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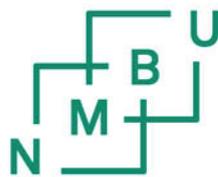
DEMOCRACY



**Norges miljø- og
biovitenskapelige
universitet**

Defining Landscape Democracy Conference Reader

Edited by Shelley Egoz
Norwegian University of Life Sciences



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Greetings

Dear participants,

It is our pleasure to welcome you to the Centre for Landscape Democracy's first international multidisciplinary conference, *Defining Landscape Democracy*.

The topic of this conference stems from a growing academic and practical interest in understanding and interpreting ambiguities and uncertainties related to landscape democracy. The backdrop is the European Landscape Convention's aspirations for engaging citizens in decision-making about their living environments, and accommodating equal access to landscape as a shared resource and source of wellbeing for individuals and communities. This is where we align with UNISCAPE, the network of universities specifically dedicated to implementing the European Landscape Convention.

We are honoured to host keynote speakers Don Mitchell and Jala Makhzoumi, who have dedicated their academic scholarship to the core values of justice, equality and wellbeing that CLaD shares. Don is a role model for prolific production of knowledge on topics revolving around landscape, justice and democracy. Jala, who is a scholar and practicing landscape architect, uses her professional expertise to bridge scholarship and practice. She is a pioneer of ecological design in the Middle East and uses her holistic approach for reconstruction of devastated war landscapes and communities – a pertinent example of the type of aspirations CLaD holds for innovative solutions to contemporary environmental, political and social challenges. We would also like to pay tribute to two of our distinguished guests, Michael Jones and Kenneth Olwig, whose ground-breaking work on landscape, social justice and public participation stimulated the establishment of CLaD.

Most importantly, we welcome this inspiring group of seventy presenters who will share ideas, theories and case studies of landscape democracy in research and action. As organisers, we hope that this conference gives all of you the opportunity to discuss, exchange ideas and inspire one another. We have organised the conference into thematic sessions, but many of the papers cover more than one theme. This is a reminder of just how multidisciplinary and nuanced landscape democracy research and practice are.

The model we chose is a workshop style: each session includes three consecutive fifteen-minute presentations, followed by thirty minutes for moderated discussion. We propose breaking up into smaller groups for discussion, and hope you will find this a fruitful way to engage. At the end of each presentation day, the chairs will present conclusions and insights from group discussions to the whole audience in a plenary session.

The aim of gathering you all here to present, listen and discuss resonates with CLaD's goal:

The creation and dissemination of scientific knowledge, creative interpretations and innovative solutions under an umbrella theme of Landscape Democracy

Your presentations and the discussions they generate promise to elicit new knowledge and inspire innovative and critical thinking regarding the opportunities we as scholars and practitioners have to support democracy and wellbeing.

We intend to record discussions and make presentations accessible on the CLaD website in due course. Information about opportunities for thematic scientific publications will follow.

We are very excited about these prospects and thank you all for being part of this conference. This conference is a milestone for the Centre for Landscape Democracy at the Department of Landscape Architecture and Spatial Planning (ILP).

ILP, the Faculty of Social Science and the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU) have all embraced the initial idea of an international conference and have been extremely supportive in helping us put this together. For that we are most grateful.

Shelley Egoz, Deni Ruggeri and Karsten Jørgensen
Conference organisers

Land can be owned, landscape can't

These proceedings offer a wealth of research results and reflections on the societal role of landscape, from a wide range of disciplinary backgrounds. This richness may be contrary to the recently decreased governmental interest in many countries to implement landscape policies, however, it reflects a strong commitment of researchers and civil society alike to the values of landscape as a public good. It also reflects the societal duty to take responsibility for these values, be they material or immaterial. Land can be owned, landscape can't. But does that mean that all landscapes should be accessible to everybody? Landscape is definitely an arena of democracy¹, and it is telling that the Council of Europe, renowned for its promotion of human rights, also prepared the cradle for the European Landscape Convention, which has significantly inspired to this conference. That is exactly why I am particularly happy that UNISCAPE has been invited to participate in this undertaking, since UNISCAPE's main objective is to support the implementation of the European Landscape Convention through research, education and exchange of information across disciplines². If this conference can stimulate an open debate about the right to landscape in all the aspects this issue can comprise, this will be a major step forward for UNISCAPE, and for societally relevant landscape research in general.

I wish every participant at least some moments of the thrill of being an actor in a really pioneering scientific endeavour.

Bas Pedroli,
Wageningen University, Director UNISCAPE

Notes

¹ see e.g. Luginbühl, Yves (2015): Landscape and Democracy. Report CEP-CDCPP (2015) 13E, Document of the Secretariat General of the Council of Europe, Directorate of Democratic Governance, Strasbourg. www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/heritage/Landscape/ReunionConf/8eConference/CEP-CDCPP-2015-13_en.pdf.

² UNISCAPE, founded 2008, is the network of Universities for the European Landscape Convention, currently representing about 60 Universities, see www.uniscape.eu.

A welcome note from the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Norwegian University of Life Sciences

Landscape, our living environment and cultural heritage, embodies values such as identity and diversity, nature and aesthetic sensitivities. Our understanding of landscapes varies according to our needs, use, history and interpretation of landscape. Landscape research corresponds with this multiplicity and includes many scientific approaches.

Landscapes, ordinary or outstanding, could be urban, rural and the spaces in between. It could include land, mountains, infrastructure, nature, agriculture and water. Landscape is also an arena for nature protection and planning and design. In other words, landscapes are multifunctional in use, understanding and management. Landscape is where life takes place.

To protect and enhance our living environment we need policies. The European Landscape Convention emphasises that it is people who are at the heart of landscape policy. Policies related to values of democracy add new and important dimensions into landscape planning, management and research highlighting concerns such as the interaction between society and landscapes, participation, and development.

The university is very happy to host this interdisciplinary international conference on landscape democracy. The conference is organised by the Centre for Landscape Democracy at the Department of Landscape Architecture and Spatial Planning. We also welcome UNISCAPE's participation, as the network of European Universities for the implementation of the European Landscape Convention.

You will have valuable days at this conference. I hope you will feel challenged and return home stimulated to contribute to the already existing plethora of knowledge on landscape with fresh ideas, insights and perspectives that will make better landscapes for all citizens.

Good luck with the conference.

Eva Falleth, Dr. Engineering, professor
Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, Norwegian University of Life Sciences

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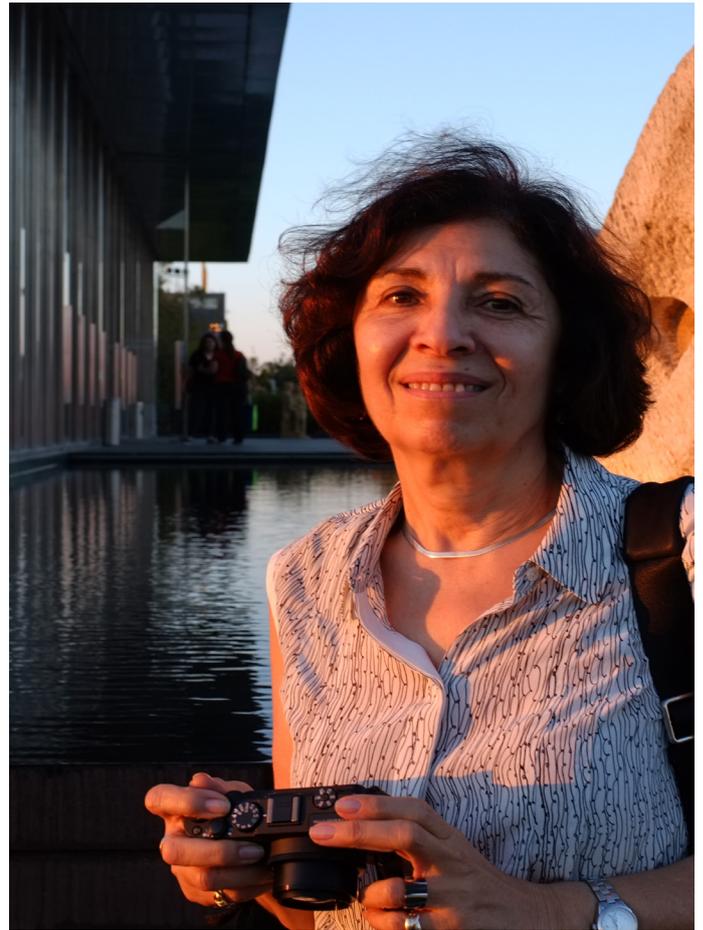
Keynote speaker Jala Makhzoumi

Jala Makhzoumi is professor of landscape architecture (Affiliate) at the American University of Beirut. She is founding partner of UNIT44 (architecture, landscape, ecological planning, urban design) in Beirut Lebanon (<http://archnet.org/authorities/2833>). Jala's work spans an international career of integrating practice, education and scholarly work, in particular in the Arab Middle East -- Lebanon, Iraq and The United Arab Emirates, where she is actively implementing her expertise on:

- Urban Greening: Greening cities and conserving biodiversity
- Energy Efficient Landscape: ecological design and master planning
- Landscape Heritage Conservation: development and local identity
- Post-war Recovery: community inclusive development
- Rural Landscapes: participatory development and heritage

Her unique contribution is the introduction of the concept of ecological landscape in the Arab Middle East and applying new landscape-related approaches to post-war reconstruction in South Lebanon. Jala publishes extensively in scientific journals, delivers many invited talks and conference papers, and has authored several book chapters as well of books. Two of her books that represent the significance of her scholarship are *Ecological Design and Planning: the Mediterranean context* (1998 with Gloria Punnett) and the co-editing of *The Right to Landscape: Contesting Landscape and Human Rights* (2011 with Shelley Egoz and Gloria Punnett).

In addition, Jala is an exceptionally talented artist. She sketches on-site instead of taking photos, and her intricate pen-illustrations accompany her writing; her 2010 book *Horizon 101* captures her poetic and inspirational spirit through a set of written reflections and watercolour paintings of a lost landscape. In 2013 Jala won the Tamayouz Award for Women in Architecture, announced in the Fall of 2012 by President of the RIBA. It is an excellence award for women who have contributed to the fields of architecture and construction throughout Iraq. She was also profiled on the Aga Khan webpage for Women in Architecture in 2014.

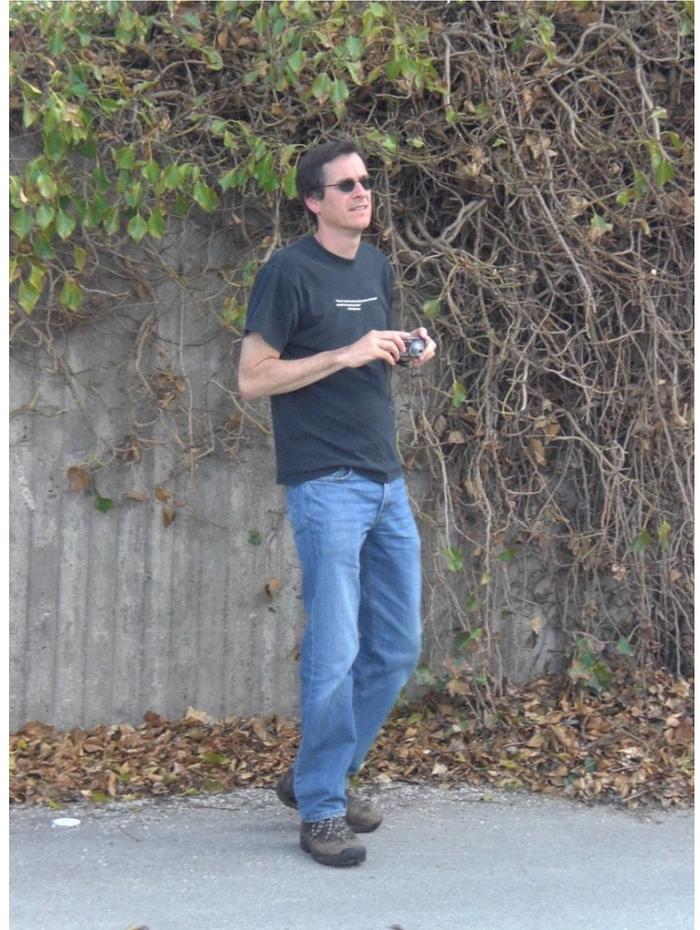


Keynote speaker Don Mitchell

Don Mitchell is distinguished professor of geography in the Maxwell School at Syracuse University. Don is a prolific writer: He is the author of *The Lie of the Land: Migrant Workers and the California Landscape* (1996); *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction* (2000); and *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space* (2003) as well as more than 100 articles and book chapters on the geography of homelessness, labor, urban public space, contemporary theories of culture, and the changing political economy of the university. Recent books include *The People's Property? Power, Politics, and the Public*, with Lynn Staeheli (2008), *Justice, Power and the Political Landscape*, edited with Kenneth Olwig (2009), and *They Saved the Crops: Landscape, Labor, and the Struggle for Industrial Farming in Bracero-Era California*, published on April Fools Day, 2012.

He is currently at work on an NSF-sponsored project (again with Lynn Staeheli and with Kafui Attoh) called *Public Life and Democracy in the United States and United Kingdom*, as well as editing a guide book-cum-set of historical-geographic essays that examine the long, almost continuous history of uprising and riot in New York City (called *Revolting New York*, it is a project he inherited when his friend and mentor Neil Smith passed away in 2012). In addition to receiving a MacArthur Fellowship, Mitchell has held a Fulbright Fellowship in the Institutt for Sociologi og Samfunnsgeografi at the Universitetet i Oslo and the Facultad de Arquitectura y Urbanismo at the Universidad de Chile, and is the recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship. He has been a Visiting Scholar at the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania and a Distinguished Visiting Fellow in the Advanced Research Collaborative at the CUNY Graduate Center. At Syracuse University he is a recipient of the Wasserstrom Award for excellence in graduate education. In 2012 he was the recipient of the Retzius Medal in Gold, one of the Vega Awards to be given by the King of Sweden on Vega Day, April 24, 2012.

Mitchell founded the People's Geography Project (www.peoplesgeographyproject.org), was a founding member of the Syracuse Hunger Project, and serves on the advisory board of Syracuse Community Geography (<http://www.communitygeography.org>).



Exogenous or Endogenous Democracy? A Landscape Approach

Jala Makhzoumi

American University of Beirut

Keywords: Arab; exogenous; endogenous; democracy; landscape; Middle East; Muslim; ecological design

If we accept the most basic definition of 'democracy' as a system where the voice of a majority contributes in decision-making about its affairs, then regardless of how this is achieved, whether through conventional voting to elect representatives to an assembly or a traditional *shura* system, the aspiration is universal. Why would there be objection to collective decision-making that embraces the common or ordinary people and the whole body of citizens of a country as the source of political power?

A positive answer is in some respect elusive in the Arab Middle East for two reasons. First, the concept of 'democracy' is increasingly held suspect seeing that it is advocated by the same Western governments that supported the ruthless, autocratic regimes that have been ruling for the greater part of the twentieth century, throughout the post-colonial decades. Simply put, the West is ready to overlook the transgressions of basic human rights by Arab dictatorships because they serve American and European political and economic interests in the region. Second is the problematic of endemic binary thinking in which 'the emancipated Occident must civilize a patently backward, Islamicized Orient' (Ramadan, 2012 p.14). This binary, profoundly unscientific and ahistorical, an Orientalist outlook, formed the foundation of colonialist thinking. It continues to shape the economic, political and cultural discourse of imperialism. Whether intentional or inadvertent, the West/East, developed/underdeveloped binary persists, unaffected by twentieth century decolonization and twenty first century globalisation of communication and cultural exchange.

The 'Arab Spring', one term to describe the regional political uprisings that engulfed Arab countries in the Middle East and North Africa triggering the collapse of autocratic regimes starting in Tunisia in 2010, Libya and Egypt, still ongoing in Syria and Bahrain, is in many ways a path on the quest for democracy. The Arab Spring, argues Davis, represents a period, a 'focal point of events that either set the stage for democracy or an analysis of those forces that precluded the Arab citizen aspiration for democracy' (Davis, 2012 p.3). The Arab Spring promised a shift in the binary paradigm seeing that the non-violent demonstrations erupted in the name of the very same values the West holds dear, freedom, justice and democracy. Not so, argues Ramadan, the binary continues to prevail. If the Orient was

the alterity against which the West defined itself (Said, 1979), it has, since the Arab Spring, become the *alter ego* of the Western Universal, allowing the West to celebrate itself. The underlying logic remains unchanged: 'alterity and likeness imply a dichotomy based on power, which whether otherness (enabling self-definition) or in likeness (enabling self-celebration), can only favour an ideologically constructed, imagined West' (Ramadan, 2012, p.16).

The implications are twofold. First, is the imposition of an idealized, Western model of 'democracy', with disregard to the historical, political, socio-economic context of the Arab Middle East – or any other non-Western society. Democracy can't be 'forced' overnight. Second, allowing the West to shape Arab and/or Muslim cultural, historical, philosophical and religious entity has disrupted continuities between past and present, tradition and modernity, rural and urban. 'Modernizing' a colonised Middle East in fact meant Westernising Arab countries. Imported, exogenous models were imposed in economics, education, heritage conservation and architecture. In the process, endogenous values, ethics and perceptions that bind Arab culture with its memory, traditional and religious references were undermined. Daher and Maffi (2014) speak of the detrimental repercussions of pre- and post-colonial Orientalist conceptions of 'heritage' in the Arab Middle East that came to discredit the recent past, popular and vernacular culture. As a result, modernity was portrayed as ever changing and progressive, at the same time, contrasted with tradition, which was presented as static, unchanging, anti-progress and unscientific (ibid.). This has made it difficult to draw on Middle Eastern cultural and symbolic capital to construct models that are new and different from the politically and economically imposed Western models, be it for 'democracy' or any other idea or discipline.

The 'endogenous production of values and symbols', argues Ramadan, confers upon them internal legitimacy and is likely to 'create new approaches, new models, contributing as it does to the constructive criticism of contemporary models of democracy' (ibid, p.18). The search for endogenous values interfaces the seemingly unrelated concepts of 'democracy' and 'landscape'. The complexity of the idea of 'landscape', its potential to unravel issues of culture, identity and belonging (Makhzoumi, 2008; 2009), its interface with the discourse of

human rights (Egoz et al., 2011) and its ability to affect socially inclusive, environmentally sustainable development (Makhzoumi, 2015), encourages the application of a landscape approach in the search for endogenous models of 'democracy'. The proposition is plausible considering the political, economic and social context of the Arab Middle East, which is, since the Arab Spring, in transition. Identities are being constructed, shared values and symbols redefined and political, ethnic and religious alliances shuffled. Landscape has the potential to re-connect people with their heritage, reaffirm continuities both ecological and cultural and contextualise development and, as such, invariably contribute to cultural and socio-economic independence just as it raises awareness of ordinary citizens speaking against injustice, claiming their rights and having their say in the future of their city, region and country. It is this incremental, slow path of socio-economic betterment, and political awareness that can render 'democracy' plausible, attainable.

Drawing on landscape projects from the academic sphere and professional practice, I demonstrate the landscape approach. Throughout, four overlapping, mutually inclusive issues provide crosscutting themes: ecological sensitivity and the focus on environmental sustainability; socio-economic betterment and specialised development; the discourse of heritage and identity; contesting rights and issues of political empowerment. The theoretical premise for the projects discussed is based on the ecological landscape design model, which provides an expansive, dynamic reading of people and place, both at the regional and local scales, and an integrative, inclusive writing of future scenarios. The landscape approach, the study hopes to argue, serves to enhance and link the multiple dynamics, socio-economic, cultural and political layers. Anchored into the regional ecology, tapping into the rich cultural historical heritage, a landscape approach can raise awareness of disrupted spatial contiguities and temporal continuities. Incrementally, at times imperceptibly, landscape contributes to shaping the path to democracy in Arab countries.

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Claiming a Right to Place in the Urban Landscape: Planning Resistance and Resisting Planning in Glasgow

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Keywords: Planning, resistance, post-politics, common place, right-to-landscape

This talk will draw on research conducted with my colleagues Lynn Staeheli (Geography, Durham University) and Kafui Attoh (Murphy Institute of Labor Studies and Worker Education, City University of New York) that in general explores the role of public spaces in the formation of democratic publics. For the talk, I will tell the stories of a suite of on-going struggles in Glasgow and explore how contemporary planning practices are seen and understood from the perspective of the places (and people) being 'regenerated' and thus how planning becomes and remains an unstable terrain of politics. In each case examined, activists have claimed, occupied, and remade key spaces (a waste ground used as a recreation area, a corner of a public park that had been abandoned by the city, a swimming bath closed by the city, a day centre for adults with developmental disabilities, and a university building) within and from which they claim a new right to the landscape, and thus to the city. In each case activists also have to contend with formal planning processes through which the city council seeks to direct the 'regeneration' process.

I will argue that four characteristics mark activists' engagement with formal planning processes (and resistance to them): 1) While always at least loosely class-based, engagement is in the first instance rooted in attachment to and affiliation with *place*; 2) campaigns are long-term, simmering, and well-planned – activists understand that they are engaged in a war of attrition; 3) over the years extensive networks among place-based activists have been developed that stretch across the city, allowing for activists to link actions and develop a synoptic view of the planning process and the overall strategic goals for 'regenerating' Glasgow; and 4) activists are almost uniformly skeptical of mandated participatory planning processes and thus engage them *strategically* not uncritically.

As a result, activists tend to reimagine key spaces in their neighborhoods as *commons* – part of the 'commonweal,' as many Glaswegians told us – that are linked to a longer history of struggle by ordinary people to retain a place in the Scottish landscape. The talk will unfold by telling the stories of these activists and their struggles for place in Glasgow, but from these stories some more generally applicable ideas will unfold in relationship to landscape democracy. First, it is vital to understand relations of *property* – that is forms of property considered within overall regimes of proper-

ty – when seeking to understand what actually constitutes 'landscape democracy' and what *might* constitute it in the future. Second, participatory and other modes of progressive planning are not static things – goods in and of themselves – but rather strategic deployments of power. Planning itself is a site of democratic struggle. Third, alternative modes of producing public or common spaces and reformulating the relations of power that govern landscapes only become possible through the active *taking* and occupation of space. Any movement or struggle to create an alternative spatial organisation of society must necessarily take and produce new spaces. Therefore, landscape democracy requires not just an assertion of a 'right to landscape' but an active exercise of that right through the active, communal production of commons over and against the dominant organisation of space through relations of private property.

To make the argument, and within the context of the stories being told, I will briefly examine some of the foundational arguments about public participation in planning (e.g. Arnstein, 1969 [2011]) and the helpful recent update by Huxley (2013), as well as critiques of the contemporary deployment of participatory planning as 'post-political' (e.g. Allmendinger & Houghton, 2012) and which understand participatory planning to be a form of 'conscriptio' (Fainstein, 2000). In doing so I will show that nothing like a 'post-political' condition (cf. Rancière, 1998; Swyngedouw, 2009) exists in Glasgow (nor does it exist in any of the other cities we have examined: Manchester, Denver/Boulder, and Oakland/Berkeley), even as 'post-political' planning *processes* have sometimes been a political achievement by powerful urban elites. Taking space and making it 'common' is a deeply political process that constantly renews politics itself.

The result of the stories I tell in this talk will be, I hope, to lay out arguments about a number of the key themes of the conference: how anything like 'landscape democracy,' while a normative ideal, is also a very real, actual, on-the-ground struggle in places like Glasgow; how the nature of public and common spaces *as they are remade through occupation* is central to 'actually-existing' landscape democracy; how claiming a right to *place* is essential for claiming *and exercising* a right to landscape; and how formal planning, including participatory planning, is itself a site for significant political struggle.

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Concepts and ideals

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Defining Landscape Democracy and its Antithesis: Is Landscape the Spatial Meaning of Democracy?

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Keywords: Spatial cleansing, enclosure, imperialism, *Generalplan Ost*, common landscape

...Landscape Democracy is a problematic zone underpinned by philosophical questions and ideological and political tensions. There is a need for epistemological studies and more intellectual discourse on landscape as the spatial meaning of democracy, and the role of democratic values in protecting, managing and planning landscapes.

CFP for the conference Defining Landscape Democracy (CLaD, 2015)

The definition of *define* is: 'to state or describe exactly the nature, scope, or meaning of' something. To define, furthermore, also means to 'mark out the boundary or limits of' something (NOAD, 2005: define). In order thus to define landscape democracy one must define landscape in relation to democracy both in terms of landscape's exact nature, scope and meaning, and in terms of the boundaries between the meaning of landscape and other key terms, in this case space. Does landscape mean the same as space, as when landscape is described as being 'the spatial meaning of democracy'? (CLaD, 2015) Can the one be reduced to the other? One way to control the meaning of a thesis, philosophically, is to invert it and test it against its anti-thesis. If one defines landscape as 'the spatial materialisation of democracy,' (Ibid) one can thus test the meaning of this thesis by turning it on end, and asking if one could also define landscape as 'the spatial meaning of democracy's antithesis'? If the statement of the thesis that landscape is the spatial materialisation of democracy applies equally to its antithesis, there is clearly a need to be both more exact and more critical in one's definition of landscape in relation to one's definition of space, if one wishes to argue, as I have done, that there is a fundamental historical connection between the original meaning of landscape and the origins of our democratic political and legal institutions (Olwig, 2011; Olwig, 2013).

The Space of Imperial Landscape

In his essay 'Imperial Landscape' W.J.T. Mitchell argued that landscape was a vital ideological tool in the repression of native populations and the imperial expansion of the colonial powers (Mitchell, 1994). He has also argued for landscape's continued post-colonial imperial relevance, notably with regard to the enclosure of Palestine within the space of the state of Israel (Mitchell, 2002a; Mitchell, 2008). According to Mitchell, space is key to the modern imperial notion of landscape as scenery:

The vernacular expression ['look at the view'] suggests that the invitation to look at landscape is an invitation not to look at any specific thing, but to ignore all particulars in favor of an appreciation of a total gestalt, a vista or scene. [...] The invitation to look at a view is thus a suggestion to look at nothing or more precisely, to look at looking itself, to engage in a kind of conscious apprehension of space [...]

(Mitchell, 2002b).

The enclosure of Palestine by the Israeli state is a recent manifestation of a process of spatial enclosure beginning in the Renaissance, which involved enclosure at a number of levels. At this time formerly quasi-independent polities, some with representative forms of government (often called 'landscapes' in northern Europe) began to be enclosed within the cartographic space of a centralising and imperially-expanding modern state. At the same time, within this emerging state, commonly-farmed villages and their common lands were alienated and enclosed as individually-owned private properties or estates (Olwig, 2002). Development of surveying and mapping techniques was fundamental to enclosure. This went hand in hand with development of related techniques by which these same spatially-enclosed lands were represented, comprehended and estheticised not just as landscape scenery, but as an expression of modern progress and civilisatory superiority (Barrell, 1972; Cosgrove, 1984). As both Cosgrove and Barrell pointed out, enclosure not only went along with spatial forms of representation and privatisation as property, it also involved the transformation of the physical and transportation infrastructure of the land in the name of progress and 'improvement'.

A more modern example of imperial spatialisation and landscaping is seen in the context of German imperial expansion eastwards, culminating with the Nazi conquest of Poland and other eastern European nations. According to Gert Gröning and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, landscape played an important role in the ideological justification for the conquest and in the plan to displace the native Slavic and Jewish population – cleansing the landscape of both Slavs and Jews and replacing them with German settlers living in functional spatially-planned landscapes with efficient spatial infrastructures (Gröning & Wolschke-Bulmahn, 1985; Gröning & Wolschke-Bulmahn, 1987; Wolschke-Bulmahn, 2004).

In this context, Groening has also raised questions concerning the possible similarities between the National Socialist idea of landscape and the more technocratic approaches to landscape promoted in conjunction with the European Landscape Convention (Groening, 2007). This idea of landscape went hand in hand with spatial planning in the design of the post-conquest settlement. Mechtild Rössler has thus shown that one of the key fathers of modernist spatial planning, Walter Christaller, developed and applied his central place theory as one of the infrastructural architects of the German Ostpolitik. He did this while working for Heinrich Himmler's SS-Planning and Soil Office on the *Generalplan Ost* with special responsibility for Poland (Rössler, 1989). Christaller's theory justified flattening Warsaw in a particularly diabolic example of what Michael Herzfeld has termed 'spatial cleansing' (Herzfeld, 2006). The combination of landscape and spatial planning was notable in the work of the Estonian geographer Edgar Kant, who fled to Sweden after the Nazi defeat, and who was instrumental in introducing Christaller and his modern technocratic spatial-planning methods to Scandinavia (he was instrumental in having Christaller awarded an honorary doctorate at Lund University), and thereafter to Anglo-American planning circles (Hägerstrand, 1978; Jauhiainen, 2005; Barnes, forthcoming).

Landscape as the Common Social and Material Meaning of Democracy

The above examples would suggest that landscape might not be the spatial meaning of democracy, but rather the spatial manifestation of democracy's antithesis. But, if this is the case, how are we to understand landscape as a manifestation of democracy? And how does this relate to the concept of space? Is it enough to link landscape and space, unexamined, but with democratic intentions, in order to promote the idea of landscape as the spatial meaning of democracy? Or is there something about these interlinked concepts of landscape and space, and the discourses and practices that have formed around them, that leads to the antithesis of democracy?

In my paper, against the background of the above examples and questions, I will raise the possibility of the existence of viable alternative, subaltern and counter-spatial conceptions of landscape that express the social and material meaning of democracy. I will suggest that the key to such an alternative lies in deconstructing the link between the spatial enclosure of social and material commons and the concurrent spatialisation, privatisation and aestheticisation of landscape as scenery, in order to reconstitute the 'non-modern' idea of landscape as the common substantive social and material meaning of democracy (Latour, 1993; Olwig, 1996; Olwig, 2013).

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Grace in the Architectures of Everyday Life and Landscape

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Keywords: Grace; landscape; architecture; everyday life; aesthetic democracy

Vitruvius' immortal trinity of indispensable architectural qualities as outlined in his *De Architectura* of the first century BCE – *firmitas*, *utilitas*, and *venustas* – provide more than merely a moral base for architecture, but are reflective of an ethic that undergirds the essentials of the everyday (good) life and of the constructed landscape. The first page of Henry Wotton's 1624 translation of Vitruvius reads, 'the *end* is to build well. Well building hath three Conditions: *Commoditie*, *Firmenes*, and *Delight*.' The first condition, of commodity, translates poorly to modern ears and might be better read closer to the original Latin as utility or usefulness. The second, firmness – meaning solidity, robustness – reads as well as it did in 1624. The third condition of delight only captures a fraction of the meaning of the original *venustas*, named as it was for the virtues of the goddess Venus, which extended far beyond mere delight to denote beauty that arouses love (both affectionate and erotic), charm, luck, and grace.

An intermingling of love, charm, and luck in dwelling seems in many ways self-evidently virtuous, providing narratives and associations that infuse places with delight. However, the last of these facets of *venustas*, grace, requires just a bit more explication, as this is the quality that is most closely related to processes of dwelling amongst others and in the world. Importantly, grace cannot be seen as simple or naive. It is an educated, cultured quality constructed of thoughtful, relational ways of being. Its apparent effortlessness is testament to the difficulty of its attainment; like the trill of a soprano delivered with a smile, it is fit, proper and right, while at once it is generous, superfluous, and exceptional. Despite, or perhaps alongside its spiritual connotations, grace is the idea that best conveys the sense of *venustas*, enfolding as well as accompanying love, charm, luck, and beauty. The well-named Ruth Levitas (levity, lightness, smoothness), in her *Utopia as Method*, identifies grace with the utopian, and employs the ideas of Ernst Bloch to explain a 'transcendent element' that Bloch calls '*cultural surplus*, which produces, at the moment of the encounter, the *fulfilled moment* – a prefiguration of wholeness or a better way of being' (Levitas, 2013). Henri Lefebvre, if he were to have spoken of cultural surplus, might have seen it as growing from a collective human work, an *oeuvre*, thus the fulfilled moment is one of *anagnorisis*: it pulls the past into the present and modifies it. And of course the work must go on, therefore its futurity is suffused with both striving and hope. Importantly for Lefebvre, this

oeuvre was one not just of culture, but also of place: lived urban and rural landscape. Hope and striving are embodied, emplaced, and perpetual.

Grace extends not only temporally into the past and the future, but laterally and spatially into realms of community and landscape, prefiguring mutual progress in dwelling as a work of humanity and ecology. Grace is a dream of transcendence and of earthly perfection already partially realised. Grace is a fragrant breeze blown in from utopia, the air that inflates the lungs of democracy.

The pursuit of happiness, as Locke put it, was incorporated by Thomas Jefferson into the American Declaration of Independence as a founding principle of democracy. This pursuit is part of yet another immortal trinity that rests its balance on life and liberty as well. Again, the sense of the phrase has become diluted or obscure with time. It may be better understood in the sense of the *oeuvre*, that the happiness spoken of is not a selfish objective but rather that it speaks of a collective flourishing that depends upon generosity and mutual aid to ensure that cultivation can provide bounty from nature and that human relations may be based upon understanding, mutual forbearance, and love. When we speak of happiness as an open-ended pursuit of the multitudes, it leads to a more full apprehension of life and liberty as mutually assured both now and for the future. This mutual assurance, again, is embodied and emplaced in landscape. The gift of happiness comes not from on high, but from experience and education of the body and mind in place. The gift is one of democracy and its practices in everyday life.

This essay will seek to align the concept of grace with utopian democratic values in a landscape context in which building and dwelling are a collective work and a dialogue between humanity and landscape habitat, with the hope that this endeavour will help to realign the architectures with the goals of Vitruvius and their legacy – the true ends of architecture. In capitalist modernity's zeal for innovation, not only have mechanical principles and customary forms been abandoned, but also the foundational values through which the good life is mutually produced. What the city and the countryside have in common is the conflict between their reality as lived spaces and their future life as dreamed spaces. Buildings, people and landscapes must learn together, but contemporary financialising processes

reduce them to mere inventories. It is time to bring grace and democracy back into dwelling and to insist upon a landscape that is dreamed together.

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Landscape, Property, and Common Good: The Ambiguous Convergences of Spatial Justice

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Keywords: Landscape; property; common good; spatial justice; law

It is interesting to note that in the early etymology of 'property', land had significance greater than the sum of its economic production value and was also an important component of identity. Indeed, the early notion of property entailed the mutual identification of the owner and the owned, whereas the modern meaning of the word divorces property from identity and refers to inalienability, rather than mutual identification (Graham, 2011, p. 26). The legal discourse of property rights has come to dominate the cultural discourse of property more generally. However, given the existence of spaces that are neither fully public, nor entirely private, such as shared resources and common goods, property alone is no longer relevant for many governance strategies. Of course, ownership and control of resources come in various shades and degrees, and while a piece of land might be privately owned in title, in practice its landscape is often the subject of collective use and management.

In January 2014, with a view to exploring these issues, UNISCAPE held a seminar on the subject of common goods from a landscape perspective (Dobričić, Magnani, Pedroli & Strecker, 2014). Similar to the current conference, the aim was to build on the intellectual framework initiated by the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe, 2000), that is, based on a social order of landscape not governed solely by economic and property considerations, but one which includes the 'common' shared aspects of the Earth's resources from ethical and social perspectives. This paper develops and deconstructs some of the ideas shaped through the positing of landscape as a common good. In particular, it focuses on the convergence and divergence of these two concepts as they relate to property and ownership. Drawing on my previous legal research into European approaches to landscape and my current research on post-colonial indigenous landscapes of the Caribbean, I intend to illustrate where these concepts pose some of the greatest challenges for spatial justice. I argue that while the philosophical and conceptual development of landscape over the past decades does indeed bring landscape in closer symbiosis with 'democracy', this nevertheless presents challenges for legal practice, especially outside the European context. This is because: a) the governance of landscape is still within the realm of public administration; b) it is not an enforceable legal right (Strecker, 2012); and c) ultimately the question of whose landscape we are talking about has not

been resolved. For example, the 'universal access' to landscape presupposes that this is of social benefit to everyone. Yet as some of the World Heritage landscapes illustrate, 'universal access' can also mean negative consequences for communities and imply restrictions on land use and socio-cultural development. Likewise the term 'common good' can be used by states to override human rights and freedoms; for example, by granting planning permission to major infrastructural projects (even if it violates individual property rights or collective rights to customary lands) 'for the common economic good'. On the other hand, land held in common by a community (collective tenure) can also have implications for access to credit or funding and represent undemocratic tendencies in the distribution of space. We must be careful when using these terms freely as they can have very concrete connotations in law.

In sum, interpreting landscape as a common good entails a belonging articulated in users' rights (including participation and access) – without appropriation – as opposed to owners' rights. This extends the notion of property beyond something external to the individual, whether private or public and recovers the element of common identity. The legal dimensions to this and their implications will be the subject of this paper.

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Self-Determination, Co-Determination, Public Policy Interventions and the Role of Landscape Experts – on Landscape Democracy in Practice

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Keywords: Landscape practices; knowledge; collective actions; territorial and spatial competences

Landscapes are maintained and changed through combinations of actions and decisions, which in turn are based on what Hägerstrand (2001) has termed 'territorial competences'. Today these competences are primarily linked to individual land-owners and users; in modern rural landscapes these are first of all the farmers. In the Western world, farmers increasingly tend to see themselves as independent individual actors emphasising private property and self-determination. Most of the old farming communities have dissolved. On the other hand, farmers today are also very dependent on advice or financial help from various kinds of experts: agriculturalists and bankers, economists and lawyers. Moreover, their private landscape practices are to a large extent guided and framed by public policy interventions of various kinds, representing 'spatial competences' in Hägerstrand's terminology. These interventions are influenced by various kinds of expert knowledge together with common public perceptions and conventions.

Hägerstrand does not mention collective landscape practices, meaning practices where several actors agree on common goals and coordinate their actions deliberately. However these practices do play a growing role when landscapes are changed. Whereas individual practices are motivated by the specific interest of the single agent in question, collective actions and decisions are based on some kind of common interest of the group in question, for example a parish association, a hunting society or a local NGO. In such groups, the participants acknowledge that collective acting is more beneficial than individual actions. They are prepared to give up the strict kind of self-determination related to private property in exchange for co-determination. Co-determination is not the only important value here, though. The participants are often not only willing to negotiate on specific goals and actions, they are also willing to exchange and listen to arguments from co-participants and external experts, and may even change their own goals and ideals in this process.

Co-determination is also important in public landscape policy interventions, including EU NATURA 2000 regulations, EU water regulations and EU rural development measures, as well as municipal spatial-planning and land-use regulations. In modern democratic societies

we acknowledge a fundamental right for all to be included in (or rather, not to be excluded from) public decision-making processes. This is the case with landscape policy as well, even though this may sometimes conflict with the self-determination of the local property owners. Here again, co-determination is likely to co-exist with a certain degree of respect for the knowledge of a variety of experts or connoisseurs: various kinds of engineers, biologists, historians, and landscape architects. A wide group of experts are thus influencing the different competencies and practices in various ways.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the various roles of experts in guiding landscape practices, with a specific focus on the changing relationships between territorial and spatial competences. With reference to Hägerstrand (2001), Arler (2008) and Primdahl, Kristensen, and Swaffield (2013) we present a conceptual framework for analysing the role of experts and expertise in relation to both public policy interventions and individual and collective landscape practices (Figure 1). The role of experts will be analysed in relation to the question of landscape democracy, and a special emphasis will therefore be put on the relation between self-determination, co-determination and respect for the various kinds of expertise that are involved in decision-making on all levels.

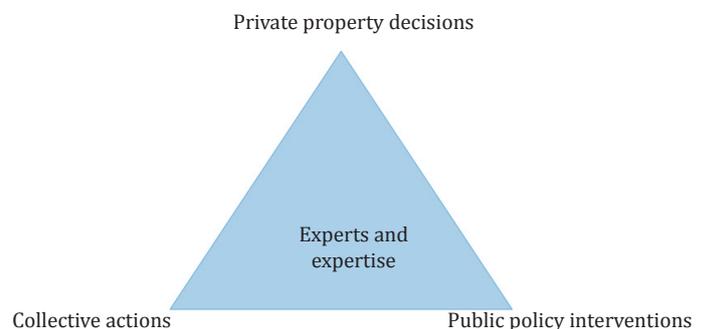


Figure 1: Decision-making in landscape practices – key relationships and the role of experts and expertise

The empirical part of the study will draw on an ongoing collaborative landscape-planning project for a rural landscape in central Jutland, where expertise is used to guide decisions and actions in relation to individual and collective landscape practices as well as to public policy interventions. Questions addressed here

include: How are individual versus collective practices supported by expertise from public agencies? How is expertise available for public policy interventions shared with individuals and groups and how are the different types of interventions communicated to the policy targets? How can collaborative landscape planning processes be organised as mutual-learning processes informing both the territorial and spatial competences? Finally: How can collective actions be supported to integrate the two forms of competencies in workable comprehensive solutions? Of particular interest are the various ways to combine the 'internal' often-tacit knowledge and ideas of immediate actors with inputs from external experts' more formal knowledge.

As a key conclusion we argue that co-determination and collective landscape actions are not automatically or spontaneously occurring. Rural local communities have become socially fragmented and they do not necessarily produce landscape initiatives. It is actually only through collective actions that the local community gains coherence and vigour – it is initiatives such as collective landscape projects that produce the community. Institutional will and capability are needed both from the groups in question and from public agencies involved in guiding landscape change.

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How Do Different Democratic Ideals Influence a Landscape?

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Keywords: Democratic theory; detailed planning; public access; public influence

This paper explores the different traditions in normative democratic theory: liberal, participatory and deliberative, and discusses their roles in the appropriate legislation. It then focuses on a case study from Norway of a planning process at the most detailed level. Plans at this level are legally-binding documents that authorise building rights.

Democracy is a term that has been, and still is, understood in many different ways. Within normative theory, a traditional and major divide is between a liberal democracy, which gives primacy to individuals' rights and freedom from the state, and a so-called republican tradition, where the exchange of arguments and active citizenship are core values. This last tradition has branched in several directions; I see participatory democracy and deliberative democracy as the most interesting in relation to planning. There are different versions of these, so I will specify what I see as their core.

For my purposes I put forward the following three versions of democracy, their core values, and their understanding of the citizens' role in a democratic process:

Liberal (liberalist) democracy	Participatory democracy	Deliberative democracy
Democracy as a method for making decisions. Citizens are viewed as voters. Any decision made by an elected representative body is legitimate as long as no basic individual right to freedom and property is violated.	Democracy is understood as people ruling over themselves. Decisions need to be grounded in broad public participatory processes where those affected are consulted and preferably given decision-making power. A preference for local decisions.	Democracy as a way to explore and find good solutions for society at large. Citizens are seen as political beings oriented towards the best outcome and as producers of arguments. Decisions are only legitimate if they are well-grounded.

In planning literature there has, for more than two decades, been a strong wave towards participatory and deliberative ideals for planning processes (e.g. Fischer & Forester 1993; Innes 1995; Sager 2013). However often these qualities are lost in actual legislation and practice, as I will demonstrate in relation to the Norwegian Planning and Building Act.

Planning in accordance with the act is supposed to 'ensure transparency, predictability and public participation for all affected interests and authorities' (Planning and Building Act § 1-1, 4). Despite this declared

intention of public involvement, the actual procedural requirements do not follow through.

The Norwegian Planning and Building Act is firmly rooted in a decentralised and liberal-democratic tradition giving the elected local government the decision-making power (although the national government has the power to override this in certain situations). The sections that appoint responsible actors (municipal planners or private developers) to engage civil society are in line with a liberal approach, ensuring neighbouring property holders' right to be informed and to file complaints.

The Act does include some ambitions for deliberative democratic qualities in the planning processes. One paragraph requires that the case representation includes incoming suggestions and objections, and explains how these were assessed and what influence they were given in the final and binding plan.

This paper argues that an aspiration for an empowering participatory democratic quality in the Norwegian Planning and Building Act was excluded through the legislative process. Following a statement that planning in accordance with the law shall be democratic, § 1-4 in the first draft of the Act states that 'all affected interests and authorities, and the public, shall be granted opportunity for participation and influence' (NOU 2003:14 p. 12). However there is no requirement for public *influence* in the final and approved version of the law. Whether the public do influence or not will vary, and the liberal and deliberative democratic values are more likely to be present in an actual planning process.

My case study of a development planning process in the coastal zone from 2013 (Knudtzon 2013), illustrates how a liberal and a deliberative democratic legitimatisation of decisions can result in two different landscapes. The case covers a limited area with a suggestion of 13 plots for houses, a small green area of semi-public access, piers and two boathouses.

According to the Planning and Building Act, a development plan in the coastal zone should take into account nature, heritage, right of access to outdoor recreation and landscape, for current and future citizens. In my case study these qualities were partly addressed by a neighbour and partly by the planning administration. The coastal qualities were given little attention in the

initial draft proposal submitted by the developers.

In their proceedings the planning administration stressed the importance of public access to the shoreline, stating that parts of the proposed plan do not comply with zoning requirements in the municipal master plan. Accordingly, they suggested that the green space should be zoned as a publicly-accessible 'recreation area'. Further, they emphasised considerations of landscape and terrain, and recommended reclassifying two residential plots as a public area. The rationale was landscape protection, universal design and benefit for the public.

A neighbour stressed in his repeated comments throughout the hearing that establishing piers would be in violation of the legally-binding municipal master plan, the goal of which is to assemble boats in public marinas and to protect the shoreline from any construction.

The politicians who debated the proposal at a council meeting did not produce counter-arguments to any of the above claims, hence not complying with a deliberative approach to the process. Instead they voiced their legitimate right to decide on the matter, and concluded in accordance with the developers' proposal.

Because within a liberal understanding of democracy a decision made by the elected government is by definition legitimate, this planning process is democratically legitimate. From the perspective of deliberative democracy, the process appears less legitimate.

After interference from the county and overruling by the Ministry of Environment, the end result was a plan that protected coastal qualities and was in line with the arguments given by the neighbour (regarding piers) and the administration (regarding public access and the removal of two plots).

This case shows the ways that different perspectives on democracy can affect the landscape development and public access to these areas.

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Democracy, Commitment and Responsibility: Some Ethical Considerations on the Transition Towards Sustainable Energy Landscapes Based on a Dutch Experience

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Keywords: Sustainable energy landscapes; individuals' responsibilities; moral obligations; climate ethics

In this paper we discuss important ethical aspects of the challenge of climate change mitigation in landscape planning and design. In particular, we reason on the responsibilities of citizens – including planners and designers – in relation to the transition of landscapes towards sustainable energy landscapes. By drawing on early planning literature on energy and urban planning and on more recent climate ethics literature, we identify some ethical dilemmas whose practical implications are relevant to the European transition towards renewables and to the broader debate on the roles of individual responsibility and collective deliberation in landscape planning processes. In order to substantiate our discussion, we will refer to a recent experience of landscape transition proposed to – and discussed with – the citizens of the Dutch northern region of Drenthe.

Periodic frictions between citizens' opposition to the installation of renewable energy facilities in their landscape and the targets established by the national policies on energy and climate cascading from the overarching European framework are periodically documented in literature. Such national policies, fruit of the shared European ambition of advancing more sustainable forms of economic and environmental development, encourage the gradual abatement of CO₂ emissions and a long-term transition towards renewable energy supplies. Besides being receptive of such ambitions, national policies bear the responsibility of translating it into concrete targets for CO₂ abatement through – albeit not limited to – the implementation of renewable energy technologies.

As these technologies have clear spatial implications, the identification of the areas adapt for activating sustainable energy transition – which, to a great extent, implies the siting of visually impacting facilities – is often problematic. Citizens inquired about or directly participating in landscape planning processes of this kind are often opposed to the installation of renewable energy facilities in their landscapes. Diverse arguments, ranging from the lack of financial incentives to contribute to the energy transition to the visual impacts of photovoltaic panels and wind turbines on landscapes, sustain and sometimes heat citizens' opposition. These arguments, which we could generally see as 'situated' and rather concrete arguments, are quite different from the 'indefinite' and somehow 'insubstantial'

arguments sustaining the necessity of minimising the risk and effects of climate change on current and future generations. Landscapes – especially valued landscapes – are 'here and now'. They constitute the realm of individuals' lives. Their preservation is functional not only to the preservation of the landscape's value *per se*, but also, if not mostly, to the preservation of individuals' identities, cohesion and legacy. The risk of negative climate change effects, which should justify the transition of such landscapes towards sustainable energy landscapes, is often perceived, on the contrary, as 'somewhere, sometime', making the proposed energy transition a form of tangible disruption of the present in view of an uncertain and rather intangible future. The rejection of renewable energy installations by the side of localities, in this sense, could be reduced to the resistance to a future whose justification and necessity are perceived as less valuable than the preservation of the landscape's *status quo*.

The overarching European policy on climate stems from the democratic contribution and commitment of single nations to the promotion of sustainable development. Opposing the concrete implications of such commitment at a local level appeals to the same democratic and deliberative tradition. As consequence, the short-circuit of what Europeans commonly identify with 'democracy' is, when not inexorable, periodically inevitable.

In literature, this 'short-circuit' is interpreted from a variety of different perspectives. In this paper, we take one of the least exploited ones: the ethical perspective. Our aim is reflecting on what seems to emerge as the ultimate clash between a 'global' public interest on the one side and an equally public, yet 'situated' interest on the other side. We argue that the clash relates to simultaneous but different dimensions of citizenship – that is, to global *and* local citizenship – and that whilst the two overlap, the situated nature of the latter competes with the new responsibilities implied by the former. There is, in other words, an inherent tension between the moral responsibilities attached to individuals as global citizens, and the actions individuals may regard as legitimate when prompted by their 'situated values'. Reflecting on the nature of such 'situated values' and on the margins of their legitimacy within European landscape planning processes aimed at promoting sus-

tainable energy transition is therefore the core aim of this contribution.

This draws on, and was largely inspired by, the recently established field of climate ethics, particularly through the writings of Gardiner (2004, 2006). Gardiner puts forward the idea that the ever known challenge of preventing the consequences of climate change calls each individual to a new set of moral responsibilities, towards 'the others' and towards future generations. This idea is extremely fertile in the context of this study. Landscape planning literature has largely drawn on notions such as 'power and identity' (Boholm and Lofstedt 2004), 'emotion and rationality' (Cass and Walker 2009) up to 'persuasion and engagement' (Haggett 2011) when discussing controversial cases of transition towards renewable energy supply. Only a minority of contributions have bestowed attention on the notion of 'responsibility' and on what this entails for both the moral and the operational aspects of enabling sustainable landscape transitions (e.g., van der Horst 2014).

By continuing the discussion initiated in these contributions, we argue that the individual responsibility, global in nature, of contributing to minimising the effects of climate change, locally 'in action' relates to precise moral obligations for each and all the citizens involved in the process of activating sustainable landscape transitions. Making such obligations explicit during landscape planning processes and devising evaluative instruments through which positioning the 'situated values' substantiating the arguments of opposition to renewables in the perspective of our moral responsibilities as global citizens are, we propose two important theoretical advances to pursue. To substantiate our arguments we will refer to some representative cases, already documented in literature, and to the yet unpublished results of an investigation led in the Dutch region of Drenthe. This latter investigation documented citizens' willingness to support the transition of their landscape towards sustainable energy landscape. Despite its limited representatives, this case offers important clues for reflecting on the themes of climate, planning, democracy and landscape transition from the ethical perspective taken by this study.

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Bottom-up initiatives

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Re-Thinking Place-Making as Democratic Storytelling: The Case of Zingonia, Italy

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Keywords: Participation; urban redevelopment; storytelling; action-research; resilience

Stories, environmental change and place making

Telling stories is indispensable to the human experience. Whether consciously or not, individuals construct stories to affirm their identities and maintain resilience in times of crisis (Korpela, et al. 2001). Communities also rely on public narratives to underscore their social imageability – discursive representations of their social identities (Stokols & Shumaker, 1981). These stories are usually written by those who hold (top-down) power but there is growing evidence of communities seeking to re-write and co-write their own (Horrihan, 2014).

Stories are also vital to environmental planning. Leonie Sandercock writes ‘in order to imagine the ultimately unrepresentable space, life and languages of the city, to make them legible, we translate them into narratives. The way we narrate the city becomes constitutive of urban reality, affecting the choices we make, the ways we then might act’ (2003, p. 12). Many landscape architects envision their work as three-dimensional storytelling aimed at fostering uplifting experiences, identity, attachment, and long-term stewardship and resilience (Goldstein, et al. 2014). Storytelling can help us gain a deeper understanding of the people–place relationship and reveal the presence of identity-structuring places in the lives of individuals and communities (Ruggeri & Kot 2005; Hester 2006). In moments of struggle or crisis, democratically-authored, compelling stories can be shared, prompting changes in behaviour, values and beliefs (Ganz, 2011).

The Modernist legacy to contemporary design and planning

In the environmental design fields, Modernist understandings of cities as ‘machines’ for the provision of housing, employment, food, recreation and transportation dominated twentieth century urban development (Le Corbusier, 1964). In contrast to the nineteenth century city, which was often described as crowded, inefficient and unliveable, Modernist planners proposed that urban life should be organised into self-contained units of towers embedded in a pastoral, undifferentiated and unproductive park-like landscape where manicured lawns and patches of highly-maintained gardens would afford residents opportunities for leisure and relaxation (Trancik, 1986).

By the early 1980s, a growing number of architectural critics, designers, planners, journalists, community

activists and politicians began to question the viability of functionalist city planning. Post-Modern preoccupation with dwelling, place, meaning and the phenomenology of human experience began to shift planning discourse away from *housing* to *home* (Rapoport, 1982; Bachelard, 1994). Housing developments like the Pruitt-Igoe in Saint Louis or Amsterdam’s Bijlmermeer, which by then had begun to show signs of grave and inexorable decline, were to become paradigmatic examples of a failure on the part of Modernist planners to address more than just housing, but also the need for identity, diversity and community (Wolfe, 1983; Fishman, 2004).

Nowadays, the Modernist legacy continues to challenge designers and planners, calling for new approaches to the redevelopment of Modernist neighbourhoods into socially rich, economically affordable, spatially diverse, experientially rich, cherished places (Aalbers, 2011). Sustainable urban design may have the solution to some of the problems, but in order to achieve long-term resilience, designers and planners must also address issues of citizenship, participation, community and democracy (Hester, 2006). Architects, landscape architects and urban designers have a critical role to play, and long-term success and resilience of their work requires a new ability to author stories to be shared and passed on from generation to generation.

Researching storytelling in urban design: Zingonia’s case study

How can stories be employed in the community development process in order to better understand, analyse, plan and act for the requalification of Modernist housing and New Towns? This presentation addresses this question through a critical case study investigation of Zingonia, a 1960s master-planned community in Northern Italy. It argues that the challenges this New Town is facing may have their roots in the inability to turn a top-down vision into a story shared by local institutions, government officials and residents.

Storytelling was crucial in establishing Zingonia as a living symbol of progress and modernity. From its inception, the community boasted an international reputation as Italy’s response to Brazilia. Shortly after construction, the original narrative began to crumble, as the high-rise apartment towers began to show signs of degradation, abandonment and lawlessness. Without access to basic services like water, electricity

or any basic maintenance, inhabitants began to flee, replaced by a large contingent of immigrant families from Senegal, Pakistan, and China. A new, powerful story had been authored, which would eventually erase any memory of the original enthusiasm for the construction of a New Town and replace it with a new identity as a troubled, conflict-ridden community.

The year 2009 marked a turning point for this troubled community. A series of interrelated events were influential in initiating a shift in the storyline from decline to re-birth. The first coincided with the approval of a 'neighbourhood contract' – a project seeking to engage residents, volunteers, and public and private partners in co-authoring a new chapter in Zingonia's story through a series of strategic interventions involving sustainable urban design, the upgrade of its housing stock, and community-building and organising processes. The second was the launch of a bi-annual urban design workshop charged with the implementation of a new vision for three districts along Corso Europa, Zingonia's main street. The 2010 workshop proposals were folded into the 2011 master-planning effort led by a regional planning governmental agency funded by Regione Lombardia. Such a master plan formed the basis for a participant action research process entitled Zingonia 3.0, a three-year long effort in community and identity-building, education, urban farming, strategic planning and landscape urbanism.

The Zingonia 3.0 project involved a variegated group of partners – among them politicians, ordinary citizens, high school students and volunteers – in a rich menu of community participation efforts aimed at shifting the core story from decline to re-birth. Zingonia 3.0 has effected change by co-authoring a new vision, which involved a range of actions across scales and landscapes. The project has not limited itself to physical change. It has taken on the challenging task of renewing the community's social landscape by seeding opportunities for sustainable change in individuals, families, schools, apartment communities and the whole citizenry.

It is often difficult to quantify in univocal terms the effects of action research processes due to their evolving nature. Nonetheless, tangible indicators of success were registered.

Since its inception, local and national press has consistently depicted Zingonia as a place of decline and abandonment. The processes initiated by Zingonia 3.0 has helped shift the paradigm, resulting in more than 50 positive reports by local media, journals and magazines¹. In order to evaluate the quality and strength of the communities of practice generated, project partners used social network analysis to map the density of linkages and connections resulting from the practices the project put into being. This density – a value

that could range between 0 and 1 – reached a value of 1 for the communities of practice and 0.25 for the entire network of social linkages, thus balancing bonding and bridging forms of social capital. Finally, through mapping, it became possible to quantify the total number of people affected by the project: 1,200 persons, comprising 28% of the residents.

Conclusion: Zingonia as a critical story of resilience
Zingonia stands as a particularly relevant example for the investigation of a narrative-based approach to urban and landscape design and the challenges related to translating a narrative into action. Zingonia's story also raises important issues that are central to landscape democracy, environmental justice, and resilience, including bottom-up participatory decision making, civic engagement, empowerment and stories as a source of rich data from a community.

Stories thus teach how to manage our emotions when challenged – how to be courageous, keep our cool, and trust our imagination – rather than the specific tactics to use in any one case.

(Ganz, 2011, p. 282)

If we believe that stories have the power to shape attitudes and behaviours and affect individuals' value systems to the extent that they are prompted to action, the telling and re-telling of Zingonia's story can inform designers and planners about the importance of turning their visions into shared stories. Zingonia's story can offer hope to many communities who may be struggling to envision positive change, and prompt them to co-author a new story of bright futures ahead.

Notes

¹ This represents a 100% growth compared with pre-2010 times.

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Bottom-up Process in Marinaleda, Spain: Houses, Public Spaces and Landscape as Spatial Materialisation of Democracy

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Keywords: Landscape democracy; bottom-up processes; right to land; self-construction; Marinaleda

Marinaleda is a small town in Andalusia, Spain, with a population of 2,700 people. Until the 1980s it was an agricultural economy, based mainly on olive cultivation, which meant that most of the population was employed for only two months a year. In 2013, in the middle of an economic crisis, its unemployment rate was 7%. This is possible because its citizens have implemented a bottom-up process, the result of a search for just distribution of resources. The project has evolved, adding more social and cultural aspects and maximising citizens' participation in decision-making.

Marinaleda is an interesting case study of the spatial materialisation of real democracy. The slogan displayed on the village coat of arms is 'utopia towards peace', understanding peace not only as a lack of violence, but also as a practice of justice. Critical theorist Nancy Fraser (2008) proposed three scales of justice: distribution of resources, recognition of individual rights and political representation. This paper examines how these three aspects have been implemented in the village and how they have influenced Marinaleda's habitat, defining the private space (house), the public space (street and square) and the landscape (town and agrarian).

Distribution of resources

The fair distribution of resources is an endemic problem in Andalusia. Traditionally, land belongs to a few large landowners, who benefit from public funds and prefer to grow olives (which do not require many workers) or not to cultivate the land at all. Therefore, Marinaleda's people decided to protest and occupy a wasteland near the town, under the slogan of 'land to the tiller'. After several years of struggle, the owner and the government let them cultivate the land. Marinaleda's people created an agricultural cooperative and began to plant produce that requires workers during all seasons. After a few years, they built two factories, one for preserving vegetables and another for oil manufacture. All profits were reinvested and all workers earned the same salary, including the municipal workers who were elected in a citizens' assembly. Thus, Marinaleda's people have achieved an economic democracy. This resulted in a reduction of unemployment and, for many families, a way out of poverty. Nowadays in Andalusia there are other examples of occupied and conceded lands being cultivated, and others that are being claimed and still occupied.

Recognition of individual rights

As well as political and economic, democracy must also be social and cultural – the collective wellbeing of all inhabitants. Marinaleda's people think that collective wellbeing has no limits. For this reason, they have established public services and facilities including a secondary school, a professional training institute, a kindergarten, a municipal swimming pool, sports facilities, care of the elderly, a cultural centre, retirement homes, and so on. While in the rest of Spain social services are being severely cut, Marinaleda continues to extend the coverage.

Political representation

Redistribution of resources and social recognition (economic and cultural justice) are not enough by themselves. The third dimension of justice suggested by Fraser (2008) is political, understood as representation, which is the strong point of Marinaleda. The first step was creating a political party to participate in the first democratic municipal elections in Spain (1979), which won and has been governing from that time until now. But this council is only an administrative tool, because all the decisions are made by citizens' assemblies, which are held in public spaces and open to everyone. They have participatory budgeting, neighbourhood and town assemblies, community works and so on, in a participatory atmosphere. This is a truly bottom-up political process. By doing this, the people of Marinaleda played an important role in the protests of the 15-M anti-austerity movement (2011–now) and the 22-M 'marches for dignity' in Madrid in 2014.



Figure 1: Latest in self-built houses in Marinaleda

All these aspects (economic, social-cultural and political) of the bottom-up process taking place in Marinaleda have a direct impact on both private and public space, and on the landscape, in all different scales of habitat. Marinaleda's people recognise that housing is a basic human right, not a mere commodity to be bought and sold. There is a municipal programme of self-built social housing in which 350 houses have been built without raising a mortgage, representing 90% of new houses in the town (Domínguez Jaime, 2009). In the 1980s, the council bought all the agricultural and empty land near the town and allocated it for new buildings. Because of this, there is no property speculation in the town and the council can build public facilities and houses. But the housing development is also a bottom-up process, in which the council is the coordinator and the decisions are made by assemblies composed of the people who will live in those houses. The future inhabitants built the houses themselves with the help of specialist workers, technicians and architects.

The public space between the self-constructed houses is always designed as a meeting point for the neighbourhood, a high-quality pedestrian space with trees. The main street is full of big trees, which were chosen by the citizens in the 1980s. This is a very important feature in a hot, sunny place like Andalusia, but this does not happen in all the towns. The large trees with their shade create a microclimate, which is the first thing you sense when arriving in Marinaleda. Part of the municipal lands is intended as a big park that surrounds the north of the town, connecting the old centre with the new houses. This public space and the use of



Figure 2: An example of the quality of public space in Marinaleda

green areas and trees are a reflection of the citizens' care for their town. There is also an art street – an expression of citizens' political thinking and their struggles.

All these actions have an important impact on the landscape, on its inhabitants and also on visitors. In the middle of an olive grove sea, a yellow and dried land, there is a town that emerges as a green place that reflects prosperity. The use of land for cultivating species other than the traditional olive has radically modified the agrarian landscape of the area.



Figure 3: These trees define the main street of Marinaleda

Marinaleda represents the evolution of a project that began with redistribution of resources, to recognition and respect, and then to citizens' involvement in political decision-making. Therefore, it covers the three scales of justice described by Fraser (2008), understanding these scales as the basis for a real democratic society. Although it was not one of the initial aims, the citizens have transformed the town and its landscape through a real democratic process, representing a tangible expression of their society. Citizens stopped being merely users and became definers of their own habitat at all scales. Thus the third dimension of justice, the authentic political representation, is the one that guarantees democracy of the landscape. It materialises directly in the habitat of Marinaleda: in the housing, the public space, the town and the agrarian landscape.

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Urban LACE: Infrastructures of Abundance in Urban Brazil

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Keywords: Green infrastructure; urban agriculture; landscape literacy; bottom-up spatial planning; Brazil

Landscape architects are designers whose preoccupation has traditionally been spatial transformation and problem solving. The profession brings together aspects of urbanism, planning, and an understanding of agricultural and ecological processes. The landscape architect gathers the needs of stakeholders, the knowledge of experts and the critical parameters of a project into a coherent spatial vision. The profession of landscape architecture currently operates in a context of global economic upheavals and shifting budgetary resources for urban and rural development. As a function of economic and social pressures, there has been a resurgence of social movements and interest in bottom-up design processes in spatial and design culture. The role of the landscape architect faces a sea change from spatial designer to interdisciplinary initiator and mediator of complex projects involving the public, the government, technicians, workers, and the intersecting interventions of experts.

This paper sets out to explore the agency of landscape practices on several levels. Over the course of the last two years, the urban LACE project has explored the potential of agroforestry to create a new type of infrastructure in rapidly developing urban areas in Porto Alegre, the capital of the state of Rio Grande do Sul at the southern tip of Brazil. The LACE acronym stands for Local Agroforestry Collective Engagement. This strategy proposes adding a network of different scales and typologies of urban agriculture to the city as a way to create economic opportunities, new social networks, new educational experiences, new modes of recreation, multifunctional use of public space, and an additional urban food network.

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 change. These overlapping frameworks are informed, and perhaps even defined by, the emergent field of landscape democracy.

Settled by waves of European immigration in the 19th and 20th centuries, Porto Alegre is undergoing processes of rapid expansion alongside faltering infrastructure and systemic corruption. The economic boom of

recent years has created vast amounts of new wealth and a steadily growing and empowered middle class. Concurrent with growing wealth and the availability of high caloric industrialised foods, obesity is on the rise. Meanwhile poverty and malnutrition remain endemic to urban areas. The resulting situation is complex. It demands change on all levels: political, educational, and infrastructural.

The project proposes colonising public parks, private land, public land, urban fringe spaces and fallow land with indigenous food bearing tree species from the Atlantic temperate rainforest ecosystem (Figure 1). The trees will be planted as orchards for intensive production, or in multi-species associations mimicking a natural forest. There will be hundreds of fruit bearing and medicinal species in this region which will all be part of the living cultural heritage of Brazil. The process of building a network of productive urban agroforestry begins with looking into traditional and nascent practices in the area, from farmer's markets and the agroecology movement to guerrilla gardening and a growing interest in urban agriculture. Based on the actions, interests, and needs of stakeholders in the city, the project augments these actions into a large-scale urban network.

The goal of the project is to manifest a clear and feasible, albeit utopian, vision of future landscape infrastructure in a Brazilian city as a point of departure for future discussion and action. The illustrations and concepts of the proposal function as boundary objects or '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 & Griesemer, 1989).

The design visualisation process of Urban LACE asks if a new landscape infrastructure can be added to the city. In order to do so, many assemblages and alliances of stakeholders could potentially take place in the spectrum between bottom-up and top-down processes. Different scenarios are illustrated along this continuum, from individual actions multiplied into closely-knit neighbourhood alliances to city-wide transformation of public spaces initiated by the mayor's office, changing the identity of the city.

The practice of landscape architecture is a dance. One foot is firmly planted in the world of research and the other in practice. These feet switch places; theories must be tested in practice and, after experiences in the field, a time of reflection is necessary in order to create new theories. This project is an attempt to embody design as research and research as design within both the spatial and social realms.

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Figure 1: LACE network



Figure 2: Community food park

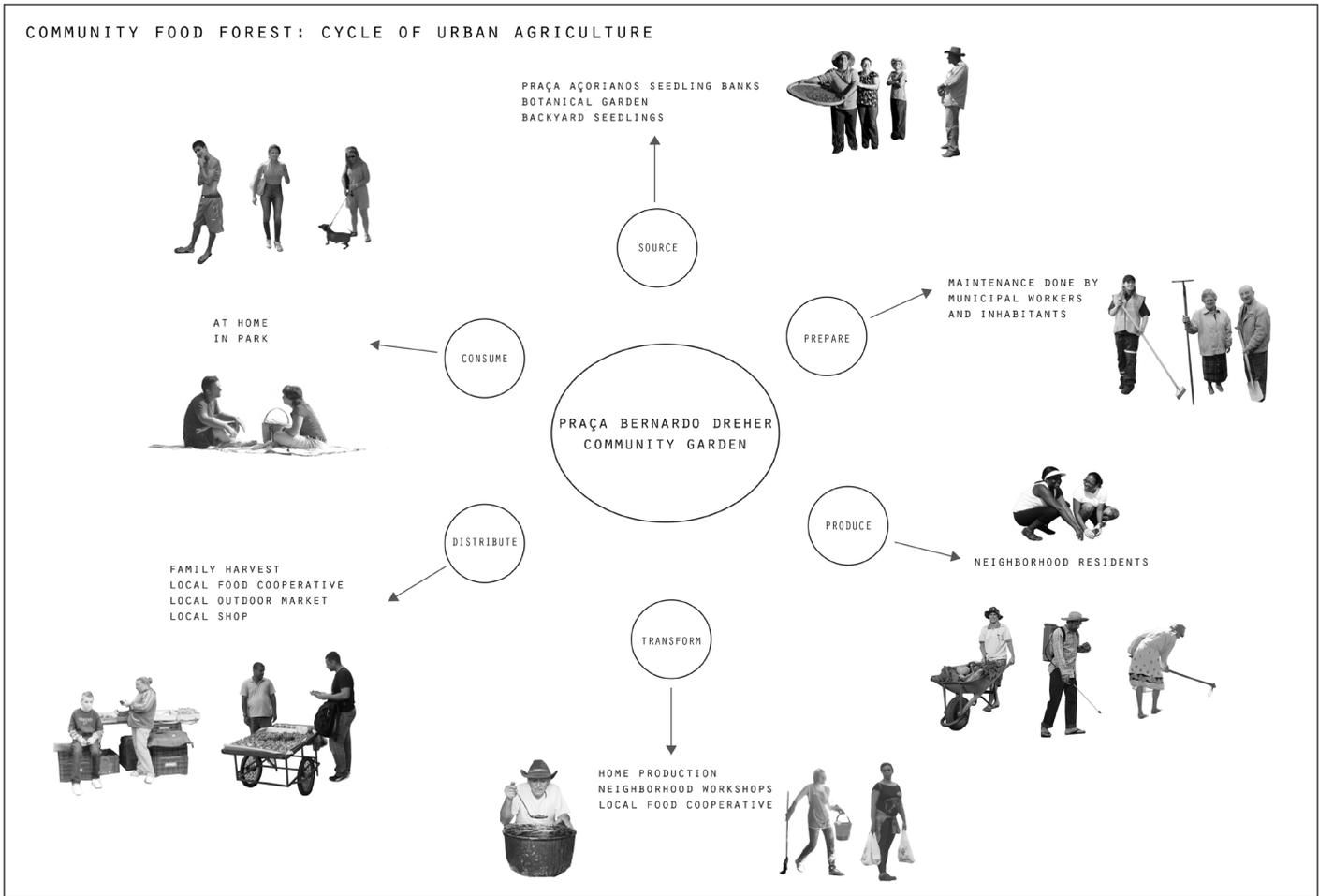


Figure 3: Cycle of Urban Agriculture

Cultural Policy: Top-Down and Bottom-Up Initiatives in Greek Cities of Crisis. The Case of Urban Agriculture

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Keywords: Activism and spatial occupation; bottom-up processes; global trends; public participation; spatial justice

A broad anthropological approach to culture is that it enhances shared and social activity and contributes to creating communality and forming society. The main functions of culture are: to socialise, to empower and emancipate people, to create discussion and dialogue, to qualify, to subjectify, to lead from singular to collective and to play an essential role in the dynamics of contemporary democratic societies (Stichele, 2014). As far as the term 'cultural policy' is concerned, it stands as an essential public commitment in realising fundamental preconditions for the existence of civil society and socio-economic pluralism. The main body of cultural policy at national, regional and local level is the State. Yet there are other public and not-for-profit bodies of cultural policy such as museums, universities, even health services and private sector corporations, which unconsciously influence forms of culture (Matarasso, 2010). In addition, creative industries, like advertising, architecture, art, the antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software, television and radio form a domain in public policy for culture (Schlesinger, 2009).

Contemporary urban structures are affected by cultural policy through a range of transformations taking place within urban landscapes. Gentrification, which is linked to the existence of economic funds and political power, could be perceived as a cultural phenomenon which breeds changes in the urban environment, excluding residents from spontaneous interventions in their neighborhood, from decision-making processes. A possible reason for the need to gentrify particular urban regions is the city's constant expansion, an urban procedure that results in the transposition of most economic, social and cultural aspects of urban life to new territories at the outskirts of the city. What is left are urban voids, unexploited remnants of past urban processes which are missing usage and identity (Tsoukala, 2009)

This research aims to examine possible tendencies in forming urban cultural landscapes and how these deriving open spaces are linked or directed by current cultural policies of particular public or private bodies. The examination focuses on the dipole of top-down processes and bottom-up initiatives and their role in creating new cultural structures and in influencing

existing social organisations. The research focuses on Greek cities and two case studies are examined. One is a top-down example concerning the open space formed around 'Stavros Niarchos Foundation Cultural Centre', which is under construction. This example is examined under the prism of similar open public spaces that are configured around historical monuments or cultural buildings, like operas and theatres, acting as magnets for public life (Hauksdottir, 2012). The other case study is the trend of urban agriculture, as a bottom-up initiative that generates socio-economic and cultural transformation, proposing new lifestyles and social environments. The concept of urban agriculture could be developed and operate not only as introducing the primary sector in the city ('city as a resource'), but also as a generator for socio-economic and cultural transformation, proposing new lifestyles and social environments that envision a new perception of urban life (Fáczányi, 2013). The examined case studies are examples from several Greek cities: Athens, Parking Park, Thessaloniki, Municipality of Therm, Alexandroupoli, Volos and Larissa. These examples are examined as attempts at economic, ecological and cultural renewal in urban landscapes, contributing at the same time to landscapes' management and design of productive and sustainable green spaces in the city core.

Furthermore, the research proposes that a network of urban agricultural spots in particular neighborhoods could provide the city with a new layer of cultural urban landscape, providing a strong identity to the impersonal and chaotic city of today, enhancing the democratic sense of public territories. Lack of private investment in Greek cities motivates an alternative function other than parks, public gardens or planned green spaces in general. The constant need to maintain public spaces affects the economic aspect of landscape management leading to more sustainable planning options like urban agriculture and bottom-up initiatives. The scope of the research is to examine the role of urban agriculture in the current economic conditions, along with the social and cultural impacts that this new cluster of urban common gardening establishes in the city.

Besides, urban agriculture could contribute to a more democratic perception of the urban landscape, since it is perceived as a common ground where people gather together, interact with each other and produce their

food. People could be given the opportunity to cultivate their land, to re-occupy and re-claim public land and their physical position in their neighborhoods. Users of public, green and sustainable spaces could come together, exchange ideas and even products, organise bazaars and markets, be involved in planning the space and experience the urban landscape through an extended point of view. These initiatives of common cultivations are enforced due to the current economic situation, unemployment and social exclusion. Users of common gardens are supposed to organise themselves in order to form a new typology of public space and even a self-sufficient community in the urban context, a 'village' in the city. Arising cores of natural resource could enable people working with nature to acquire self-sufficiency, create social networks and build up their lost identity, in a collective, democratic sense (Barthel, Colding, & Folke, 2010).

To conclude, urban landscape management is a key factor of current cultural policy, which forms a domain of decision-making, enabling people to imagine, negotiate and develop democratic societies. Cultural and democratic aspects of urban lifestyles are linked to public open spaces and to cultural buildings, since both create or influence different layers of urban cultural landscapes. Greek cities are lacking identity as a result of both urban lifestyles and inappropriate decisions affecting the design and management of the urban environment. Apart from that, the current crisis poses the question of management and planning along with the cost of maintaining urban free spaces. The concept of urban agriculture could provide solutions, as people take over the public land and contribute to its sustainability. In the long run, urban agriculture appears to have a dual mode in the upcoming urban landscape, affecting most urban operations.

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Operative Workshops for Collective Landscapes

Sergio Sanna and Roberto Zancan

Independent

Keywords: Activism; spatial occupation; bottom-up processes; community involvement; education and pedagogy; empowerment

If you think in terms of a year, plant a seed; if in terms of ten years, plant trees; if in terms of 100 years, teach the people.

Confucius (in Huang, 1997)

Recently, a big amount of exhibitions, books and magazines have focused on presenting a large variety of projects that involve a new category of subjects, such as locals and associations, in the design process. These works often show new possibilities in terms of alternative approaches, unusual materials and innovative typologies. According to Pierluigi Nicolin:

For the moment this new dynamism is finding its main fields of action in rural or suburban zones, in poor areas and above all in certain countries: in the Far East, Africa and Latin America ... An extreme case is the new relationship that architects are trying to establish with marginal settlements, like the favelas, which used to be seen, or rather not seen, merely as problematic areas in which the emphasis was placed on the absence of rules, the poverty, the anarchy and the lack of conveniences and services. The recent shift in the approach to these realities is centred on the recognition that these areas are the source of new experiences, including aesthetic ones, as well as offering lessons and even prompting reflections on theories of settlement, and on the discovery that they provide an opportunity to enter into completely new agreements that are the fruit of an encounter between the population and the agents of the interventions.

(Nicolin, 2011)

At the same time, schools and universities are questioning their teaching programs, trying to respond to students' needs and expectations in the labour market (see *Domus* 964, December 2012; *Domus* 972, September 2013; *Domus* 975, December 2013, for more details). Both academic and professional fields are expressing a strong interest in how the world is changing, and consequently they are trying to find new solutions they can offer as well as new spaces in which they can work.

Despite all these case studies being collected and analysed, it seems they are but few examples in the vast catalogue of architecture, sometimes considered exotic anecdotes when compared with more formal and traditional projects. Thus, we could sum up that these spontaneous attempts on one hand represent the effort

of architects, offices and firms trying to find their own business space, and on the other hand, some kind of increasing social association occupying empty territories (physical and not) and self-organising public activities.

Meanwhile, at the political level, institutions and public authorities are including more and more landscape values in their strategies, such as rules, conventions and participation processes. They seem to accept suggestions and pressure from the bottom, although sometimes these choices are orientated to protect and preserve heritage rather than provide instrument to design.

Some questions arise: are new policies able to satisfy all these democratic instances? Do they have tools, energy and financial resources to achieve this goal? Is it right to let any kind of social subject make transformation on public spaces? Is it not a kind of 'let them get their own justice'? Should we consider this global movement just a new way to enrich the project with democratic values and contents or should we think about a new relationship between clients, designers and public administrations? In other words, if we assume that the project is a product, we should consider the possibility to completely change the idea about the production processes of the project.

When Emilio Ambasz presented the exhibition *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape* at MoMA in 1972, he talked about the residential environment and industrial design. When he stated 'we consider the design not only as a product but as an exercise of the creative and critical imagination' (Ambasz, 1997) he meant that product and production processes could offer a critical point of view on society. Nowadays, even landscape design is part of the system: too often, designers produce landscape projects to justify political decisions, to serve private construction companies' investments and to shape commonly accepted social behaviours. Landscape is too often used as a tool to enable the first step in 'gentrification'.

In contrast, we discuss the existence of a rising reality in the world of landscape design, in particular in the area of public and open spaces, which seems to be influenced by the urgency of 'instant change'. We argue that if we do not find a way to provide transformations quickly, through using less economic resources, the

slow processes typical of architectural development will delay consensus even more.

Ecology is not a category, but rather it is a process. Landscape is not a discipline, it is a field. Infrastructure does not belong to engineers. Urbanization is not an ideology nor a doctrine, it is a gradient

Pierre Bélange (2012)

The above statement suggests a more open idea about landscape architecture's role: it is not to lead the protest movements, but to involve the public in the transformation of the everyday use of spaces. Landscape architecture should be able to create the common area in which everyone could share knowledge and technologies.



Figure 1: Several groups of students are performing different actions at the same time, using specific tools and materials. Giardini in campo, Favara, Italy, 2013.

We claim the right to enjoy landscape making, to have fun doing it, to break the continuity between offices' design and companies' construction practices, by design making and producing the project by ourselves. Therefore, we concluded that landscape architects should improve their activity by changing from being designers to act as 'makers'.

After several experimentations, we finally focused our research on the operative workshop as a mighty tool to directly produce spatial transformations. This approach strongly combines the teaching/learning experience based on the horizontal exchange with social activism. It uses the 'learning by doing' methodology to come to an effective result fast by making 'actions'. The actions should be experimental, believe in field trials, use the 'do it yourself' approach, realise the project in collaboration with external people, go beyond the rules, overcome the standards. Their results should be vague, undefined, contingent, able to be adapted depending on conditions and based on process.

In the first example, the 'Giardini in campo' association (<http://www.giardinincampo.com>) is used to assist a large team of students in building what they previously have designed in a regular studio, this time concerning an actual case. The final realisation is usually developed as the result of a synthesis of the best student projects, and response to a real need of a community.



Figure2: In this large researching atelier, on site and open air, participants act concretely in places of greatest cultural and natural value. In the picture, the team, led by Ferdinand Ludwig (Baubotanik, Stuttgart), realises the site-specific installation without any tool. Landworks Sardinia, Geo Mineral Park of Montevecchio, Italy, 2012.

However, if these 'actions' are to have a concrete impact on the shaping of our landscape, they must go beyond 'guerrilla gardens' and be feasible on a large scale. This is, in the second case, what LandWorks Sardinia (<http://www.landworks-sardinia.eu>) is managing to do with its collective land-architecture workshops on UNESCO sites and the geological, historical and environmental parks in Sardinia. Their hands-on workshop is inspired by temporary garden festivals, but with a perspective and on a scale never developed before. In huge areas, international landscape designers, students, researchers, locals and others, set up site-specific installations, taking advantage of natural materials as well as abandoned machineries on the sites.



Figure 3: The restoration of the closed landfill was originally developed as nothing else than an engineering project. But looking at the after use, a more sapient management of the resources during the construction is now leading to the design for a urban park. Ex Fosse Tomasi, Conegliano, Italy, 2015.

Aside from these avant-garde operations, the works that actually aspire to alter our living conditions are those that exploit the actions of major land transformers, who in their various ways exercise decision-making and economic power. This third class of 'action' works by implementing a sort of 'parasite attitude': it improves a space transformation during the construction stage of some regular projects (such as those promoted by the land-improvement consortiums responsible for the management of water, forestry institutions for the preservation and maintenance of wooded areas, agrarian authorities and local councils), using the available resources, lightly modifying the design in accordance with the law, guiding silently these unconscious transformations of the landscape.

Today these works are becoming crucial precisely due to their invisibility. As praxis, they excite and satisfy mainly those who implement them. But they also bring concrete advantages to the beings that inhabit the territories in which they are situated. By no means modest, they do not ask for recognition, but aspire to become examples to others.

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Landscape Democracy of Everyday Spaces in Medellín's Popular Settlements

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Keywords: Informal settlements; upgrading; everyday landscapes; Medellín; participatory planning

Democracy in the planning and design of landscapes has been a central concern in related disciplines since the 1970s. This has put democratic (i.e. transparent, communicative and inclusionary) processes of planning and design at the centre of community development ideas. The emergence of public space as a policy field for urban improvement together with increasing privatisation of public space has led to a resurgence of the ideal of public space as the material basis for free debate among citizens. Public space can therefore be tied to procedural as well as substantive aspects of justice. To expand these views by introducing the aspect of recognition (Fraser, 2000) into the justice debate, this paper focuses on a comprehensive notion of landscape which goes beyond urban public space's welfare and political function and instead argues that the multiple functions landscapes possess be seen as relational, socially meaningful and processual places. To this end, it engages the perspective of the everyday (De Certeau, 2008). For Lefebvre, the everyday holds the potential of change as well as the perpetuation of existing structures (Lefebvre, 1987). Appreciating the transformative potential in everyday practices awards agency to individuals and thus supports the recognition that the ordinary activities of the everyday are actually political and can be used to analyse issues concerning the social construction of space and related power imbalances.

This paper develops these ideas in the context of research on current municipal upgrading initiatives of popular (informal) settlements in Medellín, Colombia. The approach adopted by the municipality of Medellín has gained special attention and recognition and can be seen as an exemplar of a 'new generation' (Riley et al., 2001) of municipal initiatives to upgrade popular settlements, which put focus on the physical improvements of these settlements based on the idea that these would trigger socio-economic upgrade as well. An important goal lies in establishing both inclusionary politics and infrastructure, which increase accessibility of urban resources for people in popular neighbourhoods. In doing so, it focuses on the provision of infrastructural and recreational public spaces to improve connection and integration with the city as a whole and its urban lifestyle.

This research offers an evaluation of the upgrading programme based on questions of whether and how it supports people's material and emotional livelihoods. It uses multiple qualitative data obtained during se-

ven months of fieldwork, such as semi-structured interviews, landscape uses determined in guided walk-throughs and inhabitants' mental maps. It analyses this data in a comparative reading of people's use of all open spaces in the district and the uses offered by the newly established open spaces through the municipal initiative. The findings show that people engage in a variety of landscape practices in the interstitial spaces of their neighbourhoods, which encompass productive practices such as small animal husbandry, small-scale food production, growing medicinal and ornamental plants, and also recreational activities.

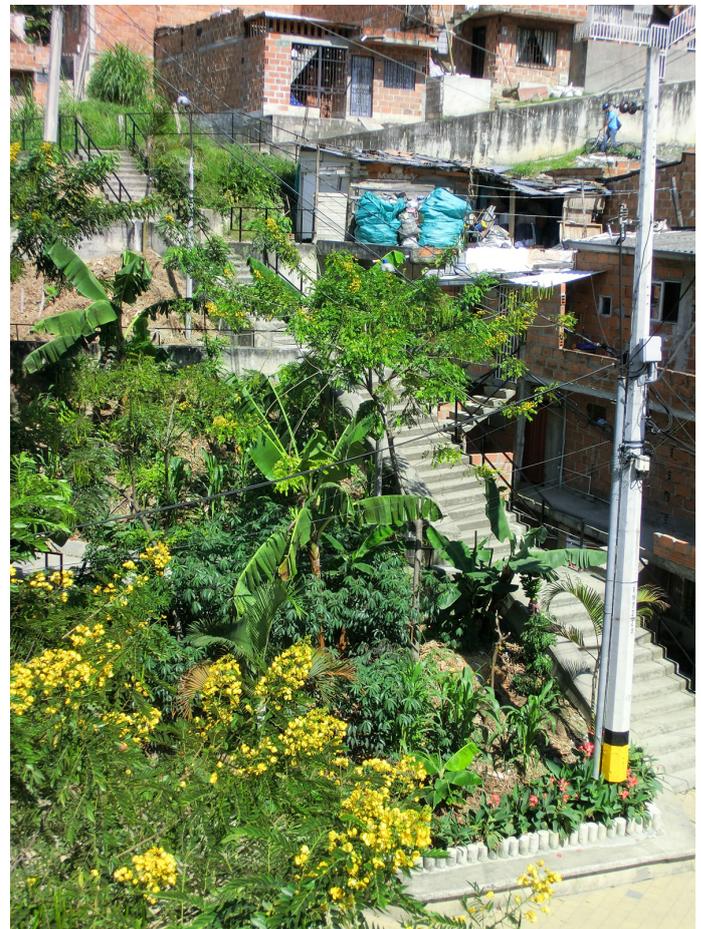


Figure 1

We can see that landscape is highly valued both as a defining feature of the surroundings and also for its potential to encompass uses that combine productivity and recreation, reproductive work and contemplation. This challenges the initiative's focus on new types of public spaces with a clearly defined set of 'urban' functions. The interstitial and leftover spaces which form the landscape reservoir of the popular settlement,



Figure 2

should not be neglected. Rather they should be perceived as supporting urban landscapes (Speak, 2014). These spaces are the spatial backdrop for people's livelihood strategies, and also a link to their origins and part of their collective memory and identity. Furthermore, these leftover spaces offer possibilities for the development of alternative ways of community organisation and rights to landscape. By acting as commons that are defined through customary uses rather than legalised property rights (Olwig, 2009) they offer spaces of autonomy and community, which are activated through processes of negotiation and self-management. Such an understanding fosters a notion of landscape in which programmed and un-programmed sites feed into each other to create a meaningful landscape based on its existential character. The findings suggest that the material upgrading of the popular settlement has indeed improved accessibility and recreational options, but has neglected to offer recognition of the multitude of values connected to open space use and of how the settlements' inhabitants have contributed to the production of a diverse urban space and culture.

Regarding democracy in landscape, based on my research I would argue that the above-mentioned understanding of everyday landscape implies that participation should not only be perceived in the sense of taking part in a structured legal procedure, but also as taking part in the action on, and interaction with, the surroundings. In this way inhabitants are formative of a diversity of material landscapes as well as of landscape discourse about ideas and values, uses, resources and accessibility that contain seeds of emancipatory acts, which reject the logic of one-dimensional spaces and develop counter-practices from the multi-dimensionality that is an inherent part of everyday life.



Figure 3

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Heritage, History and Culture

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Social, Green, and Democratic? What Can We Learn from the 1960s, Revisited in Vienna's Donaupark

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Keywords: Social green; park design; public space; Donaupark; Vienna

Public space is a topic widely discussed by various disciplines. For this paper, we will not explicate the idea of publicness but examine the spatial condition of public space in relation to social ideas. We look at the relation between political intention and designed landscape using as an example the post-war modernist Donaupark, a public Viennese park with a strong socialist impetus and the maxim of “social green” (Krippner, Lička & Nussbaumer, 2014): How was this idea put into practice and how has its effect evolved until today?

To confine the category of open space, we refer to Peter Marcuse's definition of ‘publicly accessible spaces’ as spaces whose design is neither physically and culturally exclusive, nor health threatening (Marcuse, 2003). This approach allows for a focus on the actual condition of the designed space, rather than on the power over the place inherent and reflected in its actual ownership. Accessibility of place is certainly the main requirement for people to meet, exchange and express political interests, thus actively taking part in societal decisions, as supported by Hannah Arendt in *The Human Condition* (1958), which in its German version is headed *Vita Activa* (1967/2007), hinting more directly at the active role of citizens. Thus, the first and foremost necessary properties of spaces to actively demonstrate democracy are their mere existence, their openness, size and accessibility to provide venues for gatherings, exchange and demonstrations. This leaves a question still to be answered: Can the design of open spaces support democratic structures in general? In order to examine this relation for Donaupark, we compare the political intentions with the outcome; we analyse programmatic documents of the time, the park's design, its development and its contemporary uses in order to check their conformance.

There have been numerous authors and landscape architects who appeal to, plan and design for everyone since the realisation of the first public park in Birkenhead by John Paxton in 1846. Politicians and designers alike seemingly intend to improve the living conditions and recreational options for the city dwellers, above all, the underprivileged. However, when looking at reality we can rightly doubt that these design intentions create public spaces that are *per se* democratic. If there is a connection between the layout of public spaces and the societal circumstances they represent, it is subtle and ambiguous and fully understandable only within their

context. Galen Cranz (1982) reveals that parks are the built result of the ideology underlying the brief and the design thus giving evidence of the (political) attitude of the people involved in their making. She unravels the contradiction between social and democratic intention as follows: ‘The early park movement was manned by the same gentlemen-idealists as other reform movements. ... They thought of themselves as guardians of the highest cultural ideals, not necessarily as guardians of the people; because they were protecting the best of the culture, they took it for granted that they ultimately had the interest of the common man at heart’ (Cranz, 1982, p. 159).

A very strong political program by the socialist government of the time forms the basis of the example of Donaupark in Vienna. Through the means of an ambitious international garden show, the City of Vienna created the largest park to be built in the post-war period, with an area of 80 hectares. The political intention was not only to improve the living conditions for the Viennese, but to even create better, ‘healthy, strong and beautiful people’, as mayor Franz Jonas put it in the handwritten preamble to the booklet entitled *Soziales Grün* [social green] (Jonas, 1963). In the documents published by the city council and in the development plans for the city, as well as the inaugural address for the garden exhibition, planners, local politicians and even the president of Austria expressed the goal to satisfy people's need to relax and recover from their labour and to create a sound environment (cf. inter alia Heller 1963; Lička & Krippner, 2011; Rainer, 1962). This endeavour can be interpreted as the willingness for a new beginning after the dark era of fascism and war, heading towards a better cosmopolitan, democratic future with free and happy people consuming a growing amount of leisure time for their pure pleasures. Following the Vienna International Garden Exhibition, the public park was opened on its moderately modernist layout offering a large central lawn for play, recreation and leisure as well as an artificial lake, groves, shrubberies, playgrounds and some elements of the show itself such as a light railway and the Donauturm, a lookout tower 252 metres tall with a revolving restaurant on top.

After the event, the city council continued to provide an entertainment programme with shows and concerts in the park, which was thereafter used to demonstrate how well people were looked after and that

socialist (from 1991 to be called social democratic) politics supported the newly gained leisure for everyone. This paternalistic concept of provision of space and programme has shifted over the last fifty years. More self-organised groups have appropriated parts of the park for their own purposes: the exhibition's left over square of the nations has become a table tennis yard, a tarmac square was turned into an open and freely accessible tennis court, outdoor chess is played by a club of mainly elderly men, and self-organised and often intercultural football teams use the spacious lawn regularly as their training field. These appropriations are based on the spatial layout and on equipment, existing or newly claimed, provided by the city council, such as the skate-park. Sporadic manifestations of different political interests have taken place specifically related to features and developments of the park itself: leftists commemorating victims of executions on the site during the Nazi era, rightists destroying a newly placed bust of Che Guevara and secularists demonstrating against the publicly funded restoration of a huge crucifix, which had been placed to commemorate a public service by Pope John Paul II. It stands to reason that the focus of political expression lies on topics concerning the park itself, rather than general politics, given the park's location (remote from the city centre).

In a recent thorough analysis of the correlation between the park's spatial structures, its design features and uses, however, the obvious came to light: the extensiveness of the park, its sections of varying atmospheres and the diversity of equipment and planting allows for a large range of activities, which can be allocated to specific parts of the park (Claus, 2012). We can see a certain pattern, looking at the gender of users, which clearly reflects societal conditions and only slowly changing role models. This, of course, mirrors today's political and societal reality. Thus, unwritten laws and legal regulations for people's behaviour and for political actions are imposed on the park, rather than generated by its design.

Donaupark in its extent and general layout meets Marcuse's criteria for a publicly accessible space. Furthermore its size and openness offers choices for appropriation and represents a potential arena for any kind of personal, collective or political expression. The park's design, based on the ideal of the 1960s social green, provides a place for democratic practice today.

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Landscape Democracy in the Management of World Heritage Cultural Landscapes: Power Relations, Participation and the Concept of 'Adaptive Co-Management'

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Keywords: Landscape governance; landscape Justice; landscape politics; regional development

When 'cultural landscapes of universal value' were implemented by the UNESCO in 1992, this assigned shifts in conservationist science and practice on various levels:

1. Linkages between nature and culture had been recognised a field characterising world heritage, in contrast to formerly strictly separated perspectives on both areas
2. perception on conservation had changed from object-related perspectives to relationships between people and their environments, as expression of certain civilisations and/or cultural traditions, and
3. cooperative approaches incorporating local people and communities in site management had started to replace top-down practices in the implementation of protection issues (Mitchell, et al. 2009).

World heritage landscapes meanwhile have become a 'flagship programme' within the UNESCO's concept of preserving world heritage sites (Rössler, 2006), and particularly numerous so called 'traditional agricultural landscapes' have been nominated in Europe as well as in other parts of the world. Proponents of the World Heritage concept emphasize the new culture of communication and cooperation in governance and management of cultural landscapes.

The aim of this paper is to explore and to discuss the emancipatory potential of the concept of 'World Heritage Cultural Landscapes' and its capabilities for the improvement of democratic structures within processes of governance and management. It is argued that the idea of world heritage cultural landscapes might provide a useful conceptual framework for the implementation of democratic principles in regional governance and – in a further context – for a 'policy of place' (Swaffield & Primdahl, 2010) in rural regions. Forming a starting point for analysis on management of regional landscape resources and property rights, as well as associated power relationships and their changes in time, the landscape concept may form a powerful tool for the promotion of democratic discourse. Issues of landscape governance and management might provide groundwork for democratically organised processes of negotiation on local and regional levels. Therefore, conventional conservationist perspectives on landscapes

as a subject of protection have to be re-considered, and the objectives of democratic involvement in landscape governance and management have to be considered carefully when designing processes. Historically developed social and institutional relationships and their economic and political backgrounds shall be studied in detail and have to be scrutinized critically on their impact on shaping existing power relationships. Otherwise, governance and management of World Heritage Cultural Landscapes might turn out as just another marketing instrument that supports the benefit of a few local players, while defining additional regulations for a majority of others.

'Adaptive Co-Management' and relations of power

The UNESCO promotes the concept of 'adaptive co-management' as a methodological framework for the governance of world heritage cultural landscapes (Fowler, 2003, Mitchell et al., 2009). Adaptive co-management is rooted in the model of 'social-ecological systems', which emphasizes sustainable linkages between humans and their environments in so-called 'traditional' land-use systems (Berkes, 2004; Folke, 2006). The 'social-ecological system' approach takes investigations of local knowledge and locally rooted institutional frameworks as a starting point for development of management and conservation practice. Designed for 'community-based' strategies primary in the management of 'traditional' farming systems, adaptive co-management is to be seen as broadly anchored in existing local structures, following cooperative principles and supporting strong involvement of local actors, institutions and communities, in order to initiate processes of social learning in managing environments. However, on the other hand, the strengths of the concept may constitute its major weaknesses. As Widgren (2012) has reminded us, the nature of society and power relationships that govern natural resource management within those regional systems are seldom problematised within the social-ecological system approach. As a likely consequence, adaptive co-management builds upon existing power relationships, takes them as a starting point and might even reinforce them in an unreflecting manner. Particularly, in many so-called 'traditional' rural landscapes forming major parts of the World Heritage, a heritage of hierarchically structured, barely democratic social settings have been shaping – and still do shape – their appearance. This raises questions about which conditions could allow adaptive co-management to provide

an adequate tool for governance towards democratic, socially just developments in cultural landscapes.

Case study evidence

We have been investigating this question within ongoing research on governance processes in the World Heritage Region *Hallstatt-Dachstein* (Austria), which was nominated a persistent Cultural Landscape of Universal Value in 1997. For this paper, we trace the process of landscape governance from the point of nomination, trying to figure out its impacts on peoples' involvement in decision-making and participation. Elements referring to 'adaptive co-management' implemented within the governance process are examined on their democratic content. We start with an outline of historically evolved structures of land tenure, the institutional frameworks they are embedded in, and their changes in time. Regional power relationships are reconstructed as a result of property rights. These relationships are investigated on their relevance for the newly established structures for World heritage management. It is evident that governance is based on patterns of old and newly emerging elites within regional communities that drive management processes forward.

Towards a democratic framework of 'complex equality' in governance and management of cultural landscapes

A major insight gleaned from our case-study research is that the concept of 'adaptive co-management' is not sufficient for comprehensive governance of cultural landscapes regarding democratic principles. Landscape democracy goes well beyond the idea of managing 'social-ecological (farming) systems'. Based on case-study evidence, this can be illustrated by issues emerging in cultural landscape governance, such as regulation of the property market and regional housing opportunities, steering and regulation of tourist development, access rights and living conditions of seasonal workers and much else. Questions regarding landscape democracy require a much broader, more complex framework of discussion, argument and negotiation.

This understanding shall form the groundwork for discussion of social justice and issues of empowerment within governance processes. Based on the observations made in our research, we suggest a concept of 'complex equality', as introduced by Michael Walzer (1984), where different 'Spheres of Justice' can be distinguished and adopted in governance practice, constituting different rights and responsibilities. Landscape, with its different layers of tenure, property and accessibility, forms the common ground, the material place of negotiation for various processes of governance, requiring various levels and areas of involvement.

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Landscape Democracy and Public Landscape Architecture – from Hirschfeld to the European Landscape Convention

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Keywords: C.C.L. Hirschfeld (1742–1792); John Claudius Loudon (1783–1843); Frederick Law Olmsted (1822–1903); green-structure; Volksgarten

This paper traces breaks and continuity regarding the history of democratic ideals presented in central publications about public landscape architecture from 1785 until today's European Landscape Convention. The study identifies a central foundation of democratic values in landscape architecture, and shows that this foundation is fragile and may be abused if the context allows.

In 1779–85 University of Kiel garden theorist Christian Cay Lorentz Hirschfeld published his great work *Teorie der Gartenkunst*. In a small chapter of this voluminous work, he described what he named the *Volkesgärten* or 'public parks'. This signifies a turning point for the profession of landscape architecture: after this date, landscape architects turned their attention more towards public landscapes than private gardens. A major issue in Hirschfeld's description of, and programme for, the *Volkesgärten* was the democratic ideal that was linked to this new type of urban landscape: the parks should have general access and nobody should be excluded. The different classes should, 'by approaching each other more closely' (Hirschfeld, 2001, p. 407) develop understanding and tolerance towards each other. In addition, the parks should 'increase national consciousness and cultural unity' (Hirschfeld, 2001, p. 26) among citizens.

Later advocates for public parks have expressed corresponding ideas. John Claudius Loudon published *Hints on Breathing Places for the Metropolis, and for Country Towns and Villages, on fixed Principles* in 1829. Loudon thought that public improvements should be undertaken in a democratic fashion by the authorities, not sporadically by the benevolence of the wealthy. Jean-Charles Alphand published *Les Promenades de Paris* in 1873. A central motif in Alphand's book is that the improvements of the public urban landscape should be regarded as a major obligation of the state. Frederick Law Olmsted referred to Hirschfeld when he worked on Central Park in New York. Several German landscape architects were involved in the design and construction of Central Park. Olmsted made several visits to European parks, and he met and exchanged experiences with Alphand. More often than not, the proponents of public parks would also be engaged in social welfare and democratic values on a general level. Hirschfeld, Loudon and Olmsted are examples of this.

During the nineteenth century, the prevailing stylistic approach to the design of public parks was the romantic version of the English landscape garden. Open lawns and clumps of trees, with a network of paths, dominated the parks. One would often find separate path systems for pedestrians, horses and carts.

At the turn of the twentieth century, different elements of the public parks tradition were challenged. The change of styles from an informal picturesque style towards a more formal style took place gradually. When and how this change started has been discussed, for example by Chadwick (1966) but by the early 1900s the formal style prevailed in the design of public parks. Landscape architects like Fritz Schumacher and Leberecht Migge designed public landscape in a formal neoclassical or modernist style, and rejected the traditional romantic naturalist feel. The link to democratic ideals was generally retained, but not by all. Migge strongly supported democratic values like inclusiveness, and even laid the ground for public participation. Willy Lange on the contrary, supported the naturalist style, and he also introduced an exclusiveness that later was taken as support for the 'Blut und Boden' ideology of Nazi Germany.

Through a close reading of some of the most influential works in the history of landscape architecture since 1785, this paper reveals how democratic values have been at stake in public landscape architecture. In the conclusion, the paper shows how the European Landscape Convention may have an important role to play in guiding the landscape professions in addressing the democratic aspects of urban landscape.

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Doing Heritage Together – New Heritage Frontiers in Collaborative Planning

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Keywords: Heritage production; collaborative planning; spatial development; Denmark

How can cultural heritage contribute to socially sustainable landscape development in democratic societies? This paper explores new heritage frontiers in collaborative spatial planning processes. Throughout the last three decades, heritage management has become increasingly integrated with spatial planning and in particular the transformation of existing built environments and landscapes. In this context, cultural heritage is often not produced to safeguard relics from the past, but rather to contribute to political, social and economic spatial development (Fairclough, 2009). The European Council's Faro Convention from 2005 thus conceives cultural heritage as a malleable resource for sustainable spatial development while emphasising cultural heritage as an essential constituent of place and identity. When seen as an active component in spatial planning, the processes of heritage making and the outcome, the heritage product, often departs substantially from established practices. Heritage is not only selected and managed by historians, restoration architects and other experts, but is rather an issue for debate in democratic processes that involve a broad range of actors. Furthermore, heritage value is not only ascribed to objects that are considered particularly good or representative relics from the past. In a forward-looking perspective, everything that is inherited from the past can potentially have value for spatial development – buildings, cultural traditions and place narratives.

Taking a starting point in the Faro convention, heritage scholar Graham Fairclough defines a number of new 'frontiers' in relation to 'doing heritage' (Fairclough, 2009, p. 31). The integration of heritage management with democratic spatial planning processes requires, first, learning other, collaborative ways of defining or valuing heritage and involving new actors, in particular the affected citizens, local communities and stakeholders. Second, it requires adopting new forward-looking objectives. This implies conceiving heritage products as means rather than ends, and as an active part of development rather than fixed results. Third, it requires adopting new ways of dealing with heritage beyond preservation.

This paper adds to the understanding of heritage, as a product and process, in collaborative spatial planning processes. To this end, we explore two cases from Denmark, a country with a strong tradition for integrating heritage interests with a democratic planning practice. The two cases are innovative examples of making

and using heritage in collaborative processes dealing with a prevalent task: the preservation, transformation and development of built environments with strategic goals. In both cases, heritage played a central role as a resource for the development of a large-scale area and as a tool for participation. Case 1, *Albertslund Syd*, examines the physical and social renewal of a suburban 1960s social housing area. Case 2, *The good life at the seaside*, studies the strategic development of place-based potential in the shrinking rural municipality of Thisted which resulted in the transformation of piers and landing places in three coastal villages.

Based on these cases, we aim to substantiate new heritage frontiers in collaborative spatial transformation processes. We assume that heritage is not a thing in itself, but is instead formed of cultural processes and products that are continuously re-created according to changing ideas, values and objectives, and influenced by multiple forces. Guided by Tunbridge and Ashworth's process-based model of heritage as a conflicted product made by people (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996) we study how different perceptions of and interests in heritage are negotiated in collaborative spatial planning processes. Concretely, we analyse heritage and planning documents, design proposals and other documentation of the transformation processes in Albertslund Syd (1999-2014) and Thisted (2007-2014). This analysis is supplemented by field visits and interviews with key professionals who contributed to the planning processes.

On the whole, the two cases demonstrate that collaborative heritage making in spatial planning processes has a lot of potential for contributing to socially sustainable landscape development. By including new actors, such as local communities and stakeholders, in what was previously a narrow domain of official heritage experts and managers, such processes can strengthen public dialogue and democratic decision-making in society. By conceiving heritage as a collaborative process and product, and by applying the large-scale perspective from spatial planning, multiple interests can be integrated and negotiated. By doing heritage together, local communities can strengthen their sense of belonging, community and responsibility for their environment. Such positive effects can contribute to the increased social resilience of places that face economic, demographic, and social challenges.

By applying collective survey methods and future-oriented criteria for selection processes, new heritage values, such as narratives from everyday life and people's living practices, can be identified, preserved and further developed. In this way, heritage can become relevant to people in a perspective that concerns their desired future just as much as their conception of the past. A new and broader conception of possible heritage products that goes way beyond building preservation can contribute to inclusive and socially sustainable spatial development.

Despite the clear potential, however, collective heritage making in planning has limitations and implies new challenges. First, the democratic potential of such processes has a problematic side to it. Unlike in representational democratic processes, where every citizen has a voice, collaborative planning and heritage making only gives voice to those who participate actively in the process. It is therefore important to question how collaborative heritage making can include the perspectives and interests of those who do not take part in the process. The cases show some of the tools that planning professionals are currently developing to deal with this challenge, such as actively seeking out unheard groups or groups that are likely to remain passive.

Secondly, collaborative heritage making can blur decision-making. Explorative processes characterised by dialogue between heritage professionals and local communities can strengthen the relevance and positive effects of heritage making, but they may also potentially blur the power-play behind heritage selection and assemblage. It is therefore important to be aware of and to clearly communicate at which point of the heritage making process the local community is being involved and what the scope of influence is on decision-making. These are often discussed challenges to public participation in spatial planning processes (Agger & Hoffmann, 2008), from which collaborative heritage making might be able to learn and vice versa.

Finally, relating heritage making so closely to planning objectives and to the present interests of local communities does have limitations. While heritage in spatial planning is a growing field, it does not fully cover all the benefits that heritage can have to societal interests. Notably, heritage making also has potential as an alternative to short-term planning horizons in that it can safeguard physical structures whose value is not recognised by a contemporary public, and which have no immediate development or reuse potential. This apparently 'useless' heritage might be overlooked in collaborative spatial planning processes. Furthermore, a focus on development and transformation potential – which lead to increased attention to intangible heritage values and products in the studied cases – might also lead to less attention to the preservation of the physical

traces of our culture. Collaborative heritage making in spatial planning thus raises fundamental questions as to why and for whom we wish to preserve and develop heritage in radically new ways.

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of the main changes caused by Israeli occupation is identified in the dramatic decrease of the value of the agricultural sector, that resulted in the impoverishment of the population, in the increasing high rates of unemployment specially amongst new generations, in the deterioration of valuable agricultural land or its use for uncontrolled urban development, in the loss of important traditional knowledge and abilities, in the disruption of the bonds of solidarity that were at the base of the socio-cultural fabric of the communities, and in other negative repercussions at the material and symbolic levels. (Cancellotti et al. 2009)

This is the baseline emerging from anthropological research conducted in 2008, focussed on the perception of landscape in two West Bank local communities. The initiative for the safeguarding of the landscape of Battir started from this point. The technical advice provided to the Municipality of Battir from 2006 to 2014 through a series of coordinated actions was aimed at reinforcing the resilience of the villagers in coping with an increasing amount of threats. Technical assistance initially focussed on the elaboration of a 'Landscape conservation and management plan' – the landscape survey and its cartographic restitution engaged a multidisciplinary team of young local technicians for almost a year and gradually paved the way to actions designed and carried out to support the steadfastness of the villagers. The promotion of participation was key, as were education programmes for local population. The planning process became a tool of inclusiveness and social cohesion; the production of a new cartography enabled the restoration of identity to the places through data recovery of the lost or erased toponymy, providing a fresh sense of belonging to younger generations. The elderly and the youth actively participated in the revitalization of the local Popular Committee 'Battir Baladna', conducted awareness-raising campaigns on environmental education, and organized cultural and artistic activities addressing the landscape and its sustainable use as 'common space'. In particular, youth engaged in small-scale reforestation activities on uncultivated lands as preventive measures against land confiscation.

Besides the activities carried out on site, it should be emphasized that a parallel legal action was taken against the separation barrier/wall, supported by an advocacy campaign at the local and international level. Journalists, diplomatic missions and European parliamentary delegations were guided through the terraces and the springs scattered over the valleys. For the first time, in Palestine, issues related to landscape protection produced tangible results on the judicial and political front, and landscape has become a cardinal point for the defence of the people of Battir and its neighbouring areas. On 4 January 2015, after eight years of work and actions addressing the protection of this human landscape culminating with the inscription of



Figure 3: Battir, Young volunteers at work to prevent land confiscation, © Giovanni Fontana Antonelli (2010)

Battir into the list of 'World Heritage sites in Danger' on 20 June 2014, the Israeli High Court of Justice froze the construction of the separation barrier/wall. This can be considered a victory for 'Landscape Democracy'. This victory is due to the application of the concept of citizenship. In front of external threats the people of Battir opted for the social cohesion; they abandoned personal interests and backed the very existence of their home village rejecting compromise. This change in attitude has produced the expected result: under the menace of total alienation of land rights, the local community had chosen the common good, the community prevailed over individuals. Landscape took the meaning of collective property, inalienable, inviolable, a symbol of resilience and resistance, a property to be protected and preserved. Landscape became the champion of Human Rights protection.

It is auspicated that this study-case could contribute to the definition of a Landscape Democracy (or Justice) based on the respect of Human Rights, Human Security and Peace.

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Can Place Names Be Key Knowledge Providing Access to Landscape? An Example from Serik in the Antalya Region of Turkey

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Keywords: Place names; landscape character; accessibility; Serik; Antalya

Landscape is defined as the cultural and natural features of an area. Landscape character is the distinct, recognisable and consistent pattern of elements that makes one landscape different from another. It is the result of continuous interaction between humans and nature, as are the names given to places. Murray (1995) pointed out that language becomes part of a place through place naming, and the names of places are indicators of how previous communities have used and perceived a landscape.

Toponymy is the scientific study of place names and their origins, and research on place names covers a range of different characters of landscape. Fellmann et al. (1997) show that toponyms – place names – are language on the land. Because of this toponyms reveal clues about historical and cultural geography. Geographical names are usually inspired by a place's topography, hydrography, ownership, land use or characteristic fauna and flora (Conedera et al., 2007). They provide relevant knowledge and insights on landscape.

Place names become a part of a cultural landscape that remains long after the name givers have passed from the scene (Fellmann et al., 1997). Toponyms that survive changes in the original feature are likely to become historical documents and reflect their cultural heritage, providing basic information on different scientific fields such as archaeology, settlement history, population history, economic history, landscape ecology and botany (Conedera et al., 2007). Toponymic analysis can be a useful ethnobotanical endeavor, and place names associated with particular plants can indicate their presence on and cultural significance to the historical or ancient landscape (Delahunty, 2009).

Place names express multiple dimensions of landscape: explorers and settlers named places after physical or cultural landscape traits or simply as a reminder of home (Murray, 1995; Delahunty, 2009). According to Conedera et al. (2007) toponyms are inspired by a place's topography, ownership, hydrology, land use, fauna or flora, to abstract and reduce the complexity of a topographic place to a single or a few fundamental traits.

Democracy includes principles of equity for individuals and communities. Place names can be regarded as an intrinsic part of democracy because they provide access to knowledge for almost everyone. They ma-

nifest history, perception, exploitation and characters that are unique to named landscapes. People misuse, modify, neglect, change and exploit landscapes beyond their capacities. In responding to such modifications and commenting on their cultural, natural, historical and political merits, place names become a language of the land.

The elasticity of the conceptual dimension of place names holds opportunities for universal accessibility to knowledge on landscape. They can act as a communicative tool between the fields of landscape architecture, toponymy, geography, environmental sociology and the process of landscape characterisation. Place names:

- provide physical, visual and cognitive access to the landscape,
- demonstrate the absence and presence of natural resources, and
- offer grounding information, not only for toponymists, but also for historians, natural and social scientists, and environmental sociologists.

In the absence of basic biophysical data on biological, cultural and historical layers of the landscape, place names supply useful knowledge for planners. They reveal distinct and prominent landscape features and spatial orientation in the area. Correspondingly, Dominy (2001) emphasised the role of naming as a way of dividing up the landscape for management of pastoral farming.

Landscape characterisation has become an important tool for interpreting the distinctive features, patterns and identity of a region for planning purposes. As argued by Nash (2013) place names have a potential to provide a rich source of cultural and natural information that could be integrated into characterisation.

Place names serve as multifunctional signposts in a landscape (Delahunty, 2009). They are the expression of daily living, customs, sources, situation, ownership, activities and wellbeing in the landscape. They are tangible and intangible expressions of society and provide access to landscape in space and over time.

Names thus provide a palimpsest of human activity, marking places, routes and managed landscapes from different eras and inscribing different ideological discourses onto the landscape (Tucci et al., 2011). Calvo-Iglesias et al. (2011) explore the potential for using place names to identify historical landscape features' characteristic of the agras field system in Northwest Spain.

The aim of this study is to interpret place names as a way to understand landscape in the case of Serik in the Antalya Region of Turkey. We ask whether place names can be a key to knowledge that provides access to landscape? Founded by King Pergamon II, the appealingly rural area of Serik includes many place names that reflect diverse natural materials, soil fertility, animals, plants, mountains, rivers, forests, water resources and a rich cultural history and traditions. The study area is a typically rural district and therefore most landscape characteristics are rural and/or natural; place names reflect how the wild nature of the district has developed over some fifty to seventy years.

The method of study is based on Başkan (1971), Gülensoy (1984), Stephenson et al. (2004), Levinson (2008), Murray (1995) and Dominy (2011). 1,243 place names were assessed in seven groups and divided into twenty sub-character groups. Landscape types and associated names were categorised into defined groups: cultural, contemporary, and so on. Accessibility to landscape is evaluated in a pattern–process–product framework based on Atik et al. (2013) within the availability of interpretable knowledge.

The democratic dimension of place names is as a communicative tool that provides access to knowledge. Access to landscape can be explained in physical, visual, perceptive and cognitive terms. Information about landscape characters that is imbedded in place names can be informative, communicative, subjective, objective or intrinsic, which allows us to learn about the landscape. We hope that the results of this study will address the question of whether place names can be an effective tool in understanding multi-characters in the landscape and whether such multi-characters can be a key knowledge providing access to landscape.

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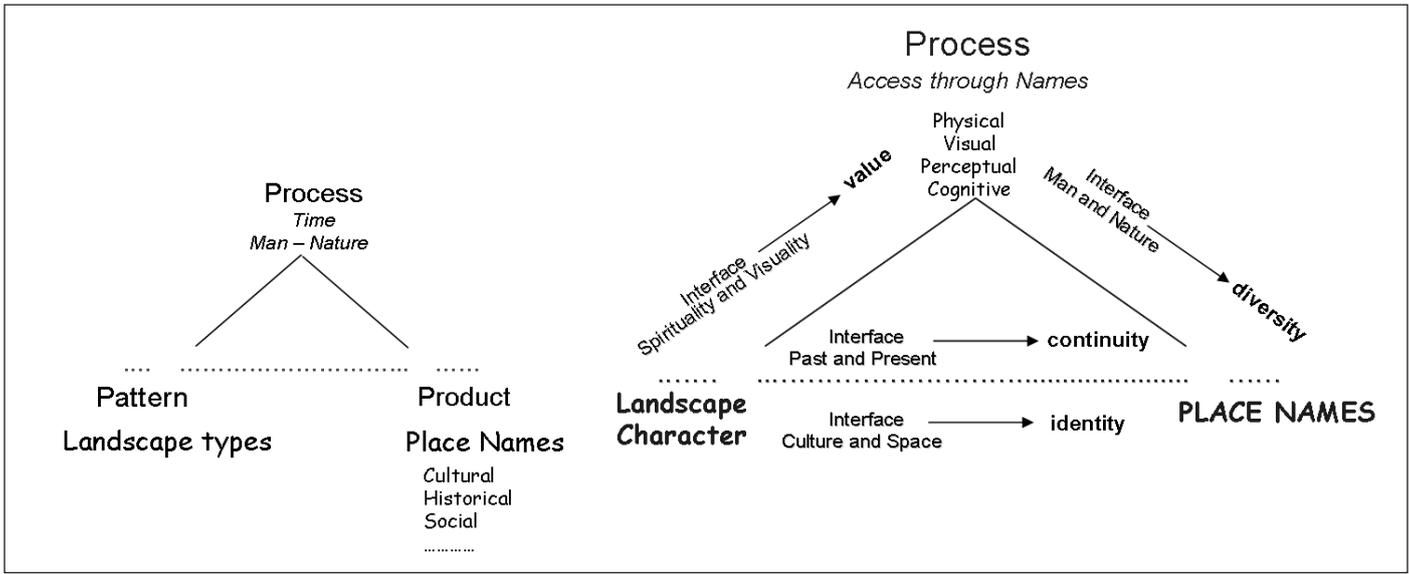


Figure 1. Place names in pattern-process-product framework

The other: Inclusion or exclusion

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Landscape and Sense of Belonging: The Relationship with Everyday Places in the Experience of Immigrants in Veneto Region (Northeastern Italy)

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Keywords: Landscape; sense of belonging to place; migrants; autophotography; Veneto region

According to the European Landscape Convention, every landscape – be it an ‘everyday’, an ‘outstanding’, or even a ‘degraded’ one – holds an intrinsic cultural value, since it is considered a product of the interactions between a population and its place of life. In this view, a landscape can constitute reference points for the identity of its inhabitants, influencing their wellbeing and contributing to foster their sense of belonging to the place and to the community who live there. However, the relationship between landscape and identity acquires complexity when considering multicultural communities and ordinary landscapes. The growing mobility of people, and especially international migrations, has contributed to change in contemporary societies. Currently every territory is increasingly becoming a multicultural reality and its population can hardly be considered a homogeneous whole from a cultural point of view. Nowadays, much more than in past, the ‘other’ and the ‘elsewhere’ do not constitute far and abstract entities, located beyond the borders of ‘home’, but are present in everybody’s life (Aime & Papotti, 2012; Massey & Jess, 2001). As Ho observes, ‘migration enables individuals to come into contact with other nationalities and cultures, thereby altering perceptions of self and “other”’ (2009, p. 789). This alteration obviously also concerns places and landscapes that have undergone not only physical changes – due to migrants’ presence and actions – but also intangible ones, potentially assuming different and new meanings. Indeed, on the one hand, natives see ‘their’ landscape change and can make reference to it with a renewed sense of belonging, especially if they feel that their identity is threatened, on the other hand, migrants face an often unknown reality and have to learn to understand the surrounding landscape, but at the same live in it, thus contributing to modify it and giving it their own original meanings. These issues thus require reconsideration of the complexity inherent in the relationship between populations, places and cultures and are even more interesting and significant when they are referred to everyday areas, whose landscapes do not present any natural or cultural valuable elements, which could easily constitute a reference point for the inhabitants.

In this context, the concept of ‘landscape’ – having a material dimension and an immaterial one, i.e. referring both to the physical characteristics of a place and to the meanings attributed to it – can work as a ‘mediator’ between people and the places where they live,

highlighting the different aspects that influence this relationship. In this perspective, landscape is intended as a ‘tool’, in order to understand how sense of belonging to place develops.

Drawing on such an approach, this paper presents the very first results of research that involves a group of inhabitants, both Italians and migrants, living in the area of Montebelluna (Veneto region, North-eastern Italy), a little town where foreigners represent 13.31% of the total population (compared to 8% in Italy and 10% in Veneto). Our main objective is to explore what relationship exists between migrants and their current everyday places, focusing on both the landscape elements the subjects deem important and the meanings attributed to them and comparing migrants’ landscape perceptions to those of the autochthonous population.

Furthermore, making reference to a previous research experience with native and immigrant children – the LINK Project (‘Landscape and Immigrants: Networks and Knowledge’; see De Nardi, 2013; Castiglioni, 2011; 2010; Castiglioni et al., in press) – we consider the possibilities of comparing first and second generation immigrants’ landscape perceptions. Concerning the methodology, we adopt a qualitative and multi-method approach, whose effectiveness was already tested in our previous research: autophotography is employed as our main method, combined with individual semi-structured interviews with photo-elicitation (i.e. using subjects’ pictures as a starting point for discussion). Taking into account the material and immaterial dimensions of the relationship with place – and thus revealing a multiplicity of place meanings – we aim at a broader understanding of how sense of belonging to place develops, especially referring to migrants’ experiences and concerning both their current place of life and their home country. We are interested in detecting the characteristics of this feeling and focus in particular on its ‘emotional’ and ‘social’ dimensions – i.e. it implies an emotional and affective involvement toward places and it is strictly connected with the most significant social relations occurring there – as well as its ‘temporal’ dimension – since sense of belonging may be stronger toward those places that allow people to narrate their personal life history (being associated to different life stages, including one’s past memories and present experiences and activities, as well as one’s expectations for the future). Taking into account this last

aspect, particular attention is paid to the role played in these dynamics by time, memory and people's age.

Moreover, the paper also intends to discuss the usefulness of landscape as an 'intercultural mediator'. Firstly, in order to broaden the reflection on the different aspects related to immigrants' integration process and to identify operative strategies to facilitate it. Secondly, in order to foster and improve the dialogue between natives and immigrants, helping them to express different opinions and feelings, similarities and differences, cultural stereotypes and shared visions. Indeed, the contribution of different 'gazes' on landscape can constitute an opportunity for both landscapes – through a shared management of their transformations – and populations, encouraging the construction of a new community identity, based on respect of and openness to the 'other'.

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Accessibility of Public Recreation Areas to Immigrants as a Democratic Challenge

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Keywords: Outdoor recreation; accessibility to public spaces; Turkish community; Chinese community

The benefits of spending time in natural areas have been demonstrated in prior research, and are particularly important for people living in dense urban areas, as recreation spaces and peri-urban forests provide opportunities for physical activities, improving mental and physical health (Hartig et al., 1996; van den Berg et al., 2007). In most Western countries, peri-urban recreational areas and forests are generally open to the public and access is free to everybody, though people from several ethnic minority communities are underrepresented as users. This underrepresentation can be due to socio-economic factors, but ethnic-cultural influences, political and socio-spatial aspects also play important roles (Byrne et al., 2009; Kloek et al., 2013).

In today's globalized world, societies have become more ethnically diverse, which is challenging concepts of cultural identity and social cohesion, and often resulting in discrimination against and segregation of certain ethnic groups. Disadvantages can be shown especially with regard to education, labor and health issues, therefore it is not surprising that the health awareness of persons with migration backgrounds is rather low and that there are higher numbers of permanent health problems in immigrant communities (Statistik Austria, 2014).

In Austria, similar to other central and Western European countries, integration policies have been and still are focused mainly on labor and language issues, while the important role of leisure in people's life and its contribution to integration concepts has been left disregarded. Leisure, however, can provide a context for supporting integration processes and can stimulate social interaction to facilitate language adoption and intercultural acceptance (Peters et al., 2010).

Outdoor recreation in the understanding of Western cultures is associated with individual leisure activities (e.g., hiking, running, biking or climbing), while people from Non-Western communities often tend to more social leisure pursuits (Kloek et al., 2013). In diverse societies, those different needs should be considered in planning strategies when it comes to public investments into recreation infrastructure. Thus the underrepresentation of people with migration backgrounds in larger recreational areas indicates an inequity in ac-

cess to public resources.

Study context

The Wienerwald Biosphere Park, located in the federal provinces of Vienna and Lower Austria, offers outdoor recreation opportunities for more than 2 million people. Though an ethnically very diverse population lives within the area, the park management observed that certain ethnic communities are underrepresented as visitors. The research project 'Attitudes and Satisfaction of Ethnic Groups regarding the Wienerwald Biosphere Park: A pilot study towards the integrative function of peri-urban protected areas' is therefore investigating barriers that cause this underrepresentation. This study undertakes a qualitative investigation of influences on outdoor recreation and activities of two specific ethnic communities - Turkish and Chinese.

A transdisciplinary research approach was implemented: stakeholders from different fields were identified; individual interviews and a focus group were organized to include their expertise in specifying the research questions. In a second step, bilingual interviewers were used to gain access to the communities and interviews conducted with individuals. In total, 80 persons (40 from each community) were interviewed about their individual and collective leisure patterns.

Results

For both the Turkish and the Chinese communities a strong influence of motives for migration and perception of leisure time could be noted. When labour has been the main motive for migration, then the concept of leisure can even have a negative connotation in the sense of having nothing to do. Notions of leisure were often strongly associated with family or the community. The influence of segregation processes was identified as a strong factor causing underrepresentation of people with migration backgrounds in outdoor recreation or larger recreational areas and forests. The need for information and facilitators was strongly expressed in both communities. Outdoor recreational activities in the home country were often related with better social networks.

Concerning the Turkish community, stereotyping was a

particular impediment to accessibility (notably around barbecuing and gender inequalities). This could be noted in several interviews when it came to identifying consciously practiced cultural traditions of the community. Often traditions were difficult to distinguish from mere habits of individuals or groups. Furthermore, uses and cultural understanding of nature changed depending on whether the interviewee was first or later generation.

Interviews showed that persons from the Turkish community often expressed insecurity about the right to access public land; in particular, forests were often regarded as private land. Some Turkish interviewees also felt that their behaviour in public spaces would be controlled, especially by the majority population or police, which enhanced their perception of being discriminated against. In many interviews discriminating behavior or verbal attacks and conflicts were more associated with urban playgrounds or daily public life. Nearly all interviewees expressed the notion, that discriminating behavior was not expected to happen in larger recreational peri-urban areas.

Accessibility of public spaces can be seen as an indicator for social equality. Regarding the importance of integration policy to ensure equal access to those spaces and enhance social cohesion, the underrepresentation of certain ethnic communities in larger recreational peri-urban areas can be seen as a democratic challenge. Apart from political and social measures for improving environmental justice, spatial planning approaches contribute to providing access to the Wienerwald Biosphere Park. As a first step, applications such as multi-lingual and community sensitive information about outdoor recreation or leisure capabilities (bi-lingual homepages, maps, trail descriptions or markings), facilitators within the communities (hiking guides) and collaborations with local cultural associations (for example, organising events in the Biosphere Park area) could facilitate access to the Wienerwald Biosphere Park for people from the immigrant communities.

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Access to Green Space in School Neighborhoods and Self-Reported Health Among Norwegian Adolescents

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Keywords: Adolescents; mental health; GIS; schools; Norway

Background and study aims

Landscape is a resource for health (Hartig et al., 2014) and landscape promotes mental and psychological wellbeing (Abraham et al., 2010). Epidemiological studies among adults have shown significant associations between neighborhood greenness and mental health (Anstell-Burt et al., 2014; Ihlebæk et al., 2012). A similar study among adolescents did not show parallel results; however, positive effects of green space were observed for adolescents living in small cities (Huynh et al., 2013). In a longitudinal study, Astell-Burt and co-workers observed different trajectories between green space and mental health across different life courses and between genders. They concluded that the importance of green space could vary dependent on age and that green space in early to mid-adulthood could be more important than later in life.

The aim of this study is to investigate the relationship between access to green space and self-reported mental health among adolescents in Norway. We will study the impact of use of nature (self-reported) and its potential effect-modification on the relationship between green space around primary schools and self-reported mental health.

Theoretical framework

Lachowycz & Jones (2013) have proposed a theoretical framework for how green environments can affect our health. Experiments (interventions), which in different ways show that nature and green environments have positive effects on both mental and physical health, are fundamental in their framework. However, we do not know how a green environment can affect health in population studies. To bridge the gap between experimental studies and observational studies, Lachowycz & Jones developed their framework.

Greenness is defined as distance to the green surroundings or the percentage of greenness in different buffers around address points. Health effects are both mental health, including wellbeing and stress, and physical health, such as body mass index (BMI), blood pressure, bone strength related to physical activity and the production of vitamin D.

Lachowycz & Jones distinguish between mechanisms that green environments have on health (intermedi-

ate factors), factors that affect both access to green environments and health (confounding factors), and factors that influence (modify) the relationship between access to green environments and health or the intervening factors (effect-modifier / interaction).

The authors mention three groups of intermediate factors between access to green space and health. These factors could be understood as causal factors or scientific explanations of the relationship between green environments and health: 1) green environments increase our perception of a living environment, 2) aesthetic satisfaction and restoration, and 3) the use of green spaces for activities of recreation, physical activities and meeting with other people, etc.

Next, there are a number of factors that can be characterised as confounding variables and which, in different ways, mix the effect between access to green environments and health. These are demographic factors, such as socioeconomic conditions, education, ethnicity and domestic animals such as dogs and cats, and external factors, such as urban/rural environment, safety (crime), traffic volume, characteristics of the green surroundings as size and design, maintenance, availability and security. Climatic factors such as light, temperature and precipitation are also important.

In the last group, Lachowycz & Jones list effect-modifiers which potentially alter the greenness-health association. Examples of such factors are personal qualities and intentions and the time we have available to use the green surroundings. We will also include the rural/urban dimension.

Lachowycz & Jones' framework is a summary of knowledge, and it should be regarded as hypothetical causal explanations for how green environments affect human health. The framework is therefore a basis for confirmatory studies. In our study, we wish to test some of the hypotheses stated above.

Material and methods

We will use data from the Norwegian Youth Surveys 2001-2004 (Ungdomsundersøkelsene) and land use maps (N50 map database).

Norwegian Youth studies

Youth Studies is a collection of health surveys among adolescents from six counties in Norway: Finnmark, Troms, Nordland, Hedmark, Oppland, and Oslo. Participants were asked to complete a questionnaire about their health, diet, local environment, sport and physical activity, and wellbeing. A total of 15,930 young people between 15 and 16 years of age participated in these studies. About 90% of those invited completed the questionnaire.

Outcome variables that we will use are: 1) Have you during the past 12 months had mental disorder, which you have asked for help? 2) Have you during the past 12 months visited a psychologist or psychiatrist? 3) The Hopkins Symptom Checklist (ten item version: SCL-10), and 4) General health.

We are able to include a set of potential confounding variables such as: age, gender, social support (different questions), daily smoking, passive smoking, drinking and eating habits, background, and questions about family and friends. We will also include questions about physical activity and use of nature. All questions are self-reported.

We include two groups of effect-modifier: 1) self-reported sport activities including how they use nature for sport activities, 2) aspects of the local environment promoting or preventing access to green space, including an urban/rural dimension.

Green variables (GIS)

We have access to the addresses for all public schools in Norway (Ministry of Education). The address points are geocoded. Further, we have produced variables summing up the amount of green space in buffers of 1km and 5km around the children's schools. We have used geographic information systems (GIS) to perform these operations.

We have also included climatic variables such as annual mean temperature and precipitation, as well as variables accommodating the percentage of inhabitants in each municipality living in rural environments. We will present preliminary results at the conference. Katrine Skalleberg will be the presenter.

The project's significance on greenness, public health, and landscape democracy

The results from the project will shed light on the impact of greenness on health among adolescents. The project will also deepen our understanding of how access to nature and active participation in outdoor activities modify the association between green space and health. In this way, the project will bridge the gap between public health and landscape democracy: the

participants' self-reported use of nature represents their individual appropriation of the landscape, which promote both health and landscape democracy.

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Health Promotion and Illness Prevention in Norwegian Municipal Planning – an Occupational Perspective

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Keywords: Public health; planning; physical activity; institutional theory

In Norway, new laws have given municipalities more responsibility for including a public health perspective in their planning (Folkehelseloven, 2012; Plan- og bygningsloven, 2008). According to the law planning shall 'promote health, prevent social health differences and contribute in preventing crime' (Plan- og bygningsloven, 2008). To ensure that the plans meet these aims municipalities shall provide an overview of the population's health and factors that influence it (Folkehelseloven, 2012). This overview shall be part of the foundations for municipalities' planning strategy (Plan- og bygningsloven, 2008).

With this in mind, the present study examines the following research question: What are the understandings of health promotion and illness prevention in Norwegian municipal planning, and how is this articulated in municipal plans?

One of the main problems in public health is inequality between different social groups. This tendency follows a pattern throughout the entire population, which is called the 'gradient challenge'. This pattern shows that not only does the poorest group have distinctly poorer health than the rest of the population, the richest groups have better health than the second-richest and so on (Sosial- og helsedirektoratet, 2005).

Physical activity is regarded as important to both good health and quality of life. The Cultural Department of Norway has now published the fourth edition of its guidelines for integrating sport and physical activity into municipal planning (the first was published in 1993). However, a study from 2009 showed that only 20% of the Norwegian adult population fulfilled the then-recommendation of 30-minutes moderate activity per day (Anderssen, 2009). The explanation for this development is that structural changes in society gradually decrease the demand for physical activity in daily life (Strømme, 2002).

In this context, the actual framing of community and spatial plans is vital, since the actions initiated locally will be coloured by municipalities' understandings and norms. Importantly, there is room for interpretation in the process of translating national governmental guidelines to a local context. Physical activity is a theme that is well-integrated into local planning. Many municipalities have developed specific theme plans for phy-

sical activity and outdoor recreation and sport (*friluftsliv*). Other more challenging issues, such as how to solve social inequity in health, are less integrated (Hanssen, Langeland, & Klausen, 2012). These challenges can be seen as 'wicked problems', described as complex and in need of a holistic approach in trying to reduce them (Rittel & Webber, 1973). One step is to develop a broader understanding of human occupations in order to identify what is health-promoting and illness-preventing for the population.

According to occupational science, occupation can be defined as all daily activities that are meaningful, have purpose or are culturally relevant (Christiansen & Townsend, 2010). What occupations people engage in or can engage in is strongly influenced, and maybe determined, by contextual factors. These factors range from social and cultural norms to the physical environment. Accordingly, Rudman (2012) calls for using critical perspectives to reveal how complex contextual influences shape occupational possibilities and create inequities in health. It is important to gain knowledge on how public governance creates possibilities for some groups and at the same time marginalises, excludes or punishes other groups (Rudman, 2012). Municipal planning can be seen as an expression of which occupations are viewed as health-promoting and illness-preventing, and for whom.

To understand what it is that shapes planning at the municipal level we need to understand the nature of the municipality as an organisation. Institutional theory looks at how organisations' own rules, norms and values affect decision-making and are based on the logic of 'the appropriate'. This implies that an organisation acts according to what has worked earlier (cultural perspective) or what is regarded as acceptable within the environment of action to which the organisation belongs (Røvik, Roness, Lægreid, & Christensen, 2009).

To answer this research question we will conduct an analysis based on two Norwegian municipalities. We will draw data from municipal plan documents and qualitative in-depth interviews with one planner and one public health coordinator in each municipality. This will make it possible to compare the understandings of people from different disciplinary backgrounds. In Norway, municipalities vary widely in population size. The aim of the study was not to examine extremes

but rather to get an understanding of what is going on in ordinary municipal Norway. Two municipalities, Stokke and Eidsberg, have been included in the study based on an informed selection. The selected cases can be viewed as average in the Norwegian context (Flyvbjerg, 2006). The population size represents the approximate average of Norwegian municipalities, around 11,000 inhabitants. We know that in 2014, 85% of all Norwegian municipalities reported that they had a public health coordinator (Schou, Helgesen, & Hofstad, 2014), this was an important inclusion criterion for the study. Stokke is characterised as an average-income municipality and Eidsberg as a low-income municipality. Both have a train connection to Oslo and are regarded as part of the Oslo region (St.meld. nr 31 (2002-2003)). The data was collected from January 27 to February 13 2015 and the findings of the study will be presented at the conference.

The possibility of participating in meaningful occupations can be seen in relation to how we organise society at a municipal level. Ultimately this is an expression of how decision-makers understand and use new laws in municipal planning. This study will mainly illuminate how the two themes of social inequity in health and physical activity are understood and integrated into planning.

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Safety Related Stereotypes: Challenging Accessibility of Public Urban Spaces for Adolescents

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Keywords: Urban barriers; adolescents; stereotypes; place avoidance

Public urban spaces provide important spots for encounter and social interaction with people of all ages and social and ethnic classes. Public spaces may improve social life within cities (Carret et al., 2007), provide areas for recreation and reduce effects of urban environments such as noise, crowding, air pollution, traffic or climatic circumstances. Furthermore, public spaces can create a sense of place, feelings of attachment or support community identity (Francis et al., 2012). Opportunities in public space for social gathering, recreation and physical activity contribute to the physical and social developmental processes of young people (Gehl & Matan, 2009; Johnson & Glover, 2013; Kaźmierczak, 2013). Adolescents meet in public spaces with peers away from parental control or school authorities (Muri & Friedrich, 2009). The availability of those places, however, is unequally distributed in cities and furthermore, access can be limited due to gender, age, ethnicity and social status (Byrne et al. 2009).

Uncertainties and fears influence the accessibility of public spaces, in particular for adolescents, who are highly prone to influences from parents, peers or the media (Brownlow, 2005). Most uncertainties concerning the public space utilisation by adolescents are related to bullying and gangs of other adolescents, mainly affecting young males, or sexual harassment or abuse, mainly a concern for females. Run-down neighborhoods, homeless and drunk people as well as drug addicts also influence perceived uncertainties (Johansson et al., 2012).

The most common strategy for adolescents to react to qualms and feelings of uncertainty in public spaces is to avoid those places if possible (Brownlow, 2005). A consequence of public space avoidance can be an increased utilisation of semi-private or private areas, such as shopping centers or gyms. Though, those are highly controlled spaces and undesired groups of society are excluded or well-monitored. Furthermore the retreat to those spaces is limited to people with a certain economic status.

Project context

In the research project 'Transforming Spaces: Breaking down social, cultural and planning barriers of Viennese adolescents in urban space utilisation', we are identifying negatively associated places among adolescents in the city of Vienna regarding their spatial distribution,

extent and variability, and motives behind such negative connotations.

We follow a multi-perspective research approach by using a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods, including focus groups, qualitative interviews and questionnaires. For locating negatively associated places and analysing their spatial variability and extent, we apply a participatory GIS-approach (PPGIS, cognitive maps). For identifying reasons and motives as to why and how places are perceived as unattractive or insecure, we are carrying out interviews and artistic approaches like GPS drawing or improvisational theatre.

A cooperation between researchers and five different Viennese schools (secondary level) was established and 162 students at the age of 16-17 years are involved in the research project during school classes, face-to-face interviews and project days.

First results

First results from qualitative interviews indicate that the adolescents perceive Vienna as a very safe city with a broad range of areas for recreation and play. This is also indicated by several studies on urban life quality (for example: Mercer, 2011).

There was no real firsthand experience regarding physical abuse and encroachments reported during the qualitative interviews, but certain spots or regions were perceived as unsafe or unattractive, which mostly relied on stereotypes influenced by the social environment and the media rather than on lived experiences and observations. A strong negative connotation was noted against the presence of immigrant people, and certain immigrant groups tended to be more stereotyped than others, mainly due to their physical appearance. Particularly male adolescents phrased the fear of running into conflicts with immigrant adolescents. The fear from "foreigners" was dominant in many of the interviews, at the same time the pupils tried to describe this fear cautiously in order to not walk right into the 'racist' trap. On one hand they were aware and felt uncomfortable reproducing stereotypes, but on the other hand it was a major concern for them, forcing uncertain feelings in public spaces, independent from their personal ethnic backgrounds. Lack of knowledge about an area or district, not being street-smart, darkness, daytime and dirt were also mentioned in the interviews, the

latter often associated with immigrant districts.

Besides the mentioned avoidance of uncomfortable public spaces, many adolescents, when asked about measures that could be undertaken to foster a feeling of safety in public space, demanded more control in public spaces, whether through police officers or surveillance cameras.

Conclusions

It is mostly not the place condition itself, but rather a stereotypic opinion that makes different places or whole districts seem unsafe to adolescents. Drivers for this opinion forming are current discussions among peers or parents that are highly influenced by the daily media, instead of firsthand experiences and observations. Most of the adolescents read few newspapers, mostly popular press with little background information, unreliable sources and sensational headlines. This often leads to a gap between the real situation or real threats and the estimated assumption of the safety situation of a site. For example, female adolescents are often restricted in their spatial utilisation by the fear of sexual harassment in public places although the pre-eminent majority of sexual assaults take place within family structures and the circle of acquaintances and not in public places. Other threats like robbery, theft or brawling are mainly associated to ethnic groups, but this opinion cannot be proven by criminal statistics (Pilgram et al. 2012).

All these assumptions reduce the accessibility of public places for different user groups without any justifiable arguments. The result is that many adolescents avoid these places and retreat to more private and semi-private places. Furthermore, demands for more control in public spaces are alarming, as they can lead to reckless suspicion and limited accessibility.

As a consequence of this stereotype-driven assessment of the spatial safety situation, many places seem to be unusable, and several societal groups are stigmatised, as they were collectively made responsible for these uncertain situations. Therefore, the spatially manifested barriers are more than a threat to landscape democracy as it is a cultural trend that penetrates many areas of life.

Acknowledgement

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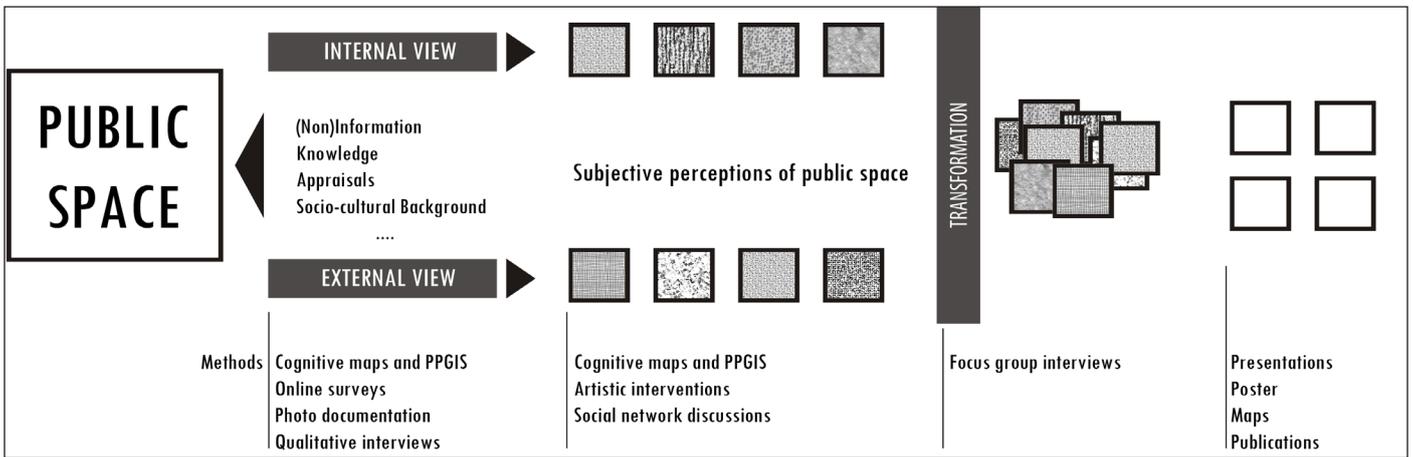


Figure 1: Overview of the project workflow and the applied methods

Landscape Literacy as a Process Towards a Democratic Landscape: Ten Years of Research and Practice in Veneto (Northeast Italy)

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Keywords: Democratic landscape; social landscape perceptions; landscape literacy; awareness-raising; Veneto (Italy)

This paper concerns the results of different studies (both theoretical and applied) carried out in the last ten years on the relationship between people and landscape, in the framework of the European Landscape Convention implementation process. The background is Veneto, Northeast Italy, a region where significant social and spatial changes occurred in the last decades, characterised by diffuse urbanisation processes of an original polycentric urban structure.

We discuss possible ways of fostering processes of landscape 'democratisation', where 'the expression of the land – its forms and purposes – fits with the expression of the needs, desires and abilities of the people' (Breitbach, 2007).

With special concern to the landscapes of daily life and to the active role of citizens, this paper first introduces the concept of 'democratic landscape' as an interpretative key useful to understanding and evaluating deep territorial changes from both a spatial and a social point of view (Castiglioni et al., 2010). Then this approach is compared with the results of empirical research conducted in the Venetian plain to directly explore social perceptions and attitudes towards landscape. In the final part, we present some reflections and some practices concerning 'landscape literacy' (as presented in Spirn, 2005), that is a suitable and effective process to raise awareness among the population in order to foster democratisation.

When dealing with landscape, some questions arise in relation to three different dimensions regarding the landscape itself: *where* is the landscape? *Who* can/desires/should deal with the landscape? *How* does landscape change occur? The possible answers may lie in the gap between three sets of opposing concepts: 'emergent landscape' (landscape is only where valuable natural/cultural elements emerge) versus 'total landscape' (landscape is everywhere), when considering different dimensions. For example: the spatial dimension; 'exclusive landscape' (only experts and institutions can deal with landscape) versus 'inclusive landscape' (everybody lives in landscape and can deal with it), or the social dimension; and 'regulated' changes (changes occurring in institutional processes) versus 'self-regulated' changes (changes produced by people, through their daily and spontaneous actions). The distinction

between regulation and self-regulation is similar to the one between natural law and customary law as proposed by Olwig (2005, 2007). The concept of 'democratic landscape' arises from the combination of 'total' landscape and 'inclusive' landscape and from the balance between 'regulation' and 'self-regulation'.

At the same time, the results of empirical research on social landscape perceptions in case studies in the Venetian plain – conducted mainly through extended interviews with inhabitants – show the gap between the concept of 'landscape' usually expressed by people, and their attachment to their place of life (Castiglioni & Ferrario, 2007; Castiglioni, Ferrario, Geronta, Quaglia, & De Nardi, in print). On the one hand, the common idea of landscape is very similar to the concepts of 'emergent' landscape and 'exclusive' landscape – therefore people don't associate this concept with their own ordinary landscapes, only with exceptional, far-away ones. This is the main landscape that public authorities consider, and regulate strictly on the basis of an expert evaluation using aesthetic, ecological and cultural criteria. On the other hand, the everyday landscape of the inhabitants is 'total' and 'inclusive', and they are used to transforming it mostly through self-regulation and to evaluating it through criteria linked primarily to functional needs, self-attachment and social practices.

This research highlights a low level of people's awareness concerning spatial issues that shape their place of life. They are not aware of the plurality of values that are (or could be) expressed through their everyday landscape. From an expert point of view, this low level of awareness has consequences on the landscape quality, which has been stressed by several scholars (Bianchetti, 2003; Vallerani & Varotto, 2005; Salzano & Gibelli, 2007), especially when self-regulation prevails. Nevertheless, due to a general sharing of ideas and attitudes, this situation does not lead to expressed conflicts, unless an individual or public initiative threatens private properties and interests; in these cases, people may gather in order to protest against such an initiative, creating groups that are called *comitati* (Varotto & Visentin, 2008). A deeper awareness is needed in order to enable people to express different values assigned to landscape, that is their 'needs, desires and abilities' (Breitbach, 2007). An institutional frame is also needed, which should be able to harmonise regu-

lation and self-regulation or, in other words, to foster landscape democratisation.

A diffuse sensitisation and awareness-raising process represents the way to bridge the gap between people's 'idea of landscape' – associated with the strictly normative (regulated) attitude of the institutional approach towards emergent and exclusive landscapes – and the ordinary landscapes (total and inclusive) in which they live and transform through local (self-regulated) practices.

Based on the results of educational projects carried out in formal and informal contexts, we propose some reflections on 'landscape literacy', the process that should be implemented in order to raise awareness. We discuss the potential and the effectiveness of a functional, cultural and critical literacy (Stables, 1998) to achieve this aim and the goal of democratic landscapes. In particular critical landscape literacy, intended as a process useful for understanding the driving forces – e.g. cultural, social and political ones – of landscape change, can promote the direct involvement of people and the acquirement of responsibility in a future-oriented perspective (Castiglioni, in print).

Finally, we discuss the potential role of local landscape observatories to promote this literacy and the sharing of landscape values, and therefore to concretely fill this gap. The project 'OP! Landscape is a part of you', implemented in cooperation with local authorities and the regional government in a pre-alpine Venetian valley during 2011–12, can represent a best practice of implementation of a landscape literacy process (Castiglioni & Varotto, 2013). The project involved local communities (both citizens and schoolchildren) in awareness-raising activities about landscape, proposing critical readings of territorial issues, exchanging ideas and proposals for the future, and being directly involved in actions.

Landscape democratisation is more than an emphatic announcement of the European Convention. It reflects an emerging need for collective re-appropriation of landscapes. The path lies in acknowledgment and legitimisation of collective aspirations, and implementation of practices of landscape literacy.

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The Right to the City

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Engagement and Control in the Built Environment

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Keywords: Urban space; identity; diversity; perception; appropriation; regulation

Introduction

Landscape democracy dually considers the perception of space with which rights and accessibility are afforded, but the inherent diversity of urban spaces and their regulation might challenge democratic ideals such as equality, identity and expression. Urban spaces are those where a diversity of needs, preferences, hopes, and actions confront each other. Each urban individual can affect the built environment they inhabit, but their actions are subject to controls from formal and informal regulation. Thus, walking through and experiencing communal spaces provides an opportunity to encounter and learn about others who share space with us – to an extent influenced by local controls.

This study looks at the dynamic between what spatial users affect in the built environments and the controls and regulations imposed. The privatisation of public space management often corresponds with increased control (Carmona, et al. 2008) – a practice that has been critiqued as causing ‘homogenised space’ (aka. ‘de-particularised space’ following Sorkin, 1992). Homogenisation is particularly at odds with the notions of dwelling, meeting diversity in urban space and the capacity for communal efficacy in residential areas. This study examines these challenges – the conflict of spatial management seeking a general good vs. plurality of users, including the support of individual expressions. By comparing three everyday residential spaces in Oslo with varying degrees of privatisation in management, the question is asked: to what extent do people appear to engage physically with communal space and what inhibits them from doing so? Can mechanisms particular to private management be found that hinder user expression? Engagement in the built environment here is defined as any behaviour that perceptibly changes environmental materials or material conditions.

Theoretical Grounding

User behaviours and expressions can create conflict and challenge maintenance tasks and management goals (Carmona & De Magalhaes, 2006), implying that regulation of space should be finely balanced between user and environmental needs. Regulating space formally for a general public may encroach upon the users’ particular desires and needs from communal space and the public realm. By understanding both management and user actors as capable of affecting and being affected by physical aspects of urban residential communal outdoor spaces, an Actor Network Theory (ANT) app

roach is employed to evaluate how users affect space and what actions prevent them from doing so, or erase the effects before they might engage others.

The approach for this study bridges phenomenology with ANT – working from the relational understanding that materials link perceivers to those who affect material presence and condition (be they residents, users or formal actors). Closely following works on traces by Lars Frers (2013), on everyday practices by Monica Degen, et al. (2010), and on territoriality by Mattias Kärrholm (2007), this study maps spatial actors, actions and controls through the material traces in the built environment, allowing description of the connections between those who perceive, act, and control engagement actions. The study is dually inspired by Carmona, et al.’s (2008) microanalysis studies in sorting observed use and traces of use by connections to management action, other users, and the space’s design.

Plurality of uses, potential conflicts, and social pressures may limit engagement actions, but those spaces that support a diversity of uses are understood as more inclusive and vital (Carmona *Ibid.*, p. 13). Enriching this notion in residential spaces, literature on dwelling has long linked resident and user potential to act in changing their surroundings to meaning, identity, responsibility and stewardship (i.e. Kaiser & Fuhrer, 1996; Rapoport, 1982). Hester (2006, p. 8) calls environments that can be affected by their users ‘enabling’ and considers it a premise of ecologically democratic habitation. Herein, inequity in the ability to act in affecting one’s environment is directly linked to a democratic view of urban space – different degrees of regulation may affect different local rights in space.

Empirical Method

The study takes the form of three parallel case studies. The cases are residential lots with communal or publicly accessible spaces. They were selected for similar density, proximity to the city centre and substantial difference in spatial management form (public, private, and resident managed). Participatory observation was the primary method of data collection, supplemented with film and photography providing a hyper-attentive documentation of each space focused on material traces from the perspective of an everyday passer-by.

In addition, resident and manager in-situ interviews and a review of spatial regulation documents supplement the study with knowledge of background information, formal regulations, multiple perceptions, and informal reactions. Observed traces of engagement with the built environment are compared across the three cases against materiality, and within each case against regulation and counteraction by management actors or other spatial users.

Findings

Environmental materials in public space enable a range of user engagement actions – for example, walls of a certain quality can enable the hanging of decoration, spraying of graffiti, painting of murals and posting of flyers. However, similar enabling materials across these cases show differences in engagement. Equal physical opportunities for engagement do not determine user actions.



Focus turned then to the differences in prevalence and longevity in traces of engagement action across the three sites. Site-specific controls were used to sort the engagement actions by whether the action was allowed, controlled by formal regulation, reversed by maintenance action, reversed by other user actions, or – when the other possibilities failed - attributable to other informal social pressures in each case. The differences herein are the main finding of the article – the privately managed case holds the highest amount of enforced regulation, leaving the space least affected by its users and residents. While the publicly managed case has many similar regulations, the lack of enforcement offers users and residents greater capacity to act, rendering the environment more personalised and personalise-able, though sometimes at the cost of cleanliness. The resident-managed case held the least formal and least enforced rules of all three cases, yet maintains a balance of user-efficacy and general maintenance along with the highest number of personalized elements.

Conclusions

If private management follows the tendencies shown in the case here, supported by studies finding homogenisation in privately-owned public spaces, Oslo's recent tendencies towards privatisation of spatial management in residential neighbourhoods may be endangering user engagement and diversity expression. Through regulation, and lack thereof, spatial users are offered differing ranges of efficacy over marking their local surroundings. In cases where users are not able to affect space, others are denied possible encounters and knowledge of who shares the space.

The individuals and groups whose expression is represented in the built environment vary greatly. The extent to which engagement actions are formally countered or ignored may reflect further upon management and maintenance actors, encouraging or preventing a range of future user actions. Lapses in maintenance can dually encourage action and counteraction from users, but fall liable to encouraging local conflicts, showing a balance is needed between regulation and allowance. Particularly responsive spatial management is capable of erasing the traces of user engagement before they are encountered by others. While academics arguing for spatial quality often call for responsiveness in spatial maintenance, caution and context-sensitivity should be employed because strict controls and reactions limit the perceivable diversity of urban spaces.

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Socio-Spatial Practice in Streets as a Dimension of Urban Landscape Democracy: The Example of Shared Space

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Key words: Shared space; spatial practice; social self-organisation

The purpose of this contribution is to investigate socio-spatial dynamics in a street design called Shared Space, and to open discussions about a possible link to the notion of landscape democracy. The ethnographic case study this contribution is based on, the square St. Olavs Plass in Oslo, shows how socio-spatial practices can be understood as constitutive parts of the organisation of public urban space. The main focus will be on the means and understandings of users, and their strategies in negotiating, challenging and reproducing spatial and social order. In this case, Shared Space is looked at as an urban landscape that has the property of challenging conventional and formalised patterns of interaction in streets.

Shared Space is an urban street design concept aimed at minimising the segregation of different transport modes. This materialises in an open streetscape with a leveled surface that can be used by both motorised and non-motorised users. The design is guided by minimising the use of engineered standard means of traffic control, as for example surface markings, signals, curbs, fences or traffic signs. A common assumption that can be found in texts about Shared Space is that the design supports civility and democracy because users are urged to actively participate in the socio-spatial organisation of public space, by sharing it. However, the empirical and theoretical groundings of these claims are poor. Further, the complexity of social dynamics that take place in such a setting are not sufficiently understood and often black-boxed and simplified. The notion of sharing is typically over emphasised, implying that socio-spatial consensus is naturally reached by social interaction, based on a common spatial grammar. Meanwhile, debate and conflict are neglected or disregarded as important elements of understanding the dynamics of spatial democracy in Shared Space.

A more critical perspective on how Shared Space works in terms of social dynamics and organisation opens the following questions, which are examined and discussed in this contribution: To what extent do users conceive of themselves as influencing and constituting their spatial setting with their socio-spatial practices? To what extent can an understanding of social dynamics in spaces like Shared Space be linked to understanding the concept of landscape democracy? The discussion of these questions is built on ethnographic fieldwork at an existing Shared Space scheme, St. Olavs Plass in

Oslo. Data collection at the square focused on three empirical sources: 1) observation of behavior in situ, 2) an online survey with daily users working in close vicinity, and 3) in-depth-interviews with people who passed through the square on a daily basis.

Texts that promote Shared Space typically build their argument on a theoretical standing in which technical behavior is opposed to social behavior. The presented rationale is that conventional standardised street design regulates human behavior according to technical standards exclusively aimed at transport efficiency. It is further argued that established design practice will result in technical urban space dominated by its transport function, including all its associated negative social, health and environmental effects. A streetscape dominated by technical standards is assumed to limit human interaction to technical performance and compliance to prescribed rules. By contrast, Shared Space is portrayed as a design solution that allows social behavior to substitute technical behavior. Texts that advocate the design concept often imply that order and balance will be established via social self-organisation. It is theorised that the possibility of different transport modes using the same surface will trigger responsible behavior and foster social awareness. Thus, Shared Space-promoting texts often draw a picture of order which is established by responsibly interacting citizens, guided by common social norms.

Viewing this theoretical outset from a critical perspective, the presented contribution will concentrate on some issues that can be linked to landscape democracy. Firstly, users are active participants in organising urban public space. They do not only adapt to common social conduct but themselves play an important active role in influencing spatial dynamics. This understanding recognises the capacity of users to actively influence and be part of the experience of urban landscape, for example by developing and applying their own informal spatial strategies (De Certeau, 1984), and participating in shaping the order of public space (Goffman, 1971). Thus, the study of Shared Space offers a better understanding of this experience as not only shaped by architects, urban designers or engineers, but in a significant degree by the people who populate that space.

Secondly, the socio-spatial order created by users is, in contrast to the commonly given picture of Shared Spa-

ce, momentary, unstable and characterised by constant renewal. Based on fieldwork findings the contribution suggests an understanding of Shared Space that recognises the importance of instability and steady contest to spatial democracy. Spatial order that is created in socio-spatial practice in Shared Space is very fragile and easily tipped out of balance. Preliminary findings from St Olavs Plass are that the square is rich in behavioral moments of surprise, impulse and improvisation, and non-compliant and creative behavior. The space is just as much contested as it is shared. Order that may result from negotiation is steadily torn down and reproduced. Also spatial dominance of different user groups changes constantly. From such a perspective it may even be argued that there is less behavioral consensus in Shared Space than in a conventional street, where most users follow a commonly accepted framework of rules and symbols. One of the contribution's aims is to discuss and better explain the underlying forces and drivers of behavior in the study area.

Given the above focus, and with regard to the main topic of the conference, this contribution approaches Shared Space as a design concept that can offer a fresh perspective on practices of socio-spatial organisation as one possible dimension of spatial democracy in urban landscapes.

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Contested Terrains, Multiple Publics: Re-Assembling Public Open Space and Re-Asserting the Right to the City

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Keywords: Public space; right to the city; spatial strategies; social and environmental justice; social construction of place

Urban public space, in the context of rapid and pervasive global urbanisation and the high level of conflict and contestation inherent in past and contemporary urban conditions, is a central location to explore the dynamic relationship between spatial conditions, socio-cultural processes and the attendant geometries of power, expanding on Raymond Williams' critique of the (neoliberal) city as a dominant cultural formation. This paper will critically interrogate the agency and instrumentality of designed public space in the making and unmaking of contemporary versions and visions of 'resilient' and 'sustainable', 'urban' and 'urbanity'.

Firstly, a framework will be set up that identifies and critiques contemporary and historical theoretical approaches and perspectives. It will explore, explain and propose relationships between space and social/cultural/economic/ecological processes and interests. This framework will also serve as a basis to establish the field¹ within which the actions of intentional spatial change and occupation can operate to enable or suppress democratic, inclusive and discursive actions and practices that are socially and environmentally just. Secondly this framework will be applied to three different public spaces that illustrate particular types, processes, aspects and issues of contemporary practices of construing and constructing 'public space'.

The framework is based on a fundamental understanding of space, place and landscape as a set of conditions in, and through, which economic, political, everyday social relations, ecological and cultural processes are simultaneously organised and fought out (Marcuse, 1968). It suggests a participatory three-fold approach to address and engage the dialectic between the actual and the possible (or, between urban life as it is experienced and life as it could be) using the following criteria:

1. *expose* — analysing the roots of urban problems and issues and clearly communicating that analysis to those that need it and can use it;
2. *propose* — working with people and communities affected to come up with actual proposals and strategies to achieve better forms of urban life; and
3. *politicise* — clarifying the political action implications of what was exposed and proposed and informing actions, offering alternative formations of a more socially

and ecologically just city.

This approach is situated and grounded within a critical interrogation of the following discourses, theories and perspectives through four lenses. The first lens interrogates notions of 'the public' and 'the public sphere' and starts with Hannah Arendt's (1958) definition of the public sphere as 'the space of appearances', Habermas' (1989) understanding of the (bourgeois) public sphere as a mediation of relations between state and society in capitalism and Nancy Fraser's (1992) critiques of the exclusivity of the public sphere, identifying multiple subaltern and counter-publics.

The second lens investigates public space in the context of hegemony and counter-hegemony and marginal and transgressive practices in the context of Harvey's (1973, 2008) and Smith's (1984) concepts of 'uneven development' and 'accumulation by dispossession', rooted in a materialist critique of (urban) development and redevelopment. Lefebvre's (1996) 'right to the city' and DeCerteau's (1984) 'spatial strategies' and 'spatial tactics' expand this critique by arguing that the right to the city is not just about material access to urban space, but a renewed right to urban life. The right to the city, wrote Lefebvre: 'should modify, concretize and make more practical the rights of the citizen as an urban dweller and user of multiple services. It would affirm, on the one hand, the right of the user to make known their ideas on the space and time of their activities in the urban area; it would also cover the right to the use' (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 3).

The third lens dissects roles of public space within a Foucauldian continuum of utopian-dystopian-heterotopian, investigating concepts of space based on the relationships between multiple simultaneous and competing ordering systems (Hetherington, 1997).

The fourth lens applies a situationist critique of urban space as both 'spectacle' (Debord, 1967) and 'hyper-reality' (Baudrillard, 1981), investigating underlying representational systems and practices that govern possible meanings and interactions of, and with, such space. This representational agency of public space is particularly critical and insidious as it is less obvious and frequently serves to camouflage or naturalise power relations.

These concepts and critiques all tend to operate within a dialectic understanding of the actors, processes and conditions that produce and reproduce different forms of the 'urban' and 'urbanity'. Deleuze and Parnet (2007, p. 52) suggest that urban actors, forms or processes are defined less by a pre-given property and more by the assemblages they enter and reconstitute. Assemblage is: 'a double emphasis: on the material, actual and assembled, but also on the emergent, the processual and the multiple' (Farías, 2009, p. 15). Focusing on process and emergence, the assemblage approach is not describing a spatial category, output or resultant formation, but a process of doing, practices and events produced through different temporalisations and contingencies (Li, 2007).

Public space then is assembled, and the intentional design operates within these fluid environments, emphasising the need to understand both this assemblage and the ways by which possible actions and practices intersect and interact with it. A critical role of and for public space lies in facilitating Mitchell's (2003, p. 211) postulate 'to be effective, politics must be made visible in public space.' Exposing, proposing and politicising these mechanisms and actors is a critical and central component of the design (or other constructions of) public space.

Three examples of public space show how practices of exposing, proposing and politicising are situated differently and generate vastly different outcomes.



Figure 1: Instrumentalisation of emergent and constructed ecologies on the High Line (Photos: author).

The High Line in New York City, conceivably the most iconic public park project in recent years, illuminates how conflicts over neoliberal agendas of urban redevelopment are spatialised and how emergent, constructed and transgressive ecologies are instrumentalised.



Figure 2: Memorial for the Murdered Jews in Europe, Berlin. (photo: author)

Peter Eisenman's 'Memorial for the Murdered Jews in Europe' in Berlin exemplifies another set of conflicts – the function of memorials as loci of open discourse, or as a mise-en-scene of particular hegemonic narratives about the past, inserted into public open space.



Figure 3: Platform, Lower Ninth Ward, New Orleans (photo: author)

The 'Platform' illustrates the conception, construction, occupation and agency of a small and transgressive spatial intervention in post-Hurricane Katrina New Orleans that operated as public space and had significant impacts on the recovery of a neighborhood and community (Tonnelat, 2011; Langhorst, 2012). Built by the author, students and other faculty as part of a multi-year involvement with the recovery of the Lower Ninth Ward in New Orleans, it explored the possibilities of a much more participatory approach to the construction of open space that is truly public.

The space itself and the processes of its conception and building exemplify the potential of empowering communities to participate in decisions on their futures and the places they occupy, by helping them to expose the underlying mechanisms of their marginalisation, to propose alternative future scenarios, and, first and foremost, to politicise their long tradition of systemic and systematic disempowerment and disenfranchisement.

The approach suggested here counters the post-political erosion of the urban public sphere associated with austerity and resilient neoliberal governmentality and counters the accumulation of capital with an accumulation of the commons (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p. 283), suggesting the transformative potential of the urban field itself.

Notes

¹Field here is understood as 'an area or sphere of action, operation, or investigation' or as 'a system of forces with which objects and individuals interact' (Oxford English Dictionary).

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Public Art in Norway: Democracy, Emancipation and Participation

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Keywords: Public art; urban regeneration; aesthetics; user involvement

The interest for art in public spaces has been growing in Norway. This is to some extent due to the accelerating urban development in Oslo and other Norwegian cities, including both transformation of post-industrial areas and densification initiatives. Artworks are frequently being integrated in newly developed or regenerated urban spaces. Most typically, art is seen as a part of place development, and/or an element of a branding strategy attracting potential residents and tourists. Another factor drawing a wider attention to public art has been numerous art commissions following the July 22 attacks. As Mortensen (2014) observes, in the recent years 'the presence of art in public space has escalated. Art is used as an official identity marker, (...) as an exploration of social relationships, and as an adaptation to trauma.'

The general public has been following the recent public art assignments, in some cases being critical towards the selected proposals. For example, the Swedish artist's Jonas Dahlberg's project of the July 22 memorial 'incurable wound in nature at Utøya', appraised by art critics both nationally and internationally, met strong opposition from both neighbors and survivors, who found the proposal distressing and strongly invasive in Utøya's landscape.

A more open and inclusive art commissioning processes would be most likely helpful in such situations. Yet, the art milieu is often critical towards collaborative decision making, considering it a threat to their artistic autonomy and freedom of expression. The editors of ArtScene Trondheim¹, in the introduction to the collection of essays *Artistic compromises in public space* (2010), ask: 'Can it still be neglected that art in public spaces differs in quality and strength from art in other display situations?' Further, they argue that artists working with public commissions should transcend the categories of what is commonly accepted as art, rather than adopting the position of conformity. In a similar tone, art critic Dag Wiersholm (2012) asks: 'Is it not just about the essence of art to be uncompromising?'

The controversies surrounding public art commissions indicate that communication among art commissioners, artists and the wider public is in many respects flawed. Furthermore, there may be many conflicting views as to what type of art is most relevant and to whom it should cater. While some artists and art commissioners focus on purely aesthetic merits, others see

art-making processes as a means to enhance the vitality of public spaces and the community life. Vesely (2004) describes these two approaches in terms of emancipatory and participatory representation. The former one is 'emancipated' from the real world context, being driven by an artist's uncompromising vision. The later one is 'participating' in reality, responding to the given settings, and seeking a dialogue with local audiences.

Addressing the need for a more systematic reflection on public art in Norway, this paper examines conceptualisations of public art in two types of urban regeneration initiatives in Oslo: the flagship and the community regeneration. Flagship regeneration most generally refers to large scale projects intended as a tool for economic growth. It typically includes high profile residential, cultural and entertainment amenities created on once underused or underdeveloped urban areas. Flagship projects are often a part of aggressive city-branding strategies, aimed at attracting potential visitors and investors. Community regeneration, on the other hand, is primarily aimed at the empowerment of local inhabitants – providing better opportunities for disadvantaged groups, enhancing the quality of life and encouraging social interactions. Both local residents and the voluntary sector are often involved in processes.

Both types of urban regeneration are often culturally led, but one may expect that the flagship regeneration initiatives are more likely to adopt an emancipatory view of art, while the community regeneration projects more naturally assume a participatory perspective. This assumption, however, has to be validated with relation to specific cases. The questions to be addressed in this context are: What is the aim/intended impact of a given art intervention according to art commissioners and artists? Who is the target audience of a given art intervention? Who was involved in the processes behind art commissions? How were the artworks received by their audiences? What kind of effects – consequences for a given environment – have the artworks have had?

The flagship project we address in this paper is the redevelopment of the waterfront in Oslo, 'the Fjord City'. The area was previously used as a container port. The first sub-project started during the 1980s (Aker Brygge), and was followed up by more intense redevelopments during the 2000s. In this paper, we will discuss public art in two recently completed areas of the Fjord City: Tjuvholmen and Bjørvika. In Tjuvholmen we will

focus on the sculpture park surrounding the Astrup Fearnley Museum of contemporary art, designed by Renzo Piano. In Bjørvika we will examine 'Slow Space' – a series of temporary art projects that seek to challenge the conventional forms of public art.

The community regeneration initiative that we will discuss in this paper is 'Groruddalssatsingen' – an area lift programme initiated by the Municipality of Oslo in 2007, targeted at four districts in the north east part of Oslo. These districts face numerous challenges in terms of social integration, low quality of public spaces, technical conditions of buildings, noise and air pollution. 'Groruddalssatsingen' with its yearly budget of around 100 million Norwegian Crowns aims to address these difficulties and change the negative perception of the area. Among the goals of the initiative are the visual upgrading of public spaces, strengthening citizens' pride and identity, and the overall improvement of living conditions. Residents, civil society organisations, local business representatives, and public institutions are involved in the programme. So far, more than 200 projects have come about, among them numerous public art interventions. In this paper we will look at the following initiatives:

-'World's Square' (Verdensplassen) in Furuset – a social meeting place integrating site-specific art.

-'Art in Veitvet' (Kunst på Veitvet) – a series of temporary art projects aimed at strengthening the place's identity, and increasing the awareness of its history.

-'A living room in Haugenstua' (Storstua på Haugenstua) – a nine-meter high artwork imitating an indoor floor lamp assembled among blocks of flats in Haugenstua.

Notes

¹ ArtScene Trondheim (AST) was established in 2009 and is an independent online magazine of contemporary art. AST publishes ongoing criticism, articles and comments dealing with public art and the regional arts scene. (<http://www.trondheimkunsthall.com/pages/om-ast>)

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Contemporary Artistic Strategies Stimulating Urban Spaces

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Keywords: Urban space; contemporary art; interaction; activation

The close relationship between art and urban space from the beginning of the 20th Century creates a context of mutual, symbiotic interaction. This relationship has stimulated the artistic creation and at the same time allowed art to act as a way of transformation that is achieving an important role in contemporary works.

One remarkable precedent

The French poet Charles Baudelaire, in his 1863 work 'The Painter of Modern Life', defined a new idea of inhabitant in the modern city of Paris, noting that changes that affected the urban space were in parallel to the life of its people. The relationship between passers-by and the city space was reciprocal. New characters could emerge, specific to Paris, and, at the same time, urban space made sense only in relationship with flâneurs. It is through the works about Paris of painters like Pissarro or Lacoste, we are able to understand the generation of this new synergy.

Three moments in the 20th Century

The Avant-Garde Movements in the first years of the 20th Century considered urban spaces as a stimulating context, from the Dada Meetings in Paris experiencing residual places in the city, to the main role of urban cartographies in experimental cinema. For example, René Clair's film *Entr'acte* transformed a map of Paris into a chess board, upon which Marcel Duchamp and Man Ray played to change the urban order.

In the second half of the 20th Century, the city continued to be an important source of inspiration for artists with an explicit intention of action and transformation, through the Situationist experiences. In the 50s, British painter Asper Johns exhibited his abstract paintings standing in vacant places result of the bombing in the city of London. Conventional museums rooms were rejected in favour of the real city space. In the same context, Situationist planning was born, including the most well-known: the Constant models. The dependent relationship between inhabitant and space expressed a new way to understand the city. Increasing the experience of interaction became commonplace in proposals like those of the Archigram group and Cedric Price, among others.

The Actionist groups in the 60s and 70s, such as Fluxus in New York or the Austrian Phenomenon in Vienna, worked with urban space as the necessary context of their proposals. Experimental relationships with the

city and the psychological space were the base of these projects.

Some contemporary experiences

All these projects have acted as remarkable references for contemporary artistic interventions into city space. In the last decades, work in art and architecture has broken the limits of the disciplines. The mixture of different areas, traditionally more delimited, opened the chance to generate new methodologies that have transcended the usual definitions. This transversal approach to the artistic and architectonic work has a primordial role in the definition of urban space.

Considering art in relation to the city, we could establish two different ways of performance. The first one claims the city space as a scenario for activism, using as the base of intervention the particular qualities of the place. In the second, the final aim of the project is to propose an intervention based on the real inhabitants' suggestions, and even to operate the transformation of the area.

To exemplify the first approach, we could look at the work of Banksy. The urban space is transformed in a critical picture where the creativity may extend the law. His work is completely meaningless outside the real context. Graffiti recovers its original intention in Banksy's work, after having lost it in favour to an aesthetic and plastic preference in the last years. Another artist that experiments with this idea is the French photographer JR. His project *Women are Heroes* transformed roofs and walls in poor areas with images of the faces and eyes of their anonymous female inhabitants, using a giant photograph format. The city is forced to look at these marginalised areas and notice their presence. Large scale and real pictures reach an influential effect in the social perception of the others.

Architectural elements act as a background for the texts of the Boa Mistura group. Their graphical work with sentences transforms the perception of these spaces, playing with scale, colour, perspectives and optical effects. From Rio de Janeiro to Madrid, the effect of these words is impressive and the capability of transformation incredible if we think of the basic and cheap resources used in these proposals.

On the other hand, the second way to understand urban space as a place of action lies in the idea to encourage

its transformation by its inhabitants. The promoter of this intervention has to propose and lead a process, but the final results will depend on the peoples' participation.

Encajes Urbanos (Spain) is a group of female architects who have developed an interesting way of appropriating of unused spaces in the city to generate new citizen uses. For example, in their project 'Azoteas Colectivas', they organize a strategy to transform plain roofs of public buildings in places with public activities, including exhibitions, concerts and cinema. They thought about the strategy but the neighbours were the real actors in these performances.

Similarly, eP[espacio elevado al publico] is a Spanish female architectural collective. They worked in Polígono Sur, a marginal area in Seville. Their strategy was to involve the neighbours in deciding how the borough should be. For that, they created several ludic activities through which the people could be aware of problems and propose their own solutions. This was the basis to develop a final urban planning proposal for the area.

Through these examples, we conclude that a sensitive look at urban space could act as an inspiration to artistic work and at the same time allow it to be transformed. By unearthing hidden layouts in the city, or suggesting new points of view to perceive existing places, art and architecture interact in a creative process that are having remarkable results in the stimulation of urban spaces.

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Figure 1: Women are Heroes – JR (<http://www.jr-art.net/projects/women-are-heroes-brazil>)



Figure 2: Polígono Sur – eP (<https://espacioelevadoalpublico.wordpress.com/>)

The Role, Use and Significance of Gardens in 'Low Income' Communities in Bangkok Thailand

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Keywords: Wellbeing; user needs; democratic design; Bangkok

Background

To contribute to the discussion of the role of landscape and landscape architecture in society, this paper focuses on the importance of a communally developed garden to the Pom Mahakan community, located in the historic centre of Bangkok city. In recent years, the Bangkok Metropolitan Authority (BMA) replaced another of the community's gardens with a 'modernist' urban park envisaged within the larger framework of the state sponsored plan for the area. Today (2015), however, the park is a 'soulless lawn that has already degenerated into a sordid, unkempt, and deeply embarrassing mess' (Herzfeld, 2013, p. 11) unused by tourists and locals alike.

The paper uses this case study to argue the importance of democratically developed landscapes versus professionally designed 'formal parks', for, as Herzfeld (2003) describes, the plan is 'a Western inspiration more suited to the servicing of tourism than to the needs of local residents' (p. 109). Findings from four other low-income communities around the city are also drawn on to increase understanding of the role, use and significance of such spaces to users.

These gardens were studied as part of a programme of PhD research exploring the role of a range of 'public' spaces within such communities and the scope for landscape architecture to make a positive contribution to the creation of these spaces.

The number of people living in crowded urban circumstances may multiply threefold by 2050 'unless decisive actions are taken' (Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2013, p. X) with the World Health Organisation (WHO) specifically calling for interventions to address human wellbeing 'directed at the urban setting' (Bjork-Klevby, 2010, p. V). Therefore, it is vital that people's requirements from their urban setting in marginalised communities are understood in order to increase the success of intervention.

Gardens have been selected as the focus of this paper as they embody many of the cultural, religious and economic processes, beliefs and knowledge, as well as environmental concerns, also identified within communal spaces found within the communities. Many of the political and social issues surrounding their development and use also reflect many similar issues in

said communal spaces. Furthermore, many gardens displayed aesthetic and creative choices, aspects that are often overlooked when discussing marginalised and vulnerable social groups.

In order to identify the existence and location of gardens (and public spaces), the communities were initially mapped by walking through the settlements noting hard and soft landscape features. Observations and interviews were then conducted to understand the role, use and significance of gardens to residents from the different communities.

Mapping Results

Mapmaking identified the existence of gardens in all the communities studied. Residents created gardens on areas as small as the width of a plant pot to large areas of private land, as well as roofs, ledges and walls, accommodating potted, climbing and hanging plants. Likewise, communal spaces were also appropriated by plant growers, with appropriation itself a physical manifestation of a community's politics, social hierarchies and concepts of public space use. It is important to note, however, that many residents did not have gardens due to lack of space, finances or permission from the land or property owner.

Interview Findings: Role, Use and Significance of Gardens

In Pom Mahakan, a series of communal gardens created by residents offered a socio-economic resource enabling a level of self-sufficiency, with food and drink derived from plant products sold to residents and tourists alike. The gardens additionally play an important role in creating a desirable living environment and contributing to the culture and history of the 250-year-old settlement that the community are trying to conserve (Herzfeld, 2003), whilst disputing 'the exclusive vision that BMA seemed to have of history, culture, economic development, tourism, as well as effective green space' (Bristol, 2005, p. 4).

The findings of the interviews in all five communities, meanwhile, indicate particular plant species are commonly grown for the following reasons, with many plants grown for multiple purposes: 1.) Sensory benefits and decorative purposes, for example the aesthetic appeal of the form or flowers or the scent released; 2.) Environmental concerns, for example the creation

of shade to reduce heat levels in streets and households; 3.) Nutritional and economic value, for example fruits, vegetables and herbs would be used in dishes or drinks, which could then be sold; 3.) Medicinal or health value; 4.) Spiritual or cultural meanings or beliefs, for example, many species commonly grown were believed to bring good luck or 'merit'¹ to the owner or would 'bring money into the house'.

More generally, many stated that caring for the plants and looking at or experiencing the matured plants was a means to relax or 'feel good'. Many gardens also became the medium for artistic expression, in turn improving the aesthetic and sensory experience of an area and how people felt about their environment.

'Private' gardens were often also an important communal resource, gathering points that initiated social contact and enjoyed and utilised by other members of the community. The utilisation of plant products by others, meanwhile, was sometimes sought through permission and sometimes not, blurring the lines between a public and private resource, seemingly a socio-cultural norm within the context.

To Conclude

As discussed, whilst gardens have been the focus of the paper many of the findings are reflective of those identified within communal spaces also found within the communities. Therefore the conclusions drawn below also apply more broadly to these communal spaces.

Gardens embody much of the Thai identity with plant selection also indicative of what people require from their urban setting, particularly their physical, economic and psychological needs. To meet these needs within the space available, many plants served multiple purposes. The gardens also give insight into community members' heterogeneous backgrounds as well as the cultural, spiritual and religious knowledge and beliefs that shape their daily lives. Aesthetic and creative choices made, meanwhile, indicated pride and a desire to visually improve the environmental context even if this is not always immediately apparent to the eye of the outsider.

These findings illustrate why generic spatial designs that reflect western ideas of cleanliness and order (Herzfeld, 2003), as seen in the urban park at Pom Mahakan (see figure 2), will do little to serve the daily needs and wellbeing of the people who need the space most. Instead, for successful intervention, it is vital that the knowledge and history of the particular group of peoples is valued and counted and the particular social, cultural, economic and political fabric understood. To make the most of the precious available space and ensure that social life survives, interventions must serve multiple purposes. Concepts of public space, which

have to meet physical, social and cultural needs, as conceived for the formal western city, must also be revised to include consideration for economic requirements and religious and spiritual traditions. Finally, we also need to acknowledge that 'disorder and disarray have benefits' (Franck & Stevens, 2007, p. 21) and are not necessarily an aesthetic problem to be solved.

Notes

¹ 'Merit' is similar to a beneficial karma whereby the good actions of a person positively affect either their present life or in future lives or reincarnations (Saiyasak, 2006).

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Figure 1: Garden decorated with bird's nests and drinks bottles in Chumchon Khlong Toei, Bangkok. Image taken by and reused with the permission of Akarin Pongpandecha.



Figure 2: Parkland created where community garden once existed in Chumchon Pom Mahakan.

Challenging appropriated landscapes

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Access and Privacy, Rights and Realities along the Populated Norwegian Shoreline

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Keywords: Coastal management; public access versus privacy; social conflicts

The Public Right of Access: a perceived right along developed shorelines?

The 1957 Outdoor Recreation Act concerns the public rights of access (*allemannsretten*). The Act affirms ancient traditions and customary rights regarding public rights of access and free passage in nature. In the context of landscape democracy, it can be seen as institutionalised democracy, equality and freedom when it comes to nature visitation and rambling. The rights include the right *to wander* and walk, ski etc., *to stay* for a rest or overnight (e.g. in a tent), and *to pick berries* and mushrooms, no matter who owns the land. The whole year around these rights apply in all *utmark* (outfield), meaning the uncultivated land, and in the winter season they even apply in some parts of *innmark* (infield, cultivated land). Certain guiding behavior rules concerning respect for private property and privacy are tied to the rights and the basic tenets and principles of the Act are social respect, politeness and tolerance towards the landowner and other users, indicating that there are some potential tensions or conflicts when making use of the public rights of access. In Norwegian forests and mountains there are few problems with interpreting the guiding principles for how to behave and balance the varying democratic needs, and to identify and understand the difference between *innmark* and *utmark* is usually easy.

Infield areas in the coastal zone are, according to the Outdoor Recreation Act, defined as the area found around houses or cabins that facilitate the owner's or user's need for privacy protection. This area is therefore not legally coincident with the building plot/property. The Norwegian Supreme Court, has stated (The 'Hvaler judgement' in 2005) that those who settle on the waterfront must accept a closer level of public passage than residents who live or stay elsewhere (Reusch 2012).

Coastlines near populated areas are usually attractive for residential, recreational and varying industrial purposes. This applies also to Norway. The process behind passing the Outdoor Recreation Act sought primarily to balance the interests of farmers and landowners with the public rights to engage in outdoor recreation, but was also partly based on the challenges in keeping up the public access and recreation possibilities along the coast. Based on exceptions and dispensations, the construction activity near the shoreline has continued, even after it was banned in 1965 in the 100-me-

ter zone. The coverage of attractive and undeveloped shoreline areas is still decreasing, but now at a much slower yearly rate.

Analysis of outdoor recreation along the coast has focused on political and legal issues, while knowledge related to how different stakeholders experience access to the coast is limited (Blomley, 2005). This study is a part of the research project 'Accessibility, Privacy and Barriers for Outdoor Recreation along the Coast – Perceptions and Experiences of the Physical Environment and Cultural Premises for Visitation', funded by the Norwegian Research Council (Programme Environment, 2015). The abstract presents how different groups deal with two conflicting interests on the Norwegian shoreline: the right to privacy and the public right of access to the areas. How is the relation between the local dwellers (cabins and homes) with a need for privacy and the (actual and potential) public visitors with a need for access to the shoreline and the sea?

Saltnes: a case study

Our findings are based on a case study in Saltnes, Råde municipality in the Østfold County, among local residents, cabin owners and visitors. Foreign visitors are quite rare and not studied here. Saltnes is located at the eastern side of the Oslo fjord and it very much represents the situation in the coastal zone in south-eastern Norway, as a very limited and attractive recreational resource, where the density of private homes and second-homes is extensive. A crucial reason for choosing Saltnes was that all the relevant user groups and potential tensions between them were present. For many years, there have been official efforts along the coast to remove illegal obstacles and other hindrances that complicate or reduce legal public visitation to the coast. In Saltnes, the local and regional authorities have organised access-projects including signage, removal of illegal fences and other obstacles etc. in order to achieve what they call a 'Coastal Zone for Everyone'. We question whether such developed coastal areas are perceived as attractive and accessible for the (potential) visitors after such a management project, where public access is stated as legal. We presumed that findings from Saltnes would be relevant in interpreting the situation along other parts of the Norwegian coastline where crowding and access-privacy challenges are pressing (Vistad et al., 2013).

Qualitative fieldwork, primarily based on walking interviews along the shoreline, was conducted in 2010. We highlighted the interviewees' perceptions of specific physical obstacles, open access and 'private zones'. We interviewed 22 residents and 16 cabin owners/users in Saltnes, representing both shoreline property owners and (potential) day visitors (see Skår & Vistad 2013).

Findings

Two major findings dominate the social conditions and the relation between shoreline dwellers and shoreline visitors along the studied coastline:

1) It is difficult for both stakeholder groups to identify what is *utmark* (where public walking etc. is legal) and what is *innmark* (where public walking etc. is illegal). The developed and private character of the area makes it difficult to perceive what is legally accessible and what is not when the houses and cabins are located quite near the waterline.

2) It is difficult for people to stay or walk along a populated shoreline area without feeling that they are violating privacy norms. Such mental barriers and subjective perceptions are not formally addressed in Norwegian regulations concerning legal rights of public access, but appear to affect the extent of recreational use. Many actual visitors avoid using the developed areas in the summer season, when the property owners are present, because they feel uncomfortable. The (potential) visitors are more afraid of disturbing the privacy of the dwellers than insisting on their own public right to access and walk along the waterline. Then, one could say, that the consideration of the 'right to privacy' may influence the access to the coast more than the public rights of access secure it.

The study shows that public efforts in removal of illegal fences and other obstacles etc. are not enough to ensure the perceived accessibility right to the coast. Interviews with property owners and visitors in Saltnes indicated that two key elements could help improve the situation. First, physical markers demarcating public land ('outfield') and private land ('infield') such as vegetation, fences, signs, paths, and so on seem to reduce discomfort for both visitors and residents. Second, property owners and visitors both value polite behaviour and positive communication (gestures) to remove discomfort and social tensions (Valentine, 2008).

A main impression was that people find present legal access rules and regulations unclear and difficult to follow on site. It is relevant to ask whether the publicly accessible parts (outfield) of developed and populated coastal zones are identifiable; there is a need for more specific and adapted management of public traffic on private shoreline properties. Our findings from Saltnes

probably apply to most of the populated and developed Norwegian coastline.

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From Contention to Creation: Use of Public Space in Social Movements

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Keywords: Social movements; grassroots; right to the city; gentrification

For the past ten years, Pointe Saint-Charles, one of the poorest neighbourhood of Montreal, Quebec, Canada, located besides the wealthiest area of the city, has been experiencing a particularly aggressive form of gentrification. The accelerated moving-in of hundreds of new owners into newly constructed expensive lofts has changed the social-economic portrait as it modifies the landscape. From the old multiple level houses, the abandoned factories and the large greenspaces and play areas, the residents of Pointe Saint-Charles started to observe a growing modern architectural style, car parks and asphalted surfaces. Gentrification introduces another way to pursue, to live and to experience landscape when policing of space and its enclosure have restrained the possibility to use public spaces for alternative and direct democracy.

Social centres might be a common European tool of dissent movements. North American repertoire of contention, however, does not include this kind of mobilisation, so this study is first of its kind in Quebec as in Canada. The altermondialist (global justice) movement had affected an extension and renewal of the range of contention of Quebec's social movements, bringing initiative from other traditions of social movements where goals of autonomy, radical democracy and self-legislation were fought for in different ways (Sarrasin et al., 2012).

Mobilisation for the development of political and social alternatives in the Pointe Saint-Charles neighbourhood began in response to the difficulty to reunite popular forces interested to manage their environment the way they considered it to be collectively beneficial. In this context, the sale for a dollar of the Canadian Pacific field from the municipality to a private investor in luxurious condominiums was not well received by the residents, and especially by groups that were hoping to install a social centre and collective services on this field. That selling of the property was seen as an injustice against inhabitants. The controversy around the transaction was an opportunity to claim a right to the city and mobilise residents to obtain the Canadian Pacific field, which was considered the perfect geographical place to build a tribune for radical democracy and autonomous projects. As popular and autonomous groups did not have access any longer to the free spaces in which they could reunite, mobilise, and find a way to take place in the dynamic of contention, the social centre group tried to re-create spaces for direct democracy.

The struggle for this land is directly linked to the orientation of urbanism. It opposes two visions that illustrate the struggle for public spaces, either to transform it in a space for private investment or a place for a public and citizen socio-political life. The need for spaces for daily collective and political life began to be openly claimed and radically affirmed by the struggle for a social centre in Pointe Saint-Charles, it took place in parks, streets, private fields and the city hall.

Following the case-study of Social Centre Pointe Saint-Charles the goal is to study the role of residents in political spheres as a grassroots social movement. The following research questions are posed: What is the significance of places in collective actions of social movements and in which way these influence their approach to politics? Will a sense of place deepen in regard of the use that social movements made of places symbolically linked to official powers? The analysis angle that I propose takes the struggle for a social centre in the neighbourhood of Pointe Saint-Charles as an attempt to politicise everyday life at the neighbourhood scale.

The sense that activists imbue in places used in their mobilisation opens new possibilities for democracy to shape landscape by redefining its meaning and its use. I suggest that the power that would enable dissent in order to access democracy is in the hands of the municipal council and private investors. After interviews with activists of the group, the analysis of the use of places mobilised by the Social Centre Pointe Saint-Charles shows an association between the places themselves and the power to contest to succeed. Moreover, contentions creates new democratic spaces concerning the anti-authoritarian perspective of the group. (Hodkinson and Chatterton, 2006).

The study explores landscape democracy through an attempt to understand the meaning of places to activists. Based on interviews and Clifford Geertz's (1973) ethnology, the intention is to give a precise and thick description of this struggle for radical political landscape democracy in Montreal. It is interesting to approach the way to be in local space by the way to think of it as a place of struggle for a social alternative and to explore how landscape is representative of the norms, values (Cosgrove, 1983) and objectives of a social movement.

The presentation of this mobilisation is taken on in a heuristic manner, where the goal is focused on explo-

ring new zones of comprehension about struggles for spaces and materialisation of radical democracy at a local scale. Interpreting discourse of activists to elaborate on the use of space in social movements allows to identify their views about the environment as a producer and reproducer of social and political inequality, and how places can be taken to put in it another way to think collectivism.

Those are the interests that guide the way to explore how a social centre can make a difference in the everyday politic life of a neighbourhood; as an urban choice, but also as a way to consider everyday life as an exercise to politicise at a small and accessible scale.

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Neoliberalism versus 'Direct Democracy': Contesting Beirut's Natural Landscape Heritage

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Keywords: Beirut; community activism; landscape heritage; neoliberalism; public rights

We use direct action and direct democracy against neoliberal developments affecting farming in India, and reject caste and patriarchy. We were one of the first groups to target the WTO and corporate globalization, and have been conducting high-profile direct action campaigns destroying GMO crops since the 1990s.

Karnataka State Farmers Association, India (Karnataka State Farmers' Association, n.d.)

Lebanon's claim that it is a democratic republic is losing credibility in the post-civil war decades. In 1943 the French Mandate set in place a parliamentary democratic system whereby government offices are distributed proportionately to represent the different religious communities. The Lebanese constitution similarly grants the people the right to change their government through direct elections every four years. Interrupted during the civil war (1975–1990), the exercise of political rights resumed in the postwar years, albeit under the growing influence of neoliberalism that has taken over politics and economic development since the 1990s, announcing the end of the Lebanese welfare state. Excessive privatisation, corporate-funded commercial and residential mega-projects and the dominance of international realty are clear indicators of this political shift. Neoliberal development is especially evident in Beirut, the capital city, where urban restructuring privileges a select elite at the expense of the majority. Open lands, scenic landscapes, waterfronts, nature enclaves and rural peripheries are prime targets. Low-income neighborhoods in city centres are also a target. Acquired by realty developers, they are converted into high-end residential enclaves and exclusive commercial hubs. The disparity between the voiceless urban majority and powerful corporations is further compounded by the impartiality of the state under neoliberalism. Abandoning its responsibility to uphold public rights, the state not uncommonly sides with corporate developers. Meanwhile, neoliberalism continues to transform the urban landscape through gentrification and to grow exclusionary pockets, the largest of which is the reconstructed city centre, Solidere (<http://www.solidere.com/>). More alarmingly, Beirut has set the tempo for other Arab capital cities that aspire to emulate the example of Solidere (Daher, 2013).

The argument in support of neoliberal development is economic. Global corporate realty and the Lebanese

state justify these mega projects as a sure way to animate the economy in a time of political turbulence and instability and attract investment from oil-rich neighbours. Additionally, the state adopts the motto that has always prevailed, mainly that private property in Lebanon is 'sacred'. Opposing neoliberal development in the city, activist groups argue that their city is being transformed socially, spatially, culturally and ecologically. Spatial exclusion is at the heart of neoliberalism, whether by fencing off complexes (for example gated residential compounds) or by heavy monitoring of public spaces. Incrementally, the public are excluded from large segments of the city, hemmed into crowded middle- and low-income neighbourhoods. Social exclusion is especially problematic in Arab capital cities because there are no alternative community spaces, for example municipal parks and plazas. The problem becomes critical considering that capital cities in the Arab Middle East harbor an ever-larger portion of the population (UN-HABITAT, 2012). These factors combine to amplify the growing disparity between the rich minority and the urban poor. Many of the spaces appropriated by realty developers, be they natural urban landscapes or vacant lots and streets, are invested with meaning and shared memories as popular community gathering spaces. The city is also changing ecologically as open, soft landscapes are converted into built-up, artificial ones. The incremental loss of domestic gardens, the scarcity of parks and building-up of the waterfronts and river edges deprives the urban residents from contact with nature in the city and destroys the urban natural heritage.

When the public majority is spatially excluded and socially marginalised, and the shared memories and traditional cultural practices they value are sidestepped, they become politically marginalised. Failure of the democratic government system has encouraged local communities, professionals, academics and NGOs to take matters into their own hands. Taking up the role of the state, the opposition defends public rights in the city through direct action, in effect 'direct democracy' (see Verhulst & Nijeboer, 2007), an alternative to conventional, i.e. 'representative', democracy. These new forms of democracy evolved as a reaction to the muted voice of a marginalised majority, an alternative that enables them to address their plight, be they farmers in India or urban activists in Beirut. Direct democracy is a reaction to growing social injustice and economic ad-

versity, generally associated with globalisation and the rise of neoliberalism.

Drawing on the Lebanese example, this paper argues that natural landscapes in the city can serve as a platform to negotiate public rights and contest the defunct representative democracy that has prevailed so far. Remaining nature vestiges in Beirut – the historic pine forest, the maritime boulevard and associated rocky cliffs and sandy beaches – are evocative of a collective identity and a sense of belonging to the city, seen by many as an inalienable right for all to enjoy, not a commodity to privilege a select elite.

To demonstrate the battle for public right to nature in the city, this study draws on three case studies from Beirut. The first two, strictly natural landscapes, include remaining nature enclaves along the coastal waterfront and Beirut's historic pine forest, developed in the 1990s into a city park that has since been closed to the public. The third example is a traditional neighbourhood with house gardens and orchards that is threatened by the Fouad Boutros highway project.

With an open view to the Mediterranean Sea, Beirut's coastal waterfront has always been a prime realty location. Since the 1990s, however, corporate real estate developers have targeted the rocky and sandy littoral. The rocky cliffs of Minet al-Dalia, the last remaining natural maritime enclaves in the city, are today at the centre of a heated debate. Purchase of this site in the early 1990s sidesteps its protection by Lebanese law as ecologically sensitive, non-buildable state-owned land. Development has already fenced the site, barring public access to the waterfront. Ramlet al-Baida, the last remaining public sandy beach in the city, was similarly purchased with plans to construct luxury hotels that have been applauded by the Ministry of Tourism. Independently, each of the two sites has become a locus for public opposition and organised public campaigns. Whether explicit or implicit, 'landscape' lies at the heart of both campaigns. The visual distinctiveness of these two sites, especially Dalia, is meaningful to Beirutis and readily communicated as their heritage. They have been used by generations as public recreational landscapes and valued as landmarks of the city. A group of academics, local NGOs and local residents have campaigned relentlessly for the last year against building the site, which is now fenced. Underlying the campaign is the need to protect the shared identity of the city and the public's right to enjoy Beirut's natural heritage.

Historical accounts from the sixteenth century speak of the density and extent of the Horsh al-Sanawbar, Beirut's pine woodland. The pines have since been cut and the land incrementally taken over by the expanding urban footprint. What remained of the woodland

was burnt during the civil war. In the early 1990s the woodland site was reforested and landscaped as a city park with technical assistance and funding from the French Government. The park was fenced and has been closed to the public ever since. Although local groups have demanded that it become accessible, Beirut Municipality continues to delay opening the park. With its 33 hectares, today the Horsh is the largest green space in the city and the only city-scale park in a city of a million inhabitants that has no more than a handful of neighbourhood parks. In the early days, the argument for shutting the park was fear that public use would damage the pine saplings. Twenty years on, this reason is no longer valid. The real reason, however, is political. Local NGOs are running out of awareness-raising programs and activities but relentless in their demand for opening the park.

The Fouad Boutros thoroughfare is a state-led and -funded project for tunnels and overpasses that cuts across a traditional residential neighbourhood north of the historic urban core. The thoroughfare was planned in the 1960s when cars were a priority in urban planning. The justification for the thoroughfare – that this vehicular connection will ease traffic congestion in the city – is not valid. The project is an excuse to demolish walk-up apartment buildings and replace them with high-rise office and residential towers. Activist groups, academics, professionals and local residents continue to oppose the project, arguing that it will sever social connections, displace resident families (forcing them out of their city), ruin historic orchards and house gardens, and destroy yet another traditional neighbourhood – erasing the urban cultural heritage of Beirut.

The outcome of these three 'David and Goliath' battles, between public activists calling for their rights and global, profit-seeking developers backed by a 'democratic' state imposing its authority, is not yet in sight. Regardless, the contestation is in itself of value because it initiates a process that informs the public of their rights and empowers them to act and because it fosters a collective resistance that questions Lebanon's claim of being a democratic state.

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'Whoever Calls Themselves a Kurd is Happy': Democratising Kurdish Landscapes

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Keywords: Nationalism; landscapes; Turkey; Kurdistan; democracy

The landscape of the Kurdish city of Diyarbakir is one that is rife with two intersecting 'stories' of national identity formation in modern Turkey. The first is a tale of Kurdish-ness. It is personified by a demography that often identifies itself as Kurdish first, and a physical landscape that is celebrated in the works of Kurdish poet Abdulla Goran as synonymous to the Kurdish being – as a people and as a nation. The other tale is that of Kurdish non-existence. Imposed by the Turkish state with assistance of military barracks on the ground and low-flight fighter jets that ritually roam the (Kurdish) skies, it insidiously infiltrates Turkish nationalist iconography into a landscape that Kurds identify as Kurdistan. This includes the Turkish flag, a statue of Kemal Ataturk, the Kemalist saying 'whoever calls themselves a Kurd is happy' on a wall or the mural (of Ataturk) in the city's central square that declares, 'Those from Diyarbakir, Van, Erzurum, Istanbul, Thrace and Macedonia are the children of the same [Turkish] race, the veins of the same one'. Of course, we have been told that landscapes are rarely natural and are imbued with stories of the nation and then tasked to communicate the same. In this vein, it is a medium of 'cultural expression' (Mitchell, 1994, p. 14) that embodies the memories (Küchler, 1993) and mentalities of how 'we' as a (national) people see our place in the world (Cosgrove, 1984). This is evident in the way landscape architecture was communicative of the 'Zionist ethos' in the 'holy land' (Egoz, 2008, p. 30), in the importance of landscapes in Danish national romantic art (Olwig, 2008) and in repeated references to 'land' in national anthems.

Olwig explained this centrality through the theme of 'natural landscapes', where the etymological connection between *national*, *native* and *natural* in using the prefix *nat* (referring to natal) has the ability to render national identities as 'natural' (2008, p. 73). For this reason, Benvenisti was right to argue that landscape are in fact the 'work of the mind' (Benvenisti, 2000, p. 8) and we imbue meaning. But, what if the meaning displayed through landscape, isn't one accorded by a people. That is to ask, how does a people perceive a landscape that is imbued with a 'brand' of meaning that is fundamentally antagonistic to their being as a nation? Returning to the case of Diyarbakir, a city that Kurds perceive as their 'own', 'How do Kurds perceive attempts to Turkify Kurdish landscape, in light of the struggle for a liberated Kurdistan?' Moreover, how do Kurds witness, encounter with and (re-) interpret the effort to impose a (national) 'story' that is antagonistic

to Kurdish-ness, as an identity and an entity. As means of exploring this puzzle, this article draws on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Ankara, Istanbul and Diyarbakir in December, 2014 and January, 2015. In the field, informal interviews and participant observation were the primary tools utilised for data collection. Interviews were conducted with Kurdish activists, politicians, academics and artists. Participant observation was critical in assessing the manner in which Turkish nationalism manifests itself through the urban landscape and architecture of Istanbul, Ankara, and, not least, Diyarbakir.

Additionally, in Diyarbakir I explored the way public parks, constructed under the leadership of pro-Kurdish mayors of the city and littered with Kurdish nationalist iconography, were a, albeit nominal, means of re-introducing Kurdish-ness into the physical space of the Kurdish homeland. In this vein, as this article finds itself at the intersection of two competing 'stories' of the nation, it is, to an extent, a descriptive account of the manner in which Turkish-ness and Kurdish-ness 'struggle' over the same physical landscape. But far more critically, it deliberates the way in which the autocratic Turkification of Kurdish landscapes is encountered by a people in an effort to democratize the same by imbuing their own meaning. Additionally though, in a context where Kurds lack the ability to materially counter the narrative of Turkish-ness that is imposed on them through the landscape of Diyarbakir, this article aims to provide a far more nuanced deliberation of democratization and the right to landscape. Here, since a (Kurdish) people lack the resources and political opportunities to institute their own 'spiritual and cultural values' (Egoz et al. 2011, p. 1) into a landscape, the effort to democratise isn't one that emerges through the materiality of the struggle. Instead, democratisation here is the 'work of the mind' whereby it emerges through the way in which the autocratic practice of Turkifying Kurdish landscapes in turn, when witnessed by Kurds, emerges as a means of emphasising one's Kurdish identity. As was once noted by a Kurdish friend who, when asked about the practice of etching Kurdish landscapes with symbols of Turkish national identity, said: 'when I see the writing I say, *'Ne Mutlu Kürdüm Diyene'* [whoever calls themselves a Kurd is happy]'.

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Democratic Participation in Discriminatory Landscapes

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Keywords: Discriminatory planning; democratic participation; occupation landscape; settlement expansion

Expanding Israeli Landscape

'Everything must be systematically settled beforehand,' wrote Theodor Herzl¹ in his 1896 treatise, *The Jewish State*. The implications of Herzl's words are at the root of Israel's planning strategy. In 1948, only a few weeks following the *Nakba*², Arie Sharon (not to be confused with Ariel Sharon), a Bauhaus graduate and architect, began working on a comprehensive master plan for Israel. Within a single year, Sharon and his team produced a master plan that became known as The Sharon Plan. Israeli leadership needed the plan quickly in order to forge the physical and developmental vision for Israel, and to ensure its control over Palestine. The political agenda, including its time constraints, drove the development of the master plan.

Less than twenty years after the Sharon Plan laid the foundation for Israel's design, the Israeli government augmented its vision for territorial expansion. Following Israel's victory of the Six-Day War in June 1967, the Israeli government passed legislation incorporating East Jerusalem and adjacent parts of the West Bank into Israel, thus expanding its land expropriation project and settlements.

In addition to territorial expansion in 1967, Yigal Allon, the minister of labour at the time, drafted The Allon Plan to 'secure' Israel's borders. The Allon Plan proposed a 'security belt' of Israeli settlements along the Jordan Valley, as well as a road connecting Jerusalem to the Dead Sea. In 1975, during Allon's tenure as foreign minister under the first Rabin government, Israel began designing the security belt in order to preclude the expansion of any Palestinian housing construction, to implant a Jewish-Israeli population into the predominantly Palestinian population, and to further separate and segregate the Arab towns from one another. Israeli settlement building and land grabs of Palestinian property has rapidly expanded since then.

Creating the so-called Area C

In 1993, Israelis and Palestinians signed the Oslo Agreement, under which the Palestinian Authority (PA) was created. Under these accords, Palestinian land within the 1967 borders was classified into three categories: Area A, which was placed under full civil and security control of the PA, Area B which was placed under civil control of the PA, but joint security control between Israel and Palestine, and Area C, where Israel was to

assume full security and administrative control for an interim period of five years, after which it would hand over the area to the PA. Area C constitutes over 60% of the Palestinian landscape.

It has been over twenty-two years since the Oslo Accords were signed, and not only has Israel not handed over Area C, it has expanded its settlements and military zone in the area, displacing Palestinian communities and creating Palestinian Bantustans. Furthermore, when we compare Palestinian land that is classified as Area C to the Allon Plan, it becomes apparent that Area C, which remains under Israeli control, constitutes Allon's vision of Israeli territory within the 1967 borders.

Currently around 150,000 Palestinians live in Area C, and around 325,000 Israeli settlers. While the Palestinian Local Government Units (LGU) that partially-fall within Area C continue to govern these areas, much of Area C falls outside the jurisdiction of the LGUs and constitutes the most vulnerable communities. The planning and permit regimes of these communities are subject to Israeli Civil Administration procedures, which exclude Palestinians from planning processes by Israeli Military Order No. 418.

Democratic Participation in Discriminatory Landscapes

Since 2009, the European Union has funded the master-planning of the LGUs in Area C in an effort to provide protection from displacement, and at the same time enhance the capacity of these communities and promote democratic and participatory planning processes. Under the project, 32 communities developed their own master plans and these plans were submitted to the Israeli authorities for approval. While around € 3 million have been invested thus far, and an additional € 7 million were allocated in 2014, out of the 32 plans, only two have received conditional approval from the Israeli authorities, and none have been granted full approval. Additionally, none of these plans have been implemented (even though the EU had established a benchmark of 18 months from the time of submission to proceed with the work regardless of Israeli approval). Such investments have proven to be futile, in fact I would argue that they have been counter-productive.

Since the beginning of the project, the EU has focused its effort on the democratic processes of planning

within Palestinian communities, and has measured the success of the project by the quality of the plans rather than by the impact such plans have made on the ground. Such efforts have thus far proven futile in meeting the objective of the exercise, since promoting democratic processes within an occupied community cannot be done without addressing the root causes of this oppression. The EU process of master-planning provides a false sense of ownership and participation, while it overlooks the need for finding ways in which the Israeli government can be pressured into adhering to international laws and agreements. Additionally, by submitting the plans to Israeli authorities the EU legitimises the Israeli Military Order and Israeli planning and permit regimes on land within the 1967 borders.

Furthermore, setting the boundaries of the master plans within the Local Government Units excludes the most marginalised and vulnerable communities – those that fall outside the LGUs and within Israeli designated military zones and nature reserves in Area C. Most communities in these marginalised areas are Bedouin tribes that sustain their livelihoods from the land and have been there for hundreds of years. The Israeli occupation is constantly cutting these communities from all basic services, and systematically works towards their displacement. Thus, by only supporting master-planning of the recognised LGUs, the EU further marginalises Bedouin communities, and creates a two-tiered system within an already oppressed population.

Additionally, since most of these LGUs fall near settlements, defining their master plans limits the expansion of these areas, and confines them to set physical boundaries that do not take into account future growth, thus limiting the territorial contiguity of a Palestinian State within the 1967 borders.

While these plans have all been developed under community participation, an assessment of the effectiveness of such processes has not taken place. Given that most of the LGUs lack the capacity and the expertise for adequate planning and urban design, an in-depth analysis and assessment of the practice itself, and whether or not it has provided sustainable capacity building is necessary.

Notes

¹ Theodore Herzl is considered the father of modern Zionism and the reinstitution of a Jewish homeland.

² Nakba refers to the 1948 Israel's occupation of historic Palestine during which 750,000 Palestinians were displaced from their homes.

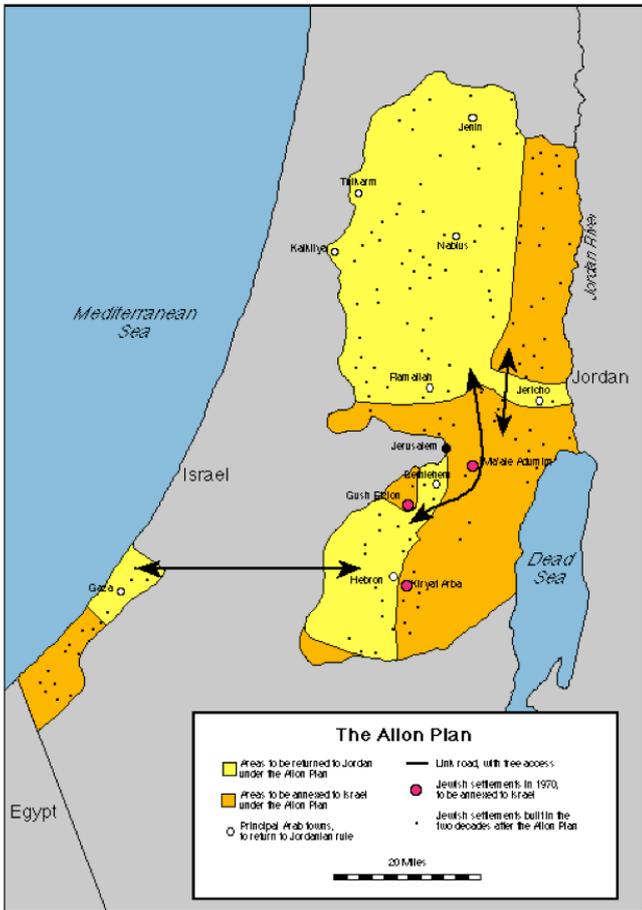
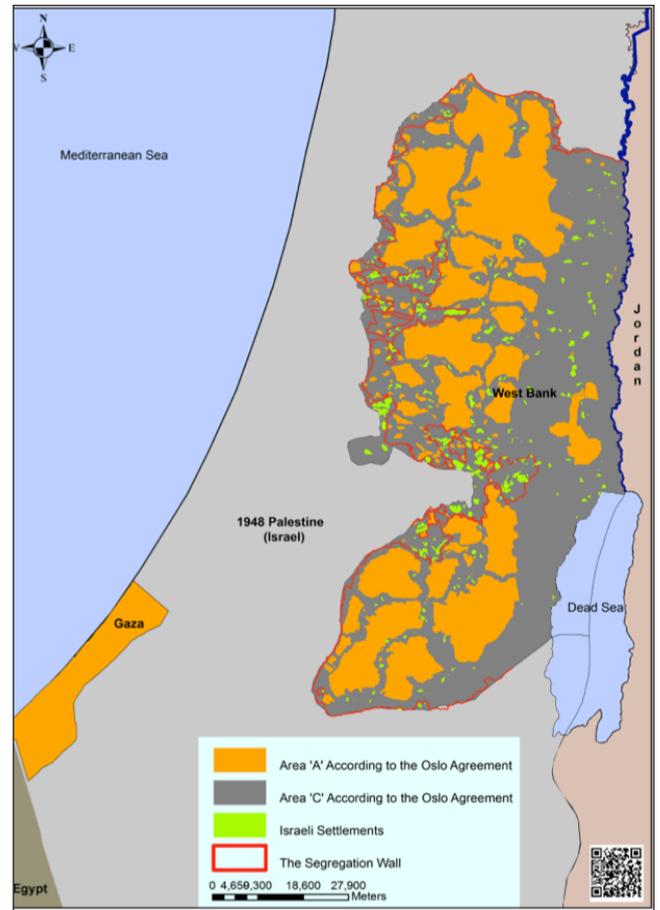


Figure 1: The Allon, 1967. Source: <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org>



Palestine 2012. Map by author



Figure 2: A bedouin community in area C, image by author

Occupy Gezi Park: Philosophical Questions Regarding Landscape Democracy in the Context of Neoliberal Urbanism

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Keywords: Democracy; neoliberal urbanism; poststructuralist theory; social aspects of landscape; Occupy Gezi Park

For the last decade, space and urban culture in Turkey were the focus of top-down authoritarian interventions. Gentrification in the housing districts and the cultural centres, occupation and privatisation of public space, and intensive 'semiotisation of urban landscapes'¹ through the lenses of the government's ideology changed Istanbul immensely. The urban fabric that consists of complex authentic cultural and natural networks of formal and informal developments started to dissolve. Social and cultural groups were segregated. The unsterile and dynamic aesthetics of everyday urbanism that were constantly produced by different subjectivities have been replaced by artificial ones that are charged with the singular ideology of the government and meanings produced by developers. In recent years, the government announced many mega urban projects to be implemented without public consultation, and without considering social, cultural and ecological phenomenalism of place and social wellbeing. The government used different tactics to try to destroy those public spaces that historically symbolised political expression. While authentic public spaces of the city were vanishing, private entertainment parks, controlled open spaces in-between luxury shopping spaces and artificial vast areas devoted to mass gatherings for the prime minister's speeches invaded the city. The meaning of public space and democracy was distorted through the government's rhetoric and practices. These developments caused growing unrest among the public, whose living environments and lifestyles were altered without their consent, and whose rights of political expression were taken away².

In May 2013, the unrest finally transformed into an occupation and resistance movement against the prime minister's shopping mall project for Gezi Park at Taksim Square, and it evolved into nationwide protests. All over Turkey, millions of people occupied open spaces in the urban centres to express their demands for democracy and rights to the city and nature (Figure 1). People from different political perspectives and social situations came together, explored forms of communication and co-existence in public spaces and established empathy with each other. During Occupy Gezi colourful and dynamic spatial and social practices emerged in public spaces. The movement, which continued for about a month, deeply impacted people who were involved in the protests. They realised how profoundly society

needs public spaces and that citizens should have the right to create those spaces. They struggled to create public spaces in different corners of the city. Different space-making practices popped-up and faded away beyond Gezi Park. The design realm questioned and experimented with its own roles, tactics, methods and tools as well, in the context of urban social movements demanding the right to the city and to the landscape. However, the processes of creative exploration of true democracy and city making that Occupy Gezi generated were suppressed by the government with the means of police violence and the media. After Occupy Gezi, all urban spaces in city centres were militarised, the protestors and activists were marginalised and suppressed and all physical marks of the Occupy movement were erased from Gezi Park and Taksim Square. The city has been going through a de-politicisation process. Despite its ephemerality, Occupy Gezi left a rich heritage for different fields and for different groups in search of public space. Most importantly, it revealed the philosophical dilemmas and paradoxes regarding defining 'the right to landscape' and 'landscape democracy'.



Figure 1

A serious body of critical literature, including interdisciplinary perspectives, on the links between social justice and tangible and intangible aspects of landscape has emerged during the last decades. For instance, *The Right to Landscape: Contesting Landscape and Human Rights* (2011) edited by Egoz, Makhzoumi, and Pungetti, elaborated on human rights in the context of landscape with the promise of offering 'alternative scenarios for constructing conflict-reduced approaches to landscape-use and human welfare' (p. 5). Related

to emerging paradigms in landscape theory, planners and designers have been predominantly focusing on the concepts such as open-endedness, complexity, flux, contradiction, and fourth dimensionality (derived from post-structuralist thinking) considering natural aspects. How can we synchronise emerging paradigms in landscape theory with the social and cultural in questioning landscape democracy in the context of 'post-political urban condition'? For Ranciere (2004), politics is not possible without disagreement. Mouffe (2000) stresses the value of struggles, contestations, confrontations and conflicts as the dynamic, unstable, but indispensable elements that form the basis for democracy. What does landscape democracy mean in a dynamic and unstable social and cultural topography of struggles, contestations, confrontations and conflicts? Can we imagine the right to landscape or landscape democracy without conflict, dissent or contestation?

Consequently, this paper aims to elaborate on all these questions in the case of the occupation of Gezi Park in order to interpret landscape democracy in the context of neoliberal urbanism. The story of the occupation of Gezi Park will be presented, covering the pre-, during-, and post-occupy periods to establish a context for the questions. The paper will consider ideologies, discourses, imaginaries, practices and tactics regarding the tangible and intangible aspects of landscape. An eclectic methodology was used to collect data, including observations of places and of events, meetings, in-depth interviews with key actors, published media, literature and legal documents. Timelines and maps will be presented to interpret the occupation of Gezi Park. An abstract framework will be suggested for philosophical questionings regarding 'landscape democracy'.

Notes

¹ Schmid, Sahr, & Urry (2011) explore the sophisticated relationships between capitalist urban transformation and intense processes of semiotisation and emotionalisation of urban landscapes in the context of globalisation.

² Prior to the Gezi movement there were many small-scale protests and social movements. For instance, in December 2011 students of Boğaziçi University in Istanbul occupied and protested the newly opened Starbucks coffee shop, which replaced the modest student cafeteria that had functioned as an important public space on campus. Their objections were as multi-layered as landscapes: privatisation of public space, top-down decision making by university management, landscape without socio-ecological functions, right to access to cheap and healthy food, and imposition of consumerist life styles. The occupation of Starbucks transformed into a movement called Tarlataban. Tarlataban had aimed to establish a social cooperative consisting of university employees and students that would farm the university's bare iconic landscape and distribute cheap, healthy food through alternative ways of making public space. (Pers. com. with one of the active actors of the Umut Kocagöz movement, July 2012.)

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Democracy and landscapes in crisis

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The Urban Landscape as a Lever for Democracy: Incentives for Re-Envisioning the Landscape in Times of Crisis – the Case of Thessaloniki, Greece

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Keywords: Urban landscape architecture and planning; urban sustainability; crisis; democracy

Introduction

Give me a place to stand on and I will move the Earth

Archimedes, III c. BC as quoted by Pappus of Alexandria, Synagoge, Book VIII (trans. 1878)

The phrase that Archimedes uttered when he discovered leverage, is an apt metaphor that highlights that anything is possible when space is inherent as a framework for progress. From the scale of open public space to the scale of the city in its wider physical background, landscape plays the role of the common ground, the point of reference for a city's welfare and the adjuster of social and cultural evolution.

This paper discusses how the landscape is envisioned and designed in different situations – gradual changes in the Greek city before and after crisis, in times of prosperity and in times of poverty, in times of top-down planning and in times of bottom-up claims, in times of urbanisation and in times of rural turnover, in times of super-consumption and in times of resource efficiency, in times of grey and in times of green. By exploring the transformations of urban landscape during the last decades in the northeast axis of Thessaloniki's extension, this paper aims to deepen our understanding of urban landscape as a record and lever for democracy. I examine the contradictions that emerge from common land use, the boundaries between common and private, the capture of space and the overall management and maintenance of infrastructures and natural heritage, with the aim of identifying the impact of certain strategies, events and planning decisions on the designation of the landscape's form and function and on the city's overall progress, social cohesion and sustainability.

Urban landscape as a record and lever for democracy

The idea of open public spaces as 'containers of collective memory and desire' able to define 'new relations and sets of possibilities' (Corner, 2006, p. 32) is not new. Pausanias recognised the city (*polis*) through its open public spaces. Pindar and Aeschylus identified the city within its agora (from the Greek verb 'to meet') (Ananiadou-Tzimopoulou & Yerolympos, 2007), the common site where citizens exchanged opinions (Tsalikidis & Bakirtzi, 2014). In fact, the concept of landscape democracy is set broadly in the notion of *polis*, where the city is announced as a political entity, 'not a random agglomeration of population and things, but instead a pre-

cise composition of constitutive parts' (Aureli, 2007). This approach underlines the significance of landscape planning for the overall constitution of the city, projecting the urban landscape as a product of decision and design where even the spontaneity is foreseen.

In contemporary dense urban environments, public open spaces reflect democracy on two levels: the way that they are planned and designed to be used by different social groups, and the way that they are finally used. At the first level the urban landscape 'demonstrates the reality of the political rhetoric' (Thomson, 2005, p. 103), at the second level it expresses cultural meanings, human behaviours and individual or common actions (Terkenli, 1996). In this case it operates as a 'codified space', where 'relations between economic activities, social structures and cultural values (Ananiadou-Tzimopoulou & Yerolympos, 2007, p. 35) are recorded. Frederick Law Olmsted described the public parks of the nineteenth century as 'cornerstones of democracy and social equity', referring to the different groups that had access to a common ground regardless of background, age, ethnicity or economic status (Thomson, 2005, p. 104).

Overview of challenges and transformations in urban sites: Re-thinking democracy

The diversity described above – a fundamental determinant of urban human geography – is sometimes a real challenge for the landscape (Thomson, 2005). On a large scale, the 'suburbia' characteristic of periods of prosperity and urban development expresses a need to get 'back to the land', out of dense metropolitan centres, in search of lost open space and the ideal of nature. Uncontrolled urban sprawl reflects a new social behaviour, a kind of individuality (Masbougni, 2002) that weakens the urban fabric, dissolves the boundary between countryside and city (Mostafavi, 2003) and wastes natural reserves by continuously transforming the landscape through new built cores and infrastructure networks (Desvigne cited in Davoine, 2003; Delarue, 2002).

On the scale of metropolitan centres, the uncontrolled density and deficiency of open spaces characteristic of abrupt urbanisation become more problematic at times of economic recession, when travel out of the city is limited and the necessity of accessible open spaces within the city is urgent. New needs emerge in times

of crisis, and new surrealistic landscapes pop up in vacant or residual lands in the core of the city, as community gardens and productive landscapes (Kleinmann, 2014). These dynamic 'loose' (Dovey, 2000, cited in Thomson, 2005) spaces, usually unregulated or abandoned, are occupied by vulnerable social groups that at once practice democracy, inventing rules for an equal co-existence, but in parallel capture a public space for an individual need.

What are the limits of democracy when facing these challenges? The democracy of urban density or the democracy of the urban sprawl? The right to the city or the right to rural self-sufficiency? The democracy of top-down standardised infrastructure or the democracy of spontaneously occupying a space in order to ensure self-existence? Is democracy really a matter of individuality, as F.L. Wright proposed through the utopia of Broadacre City (F.L. Wright cited in Tod & Wheeler, 1978)?

The northeast axis of Thessaloniki's expansion: Exploring incentives for re-envisioning the landscape
These phenomena are examined in the case study of the northeast axis of Thessaloniki's expansion, a city that has faced multiple crises, both sudden (fire, earthquake, waves of refugees and population exchange) and systemic (abrupt urbanisation, increasing land values). The lack of open spaces is a problem in the surrounding municipalities; it is also the force that keeps the city's core vivid. A route of 7 kilometres traces the different options of conceiving the dipole city: at the beginning of the axis is the city's social housing (Kalogirou, 1990), then the urban gorges of the uncontrolled built western districts (Yerolympos, 2013; Chastaoglou, 2008), the arbitrary refugee settlements of 1920 (Kafkoulas, 2007: 379-390), and finally the vision of a new garden city in prosperous suburbs during the 2000s. In times of prosperity the suburbs are enlarged but unplanned, ignoring the landscape. In times of crisis, the population regains former military campuses or spaces in-between infrastructures, organising new productive green commons (Howe et al, 2005).

Landscape next: Re-thinking Crisis

'Crisis', 'catastrophe' and 'democracy are all terms derived from Greek (Schäfer, 2011). The symbolism lies at this point, when Greece has to face up to accumulated social, economic and cultural crises clearly read through the landscape. Crises happen continuously, as society develops new needs and rejects existing ones, and are projected onto the natural or built landscape. In a literal sense, 'crisis' means decision, the culmination of a situation that leads to a turning point. Crises require insights, opinions and decisions (Schäfer, 2011). The landscape acts as a driver (Corner, 2006) and catalyst (Mostafavi, 2003) for the city's transformation. Democracy in planning and design of the landscape is

now more urgent than ever.

I propose an overall strategic plan for the landscape as the means to re-envision the city, in order to adjust spatial conflicts and create a new spatial framework to designate the future of built reserves, 'loose' spaces and the 'ecological, social and perceptual value of the landscape (Ananiadou-Tzimopoulou, 1982, p. 37). As Mostafavi emphasised (2003, p. 9), 'we cannot describe our societies as democratic without considering the spatial framework that enables democracy to act'.

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Landscape in Emergency

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Keywords: War refugee settlements; risk landscape; landscape strategy; informal transitional settlements; landscape in emergency

Landscape is 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. Climate change, depletion of natural resources, conflict between globalisation and local development, and re-location of war refugees have all created new challenges to managing, protecting and safeguarding the landscape

'Emergency' is the word that most represents Lebanon and its landscape. On 6 May 2014 the United Nations special envoy of the secretary-general for the implementation of resolution 1559 said that 'Lebanon is now facing a difficult and challenging period' (UN, 2014). The new risk landscape, accentuated by exponential numbers of Syrian immigration, represents one of the emergencies this part of the world is now facing. Approximately 2 million displaced persons are transforming the landscape by introducing new patterns, processes and rhythms that require responses to new conditions (Figure 1). The Lebanese government has resisted establishing formal refugee camps, fearing a repetition of the country's experience with Palestinian refugee camps.

Nonetheless, the deterioration of the situation calls for development of a strategic plan at the national and regional levels, one that is able to face the issue of transitional settlements and shelter for the displaced population. According to UNHCR (2014), the pressing problems Lebanon needs to address include the escalating number of refugees, tension between host and guest community, poor quality of life in the informal settlements, ecological and cultural impact on the land and the lack of coordination between local and international interventions.

But how can a country that suffers from inadequacy in governance, be ready to tackle such a complex and multi-scale problem?

The Lebanese urban planning system does not adequately address sustainability, liveability, or environmental, spatial and equity issues. Urban plans in Lebanon focus exclusively on the physical planning of the region under study and do not approach urban planning from a strategic perspective (UNDP, 2010). Over time, the lack of planning and landscape projects has created a territory defined by disintegration, juxtaposition

and marginality. Erected in different areas of Lebanon, the informal settlements (ITS) are enclaves of migrants seeking to establish communities. In this landscape the new and increasing Syrian ITS are adding stress to the existing emergency situation.

In their movements and relocations, the new communities are organising spaces, and trying to meet their housing needs, in an accelerated process of settlement that considers individuals as numbers. These movements are creating spaces that are the result of misuse, waste of natural resources, abnormal production of 'rejection' and complaints about the lack of landscape planning. In order to provide all humans with an environment that is viable and worth living, new planning models and approaches have to be developed, both strategically and systemically, ones that consider landscape as a tool to re-establish lost connections, to identify new characters and begin planning processes that integrate design with effects on the landscape at different spatial and temporal scales.

This paper argues for the development of a method that, by interlacing old and new signs and representations of local and imported stories, testimonies and definitions of values, and through repeated observations and interventions in the field, permits the definition of a flexible, relational and creative strategy capable of managing continuous change and transformation. It describes the experience of two important events that led me to improve my research on the topic of landscape emergency and refugee settlement.

The first is the academic experiment I conducted with my design class, on a refugee settlement in South Lebanon during fall semester 2014; the second is the research workshop I directed at the American University of Beirut (AUB) with the support of my department, Landscape Design and Ecosystem Management (LDEM), and in collaboration with the Centre for Civic Engagement and Community Service (CCECS/AUB) and the International Federation of Landscape Architects (IFLA). Both activities aimed to defy the role of landscape architecture and set out new approaches and new methods to convey the complexity of 'displaced by disaster' (Esnard & Sapat, 2014) conditions. In doing so, we started posing some pressing questions:

- How can we manage the overlap between old and emergent characters in order to organise a territory capable of expressing its landscape quality in continuously-changing territories?

- How are the influx, movements and locations of formal and informal new settlements shaping and creating new landscapes?

- How can we harmonise and coordinate the different needs (local and refugee) and responsibilities for spatial, cultural, economic, environmental, aesthetic and social aspects of landscape?

During studio time, we structured and defined a method of intervention we applied at a case study in South Lebanon located in a banana field, Sarafand ITS. This is a very small settlement, compressed and organised in three small clusters around narrow 'alleys' arranged to recreate the rural feeling of its residents' origins. During the semester we spent time in situ, looking around, interacting with children and women, in search of *indicia* and solutions to this situation. Students were confused and disoriented: what is our role? Why are we here? How we can help them?

Back in the studio we compared the ITS to other cities and concluded that an ITS could be considered a particular type of city. We prepared a map of the area and students produced analytical diagrams looking at spatial components and at uses of open space, with the aim of understanding the everyday rhythms, activities taking place, social constraints, the desires of the people, their memories and ways of living.

With the aim of designing small projects that would be easy to implement through participatory processes, and using cheap and recycled materials, we defined four main categories of intervention: borders, vegetation, water and children. After analysing the settlement, students had to select one of the above themes and produce a project in one specific open space, bearing in mind time, flexibility, utility (not aesthetic but ethical), human wellbeing and absence of maintenance as basic criteria to drive the design process. Some of the titles of the students' final design include: A Soothing Escape, Inside Out, Porous/Non-Porous, Layered Privacy, Edible Garden, Interstitial Green, Hanging Green, The Shading Canopy, and Porosity (Figures 2 & 3).

Unfortunately we did not have enough time to implement the projects, but the results were used as a basis to define the landscape approach in the refugee settlements during the research workshop on emergency landscape that I led in January. After five days of group discussion, meetings with NGOs and site visits, all the participants agreed that this approach could be applied and tested in practice during the on-site landscape

workshop E-scape that we are organising for the end of May 2015 using the Al Tiliani ITS in Bar Elias as case study, to further be able to set a methodology and guidelines of intervention

As landscape architects, we can – and have the responsibility to – contribute to this emergent and important topic.

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Figure 1

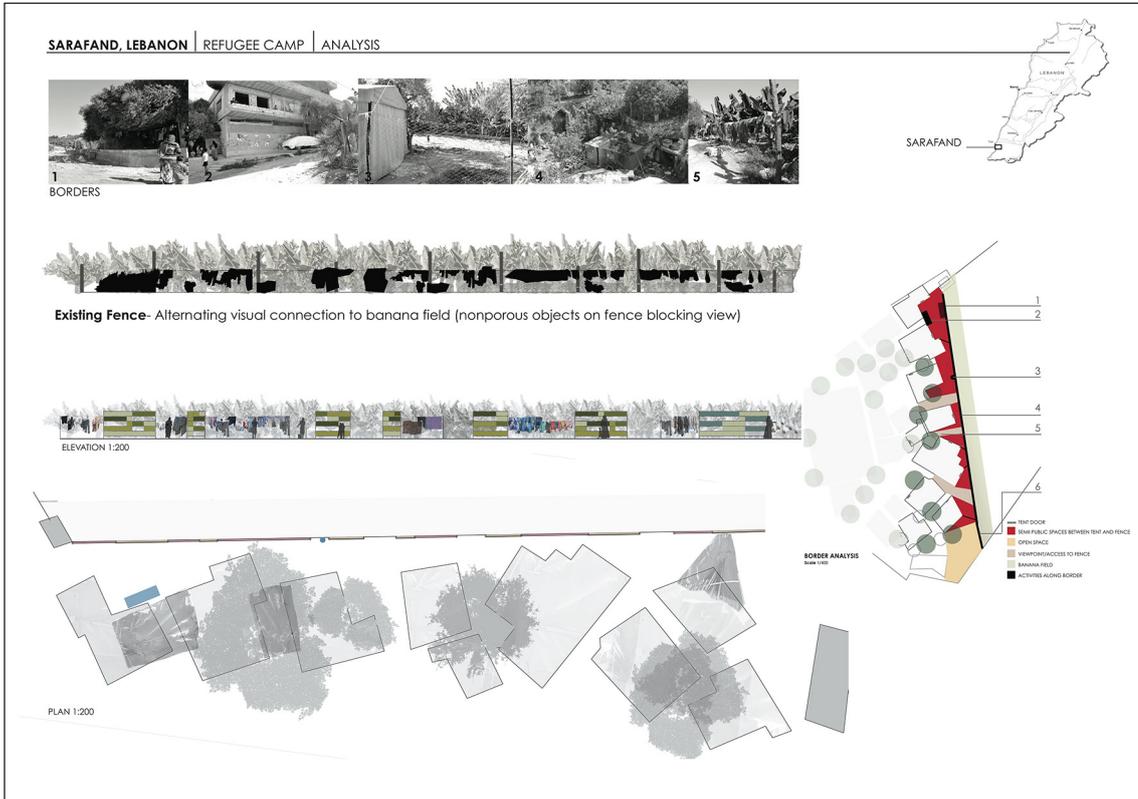


Figure 2

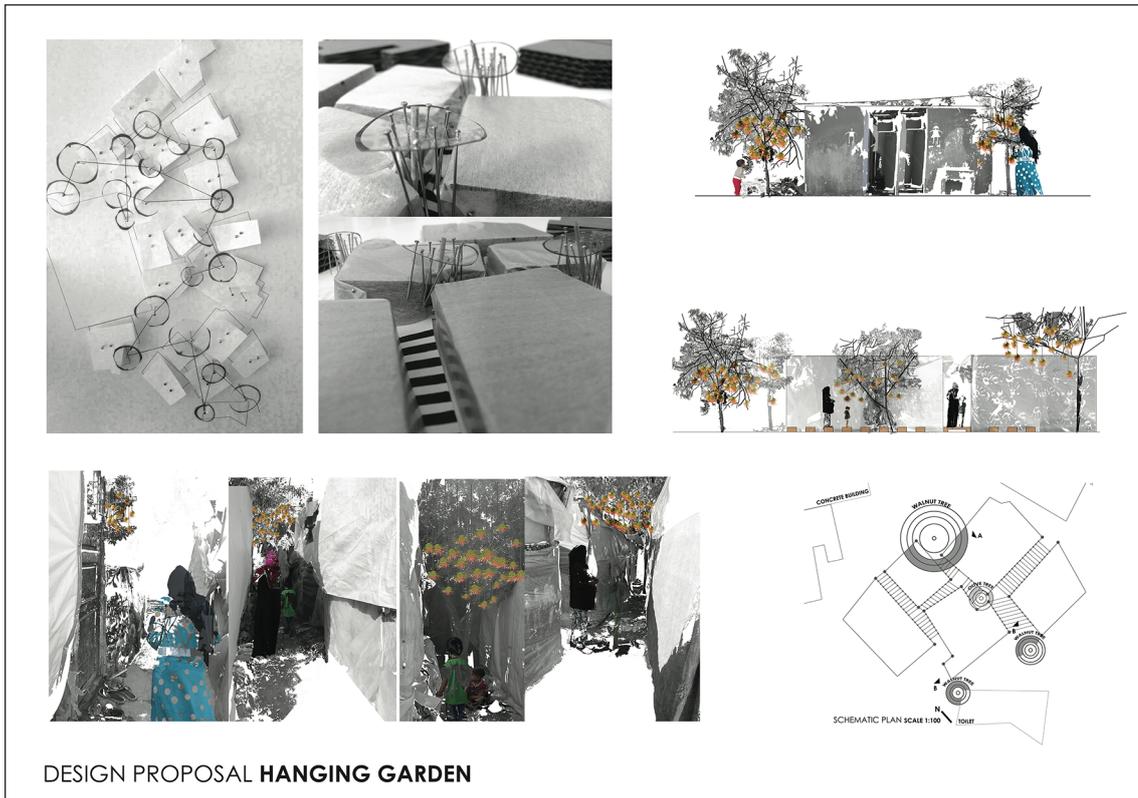


Figure 3

The Destruction of 'Landscape' and the Human Right to Landscape: The case of the 2011 Great Disaster in East Japan

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Keywords: Lifescape; hometown landscape; human right; disaster; social wellbeing

The disaster and influences on landscape in Japan

In Japan, nature and landscape strongly influence our psyche. Mountains, hot springs and waterscapes are embedded in our culture and existence. Nature also affects our lives through disasters, such as earthquakes, tsunamis and typhoons. We inevitably and sustainably respect nature, considering taking care of nature as a voluntary collaboration for community safety. We are proud of our landscapes in Japan, not only the outstanding beautiful sites but the ordinary landscapes as well, the "hometown landscapes" that are often termed "lifescapes".

Landscape contributes to social and economic wellbeing. Yet there can also be negative aspects such as in the case of the destruction of the landscape by the 2011 great disaster in East Japan. The earthquake was at the great magnitude of 9.0. The high seismic intensity and the resulting tsunami have completely transformed the landscape. More than 500km of coastline was flooded and sunk. The size of the influenced territory was the largest recorded in the past millennial disasters.



Figure 1: The destruction of the landscape by the tsunami on 11 March 2011. Source: Town of Minamisanriku. (2012).

The destruction of 'lifescape' in Fukushima

Presently general reconstruction projects are being carried out and society and economy are being rehabilitated, but the reconstruction from the Fukushima nuclear accident continues to have many problems. Public access is limited in the higher radioactive areas. Some areas will be decontaminated, but others will be impossible to decontaminate for a long time. The 'lifescapes' of the Fukushima public were destroyed by the accident. The evacuation area is very large – about 1,150 km. Decontamination projects were taken on, and the surfaces of contaminated lands are going to be removed from the field, yet conflicts over the location

of the waste disposal site are on-going.

The number of all survived inhabitants remains over 250,000, including people who had found refuge in temporary public housing. 120,000 inhabitants were dislocated by the nuclear accident and 80,000 inhabitants of the evacuation area cannot return to their original homes because of the danger of high radioactivity. 45,000 inhabitants have relocated from Fukushima Prefecture to other regions. They have lost their hometown landscapes.

The negative influence of the Fukushima nuclear accident has affected all aspects of life and economy in the territory. All of agriculture, forestry, fishery, industry and services have been damaged by the invisible radiation.

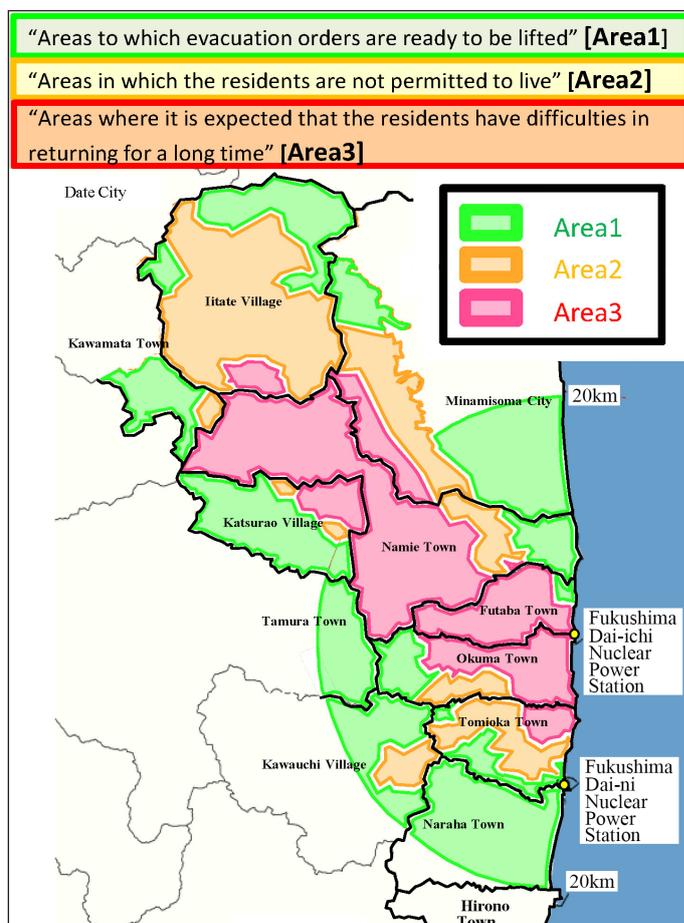


Figure 2: Areas affected by the 2011 disaster

Conflicts of the human right to environment

People cannot live happily without their hometown landscapes. Lawsuits by inhabitants were filed against the Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO), but many inhabitants hesitated to sue during their difficult situations, so the central government has established the Alternative Dispute Resolution Center (ADRC) for the accident in Fukushima, under the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sport, Science and Technology in cooperation with Japan Federation Bar Associations.

The Fukushima Nuclear Accident Independent Investigation Commission of the National Diet of Japan (Japan's bicameral legislature) has concluded that:

"The accident was clearly 'manmade'. The accident was the result of collusion between the government, the regulators and TEPCO, and the lack of governance by said parties. They effectively betrayed the nation's right to be safe from nuclear accidents." (the official report of National Diet of Japan, 2012)

The Committee of central government admitted compensation for mental pain only for inhabitants who lived in the very limited area, because they have been forced to leave for a long period. TEPCO is starting to pay compensation, but it is much less than what the victims deserve. Moreover, many more victims had to escape from their hometowns that were contaminated by radioactive materials and had to stay away from home for a long period. The ADRC have many times requested to include compensation for the mental pain of a lost hometown for these residents as well, but TEPCO rejected these claims in 2014.

Conflicts have emerged from the lack of the responsibility the polluters have taken for the victims' mental pain over their lost hometowns. It is very important to note that this pollution, although it was a consequence of a natural disaster, was described as a 'manmade' disaster in the official report. The source of the accident was the negligence of TEPCO in providing protection against tsunamis, though they had officially claimed to have enough protection before the disaster. A further problem after the disaster is the ignoring of a human right to environment.

Although 'the human right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' (article 13) of the Japanese Constitution (1946) was referred to in the National Diet, it had no effect since the human right to environment was never added into the constitution and the legislation in Japan. Environmental problems had already appeared in the 1960s, for example the *Minamata* disease, but unfortunately the human right to the environment and information were not established after the experiences of the environmental pollution in Japan.

I believe that TEPCO should not reject requests of the ADRC. They should recognise the responsibility they have for damaging the 'hometown landscape' and 'lifestyle' for all Fukushima inhabitants.

What is the landscape?

The new Japanese landscape law of 2004 does not define landscape by the central government, but rather allows that local authorities can freely define their local landscapes. On the other hand the modified Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties states that 'Cultural Landscapes are landscape areas that have developed in association with the modes of life or livelihoods of the people and the natural features of the region, which are indispensable for understanding of our people's modes of life and livelihoods' (2004). This definition says there is a strong relationship between life and landscape.

We worry that victims of Fukushima have lost their fundamental right to live in their hometown landscape. I think this is a human right to landscape. Some of them died during the transfer from their hometown after the disaster, although they survived during the 2011 disaster itself. Research from the Japan Federation Bar Associations has clarified the components of mental pain of victims of Fukushima as the following deprivation: place; family; community; culture; work; education; local food, and local music. Life and place are strongly connected to the human right to landscape and the definition of landscape.

Moreover there is another aspect of the human right to landscape that relates to democratic processes of public participation in the decision-making of planning. Following the 2011 disaster nuclear plans were shut down and decisions regarding their re-opening must include the inhabitants of those areas who are at risk. Therefore, landscape democracy is fundamental for social wellbeing and safety.

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The Shifting Landscapes of the Levant: Education to Refugees as a Process to Recovery

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Keywords: Holy Defense; fragile Landscape; lost generation; education for refugees; democracy for the traumatised

The New Levant - A Minorities Belt

Between al-Qasr (a Lebanese border village located on the outskirts of Hermel district) and al-Qusayr (a Syrian border town located on the outskirts of Homs district), 23 villages and 12 farms of Lebanese-origin citizens, are located on the Syrian side of the border line with a majority of Muslim-Shias that are offshoots of clans in Hermel. In October 2012, Hezbollah announced its engagement in the Syrian turmoil to protect the Lebanese citizens living in al-Qusayr villages, a pretext which soon changed to the 'Holy Defense' when Hezbollah deployed armed groups to defend the shrine of Sayyida Zaynab¹ in Damascus.

Labbayki Ya Zanab (We are at your Service Oh Zaynab) war chant has been reverberating among Hezbollah's fighters whose realpolitik overarching mission is to secure a cordon that extends from Mount Haramoun, Damascus (the city), Homos (the city), all the way westwards to the Syrian coastline. This is a belt where Syria's minorities namely, the Alawites, Christians, Druze, and Kurds are agglomerated. The Holy Defense is gaining legitimacy among the Levant religious minorities whose 'existential' fear is attributed to the horrific sectarian cleansings that are practiced by ISIS (Islamic State in Iraq and Syria), Nusra Front, and other Sunni extremist Qaeda-offshoots in the areas of their control.

Many political observations are portraying the Sykes-Picot agreement that drew the political geography for the Middle East in 1916 as moribund. However, the alternative model(s), which are likening the region to the Caliphate (Islamic state) or the *'Taqiyya'*² coalition, do not present promising prospects. Swapping of land and demography by applying the scorched earth strategy and forced displacement is integral to the ongoing upheaval. The infiltration of refugees and militarized groups, and the closing ranks of coreligionists are diluting the physical and psychological notion of the Lebanon-Syria borderline and hence, implicitly drafting a new political-geography.

Syrian Refugees in Lebanon – protracted stay on a mired landscape

The deformation of the geopolitics in the Levant comes at a high and bloody price. The breakout of protests and Civil War(s) in March 2011 has forced nearly half of the Syrian population to become internally displaced (6.5

million), or to seek refuge outside their country (3 million) (UNHCR, 2014) with an average of 90,000 refugees recorded by UNHCR's regional offices each month in 2014 (Ibid). On June 7, 2013 the United Nations called for the biggest financing appeal in its history³ (more than 5 billion USD) to deliver humanitarian assistance to Syrian refugees that are affected by a conflict described by Antonio Guterres, UN's high commissioner for refugees, as 'the most dangerous crisis since the end of the cold war' (Cumming-Bruce and Gladstone, 2013).

To date, Lebanon is regarded as the most affected host in the region, with the highest influx of refugees to the total population in the whole world. Holding the lion's share of displacement, more than 1.2 million registered Syrian refugees and an unknown number of unregistered are dispersed along around 1,400 (Global Communities, 2014) localities of the country's geographically small and politically fragile landscape. The influx of Refugees has fueled an already heated debate inside Lebanon, and has been used to augment divisions and support conflicting arguments that are linked to regional-strategic interests. Both the Refugees and the host communities are being subjected to an exacerbating bellicose rhetoric (linked to Lebanon's trembling politics, societal anxieties, and security threats) and are improvising necessary measures to secure stability amidst mired grounds.

The Lost Generations – Ghata (Cover) over their Head

Children below the age of 18 constitute the highest percentage of Syrian refugees in Lebanon (53.2%) (UNHCR, 2014), out of which only 14% (90,000) (National News Agency, 2013) are accommodated within the already overcrowded Public schooling system. The latest Inter-Agency Multi-Sector Needs Assessment report (January/August 2014) mentions that refugee families are withdrawing their children from schools due to concerns related to 'the cost (tuition, supplies and transportation fees and child labor); curriculum; language barriers; trauma experienced and the need for psychological and social support; discrimination; safety and security' (UNHCR, 2014). Accordingly, more than half a million school-aged Syrian refugees are being dubbed 'The Lost Generation'.

In August 2012, I designed a *Ghata* unit (a multipurpose portable structure, easily assembled and disassembled, built from material found in the local Lebanese market, with an area of 20 m² adjustable to modifications and increase in size) which was approved by the Ministry of Social Affairs to be used for educational purposes. To date, five *Ghata* schools have been assembled catering for around 2500 Syrian refugees, and the aim is to scale it up exponentially.

The overarching guidelines for every *Ghata* school is (a) to bring education to Informal Tented Settlements⁴, and (b) to reduce the environmental and ecological impact of ITs through the promotion of sustainable practices⁵. The *Ghata* programs focus on building the skills of Syrian refugees specifically in sectors related to (1) education; (2) primary and mental health care; (3) waste management; (4) shelter rehabilitation, (5) and the upgrading of the shared outdoor spaces in the ITs.

Democracy for the traumatised?

Claude Lefort states that when 'taken in its philosophical acceptance, the concept of *value* pertains to a modern way of thinking' (Lefort, 2000). In this sense, modern democracy has been conceived as being 'conceptualised and structured within the limits of Liberalism' (Parekh, 1992). However, Liberal Democracy is subjected to morphosis when placed in a landscape of uncertainty, fear, violence, oppression, exclusion, and extremism; 'to postpone democratization until liberalism evolves first, some form of "guardianship" scheme would be needed to guide the communities in question towards liberalism and democracy' (El-Affendi, 2011), according to El-Affendi. Awaiting the emergence of the 'New Middle East', and the articulation of modern constitutions or the resurrection of the old scripts, millions of people are being forced to become displaced and more than half of those won't be able to read any text.

Notes

¹ Sayyida Zaynab is the granddaughter of Prophet Mohammad, and the daughter of Imam Ali Ibn Abi Taleb who is the fourth and last of the Rashideen Caliphs and the first supreme Imam for the Muslim-Shia sect.

² Taqiyya is the dissimulation or concealment of practices of religious minorities.

³ The Syria operation is the largest in UNHCR's 64-year history.

⁴ To date, three Ghata Schools have been successfully implemented accommodating for the education of 2500 Syrian refugees.

⁵ Solar panels provide energy in the Ghata(s) to reduce stress on the national grid, and provide a green source of energy for camps. Also, using solar heat for cooking purposes reduces

pollution and limits deforestation as a result of wood-burning, thus providing a green solution with limited carbon footprint. Furthermore, Lebanon has been facing drought years given the small amount of rainfall accordingly; Ghata(s) are equipped with rainwater harvesting barrels and dry sanitation latrines to reduce of the amount of water consumption, and to curb the infiltration of sewage to the underground water table.

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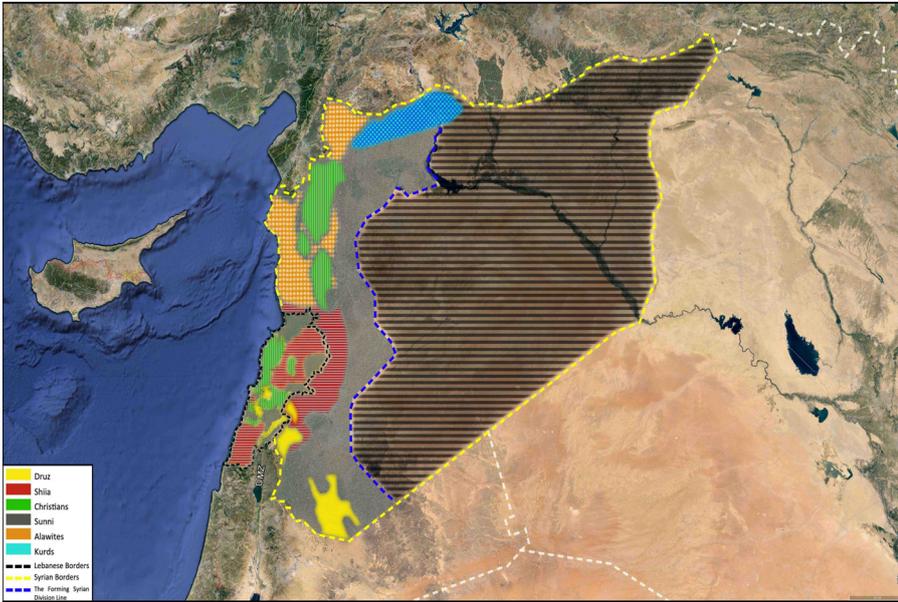


Figure 1: Map showing the agglomeration of sectarian groups in Syria and Lebanon



Figure 2: Aqbiyeh collective shelter (Southern Lebanon) showing the unhygienic living conditions endured by Syrian refugees.



Figure 3: Ghata classroom, design and implantation

Shatter Zone Democracy? What Rising Sea Levels and Inland Human Migrations Portend for Future Governance

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Keywords: Shatter zones; rising sea level; democracy; forced migration; barriers

Rising sea levels (RSL) are encroaching on the world's coastal landscapes, where roughly half of the world's population resides. This encroachment has inland effects as well, as coastal migrants vacate their communities and seek security elsewhere. Relentless coastal evacuations have implications for state coherence and governance, as the size, density, and configuration of nations change. Confronted with RSL, the complicated land–democracy relationship is rebalancing as well. Grand-scale survival planning in our RSL era poses the question: will emergency 'future-proofing' interventions by governments facing newly-crowded landscapes alter democracy as we know it?

Referred to as the invisible tsunami, RSL is altering human settlement patterns. A one-metre increase in global mean sea level rise will result in an estimated loss of 1,055,000 square kilometres of coastal area and could put between 300 and 560 million people at risk from flooding. Scientists forecast that RSL may exceed two metres or more in the present century and push further inland due to surge effects. The coastal surge zone, where seawaters and people are on the move, contrasts with the shatter zone, or inland destinations where refugees relocate. Shatter zones are potentially tumultuous because of competition for space and resources by old and new settlers and calls for new governance strategies. Such zones are proving grounds for new democracies, or perhaps post-democracies founded on public trust doctrines.

History is replete with shatter zones in which migrants, voluntary and otherwise, face destination conflicts and barriers to entry. What distinguishes the RSL coast-to-interior transition is the global scope of the surge zone, the magnitude of land-related barriers arrayed against resettlement in the shatter zone, and the way in which public policy in this zone problematises democracy. Following an overview of theories speaking to the land–democracy relationship, the paper addresses each matter in turn. It concludes with a view of nature and democracy as mutually constituted and incorporated, a revision of the view that democracy decontextualised from nature can be good governance.

The scope of RSL and its cathartic effect on coastal resettlement is unparalleled. Major natural disasters in history (volcanic eruptions, mini-ice ages, droughts, floods, fires, epidemics, plagues, and famines) have

displaced populations; in less random ways, inter- and intra-national wars, colonial occupations, modernising megaprojects and ideological juggernauts (Manifest Destiny, *Terra Nullius*, the Cold War) and the end of empires have created homeless and stateless people and set them adrift. Arguably, however, the global extent of RSL surge zone is unprecedented, at least since the glaciers receded 12 millennia ago. Though technologies may be found to fortify coastlands or colonise space and oceans ('sea-steading'), prominent issues of democratic decision-making and governance persist. Who will decide what resources will be spent on coastal adaptation versus out-migration, who gets to stay and who is evicted, who will be compensated for moving, and what surge zone activities should tax payers pay for?

The second and longest section of the paper investigates the shatter zone: what are the barriers to entry for surge-zone populations? Habitability in the interior is obstructed by multiple factors, ranging from land degradation (over a third of the Earth's lands are uninhabitable due to desertification and erosion, nutrient depletion, salinity, water scarcity, pollution, and major disruptions to biological cycles and biodiversity), ongoing warfare (300 wars have been fought since 1900, some lasting for decades), nuclear exclusion zones, and widespread unexploded war ordinance (land mines, cluster munitions and improvised explosive devices) in 80 countries. Other 'no trespass' conditions include complicated property laws, exclusionary land use regulations, spreading gated communities and landownership concentration, and the aggravations of global 'land grabbing'.

Global cities, seemingly a mecca for migrants, are choked with overpopulation. Their growth is a source of farmland loss, fragmented habitat, and threatened biodiversity. More cities mean more solid waste, cement production (a major source of greenhouse gas and RSL) and highways, all of which consume agricultural land. As of 2010, the amount of land occupied by roads globally totalled 102,260,304 kilometres in length and 301,029 square kilometres in area, and addiction to car and truck transportation across the globe is growing. Barriers to entry in the shatter zone also extend to sprawling brownfields and superfund sites, to carbon sequestration lands, and to parks and protected areas that restrict human use (such as conservation catego-

ries I–IV of International Union for Conservation of Nature). Landscape management of the future must meet the challenges of the shatter zone – more people (background fertility combined with surge zone entrants) on a dramatically shrinking land base.

Section three addresses the possible collision between emergent land-use planning needs in the shatter zone and common assumptions about democratic rule. The former may become soft martial law, pushing land-use decision-making in evermore *dirigist* and compulsory directions. Herein, survival and security expediencies disregard nature, flattening its diversity for food and other future-proofing demands and obscuring the organic connections between nature and democracy. In contrast, the latter is expanding to include not only the rights of ‘the demos’ and full representation in government, but those of nature, founded on the idea that nature and democracy are mutually constituted. Despite considerable research associating human crowding with conflict, collapse and chaos, shatter zone realities may compel a reimagining of democracy – or post-democracy – in which the rights of nature are elevated and democratised public trust principles becomes a widespread *modus operandi*.

Re-building – or building back Better? Observations of Three years of Working in Shibitachi, Iwate, Tohoku, Japan

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Keywords: Disaster landscapes; participatory design; informal landscape; disaster risk reduction

This paper outlines some of the complex issues that arise in rebuilding in the aftermath of a full-scale eradication of life, landscape, infrastructure and property in the March 11 earthquake tsunami disaster in Tohoku, from a landscape architecture perspective. The main questions discussed through the case of the village Shibitachi are: how is local identity and a sense of territorial belonging influencing democratic processes in decision-making on 'building back better' (UNISDR, 2015), and what are the limitations to these processes. In addition, the concept of hybrid landscape will be explored through distinct types of cultural practices in Japan. Finally, the current state of reconstruction will be discussed in the context of infrastructural responses to disaster risk reduction.

Hybrid landscape – shaping local identity

The hybrid landscape brings together formally-planned spaces and spontaneously-made places into one concept of space in the urban landscape (Jonas, 2007). Considering the hybrid landscape as a holistic idea of 'lived space' reflects the complexity and overlay of many conventional themes of ownership and identity. One aspect of the concept of hybrid landscapes is its allocation to 'real life' phenomena. The hybrid landscape has been described as 'a mirror of the people who live in the neighborhood. It reflects the ingenuity of individuals and the togetherness of the group acting for a barometer for community energy and a record of what the community was and is about.' (Quayle, Driessen & van der Lieck, 1997) Furthermore, the hybrid landscape can be viewed as a metaphor for how we live in the world – how societies shape themselves through cultural practices and spaces that reflect their values.

The bipolarity of two place-making processes – the professional practice of place-making and the here-described small-scale appropriation of space by individuals who shape their environment in non-professional ways – define urban landscapes in Japan. One striking example is formed by the informal gardens that shape entire neighborhoods in dense urban and rural areas. These informal gardens can be viewed as expressions of individuality as well as an element of community. Studies showed that informal gardens foster community through clearly negotiated rules and shared values (Jonas, 2008). Informal flowerpot gardens typically form 'floating borders' between public and private spaces, located between building and road or footpath. In dense urban conditions, these gardens often form the only green available. The informal aspect of the grown hybrid landscape makes it vulnerable: how can something that is unplanned be of value to communities? The informal gardens are viewed as a direct expression of scarcity: for some they prove the lack of formally-planned green space. What is not seen from a formal standpoint is the value these informal gardens hold: a strong sense of community is expressed through territorial shaping and caring about a local neighborhood.

Responses to radical shifts in the environment caused by natural disasters

In the face of ultimate destruction where all territories, planned, delineated, unplanned and appropriated are lost, what are the responses to re-building?

The municipality of Shibitachi, located in Iwate Prefecture on the Karakuwa Peninsula was severely affected in the Tsunami disaster. A small fishing village of 256 inhabitants lost all low-lying buildings, 16 were killed and the entire port infrastructure destroyed. The village is spread around the approximately 1.2 kilometre-wide bay and the steep terraced hillsides. The earthquake hit Shibitachi at 2:46pm and villagers started to evacuate to higher ground. It is difficult to know why some returned to their homes to clean up or collect important items, in spite of the tsunami warning. From around 3:18pm, 30 minutes after the earthquake, the water in the bay started to rise rapidly, inundating the low-lying areas of the village. Buildings were washed away in a series of waves. In the next few hours, debris was carried to the bay. By the next morning burning carpets of oil and large ships from nearby Kesenuma port and the oil refinery had drifted to the bay.



Figure 1: Informal gardens shape entire neighborhoods in Tokyo. Photo: M. Jonas

In the months after the disaster, relief was organised in Tohoku through academic research units and architects. A research team from Tokyo University and RMIT University started to work with the locals in Shibitachi. Students surveyed the road network topography in order to design a new route network of evacuation pathways and streets. The idea for new evacuation routes was established with the community in a series of workshops. In addition, the people of Shibitachi self-organised to form committees for rebuilding the port, roads and housing. Ideas were developed with active members of the community and community organisers, volunteers and landscape architecture students from Australia. A number of models and drawings were produced, presented and discussed. Suggestions were accepted and then changed and presented again. The process became more difficult and people became more frustrated by the lack of real action, withdrawing support.



Figure 2: Shibitachi: locals and landscape architects survey the site of the planned seawall in October 2013. The orange marker shows the height of the planned structure. Photo: M. Jonas

The standstill of rebuilding in Shibitachi is tied to a decision: to build a seawall or not. Government funds for rebuilding are allocated to communities who can agree on a future reconstruction plan¹. Some community members have named this blackmail. The plan that the government has proposed to Shibitachi is to build a 9.9-metre tall concrete seawall right along the coastline in the small bay. The proposed structure would require a base 30 metres wide – covering the entire port area in concrete. An infrastructure-based proposal should be considered in a cost-benefit analysis and through environmental assessment, but furthermore in its capacity to contribute to safety and community, none of which has been undertaken.

The inability to perceive the danger of the imminent tsunami led to a failure to evacuate all people to higher ground in the 30 minutes between the earthquake and the tsunami. The case of Taro shows, that the ‘great wall of China’ – 10 metres tall and 2 kilometres long – provided a tragic sense of security. The faith in the

wall and its ability to save residents from any tsunami was so unshakeable that some even rushed toward it after the earthquake struck. But within a few minutes the waves ripped through the outer wall before easily surging over the inner one, sweeping away those who had climbed on its top, and quickly taking away most of the town of Taro.

In Shibitachi a unique topography and exposure has created one of the best bays in Japan for oyster culture and, as the name of the village suggests, tuna fishing. The hills are steep and planted forests and natural vegetation extend right to the sea. This relationship between land and sea is the reason for the nutrient-rich rainwater runoff that filters into the bay and provides ideal conditions for oyster cultivation.



Figure 3: A 9.9-metre tall seawall for Shibitachi? Photo and photomontage: M. Jonas]

There is concern that the seawalls will disrupt much more than the connection between land and sea. Where pro-seawall campaigners accept the impact on the “beautiful scenery” as a lesser evil, they fail to grasp larger irreversible consequences. While economies in oyster farming and tourism depend on undisrupted connections between land and sea, critics fear that these walls will only manifest the tragic failure to be prepared for disaster: the failure to accept that humans are part of nature and that safety exists in understanding dynamic landscapes will be inscribed in the landscape by these walls.

Uncharted Landscape

Researching and consulting with universities² and design practitioners³ in the Tohoku region since the earthquake, I have been involved in field-based education and design research, academic consultancy and advocacy, and finally political activism. The conclusion that I would like to draw at this point is that our complex sense of belonging to landscape is shaped by our cultural frameworks and relations to a concept of nature: if we see nature as something *out there*, we fail to find ourselves belonging to it.

Considering landscape as a holistic entity shaped by human activity and consisting of geographic features gives a unique opportunity to ‘build back better’ instead of repeating the past. The richness of informal uses in hybrid landscapes gives a starting point. It could inform an understanding that shapes the way we deal with disasters and promotes a different worldview – one that

is ethically inclusive and appreciative of diversity and unpredictability. A considered path of action would be to fully assess the impact of planned measures on communities and the environment in democratic and transparent ways.

Notes

¹ Building the seawall was decided by a majority vote of the members of the community. In many municipalities this majority vote was achieved in non-transparent ways, as documented by the Think Seawall blog. There is concern that corruption might be overtly at play in the decisions.

² Collaborating researchers: Tokyo University – Associate Professor Hiroshi Ota 2011–2013, Associate Professor Christian Dimmer 2012–ongoing, visiting research fellow Ota Lab 2011; Waseda University – Dr. Toshihiko Abe 2012–2014.

³ Collaborating practitioners: Hiroshi Ota, Neuob Design; Ota Lab, Tohoku Synergy Forum; Hiroko Otsuka, Think Seawall.

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Sharing landscapes of the afterlife

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Democratic Use of Urban Cemeteries in the 21st Century: A Study of the Diversity of Activities and Attitudes Towards Use

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Keywords: Green space; public space; recreation

In the last 20 years there has been a significant increase in urbanisation in Scandinavia. Many people want to live in proximity to the cities such as Stockholm and Oslo (Bengtsson, 2002; SSB, 2014). To solve the pressing need for dwellings for all new city inhabitants, the planning authorities have been working with strategies of densification. As a result of new ideals for compact cities, green infrastructure may be lost or reduced in size. The green structures in cities are of great importance for people and wildlife. A field that has gained increased research interest during the last decades is the relationship between green spaces and people's health and well-being (Hartig, et al. 2014). A body of research lends support to green spaces as arenas for health promotion, as they facilitate restorative experiences, social interaction and physical activity (Nordh, et al. 2012).

As cities become denser, the proximity to, and also presence of green spaces may decrease. As presented in a study by Halvorsen Thorén (2010), in the period 1994-2006 Oslo lost 420 hectares of green spaces. The shortage of urban space, and influences from new inhabitants could potentially lead to other recreational areas becoming more, or differently used. Cemeteries could represent spaces of this kind, and have, throughout history, been used for a variety of activities (Brendalsmo, 2014). Cemeteries are public spaces and part of the green structure in cities, but they are not necessarily perceived as open to the public. However, many of the old urban cemeteries in Scandinavia are located centrally and close to public transport. In densified parts of the city the cemetery may be the closest green space accessible for use. They are green lungs within the city fabric containing appreciated components such as grass and trees (Nordh et al., 2009). The cemeteries are often well-maintained green spaces that could be potentially attractive areas for recreation. The site design itself, with walkable friendly paths, seating and trees as visual shelter from traffic may invite to recreational use beyond visiting graves and can hence be seen as physical affordances as proposed by Gibson, (1977). Recreational use may involve activities such as walking dogs, socialising, resting on benches, strolling or even jogging. However, a more open acceptance use of cemeteries may cause potential conflicts between those visiting graves and those using the space for more recreational purposes.

In Norway cemeteries list rules of use posted at their

entrances. Among the activities not allowed are biking, jogging and playing. In the study presented in this abstract we want to investigate the relation between the actual activities performed at the cemeteries, the rules given by the Cemetery Officials and users' attitudes towards activities beyond visiting graves in urban cemeteries.

This paper is part of a recently established research project, 'Green Urban Spaces - the role of the cemetery in multicultural and interreligious urban contexts'. The study presented is a comparative study of two urban cemeteries in Oslo, the Old city (Gamlebyen gravlund) and the Eastern cemetery (Østre gravlund). The methods used are observations and short interviews. Moment observations of users' activities were registered at specified locations in the cemeteries. The activities were categorised with the use of a behavior observation scheme developed in a pilot study the previous year. The observations at the cemeteries were performed from April to July 2014, twice every workweek and once every second weekend. The observations offer a description of the diversity of activities in the cemeteries, and their user groups. The short interviews with users of the cemeteries were conducted in May and July 2014. The applied technique was relatively short interviews on site (Skår, 2010). Among the topics addressed in the interviews were questions on how the interviewees used the cemetery and their attitudes towards use and activities beyond visiting graves. The interviews will be analysed qualitatively.

Seventeen types of activities were registered, including visiting graves, trespassing, cycling and socialising. At the conference we will present the diversity of activities observed at the two cemeteries and stated in the interviews with the users. A comparison of the two cemeteries will be made showing differences in level of everyday activities and use for recreational purposes. We will address questions concerning the relationship between the rules of use and actual activities performed, as well as between actual activities and the users' attitudes towards acceptable use of cemeteries. We will elaborate on physical affordances, such as the design of the cemeteries and their locations in the city, as well as exploring possible tensions between different user groups. The discussion will be made in light of landscape democracy and to whom the cemetery 'belongs'. Is it only a space for the dead and people visiting graves,

or could it also be a space for life and the living? Who is in position to take these decisions of more democratic use? The idea with the presentation is not to conclude but to open up for a debate on use of urban cemeteries, a discussion that can have implications for management of future cemeteries.

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Cemeteries Throughout the Centuries – Public or Private?

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Key words: Cemeteries; public space; cultural history; property rights; social divisions

Introduction

Cemeteries in Norway as we know them today are public spaces – free to access all year round and open for all citizens independent of economic status and social belonging. The term ‘public space’ is then used in accordance with the definition presented by Mehta (2013): ‘as the space that is open to the public, which generates public use, and active or passive social behaviour, and where people are subject to the general regulations that govern the use of space’ (Mehta 2013, p. 20). Public spaces can be understood as manifestation of democracy. There is, however, potential for conflict and tension between public and private spaces. This raises questions of how accessible public spaces are, the property rights, as well as the qualities such places can provide towards peoples’ wellbeing. In a longer time perspective both accessibility and property rights related to cemeteries have changed fundamentally. This paper will closely examine the laws and regulations that have influenced ownership rights to cemeteries.

The key theme that the paper is organised around is cemeteries as manifestations of democracy. Democracy’s relationship to space is significant because space and landscape are tangible expressions of society: they have an impact on everyday living (Defining Landscape Democracy CfP, 2015) . The paper questions how changes in property rights have influenced accessibility to cemeteries throughout centuries. It is based on a close-up examination of historic documents. The results from the historic study will finally be discussed in view of preliminary results from a contemporary field study of two cemeteries in Oslo.

A short historic sketch

Before 1700

Christianity was introduced in Norway in the first half of the 900s, and a century later the key principles of Christian faith and practice had been incorporated in the regional legislation. The Church claimed that the congregation was the central community in this life, as well as in life to come, but the farmers at the *thing* (governing assembly) gained acceptance for their claim that the cemetery should reflect the existing social divisions in society.

In most parts of Norway people from the social elite were to be buried closest to the church building; the space for the unfree servant was out by the cemetery fence. The women’s place was north of the church building;

the men were in the south. On the other hand, the Church’s claim that only Christians should be buried in the cemetery, while all pagans and Christian excommunicates were to be buried ‘where the sea and the green turf meet’, was accepted by the *thingmen*. From the very beginning, the cemetery was public, but it was also partly private. Another form of privatisation was the sacristan’s right to cut grass in the cemetery.

1700-1800

In the period 1722-1729, the king, with the exception of the churches in northern Norway and some others, had sold all churches in Norway at auction to the highest bidder. After a short time it was obvious that a number of the private owners “tapped” the churches of values by failing to use the church revenues to maintain the buildings. The king therefore introduced sanctions; among other things, private owners should be deprived of ownership rights for neglect of maintenance of the cemetery.

In 1890 a commission was appointed to address the issue on the remuneration of the clergy and church buildings’ income, and submit a Bill. The result was titled the Law of 1896 on Churches and Cemeteries. The commission found out that the medieval legislation regarding the use of cemeteries for burial was mostly continued until the early 1800s. By 1890 it was no longer mandatory that the cemetery should reflect society’s social divisions, yet all over the country it was still an ancient custom that the wealthy had their graves close by, or within, the church (Mejlænder, 1885; Indstilling til Lov om Kirker og Kirkegaarde, 1896; Lov om Kirker og Kirkegaarde, 1897). From 1805 burial inside the church was prohibited, as this was perceived as a health hazard, and the affluent had to move out into the cemetery again. On the other hand, the custom of erecting burial monuments for the dead had spread down the social ladder, so that during the late 1700s also people from ‘the middle and lower strata’ began to mark their deceased graves with a simple wooden cross.

1900 up to present days

By 1900 this was common practice, and the distinction in the cemetery between private and public was now obsolete. But, if someone wanted a special place in the cemetery, or wanted to preserve the burial place for more than 20 years, it had to be paid for, which contributed to the maintenance of the social stratification. Also, it became statutory that those who did not belong

to the local church, as well as dissenters and other outside the Church still had to pay for a burial place. The amended provisions reflected a desire to let the local church and cemetery be a matter primarily for the local community and its congregation. 'The others', those who did not live in the area or stood outside the Church of Norway should not be allowed to be a financial burden to the local church. In this way, the cemetery became part of the local public sphere, while the individual's grave was still private. An important innovation in 1897 was the repeal of the ban on the burial in the cemetery of people who had committed suicide.

Cemeteries and burial monuments are also made part of the public through heritage management. They are protected under the Act if they date from before 1537, and any physical changes or amendments must be approved by the cultural heritage authorities. Still, the individual grave in such cases is private in the sense that it is cared for by the deceased's relatives. In essence, it is the law from 1896 that still applies in Norway.

Discussion

The results from the examination of the historic documents will be discussed in relation to an examination of current management practice of two cemeteries in Oslo. Has a major change in the management practice taken place during the last decades? And if this is the case, where are the borders drawn today between what the users consider zones free to access for everybody and those considered semi-private space? The discussion will be linked to the broader discussion around landscape democracy and how cemeteries are understood as public spaces, and hereby as manifestation of democracy.

Context

This extended abstract is part of a larger interdisciplinary research project, 'Green Urban Spaces - the role of the cemetery in multicultural and interreligious urban contexts'. The research is funded by the Research Council of Norway, MILJØ 2015 (2014-2016), involving researchers from Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research, Norwegian Institute for Nature Research and Landscape Architecture and Spatial Planning, Norwegian University of Life Sciences.

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Natural Burial: a Landscape of Co-Production and Creative Resistance

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Keywords: Natural burial; community; cemetery; diversity

In 1993 Ken West, who was then head of bereavement services at Carlisle, Cumbria (UK) established the first 'Natural Burial Ground' on a piece of land adjacent to the municipal cemetery that he managed. In this section of the cemetery there were to be no memorials other than an oak tree planted on each grave. The intention was to create a new woodland habitat and a collective memorial landscape. Here, the status of the deceased in life could not be decoded by the scale and prominence of the memorial and the inscription carved upon it.

West's intervention at Carlisle was inspired by a conversation he had with two elderly women who did not want a traditional burial with a headstone because they had no next of kin to tend the grave. He asked them, '[if I could provide] some form of tree burial, like a nature reserve... would that be better?' an idea to which they responded positively. Ken then realized 'there was a gap in the market' (Clayden et al., 2014). It was the start of the most radical change in UK burial practice since the establishment of cemeteries in the early 19th Century. His work coincided with two other significant developments at the time that were instrumental in promoting natural burial to a wider audience, and in diversifying burial provision beyond Local Authority managed cemeteries. The recently formed Natural Death Centre, a charitable trust that campaigns for social change in the care of the dying and dead, were quick to seize on the changes in burial provision at Carlisle and to promote them to a much wider national audience. In 1994 the publication of *Green Burial: The D-I-Y guide to law and practice* by John Bradfield was instrumental in enabling new providers to see how they might legally set about establishing a burial ground on their own land.

Today there are in excess of 270 natural burial grounds in the UK. The breadth of different burial providers, which includes farmers, landowners, charitable trusts, private companies and funeral directors, would have been unimaginable when Ken first opened his site in 1993. At that time there were just a handful of independent providers and by far the majority of burials were accommodated in traditional municipal cemeteries. This paper will draw on data from a three year ESRC funded research project (Back to Nature: The Cultural, Social and Emotional implications of natural burial 2007-2010) that brought together the perspectives of a multi disciplinary team of anthropologists, sociologists

and a landscape architect (see Clayden *et al* 2014). The paper will begin by exploring how and why this diversity of different burial providers initially came about and how it has changed over time. What this trend reveals has important implications for burial provision in the UK and for consumers of natural burial. In its early phase, there was a significant growth in small-scale providers that was typified by farmers and independent landowners. Their approach to natural burial promoted a very different relationship between the burial provider and bereaved community, and also challenged the role of the funeral director as the gatekeeper, responsible for making all of the funeral arrangements.

In this new model of burial provision, the connection between the land, the landowner and the family and friends of the deceased would become much more significant. Independent providers often stipulated that they must meet with the family of the deceased before they would agree to accept the burial. This was an opportunity to explain their vision of the burial ground, their regulations and to agree where the burial would be located. Interviews with burial ground managers revealed how the services they provided gradually evolved as they also took on the role of arranging and delivering the funeral, and in a minority of cases collecting and preparing the deceased for burial. Unencumbered by the traditions and regulation of the municipal cemetery, many of these providers have looked to develop alternative ways of engaging with the bereaved community in order to help realise a vision for a landscape that is in the making.

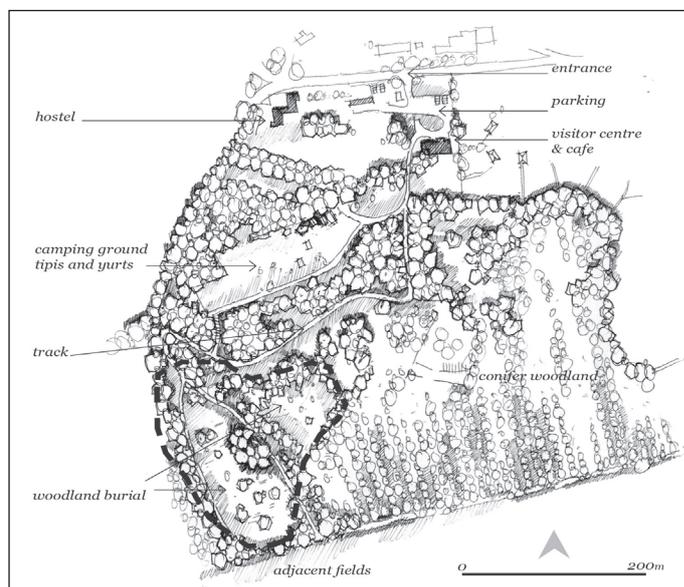


Figure 1: Sustainability Centre - South Downs Natural Burial Site East Meon, Hampshire.

The paper will look in detail at two natural burial sites that one might argue present a more democratic approach to how the burial ground community are enabled to contribute to the co-production of the cemetery landscape. The first example is the Sustainability Centre, a charitable trust located in the South Downs and whose remit is to promote environmental education. The burial ground is part of the 22 hectare site the trust manages and where their vision is to return the existing conifer plantation to a mixed broadleaf woodland (see Figure 1). Income generated from the burial ground is used to help fund the various activities of the trust. Interviews with bereaved people at this site reveal a relationship with the burial ground that was often sustained through their active role as a volunteer working for the trust. Whilst this might include helping to manage the woodland burial area or assisting at a funeral, it also included supporting other activities not directly connected to the burial ground.

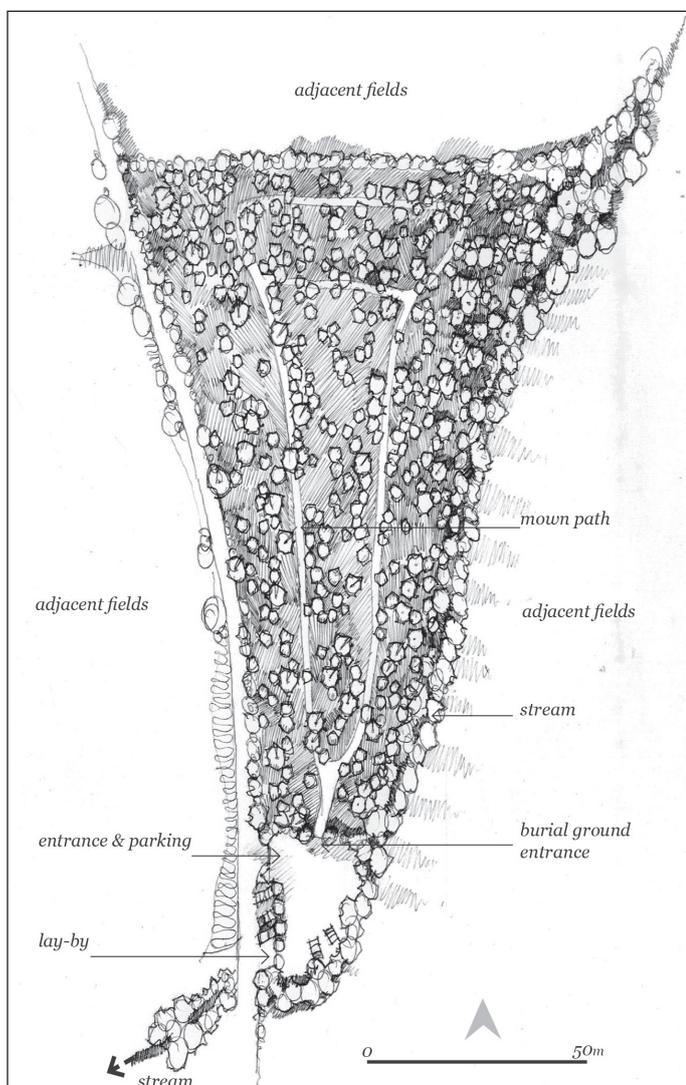
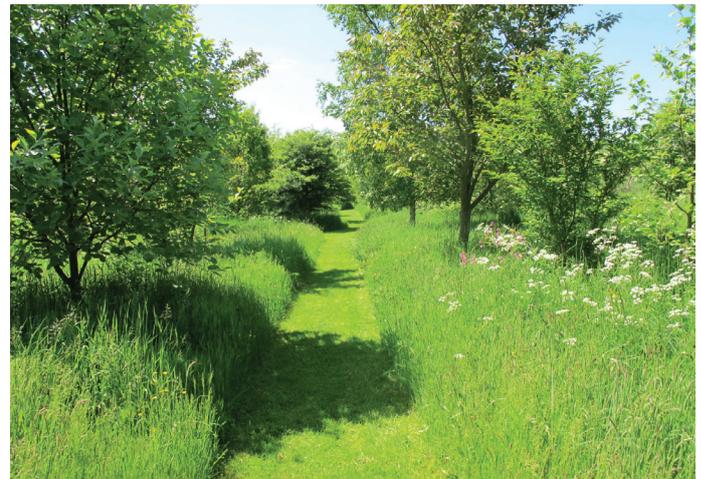


Figure 2: South Yorkshire Woodland Burial Ground, Ulley, Yorkshire.

The second example includes a longitudinal visual investigation, now in its seventh year, of the South Yorkshire Woodland Burial Ground, here referred to as Ulley (see Figure 2). This focuses specifically on the evolving

landscape and how its community: the owner (an independent funeral director), bereaved people, the dead, grave diggers and maintenance staff, have to varying degrees collectively transformed what was once a farmer's field into an emerging woodland.



§
Figure 3: Ulley – What was once a farmers field is gradually being transformed into mixed woodland.

Like many independent natural burial sites, Ulley is not the property of a large company or local authority. Relationships with the site owner and the gravedigger, plus the farmer who contributes to site maintenance, are personal. Meetings and informal encounters between burial ground users and personnel associated with it have resulted in a responsive style of managing this setting. John and Mary Mallatratt, the owners of the burial ground, and Peace Funerals, the company they jointly established, were motivated by the desire to create more choice for bereaved people, in this case via the opportunity to be more fully involved in arranging the funeral and contributing to the future of the landscape. Motivations, however, vary between burial site providers and whilst many are driven by an ecological desire to create new habitat, others attach more importance to the social dimension or alternatively the economic imperative to diversify the income of their land.

This paper reveals how the introduction of natural burial has had a far-reaching impact in enabling alternative burial providers and the bereaved community to have a much greater stake in the creation of these alternative memorial landscapes.

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Sites for Cultural Encounters – Urban Cemeteries in the Intersection between Secularisation and Religious Devotion

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Keywords: Cemeteries; inter-religiosity; green spaces; memory sites; cityscape

Introduction

The effect of transmigration has changed both the visual cityscape and the conceptual meaning of city life in Norway. Population increase has put more focus on the need for easily-accessible and attractive public spaces that will promote interaction independent of gender, age, ethnicity and religious belief. Many users of cemeteries in modern Norway will to some extent consider the cemetery as sacred. However the notion of sacredness and its ethical implication will vary for people from different cultural and religious backgrounds.

This paper focuses on certain aspects related to the role urban cemeteries play in multicultural and interreligious societal context¹. Cemeteries in cities constitute a unique type of public space: while some may consider such places as primarily religious and contemplative spaces, others see them as primarily recreational, while others again as heritage sites steeped in history. As part of the general economic development Norway, alongside many other European countries, is described as an increasingly secularised society. On the other hand, immigration and transmigration have brought a revived interest in religion and interfaith interaction. Alongside churches, cemeteries are presumably the sites that still have the strongest religious connotation in urban society (Francis et al., 2005; Gómez & van Herck 2012). Have these two partly-diverging tendencies to any degree affected the way people who live and work in the city perceive and relate to cemeteries? This paper will be organised around the following key questions: How do different groups of people claim the right to the cemetery as a cityscape? Do these claims collide or coincide? How can planning and design create opportunities to enhance cultural interaction and understanding between diverse groups?

Short presentation of the case and methodology

Two cemeteries in eastern Oslo, one that includes a Muslim graveyard, and the other with an adjoining Jewish graveyard, have been selected as case studies. The criteria for choice of sites for the case studies were that they should both be situated in a central and well-established inner-city area, and that they were surrounded by a mix of residential and office buildings with a varied demographic structure concerning both age and ethnicity. In addition we wanted cemeteries that mirrored various religious denominations.

The oldest part of Gamlebyen Cemetery is from around 1550. The modern part was established in 1874. Today the chapel, built in 1877, is used as a church by an Ethiopian Coptic congregation. The Muslim burial ground was established in 1972. Østre Cemetery was established in 1892, when the municipality took possession of a large farm and established cemeteries on the outfields. The graveyard has been extended several times. A part of the cemetery has no tombstones and is today used as a memorial park, of which a section is assigned to children's graves. In 1912 11,000 square metres were set apart for use as a cemetery by the Mosaic religious community.

This paper is part of a larger interdisciplinary study, and it will primarily focus on the meaning the cemeteries have for different user groups. We employ a combination of various field techniques to collect data (observations, short conversations on site, in-depth interviews with key informants). The sources the paper relies on are primarily statements in interviews with various users of the cemeteries. The interviews lasted between five to 60 minutes. It is necessary to emphasise that as the study is still in its initial phase, only preliminary reflections can be presented, not final conclusions.

Preliminary findings

- The two memory sites have some major differences that influence their use: size, accessibility and design. Gamlebyen Cemetery is surrounded by relatively-new residential buildings, which promote the use of the cemetery as a pedestrian artery when approaching the city's commercial centre. Østre cemetery is less accessible due to fewer and less-accessible gates. The main reason that people visit this cemetery seems to be to bury the dead and for mourners looking after the graves.
- The integration of the Mosaic versus the Muslim burial ground as part of the main cemetery differs. While the Mosaic burial ground is partly hidden behind a large wall of pine trees, the Muslim burial ground functions as an integrated section of the cemetery.
- The other function that both sites fill, but to a different extent, is recreational purposes such as taking a stroll, exploring the site, meeting friends, parents who are accompanying their children, walking the dog, re-

laxing on the benches, having lunch, jogging, skateboarding and cycling.

- Regulations set by the sites' managers prohibit certain unwanted activities such as horse riding, cycling and dogs without leads. During peak summer season there are gardeners present during the day, and security guards guard the cemeteries regularly.
- Certain modifications in practices have been tacitly accepted by the sites' managers.
- A tentative issue that has arisen is that Norwegian cemeteries have an open character as green urban space. This image seems to contrast the idea many immigrants have from their homelands of what constitutes a cemetery: an isolated and partly-inaccessible closed space reserved for the dead and their mourners. Interviews with immigrants and tourists will be examined with this question particularly in mind.

Discussion

Here the preliminary results will be analysed in light of the key questions raised in the paper:

How do different groups of people claim the right to the cemetery as a cityscape? Do these claims collide or coincide? How can planning and design create opportunities to enhance cultural interaction and understanding between diverse groups?

Today the cemetery is a memorial site with graves of people who belong to a variety of religious faiths: Lutheran, Catholic, Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim and Jewish, as well as non-believers (agnostics and atheists). Based on the preliminary results, we can infer that different religious faiths do not lead to colliding claims to cemeteries. As a religious memorial site the interests of the relatives coincide. Where the claims do seem to collide from time to time concerns certain types of recreational use. For instance dog owners and parents have different needs for open, safe spaces. Planning and design can be used to consciously promote interaction, but it requires an articulated intention to fulfil such aims (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001; Franck & Stevens, 2007). Visitors to cemeteries have to interpret such places as open green spaces that are welcoming to everybody. Incorporating many easily-accessible entrances and lots of benches can play such a role. A discussion of where the balance lies between safeguarding the sense of sanctity urban cemeteries hold and ensuring equal access for all has to be initiated, and the managers of the cemeteries have to take the lead.

Notes

¹ The paper is part of a recently started research project, 'Green Urban Spaces – the role of the cemetery in multicultural and inter-religious urban contexts', funded by the Research Council of Norway.

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How Accessible is the Cemetery as a Green Urban Space?

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Keywords: Cemeteries; accessibility; barriers; multifunctional green spaces.

This abstract is part of the recently established research project: 'Green Urban Spaces - the role of the cemetery in multicultural and interreligious urban contexts' (Research Council of Norway, MILJØ 2015 (2014-2016)). The shortage of urban space and new ways of using public space may have influenced how the urban cemeteries in Norway are used and valued as part of the urban green structure. In the context of landscape democracy, we find it interesting to explore cemeteries as a space which, from a legal point of view, is publicly owned and publicly accessible, but at the same holds a private character based on the relatives' attachments to their grave places. Despite the fact that cemeteries are public spaces, they are not used by everyone like parks. From a democratic point of view, it is relevant to study what reasons people have *not* to start using cemeteries as green urban spaces with potential for contemplation and recreation (Sommer, 2005). Knowledge about non-users is often lacking in landscape perception studies. As part of the greater research project we conducted this pilot study of non-users, in which short interviews provided valuable knowledge of what people perceive as barriers to using cemeteries.

An inspiring view on urban spaces is Michel de Certeau (1925-1986), who focused on how the formal land use, the planning and the design of the landscape reflect specific ideas about what will take place there, or dominant representations. At the same time, it appears that people's actual uses of a landscape often have different intentions and different meanings than these representations. By redefining the physical environment, people make these places to be their own (de Certeau, 1984, p. 97). One can assume that there is a corresponding dominant representation for cemeteries, and therefore it is important to focus on the actual use and the implicit understandings of these environments.

The pilot study

The pilot study is part of a qualitative field study conducted in Oslo in 2014 at the Old City Cemetery (Gamlebyen gravlund) and the Eastern Cemetery (Østre gravlund). The Old City Cemetery is situated in a more densely populated and central part of the city than the Eastern Cemetery. The Old City cemetery could be characterized as more open, with large gates, no brick walls and shorter and fewer hedges than the Eastern Cemetery. Through interviews with users of the cemeteries,

we studied how people use them and give them meaning. This knowledge will be presented in other papers. The pilot study was conducted outside the cemeteries, in order to uncover mental and physical barriers to use of the cemeteries and to start discussing management implications for design and planning of the cemeteries.

We conducted 55 shorter interviews with people who were walking outside the two cemeteries. We asked about whether they ordinarily walked inside the cemeteries or not and whether they viewed the cemetery as a public space open to all or limited to those visiting a grave. We stopped random passers-by on work days. Many of the passers-by were in a hurry, and most of the interviews were quite brief. If they had time, we asked for their attitudes towards use of the cemeteries more generally.

Of the sample of 55 informants, 31 were women and 34 were approximately under forty years of age. Our sample was representative for a multicultural urban population, but due to the limited information about the informants' assumed cultural background (mainly based on language skills) their assumed cultural background should not be connected with their practices in a definitive way.

Results and discussion

Among the 55, 14 informants said that they never visit the cemetery. The rest of the group had mainly practical reasons for not entering the cemetery that day: they were on the way to a specific place, and walking through the cemetery was not the shortest way.

Among the informants who never visit the cemetery, most of them reasoned that they do not go into the cemetery because they do not have a grave to visit and for that reason the area does not feel available to them. Some felt that not visiting a cemetery is a way to show respect for the place without disturbing those who are visiting graves. Some of the informants who seemed to speak just a little Norwegian or English showed some signs illustrating that 'this place is not anything for me'. Others stated that the cemetery itself is a little creepy, or that it felt unsafe to be there with respect to being attacked.

The pilot study indicated that older people and non-native/non-Norwegian speakers were those most skeptical of using cemeteries for any purpose other than to tend or visit graves. Most of the non-native/non-Norwegian speakers appeared to share the elderly's attitudes regarding proper behavior and respect for cemeteries, in addition to having negative associations concerning spiritual aspects that make cemeteries unattractive to visit.

The part of the study that concerned the users of the cemeteries showed that common activities, beside visiting graves, included strolling, dog walking, jogging, bicycling, simply resting on the benches and walking from one place to another. The study accentuated how the experiences of the cemeteries are multidimensional in possessing qualities of aesthetic, cultural, emotional and spiritual character at the same time. According to de Certeau (1984), it could be claimed that people have 'redefined' the cemetery by actual use, differing somewhat from the dominant representation. This actual and varied use emphasises the cemeteries as green urban spaces with potential for contemplation and recreation. The pilot study showed that some people never visit the cemetery and showed considerable variation with respect to whether one perceives a cemetery as available for other purposes than tending to or visiting a grave. Hence, there may be a gap between intended open accessibility and degree of perceived accessibility. This is not unique to cemeteries and can be comparable to other spaces which may be characterized by a public-private sphere (Blomley, 2005). Cemeteries are, from a legal point of view and as a 'dominant representation' according to de Certeau (1984), public spaces that secure people's rights to bury their relatives. To serve the owners of the graves is also the main task given to the managers. As a spin-off, a well-kept cemetery is opening and welcoming even for other users. The pilot study shows that various factors may decide a cemetery's perceived availability to others. To make allowances to the place and the mourners is a main reason not to visit the cemetery, as well as negative feelings related to the dead.

Given a democratic purpose to strengthen cemeteries' role as multifunctional green open spaces in dense cities, the study of the two cemeteries shows that an open design, without high hedges, no fences, clear footpaths, large gates, lighting and many benches could be facilitating initiatives, in accordance with conventional norms, regarding respect for the place and those who visit graves.

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Participation: a challenging ideal?

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Participatory Planning and Protest in the Urban Landscape – Case Studies from Trondheim, Norway

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Keywords: Communicative planning theory, contestation, democracy, new public management, participation

Landscape democracy in relation to the European Landscape Convention is often equated with public participation (Council of Europe, 2000a; 2000b; 2008; Jones, forthcoming). Studies of participatory processes related to the Convention indicate that these are often steered by administrative authorities in a top-down manner (Jones & Stenseke, 2011). Notions of 'ladders of participation' suggest, on the other hand, that bottom-up participatory processes are considered more genuine, legitimate and effective (Arnstein, 1969; Jones, 2007; 2011; Pretty, 1995; Zachrisson, 2004). However, urban landscapes are affected by a range of factors that often give little or no consideration to public participation, e.g. development of major infrastructure (roads, airports, mines, power stations, military establishments etc.), housing and business redevelopment, decisions of major corporations, cumulative effects of small-scale market forces, and fires and environmental hazards. Where citizens or particular groups feel that their welfare or interests are not taken into account, public protest may result. To the extent that protest actions are successful, they provide an alternative bottom-up outcome to top-down participatory planning in influencing the urban landscape.

One approach to studying the landscape outcomes of planning and protest examines them in relation to two classical models drawn from social anthropology (e.g. Lloyd, 1968), respectively the harmony (or equilibrium) model and the conflict (or direct action) model (Jones, 1981; 1993; 1999). The underlying assumption of the harmony model is that it is possible to find a balance (or equilibrium) between various established interests and that differences between them can be solved by institutional means. The conflict model focuses on incompatibilities between different values, resulting in contestation between established interests and non-established interests, with the latter often working through action groups outside the established institutional structure.

The harmony and conflict models can be recognized in the debate between the theory of communicative action presented by Jürgen Habermas (1990) and Michel Foucault's critique that in the real world communication is unavoidably influenced by power relations and contestation (Foucault, 1987). While Habermas' theory of communicative action presents the ideal conditions

for communication, Foucault argues that conflict and struggle are necessary as a corrective to existing social institutions.

However, the dichotomy between the ideas of Habermas and those of Foucault is complicated by the tension found between the dialogic ideas of communicative planning theory (CPT) based on Habermas and the neo-liberal realities of new public management (NPM) (Sager, 2009). Both CPT and NPM are responsive to users' needs, involvement and satisfaction, but in different ways. CPT emphasises discursive practice in a liberal, pluralistic society, with open participatory processes involving a broad range of affected groups, whereas NPM prefers participation in the form of communication with stakeholders and information to the public, while at the same time emphasising market choice. Whereas CPT is amenable to a bottom-up approach, NPM is top-down by inclination.

Participatory approaches tend to be associated (although not exclusively) with the local level. At higher levels of governance in democratic societies, the 'will of the people' is primarily associated with its expression through elected, representative bodies. This has been termed liberal democracy. It can be compared with three other spheres of action where struggles may be played out in a democracy: direct democracy (referendums), participatory democracy (civil society) and 'dual-track' democracy (protecting minorities against the tyranny of the majority, e.g. through the courts) (Liebert, 2013).

Barnett & Low (2009) make a broad, twofold distinction between liberal democracy and radical democracy. In liberal democracy, popular representation is institutionalised through elected legislative bodies under conditions of free speech and association. In radical democracy, social movements aim to contest and transform the procedures and institutions of official politics through the active role of citizens in all facets of decision-making.

The present paper attempts to bring these different theoretical notions together to provide an analytical tool for understanding how landscape democracy works in practice. A continuum is discerned with democratic protest at one end, through bottom-up com-

municative participatory action and top-down expert approaches to decision-making based on different forms of direct and representative voting, with new public management and the role of markets at the other end. The relative weight given to these different expressions of democracy can have a direct effect on how landscape issues are tackled and on the outcome of conflicts concerning landscape, with direct or indirect consequences for the physical landscape.

A number of planning situations involving urban landscapes in the city of Trondheim, Norway, have been analysed by the present author, together with colleagues and students, over a period of nearly forty years. They include examples of planning in situations of protest, communicative planning and NPM (Jones & Olsen, 1977; Jones, 1985; 1999; 2000; 2010). In the present paper these case studies will be subject to a retrospective view in which the planning and decision-making processes will be analysed in relation to different notions of landscape democracy.

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Landscape Planning and Participation in Italy

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Keywords: Community involvement; public participation; landscape assessment; fair planning

Democracy and Participation

Landscape Democracy is a form of planning and design in which all citizens are meant to participate equally, either directly or through elected representatives in the proposal, development and establishment of the rules by which their landscape and open spaces are shaped.

(IFLA Europe, 2014)

How is broad and effective participation in planning attained? Is it only a matter of sharing information or does it also depend on the clarity of the information provided? Is the key understanding of what can and cannot be done in a specific part of the territory? Does it involve opinions with regard to landscape compatibility expressed by the administrators and an exchange on clear grounds between private citizens, public officials and experts? Is it really an issue in which everyone can take part? If so, what tools must be utilised?

Equal participation, as called for by the IFLA resolution, requires a 'ground zero' of equal knowledge for all the actors involved, including architects as well as the proponents of the project ideas (the citizens through their elected officials). Unfortunately, information that must be obtained for an accurate assessment is often cryptic and hidden in complex regulations and mapping that is not easy to interpret.

The lay citizen is undoubtedly familiar with the local dynamics of the territory within the scope of his daily actions. His contribution could be made predominantly at the local level – with tools and language not traditionally invoked in the planning discipline.

The definition cited above could, therefore, be modified as follows:

Democracy of the Landscape is a form of planning and designing in which citizens are given the opportunity to contribute, utilising clear and timely instruments of communication - both directly and through specific elected representatives - to the development and implementation of rules for the configuration of their landscape.

The Italian Case

Democratic planning depends on three main factors:

1. Fair organisation and planning, appropriate for the

current state of the territory, which translates into the correct delimitation of boundaries, establishing areas subject to protections that, while allowing for development of the territory, safeguard the integrity of the characteristics and heritage of the landscape.

2. Widespread and uniform distribution of information which ensures awareness of the rules and regulations and, hence, the observance of these rules during the planning phase.

The evaluation of projects in Italy is entrusted both to the private citizen and the associations and communes. The dissemination of information throughout the territory, which allows for homogeneous knowledge of the same territory, depends on the comprehensibility and accessibility of the information and the planning policies to everyone – not only the experts.

3. Objectiveness in the decisions regarding landscape compatibility issued by the public administrations that have binding authority in every single project presented in the protected areas of the territory.

Fair and equitable planning

The guidelines for landscape planning in Italy tend to be established at the regional level and represented on maps drawn to a scale that is often inadequate. They identify areas where the landscape is protected and, in which, any intervention is therefore subject to an authorization process. This fact raises two issues that can undermine the democratic process:

a) The scale of the representation frequently does not capture the specific characteristics of the local territory and does not clearly regulate them. A 'valuable agrarian landscape', for example, will not always have the same features and challenges, especially in a vast territory; *every man is in certain respects like all other men, like some other man, like no other man*. The general nature of the indications supplied by the regulations means that every single project has to be treated as a case on its own, in which the expert's opinion becomes essential, and there is not always consistency in the decisions of analogous cases.

b) The limitations reported on the maps are not always updated and therefore can be too 'authoritative' in environments that have been densely built up in recent

decades. Furthermore, in their delimitation of boundaries, these maps have been interpreted differently at times. This has forced, for example, inhabitants who own real estate in the same landscape to follow different authorization processes and find themselves in unequal situations, resulting in a blatant lack of democracy.

Distribution of information

Compatibility evaluations are part of a participatory process to be freely accessed, in which everyone can (and should) exercise his or her right to examine, criticise and/or support ideas and projects in the landscape, urban-planning and environmental areas.

While an ideal situation is described above, what really happens from a practical standpoint? Remaining silent and placing one's faith in the actions of others is the standard operating procedure for 'participation' in Italy. The Italian case is defined by laziness, total lack of citizens' trust of public administrations at all levels and sometimes even discouragement at the first attempt to try to decipher/read a proposal for planning. The cryptic nature of the regulations governing territorial planning in Italy is a strong deterrent that prevents non-experts from participating, undermining the cornerstone of a shared planning – and consequently democratic – process. Landscape plans, in fact, are published on the internet sites of territorial agencies, but they are not easily consulted by the average citizen, especially due to the difficulty in understanding the texts and maps, which comprehensible only to those who work in the field.

The sheer number (quantity) of actors who take part in the decision-making process is not the only factor necessary to achieve democratic planning; the assortment of the main and secondary actors is just as important. It is essential to represent the various social classes, with at least one element from every rung in the social ladder, in order to accurately represent the whole of the territory in which the project is to be realised. The absence of equal representation leads to an imbalance in the planning/decision-making phase, the evaluation/criticism phase and in the project itself. The more pronounced this imbalance, the further we move away from a democratic process.

The lack of understanding regarding what can and cannot be done, paired with the absence of a collective conscience, has led to violations of planning regulations and unauthorized development. Over time, construction in areas of cultural importance, often at the request of a few individuals and at the expense of the majority, has resulted in entire portions of territory being compromised.

Objectiveness in decision-making

In Italy, the decision regarding a project's compatibility (or lack thereof) with the surrounding landscape is issued by public administration experts. Their opinion is binding, and depends on their interpretation of the context (landscape) and technical regulations of a general nature.

Statements such as 'It is not beautiful' or 'it is not compatible' must be substantiated by objective procedures. Parameters based on numeric indexes must be defined in order to reduce the amount of subjectivity in the evaluation. Nevertheless, with the exception of some economically significant projects that entail a dramatic impact on the landscape, for which an in-depth analysis (from view shed to simulations of economic, chemical, social impact) is required during the authorisation process, it is generally not possible to be supported by these instruments. This means that standard projects are often governed by subjective interpretations and the competency of the experts whose sensibility to landscape issues becomes fundamental.

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Figure 1: Figures shows a different landscape interpretation by two technicians. It is clear how the interpretations lead to a different map of protected areas and different rules for the territory management

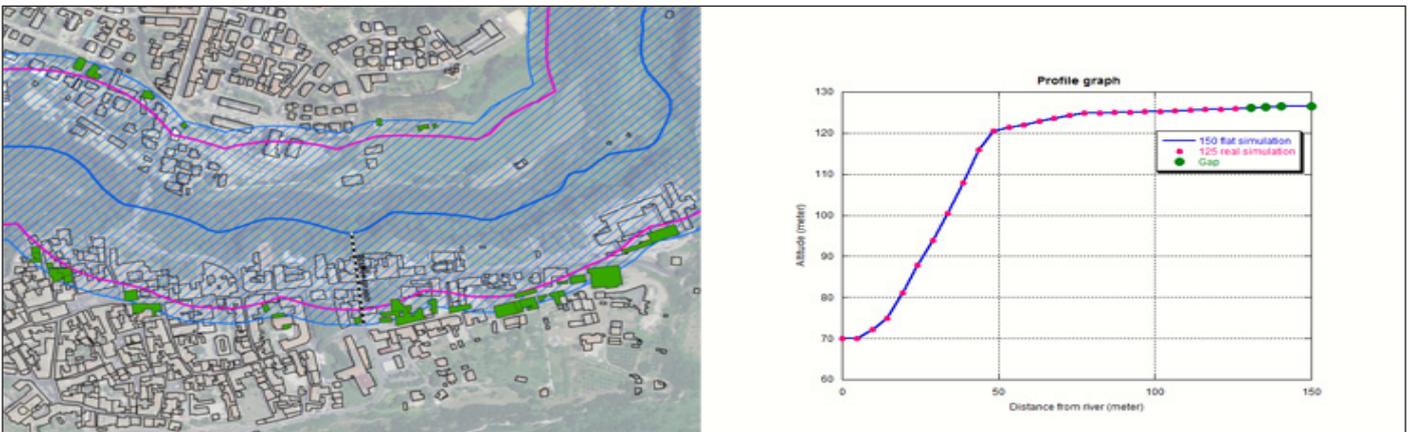


Figure 2: The landscape's protected areas of a river are fixed with a geometrical buffer not depending on the morphological asset of the territory and represented in a map that does not represent the real distance.

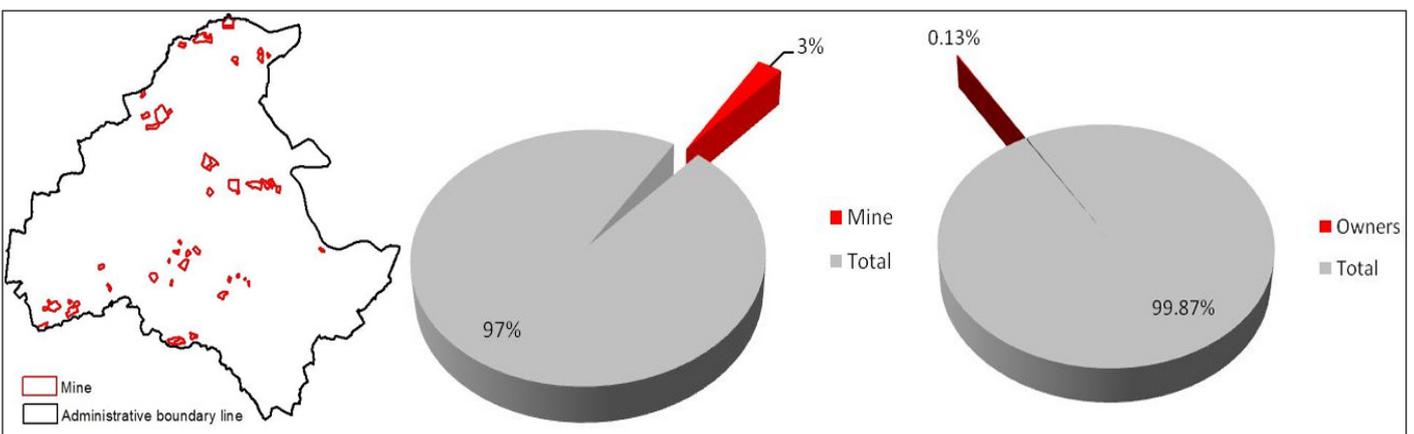


Figure 3: The excavation of mines owned by private parties (0.13%) has a significant impact on the common territory in question. 3% of the territory has been compromised in terms of the landscape

Transboundary and Democratic Landscape Management in Norway - the Promise of Regional Parks and Local Management of Protected Areas

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Keywords: Integrated management; community development; transboundary management; regional parks; conservation areas

Introduction

In this article, we want to focus on holistic and integrated management and value creation in contiguous landscapes where the limits are defined by natural and cultural contexts, more than sectorial and administrative management boundaries.

We build our theoretical perspectives on the interpretation of the landscape concept represented by The European Landscape Convention. In this respect, the territorial dimension forms a framework for sustainable and dynamic management and value creation of natural and cultural resources. We intend to discuss this from a democracy perspective, where local people's cultural identity, place attachment and traditions of using place local resources represent important basic conditions for sustainable development (Eiter 2004).

We will illustrate this by assessing two different trends for area-based management and value creation that have evolved in Norway over the past 10-15 years: reshaping of traditional protection-based practice for nature and landscape management and the introduction of the concept of 'Regional Parks' inspired by European models. The discussion that follows is essentially based on empirical data from two major research projects at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU) and Department of Landscape Planning 'Pro-tour' (Prospects for Managing Tourism Development in Protected Areas in a period of Transition, 2011 - 2014) and 'Localman' (Ideals, Models and Practice in Natural Resource Management. Does Local Management Matter?, 2011-2015).

We ask how these two trends influence integrated and democratic landscape management and planning, operationalised in the following research questions: Do the two trends contribute to improved participation from local communities in landscape management and planning? Do local people's perception of their landscapes come into account, and can this support transboundary management and sustainable community development inside and outside protected areas?

We will use the small community Bakka in Nærøyfjorden in Sogn og Fjordane county as an example case to illustrate our theoretical discussion. Bakka is a small

village with few farmers and inhabitants, but with a key position as an attraction for tourist experiences of the Fjord landscape, and as a significant representative of the cultural history of the region. Bakka is surrounded by a large protected area (Nærøyfjorden Landscape Protected Area), but the small settled area itself is not protected. Qualitative, semi-structured interviews of local people in Bakka about their relation to their landscapes were conducted in 2008, along with interviews with visitors, responsible actors from the regional park (Nærøyfjorden verdensarvpark) and the protected area, and local and regional planning officers. Some follow-up interviews with people from Bakka, the regional park and the public sector were made in 2015.

Traditional nature and landscape protection in Norway - a system in transition

Norwegian nature conservation has traditionally been very conservative and one-sided, considering only measures to protect documented nature values. There has been no tradition for integrating multifunctional aspects of human interests beyond the simplest possible marking of trails. With the 'Fjellteksten' (Mountain statement) in 2004 (Ministry of Finance, 2003), the Government opened for testing the effects of small scale commercial tourism in protected areas. At the same time, it was emphasised that one should see the development of new economic activity in protected areas in a regional context, across administrative boundaries.

During the administrative reform of National Parks and other large protected areas in 2010, the management liability has been delegated from the state (County Governor) to the municipalities, represented by the local mayors and political representatives from the County Council. A government-appointed, but locally placed, secretary is associated with the board. This reform is part of an increasingly diverse discussion of integrated strategies for management of biodiversity and local community development. There are, however, few examples of successful results concerning newly integrated practices of management, local redevelopment and value creation on the landscape scale since 'Fjellteksten' (Skjeggedal et al 2013; Fedreheim, 2013). The classical nature conservation management regime is still dominating, although we do find an opening to include natu-

re-based tourism and other user interests (Haukeland et al. 2013). The potential development opportunities related to protected areas in Norway are mainly found outside their boundaries, in the so-called border zone. However, studies show that it is difficult to coordinate management inside and outside protected areas, since two different management regimes must communicate: the protective regime (Nature conservation Act) and the land use regime (Planning and Building Act) where each municipality has the main responsibility (Stokke & Haukeland in prep.).

Meanwhile, a parallel bottom-up initiated process has emerged for local and regional value creation, based on local natural and cultural values and resources. This process has been inspired by European regional nature and culture park models.

Regional parks in the Nordic countries - a bottom-up movement

Regional natural and cultural parks originated in Europe in the years after the Second World War where there was a great need to provide the population with access to recreation areas that offered diverse nature and landscape experiences. At the same time, there was a strong urbanisation process in progress, consequently leading to the depopulation of rural areas with significant natural and cultural heritage qualities. National Parks, Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (UK) and Regional Nature Parks (France) were established during 1950s and 60s. These areas were later classified as Category V areas according to IUCN Standards (Landscape protected areas).

The first 'regional nature park' projects in the Nordic countries emerged 40 years later. (Svardal, Bjørnstad & Clemetsen, 2010). The first two developed in parallel, but independently, in two Norwegian regions: the valleys and mountain villages in the Valdres region and the UNESCO designated area of West Norwegian Fjord landscape in Sogn og Fjordane (Nærøyfjorden). These initiatives were inspired by French Regional Nature Parks, but have otherwise developed in quite different directions. What they have in common is that they were initiated bottom up, either from local community groups or from local or regional councils. They were not initially subject to strategic government priorities. This has given a freedom to design and develop the concept, but has also given limitations to be accepted by the government, and affects questions of democratic processes.

Discussion

Based on empirical studies of the creation and development of regional parks in Norway and in light of European practice, with a particular focus on the small community Bakka, we will discuss the contribution of regional parks and the local management model of pro-

ected areas to comprehensive, transboundary and democratic landscape management and local community development.

We will discuss the possible synergies for democratic and integrated landscape management that can be identified between new conservation management practices and regional parks, in relation to the key role of the local political level, the related reform of Nature Conservation regimes, and integration with economic development of border zones

We will discuss to what extent the new trends in landscape management have opened up opportunities for local participation and local people's experiences of their landscapes and how this may reduce conflicts and contribute to a more integrated planning and management of contiguous landscapes inside and outside protected areas.

Preliminary conclusions

The qualities of the protected area can be mutually recognized by all involved parties, but drawing the boundaries may create conflicts, due to different traditions of use and perceptions of the landscape as a whole.

A redefinition of protection boundaries, integrating zones of continued place based farming and other activities essential for the recognised landscape qualities of the area can reduce the conflicts substantially

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Public Participation in Landscape Planning: Effective Methods for Implementing the European Landscape Convention in Norway¹

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Keywords: Landscape geography; participation methods; semi-structured interviews; spatial planning

Introduction

The European Landscape Convention calls for broad participation in management of all landscapes. After the ELC came into force, a number of studies have been conducted on challenges to and prerequisites for public participation, as well as on practical examples and methods. Conrad et al. (2011) have evaluated the level of public participation in landscape policy processes with specific reference to the ELC in Norway and three other European countries. They present five evaluation criteria for effective participation: scope, representativeness, timing, comfort and convenience, and influence. They developed five-point scores from 1 (lowest) to 5 (highest) for each criterion.

The present study has two main objectives. Firstly, we wish to evaluate public participation methods more transparently for scholars and practitioners by explicitly linking theory and practice in public participation. Secondly, we aim at contributing to broader knowledge on participation in urban and regional planning by generalising the experiences from the case studies and relating them to other methods for public participation in Norwegian and international contexts.

Case Studies

Five case studies have been subject to our study. Four case studies were part of pilot projects for the implementation of the ELC in land-use planning that the Norwegian Ministry of the Environment initiated in 2006. The purpose of a pilot project in Hordaland County was to test the revised Planning and Building Act in municipal planning at different scales before final enactment. Three Hordaland case studies were suitable for our analysis: Sund, Lindås and Granvin. The other pilot project aimed at elaborating the use of the ELC in regional planning, using the establishment of a regional park along the Telemark Canal as example. This project became our fourth case study. Our fifth case study is the development of a management plan for a UNESCO World Heritage Site in Sogn og Fjordane County.

Two of the three Hordaland case study areas are located in suburban, somewhat industrial, municipalities of 6,500 and 14,000 inhabitants respectively, neigh-

bouring and thus economically interlinked (e.g. through commuting) with the city of Bergen (250,000 inhabitants). The third Hordaland case study area is a rural district with 900 inhabitants in the inner Hardangerfjord region. The Telemark Canal stretches through a large part of Telemark County, including both rural areas and the capital city of Skien, which has 52,000 inhabitants. The farm settlement of Ornes (c.45 residents) is located rurally in the inner Sognefjord region. We consider this breadth as beneficial as it enables us to relate our recommendations to a variety of planning processes.

Methods

We have carried out seven semi-structured interviews. Four interviews were conducted in Hordaland, three with municipal planners (one per case study) and one with the head of the project steering group. For Telemark and Ornes, we interviewed the respective project leaders and the consultant who was responsible for carrying out the landscape assessments in both cases. In Granvin, the interview included the municipalities' representative in the steering group of the Hordaland project, in addition to the planner. In the case of Ornes, we interviewed the former and present project leader together.

Our main emphasis was on the interviewees' experiences from the respective projects. Interviewees were asked what expectations they had and what they felt they achieved, how important participation was and what role specialists or experts had. They were asked to explain what constraints they worked under and how they thought participation could be improved. Subsequently, they were asked to provide details of the methods used. A further series of questions was designed to elucidate the five criteria for assessing participation. Based on the interviews, we have evaluated each project verbally and scored each criterion on the scale from 1 to 5.

Quality of Participation

The scores for the different cases show relatively little difference in the level of participation, despite the differences between the projects.

Scope: In Granvin, Lindås and Ornes the public participated actively in the process of data collection. Sund and Telemark score slightly lower, yet with some degree of uncertainty.

Representativeness: None of the interviewees reported efforts to ensure that participants comprised a representative cross-section of the population. However, in the cases of Lindås and Ornes there was a more extensive element of stratification in sampling design than in the others.

Timing: The involvement of the public occurred in general quite early. However, Lindås was the only municipality where public participation occurred at the very beginning of the planning process.

Comfort and convenience: In Ornes, Lindås and Sund, specific efforts were made to facilitate public input into the planning process.

Influence: In all five cases the plans reflected suggestions that had come up in the course of public participation. Planners pointed out concrete features that had either been added or changed on request of the public, or they went as far as stating that basically the entire plan was a result of public participation.

Effective Participation Methods

The five scoring criteria are of different character. Influence summarises to some degree the effect of the other four criteria. Timing focuses on when whatever method is used, independently of which particular method. Scope, representativeness, and comfort and convenience, in contrast, are directly influenced by methods used.

We have evaluated in-depth interviews and map-making as having improved the scope of public participation significantly. Widely distributed and specifically targeted written material and special activities for certain stakeholder groups have increased representativeness. We consider all measures that have increased representativeness as positive for comfort and convenience as well. Additional measures that appear to have particularly facilitated public input are participant map-making and special consultation opportunities with local or regional officers.

A common challenge in all case studies was to increase representativeness. Six measures that are considered as improving representativeness can be grouped accor-

ding to whether they are targeted at the public in general or at specific groups. A third group of measures we have classified as increasing comfort and convenience alone. These facilitate individual meetings between planners and residents or other interested persons. For improving scope, two methods are fundamentally different: map-making is primarily visual, whereas interviews are verbal.

Conclusions

There is no direct connection between effective methods and scores given for the relevant criteria. Several methods can influence one criterion, and one method can influence several criteria. A good method alone is not enough to achieve a high score. The complexity in this relationship has a clear advantage: different spatial planning processes require different methods and people prefer to employ different tools. When several methods have overlapping purposes, a selection can be made according to both facilitators' and participants' preferences.

According to Conrad et al. (2011) European processes for implementation of the ELC score lowest on representativeness and comfort and convenience. As several of our methods studied influence one or both of these criteria positively, they may have the potential to improve public participation in other European countries as well.

Notes

¹ This paper includes excerpts from: Eiter, S., & Vik, M. L. (2015). Public participation in landscape planning: Effective methods for implementing the European Landscape Convention in Norway. *Land Use Policy*, 44, 44–53. doi:10.1016/j.landusepol.2014.11.012

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Desired Forested Landscapes for the Future – an Action Research Approach on Local and National Level in Sweden

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Keywords: Foresight; action research; multiple forest values; stakeholders; forest governance

Introduction

A forested landscape is a source of multiple interlinked or conflicting values. Stakeholders representing varying interests act in different societal settings and with separate agendas, creating a complex governance situation. In search for common grounds regarding land-use, participatory aspects in forest governance are addressed. For example, the European Landscape Convention (ELC) advocates a holistic view of the landscape as a common asset and a common responsibility, assigning public participation in planning and decision making affecting the landscape (Jones, 2007). Any process for how to achieve this is, however, not specified and it is up to each signatory state to handle the issue of implementation.

In Sweden, the majority of the land area is forest land, predominantly owned by private owners with individual responsibility for forest management and planning on their estates. For these activities, they seldom consider anything but their own property regardless of the effects on neighbouring areas. Forest companies with large holdings can be said to perform landscape planning and management due to the size of their properties. Arguments for the need to handle larger areas in land use planning are increasingly being raised, as there are multiple ecological as well as social benefits, e.g. to avoid habitat fragmentation (Andrén, 1994) and for coordination of recreational areas.

Swedish forest policy has a long tradition of consensus-oriented deliberations between stakeholders, which often relies on scientific expertise (Schlyter & Stjernquist, 2010). However, there are few examples of local fora where different stakeholders meet to discuss land use issues continuously. One such forum is the Model Forest concept, in which networks of partners in the landscape are created, aided by guidelines and experts. The common goal is sustainable forest utilisation in a landscape perspective. The first Swedish and European Model Forest was established in Vilhelmina in 2004.

Objectives

In this study, we advocate the need for engaging local forest stakeholders in bottom-up discussions concerning their future visions for the landscape – both in order to strengthen the participatory aspects of forest governance and for expanding their views from

individual forest properties to landscape perspectives. We argue that this is a way towards implementation of the ELC and subsequently improved land-use planning practices. In this study, we test a method designed to strengthen the participatory aspects of forest governance through local vision-making on future forest land use.

Method

Action research is an approach to handle complex problems from a bottom-up perspective, where one main purpose is to initiate social processes aiming for a normative goal through the collaborative production of knowledge (Friedman, 2001). In our study, we applied a workshop methodology inspired by critical utopian action research (CUAR) (Drewes Nielsen, 2006). The method comprises three phases: first, the Critical Phase (CP) where criticism of the present situation is raised; second, the Utopian Phase (UP) where the desirable future for different aspects of the landscape is discussed; and third, the Implementation Phase (IP) where means to achieve the desired future are suggested (Drewes Nielsen, 2006).

Within the European research project INTEGRAL, workshops were conducted in two case study landscapes in Northern and Southern Sweden and one on a national level. Two, somewhat different, workshop approaches were used in the two case studies, depending on the local context. The Southern case study, Helgeå River, is situated in an area with 80% non-industrial private forest owners that do not collaborate regarding landscape planning. It was therefore considered an asset to gather local stakeholders and enthusiasts to create a rare forum for joint discussions. In total, 13 stakeholders participated during a full-day workshop covering all the CUAR-phases.

The Northern case study area coincides with the Vilhelmina municipality, with a non-industrial private forest ownership of 50%. Here, the workshop was organized in four small groups with participants invited from the network of Vilhelmina Model Forest, in total 14 persons. Each group meeting consisted of a CP discussion referring to three examples of possible scenarios, and an UP where desirable goals, as well as policy means, were suggested and combined into a future vision.

In addition to the local workshops, one workshop was held in Stockholm with national policy makers exploring possible policy measures and actions for how to reach the locally desired visions (IP). The participants also added goals to the local visions that were missing from their national perspective.

Preliminary results

The outcome of the local workshops, although they were performed differently, was in both cases: critique of the present situation and a list of desirable future goals and suggestions for policy measures needed to implement the visions. In both case studies, the discussion and final vision had a rural development perspective rather than a focus on forestry issues. This illustrates the complex and close connection between forest policy and other policy sectors. The local workshops were highly appreciated by the participants and the evaluation questions regarding meaningfulness, learning and knowledge exchange received high scores. The participants believed that they had been able to contribute to the discussions as they wished.

The national workshop added some brief suggestions of policy actions and implementation to the local visions. The outcome was less substantial partly due to unwillingness among the participants to discuss policy measures in concrete terms and partly due to the workshop's structure and performance. Based on the participants' evaluation, the workshop provided new insights and inspiration, e.g. around regional development, the view on policy measures and the role of organisations in governance. The workshop was considered to have potential to bring research and practice closer; an interactivity that was deemed important for actual decision-making.

Based on the outcome of the local and national workshops, we discuss the ability of the conducted method to enable a dialogue between different stakeholders concerning the future state and use of forested landscapes. Hence, the method's potential to increase stakeholder participation in policy making is evaluated. We reflect upon the potential to discuss interlinked or conflicting issues from a landscape perspective rather than each interest separately. Further, we discuss possible implications for forest policy of handling deviating local situations in one national policy. Preliminary conclusions indicate that the CUAR inspired method is useful and inspiring for participants, as it opens up to new perspectives and creates substantial outcomes to deliberate further. Local long-term fora are needed and demanded for discussing common landscape planning and management of multiple forest values. Model forests could be such an arena to take on research initiated projects, presumably ensuring long-term work and broad representation. Our study has furthermore illustrated that forest policy is connected with several

other policy sectors and rural development, creating a complex future governance challenge.

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How Can Nature Interpretation Contribute to Democratizing Landscape? Communicative Perspectives from Sweden

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Keywords : Nature interpretation; communication; deliberative democracy; nature conservation; action research

Environmental and democratic challenges

Policy on increased public participation (e.g., Swedish Government, 2005; 2009; UN, 1992; UNECE, 1998) has generated challenges for authorities. The European Landscape Convention states the democratic dimension of landscape, both in the very definition of landscape as 'an area as perceived by people' but also by highlighting the social aspects of landscape and the importance of public participation in managing the landscape (Council of Europe, 2000a; 2000b). Simultaneously, public institutions struggle to establish and maintain their moral legitimacy (Habermas, 1984), and people's confidence in authorities declines (Pateman, 2012). The divide between authorities and the citizen constructs a paradox since governmental institutions exist to serve as a supporting system to society, not as an end in itself. The relationship between public institutions and citizens is central to the capacity of society to handle the environmental challenges of today, since those require procedures for dealing with commons. Participatory and deliberative complements to our representative democracy (Meadowcroft, 2004; Oscarsson, 2003) are necessary to address the legitimacy deficit and restore the link between the institutional system and the life-world of citizens. Such deliberation will not, however, arise out of nowhere but will require a physical space within a meaningful common context, and the development of a cultural practice. Nature interpretation holds the potential to deliver all three requirements.

Nature interpretation is a communicative activity aiming to promote relation between people and a landscape, often outdoors. The link that could be constructed between space and context is imperative to the quality of the experience and to the dialogue's transformative potential. When people meet and interact in settings where nature constitutes the space of interaction as well as the subject of discussion (context), what can be called the 'common third' emerges (Nielsen & Nielsen, 2006a). The interpreter thereby transforms their role from interpreter to a facilitator of deliberation on the 'common' activating participants' own experiences of nature as part of their shared life conditions.

Rethinking the role of nature interpretation in society

To explore the deliberative potential of nature interpretation we set up a research project using the Swedish visitor centres, naturums, as our case. In total there are 31 naturums, situated in national parks and nature reserves. Naturums follow the guidelines from the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (SEPA, 2009) and are usually run by the County Administrative Boards, the regional bodies of the government. A parallel SEPA process is to develop a 'world leading' interpretation in national parks (SEPA, 2011), hinting a strategic connection between nature conservation policy and nature interpretation. As naturum guidelines are being revised (2014) and as public sector nature interpretation is increasingly institutionalized, in Sweden as well as in Norway (Norwegian Environment Agency, 2010), there is now an opportunity to rethink the role of nature interpretation in society.

Although interpretation ideally is seen as a shared process of meaning making (e.g., Tilden, 1957), these kinds of communicative activities are in practice performed in various ways, from one-way communication to deliberative dialogues. There are varied understandings of what processes for instance nature guiding and exhibitions at naturums should be like. One is a practice based on assumptions of information transfer or a message performed by the interpreter. Another is a constructivist view that interpretation is the shared process of meaning-making and collective learning between persons involved. The first perspective corresponds to an instrumental notion of participation focusing on the perspective of the institutions and their need for legitimacy, whereas the second perspective has the potential to offer a citizen oriented meaning of participation. Another democratic aspect of nature interpretation is attention to whose stories are being told, since every landscape holds several valid stories (Hansen, 2009). The choice of narrative is related to issues of power, which could be made explicit in the interpretation situation.

Developing interpretation for democracy

Our case study explores if and how nature interpretation can contribute to democratic change within Swedish nature conservation. Nature interpretation

does not per se offer an experience-based and democratic learning process, but requires explicit considerations regarding its democratic potential. In order to develop the democratic dimension of nature interpretation an action research oriented project was set up. Action research methodology seeks to create social change involving the actors in the context being researched (Nielsen & Nielsen, 2006b). In this project, the researchers are taking the lead but will continuously adjust research activities to the perspectives of the participants and interpreters involved.

The project aims to create a new planning tool for interpretation focusing on deliberative democracy. We will address questions of democracy and legitimacy within nature interpretation and explore the potentials for: 1) the creation of a space for deliberation on common challenges in the interface between human and nature, and 2) decreasing the gap between governmental institutions and citizens. Concretely, we will explore possibilities to create a deliberative forum, and test theoretical ideas of deliberative democracy on a nature interpretation setting. Components to deliberative democracy are, according to Meadowcroft (2004), representation, deliberation, decision-making and execution. Our focus is on the deliberation component, and from that angle we will examine how the other criteria can be met.

This facilitation implies connecting interpretation to people's life-world experiences, as well as to the representative democratic system. The project aims to identify possible nodes in the interpretive context where the deliberative and representative democratic dimensions can intersect, constituting new forums for deliberative democracy.

Research design and expected outcomes

The question and aim will be addressed by three stages of activity: 1) mapping current interpretation, 2) developing a planning tool, and 3) testing the tool. The project is carried out over three years in collaboration with three naturums in southern Sweden: Vänerskärgården, Kronoberg and Hornborgasjön. During 2014, current interpretation was documented regarding content, form and interaction. This investigation includes what themes and narratives that are presented by interpreters in interaction with participants, and what system boundaries are established. Findings indicate that democracy is not a main theme in the interpretive activities. The aim with the initial workshops has been to create a common picture of what kind of communicative situation interpretation is, and what current interpretation looks like. The workshops ahead will explore the terms in which democracy can be addressed in the interpretation situation, and what planning questions interpreters can use to carry out interpretive sessions as democratic deliberations. Finally interpre-

ters will be encouraged to test this new planning tool.

This research will generate knowledge on nature interpretation as communicative phenomenon, and explore how this communication could contribute to strengthening democratic purposes within nature conservation. It will also provide greater knowledge about the system boundaries that are dominant within nature interpretation, what these boundaries imply and how they can be bridged. The research aims to demonstrate a way to address ideas of deliberative democracy in the field of nature conservation, and contributes to the body of research on how action research can be used to initiate social change in the interface between policy, its implementation and public participation. The findings will show how nature interpretation can be used and designed to serve democratic deliberation practices, incorporating citizens' views into management of their landscape.

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Landscape values and assessment

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How Can Landscape Planners Engage with Landscape Democracy? A Theoretical Exploration Grounded in an Empirical Study of Practice

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Keywords: Landscape planning; landscape values; substantive theory; procedural theory

This paper is driven by a recognition that landscape planners struggle to handle multiple and conflicting landscape values on which landscape democracy depends. This realisation is based on an empirical study of practice, examining landscape character assessment in the UK, which has informed and driven theoretical exploration.

Landscape as a democratic entity has attained mainstream status through the European Landscape Convention (ELC) (Jones, 2007; Jones & Stenseke, 2011; Prieur & Durousseau, 2006; Paul Selman, 2010). Democratic interests leading from the ELC focus primarily on principles of direct democracy and participatory and deliberative processes. Such principles have been part of landscape planning since the 1970s (Selman, 2006), increasingly becoming viewed as a fundamental aspect of the discipline. Despite the perceived importance of public involvement, its position in landscape planning is still questionable, with a significant gap between the rhetoric surrounding it and how it is handled. This gap has been identified in both academic (Conrad, Christie, & Fazey, 2011; van der Brink & Bruns, 2012) and professional practice (Conrad, Cassar, et al., 2011; Scott, 2011). I argue that this gap is in part due to ambiguity in the conceptualisation of *landscape*.

The ELC recognises landscape as an area perceived by those who experience it (Council of Europe, 2000). As such landscape constitutes the everyday surroundings to life, an arena which all have the opportunity to relate to (Lowenthal, 1986; Tuan, 1977), subsequently representing the means through which individuals and society directly experience and relate to environmental issues. Such a conceptualisation of landscape has become well developed and to a large degree recognised in the rhetoric of both practice and academia.

This conceptualisation of landscape provides the tangible spaces needed for communities to form in order to development democracy (Egoz, 2011; Olwig, 2005). This view recognises landscape as a public arena, providing those who experience and are affected by landscape a space in which to debate its future. Such spaces allow differing values to be legitimised rather than seeing them as conflicts to be suppressed through the 'democratic' processes of consensus. Landscape as a space for discussion also allows common understandings to develop through co-creation of meaning

(Butler & Åkerskog, 2014), allowing common ground to be realised (Dakin, 2003; Nassauer, 2012). It is this common ground that cultivates a 'Conventional' meaning of landscape: an entity developed through everyday practices and traditions (Olwig, 2007). Such a conceptualisation of landscape cultivates a *true landscape democracy* (Arler, 2008), providing the possibility to challenge the establishment democratic structures and question accepted reasoning (Roe, 2013).

Despite increased recognition of landscape as a democratic entity (Bloemers, Daniels, Fairclough, Pedroli, & Stiles, 2010; Council of Europe, 2000) it still remains an expert led scientific field, resulting in limited examination or exploration of democratic concepts and techniques (Bergeron, Paquette, & Poullaouec-Gonidec, 2014; Conrad, Christie, et al., 2011). The same situation prevails in the practice of landscape planning (Conrad, Cassar, et al., 2011), where landscape tends to be handled as an entity recognised by *objective outsiders*, based on traditional aesthetics, focusing on the physicality of landscape (Butler, 2014). Reliance on an objective outsider's perspective means that the discourse operationalised in landscape planning does not provide the space for differing values to be recognised. This subsequently bolsters the perception of landscape as an objectifiable and tangible entity and landscape democracy becomes focused on *values of objectivity and partiality* (Arler, 2008), as opposed to participation and deliberative processes. Promoting one discourse and drawing on another, makes public involvement disingenuous, bringing into question which democratic values are being drawn on.

How the concept of landscape is operationalised in tools is driven by the development of the discipline by practice, founded on rationality. This has meant that the tools developed and used by landscape planners represents an expert-driven, mapped representation of geographical space (Butler, 2014; Stephenson, 2010). Such an understanding perpetuates the centuries old philosophy of dominance over nature (Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988). The result is that the concept operationalised in landscape planning does not provide the space for differing values to be recognised, leading to involvement in landscape issues being involvement in a non-democratic landscape: a professional, elite conceptualisation. The confusion relating to this gap between how landscape is conceptualised in rhetoric and operatio-

nalised in tools means that there is little understanding of what values landscape constitutes, providing limited space for discussing what democratic landscape is.

Issues relating to the landscape as a democratic entity cannot be addressed if we keep falling back on the concept of landscape as a visual surface to inform tools, missing the relationships and practices that are central to people's experience. Recognising democratic processes in landscape issues is reliant on landscape itself being conceived of as a democratic entity. The inclusion of the public and their values in the planning process requires deliberative approaches to landscape planning, recognising all who experience landscape as justified holders of knowledge (Butler & Åkerskog, 2014). This makes landscape planning a means for co-creating meaning and positions participation as a means of forwarding landscape democracy: democratising landscape. Consequently landscape becomes a neutral arena, where conflicting values can be aired rather than becoming antagonistic.

Landscape becomes a collaborative agenda, an ongoing discussion and an arena for political debate. Landscape assessment has the potential of initiating this open discourse on landscape, airing views and expressing values as an ongoing process. Yet this requires redressing the substantive nature of landscape on which tools are operationalised, redressing the values they support and potentially altering the scope of landscape planners. Accepting that landscape assessment can be the space to express differences and provide the opportunity to question the dominant understanding of landscape: a space for airing and legitimising conflicting views (Mouffe, 2000; Pløger, 2004).

It has to be recognised that how the landscape is conceptualised affects how it is handled (Butler, 2014). The lack of substantive theory within the discipline regarding landscape means that the entity or phenomenon which practice deals with often goes unquestioned; the ambiguity this creates is one of the reasons why practice falls short of democratising landscape. In this paper, I call for a realignment of the relationship between substantive theory, procedural theory and practice. Such a realignment requiring an iterative relationship between all three aspects, calling for a more reflective engagement with landscape as a deliberative arena addressed through deliberative processes.

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Growing into a Dynamic Landscape Using Community-Based Planning: A Teaching Experiment Located in Brainport Park – Eindhoven

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Keywords: Community based planning; dynamic landscape development; education

In the curriculum of Spatial Planning Specialisation at Wageningen University different courses are linked with external, non-academic questions. These approaches are often described as a problem-based learning environment (Carsjens et al., 2013; van der Knaap, 2014). This year (2015) we will start to work with the Brainport Park Cooperative Organisation (BPCO) in the course Studio Operational Planning (second year bachelor program). The studio is a four-week educational period in which students learn to design a landscape development plan for the short-term. Within the current set-up of the Studio, each student represents a stakeholder. Based on their input, ideas and (interpreted) vision the students try to create a landscape development plan and a process plan based on a shared group vision, as well as a landscape and network analysis, together with a societal cost-benefit analysis. The students act frontstage and backstage (Boyd, 2014) to act and think as a stakeholder (frontstage) but in the meanwhile doing research and analysis, discussing and reporting from an academic point of view (backstage). The challenge of this year's studio is to simulate a community-based approach, which is at the heart of the BPCO. Since there are only four weeks, it will be a type of pressure-cooker situation – students may represent a stakeholder, or one of the (key) players in the area, having their own ideas and approaches. Are they capable of being part of that community while being a (relative) outsider to the area? Will they impact on the development in the area?

Community-based planning has been described extensively (Ansell & Gash, 2008; Emerson et al., 2012; Opdam, 2013; Koontz & Newig, 2014; Lane & McDonald, 2005). Most of these articles describe a more theoretical approach and a government-driven, or at least initiated or induced, process. The participation of the (local) community is part of a more governmental approach. In the Brainport Park case the government is only one of the many participants, or may not be part of the process at all. One of the objectives of the BPCO is to offer space for development to all entrepreneurs, citizens or whoever wants to start and continue this project so that it is beneficial for the community and for the landscape. The landscape is the theatre that will host and induce developments. The community of citizens, entrepreneurs, visitors, NGOs, etcetera are the actors. The (local) government should restrict itself to only facilitating the necessary legal aspects.

The Brainport park Cooperative Organisation (BPCO) was started in July 2014 by several entrepreneurs and stakeholders in the Eindhoven Northwest region. The area is around 2000 hectares in size, surrounded by the city of Eindhoven, the second national airport of the Netherlands and 'het Groene Woud', an area with a mixture of agriculture, recreation and nature elements between three larger cities in the south of the Netherlands. Central inspirations within the cooperation are: co-creation/togetherness, honesty/transparency and a colourful approach. These motivations are mixed with four added-value principles as returns of investments: inspirational, ecological, society-driven and financial. The cooperation within the organisation and the landscape should grow organically. The first goals are to build two (slow-lane) bridges with great iconic values for the area, over a railroad track and highway A2. They want to start further integral developments around agricultural use, large and small ecological connections, roadside management, a high-tech campus/business area, and recreational objects, taking into account different dynamics in time and place. Furthermore, these kinds of developments should be only community-driven and iterative/cyclic, not a top-down government-driven activity. New short-residing elements appear in the landscape theatre alongside some long-lasting elements (like roads, housing blocks, waterways, ecological main structure elements), thus creating a dynamic landscape based on democratic input from many different actors and players. There is still a stage manager (producer) to connect and inspire the actors and introduce new players and dynamic developments. But the manager can only act on the basis of community acceptance, by being a member of the community, not through dictatorship.

In my contribution for the conference I want to share my findings regarding the link between community-based planning as a democratic approach towards landscape development, and time-limited educational activities, based on the development of Brainport Park as an inspiring, real-life case. The challenges, faults and limitations will be brought forward and discussed. How democratic can the process be? The BPCO case is intended to be an educational environment for several years, so we also have the opportunity to build up a more solid research case around community-based planning. We have to identify which elements can or might be important to monitor. Suggestions are more

than welcome. Other questions remain, such as: can a second-year bachelor student already perform on that level in the landscape–community theatre, being inspired by their own ideas or representing certain stakeholders either front- or backstage? Is there a community-based planning framework that can be applied to the dynamic and democratic development of landscapes? Or is this impossible?

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Localised Landscape Democracy? Examples of Landscape Practices Meeting the European Landscape Convention

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Keywords: Landscape geography; (landscape) practices; public participation; spatial planning; social justice

Introduction and Background

The European Landscape Convention (ELC, Council of Europe, 2000a), which came into force in 2004, is the most influential development in international policy-making concerning landscapes in a European context. With a wide conception of landscape, as well as a broad aim in institutional implementation, the ELC has been promoted as a potential bridging tool both within and between management and studies of landscapes (Herlin, 2007). Moreover, the ELC obliges signatory parties to establish procedures for the participation of the general public, as well as local and regional authorities and other interested parties. Altogether, the ambition is to create a “true “landscape democracy”” by bringing all kinds of professional actors, as well as local actors, throughout Europe on to the same stage (Council of Europe, 2000b, p. 64).

This presentation will be based on my PhD project which studies how the ELC is met in practice in a Nordic context. Specifically, I explore different forms and aspects of landscape democracy and how the intentions of the Convention materialise at a local level, both in formal processes of spatial planning and informal initiatives of landscape change. More specifically I discuss the following set of research questions:

1. How is the ELC met in Norwegian planning practice and what are the implications for considerations of landscape and democracy?
2. What are landscape practices today and what are the democratic contents and potential of different practices?
3. What are the prospects for landscape democracy?

Theory

The project draws on planning theory, landscape geography and critical geography, as well as inspirations from development literature. In doing this, I both make connections back to geography in the 1960s and 1970s, with a strong focus on planning, and couple this with the more radical and critical strands that have developed in the last decades. Moreover, I argue that there are parallel challenges in the Nordic countries and in countries in the global South and thus critical literature on participation in the global South can contribute to and strengthen Nordic practices.

Methods

The project is carried out using qualitative methods, with a combination of interviews and document studies, supplemented with observations. I have conducted interviews with planners as well as a broad range of different participant groups: landowners, community and resident associations, individual residents, summer-house owners, local politicians and business interests. Together with a colleague, I did seven introductory interviews with project owners and planners of projects aiming to implement the ELC in Norwegian local and regional planning. Fieldwork has been carried out in two communities in Sund municipality, western Norway, and in Nyord, a small island east of southern Sealand, Denmark. Sund municipality was part of the national pilot project for implementation of the ELC, focusing on a land use and the development plan for the municipal centre, Skogsskiftet. As well as in and around Skogsskiftet, I have also carried out field work in a more peripheral community in the same municipality, Glesnes. Both Glesnes and Nyord are characterised by broad civic engagement through local organisations and associations and are used as contrasting cases to the official process which took place in Skogsskiftet.

Findings and Discussion

The first part of this project focuses on the implementation of the ELC in Norwegian planning practice. As part of this implementation, Norwegian authorities have highlighted the importance of carrying out a landscape assessment in the municipal land use planning processes. These assessments are meant to provide input to the plans and strengthen the consideration of landscape issues in the plan. In the study of how local authorities have implemented this new policy, we found that most municipalities do not consider themselves to have the necessary expertise to carry out such assessments and they therefore hire external consultants for the job (Eiter & Vik, 2015). In my study, this has two implications. First, this is a transfer of responsibility from the municipal authorities to the consultants, without the equivalent transfer of accountability the municipality has toward the inhabitants. Second, I identify a gap in how landscape is approached by the consultants and by the local actors. The consultants' contribution to the plan is characterised by a focus on landscape attributes, such as sunlight conditions, slope, view and proximity to the waterfront. This implies a focus with a bias towards landscape form, with the aim to create an ideal

landscape. On the other hand, the local actors tend to depart from the existing landscape in their inputs to the plan, focussing primarily on landscape functions and practices. These implications contribute to give heavier influence of scholarly landscape knowledge and less influence of local landscape knowledge in the processes, thus leading to a decreased rather than improved landscape democracy (Vik, forthcoming a).

In the second part of the project, I study how people engage in matters related to use and change of landscape with specific interest in how the processes and outcome of their engagement relate to questions of landscape democracy. Based on theories of landscape practices, I discuss how this concept can be broadened to include a wider range of practices. I identify several kinds of landscape practices ranging from practical voluntary work and lobbying (Vik, forthcoming b) to official planning tasks (Vik, forthcoming a). Theories indicate that due to the mutual relationship between people and landscape, landscape carries the inherent prospects of democracy (Roe, 2013). Contrary to this, I find that despite active and broad involvement and participation in these processes and matters, there are stories of power, social injustice, exclusion and alienation. These are aspects that conflict with common conceptions of democracy (Cristiano, 2008).

Preliminary Conclusions

The questions related to how landscape democracy is understood, and what its prospects are, are not ready at the time of writing this abstract. There are, however, some preliminary conclusions that can be drawn. First, despite the indications in the ELC that landscape and democracy are tightly interlinked, these issues are treated separately in Norwegian planning (Vik, forthcoming a). Second, I find that both formal (Vik & Refstie, 2014) and informal (Vik, forthcoming b) processes of participation carry issues of representation, power and exclusion. This indicates that the emphasis on public participation as the way to fulfil the democratic promise in the ELC is simplistic and may need reconsideration. Third, my study affirms that there are close ties between people and landscape and high level of public engagement (Vik, forthcoming a, b) in landscape related matters. Despite this, there are indications that it might be naïve to believe that the interaction between people and landscape imply an emanant democratic aspect in landscape.

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Institutions Attributing Value to Landscape: Some Features of the Venetian Area

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Keywords: Planning; landscape values; institutions; law

In many European countries, Italy among them, landscape management and planning are regulated by competent public authorities. Since its signature, the European Landscape Convention (ELC) has provided a common framework of reference for these institutional bodies. One of its most important innovations has been to underline the role of the population in all decisions affecting their own landscape. In fact, the ELC invites parties to involve the local population in all decisions that affect the landscape, such as identifying values expressed by landscapes, as well as defining landscape quality objectives. According to the ELC, one of the tasks of institutions is to 'establish procedures for the participation of the general public' (article 5), 'acknowledging that the landscape is an important part of the quality of life for people everywhere' and 'a key element of individual and social well-being' (Preamble).

To be effective, the application of the ELC requires parties to rethink traditional institutional processes of attributing value to landscape. The role of institutions in managing landscapes is not an easy one. On one hand, it is undeniable that attributing values to landscapes depends largely on the individual, cultural context, the degree of involvement, point of view and goals (Zube, 1987). On the other hand, institutions need to act in formal ways and so tend to use mostly objective, rigid and deterministic approaches and methods. This approach may fail to do justice to the diverse, broad and interdependent values that are present in landscape, often leaving the processes of attributing value, and the hierarchy of values that is the basis of value judgments, implicit, fuzzy or partial (Stephenson, 2008; Antrop, 2000). In the Italian case there is a very specific legislative and planning framework concerning landscape, which has its origins in the early 1900s, that considers the landscape mainly as a cultural heritage to be protected, and still deeply influences the institutional practices of landscape management and planning. This approach must now be integrated with the one proposed by the ELC (Sciullo 2008; Priore 2009), that also considers ordinary landscapes and local driving forces as important factors in landscape-awareness.

I intend to develop some reflections about the institutional processes of attributing value to landscape, referring to the Italian context, which I consider interesting for two main reasons. First, despite having undergone a remarkable evolution in almost a century (summarised in three main stages, namely the three

landscape national laws of 1939, 1985 and 2004), the institutional approach to landscape management has always been directed towards protecting selected areas that are considered of outstanding value from an expert point of view (Carpentieri, 2004), 'labelling' them through official procedures. All the transformation proposals for these 'labelled' areas have to be submitted to the state authority, which has the power to deny or approve every transformation. It is clear that, despite ensuring the conservation of landscape in the name of public interest, this severe controlling activity can be perceived by locals as interference and not a democratic process. Secondly, landscape planning in Italy is now facing a stage of potential change, after the important innovations of the ELC (ratified in 2006) and the overall renewal of the legislative framework (through the Cultural Heritage and Landscape Code, 2004) (Gambino, 2002). State authorities (whose role is traditionally linked to controlling activity) and regional/local authorities (whose role is traditionally linked to managing transformation dynamics of landscape) should jointly develop a new generation of landscape plans that outline comprehensive tools that will bring unity to the complex nature of landscape.

My presentation proposal focuses on two main levels of reflection. At the first level I will deal with the general aspects of the processes that institutions in Italy use to attribute value to landscape, with some theoretical implications, and at a second level I aim to explore the evolution and the current effects of these processes through a case study. I analyse the area included in the landscape plan called Arco Costiero Adriatico, Laguna di Venezia, Delta del Po (Coastal Adriatic Arch, Venice Lagoon and Po Delta) in Veneto, Northeast Italy. This area has been affected by a significant increase in landscape protection decrees over the years: more than 500 declarations of outstanding landscape value have been issued since 1927, gradually extending the protection status from a few small areas to larger ones. Furthermore, this area is one of the few examples of landscape planning now under elaboration in Italy, and could represent a model of how traditional rigid regulation forms can evolve into more dynamic and projective tools consistent with the 'landscape quality objectives', introduced by the ELC. The main discussion topics are:

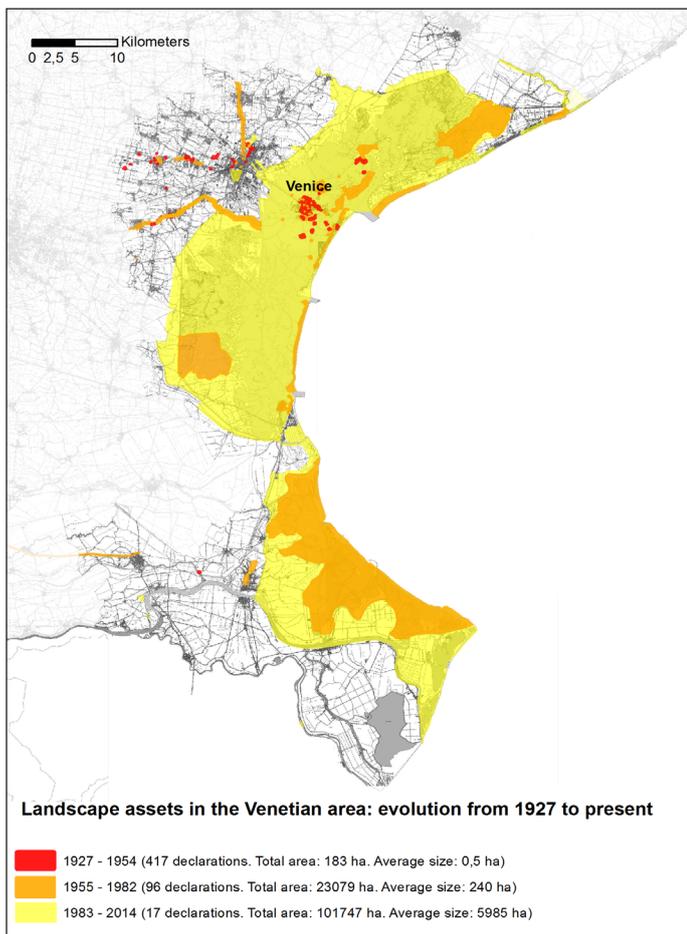


Figure 1: Author's illustration of Veneto region data

The nature of values attributed to the landscape by institutions:

The spectrum of values attributed to landscape is wide – it can cover environmental, cultural, historical, economic, social and symbolic aspects. Furthermore, it is well known that landscape evaluation depends on many individual and social factors. The complexity and variability of processes of landscape perception and attributing value to landscape are often assumed when addressing individuals' perception (Castiglioni 2011), but not yet completely considered in experts' and institutions' processes of attributing value to landscape. Indeed, institutions are also made up of individuals, although experts, and conflicting values about the same landscape can legitimately occur, even at an institutional level. Therefore the explicit identification of these values is very important in order to prevent conflict over choices of territorial transformation at later stages (Dematteis 2003, Ferrario 2011).

Tools and processes used by institutions to assign value to the landscape:

Institutions tend to use formal devices to identify the value of landscapes (giving an official label of outstanding value through the use of criteria, decrees, inclusion in lists and identification of perimeters or buffer zones), which may conflict with the dynamic and ever-changing nature of landscapes. This attitude, though aimed at ensuring objectivity and homogeneity of treatment, may also generate some problems, such as technical problems (i.e. scaling and

updating) and also content problems (tendency to overlap and extend protections over time, to label wider and wider parts of the considered area).

The objectives of identifying values in landscape:

In the Italian context, the main objective of institutions identifying landscape values is protecting exceptional landscapes. This goal has always been pursued by the state authority through severe controlling activity regarding those landscapes labelled as of outstanding value. The guarantee of protection given by a superordinate authority, however, can present some problems, such as the risk of decreasing awareness and lack of responsibility by insiders, as well as an unbalanced consideration of landscape values that centres the technical/expert point of view and neglects real transformation dynamics (Magnaghi 2000) and the local perception of landscape that the ELC recommends considering.

After more than a century of institutional landscape-labelling practices in Italy, reflecting on these questions can help us rethink the methods and the effects of this approach.

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Some Theoretical, Ethical, Epistemological and Political Principles for Risk and Impact Assessment of Development Projects Affecting the Environment

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Keywords: Social risks; social impact assessment; development projects; applied social science

Assessing the risks and impacts of development schemes and projects on the environment has been a field of academic and scientific interest for several decades. The most frequently-cited works on Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) highlight the need for methods that embrace social realities and the specific characteristics of affected communities. Paradoxically, in practice these principles are not sufficiently recognised; very often, they are not even considered in the design and execution of projects. Social Impact Assessment (SIA) emerged from EIA as a discipline evolving from the socio-environmental paradigm shift of the early 1970s (Esteves & Vanclay, 2012).

The spread of EIA in international regulations has also boosted SIA. In the last 20 years, both the increase in academic production in the field and the expansion of professional involvement in EIA and SIA have evidenced growing scientific and business interest in risk and impact analysis (Rowan & Streather, 2011). However, this growth has not brought with it parallel progress in addressing their main shortcomings: insufficient integration of environmental and social features into development project analyses and, in cases where the social aspects are considered, theoretical and methodological weaknesses in their diagnosis and execution phases. It is clear that these weaknesses carry with them substantial threats to the social, environmental and economic sustainability of schemes that impact on the environment, and consequently to the local contexts where they are carried out, and to the delicate balance of the global ecosystem.

This paper argues that the above-mentioned weaknesses stem from accelerating social complexity, which is in turn related to the macro-processes of globalisation, technological development and hyperfragmentation of the employment structure (Alam & Nollet, 2006; Meagher & Wilson, 2002). This speeding-up of social complexity has had direct consequences on the social functionality of science. It has become apparent that we need a science based on renewed ethical principles which would recognise the political nature of local and global relationships, which would produce more realistic and functional knowledge, and which would be less rigid and paradigmatic: a new science built on wider, more heterodox and cross-disciplinary foundations

(Gibbons et al., 1994). Post-normal science, a concept developed by Funtowicz and Ravetz (Funtowicz & Ravetz, 1992; Funtowicz & Ravetz, 1993), may be one of the new directions available to SIA, since through the broadening of assessment communities we may be able to effectively embrace the varying interests and values which come into conflict in development schemes. At the same time, post-normal science helps us to cope with the uncertainties implicit in processes of change. Similarly, actor network theory offers us a key framework for understanding postures and relationships among the social actors involved (Latour, 2007).

With these changes in mind, the aim of this paper is to boost the presence of Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) methods in the planning and execution of development projects. Thus we put forward five foundations for a scientific EIS practice: (1) a new theoretical approach based on actor network theory, (2) a concern for ethics, (3) an epistemological grounding in post-normal science, promoting (4) participatory methods, and (5) a new approach to project governance.

This argument is exemplified in the field of the risk-impact assessment of public and private projects impacting on the environment. As a risk-impact reduction strategy, these schemes need to integrate the social sciences into their studies of risks and impacts – those sciences that habitually work with complex objects of study (sociology, human geography, anthropology, history, and so on), and which involve the production of a more plural, participative and heterodox form of knowledge, closer to social and global complexity. From the ethical point of view, the inclusion of all the social actors affected by (or having a stake in) development projects can increasingly be seen as key for the environmental, social and economic sustainability of such schemes (Ansell & Gash, 2008). But this is also true from the political point of view, since the dynamic local balance in power relations between actors is always altered by the coming into play of a new object-actor: the project and its promoter. Social participation thus appears as a transversal necessity. The greatest challenges will be seen in political management, both external (changes in relationships between actors and forecasting of new scenarios) and internal (or technical: how to manage relationships and tensions between the classical natu-

ral sciences and the new social sciences in risk–impact assessment studies) (Flyvbjerg, 1998).

As a conclusion to the above analysis, we argue that five foundation stones are required to underpin research methods (for both diagnosis and assessment) in the socio-environmental risks of development projects. Firstly, using actor network theory as a theoretical foundation for SIA allows us to embrace social complexity, a predominant feature of the conflicts and risks created by development schemes where (1) multiple actors appear at different levels, each endeavouring to impose their own viewpoints and interests, (2) the environment is a key actor, and (3) technology is a leading force for change with its own capacity for action. A strong ethical posture is needed since although there is a recognised international concern for building ethical principles into SIA practice (Burdge et al., 2003) this is not always followed through to the required depth. Such principles lay special stress on catering to the most seriously-affected groups, which also tend to be the most vulnerable. These principles also reflect the importance of recognising and embracing cultural differences in the assessment of change and in project design; at the same time it is essential to achieve a balance between ethical principles and the need for economic development, together with the legitimate interests of project developers.

A third foundation is epistemological. Post-normal science offers new scientific paths for taking on social complexity, postmodern uncertainty and the diversity of interests, values and types of knowledge coming into conflict during the life of a development project and its social assessment.

The methodological foundation is grounded in a participatory approach. Mixed methods and participatory and collaborative techniques and tools have been shown to be the most suitable, for both political and scientific reasons. Participatory approaches allow us to highlight the different values in play. Thus the most valid arguments (including not only technical and scientific reasons but also economic, political and ethical ones) are processed through collective discussion. Likewise embracing different forms of knowledge (scientific, technical, local) allows us to reduce the levels of uncertainty inherent in social change analysis, the ultimate object of an EIS.

The final foundation is that of governance. To carry out an SIA in a democratic, transparent and trusting environment where all stakeholders can participate requires democracy, because all those involved should have a voice in the assessment dialogue, and transparency because that is how a trusting environment that can legitimate and endorse the EIS results is created.

The results put forward here form part of a study carried out as part of a research project entitled 'Methodology for the social impact assessment of golf courses', financed by the Spanish Government 2012 R&D budget (25%), and the Regional Government of Andalusia (Spain) Excellence Projects 2012 budget (75%).

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Contested Landscapes of Renewable Energies: Spatial Justice for Democratic Landscape

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Keywords: Democratic landscape; spatial justice; renewable energy; biogas; small hydropower

As a contribution to the discussion about landscape democracy, I propose to observe some contested landscapes of renewable energy and the local protest against them to understand whether they can provide some information on what a democratic energy landscape should be. An analysis of the reasons behind the protest reveals that the landscape is not the object of the protest, but its tool: the landscape is used by protesters to understand, reveal and communicate a spatial injustice (Soja, 2010). It seems that the 'direct participation for all in all phases of decision making regarding landscape alteration, supervision of landscape evolution and prevention of reckless landscape destruction' (Priour, 2006, p. 28) are requested not *per se*, but as a way to obtain spatial justice.

Contested Landscapes of Energy

Increasing awareness of peak oil and climate change in the last ten years, has influenced European societies to focus on the need to reduce the ecological impact of energy production in an attempt to comply with the Kyoto Protocol. European and national policies have provided strong backing for renewable energies. These policies are changing our landscape, creating what Selman convincingly called the 'Landscape of carbon-neutrality', namely the new 'type of landscape that might emerge as society finally grasps the nettle of dramatically reducing energy profligacy and dependence on fossil fuels' (Selman, 2010, p. 157).

Despite their apparent contribution to sustainability these new landscapes can be – and often are – contested, raising problems of social acceptance all over Europe (among others: Devine-Wright, 2005; Nadai, 2007; Wüstenhagen et al., 2007; Kerckow, 2007; Wolsink, 2007a; Zoellner et al., 2008; Selman, 2010). As previous researchers have noted (Wolsink, 2007b; Van der Horst, 2007), it is too simplistic to dismiss this phenomenon as a Not in My Backyard (NIMBY) syndrome. These struggles can provide important information on some inherent criticalities of present energy transition towards renewables, linked in particular to its spatial aspects. Renewables are generally small and geographically diffused and for that presented as more 'democratic' than other energy plants like huge hydro- or atomic power plants. Why then they are contested? How does the population deal with the changes produced by the new plants?

Biogas and Micro-Hydropower Unfair Landscapes

In this paper, I closely observed two contested new renewable energy landscapes – notably biogas and micro-hydropower – in the North East of Italy, where they provoked widespread protest in the last few years (Ferrario & Castiglioni, 2015; Ferrario & Reho, 2015). Apart from the classical NIMBY attitude of a few cases, what in general emerges is that local protests against renewables' development seems to be situated on two levels. At the first level, the renewable itself is questioned in principle both for environmental and social reasons (using crops to feed the digester means taking land and water away from food production and taking away the water from the minor rivers means micro-hydro ecosystems may be heavily damaged). At the second level, what is questioned is the local transformation, changing the local landscape. Studying the reasons behind the protest in more depth we discover that, at this second level, the unacceptability of new plants seems not to be influenced by their visual impact. Biogas and micro-hydropower do not generate extremely visible landscape transformation and protesters, in their discourses, rarely refer directly to landscape. Landscape is far from being simply one of the factors influencing the acceptance of renewable energy technologies. Landscape is not the object of the protest. Protesters use the landscape as a tool: to understand the problem, to provide documentary evidence of it and to stage the protest itself.

Protesters seem to think of the landscape 'as a regional polity' and so perceive the issues of justice and power embedded in the landscape itself (Olwig & Mitchell, 2007). The protesters' perceptions of renewable energy landscape seem, in fact, to be strongly influenced by processes lying 'beneath' the landscape. New biogas and hydropower landscapes are perceived not so much as ugly, nor only as environmentally impacting, but as spatially unjust: biogas plants generate heavy traffic in rural areas and impact the wellbeing of the population living nearby and hydropower production exploits mountain territories to supply industrial, metropolitan Perialpine plains. These renewable energy landscapes are not democratic (and therefore contested), because they are produced by a policy that is spatially unjust. This can explain why aesthetic issues are rarely raised in protests. This also explains why people are completely unsatisfied with 'mitigation', consisting of planting trees to hide the view of the plant from the road (defi-

ned by local people as a 'fig leaf strategy').

This research confirms that the perception of the new landscape is strongly influenced – according to Selman – by the 'narrative' behind it. Nevertheless this narrative is more than just rhetoric. On the contrary, it identifies a real problem: a global problem of sustainability, equity and fairness (Wolsink, 2007a) and a local problem of spatial justice.

Seeking a Fairer and More Democratic Energy Landscape

Landscapes are public in the sense of being places shared by different individuals and communities that matter to them in different ways. As such, they are open to particularly strong conflicts both as to what the future of a landscape ought to be and as to who is entitled to have a legitimate say in the decisions to be taken about it (O'Neill & Walsh, 2000). If we want successful, non-conflicting, development of renewables, we must provide:

- globally: an environmentally and socially friendly renewable energy production systems;
- locally: a spatially just strategy of development.

Coming directly to the second level, the one that deals with the landscape in this part of Italy today, public policies on renewables do not consider either the sum effect of various plants, nor the interaction between them, nor the impact of each project locally. They are indifferent towards territorial characters and landscape transformation. They do not respect procedural justice criteria (Zoellner et al., 2005).

As was highlighted, the characteristics of new renewable energy landscapes, in terms of location, number, speed and impact of transformation, are important factors influencing the conflict (Van der Horst, 2007), and renewable energy systems' acceptability are context dependent. It is not a question of mitigating such conflicts, but imagining a new spatially-sensible regional energy policy:

- Dimension, location and timing of plants are key elements: renewable energy development should be designed within the territory, respecting its character;
- Renewable energy development must be considered and managed not as a separate sectoral policy, but as part of spatial and landscape planning (Prados, 2010; Legambiente, 2011);
- Landscape should not be considered something to be protected from energy development, but to be designed with (Ghosn, 2010; De Waal and Stremke, 2014);

- The new landscape of carbon neutrality should be designed within a framework of procedural and spatial justice.

In this sense, in order to learn to 'love the landscape of carbon neutrality' we do not only need to update the old underlying narrative with the new issues arising after the Kyoto Protocol (Selman 2010), but we also need to build a spatially fairer, democratic, renewable energy system. If this happened, then the new landscape of carbon neutrality would be accepted, because it would represent a fairer and more democratic process. Only this way the new democratic energy landscape would really be 'the spatial meaning of democracy'.

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The Everyday, the Subversive and the Powerful: Engaged Design as Landscape Practice

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Keywords: Landscape architecture; African-American gardens; placemaking; community gardens; engaged design

Introduction

This paper explores the dynamics of spatial appropriation and design across three socio-economic groups and landscapes. Specifically we will illustrate, explain and discuss the ways in which individuals and groups engage the landscape to demark, subvert or empower spaces. Furthermore, we will discuss the relevance of these processes to the practice and pedagogy of Landscape Architecture and Placemaking.

The primary discussion is presented through three case studies, two in under-served communities in Baton Rouge, Louisiana and East Harlem, New York and one in a rebuilt park south of the 9/11 Memorial in Lower Manhattan, New York. The discussion is further supported by a review of the underlying theories in the social production of space, activism and group agency.

It was over 50 years ago that both Jane Jacob's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Jacobs, 1961) and Lewis Mumford's *The City in History* (Mumford, 1961) were published and nominated for the National Book Award. Mumford won the award, but Jacob's arguments endure as the more controversial and outspoken. The ideas presented in both books frame our current debate: are cities, and by extension the communities within, best served by regulated, institutional, policy-driven formalism or is the gradual, house by house, block by block, observational, experimental, and informal development the best way to grow a neighborhood?

Jacob's ideas broadened the discussion of design to include the social, cultural and emotional aspects of how we engage in lived spaces and moreover how these nonphysical components influence the work of landscape architects and urban designers. In the last 50 years, the call for and need to address socioeconomic, racial, gender and power issues in the landscape has provided academics with new venues of exploration but left practitioners at times lost in translation from nonphysical to physical ways of envisioning space.

The Everyday, the Subversive and the Powerful

Subsequent to that initial debate, a clearer articulation of theory and practice has evolved and various forms of practice (praxis) have developed that address the social and the built landscape. Public Interest Design, Engaged Research, Service Learning and Social Practice

Art are a few of the movements that bridge theory and practice in a progressive and democratic way.

Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (1991) and Hannah Arendt's *The Human Condition* (1958) are briefly introduced as concepts to frame the idea of the Everyday, the Subversive and the Powerful as a way of viewing landscapes. Certeau's ideas on the 'ordinary practitioners of the city' (Certeau, 1984) helps to frame the significance of everyday aspects of landscape, and Arendt's description of the activities fundamental to human and civic interaction build an argument for community design and public subversion of design and space. Lefebvre's explanation of the complex and interdependent relationship between the structure of public and private life help to justify the role of managed power in spaces of unconventional struggles (Lefebvre, 1991).

The Everyday, the Subversive and the Powerful can be seen as three conditions that can be studied and used to engage nonphysical aspects of physical design. These ideas have been discussed and presented in larger discussions of social justice, gender and race but will here focus on the practice of the everyday, the subversive nature of design activism and agency, with an emphasis on practical aspects of built work that allows for wide use among groups.

The Everyday: African-American Front Yards in Louisiana

The front yards of African-Americans in the South are important landscapes that reflect agricultural and urban practices and culture (Westmacott, 1992). Their layout, design and construction represent visible forms of invisible histories, traditions and meanings. These yards have been for the most part ignored, but when not they are described as physical forms or as cultural, racial or gender-related spaces (Glave, 1998). Both discussions, one on the visible aspects of these yards and the other on the invisible forces that they represent, are relevant to the larger discussion of how the everyday is expressed and how it informs the designer's understanding of the intangibles behind physical form.



Figure 1: African American yard

The Subversive: Community Gardens in Gentrifying Neighborhoods

In immigrant communities, specifically urban areas where groups come from a different ecological and social context, it is important to understand identity and inclusivity. The redesign or re-appropriation of community gardens in transitional neighborhoods provides an opportunity to research and engage in questions of culture, race and the role of communal space in transitioning neighborhoods.

The redesign of Los Amigos Community Garden in East Harlem, New York was structured around the historical and cultural understanding of the lot and the existing 'casita' structure (Aponte Pares, 1997). This, along with education programs in healthy eating and gardening, created a new space maintained by a larger group of residents and open to a community in transition.



Figure 2: Community gardening opening

The Powerful: Management as a Participatory Tool

Every community, whether under-served or affluent must grapple with the question: 'what will become of the neighborhood I live in?' The power to act in addressing that question will vary, but what is constant is the community's internal struggle to determine the right way to proceed. The design and construction of West

Thames Park, in Lower Manhattan, shows a well-funded initiative that established an ecological and sustainable design framework, and then invited the community to grapple with programming and design.

Conclusion

The interaction and melding of social sciences and physical design led to the exploration of three emerging themes in landscape design: the Everyday, the Subversive and the Powerful. The shared process of physical and social engagement in the design of more democratic and egalitarian spaces, specifically in cities, was used to conceptualise, educate, co-create or maintain awareness on issues related to urban space, democracy and stewardship. The dynamic exchange produced by engaged design efforts help to build consensus around the form and extent of an intervention, or whether any action is needed at all.

The conditions that permit the redesign of urban spaces into shared environments for current and future generations are long and arduous. New ways of engaging people, groups and communities are required so that the nonphysical aspects of design, science and implementation are used to create democratic urban spaces available to those that need them the most. By the same token, the role of the designer must change from creator and guardian of a concept or design to a facilitator of open space, social wellbeing and community speech.

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Fostering Democracy through Landscape Architecture, the Case of Groruddalssatsningen

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Keywords: Landscape architecture; democracy; public participation

A call for democracy when dealing with changes in the physical environment often ends up with arguments for public participation. However, interviews with municipal project managers and landscape architects involved in Groruddalssatsningen, Norway, exemplify that there are other ways that professionals foster democracy through landscape architecture and its practice.

Landscape, Social Advocacy and Democracy

The meaning and value of a landscape shifts according to the context and background of the one claiming it (Greider & Garkovitch, 1994). Depending on the definition one argues for, different perspectives of research, suggestions for change, and acknowledged consequences thereof are possible (Barnes & Duncan, 1992).

For the last decades, a more pluralistic view of landscape has been presented (Setten, 2006; and argued for by scholars (Olwig, 2011; Peil & Jones, 2005). This is also reflected in the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe, 2000a, 2000b) and in Norwegian guidelines for landscape analyses (DN & RA, 2010). Since different people can perceive landscape very differently it is argued that when dealing with changes in the physical environment the best solution is to take on a democratic approach (Council of Europe, 2000b). In the Explanatory Report to the European Landscape Convention this is explicitly stated, describing the overall aim of the convention as to establish 'a true landscape democracy' (Arler, 2008; Council of Europe, 2000b:§64). The important role of a democratic approach when dealing with changes in the physical environment has recently been made explicit in academia under the concept *the Right to Landscape* (Egoz et al, 2011). Serving as an identity builder it is argued that changes made to the physical environment (and hence the possibility to perceive it as landscape) affect people's ability to maintain dignity and their sense of belonging. Practitioners, such as landscape architects, are therefore urged not only to focus on the geographical identity of place but also the individual perception people hold (Egoz, 2013).

When translating the quest for a democratic approach to landscape the result is often spelled 'public participation'. Policymakers and scholars work out rules to safeguard the affected publics' ability to have a say in the matter, and when it is time for evaluation the focus is

on the degree to which the public had the opportunity to affect the materialised result (see Davidsson, 1998; Falleth, 2012). As for the profession of landscape architects, some see participation as an essential component in the design process (Faga, 2006; Murphy, 2005). It has even been argued that it is a part of the landscape architect's role to be a facilitator that collects views and solves problems between conflicting groups (Roe & Rowe, 2007). However, fostering democracy through landscape architecture is not exclusive to conducting participatory processes.

The Case of Groruddalssatsningen – Addressing Communities in Need

Groruddalen is a valley in the northeast of Oslo. Until the 1950s it consisted mainly of farmlands, but between then and the 1980s both industrial and residential areas were rapidly established. As with many other Scandinavian cities that expanded during this period, Groruddalen has a diverse housing-stock with a mix of small houses and large apartment buildings. Even so, for the past 20 years it has struggled with a bad reputation due to mono-functional residential areas, buildings with inhuman proportions and undefined and badly-maintained public spaces (Oslo kommune, 2014).

Though the livelihood-statistics (measuring health, employment, education, salary and so forth) differ between areas within Groruddalen, this is where many of the Norwegians who score lowest find their home. To deal with increased social differences and environmental degradation the Norwegian state and Oslo Municipality have, during the period of 2007–2016, decided to each allocate 50 million kroner annually to making Groruddalen a better place to live (Oslo kommune, 2014).

Fostering Democracy through Landscape Architecture

In the autumn of 2014 I conducted interviews with eight landscape architects and seven municipal project managers working with landscape architecture projects within Groruddalssatsningen. Even though the interviewees had a personal understanding of both the importance of landscape architecture per se and the role of democracy in landscape architecture projects, analyses indicate similarities within, and difference

across, the two groups. While most of the interviewees thought that there was an obvious relation between landscape architecture and issues of democracy, the perception of what this relation looked like differed.

For the municipal project managers, public participation was put forward as connecting landscape architecture to democracy, mostly by giving the public a sense of engagement and thereby increasing the likelihood that they will feel proud of their local environment in the future. However, the strongest link between landscape architecture and democracy was the municipal project managers' intense lobbying for realising specific kinds of projects in areas where such projects usually don't exist – like in the case of the suburban city park.

For the landscape architects, public participation was not so much related to issues of democracy as it was a way to collect information about an area and its inhabitants (a common argument for participation in landscape architecture e.g. Francis, 2003; Matsuoka & Kaplan, 2008). Instead, the strongest link between landscape architecture and democracy was to provide physical environments in a manner that allows people with different physical and cultural needs to enjoy outdoor recreation. Even though one can argue that public participation is a way to visualise disparities between people, the interviewed landscape architects diminished the importance of such processes. Instead, professional experience and personal knowledge were considered to be of much greater importance. Other commonly presented links between landscape architecture and democracy were that of increasing public health and creating local meeting places that enable people from different cultures to interact.

The idea that landscape architecture can foster democracy and alleviate societal ills is not a new concept, and neither is the understanding that landscape architects have a responsibility to facilitate this. Though it has been argued that discussions of equity and justice in society aren't covered by the mainstream landscape architecture publications (Crew & Forsyth, 2003), scholars over the years have advocated professional service to society in a variety of forms (Beveridge, 1989; Hester, 1991; Spirn, 1984). This sense of social responsibility is also visible in codes of ethics, like those of the International Federation of Landscape Architects (IFLA, 2014). Complementing this, my interviews with municipal project managers and landscape architects involved in Groruddalssatsningen exemplify how professionals relate to democracy and justice, not only in theory, but also in the practice of landscape architecture.

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Design Democratic Landscapes: Analysis of Zhongshan Street in Hangzhou: Amateur Architecture Studio

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Keywords: Planning; architecture; landscape; democracy; Amateur Architecture Studio

Democracy, from the Greek δημοκρατία (dēmokratía) 'rule of the people', is a political system, a form of government, in which supreme power is held directly or indirectly by the people (based on Larousse and Oxford dictionary). Given this definition, how can landscape be democratic? To answer this question, it is first required to clarify what is meant by landscape. If we refer to its definition in the first Article of the European Convention (Council of Europe 2000) as: 'an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors', then we realise that people and their perception of landscape's concept are key factors in its understanding. The text of the European Convention, which associates the 'landscape quality objective' to the 'aspirations of the public with regard to the landscape features of their surroundings', reinforces the need to give the population a 'sovereignty' in defining 'a democratic landscape'. The efforts made by some governments to inform and involve inhabitants in decision making concerning the landscapes in which they live are certainly forms of response to this, but this is not what we are going to examine in this article. Our research focuses on certain evolutions of the architectural practice – illustrating the consideration of local data as well as the aspirations of people in landscaping – in order to observe the processes among some professionals who contribute through their approaches into building democratic landscapes.

In this article, we will analyse the approach of the architect Wang Shu who founded, with his wife Lu Wenyu, the practice Amateur Architecture Studio in China (1998)¹. We will try to illustrate, through a case study, the Studio's methods and outcomes related to traditional Chinese landscape principles, as well as contemporary social, political and economic contexts. In an emerging country with rapidly changing landscapes, where new development becomes often related to the logic of tabula rasa and where populations could be displaced due to urban development practices, the position and the choice of Wang Shu can be considered as singular. Critical towards the demolitions and rapid transformations of Chinese neighbourhoods, Wang rejects the dislocation of existing social fabric and defends slow construction, the 'slow build', in order to think, observe and adapt to the existing environment. Through his work on the redevelopment of Zhongshan

Road in Hangzhou (2007-2010), a 6 km pedestrian street, Wang Shu was able to persuade the city's authorities to accept several criteria that he presented as requirements in order to get involved in the project. Despite the tight deadlines, Wang Shu explained: 'I have indicated that I would begin six months of investigation, I wanted to understand the area in great detail before working on the project ... In China, to go fast, we proceed to demolition with compulsory relocation of residents who are sent on the periphery. I said that if this project were to be accompanied by such constraints, I refused to take care of it' (Wang, 2012, p. 97). Instead of rebuilding according to the old model and demolishing the surroundings of the street, he chooses to build on the existing city, taking into account the residents' desires without changing their lifestyle drastically. This important work was done in collaboration with research laboratories in various universities. The collected results allowed the establishment of specifications to be respected by the authorities for the redevelopment of the street.

In a more general way, the principles of Wang Shu's work question the architectural, planning and landscape professions and reflect an evolution where mediation practice becomes essential: the architect's role is to facilitate participation and defend collaborative practices as a condition allowing an inclusive and egalitarian process. However, the interest in Amateur Architecture Studio's practice lies in the need to integrate other actors, such as artisans, and generally various forms of local culture. The participation of artisans in the construction process becomes one of the means allowing for the development of an ordinary activity based on 'wisdom' of construction methods embracing rural skills. Therefore, Wang Shu gives artisans a key role in the process following the desire to recreate links between 'conceptual aspect' and 'traditional aspect'. The choice of naming his studio 'Amateur' is in itself symbolic of this immanent attitude towards environments where he exercises: the architect is in constant learning with artisans and reinterprets traditional forms and uses. Wang Shu deals in a particular way with land tenure and property rights, social groups and political structures, through processes that not only deal with environmental vulnerability and public participation, but embody a unique approach

of translating culture and tradition into a vital support system. While activating processes towards the design of democratic landscapes, his work could be analysed as a system that sustains environmental, social, economic and cultural wellbeing calling for holistic practices (Perysinaki, 2014) that take into account *milieux* and the perception of the societies in which they operate.

Notes

¹ The office received the Global Award for Sustainable Architecture in 2007 and the Pritzker Prize, in 2012.

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Rethinking the Landscape Practitioner: Power, Landscape, Democracy

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Keywords: Landscape democracy; planning theory; power; landscape practitioner

Abstract

An unavoidable preparatory task in the development of landscape democracy is to strengthen its theoretical foundations, and this is especially important in respect of power. The emergent landscape democracy literature so far recognises certain dynamics of power in landscape, in the playing out of dominatory and resistant relations between state and local communities, and in the formation of identities. So power is inextricably inscribed into the democratic problem. In this way, landscape democracy raises fundamental challenges to the make up of practitioners and other actors involved in making and shaping landscapes, which are intimately bound up with new power dynamics. A central challenge is that landscape practice (seen in its very broadest sense) needs a new type of central figure: a practitioner who understands how to democratise processes of landscape change. So landscape democracy, in its engagement with landscape governance, needs to develop a new theory of the landscape practitioner.

There are strong parallels here with the development of planning theory, with the communicative challenge to the dominant techno-rational paradigm. Communicative theory of planning posits an alternative form of intersubjective planning through debate (Healey, 1992), grounded (depending on which theorisation one prefers), in a theory of Habermasian discursive democracy (Innes, 1995). Critics have pointed to difficulties with the treatment of power and conflict in this approach, and advocated alternative views of planning which are more sensitive to power, such as agonism (Hillier, 2003). These alternative theories invoke quite different and competing conceptions of the planner, as technocrat and as deliberative practitioner (Forester, 1999). An important contribution to this ongoing debate is Campbell's (2006) argument that it no longer makes sense to think of the planner as a neutral actor, which has been assumed - in different ways - in both the technocratic and communicative paradigms. She points towards a theorisation of planners as practitioners engaged in practical reasoning, making situated ethical judgments. In the present paper, the ongoing work in planning theory of rethinking the role of the planner from the perspectives of power and democracy is brought to bear on the problem of theorising the landscape practitioner from the perspective of landscape democracy. This contribution is enriched by drawing from recent work in political theory on the production of social power (Haugaard 2006, 2012a, 2012b), and

attempts to draw links from this work to the planning field (Richardson and Cashmore, 2011). The paper, then, draws from planning and political theory to reflect on the make up of the landscape practitioner: the professionals who will shape the field of practice of landscape democracy.

The nexus of landscape and power is becoming an increasing centre of scholarly attention. Power and landscape are increasingly entwined in recent landscape literature (e.g. ECLAS, 2012), but there remains a lack of theoretical development of power/landscape. Often the language of power is used discursively, without theoretical grounding or analytical precision. The recent proceedings of the ECLAS conference on this theme, for example, contains not a single citation of work by central theorists of power such as Foucault, Lukes (Dymitryszyn et al. 2012). Discourses of 'the power of landscape' and 'landscapes of power' are examples of such rhetorical engagement with power in landscape research. They are seductive expressions, but they appear to function increasingly as empty signifiers, carrying loose meanings that many can associate with.

This theoretical lacuna becomes still more important with the new call for attention to landscape democracy. The dynamics of power are acknowledged to be important in strengthening the research field of landscape democracy (for example in the current conference call). The introduction of the landscape dimension to democracy raises new theoretical challenges, since much of political theory of democracy is aspatial, and does not locate power or democracy in space or place. This is perhaps one of the more exciting engagements, where theoretical development of landscape democracy may return useful insights to political theory.

The first task for this paper, then, is to prepare the ground for a theoretical engagement with power/landscape/democracy by conducting a systematic review and analysis of the treatment of 'power' in the landscape research literature, and the emerging literature on landscape democracy. Departing from seminal contributions (e.g. Duncan, 1990, Mitchell, 2002, Olwig and Mitchell, 2009), and taking in the recent ECLAS conference proceedings on the theme '*The power of landscape*' (ECLAS, 2012), the review assesses how power has been used. What is the language of power? What theories and concepts of power are used? What

metaphors and stories are present? What analytical frameworks and methodologies for analysing power are used? And, critically, how are landscape professionals configured in relation to this? The review will move from the treatment of power in the wider landscape literature towards the new landscape democracy literature, where it will additionally seek to understand how landscape democracy has framed the question of power, and the answer(s) that flow from this position. Based on this work an attempt will be made to create a synthetic account of the phenomena, discourses, theories, and methodologies of power present in landscape research, and the promise of landscape democracy in presenting a new response to power/landscape.

The direction taken in this paper will be to reflect on what this account means for the construction of the role(s) of the landscape practitioner. Here recourse will be made to the planning theory literature, to inform, critique and provoke some alternative conceptions of the democratic landscape practitioner.

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From Social Trustee Towards Democratic Professionalism in Landscape Architecture

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Keywords: Democratic landscape professional; social trustee; democratic landscape praxis; practitioner/educator profiles

As Donald Schon (1995) repeatedly affirmed, it is in our actions that we wrestle with complexity and in so doing realise and discover the limits and potentials of our professional knowledge. Schon, who challenged technocratic expertise models of professionalism, argued that there was an urgent need for a counter epistemology that could shape and develop professional practices that encourage the participation and inclusion of many forms of knowledge originating from professionals and non-professionals alike. Much of Schon's important groundwork is now emerging in an arena of particular relevance to landscape democracy discourse, democratic professionalism (Dzur, 2004, 2008).

Democratic professionalism can be understood as a complex set of knowledge and performative actions enabling of democratic landscape praxis and of the making and materialising of democratic communities, places and landscapes. It collectively recasts the roles of and relationships between the landscape designer/planner, those with whom they work – citizenry, communities, groups – and those places and landscapes emerging from their collective efforts (Horrigan, 2014). Democratic professionalism's knowledge, worldview, ethics and habits of practice should take root in professional education and continue to be cultivated and practised in the enactment of ones unfolding professional life.

"All professions are conspiracies against the laity," noted George Bernard Shaw over a hundred years ago in his 1906 play, *The Doctor's Dilemma*. Professionals do indeed appear to conspire against non-professionals. Often they armor themselves with expert technical training, credentials, licensing and self-regulatory structures that empower them to assume professional responsibility for addressing others' needs, desires and goals. By and through their actions, professionals can foster elitism, promote exclusivity and privilege expert knowledge. By suppressing non-expert debate, they can marginalise non-professionals into assuming roles as passive observers, outsiders and others. Conversely, professionals can expand, enable and also enhance "space" and spaces for participation and interactive learning, dialogue and creation. These various powers and abilities indicate the broad range of ways that pro-

fessionals help or hinder democratic life and also illuminate how, as Albert Dzur (2008) argues, professions are more political than even those who study them appear to think.

What Albert Dzur calls democratic professionalism, "situates professionals squarely within the public culture of democracy" and asks them to seek "the public good with and not merely for the public" (p. 130). Democratic professionalism runs counter to market-oriented and technocratic modes of professionalism. It realigns power by promoting decentralised, socially grounded deliberative and engaged involvement by democratic professionals in democratic problem solving that also expands and mobilizes democratic authority. For designers and planners, Dzur's emerging theory has particular importance and relevance. It has implications for practice and also for education and research.

Dzur's theory frames democratic professionalism as a blend as well as an evolution of other models of professionalism that it in part integrates and responds to. These include the models of the social trustee and the radical critique. Basically Dzur finds that professions have, on the whole, embraced a social trustee model wherein they "work for the public, but they do not work with the public" (p. 75). The social trustee model is strongly motivated toward social ends and embodies a desire to safeguard the public interest. However, Dzur argues, this model also embodies professional norms, making it apolitical, technocratic, rational, and reinforcing of particular ways of behaving that privilege professional knowledge and expertise. Running counter to the social trustee model, says Dzur, is the radical critique. The radical critique advocates for a world devoid of the professionals it tends to blame for public manipulation and domination and for a legacy of doing more harm than good. But Dzur argues against radical critique's de-professionalisation and opts instead for creating a new re-professionalisation model. The new democratic professional model builds on the strength of social trustee motivations. But it also aims to reform and develop professional practices and norms so they can enable, amplify and express the democratic interests of the people and places *with* whom professionals work. Such a democratic re-professionalism has mutu-

al benefits and for professionals, argues Dzur, actually results in a regaining of authority and “democratic deference” as well as a strengthening of professional relevance and value (2004, p. 11).

This paper seeks to define, represent and demonstrate what constitutes the knowledge and performative practice (identity, ethics, approach) of the landscape architecture democratic professional acting to cultivate democratic places and landscapes. First it will offer a framing of the democratic professional using Dzur’s theory as a guide. Additionally, it will illustrate how the social trustee and the radical critique model can be integrated to form a hybrid democratic professional in landscape architecture. It will identify landscape architecture’s various pathways that are helping to direct and activate movement from the social trustee toward the democratic professional model. These include, among others, dialogic placemaking, participatory design and community-engaged pedagogy along with signature literature, people, places and events (Hester, 2006; Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995; Bose et al., 2014).

The paper will then turn to interrogating and analyzing the narrative profiles of a selected group of community-engaged democratic professionals in landscape architecture education and practice in an effort to mine them for knowledge regarding how best to shape and cultivate the space of landscape architecture democratic professional education, practice and research. Collectively, community-engaged landscape architecture educators and researchers are helping to emerge change in the professional roles, methods, and habits of practice of landscape architects. Their praxis resonates with civic and democratic professionalism, environmental justice and social change and is contributing tangibly to visible change in communities as well as to theory making around design and design education’s public and democratic value and purposes. The educator practitioner profiles contributing to this paper and being used as the basis of analysis are collected and compiled by the authors and are part of a larger ongoing research project aimed at profiling democratic practitioners in landscape architecture and allied fields.

Finally, knowledge from the profiles will be used to develop and represent an emergent pathways “map” of the relevant landscape architectural knowledge derived from history (people, places), theory (place, placemaking, ecology, sustainability, resilience), methods (ethnography, action-research, participatory, community design), pedagogy (service-learning, reflexivity) and practice (people, methods) that is supportive of emerging and developing democratic professionalism’s knowledge, performative stance, ethic and identity for landscape architects.

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Landscape Architecture: Uneasy Discipline

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Keywords: Landscape architecture; professionalism; participatory design; capitalism

Public participation in landscape design and planning is a salient theme of the European Landscape Convention of 2000, appearing in the Preamble, Articles 1c, 5a, 5d, 6A, and 6Cb (Council of Europe, 2000A). As stated in the Convention's Explanatory Report, people are 'no longer prepared to tolerate the alteration of their surroundings by technical and economic developments in which they have had no say. Landscape is the concern of all and lends itself to democratic treatment, particularly at local and regional level.' (Council of Europe, 2000B). The Convention thus links the idea of landscape to the idea of a *demos*, deliberating changes to its environment in a vigorous 'public sphere' (Habermas, 1987). This linkage has powerful implications, suggesting at once clear ethical standards for judging particular planning processes, and general norms of landscape practice and pedagogy.

To a large degree the ELC merely codifies common practice. In most developed societies (even those with weak democratic institutions), environmental design is already subject to a variety of requirements for transparency and participation. These requirements are now so widespread that they seem a natural part of design, but they are little more than four decades old, having emerged from widespread public resistance to undemocratic design, as well as soul-searching on the part of designers themselves, beginning in the 1960s (Roe, 2013). Architects, landscape architects and planners today work in an intensely public realm where their proposals must routinely face citizen scrutiny in open forums. To be sure, designers manage this public engagement with more or less skill, but contemporary practice has become virtually unthinkable without it (Richards, 2013).

Yet even today democratic design is embraced more in letter than in spirit. Truly open 'co-design' settings, where citizens actively shape the design process alongside professionals, remain relatively rare. Viewed in terms of the 'ladder of citizen participation' conceived by Arnstein (1969), most public participation ranges somewhere between 'manipulation' (the bottom rung) and 'placation' (the fifth) of the public. As Forester (1999) has noted, many designers dread confrontation with 'the people,' which they conceive as an irrational mob, and tend to prefer models of participation where they retain control over the proceedings. Truly collaborative citizen participation (Arnstein's 'partnership' and 'delegated power') is inherently messy, emergent,

and long, and this is surely one reason why designers avoid it where possible.

These ethical issues are at the centre of a large and growing literature on public participation and design practice (Roe, 2013; Cuff, 1991; Stevens, 1998; Forester, 1999; Horrigan, 2011; and many others). Hester (2006) in particular has laid out a vision of professional design practice based on principles of 'ecological democracy.' Virtually no attention, however, has been given in this literature to the possibility that 'true landscape democracy' (Arler, 2011) might be in tension, not with particular modes of professional practice, but with the structural requirements of professionalism itself.

This paper, part of a larger project on the social and political history of landscape architecture, explores this possibility. It argues that landscape architecture today is an 'uneasy discipline,' one caught between its professed ethical commitment to democratic design, and its need to defend and expand its niche in a late capitalist political ecology marked by rapid technological change, dispersion of knowledge, and economic insecurity.

Like architecture, the discipline from which it inherited its model of professional education and standards of professional practice, it is a fee-for-service discipline where prime allegiance is to the paying client. While on occasion this client might be the public at large, the professional landscape architect is most often engaged by a private individual or group. This is the case even with nominally public parks such as New York's High Line, conceived by its advocates as a means of increasing the value of the land parcels along it. Over its history, landscape architecture has relied on this fee-for-service model to gain the legitimacy and status necessary to survive, and occasionally to thrive, as a distinct profession. Yet a 'true landscape democracy' – a state of affairs in which all people enjoy equal rights to deliberate and shape their environment – would appear to demand partial or complete relinquishment of this status. It would appear to require accepting the idea that landscape design is not the exclusive province of the (licensed, titled, accredited) landscape architect. Building landscape democracy, in other words, would seem on its face to destabilise rather than strengthen the edifice of landscape professionalism.

This paper examines this tension in three parts. The first part introduces key aspects of professionalism

as it has been theorised since the Max Weber's pioneering study (1919), and relates these aspects to the professionalisation of landscape gardening in the late nineteenth century. The second part examines the history of the landscape architecture profession in this light, drawing on primary written and graphic evidence drawn from the discipline's founders, advocates of democratic design in the 1960s, and current leading practitioners. The third part speculates on the possibility of reshaping landscape architecture as an engaged 'non-profession', one that turns its hard-won social status toward the creation of truly public and deliberative design settings that embody the values of an 'open society' (Popper, 1963).

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Democracy in the aftermath of colonisation

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The Sápmi Region in the Arctic: Decolonisation as Landscape Democratisation

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Keywords: Democratisation; decolonisation; state formation; Europe; Sami

What might “landscape democracy” mean during a process of *further democratisation* within states that are already *nominally democratic*? In this article I will discuss how, under such conditions, we may map *constituted spatial order* (part 2), and describe *constituent spatial practices* (part 3), by applying *relevant constitutional theory* (part 4). Empirically, the article builds on my own doctoral research regarding landscape practices and territorial rights in the Sápmi Region, the homeland of the Sámi people, and a cultural and natural heritage shared between Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Russian Federation. All these states are nominally democratic. Some of them have even been used as model examples of a West-European type of national democracies (Rokkan, 1970). However, the ongoing attempt to implement indigenous human rights in Sápmi has involved the publication of new historical proof, disclosing a previously unknown history of *internal colonisation within Europe* (Otnes, 2006). In Western Sápmi, *internal colonisation* was a side effect of *national democracies* in Norway and Sweden (Pedersen, 1999). The ongoing decolonisation in the Sápmi Region is a process of further democratisation, beyond systematic racial discrimination previously imposed under four nominally democratic states. An empirical study of further democratisation in the Sápmi Region invites rethinking democratisation in Europe, both conceptually and epistemologically. That is the debate that this article intends to inspire.

My research deals with the ongoing effort to overcome discrimination against the indigenous people in some of the areas where there is territorial overlap between the Sápmi homeland and the Norwegian state. This case actualises the need to mobilise certain approaches to *political geography* and *landscape geography* which have originally been developed to study other geographical areas and different historical periods. This has *conceptual implications* as well as *epistemological consequences*.

Regarding *political geography*, the article reviews some Norwegian *state science* regarding Sámi indigenous self-determination, which operates with the normative assumption that the nation-state is the only possible container of liberal democracy (Semb, 2006, p. 531; Hernes, 2008, p.18). However, new international law prescribes protection against discrimination for all ‘indigenous and tribal peoples’. These are population groups who have been subjugated to systematic discrimination

under the existing states, and who have been living off the land since the period prior to the establishment of these states (Anaya, 2004). Thus, international law now demands that the states sort out the apparent tension between territorial sovereignty as a state right and indigenous self-determination as a collective human right (Anaya, 2004, p. 7). This indicates a complex political geography in Europe, comparable to what Agnew and Oslender (2010) observed in Latin America.

Regarding *landscape geography*, the article discusses some Norwegian *social anthropology* which observes Sámi indigenous landscape practices as if these were relatively autonomous from their legal and political context (Paine, 1967; Ingold, 1995; Bjerkeli, 2000; Berkli, 2010). However, new proof in legal history and legal anthropology provide new knowledge about actual landscape practices in Sápmi, such as fishing, herding, hunting and gathering. Until present times, these practices have been *de facto* regulated by longstanding indigenous customs, regardless of any *de jure* state norms (Norwegian Ministry of Justice and the Police, 1993; 1994; 1997). These landscape practices indicate that Norwegian and Swedish state builders never fully succeeded in their effort to translate claimed norms of national sovereignty into practical action. Thus, the empirical study of *landscape geography* is relevant to explain the *political geography*. Such an approach was pioneered by Kenneth Olwig (2002). Nevertheless, Olwig and Jones (2008) refrained from considering the case of the Sápmi Region in their edited volume *Nordic Landscapes*.

Conceptually, it is relevant to do some amendments to the approaches lent from Agnew and Oslender (2010) and from Olwig (2002), when these are being applied to a case of further democratisation within nominal democracies of the contemporary Western Europe. My choice is to use the concept ‘terrains of hegemony and resistance’ from critical geopolitics (Routledge, 1993), as well as similar concepts from social movement studies (della Porta, 2013, p. 18-21; della Porta 2014, p. 14-22). Regarding the ‘hegemony’ part of the concept, I suggest that the persistent presence of indigenous customs, in spite of attempted criminalisation from the states, indicates that we are here dealing with *entangled social hegemonies* (even though this indigenous people has not answered violence with violence). Similarly, regarding the ‘resistance’ part of the concept,

I suggest that actions that might appear as *subversive social resistance* according to the colonial states, might actually be *conformist social defence* according to the longstanding customs of the stateless nation.

Epistemologically and ethically it is more challenging to *bring home* the approaches of Olwig (2002) and Agnew & Oslender (2010), from distant periods and areas, to the contemporary Western Europe. When nominal democracies are being further democratised, it also reveals what was previously called democracy was not so democratic after all (Otnes, 2006). Therefore I end by discussing the various explanations of the transformative power of social mobilisation: on the one hand is the revolutionary myth, which is being used in by NATO and CSTO in order to silence claims of indigenous human rights that are still being denied. On the other hand is recent constitutional theory, which shows how constituted systems are continuously maintained and remade, and how social movements provide input to that process, as continuous constituent powers (Bailey & Mattei, 2012; Weiler, 2002; Oklopcic, 2008). If the pragmatic purpose of the research is to serve further democratisation within nominal democracies, then one should avoid fatalistic misuse of the revolutionary myth, and try to identify actual possibilities for social movements to provide input to the ongoing constitutional process.

In sum, the Sámi Region as an empirical case of further democratisation within previously established nominal democracies invites to re-constitute the intersection of political geography and landscape geography, both conceptually and epistemologically.

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FLOW: Cultural Water desire, Community and Ecology in Landscapes of Extraction

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Keywords: Arid; landscape; water; values; industrialisation

You cannot step twice into the same river: for other waters are continually flowing in.

(attributed to Heraclitus of Ephesus, 535-475BC, Plato, 402a)

The central Australian wilderness, otherwise regarded as the outback, is no longer a territory of 'untouched' landscapes to be explored anew as the tourist literature, national marketing schemes and movie scripts would have us believe. Rather, the land bears witness to increasing industrialisation in the form of global mining exploration and extraction processes and their attendant infrastructures. Such large scale, intensive construction is revealed from above in the points, patterns, lines and networks etched into implacable surfaces formed by millennia of water movement and land erosion in arid Australia. It is the confluence of geology and water systems laid down over great time periods that provides the rich materials upon which Australia's current economic success relies. The often rancorous political debates regarding who has rights to the material benefits and wealth accruing from oil and gas mining have raised the awareness of the general public in their democratic rights to share in the bounty. Yet, Miner's Rights allow sanctioned extraction across the landscape where favourable geological conditions allow, with little legal recourse available to the local inhabitants, who are either paid off, or are required to co-exist with intensive industrial complexes and associated road and support infrastructure.

With these scenarios at play and in the absence of negotiated rights to landscape conventions, looking for guidance, for example as espoused in the European Landscape Convention, gains little traction when applied to outback landscapes; historically subject to the commercial sense that there is nothing much out there, neither human nor non-human, to be concerned about. The notion that the acceleration of the transformation of landscapes, driven by 'developments in ... industrial and mineral production techniques', is concurrently regarded from the belief 'that the landscape is a key element of individual and social well-being and that its protection, management and planning entail rights and responsibilities for everyone' (European Landscape Convention, Preamble, 2000) rarely enters political or business case debates on the exploitation of resource-rich landscapes. Any assessment of the relative qualities of the landscapes, or of the values held by the diverse communities which they support, relies almost

exclusively on environmental impact studies together with the mostly online campaigns of environmental activists and small-scale land managers to argue for rights to landscape protection and management.

This recent research records outback landscapes through desktop navigation of ubiquitous digital data forms across vast scales, then further uncovered (on site as it were) through aerial journeys across the expansive networks of the great inland water systems; such as the Cooper Creek catchment that flows across Queensland and into South Australia to finally terminate in Kati Thanda – Lake Eyre. The paper reports on the water landscapes of central Australia through projects that firstly establish the idea of water values through detailed literature review and secondly, that seek to gain understanding of the intrinsic relationships between water and human and non-human occupation in the arid landscapes of the remote Cooper Creek. This research invests a cultural landscape approach, alongside the scientific research undertaken towards effecting environmental impact knowledge and resource management.



Figure 1: Cooper Creek at Dusk

The interconnectivity of Indigenous people to water in arid areas is inseparable from *Country* and the ongoing physical and spiritual health of the land and its peoples. In this respect *Country* is an Indigenous concept that establishes people's deep association with land and kin. Bird Rose suggests that *Country* is a 'nourishing terrain':

People talk about country in the same way that they would talk about a person: they speak to country, sing to country, visit country, worry about country, feel sorry for country, and long for country ... Country is not a generalised or undifferentiated type of place.

(Bird Rose 1996)



Figure 2: Cooper Creek North Branch

Throughout the literature predominant values include; ancient to present day lineage of creation stories and pathways across Country focused around landscape features including water places, the link between daily practices and Indigenous economies, rights to water, identities and ways of life. (Ah Chee, 2002) Responsibilities for care of *Country* and its water assets reside with the local Aboriginal people, and protocols for negotiation with industry, pastoral, government, tourist and conservation interests and programmes are under development across regions. A number of published protocols for engagement and research into landscapes (and by association their water assets) are in the public arena, often negotiated through mining interests and/or government agendas based upon jurisdictional boundaries.

Non-indigenous values and perceptions of the landscape are traced from early explorer accounts and then through the histories of opening up the land to development by large-scale industries including pastoralism, mining and tourism. Historically, small communities developed in sparsely located places adjacent natural water supplies, initially drawn from springs and permanent and semi-permanent waterholes. With increasing industrialisation of the remote arid landscape, the Great Artesian Basin (GAB) became the source of reliable and permanent underground water supply through bores and water storage systems. The critical aspect of water drawn from aquifers is that the presence of water becomes invisible, resulting in the sense that an unending supply of water to sustain industry is available. The primacy of water and the locations of places where water can be accessed structures the ori-

ginal routes and pathways explored across the study area, where since the mid-1960's, the geological riches of oil and coal basins provide the impetus for development of roads, infrastructure and temporary settlements in resource-rich areas.

The cultural and economic value of the various 'natural' water sources are widely held by the range of people who access these assets for livelihood, recreation or spiritual uses and values. Some generalisations can be made regarding water as the primary magnet for occupation of arid places. For tourism, the apparent naturalism of water resources, preferably associated only with small settlements and/or heritage sites, is the paramount experience of being in the outback. For pastoralists, reliable water drawn from a range of sources over times of climatic change frames their response to work with and on the land. For industry, the scale of development and the need for water of sufficient quantity results in increasing industrialisation of remote landscapes.

One contentious issue for inland water conservation resides in the intersections between pastoral activities, the mining industry and Aboriginal attachment to *Country*. As extensive water users, large-scale mining operations are regulated across Australia through 'Miner's Rights' legislation. This determines that all minerals owned by the Crown thus govern access for exploration and extraction over the rights of landowners and Aboriginal groups. However, across Indigenous Australia, native title lands claims provide automatically for negotiated agreement with 'native title parties' for exploration or mining on native title land enabling some provisions for management and compensation (Government of South Australia, 2015), although such legislation does not automatically refer to water access rights or limitation of use.



Figure 3: Arid Industrial Infrastructure

It is clear that these competing uses and perceptions around the type, condition, quality and degree of naturalness are critical to understanding the values that people hold for inland waters. Ah Chee 'recognises 'the different values and priorities for water within the GAB for Indigenous and non-Indigenous people and how it must now be managed to allow for wise use to achieve a better outcome for future generations' (Ah Chee, 2002). Water values are intrinsically linked to cultural landscape values, including attachment to place and the right to access water for human sustenance and cultural and spiritual purposes. Aesthetic and social values are influenced through major narratives such as water use, access and scarcity, within the context that 'water will determine the future of Australia' (Cathcart, 2009). Heraclitus' quote, which introduces this work, resonates with concepts of the essential nature of environmental change and human interactions with the systems that sustains life, reminding us that everything flows, nothing stands still, and as the river changes so do humans, each time they step into the water.

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The Commons

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“Carballeiras” in Galicia: Landscape as Commons

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Keywords: Landscape architecture; oak forest; common space

Today, extraordinary attention is being paid to the region's oak woods from different areas in connection with three essential issues: the absence of valid symbols of identification for people in the supposedly civilized world, the absence of natural areas close to the inhabitants of towns and cities, and the general deforestation and loss of biodiversity in the planet as a whole.

This situation is put forward in this research as the main argument that attempts to demonstrate the urgent need to preserve our remaining carballeiras, which are planted oak sites with some peculiarities. The aim is also to establish, with precision, the features that make them places that contain and represent a collective and to reflect upon the different guidelines required in order to create high-quality public spaces. The “carballeiras” are an essential element of the landscape of Galicia.

Because of the limited information published on the Galician carballeiras, a database comprising two hundred and forty three records was compiled. Each one includes geographical, ethnographical, historical, legal, and graphical data: drawings and photographs. There is also one concrete proposal to act at the end of each record.

The research ends with proposing its utility. An attempt to define the carballeira in its whole complexity is done, trying to include everything found during the work development. I have tried to show the carballeiras' importance, to imply its need for protection.

Starting out on an individual scale, exploring the treatment and protection required for each “carballeira”, the research then extends to a more general level: the treatment and defense of the landscape as heritage, landscape considered as existential space, as a place where personal and collective life acquires a sense of nexus and continuity, connected with nature and building.

Anthropological, ethnographic and psychological views

In order to understand what carballeiras represent in Galicia, and the future that awaits them, we have to explore the meaning they had in the past. Our landscape may only be understood and correctly planned if we are able to see it in the light of the different significance it has had throughout history.

Exploring the human need to live and be in contact with nature calls for an extensive overview, which explains this need from different points of view. The feeling that results from being in carballeiras and even from seeing the photographs included in the files, cannot be justified directly by their materiality.



Figure 1: Outeiro de Barán. San Pedro de Barán. Paradela. Photograph by the author.

This section discusses these anthropological, religious, ethnographic and psychological views, in an attempt to provide information that may be of value to justify the importance I believe carballeiras have.

Relationship between carballeira and community

This section establishes the relationships that interconnect the carballeira with the community it serves. It explores the spatiality of the carballeira, a series of oak trees determined with precision, probably an *imago mundi* of a specific collectivism.

Also it explores the mechanisms that have made them a reality from a legal point of view, as a space belonging to a community, as historic property, and from a productive point of view, as a traditional system for agricultural and forestry production that has configured our landscape and explains the importance of wooded areas for the community.

Carballeira as landmarks of the territory

The traditional European rural landscape was determined by the powerful castle and the distant and divine sanctuary. As Norberg-Schulz (1971) wrote: “In Catholic countries and regions, the countryside became sacred thanks to the systematic dissemination of religious places, from the great sanctuary to the small cross standing next to the path.

The pilgrimage routes joined these elements together, until creating a highly significant network” (p. 88).

There is, at least, one carballeira in every parish in Galicia, where there are 3,778 parishes. Galicia occupies an area of 29,574 km², so it can be said that there is about one carballeira every 8 km². As they usually occupy prominent positions, they are important landmarks of the territory.



Figure 2: San Domingos de Bonaval. Santiago de Compostela. Photograph by the author.

Carballeira as commons

The carballeira is, without doubt, the space created by the community to express the structure of the world. They appear as integrated in the culminating moments of life: birth and death, regeneration, the cycle of nature. The carballeira is established as a centre, situating us within the landscape and the world. In this sense it is enclosed, while at the same time open to the surroundings, which are always perceived from it and, in general, are dominated from it. From the exterior, it is also an unavoidable point of reference.

In terms of use, it is a complex place. It responds to the need to produce, but also responds to the need for a meeting point and place of relaxation for its owners. This shared ownership serves to bind together the community. In fact, carballeiras are ruled by a curious property system, which only occurs in Galicia: while land ownership is communal, the trees belong to individual persons.

The carballeiras found in the churchyards of parish churches confirm the conversion to Christianity of a formerly pagan site. This collective spirit, established in this place, gives significance to its atmosphere, assimilating it and adapting to it. This affirmation was valid for the whole of Galicia’s landscape until fifty years ago. Today we may see in the carballeiras a series of micro cosmoses that are limited and reduced, valid as an example and possible starting point for the regeneration of the landscape as a whole.

The carballeiras, as trees that are cultivated outside of forests, also ensure the reduced consumption of potential local resources. In this balanced environment, which is the result of strict planning, the need for collective space is resolved with the minimum resources. Reducing the excess of water in the soil, and making

the maximum use of sunlight, are two objectives to be reached in order to obtain a quality environment in which local collectives may carry out their activities in an agreeable manner. The productive capacity of the oaks that comprise these areas is never forgotten.



Figure 3: A Ponte. Santa María de Grixoa. Santiago de Compostela. Photograph by the author.

Although we accept that the objective of a community that plants a carballeira, or a farmer who plants oaks around his land, is to solve a problem and is eminently functional, its origins and essence is an aesthetic activity that includes the development of a language and whose result is an evidently intentional composition of the landscape.

A paradox of progress: today, when we know better than ever that the landscape is a heritage asset, an important cultural component, an expression of a historical process, a support for the identity of society, a factor that stimulates human creativity, and a source of forms and materials for artistic activity, the general action of progress on this landscape is truly devastating.

Preserving the carballeiras

From the study of each specific “carballeira” and its protection proposal, some general protocols are established by type. Firstly, in order to determine the type, we present the terms that define each “carballeira” type, and then the protocol for the type provides guidelines for action.

Today, a third of the listed municipalities have incorporated the “carballeiras” into their planning as public spaces to be protected in the slightest degree. This is an important advance, because until the completion of this catalog they had no degree of protection.

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What does Right to Landscape mean? An Analysis Through the Concept of Commons

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Keywords: Landscape theory; common good; commons; human rights; philosophy of space and place

In this paper I will analyse and question the idea of 'right to landscape', by focusing on the concepts of common good/commons/common pool resources. Regarding the distinction among the previous three terms, I will take inspiration from the work by E. Ostrom (1990; 2009), by considering how she changed the idea of commons and the management of Common Source Resources (CPRs), after the great debate that the topic created in the sixties (see Hardin, 1968). The analysis of old and new commons shows that there is a specific idea of state, society and politics embedded in the different approaches in analysing and managing landscape. Furthermore, the management of landscape is related to a philosophical idea of state, values and democracy (Olwig, 2003 and 2011).

Nowadays, the political implications of the concept of commons/common good are various. Through the concept of commons, several authors question the liberal theory of state in the management of land and the fact that private property was often considered the only solution for both poverty and management of CPRs (see Harvey, 2011 and Bollier, 2012). The literature on the concept of commons is currently thriving, and in this paper I focus on the specific relationship between landscape and commons (see also Menatti, 2013; 2014). In the contemporary era, the main issues relative to commons are the exhaustion of natural resources and the safeguarding of cultural and natural heritage (both material and immaterial). I state that one of the ways to safeguard landscape is to consider it a common good and also a possible human right. The question is not trivial and it is open to debate. I will analyse in this respect the UNESCO document called Florentine Declaration on Landscape (UNESCO, 2012). But it is important to remember that already in the European Landscape Convention landscape is characterised as common good (Council of Europe; 2004). The UNESCO Convention clearly starts from these premises and tries to give a wider and more universal (but not homologated) definition of landscape. Relying upon a concept of landscape that is holistic, historical, dynamic, multicultural and adaptive, it encourages intergovernmental, transnational and public-private cooperation. And by stating that: 'landscape is a common good, the right to landscape is a human necessity' it opens the debate for a new range of theoretical possibilities.

The literature about this topic is scarce, although the

book edited by Egoz et al. (2011) can be considered an important precursor. The crucial point analysed in the recent literature is the link between human rights and landscape. The right to landscape does not concern only conflict zones or native areas, but also, and more comprehensively, everyday landscapes and environments that are threatened and damaged. In such a way, thinking about landscape can be transformed into thinking about the 'right to landscape', for everyone and every society. On these bases, I will argue that the idea of landscape as human right can implement and complete the debate about landscape and common good/commons.

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Eleftheria Gavriilidou was born in Thessaloniki, Greece in 1989. She studied Architecture at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and is currently studying towards her MLA at the same university as an IKY scholar. Her interests include landscape architecture, architecture and urban design. She has exhibited her work at various conferences and exhibitions related to architecture and arts: OPEN 15 Venice Biennale, 7th European Biennial of Landscape Architecture, URC Hamburg 2014, S.ARCH 2014 and PECSRL 2014. From April 2014, she ran the project KIPOS3 as part of Angelopoulos Fellowships Programs GIU 2014, intending to introduce the idea of urban green commons in her city.

Charles Geisler works on the sociology of property, its abiding controversies and emergent forms. His work extends to land concentration and exclusionary land-use planning, property pluralism, new enclosures, land reform, property rights and human rights, ownership in stateless places, occupation theory, the public trust doctrine, and post-property theories. He has studied land-displacement and dispossession in Bangladesh, the United States, Ethiopia, the Dominican Republic, Scotland, Vietnam and Japan. His recent co-edited books are *Accumulating Insecurity, Securing Accumulation: Violence and Dispossession in the Making of Everyday Life* (2011) and *The Jackals of Westphalia? Non-State Challenges to a State-Centred World* (2015).

Leonardo Maria Giannini MSc in Earth Science, Regional and Urban planning. He has worked in urban projects around Italy with various government departments and authorities by using a mix of statistics and spatial analysis with GIS software, that is able to create codes in order to automate spatial and statistical calculation. Leonardo is considered an expert in visual impact analysis and the creation of many different models for employing spatial and image analysis tools. He has presented and published on his expertise at numerous conferences and international publications.

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Helge Hiram Jensen (b. 1976) has scientific, didactic and artistic interests in landscape. His doctorate thesis concerns territorial rights in areas where Norway and Sápmi overlap. Other research deals with historical gardens and post-war reconstruction. Didactic practice includes curating and facilitation of action art and teaching of vernacular architecture. Artistic practice includes the on-going multi-media investigation *Landskapets vrangside* (the flip side of landscape). He has published on architecture, agriculture, nationalism, urbanism, study- technique and actionist art. Jensen is a graduate from the European University Institute, Florence and from the University of Oslo.

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Anna Höglhammer studied Environment and Bio-Resources Management at the University of Life Sciences, Vienna. Since 2011 she has been working at the Institute of Landscape Development, Recreation and Conservation Planning, University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences, Vienna, where she also wrote her Master thesis about adolescents' perceptions and use patterns of public open spaces in Vienna. Her research focus is on outdoor recreation in urban and peri-urban green areas, landscape perceptions, sociological aspects and qualitative research methods.

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Karsten Jørgensen (b. 1953) is a professor in the Department of Landscape Architecture and Spatial Planning at Norwegian University of Life Sciences, and holds a ScD in landscape architecture from UMB. From 2006 to 2015 he was founding editor of *JoLA – Journal of Landscape Architecture*. He has published regularly in national and international journals and books. His latest book is *Contemporary landscape architecture in Norway* (Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk Forlag, 2010).

Michael Jones is professor emeritus at the Department of Geography, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim. His PhD is from the University of London (1972). He has written extensively on landscape topics, including landscape history, landscape and planning, agricultural policies and landscape, environmental management, the "cultural landscape" concept, and landscape democracy. He has also authored articles in the history of cartography and in legal geography. He has co-edited a number of books, including *Nordic Landscapes*, with K.O. Olwig, (University of Minnesota Press, 2008) and *The European Landscape Convention: Challenges of Participation*, with M. Stenseke, (Springer, 2011).

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Lillin Knudtzon is a PhD fellow at the Department of Landscape Architecture and Spatial Planning, Norwegian University of Life Sciences. She holds a degree in sociology from University of Oslo. Knudtzon has extended experience in social research at the Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research and Norwegian Building Research Institute and environmental auditing. Her research skills and interests cover democratic theory, youth democratic participation, public participation and influence in planning, social sustainability, discourse analysis, neighbourhood and dwelling quality and universal design.

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Peter Kurz researches landscape planning and landscape architecture at the University of Natural Resources and Applied Life Sciences, Vienna. He wrote his PhD Thesis on vegetation and history of land-use in the mountain-area of the Upper-Austrian Mühlviertel as an indication for the change of peasant economies in the context of globalising economic structures. He has held teaching and research positions at the University of Natural Resources and Applied Life Sciences Vienna (1998-2010: Landscape architecture and landscape planning) and at the Vienna University of Technology (2011- ongoing: Spatial planning and regional development). His research topics are: Rural development; management and governance of cultural landscapes, landscape politics, history of landscape, land-use systems.

Ulrike Krippner is a landscape architect and, since 2001, researcher at the University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences BOKU, Vienna. Her research focuses on the history of designed landscapes in the 20th century, as well as on the history of the landscape architecture profession in the same period, with a special emphasis on women in garden and landscape architecture. In 2010, she was granted a summer fellowship at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C., where she pursued her research on exiled Austrian women garden architects. In 2014, she co-curated the exhibition WIG 1964, green postwar modernism at the Wien Museum.

Marte Lange Vik is a PhD student in the Department of Geography, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, finalising her thesis in 2015. The working title of the thesis is 'Lived and experienced landscape democracy: Examples of landscape practices meeting the European Landscape Convention' and it discusses how landscape democracy materialises in different forms of everyday practices. She holds a Master's degree in Development Studies from the Norwegian University of Life Sciences and has previously worked as a researcher at Western Norway Research Institute. Her research interests are linked to uses and management of landscape and nature, as well as questions of civic engagement, public participation, justice, and power relations.

Joern Langhorst is currently assistant professor of Landscape Architecture at the University of Colorado Denver. Previously he has held faculty positions at the University of Oregon and Iowa State University, teaching in Landscape Architecture, Architecture, Urban and Regional Planning and Urban Design. His research and teaching focus on landscape architectural theory, issues of visualization and representation, emphasizing film, and post-industrial and post-disaster sites with a focus on the cultural production of space. A particular emphasis is on post-industrial and post-colonial cities and their mechanisms of de-development and re-development. His research foregrounds issues of social and environmental justice and their spatialisation.

Gini Lee, PhD, is a landscape architect and interior designer and since July 2011 she has been the Elisabeth Murdoch Chair of Landscape Architecture at Melbourne University, Australia. She teaches and researches in cultural and critical landscape architecture and spatial design, particularly in landscape design studio and theory that engages with the curation and postproduction of complex landscapes. Focusing on the arid environments of Australia, her multidisciplinary research into the water landscapes of remote territories contributes to the scientific, cultural and indigenous understanding and management strategies for fragile landscapes, realised through writing, creative works and exhibition.

Lilli Lička is a professor of landscape architecture at the University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences, BOKU, Vienna, and head of the Institute of Landscape Architecture since 2003. She Teaches and researches in landscape architecture and the correlation between design and use of open spaces. In 2014, she was a co-curator for the exhibition WIG 1964, green postwar modernism at the Wien Museum. She is the principal of studio koselička, landscape architecture, together with Ursula Kose since 1992. She has designed and built projects in the public realm, in housing estates, historic parks, gardens and open spaces and is the recipient of the Yppenplatz: Mention Otto-Wagner-Urban-Design-Award 2003.

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Masaru Miyawaki is an associate professor in landscape planning and urban design, at the Department of Architecture and Urban Science, Graduate School of Engineering at Chiba University, Japan. He has a PhD from the University of Tokyo (1995), and has researched on historic landscape through a scholarship at Sapienza University of Rome (1991-1992). He received the Award of the Minister of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism of Japan (2004) and the Annual Award for a Paper from the City Planning Institute of Japan (2013). He published a book 'Landscape and Urban Design - Next Landscape Planning-' (in Japanese, 2013).

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Thomas Oles is lecturer in landscape architecture at the Edinburgh College of Art. His research focuses on the history of landscape as a concept, landscape and representation, design pedagogy and the history of landscape architecture. Thomas is author of *Go With Me: 50 Steps to Landscape Thinking* (Architectura + Natura, 2013) and *Walls: Enclosure and Ethics in the Modern Landscape* (Chicago, 2015). He is currently working on two new books, *Approaches* and *Landings, a guide to fieldwork in landscape architecture*, and *Uneasy Discipline, a social and political history of landscape architecture*.

Kenneth Robert Olwig (b. 1946) is an American-born landscape geographer, specialising in the study of the Nordic landscape. He has taught at universities in Denmark, Norway and Sweden, and is best known for advocating a "substantive" understanding landscape, that incorporates legal, political and other lived significances of landscape, rather than taking a more purely aesthetic approach. His writings include *Landscape, Nature and the Body Politic* (2002) and *Nature's Ideological Landscape* (1984). Olwig has most recently been a professor of landscape architecture at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences in Alnarp, Sweden, where he joined the faculty in 2002.

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Amy Strecker obtained her PhD in international law from the European University Institute, Florence in 2012. Her PhD, entitled 'Landscape as Public Space', analysed the protection of landscape as expressed in cultural heritage law, environmental law and human rights. Amy is currently a postdoctoral researcher with the ERC-Synergy Project NEXUS 1492 at Leiden University, the Netherlands. Her research within the project focuses on indigenous rights and cultural heritage in the Caribbean. Amy is a guest lecturer at the University of Nova Gorica (Venice) and University College Dublin, as well as being the Scientific Editor of UNISCAPE.

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Grete Swensen, PhD, is an ethnologist and senior researcher at the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research. Her interests and experience comprise studies related to how cultural heritage and cultural environments could be incorporated into today's physical planning, including how to integrate cultural heritage as a vital component in sustainable urban development. She places special emphasis on interdisciplinary cooperation and the use of qualitative research methods. She has coordinated a series of interdisciplinary research projects and strategic institute research programs. She is co-editor with Torgrim S. Guttormsen of 'Heritage, Democracy and the Public: Nordic approaches to managing heritage' (forthcoming).

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Anne Tietjen is an architect and an assistant professor at the Section for Landscape Architecture and Planning, the University of Copenhagen. She specialises in the transformation, preservation and development of existing built environments and landscapes. Questions on how to evaluate, communicate, and activate the specific qualities and resources of a given place are central to her work. Currently, she is working with the development of place-based potential as a new approach to strategic planning in peripheral rural areas. Besides her research, Anne Tietjen works as an urban planning and design consultant.

Maria Gabriella Trovato is assistant professor in the LDEM Department of the American University of Beirut. Her most recent research focuses on Landscape Atlas for Lebanon (an inventory of natural and cultural values of Lebanese landscapes to integrate landscape into planning, development and conservation projects), on urban and peri-urban landscape in the Middle East and North Africa, and on Syrian refugees in Lebanon, using the landscape as a medium to interpret and propose innovative approaches and methods to manage continuous changes and transformations. She has worked in a number of countries including Italy, Morocco, Tunisia and Canada, and was lead partner in EU-research programs.

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Odd Inge Vistad (dr. polit) is educated in nature management and social geography. He has worked with outdoor recreation and nature-based tourism in many geographical contexts, related to preferences and experiences, motivations and barriers, planning and development, public health, and public access etc. Integrated resource management models and conflict studies have been among his core fields.

Anne-Karine Thorén is professor in landscape architecture at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences. Her research interests are sustainable urban development: urban green structures and densification processes, nature and outdoor qualities in housing areas; children and outdoor space: schoolyards, how urban landscapes influence adolescents physical activity and experiences; and planning processes, methods for planning, landscape assessment and landscape values for recreation.

Ida Wallin is a PhD student in forest management at the Department of Southern Swedish Forest Research Centre at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, since December 2012. Her research is mainly conducted within the European Union research project INTEGRAL and the Southern Swedish case study Helgeå River. In her PhD project, she seeks answers to questions concerning the human aspects of forest management and planning

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Megan Waller is a third year PhD student at the University of Sheffield, England researching into the role and significance of public open spaces within a series of low-income communities in Bangkok, Thailand. The research aim is to determine the scope for landscape architecture to make a positive contribution to the creation of these spaces. Previous to the PhD, she worked for three years in two landscape architectural practices in England, assisting on projects ranging from public realm appraisals to designing both small and large scale urban development schemes.

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Reflections/Notes

Constitutional ideals of democracy, human rights, equality and freedom have a tangible landscape dimension. Democracy as an ideal is rooted in free debate in public space; landscape is the spatial materialisation of democracy. At this time of global environmental and economic challenges driving increasing social tensions, there is urgent need in on-going discussion about the role of landscape in society and providing the relevant insights and knowledge required to address such situations.

The very concept of landscape – in policy as well as in academic disciplines – is changing from predominantly the understanding of landscape as a visual phenomenon (scenery) to wider conceptions of a complex living space/environment that is moulded by material and intangible systems and components.

Underpinning Landscape in the European Landscape Convention's definition of "an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors" are the Council of Europe's aspirational core values for Democracy, Human Rights and Social Justice. The conviction is that the quality of landscape as a living space, whether urban or rural, is vital in securing the basic human right to material and socio-cultural wellbeing.

In the last decade the landscape convention has driven production of a rich body of knowledge on the multiple, complex aspects of landscape and ways in which the convention might be implemented. Yet, there is a need for more discourse and knowledge on landscape as the spatial meaning of democracy, and on democratic values' role in protecting, managing and planning of landscapes.

The Centre for Landscape Democracy (CLaD) is a cross-disciplinary international centre for the creation and dissemination of scientific knowledge, creative interpretations and innovative solutions within the theme of Landscape Democracy. The centre was established in 2014 and is hosted by the Department of Landscape Architecture and Spatial Planning (ILP) at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences.

Objectives:

- to promote national and international critical discourse on the relationship between landscape and democratic society;
- to explore and examine the linkages between human rights, landscape, democracy and public policy interventions (legislation, policy and planning and design practice);
- to produce and collate theoretical, methodological and applied knowledge on landscape democracy from a variety of disciplines and policy perspectives.



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