessibility to Tróia introduced by the new tourist activities on the beach and dunes. • Perception of loss of social status. • Perception of social devaluation, of being 'unwanted' (injustice and segregation)	• Loss of contents of identity • Can be compensated by the outside valuation of the high quality of the resort - still to be studied	• Outsiders are valuing the quality of the space for 'sun and sea tourism' but are kept apart from the traditional population. No awareness of cultural practices.
Westhoek	• People have big attachment to the region of 'Westhoek' as well as feeling of belonging to community (language) • Inhabitants recognize the peaceful landscape, authentic atmosphere and heritage of WWI	• Reinforcement of identity: inhabitants recognize the potentials for touristic activities: outsiders come to visit the area, which the inhabitants consider as an added value for the region • Appreciate the small-scaled investments in tourism	• Consider tourism as part of the regional identity that contribute to a better knowledge and image of the region also outside the region	• Presence and increasing of national and international tourists (school children to retired people) • Branding of the region as 'In Flanders Fields'
Hoge Kempen	• Area of the park was traditionally used for grazing, hunting, walking, cycling • Few inhabitants of the area had to move (the shepherds) due to the protection as National Park	• Increasing income for the touristic sector (hotels and restaurants)	• Identity more related with the characteristic landscape (and less with the inhabitants)	• Branding of the National Park (logo and style) made it recognizable for the wider public • Presence of recreation (walking, cycling, nature education)
Redu	• Traditional agricultural community (cattle breeding) • Authentic village of the Ardennes	• Reinforcement of identity due to the combined of traditional agricultural activities with book shops and artisanal fruit products • Morphological changes of the farm houses in book shops	• Maintained the initial identity, with increasing of interests in second hand books	• Presence of tourists in high season

Table 2. Illustrative cases and their landscape identity

It starts with...	... the landscape	... landscape changes	... people	... societal changes
What?	Factual, material landscape, linked with landscape character	Changes in land use, infrastructure Changes in management Changes in stewardship	Group of people that have a (more or less) permanent relation with the place, thus the insiders	Changes in population Changes in legislation Changes in perception, values
Spheres?	Perception (➛ Action)	Action ➛ Perception	Perception ➛ Action	Action➛Perception➛Action
Tourism	The landscape 'as it is' is valued for touristic uses and as a consequence, the value is recognised and new activities are introduced. The landscape does not change fundamentally.	Landscape changes have an influence on touristic activities (direct and indirect), which results in differences in perception	People living in the area/place/landscape recognise the value of their landscape and use it for touristic activities.	New touristic activities started induced by societal changes and, on their turn, the tourism can cause landscape changes.
Illustrative cases	**Nazaré**	**Alqueva; Setúbal & Troia**	**Westhoek**	**Hoge Kempen; Redu**
Influence of tourism on the LSI	**Landscape as trigger for tourism and LSI shift** 1/ How an (external) perception can influence the valuation of the existing landscape features and enforce a new type of tourism that is well integrated to the identity of the local inhabitants	**Landscape changes as trigger for tourism and LSI shift** 2a/ How severe changes of the landscape character contribute to the creation of a new identity of the landscape that is valued by local institutions to enhance tourism and branding and eventually recreate the collective identity of the population itself ➛ *landscape changes as opportunities* 2b/ How tourism impacted the landscape character so part of the landscape identity disappeared ➛ *landscape changes as threats*	**People as trigger for tourism and LSI shift** 3/ How people recognize and value the potentials of a landscape for tourism, took advantage of their place attachment and starting new activities that only have very limited impact on the landscape and its main characteristics	**Societal changes as trigger for tourism and LSI shift** 4a/ How a delineation of an area resulting in a protected status will effect the landscape characteristics, peoples' valuation as well as the possibilities for tourism ➛ *changes due to protection* 4b/ How an area that is getting depopulated gets new (small-scaled) economic activities that are attracting tourism and consequently influencing local people's landscape identity ➛ *changes due to population dynamics*

Table 3. Relationships between the different dimensions of landscape identity and tourism

transport and housing, the local inhabitants of Setúbal do not have access to Troía anymore. They used to go to the peninsula of Troía for leisure and cultural practices, Troía was their favourite place and part of their landscape identity has been lost. So the case of Setúbal and Troía illustrates that the landscape changes are seen as a threat to landscape identity.

The third quadrant relates the sphere of action with societal changes affecting people and their aspirations towards their place. This is driven by the insiders as initiators. They recognise the values of their landscape and when there is a momentum, this is taken as an opportunity to invest in new touristic activities and infrastructures. This is the case for the Westhoek, where due to the commemoration of the First World War, the number of international visitors increased. The different policy levels invested in the region by creating a Remembrance Park (including new visitors and touristic infrastructures, opening of museums, renovations and redesigning of commemoration sites), hoping that this would even attract more visitors. This was the opportunity for people to start small touristic enterprises as an additional income. The third quadrant therefore combines the sphere of perception and consecutively the sphere of action.

The last quadrant is characterised by the sphere of perception and people as changing society, where people (as community or individuals) are seen as trigger for tourism and shift in landscape identity. On the one hand, a delineation or recognition of an area with a protected status by a legal body will enhance and effect peoples' valuation of that area as well as the landscape itself. A

specific label, like World Heritage, might increase the number of tourists, especially when there is an investment in touristic infrastructure, promotion and branding of the region. This is illustrated with the case of the National Park Hoge Kempen. If the area had not delineated as national park, the whole region would not have had so much attention and thus would have received less visitors.

On the other hand, changes in population (density and composition) – located in the sphere of action – can also result in differences in perception followed by other actions. This is a process that can be recognised in remote/marginal landscapes that are characterised by land abandonment (Dossche et al 2016). In the case of Redu, the depopulation is characteristic for remote villages with a focus on traditional agricultural activities but in a later stage also by extensification of the agricultural land (Vos and Klijn 2000). The village was almost 'dead', until the initiative of the 'book village' in combination with the artisanal fruit products, which revitalised the area.

Based on the illustrative cases it is clear that tourism can change local people's perception of their existing landscape on a positive or negative way. People can value certain aspects of their landscape to attract tourism (landscape branding). On the other hand, landscape changes may induce new possibilities for new forms tourism but this also impacts directly the landscape – with infrastructures or activities. The success of tourism depends on landscape quality and the support from its population. However, actions and attention might be needed to make sure the local population can incorporate the touristic activities into their identity. The transactional model of landscape identity showed there are influences on the way tourism perceives the relationship between people and landscape but it can also contributes to the experience of authenticity by a newly created authenticity and identity.

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From Ottoman Gardens to European Parks: Transformation of Green Spaces in Belgrade

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Introduction

At the turn of the 20th century there was a striving in Europe to establish a balance between the constructed city fabric and green space. Parks and squares with greenery became just as important as showcase buildings and entities within the city center. This paper investigates Belgrade's green areas, taking a concise look at their transformation in the historical context: changes in the city center during the 19th century, and concern for health and hygiene in the first half of the 20th century. The paper presents the production of green spaces in Belgrade's city center through the metamorphosis of devastated and abandoned public and private spaces, and through the creation of new green areas. This paper examines the relationship between culture and nature in Belgrade, within the context of its urban history, and its place values, changed by the new capitalist production of space.

Historical and theoretical overview

During the 19th century, Belgrade was a border city between the Ottoman Empire, represented by the Principality and Kingdom of Serbia, and the Habsburg Monarchy. There was a radical transformation of its urban landscape during this period, a process that was primarily driven by the paradigm of a modern European city. The protagonists of the transformation, wielders of political and economic power, followed the example of the state's capitalist development.

Theoreticians of urban political ecology consider that cities are 'built out of natural resources, through socially mediated natural processes' (Haynen *et al*. 2006, 4). Socio-environmental change enables a new urban nature to be produced where various social groups vie with each other in the process of creating their own living environment, in other words: 'the material conditions that comprise urban environments are controlled, manipulated and serve the interests of the elite at the expense of marginalized populations' (Haynen *et al.* 2006, 6). It is within this theoretical context that we investigate the transformation of green spaces in Belgrade during the first half of the 20th century. Transformation of the traditional attitude/relationship toward nature is accompanied by the phenomenon of a new, *appropriated* nature that characterized a modern, capitalist city: 'Theoretically, nature is shrinking, but the signs of nature and the natural are multiplying, replacing and supplanting real "nature". [...] A tree, a flower, a branch, a scent, or a word can become signs of absence: of an illusory and fictive presence. [...] This space, which has been neutralized by a degrading form of democratization, has as its symbol the square.' (Lefebvre 2003, 27)

Ottoman Private Gardens in Belgrade

Three entities can be singled out in 19th century Belgrade: (i) the Fortress –stronghold of the Turkish army (ii) the Town located in the Moat (*Varoš u Šancu*) – the historic nucleus of the city; and (iii) the area beyond the Moat – marshland with scattered villages in the surrounding area. As of 1521, the city was mostly under Ottoman rule, except for periods of Austrian domination in the 18th century. As with many cities in the Balkans, over the centuries Belgrade became a characteristic multiethnic and multifaith environment – an assemblage of different communities that lived within their own *mahalles* (*Tr*. mahalle - neighborhood, quarter). From the establishment of the Principality of Serbia in 1815 until the Turkish garrison left the Fortress in 1867, a duality of Serbian and Turkish administrative authority was maintained in the city. Located between the Fortress and the Town in the Moat was Kalemegdan, the *town green* – barren and devastated, another symbol of the political and military tensions. Nineteenth century Belgrade resulted from several centuries of adhering to traditional codes of urban order following the principles of Ottoman town culture, and the new program of the national state and capitalist development implemented by representatives of the Serbian elite in the inherited physical environment, expressing new cultural practices. (Ćorović 2015, 75-94)

In the Ottoman areas of the Balkans, a house – as the basic unit of city districts – was defined by three-fold relations to 'wife, neighbor and nature' (Grabrijan,Najdhart 1957, 10). Among the unwritten rules of constructing residential buildings were 'the right to a view' and 'the cult of the neighborhood.' The green

infrastructure of the historic nucleus of Belgrade throughout almost the entire 19th century consisted of gardens next to houses from the Ottoman period. One description of old Belgrade says: 'One can sense that the primary intimate life of the family was focused on the yard, an enclosed circle of greenery and flowers. Belgrade of the past preferred its home and garden to the street.' (Kojić 1949, 70) In the late 1850s, gardens that adjoined houses were similar, regardless of the culture of their owners. A house was built to be a personal safe space in a city divided:

'All the windows looked onto alleys. Other Serbian houses at the time were surrounded by high walls. [...] So the Turks also surrounded their houses with walls and their houses were mostly placed in the center of gardens filled with trellises, a great variety of flowers and fountains.' (Đorđević 1927, 60)

Almost all the residential buildings in 19th century Belgrade were separated from the street by high walls and were divided into men's and women's parts of the house, the latter looking onto the inner yard. The yards invariably included a gate (*kapidžik*, Tr. *kapı* - gate) that led to their neighbors (Fig.1). Thus, the gardens of old Belgrade comprised a single, citywide, and at the same time private, system of greenery. The system of these old gardens was, paradoxically, above the existing divisions; namely, it was possible to go from one *mahalle* to another by way of the gardens, without taking public city streets (Kaćanski 1937). The gardens concealed a unique system of city pathways, which constituted a superstructure of the divided city. During 1830–62 in particular, old Turkish homes and their gardens changed ownership and were abandoned or re-sold. The degradation of these areas occurred almost imperceptibly, and many previously opulent gardens fell to ruin, in the expectation of better financial and political circumstances.

European Public Parks in Belgrade

The first pro-European regulation plan of the historic nucleus of Belgrade was made during 1864–67 by engineer Emilijan Josimović (Josimović 1867). His plan expressed a changed attitude toward land: by creating a data base on the terrain, soil quality, and the size and position of land lots, city land became a resource and a basis for collecting state taxes. The plan covered an area of about 90.0 ha. According to this plan, the largest of the old gardens in the city center were to become public green areas, with a total area of around 7.0 ha. Within this context, in writing about the public green areas of the city,

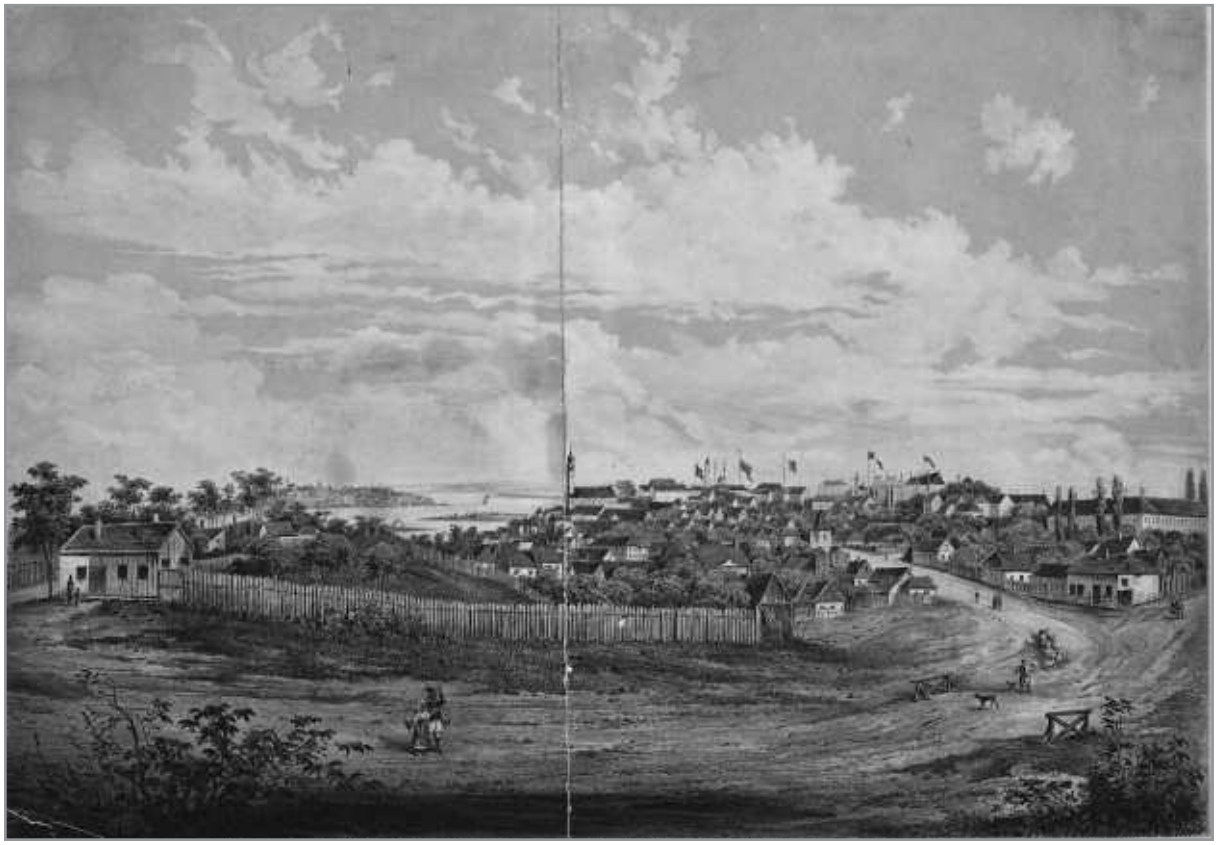

Fig.1. Belgrade in the 19th century (Jullia Wittgens, Београдъ [Belgrade], colored lithograph, 36 x 25.5 cm, Wien, 1864; Belgrade City Museum, sign.: И1268)

Josimović accurately predicted that a time would come when it would not be possible to allot city land for green areas because it would all be in the hands of private speculators. The implementation of Josimović's plan was slow and obstructed by economic and political factors, but his vision of forming a park on Kalemegdan began to be realized. With time, Kalemegdan Park became a place of cultural, entertainment and art events and the host of a memorial culture of sorts, with an uncommonly large number of monuments and sculptures. We might say that Kalemegdan became a place of 'the urbanization of nature' within the modern city (Ćorović 2010/2012, 86-8; Vuksanović-Macura and Ćorović 2013, 227-8).

During the first decade of the 20th century, communal works were well underway—the creation of cadastral plans, leveling and regulating streets, continued construction of infrastructure systems, building schools, landscaping parks and squares. A 1906–07 municipal study on the state of apartment hygiene in Belgrade states that, out of a total of 1100.0 ha of city area, streets covered 152.0 ha, plazas 20.0 ha, parks and squares 28.0 ha, and wasteland 219.0 ha. Developed land lots covered 376.0 ha, and the Fortress covered 40.0 ha. Unregistered lots, unsurveyed roads, brickyards, empty lots, fields and meadows, covered around 265.0 ha, which, together with wasteland, made up more than half of the total city area. With regard to residential construction in Belgrade, as in other European cities, the beginning of the 20th century was marked by intensive exploitation of land by landowners, who left only the minimal free space required by law for yards in their effort to maximize profits from their land. The average lot in Belgrade was around 688.0 m^2 of which 248.0 m^2 were covered by the building, 387.0 m^2 constituted the yard and only 54.0 m^2 made up the garden. (Đurić 1912, 21–2)

In the early 20th century, even though the quality of the buildings in the center was poor for the most part, the price of land increased, which brought the replacement of old buildings with new ones with an increased coverage of the lots, and therefore a decrease in gardens and green areas in the city nucleus. Aleksandar Krstić (1932), long-time head of the Department of Parks and Reforestation, wrote that: 'The modern organization of human settlements from the health, aesthetic and finally, the social aspect, cannot be even imagined without sufficient city greenery.' This was in line with the widely accepted belief in the importance of providing a balance between urban fabric and open space (Fishman 2011, 33). The formation of parks and green spaces was an instrument in the prevention of communicable diseases, which were causing the deaths of a large percentage of the city population. In the early 1930s, out of every 100,000 residents, 125 died annually from tuberculosis in Rome, 180 in Berlin, and 340 in Belgrade, which was almost a quarter of total deaths in the city (Vidaković 1931, 551). Such circumstances made it imperative to incorporate green and open spaces directly alongside the residential fabric and have them evenly distributed in all parts of the city.

In 1923, the Committee to Elaborate a General Plan concluded that Belgrade had very few parks, existing parks were unevenly distributed, and the city lacked tree-lined boulevards. Therefore the greenery system in the General Plan envisaged two peripheral rings with a larger number of radial lines bringing greenery into the center of the city, as well as parks with general and specific purposes (Vuksanović-Macura 2014, 266–8). It was ambitiously planned for open and green spaces to cover an area of around 3,750 ha, which was almost half of the total city territory, and to ensure at least two square meters of green space per resident. The implementation of this plan, as with Josimović's, was obstructed by economic and political factors, with frequent alterations to the planned concept. On the other hand, the practice of forming green spaces gradually began to develop, presented by Krstić (1934) thus:

'Work was being done in all parts of the city, planting began wherever there was available land, regardless of the General Plan. These areas, dressed in greenery, would serve as first-class reservoirs of fresh air and be excellent excursion sites for the people of Belgrade, especially the more impoverished classes [...] Thanks to reforestation and the creation of parks, many areas – until recently eyesores and sources of disease – were reclaimed and sanitized and now are nicely landscaped properties.'

In other words, undeveloped ground was used to create green spaces, but without a clear concept of developing a functional system of green and open spaces. Nevertheless, such an approach increased the total surface area of green spaces: in the mid-1920s parks and squares covered 24 ha, and a decade later they covered an area of 69 ha (Fig.2). The number of avenues of trees planted along streets of various importance leading from the center to the suburbs also increased significantly. In the mid-1920s around 2,000 trees were planted annually, whereas a decade later the number of trees planted was ten times greater, around 20,000 (Krstić 1934, 262).

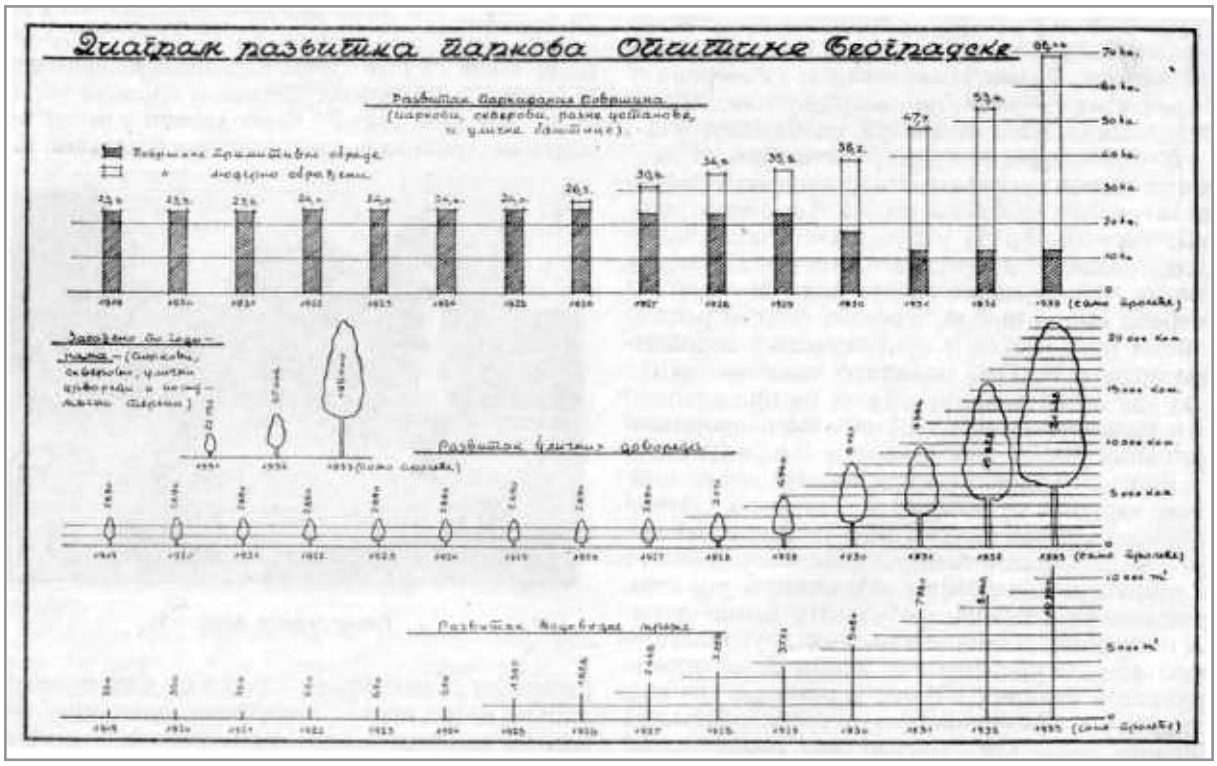

Fig.2. Development of Green Areas of Belgrade in 1919–1933 (Krstić, 1934, 262)

Belgrade Municipality used the creation of parks as a powerful instrument to cover up some of the major problems in the capital city. In 1930, the Municipality tore down hovels in part of the poor settlement of *Pištoljmala* on the Danube, and constructed a park there, despite protests by residents and their deep conviction that it could not be right for 'homes of the poor to be torn down so that the gentry might stroll' (Vuksanović-Macura 2012, 76). From the viewpoint of the municipal authorities, the implementation of such measures was justified because it fulfilled the hygienic and aesthetic requirements of regulating the capital city. However, certain other stated principles that should have been adhered to, such as social justice, were entirely neglected and even bluntly violated. The poor residents were not offered any alternative solution as compensation for their demolished homes.

Inadequate management of land resources, the lack of money, and political outsmarting between city and State authorities led to the specific phenomenon of building so-called 'temporary parks' (Fig.3). With time, some of them became permanent solutions, and some of the city's most important green spaces were created that way, eg Manjež Park and Terazije Terrace (Vuksanović-Macura 2014, 268–9). Changing the understanding of green spaces and their perception as common and public, as opposed to private property, placed a new dilemma before Belgrade's municipal authorities—how to landscape the undeveloped part of a plot if it contained a building with a larger number of residents, and not a single-family home in a garden that the family tended. This question became all the more significant with time, and the topic of landscaping common areas within housing block remains a challenge for Belgrade and its residents to this day.

Conclusion

At the turn of the 19th into the 20th century, Belgrade had already been transformed into a European city, judging by many urban indicators, including green areas. Intimate gardens of the Ottoman milieu gave way to public parks and busy city promenades. During the 19th century, parks and tree-lined Belgrade streets were still perceived as elements of city beautification, and members of the newly formed middle class eagerly frequented them *to see and be seen*. At the beginning of the 20th century green spaces become additionally significant from the aspect of urban hygiene, as *reservoirs of fresh air and areas for the citizen's recreation*. The various strategies used by Belgrade Municipality and its technical services when creating green spaces were closely tied to social, political and economic processes. Bearing in mind previous experiences and history, we believe that city planning should be supported by environmental discourse, and that green city spaces, the city and its surroundings, should be viewed as an actual single entity.

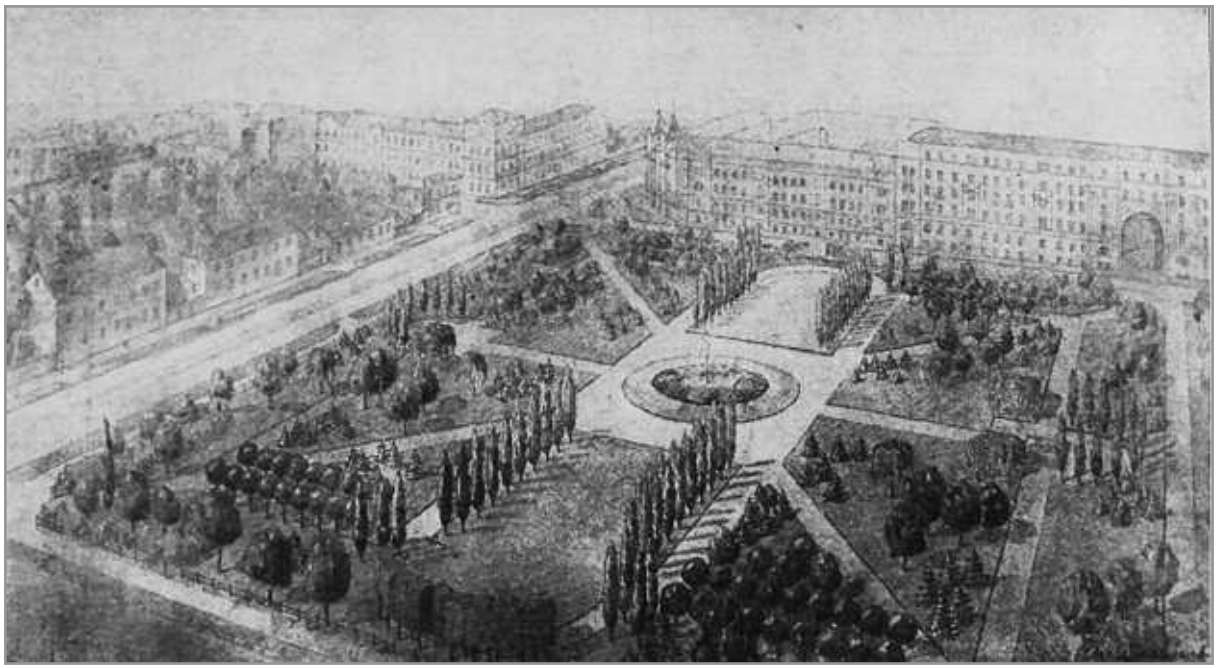

Fig.3. New Park Established on the Site of the Former Manège (Herenda, 1932, 744)

Acknowledgments

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Cultural values, participation and engagement: the potential and challenges for a 'more-than-visual' approach

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There are calls within landscape policy for greater collaborative engagement with multiple stakeholders to understand how landscapes are valued, particularly culturally. These are often difficult to express due to their individual and subjective nature with potential tensions between stakeholders. There is increasing exploration within academia of embodied and emotional experiences of landscapes and methods to capture them. The paper draws on research undertaken in the north-west Highlands of Scotland, an area of lived in landscapes also valued for aesthetic and wild qualities. It examines the implications of utilising tools of encounter, visualising and collaborative reflection within a more participative management process. It critically reflects on how a more-than-visual methodology (walking interviews, arts-based methods and feedback) influenced and shaped the nature of information gathered and the potential for more participative approaches to landscape management.

Introduction

'Landscape' is a term that is used in everyday language in multiple ways but remains a complex concept (Cresswell 2003, 269–281). Traditionally an inherently visual concept, it has been argued that landscapes, how they are understood and perceived are a cultural product (Daniels and Cosgrove 1988, 1–9). This influence can result in landscape being in tension (Wylie 2007). On the one hand it is a distant, objective onlooker, gazing upon the landscape with a particular way of viewing. On the other hand, informed by recent social science research, landscape is something that people are immersed within as part of a multi-sensory, embodied experience (Ingold 2006, 9–20). Concurrently with this emergence of embodied landscape research, the language of landscape management policy is emphasizing a greater awareness and inclusion of participative methods to engage multiple stakeholders within landscape management. Policies such as the European Landscape Convention and Scotland's Land Use Strategy (Scottish Government 2011) both emphasize the incorporation of multiple stakeholders within landscape management. Yet the tools through which this can be enacted are not clear. Studies have also shown that greater participation as part of landscape management practices can result in tensions and challenges.

This paper draws on research undertaken as part of a wider PhD project (Holden 2016). The research explored the roles of cultural values within landscape management in the Highlands of Scotland. It examined the potential of a 'more-than-visual' methodology in order to investigate participants responses and experiences of landscapes. Furthermore, it identified past and present management issues from a cultural perspective. The paper is structured around the three tools of the 'more-than-visual' toolkit developed within this research. It will highlight how these tools critically engaged and challenged the concept of 'landscape'. It then outlines the potential and challenges that face participation and engagement within landscape management as developed from the research. The paper concludes by identifying future research for this toolkit.

Engaging and participative methods within landscape management: a 'more-than-visual' toolkit

The potential of more participative and bottom-up landscape management has been well-documented (Selman 2004, 365-392). The European Landscape Convention and Scotland's Land Use Strategy emphasize a desire for more participative landscape management, placing people centrally within the implementation of these policies and playing an active role within landscape development (Council of Europe 2000). Caspersen identifies that engagement of policy makers and landscape managers with all landscape stakeholders has the potential to increase knowledge of landscapes and result in greater awareness of landscape matters amongst a much broader audience (Casperson 2009, 33–45).

In response to this a toolkit was developed from research undertaken in two case study areas, Assynt and Applecross, in the north-west Highlands of Scotland. These landscapes have been acknowledged for their scenic qualities with part of the areas recognised under National Scenic Area designations (Scottish Natural Heritage 2014a) and Wild Land Areas (Scottish Natural Heritage 2014b). These landscapes, however, are also

lived in and so the extent to which these policies reflect locally-based values could be questioned. The areas historically have had similar patterns of land ownership dominated by private estates and crofting townships. There is also a shared social, cultural and political history, including the Clearances of the 18th and 19th Centuries, which have influenced the management and perceptions of landscapes (MacLean 1986, 5–7). With the increase in community ownership across Scotland, landscape remains an emotive social, cultural and political issue (Skerratt 2011).

The research proposed the potential of three different tools; 'encounter', 'visualisation' and 'collaborative reflection'. These tools would be employed using a semi-participative approach and conducted with local residents, visitors, local land managers and national land managers (Holden 2016, 88-90). Such an approach allows for research questions/objectives to be defined but also flexible enough to allow participants to guide the research and create potential for more collaborative engagement. The following sections briefly outline the principles behind these tools and potential insights they could bring to stakeholder engagement and landscape management.

Tools of encounter

Being outside and encountering landscapes can challenge how they are viewed and understood. The concept of 'dwelling' emphasises the lived in and everyday actions between people and landscapes (Ingold 2000). Landscape thus becomes more dynamic and multi-dimensional as opposed to something that is distant and viewed objectively (Cloke and Jones 2001, 649–666). Encountering the landscape emphasizes a spatial relationship between people and landscape composed of past, present and future spatial experiences (Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012, 1–18). In exploring these spatialized relationships the influence of memory – both individual and shared – thus becomes entangled within perceptions of landscape, emotion, imagination and identity. This transforms landscapes from being distant and static to being in flux and always becoming (Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012, 11). By focusing more on the sensuous aspects of experience and bodies, the visual encounters within landscapes become part of, and entangled within, a broader embodied, immersive and sensory experience through smell, sound, taste and touch (Ingold 2005, 97–104).

Clark and Emmel (2010) identify an increasing interest in 'walking and talking' methods. The researcher here is not passive but instead an active participant in the data collection process. Myers (2011, 183–201) argues there are dimensions to walking that open up and highlight social and environmental connections. This research primarily focussed on walking as a means of engaging with both participants and landscapes. Walking was a common, everyday practice for many of the participants which allowed them to give the time to take part in the research. Lasting on average 2-3 hours, the participants chose the route of the walk and walks were completed with the researcher and a participant or two to three participants.

'Encounters' however do not need to be restricted to walking. Other encounters that took place included sitting outside at a favourite spot, looking at the view and listening to the sounds of the landscape. Similarly, encounters with landscape could also be non-leisure activities, such as working on a boat or place of work. These are all equally valuable forms of encounter with the landscape and allows for potentially more people to get involved if they have health and/or time constraints. Furthermore this provides greater potential for a more reflective encounter that the participants would have with the landscape.

Tools of visualisation

The main aim of this tool was to allow participants to articulate their value and/or experience of landscape. Emphasis was placed on more creative, arts-based methods. Arts-based methods have been increasingly used within social science research as a methodological tool (Leavy 2009). The incorporation of art as method challenges assumptions about what knowledge is (Leavy 2009). Furthermore, there is a focus on art as a product and art as process. The process of creating can provide insights into how participants are encountering landscapes as well as providing conversation catalysts into how participants respond to landscapes.

Within this research the most commonly used arts-based method was photography. This reflected the ease with which participants felt they could communicate their experiences using photography. It was also something that participants could use whilst out on the walk. Participants also provided paintings, poems, videos and tapestry. Due to emphasis being placed on the creation of material as well as the final product there was no

particular skill level needed in order to participate in this activity. Although inherently visual, these methods also helped to capture more intangible qualities of landscape experiences, including memories and emotions, as well as highlighting different sensory aspects.

Similar to the tools of encounter above, the type of visualisation does not need to be restricted. Allowing participants to have a choice to decide what arts-based methods they would like or feel comfortable in using encourages greater engagement with what they are trying to articulate. It can also reduce the potential for participants to feel excluded from this aspect of the engagement if they feel they are not an 'artist'. Yet despite this, it is important to note that some participants felt uncomfortable in taking part in these methods due to a perceived lack of skill. More collaborative working between the participant and researcher in some cases helped to overcome this or by discussing works of others helped some participants to articulate their experience or value of the landscape.

Tools of collaborative reflection

In this research the aim of collaborative reflection was to create the space and environment in which people felt comfortable and confident to discuss ideas of landscape and landscape management. Issues related to landscapes can often be highly sensitive, in particularly at a local level. Although fundamental emotional attachments can be the same for people how they view and see the land being used for the future can be different. Exploring cultural values can highlight the dynamic relationship between people and landscapes and the roles of more embedded values in shaping how landscapes are viewed (Stephenson 2008, 127–139). Although these values can be shared they can also occasionally be at odds based on different cultural perspectives on landscapes and land use. For example, for some deer are an iconic species of wild and sometimes nostalgic, romantic Highland landscapes, yet others wish to see more trees and woodlands in the landscape and others wish to see more productive and lived in landscapes (Holden 2016). Being aware of these differences and potential tensions within the area and being able to respond to these can help to facilitate and negotiate between different stakeholder groups. Within small, remote communities having ethical procedures and strategies in place to try and maintain anonymity and confidentiality of those who have taken part previously can help to foster a more collaborative environment. Creating a trust between the researcher and the participants can also help towards this by spending time in the area and being independent of particular social groups or organisations within the area.

In this research the form of the collaborative reflection was a display of the material from the walking interviews and arts-based methods and a presentation. One of the greatest challenges in conducting in-depth qualitative research for use by landscape managers and policy makers, however, is to be able to translate the data and the outcomes in a way that is meaningful and practicable. Selman *et al.* (2010, 1–12) argue that the use of more imaginative engagements have the potential to create more sustainable relationships between people and the environment, through more enjoyable experiences for people to want to take part in management activities longer term.

Challenges for greater stakeholder participation

Despite the potential of the toolkit there still remain certain challenges in relation to participation within landscape management. Participative management practices have the potential to empower local communities to be more involved with management yet when 'community' is used unproblematically this can overlook the highly diverse values and agendas for landscapes (Taylor Aiken 2014, 207–221). Blake (1999, 257–278) indicates that there are tensions that arise through broader stakeholder involvement and awareness of environmental issues, primarily over the 'relative responsibilities of different actors'. Keulartz (2009, 446–450) has identified challenges facing more participative and bottom-up policies which can result in a 'democratic deficit' whereby the ideas of one or more social groups cannot be met and/or 'output deficiencies' in relation to the implementation of management strategies.

Although there is the potential to reach a wider audience through different aspects of the toolkit outlined here when undertaking the collaborative reflection some groups may still be under-represented. There remain issues around participant confidence to be able to make changes happen, apathy and disillusionment with engaging with landscape management that need to be overcome (Scott 2011, 2754–62). There is a desire and value being placed within landscape management policy on understanding different types of 'knowledge' about landscape. Reaching those that would not normally take part, such as full-time farmers and young families, would provide a potentially wider range of views on landscape issues. Alongside this, the timing and attractiveness of

events for people to get involved needs to be considered. There are also ethical considerations to consider in how far engagement should be undertaken if there is a lack of interest to take part.

Although landscape managers, both locally-based and national level organisations, may wish to conduct stakeholder engagement work there may be constraints upon them. This may include management policy and practices that are already in place. Or, particularly at a local level, there may be monetary constraints on the extent that engagement work and participation can be achieved (Holden 2016). Landscape managers that do undertake stakeholder engagement events will need to work within these pre-existing parameters and so potentially feed in to the issues raised above in relation to participants' reluctance to get involved and to be able to make changes.

Conclusion

Participation and engagement are increasingly desired attributes within landscape management policy. Yet within this participative turn there remain challenges in relation to the tools that are adopted and how they are then implemented. This paper has briefly outlined tools that could be adopted as part of a 'more-than-visual' toolkit to engage stakeholders within landscape management practices. The combination of methods challenges traditional, more visually dominated knowledges, perceptions and understandings of landscape. It highlights a more entangled concept between materiality, perception and experience. Future work with this toolkit is needed to understand the challenges that still exist in relation to capturing the voices of a broad cross-section of stakeholders. There remains a level of reluctance and apathy to participating with landscape management amongst some stakeholder groups as well as institutional constraints amongst landscape management organisations. Exploring how these tools and the data they generate can help to inform landscape management practices requires further practical investigation.

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How to determine essential values of landscape to be preserved? An Interdisciplinary challenge in Trong Village of Zhemgang, Bhutan

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Introduction

How to live in harmony with the environment and lead a sustainable way of life while also managing the place people live in, through their own decisions, is a worldwide issue. The way of life fostered by the peculiar milieu of the place, wisdoms derived from living in harmony with the environment and sharing of the common landscape, which ties the above two, formulate the roots of identities of the people living there.

Among the global discussions on the above issue, the Kingdom of Bhutan has posted a unique idea of pursuing Gross National Happiness (GNH), which sets an alternative development aim against the stream of modernization and globalization. However, it is now facing rapid modernization. In many traditional Bhutanese villages, basic surveys are awaited and so their essential values are not yet determined. Many of their values as living spheres, places of identity, and/or cultural heritages risk disappearance because of rapid modernization and the involved changes. Preservation and promotion of cultural heritage is one of the four pillars of GNH. The Royal Government of Bhutan has started promoting community-based tourism to revitalize the region while preserving the village. But it may witness significant effect as infrastructure for tourism is developed. So long it is the place for people to reside, preform activities and lead life, changes are inevitable. It is necessary to draw a new framework to preserve those that are not merely physical and to manage the region while allowing changes to a certain extent.

Against this background, the authors conducted an interdisciplinary survey in a traditional village in Bhutan to grasp both the physical facts and social interrelations, aiming to draw a conjecture on possible changes and points to be considered for the future, which is to think what values there are to be preserved and how.

Survey Site: Trong heritage village in Zhemgang

Trong heritage village in Zhemgang in central Bhutan lies at the foot of Zhemgang Dzong located on the ridge of a mountain and founded in the 12th century. Dzongs are fortress with religious and administrative functions. Inside the residential area of the village, houses made of mixed structure of stones and woods face each other on both sides of the central path. Houses are very close to each other and some houses share walls. Highly concentrated manner of village organization to this extent is rare in Bhutan.

Recognizing the intimacy and beauty of the sequence along the central path and the unique style of traditional houses, His Majesty the King of Bhutan commanded preservation of the village when he visited there in 2014. Now the Government of Bhutan is working to propose suitable measures to preserve the village.

Since Trong village is within the urban area, development pressures are high and house remodelling and extensions are taking place. The local administration prohibited changes to houses while preparing to draw up guidelines and incentive programs for the village preservation and sustainable development of the region.

Bhutan was rather behind in formulating national system for heritage preservation, but recently Bhutan's Heritage Sites Bill has been drafted. The government had drawn up and has been applying a design code, *Traditional Architecture Guidelines* (Department of Urban Development and Housing) to all new constructions. But this just rules the design. Plans for village preservation and sustainable development that covers the whole of the cultural landscape are yet to be prepared.

Survey design

To conduct initial surveys in traditional Bhutanese villages, it is important to approach from multiple points

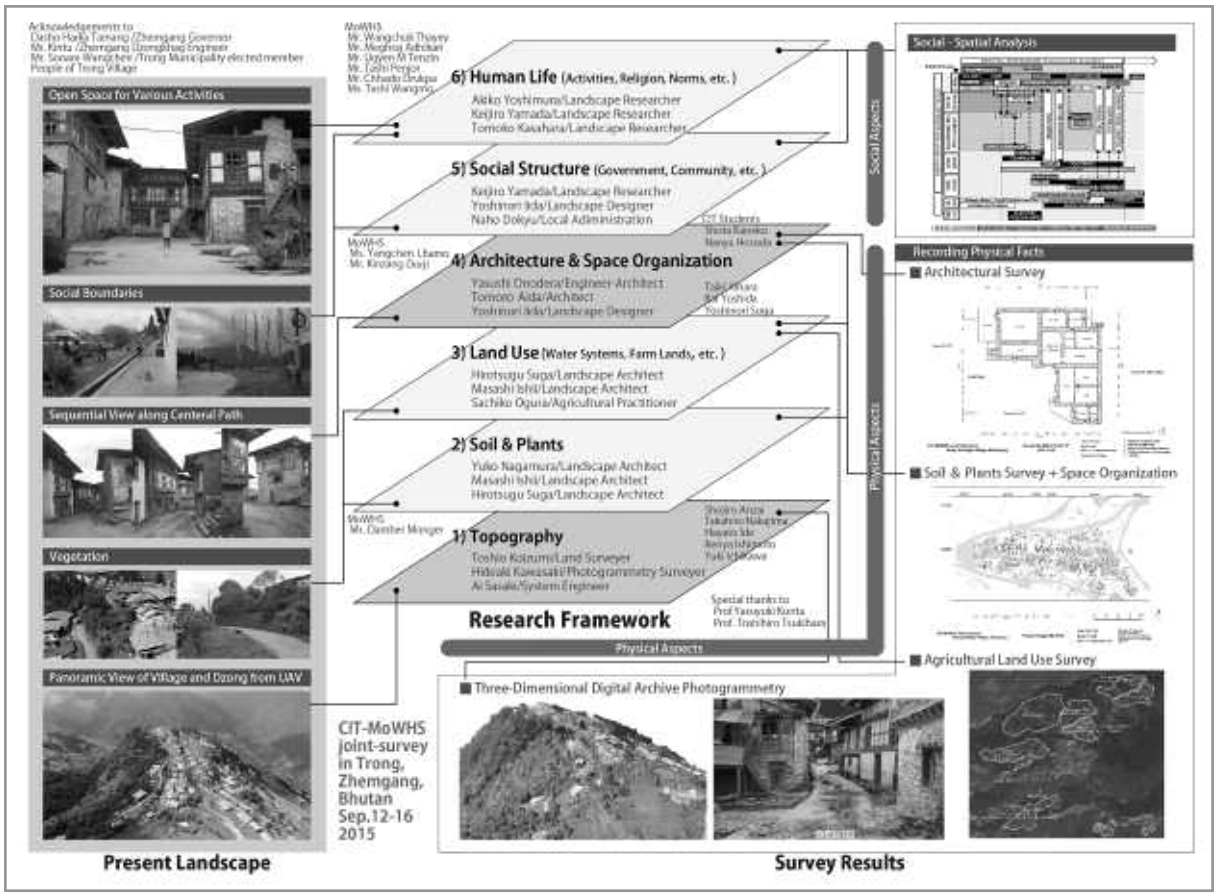

Fig. 1. Trong heritage village survey and research framework

of views, since their values are not yet determined. Therefore, we gathered researchers and practitioners from various fields to conduct survey on both physical and social/humane sides of the village (Fig. 1).

Surveying and recording physical facts

To survey the location, shape and type of physical substances those comprise the village, we conducted interdisciplinary surveys to grasp the physical facts on topography, soil, plant, land use, farmlands, water systems, architecture and spatial organization of the village.

Investigation on social/humane aspects

In-depth interviews were carried out on relations between spatial and social elements of landscape, applying the methodology of socio-spatial structure analysis (Yamada *et al* 2013). Social involvements for each spatial element in production and formulation processes, social schemes such as ownerships, maintenance, management, activities and rules that control their use and applications, and explicit and tacit knowledge on local technique, culture and life were investigated.

Compiling survey results

From collating the results, interrelations, changes, triggers, socio-spatial meanings and transitions from the past to the present can be grasped within the limit of acquired empirical data. Further, cause-and-effect, resulting consequences and relations between causes are analyzed to conjecture the transformation mechanisms to derive a future direction. This aimed to open a horizon to discuss, identify and share with villagers the essential values to be preserved while determining extents of allowable changes.

Changes in Trong village up to the present: Physical facts studied

Topography: Basic land surveys were done with Total Stations. Aerial and Terrestrial photogrammetry was conducted to generate 3D point cloud comprising of 182,595,685 points and coordinates. This model establishes a three-dimensional digital archive of the village form (Fig. 1).

Soil and plants: Soil surveys were conducted at five points in residential areas and farmlands of the village so basic soil characteristics were grasped. Locations, species and sizes of all 155 middle-tall trees within the residential area

Tree No.	Tree Name	Khengkha (Local Language)	H (m)	C (m)	W (m)
1	*Cupressus torulosa*	Tsendey	30.0	7.50	12.00
2	*Rhus similata*		4.0	0.20	4.00
3	*Rhus similata*		3.0	0.16	3.50
4	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	6.0	0.40	4.00
5	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	7.0	0.80	10.00
6	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	6.0	0.45	6.00
7	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	6.0	0.90	4.00
8	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	6.0	0.90	4.00
9	*Debregeasia longifolia*		4.0	0.70	6.00
10	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	6.0	0.90	8.00
11	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	6.0	0.90	4.00
12	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	6.0	0.50	4.00
13	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	8.0	0.70	7.00
14	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	3.0	0.50	3.00
15	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	6.0	0.60	4.00
16	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	6.0	0.90	4.00
17	*Persecaria lapthifolia*		3.0		4.00
18	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	4.0	0.40	3.00
19	*Prunus spp.*		7.0		
20	*Musa spp. Plelina*		8.0		
21	*Amygdalus persica*	Kham	5.0	0.20	3.00
22	*Hibiscus spp*		1.2	1/3m	0.75
23	*Juglans regia*	Tago shing	12.0	0.97	11.00
24	*Amygdalus persica*	Kham	5.0	1.06	2.00
25	*Cupressus torulosa*	Tsendey	15.0	1.61	6.00
26	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	8.0	0.67	6.00
27	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	8.0	0.69	6.00
28	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	6.0	0.52	4.00
29	*Hibiscus syriacus*				
30	*Euphorbia pulcherrima*	Wangchenmeto	2.0		
31	*Euphorbia pulcherrima*	Wangchenmeto	2.0		
32	*Euphorbia pulcherrima*	Wangchenmeto	2.0		
33	*Euphorbia pulcherrima*	Wangchenmeto	2.0		
34	*Euphorbia pulcherrima*	Wangchenmeto	2.0		
35	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	6.0	1.53	7.00
36	*Euphorbia pulcherrima*	Wangchenmeto	2.0		
37	*Euphorbia pulcherrima*	Wangchenmeto	2.0		
38	*Euphorbia pulcherrima*	Wangchenmeto	2.0		
39	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	1.0		1.00
40	*Salix babylonica*	Changmashing	6.0	0.96	5.00
41	*Juglans regia*	Tago shing	9.0	0.60	6.00
42	*Juglans regia*	Tago shing	5.0	0.40	2.00
43	*Juglans regia*	Tago shing	9.0	0.56	6.00
44	*Solanum betaceum*	Lam bentha	2.5	0.16	2.00
45	*Solanum betaceum*	Lam bentha	2.5	0.16	2.00
46	*Solanum betaceum*	Lam bentha	2.5	0.16	2.00
47	*Ficus roxburghii*	Forder Tree	4.0	0.20	3.00
48	*Salix babylonica*	Changmashing	5.0	0.65	4.00
49	*Erythrina arborescens*	Kharching	7.0	0.56	3.50
50	*Adhatoda vasica*		3.0		2.00
51	*Gulhala argyrata*		2.0		2.00
52	*Juglans regia*	Tago shing	7.0	0.80	7.00
53	*Gulhala argyrata*		1.5		2.00
54	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	7.0	1.75	6.00
55	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	2.5	0.43	3.00
56	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	2.5	0.67	1.50
57	*Juglans regia*	Tago shing		0.92	
58	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	2.5	0.30	2.00
59	*Juglans regia*	Walnuts	5.0	0.46	3.00
59	*Juglans regia*	Walnuts	3.0	0.21	2.00
60	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	7.0	0.66	5.00
61	*Musa spp.*	Ngangla	4.0		
62	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	4.0	0.60	4.00
63	*Musa spp.*	Ngangla	4.0		
64	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	6.0	0.80	6.00
65	*Musa spp.*	Ngangla	4.0		
66	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	5.0	0.40	4.00
67	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	6.0	0.85	7.00
68	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	3.0	1.00	3.00
69	*Amygdalus persica*	Kham	3.0	0.30	2.00
70	*Cupressus torulosa*	Tsendey	15.0	0.87	6.00
71	*Cupressus torulosa*	Tsendey	15.0	1.20	6.00
72	*Cupressus torulosa*	Tsendey	15.0	1.00	6.00
73	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	6.0	0.80	3.50
73	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	6.0	0.60	4.00
74	*Hibiscus syriacus*		3.0		4.00
75	*Euphorbia pulcherrima*	Wangchenmeto	4.0		4.00
76	*Thuja orientalis*	Thuja	6.0	0.55	3.00
77	*Euphorbia pulcherrima*	Wangchenmeto	2.0		3.00
78	*Amygdalus persica*	Kham	6.0	0.60	4.00
79	*Callistemon laceolatus*	Jilejum	5.0	0.50	3.00
80	*Amygdalus persica*	Kham	2.0		2.00
81	*Solanum betaceum*	Lam bentha	2.0		1.50
82	*Thuja orientalis*	Thuja	2.0		1.50
83	*Musa spp.*	Ngangla	3.0		
84	*Musa spp.*	Ngangla	3.0		
85	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	9.0	2.30	11.00
86	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	6.0	0.90	4.00
87	*Juglans regia*	Tago shing	6.0	0.46	4.00
88	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	6.0	0.77	4.00
89	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	6.0	0.56	4.00
90	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	6.0	1.16	4.00
91	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	9.0	1.20	7.00
92	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	6.0	0.98	8.00
93	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	7.0	0.90	6.00
94	*Juglans regia*	Tago shing	8.0	0.95	8.00
95	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	5.0	5.70	6.00
96	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	8.0	1.00	8.00
97	*Bambusa clavata*		2.0		2.00
98	*Cupressus torulosa*	Tsendey	9.0	0.60	3.00
99	*Cupressus torulosa*	Tsendey	9.0	0.60	3.00
100	*Juglans regia*	Tago shing	18.0	2.20	16.00
101	*Juglans regia*	Tago shing	8.0	1.77	6.00
102	*Gulhala argyrata*		4.0		3.00
103	*Ficus roxburghii*	Forder Tree	8.0	1.50	8.00
104	*Amygdalus persica*	Kham			
105	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	4.0	0.25	2.00
106	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	4.0	0.25	2.00
107	*Thuja orientalis*	Yutshup shing	3.0	0.18	1.00
108	*Thuja orientalis*	Yutshup shing	2.5	0.18	1.00
109	*Thuja orientalis*	Yutshup shing	2.5	0.18	1.00
110	*Cupressus torulosa*	Tsendey	16.0	1.20	1.00
111	*Cupressus torulosa*	Tsendey	16.0	1.20	1.00
112	*Persea americana*	Goolshing	11.0	2.20	14.00
113	*Salix babylonica*	Changmashing	2.0	1.00	1.50
114	*Cupressus torulosa*	Tsendey	8.0	0.77	2.00
115	*Castanea crenata*	Sokey	6.0	0.72	8.00
116	*Cupressus torulosa*	Tsendey	8.0	0.35	2.00
117	*Ficus roxburghii*	Forder Tree	9.0	1.79	9.00
118	*Musa spp.*	Ngangla	4.0		
119	*Salix babylonica*	Changmashing	3.0	0.60	5.00
120	*Juglans regia*	Tago shing	8.0	1.32	10.00
121	*Prunus mume*	Churli	4.0	0.66	3.00
122	*Prunus mume*	Churli	4.0	0.60	3.00
123	*Salix babylonica*	Changmashing	6.0	0.84	3.00
124	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	4.0	0.53	3.00
125	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	5.0		3.00
126	*Solanum betaceum*	Lam bentha	2.0	0.17	2.00
127	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	3.5	0.80	2.00
128	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	4.0	0.64	2.00
129	*Solanum betaceum*	Lam bentha	2.5	0.30	5.00
130	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	5.0	0.80	2.50
131	*Erythrina arborescens*	Chasee shing	5.0	0.72	2.00
132	*Salix babylonica*	Changmashing	4.0	0.95	3.50
133	*Salix babylonica*	Changmashing	3.0	0.73	4.50
134	*Salix babylonica*	Changmashing	2.5	0.70	1.00
135	*Broussonetia papyrifera*		4.0	0.48	3.50
136	*Persea botanica*	Goolshing	3.0	0.32	5.00
137	*Persea botanica*	Goolshing	3.0	0.13	1.50
138	*Adhatoda vasica*		2.0		1.00
139	*Juglans regia*	Walnuts	4.0	0.30	2.00
140	*Adhatoda vasica*		2.0		2.00
141	*Punicum granatum*	Tsindru	1.8		1.00
142	*Punicum granatum*	Tsindru	1.1		0.50
143	*Cupressus torulosa*	Tsendey	4.0	0.38	2.50
144	*Hibiscus ssp.*		3.0		2.50
145	*Datura suaveolens*		2.5		1.50
146	*Salix babylonica*	Changmashing	3.5	0.86	4.00
147	*Amygdalus persica*	Kham	2.6	0.16	2.00
148	*Euphorbia pulcherrima*	Wangchenmeto	2.5	0.20	1.00
149	*Salix babylonica*	Changmashing	4.0	1.74	2.00
150	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	3.5		3.00
151	*Ficus roxburghii*	Opshingla shing	5.5	1.60	5.00
152	*Persea americana*	Goolshing	9.0	0.60	5.50
153	*Amygdalus persica*	Kham	4.5	0.67	4.00
154	*Solanum betaceum*	Lam bentha	3.0	0.21	2.00
155	*Amygdalus persica*	Kham	3.0	0.14	3.00

Table 1. Tree survey results

of the village were grasped (Table 1, Fig. 2). Trees that are used in everyday life were densely planted near houses.

Architecture and village space organization: Locations and exterior scale of all 16 main houses comprising the heritage village were surveyed. These houses accommodate 30 households. One architectural feature of Trong village houses is that there are common walls separating households within the same building. Interior measurements were done for nine of these buildings accommodating 16 households and compiled as 1/100-scale plan drawings (Fig. 3). House walls were studied to find traces of change. Further, house owners were interviewed on house history, reasons of changes, room use, family members and occupations.

Socio-spatial investigation

Significant points on values and trends of changes of the village are listed below.

(i) Some houses were so old that no residents knew when it was built, while houses to no small extent were extended, plastered, or newly built. Newly

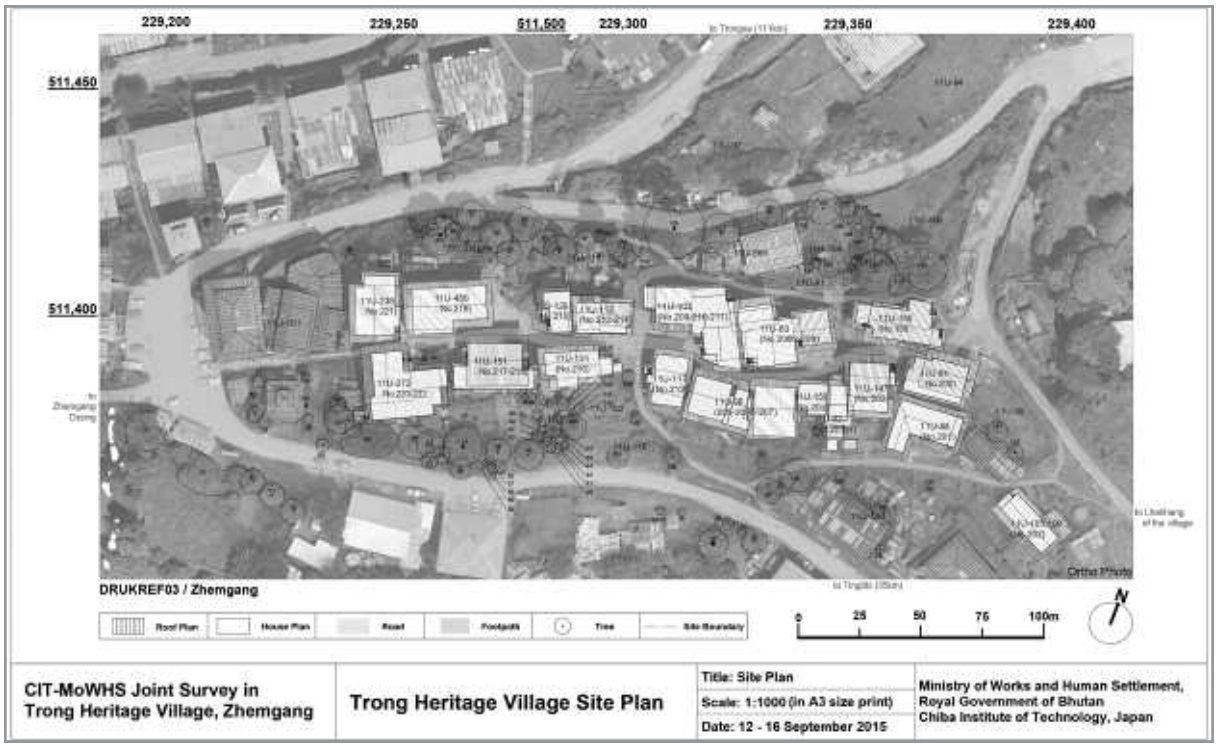

Fig. 2. Trong village site plan

constructed houses follow the *Traditional Architecture Guidelines*, so they look traditional. However, these were constructed with new materials. Also, we found some differences in construction method. Therefore, these new houses may not possess the authenticity of materials and craftsmanship, essential heritage elements recognized by the World Heritage guidelines. For all the houses in the village, the main roofs were already changed from wooden to galvanized iron sheets, promoted as a part of the policy to save forests.

(ii) However, at the same time, exactly because the old and the new exist together, and with its intimate composition showing fine excellence, this multi-layered space organization produces an attractive sequence. This is a value that is indeed different from above-mentioned authenticity but one that has its own significance. (iii) The average space of the main living floor (mostly the second floor) among the nine measured buildings (accommodating 1.8 household av. per building) was 87m^2. Dividing this simply by number of residents, the average living floor space per person is around 9.5m^2. This is too small to accommodate the increasing number of family members and modernized commodities (furniture, cloths, electrical appliances, and so on) and results in building extensions.

(iv) After the government prohibited keeping livestock in Trong village for sanitary reasons, some families remodelled the ground floor (eg to change it to children's room), opening windows in the wall. Also, after provision of water supply services, many families added small annexes to their houses for kitchens and toilets.

(v) Extensions were also seen in larger houses. There were families who rent some floors in which case they tend to convert the interior to suit the modernized lifestyle such as adding westernized bedrooms, baths and toilets and also plastering the walls. Also, there were families who quit farming the fields because they can now live on rents.

(vi) Looking at the socio-spatial relationships, actual land use did not strictly follow the land ownership. The way people use the space was rather loose and free (in a good sense) seen in Table 2, which consequently fosters a peaceful atmosphere forming a part of what this village is like.

Towards the future: Change in houses and the value of architectural designs or authenticity

From the present trend of changes seen in Trong village, it can be expected that remodelling or extensions of houses may increase consequently leading to changes in forms of architecture and village organization using modern materials without careful consideration of its authenticity and essential values. Architectural styles/forms could be one value we should respect. However, mere imitation of style may turn out badly if it

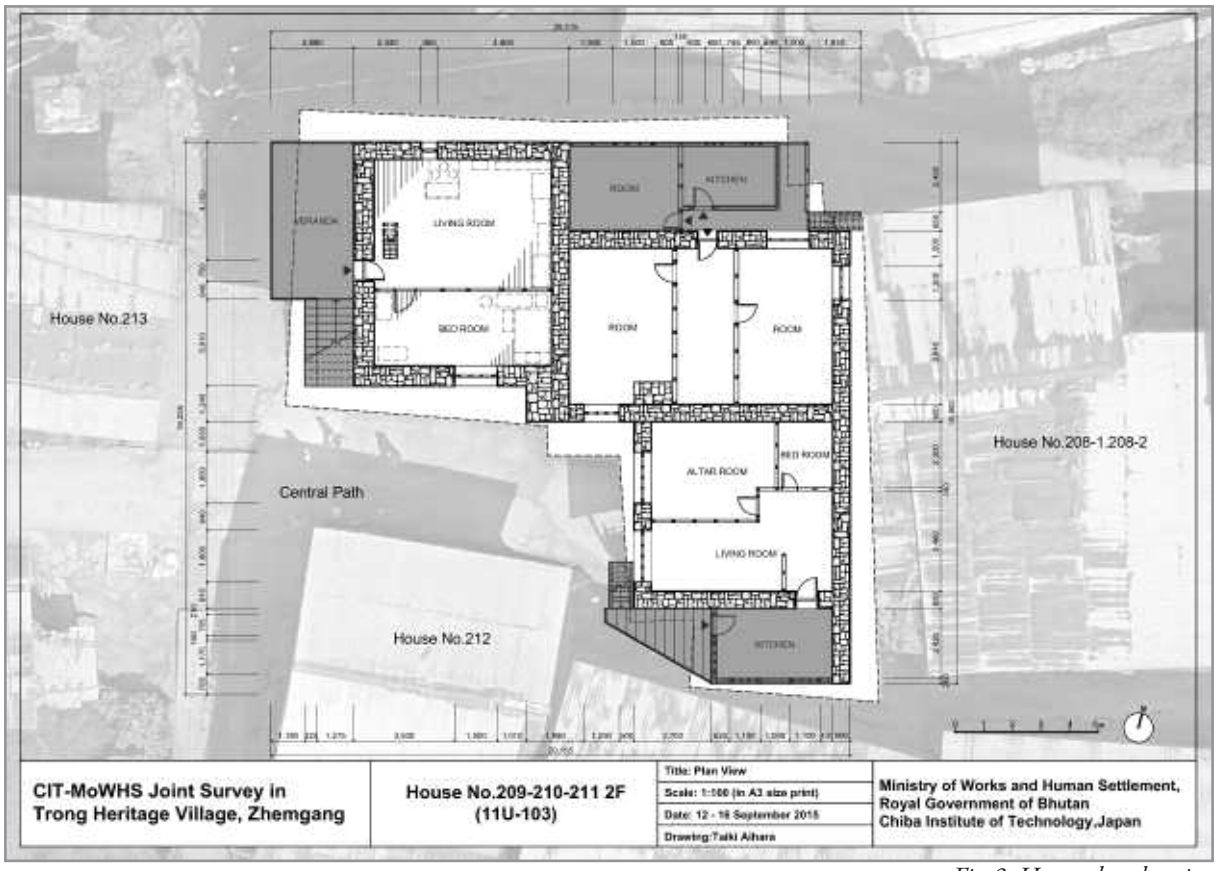

Fig. 3. House plan drawing

loses its authenticity. Here we can draw a point: to what extent the changes should be allowed?

Change in place/milieu/land use and its values: human right and the value of life

Similarly, if the present socio-economic situation continues, it can be expected that such trends as migration of younger generation to urban centres where they have more opportunities, possibilities and choices including career decisions, decreased need to engage in agriculture or forestry because of increased alternative sources of income, resulting in abandoning of farmlands, and so on. This poses the following questions.

Land use as reflections of human activities (therefore prone to changes)

Current trends of modernization and the involved changes will considerably decrease the stretch of (and the recognitions of) lands, places and milieu that are engaged with people. We cannot deny the right of young people and families from making choices to pursue their possibilities. This poses a more difficult question: how and where can we place the value of the stretch of lands that engraves what it is to be there into common/public values?

Since those (places/milieu, land uses) are made of human activities, it should naturally have a public aspect to a certain extent. However, at the same time, these values postulate changes. The workings of people are based on activities to earn living, which is a fundamental purpose of life, so they are justifiable. This means the involved changes on place/milieu/land use are justifiable as well. Then, it becomes very important to think of **who** manages the changes at the very scene of the place that are facing changes, which reflect the trend of the times on people's aspirations derived from the ways of life and driven by the situations at the time.

Possibility of the value of views: as representations/symbolizations of life there

It may be possible that the value of the view of the stretch of milieu including land use acquire more important meanings. To save the view, ideally, we should keep engaging on farming and forestry that are the original source of value. Alternatively, we may be able to maintain the view by making it an attraction for tourism or restricting the land use. However, in that case, how can the authenticity of the view of landscape that symbolizes life of the place be preserved, or be trusted upon? This may be a difficult question for Japan and other Asian

No	Spatial Elements	Social Elements													
		WHO OWNS?							WHO CONTROLS / MAINTAINS?						
						Government							Government		
		Individual / Family	Local Community	Quasi-public Organizations	Religious Organizations	Municipality / Dzongkhak	National Government	Operators Outside	Individual / Family	Local Community	Quasi-public Organizations	Religious Organizations	Municipality / Dzongkhak	National Government	Operators Outside
1	Forest	●*1	●				●		●	●	●			□*3	
2	Fields	●							●						
3	Fence (with Wood / Iron Wire)	●							●						
4	Shoulder, Slope (South)						●		○*2	○				●	
5	Building (Checkpoint)						●							●	
6	Garbage Can					●							●		
7	Building (in Memory)	●							●					○	
8	Electric Pole / Wire							●	○					○	●
9	Road (old NH4)						●							●	
17	MANI-DUNGKHOR (Pvt.)	●			●				●	●		●			
18	Water Supply Chamber					●			○				●		
19	Car Parking (West)						●							●	
20	Retaining Wall (beside Parking)					●							●		
21	Slope (behind Parking)	●							●						
22	Water Supply Chamber					●			○				●		
23	Buildings (Pvt. Com. below Parking)	●							●						
24	Buildings (Pvt. Com. etc.), Walls	●							●						
25	DHARSHING (beside Bank)	●			●				●			●			
26	Fire Hydrant					●							●	□	
27	MANI-DUNGKHOR (Gvt.)				●	●			○	○		●	●		
40	Incense Burner (SANG THAB)	●			●				●			●			
41	Steps (beside Mani (Gvt.))					●							●		
42	Slope (beside Steps)	●							●						
43	Drainage Ditch (on the Slope beside Steps)					●							●		
44	Backyard (below Steps)	●							●	○					
45	Open Terrace					●			●	○					
46	Passage	●							●	○					
47	Benches	●							●	○					
48	Building (Pvt. Com.)	●							●						
61	Prayer Flags (LUNG TA)	●			●				●			●			
62	Electric Pole / Wire							●					○		●
63	Electric Light					●							●		
71	Market					●			●	○					
72	Market (Pvt. Com.)					●			●						
73	Public Toilet					●							●		

All the spatial elements that exist on a certain section passing through Trong village were investigated and grasped in great detail. Spatial elements shown with a gray background are the elements in complex with cross-sectional space use and activities by heterogeneous actors.
These results are based on the unofficial remarks of the village mayor in the field survey and the interview on the 15th of September 2015. They ought to be validated through further multiple field surveys and interviews.
*1: ● shows the main actors related to each spatial element.
*2: ○ shows the complementary actors related to each spatial element.
*3: □ shows the actors related to each spatial element through social systems such as laws, policies, or subsidies.

Table 2. Socio-Spatial matrix

countries where the concepts of modernization are often interpreted too simply, equating land to its economic values. Addressing this question may lead to a more fundamental question: what is 'land' to us?

Communal/public value for the future: Public nature of place/milieu/land use

As mentioned above, taking the workings of people (such as farming and forestry) as sources of fundamental values of life casts yet another question of what is the value of life in harmony with nature, or more fundamentally, the value of nature itself. In here, nature is not taken as an abstract scientific concept nor an ecological system, but a value of something somatic, and at the same time, religious. It should be a corporal value for the community deeply engaged in everyday life with various human activities, in which the traces of the past time or ancestors of the community are deeply engraved. In many cases something that fundamentally has a nature of public value is engaged to individual ownership/properties. These are vulnerable because mostly only individuals maintain them. How can we consider these as public values?

Placing private land/property to a public value

For now, as stated above, the actual land use across the ownership in Trong fosters a peaceful atmosphere. But if people start claiming their rights and exclude others from their own lands, the atmosphere will be changed. While the boundary will be clarified visually, the wholeness of the place will be lost, creating disconnected, unpleasant places. In Japan, ownership of private lands is considered one of the fundamental human rights that should be respected. Japan lags behind on discussions to recognize, treat and place public values. In Bhutan too, discussions on this matter have just started. Now it is a real concern how to manage private land with public/community use or value.

Further, regarding the above, it is time to consider how to establish the processes and procedures of urban planning so that people can choose and decide for themselves the future of the whole lands of the region they live including private lands. Whether or not we choose such kinds of urban planning, emphasis should be put on the significance of considering **how** we engage people in discussions for establishing the public values, in the way that enables people to realize vividly and somatically the meaning of the place and its changes. In this viewpoint, it is important to provide information for people living there through concrete and tangible facts/forms of public values, eg common walls, community water place, etc., with information on their public meanings, what are related to and who are involved in. Our survey provides opportunities to share and discuss the matter with the villagers with vivid actuality.

Conclusion

Analyses results of this interdisciplinary surveys on physical facts and in-depth interviews shed lights on multifaceted meanings and values of landscape; therefore have possibility to provide villagers the bases for judgments and clues to think for the future.

Acknowledgements

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MAYO.IE

The essays in this book, presented at the international conference LandscapeValues: Place and Praxis held at NUI Galway, June 29th – July 2nd 2016, are about the values that accrue to places how values emerge, how they find expression, are recorded, and how they are considered in landscape management, policy and practice

Values have a central role in place-making and community well-being. These essays demonstrate that just as tangible and intangible values meld into one another, so also do natural and cultural values. Indeed, such distinctions are made redundant by the landscape paradigm.

The intellectual and social challenge of our times, and a major concern of the European Landscape Convention, is the antagonistic juxtaposition of monetary and social values. Essays in this book explore innovative ways to record communal and often more ethereal values associated with place, and offer new models of spatial planning and decision-making.

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