Defining Landscape Democracy

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

'This international collection of papers has its roots in multiple interpretations of democratic principles. All its authors share the view that people who are affected by design and planning decisions should be included in the process of making those decisions. In sum, the authors expand the traditional boundaries of landscape thinking in theory and practice to make this an invaluable contribution for all audiences.'

Henry Sanoff, North Carolina State University, USA

'The world we inhabit is increasingly created by developers unconcerned about justice, facilitated by governments fiddling while democracy smoulders. This anthology searches for ways to reverse this trend. The contributors pose questions seldom raised in the making of the city. By asking the right questions they provide uniquely hopeful alternatives that show how to bend the arc of the universe towards justice.'

Randolf T. Hester, University of California and Center for Ecological Democracy, USA

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 2 14/05/2018 15:59

Defining Landscape Democracy

A PATH TO SPATIAL JUSTICE

Edited by

Shelley Egoz

Karsten Jørgensen

Deni Ruggeri

School of Landscape Architecture, Faculty of Landscape and Society, Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Ås, Norway

Cheltenham, UK • Northampton, MA, USA

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

Contents

List of contributors ix
Foreword xv
Preface xxii
Acknowledgements xxiii
Introduction xxiv

SECTION A FRAMING THE DISCOURSE

1 Democratic theories and potential for influence for civil society in spatial planning processes 3
Lillin Knudtzon

2 Landscape democracy: more than public participation? 16
Michael Jones

3 Landscape architecture and the discourse of democracy in the Arab Middle East 29
Jala Makhzoumi

4 Exploring the concept of 'democratic landscape' 39
Benedetta Castiglioni and Viviana Ferrario

5 Shatter-zone democracy? What rising sea levels portend for future governance 50
Charles Geisler

6 Making the case for landscape democracy: context and nuances 61
Shelley Egoz, Karsten Jørgensen and Deni Ruggeri

SECTION B CONTEXTUALISING LANDSCAPE DEMOCRACY

7 Towards democratic professionalism in landscape architecture 73
Paula Horrigan and Mallika Bose

8 Landscape assessment as conflict and consensus 85
Andrew Butler

9 Invisible and visible lines: landscape democracy and landscape practice 96
Richard Alomar

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

10 Enacting landscape democracy: assembling public open space and asserting the right to the city 106
Joern Langhorst

11 Public space and social ideals: revisiting Vienna's Donaupark 119
Lilli Lička, Ulrike Krippner and Nicole Theresa King

12 Storytelling as a catalyst for democratic landscape change in a Modernist utopia 128
Deni Ruggeri

13 Democracy and trespass: political dimensions of landscape access 143
Tim Waterman

14 Rural landscape governance and expertise: on landscape agents and democracy 153
Jørgen Primdahl, Lone Søderkvist Kristensen, Finn Arler, Per Angelstam, Andreas Aagaard Christensen and Marine Elbakidze

15 Managing cherished landscapes across legal boundaries 165
Morten Clemetsen and Knut Bjørn Stokke

16 Landscape as the spatial materialisation of democracy in Marinaleda, Spain 178
Emma López-Bahut and Luz Paz-Agras

17 Planning the cultural and social reactivation of urban open spaces in Greek metropoles of crisis 189
Eleni Oureilidou

18 Landscape democracy in the upgrading of informal settlements in Medellín, Colombia 200
Eva Schwab

19 Learning from Occupy Gezi Park: redefining landscape democracy in an age of 'planetary urbanism' 210
Burcu Yiğit-Turan

20 Democracy and the communicative dimension of public art 222
Beata Sirowy

List of reviewers 234
Index 235

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

Contributors

Andreas Aagaard Christensen is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark and vice president of the International Association for Landscape Ecology (IALE). His research interests include the management and ecology of rural environments and in particular the management of agricultural landscapes in the industrialised West and its former colonies. Recent research focused on socio-ecological landscape change through application and further development of social theory and associated explanatory models.

Richard Alomar is an assistant professor at Rutgers University, New Jersey, USA. He has an undergraduate degree in agronomy from the University of Puerto Rico at Mayaguez and an MLA from Louisiana State University, USA. Richard's general research focus is on land stewardship in urban underserved communities with a specific emphasis on the visual analysis of urban landscape elements.

Per Angelstam is professor of forest and natural resource management at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Uppsala, Sweden, and an entrepreneur focusing on rural and regional development in Sweden and internationally. He focuses on sustainability science by knowledge production about both social and ecological systems in landscapes and regions, as well as collaboration with practitioners to encourage evidence-based learning at different levels of governance, planning and management.

Finn Arler is professor of planning and ethics at the Department of Planning at Aalborg University, Denmark, and head of the university's Center for Ethics in Practice. His work focuses primarily on issues of sustainability and environmental ethics, including biodiversity, climate change, energy policy, economy, land area use and landscape democracy. His current project is about ethics and energy in Danish energy planning and policy since 1970.

Mallika Bose is associate professor of landscape architecture at Penn State University, Pennsylvania, USA. Mallika is trained as an architect specialising in environment-behaviour studies and actively pursues research in public scholarship and community engaged design/planning; built environment and health; gender and development; and design/planning pedagogy. She is the co-editor of *Community Matters: Service-Learning in Engaged Design and Planning* (Routledge, 2014), which received the 2015 Great Places Book Award from the Environmental Design Research Association.

Andrew Butler, PhD, is a researcher at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Ultuna, Sweden. After studying landscape architecture at Leeds

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

Metropolitan University, UK, he worked in practice for several years in the UK and Sweden, focusing on landscape assessments. This work informed his academic career, addressing the assessment stage as a formation of discourse in landscape planning. The writing of his chapter was supported by his time at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences as Associate Professor.

Benedetta Castiglioni, PhD, is associate professor of geography at the University of Padua, Italy. Key themes in her research are the relationship between people and the landscape, the social questions concerned and the use of landscape as a 'tool', especially in education. She conducts her main case studies in the Veneto region in Northeastern Italy, related to the urban sprawl in the plain, hill and mountain areas.

Morten Clemetsen is a landscape architect and professor of landscape planning at the School of Landscape Architecture, Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Ås, Norway. He has a professional background as consultant in landscape assessment, planning and management, mainly in rural and agricultural contexts. His main area of interest is currently landscape as a resource in local curricula and entrepreneurship for community development and integrated sustainable tourism.

Shelley Egoz, PhD, is professor at the School of Landscape Architecture, Faculty of Landscape and Society at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Ås, Norway, at which she is also founder and head of the Centre for Landscape Democracy (CLaD). Shelley's research, publications and teaching interests revolve around landscape justice, including the co-edited volume *The Right to Landscape: Contesting Landscape and Human Rights* (Ashgate (now Routledge), 2011).

Marine Elbakidze is an associate professor at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Uppsala, Sweden. She focuses on understanding and analysing the dynamics of social–ecological systems in different contexts by applying an interdisciplinary approach that includes ecological, social and cultural dimensions.

Viviana Ferrario, PhD, is associate professor of Geography at the IUAV University of Venice, Italy. Her main scientific interest is in landscape change and its drivers, with a focus on urbanisation, agriculture, heritage and renewable energy. She has been using the Eastern Alps and Italian Northeastern agro-urban areas as her main case study.

Charles Geisler is emeritus professor of development sociology, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, USA. He has studied land-displacement and dispossession in Japan, Bangladesh, Ethiopia, the Dominican Republic, Scotland, Vietnam and the United States.

Paula Horrigan is emerita professor of landscape architecture at Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, USA, and works to advance democratic placemaking in landscape architecture and democratic civic engagement in higher educa-

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

tion. She is co-editor of *Service-Learning in Design and Planning: Educating at the Boundaries* (New Village Press, 2011) and *Community Matters: Service-Learning in Engaged Design and Planning* (Routledge, 2014) and is a fellow of both the American Society of Landscape Architects and the Council of Educators in Landscape Architecture.

Michael Jones is emeritus professor at the Department of Geography, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway. His PhD is from the University of London (1972). His publications cover landscape topics, including landscape history, landscape and planning, agricultural policies and landscape, environmental management, the 'cultural landscape' concept, and landscape democracy, as well as the history of cartography and historical legal geography.

Karsten Jørgensen is professor of landscape architecture at the School of Landscape Architecture, Faculty of Landscape and Society at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Ås, Norway, and holds a Dr.Scient. degree from the Norwegian University of Life Sciences from 1989 in landscape architecture theory. He was the founding editor of *JoLA – Journal of Landscape Architecture* from 2006 to 2015. Karsten Jørgensen has published regularly in national and international journals and books.

Nicole Theresa King is a landscape architect, artist and researcher. King was architect-in-residence at the MAK Center for Art and Architecture in Los Angeles, USA. She received the START scholarship for young architects and designers by the Austrian Federal Chancellery in 2017. King is interested in manifestations of urban landscapes in aesthetic and sociopolitical terms, and sees gardens as living archives of utopian and dystopian dreams.

Lillin Knudtzon is a sociologist from the University of Oslo, Norway, and a PhD candidate at the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Ås, Norway. She has extensive experience of applied social research and evaluation of subjects such as democracy and representative organisations for youth, social housing, public participation, universal design and sustainable public management.

Ulrike Krippner, PhD in landscape architecture, is senior scientist at the Institute of Landscape Architecture at BOKU Vienna, Austria, where she teaches landscape history. Her research focuses on the recent history of landscape architecture. Ulrike Krippner has published on twentieth-century landscape architecture in Austria and on women in landscape gardening and landscape architecture.

Lone Søderkvist Kristensen holds a PhD in countryside planning and management and is associate professor at the Department of Geosciences and Natural Resource Management, University of Copenhagen, Denmark. Her research interests include landscape changes in agricultural landscapes, farmers' landscape behaviour, and rural policies and planning. Currently she is involved in projects on collaborative and strategic forms of landscape planning.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

Joern Langhorst is associate professor of landscape architecture at the University of Colorado Denver, USA, and a fellow of the Colorado Center for Sustainable Urbanism. His research and teaching focus is on the relationships between space and social and cultural processes, with a particular emphasis on questions of social and environmental justice, marginalisation, resistance, and the contestation of public space. He regularly consults on the redevelopment of post-industrial landscapes and disaster recovery.

Lilli Lička is professor of landscape architecture at the University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences at BOKU Vienna, Austria. Her projects focus on public open spaces, housing and corporate landscapes. She co-curates an online collection on contemporary Austrian landscape architecture and heads the LArchiv Archive of Austrian Landscape Architecture. Lilli was Principal of koselička Landscape Architecture, 1991–2016, and opened the LL-L landscape architecture firm in 2017.

Emma López-Bahut, PhD, is an architect and lecturer at the School of Architecture of A Coruña, Spain. She holds a master's degree in architectural design from the University of Navarra, Spain. In 2017 she was visiting professor at Kent State University, Kent, OH, USA. One of her research interests is 'bottom-up' processes in the field of architecture, from landscape to housing; she has published and presented on this topic.

Jala Makhzoumi advocates an expansive, developmental landscape design approach that mediates socio-economic betterment with ecosystem health and community empowerment with landscape heritage conservation. Her professional expertise includes ecological design and planning, sustainable urban greening and post-war recovery. Jala is president of the Lebanese Landscape Association (LELA) and co-founder of UNIT44, a Lebanon-based practice offering services in architecture, landscape architecture, ecological planning and urban design.

Don Mitchell is professor of cultural geography at Uppsala University, Sweden, and distinguished professor of geography emeritus at Syracuse University, NY, USA. He is the author of several books – most recently *They Saved the Crops: Landscape, Labor, and the Struggle Over Industrial Farming in Bracero-Era California* (University of Georgia Press, 2012) – and many articles on landscape, labour, public space, and theories of culture. Along with the late Neil Smith he is the general editor of *Revolting New York: How 400 Years of Riot, Rebellion, Uprising, and Revolution Shaped a City* (University of Georgia Press, 2018).

Kenneth R. Olwig is emeritus professor of landscape planning at the Department of Landscape Architecture, Planning and Management at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SLU), Alnarp, Sweden. He has previously taught, among other places, at the Department of Geography, at NTNU, Trondheim, Norway. He is the author and editor of a number of books, including *Landscape Nature and the Body Politic* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2002).

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

Eleni Oureilidou is an architect and landscape architect and a PhD candidate at the School of Architecture, AUTH, Thessaloniki, Greece. She has published her research on social-led regenerations, working in parallel for renowned offices in London (Martha Schwartz Partners) and Greece. Currently she serves the Humanitarian Sector as an architect in the shelter and settlement department for displaced populations (Norwegian Refugee Council).

Luz Paz-Agras, PhD, is an architect and lecturer at the School of Architecture of A Coruña, Spain. She holds a master's degree in contemporary art from the University of Santiago, Spain, and held a postdoctoral research position in the Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London, UK. Since 2004, she has been working on architectural projects and as an exhibition curator, receiving international recognition.

Jørgen Primdahl is professor of countryside planning at the Department of Geoscience and Natural Resource Management, University of Copenhagen, Denmark. His research includes rural landscape management and change, countryside governance, urban fringe dynamics, and landscape strategy-making. Recent publications include *Landscape Analysis* (Routledge, 2017, with Stahlschmidt, Swaffield and Nellemann) and *European Landscapes in Transition* (Cambridge University Press, 2018, with Pinto-Correia and Pedroli).

Deni Ruggeri, PhD (Berkeley), is associate professor of landscape architecture and spatial planning at the School of Landscape Architecture, Faculty of Landscape and Society at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Ås, Norway. His research focuses on citizen engagement in planning and design, sustainable urban design and place identity and attachment in residential neighbourhoods and master planned communities. He has practised landscape architecture and community design internationally and has published extensively on participation and community design.

Eva Schwab, PhD, is deputy head of the Institute of Urbanism at TU Graz, Austria. Her research focuses on socio-spatial urban research, the politics of public space production and socio-cultural aspects of open space use. Her methods are interdisciplinary, employing a qualitative approach using ethnography and spatial research.

Beata Sirowy, PhD (2010), is senior research fellow at the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Ås, Norway. Her educational background consists of both philosophy and architecture, and her research interests lie at the intersection of these disciplines. She has worked mainly with the philosophical traditions of phenomenology and hermeneutics, drawing their implications for architecture and spatial planning.

Knut Bjørn Stokke is a human geographer and associate professor at the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Ås, Norway. He has long experience of research and education within the field of regional and local planning for different types of landscapes, particularly in rural and coastal contexts.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

Tim Waterman is senior lecturer and landscape architecture theory co-ordinator at the University of Greenwich, London, and a tutor at the Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London, UK. He writes for a wide range of professional and academic publications on the subjects of power, democracy, taste, foodways and everyday life.

Burcu Yiğit-Turan is assistant professor at the Division of Landscape Architecture in the Department of Urban and Rural Development at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Uppsala, Sweden. She studies landscape architectural history, theory and criticism of the twentieth century and onwards from critical social and cultural perspectives. Her recent works have concentrated on the cultural landscapes of planetary urbanism and emancipatory planning and design practices.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 14 14/05/2018 15:59

Foreword

The landscape path to spatial justice: questioning, rather than fixing, the definition of landscape democracy

This book, as the title suggests, is concerned with definition: not definition in the sense of being *definitive*, but as an exercise in definition through practice – practice that provokes questions that demand *ongoing* searches for provisional definition rather than once-and-for-all answers. Thus, as Andrew Butler puts it in his chapter, 'Landscape assessment as conflict and consensus', any truly democratic participation in landscape assessment 'would move away from defining an ultimate definition of a landscape to focusing on common ground and developing shared meanings' of landscape as 'an entity developed through everyday practices created in the public spaces provided by landscape.[1] ... Such an approach can only be sustained if the assessment is recognized as a learning process rather than just a means for informing decision-making' (p. 91). The book undertakes this exploratory exercise in definition by providing a forum where landscape architects, architects, planners and geographers reflect upon the meaning of the relationship between landscape, democracy, space and justice in relation to their professional practice. This reflection is important because it raises significant and difficult-to-answer questions concerning just what is meant by these key, and somehow related, concepts that play a significant role in defining vital elements of what might be considered a good society. It is especially important at a time when more and more of us live in environments that have been affected by landscape planners and designers who work largely behind the scenes in planning offices and architectural studios (often for powerful developers and politicians), creating the scenes within which we act.

How democratic is the landscape they plan and design, and do these landscapes provide a path to 'spatial justice'? These are the key questions asked in this book – by those who work inside the system as designers and planners, those who examine it from the outside as analysts and social theorists, and frequently those who are both. When the answer is 'no', as it often is, it seeks to both understand why, and raise further questions that will help us think about what to do about it.

Asked to reflect on the connection between landscape and democracy, the authors confront the questions in differing ways, sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly: to what degree is their profession 'democratic', and what relation does it have to the elusive concept of spatial justice? [2] The concepts of landscape, democracy, space and justice do not admit easy definition and are highly contested. Given that the editors and contributors are primarily landscape architects and planners, 'landscape' is naturally defined in relationship to their

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

professional practice. Landscape is thus first and foremost some*thing* that can be evaluated, planned or designed as a physical space, rather than, for example, a political landscape – a social, political and legal phenomenon (Olwig 2013) whose material place may challenge spatial definition in the normal Euclidean sense of the space of the map and plan (Olwig 2011). This means that, with some exceptions, the 'landscape' treated in this book is only marginally the 'landscape' of many landscape historians, archaeologists or geographers, who are usually concerned with substantially non-planned or non-designed places that are the historical expression of their shared polities and their representative and governing institutions and economies, as well as the oppressions, forms of exploitation, exclusions and violence that such institutions and economies license (Mels and Mitchell 2013; Mitchell 2007); in other words, the 'political landscape' (Olwig and Mitchell 2008).[3]

Historically, in fact, a landscape was a prototypical democracy defined as a people and their place, as governed and shaped by customary law, and as formed by representative institutions that were concerned with *things that matter*, and hence not as defined by landscape planners and architects as *things as matter* (Olwig 2013). For researchers engaged with the historical landscape, the question of democracy is likely to be intertwined with the evolved customs, laws, and forms of governance of these places (however inclusionary and exclusionary), and not something related to the design or planning of a given enclosed space in accordance with, for example, the wishes of individual stakeholders who are often property owners or who have an economic proprietorial stake in the land. This issue is raised particularly in the chapter by the geographers Benedetta Castiglioni and Viviana Ferrario called 'Exploring the concept of "democratic landscape"'. It focuses on an area of Northern Italy that in many ways seems to represent the direct opposite of a planned and designed landscape, even if, ironically, it is in the region where, some would argue, the idea of landscape as a planned and designed space originated with the pioneering work of the Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio (Cosgrove 1993). These un-designed places are governed relatively democratically and valued as the landscapes of home by many ordinary citizens who, due to industrialization and the availability of affordable suburban housing, have enjoyed an improved standard of living, whereas the Palladian landscape was created through enclosure and the dispossession of the commoners in the interest of the wealthy (Olwig, K.R. 2016).

Another way of expressing the issue raised by Castiglioni and Ferrario can be illustrated by two different examples. One concerns a space called the Sheep Meadow in New York's Central Park, originally designed in 1858 by the pioneering landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted (with Calvert Vaux) as an intentionally 'democratic' space, adjoining prime real estate, for urban recreation and for urbanites to experience grazing sheep and milk cows (but which is now mowed by groundskeepers). After responsibility for the design and management of Central Park was handed from the formally democratic, public City of New York to the private, wealthy-benefactor-controlled Central Park Conservancy in 1998, it has been managed as scenery for passive recreational use, and largely closed for democratic uses such as protests and demonstrations (as 'the Official

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

Caretaker of Central Park', the Conservancy bans outright all 'organized sports and gatherings', despite the Meadow's history as an 'iconic gathering spot for New York's counterculture, including anti-War protests, peace rallies, love-ins, be-ins, draft card burnings, Earth Day celebrations, and popular concerts').[4]

The other example is meadowlands created by the activity of sheep and shepherds on a historically unmapped and undivided commons according to customary law in an ordinary everyday working environment, as in England's Lake District (which is simultaneously a recreational space pioneered by working-class ramblers, and an exclusive, outstanding, scenic space for many well-heeled holiday property owners) (Olwig, K.R. 2016). Both might be perceived as an expression of 'landscape', and both are seen as expressing democracy, but in what sense do they share the same meaning as 'landscape' and how do these differing ideas of landscape relate to justice and space? The book thus opens the question of to what degree the concept of landscape, and the accompanying concept of democracy, as generated by professional landscape architects and planners who are intentionally engaged in *doing* landscape as a planned and designed space, is compatible with places whose value as landscape is difficult to calculate in such intentionally spatial, planning and aesthetic terms.

This book is, as noted, concerned not only with the definition of landscape, but also with landscape's definition in relation to democracy, justice and space. Although a number of the authors undertake definitions of democracy and justice in relation to landscape (if not space),[5] democracy and justice, of course, are nevertheless enormous topics and the subject of volumes of books and scholarly disciplines, and in the end many of the authors' takes on democracy follow the conception of landscape expressed in the European Landscape Convention (ELC).[6] The ELC, as a European convention, is largely rooted in Western notions of democracy and it advocates public participation in the professional evaluation, protection, management and planning of landscapes. This makes sense, of course, given that these are the societies to which the ELC largely applies and the countries in which Western landscape architects and planners practice their profession. This is well illustrated in the chapter by the geographer Michael Jones, 'Landscape democracy: more than public participation?', which traces the strengths and weaknesses of different forms of public participation in the planning process, based upon his long personal experience in Trondheim, Norway.[7] The reflections of the landscape architects and planners in Western societies are of relevance to both professionals and laymen living in these societies, who presumably will comprise the primary readership of the book. A valuable aspect of this book, however, is that it also includes articles by authors who do not share these assumptions.

It is common in Western Europe and the Americas to refer to the concept of democracy practiced in these areas as 'liberal democracy'. This term reflects the historical fact that it was the 'liberal' economic and political movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that overthrew the monarchies of the time and introduced modern Western democracy. They also, however, enclosed the common lands of Europe and America, and took them from the commoners and the native populations – even as they used the fruits of such enclosure,

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 17 14/05/2018 15:59

dispossession, and, indeed, enslavement to construct the landscaped parks and stately manors that comprise at least one vision of the landscape ideal (Said 1993). Liberal democracy, such as that famously championed by America's Thomas Jefferson, was, despite his own slaveholding and patrician practices, strongly linked to the individualism expressed in the notion of 'one man – one vote', and the idea of individually owned bounded properties, which initially defined who could and who could not vote, the latter including Jefferson's slaves, who were themselves property (Olwig 2005).[8]

One critic of this notion of democracy is the landscape architect Tim Waterman, who writes in his chapter, 'Democracy and trespass: political dimensions of landscape access': 'To know one's place in a democracy is to know that one's place is often on the other side of someone else's fence. Trespass is necessary to the defence of democracy, as is the idea of utopia: the dream of a better world beyond those boundaries' (p. 147). An example of how landscape architects and planners have been concerned with crossing someone else's fence to achieve a better world is provided in the chapter by Richard Alomar, 'Invisible and visible lines: landscape democracy and landscape practice', which is about the Afro- and Latino-American gardens in Baton Rouge, Louisiana and East Harlem and Lower Manhattan, New York. Other examples include: Joern Langhorst's 'Enacting landscape democracy: assembling public open space and asserting the right to the city'; 'Landscape as the spatial materialisation of democracy in Marinaleda, Spain', by Emma López-Bahut and Luz Paz-Agras; and Eva Schwab's 'Landscape democracy in the upgrading of informal settlements in Medellín, Colombia'. However, the most trenchant critique, as might be expected, comes from authors from 'non-Western' societies, notably in this case from the Middle East, where there are still nomads, various forms of extended family that supersede the individual and the individualized nuclear family, and centuries-old commons where enclosure has not yet entirely prevailed, despite the efforts, for example, of the current Turkish regime's authoritarian developmentalism.

Indeed, the view from within Turkey – as from within other authoritarian developmentalist regimes – is important because the struggles over the *political* landscape there disallow simple bromides about the wonders of liberal democracy. In her chapter, 'Learning from Occupy Gezi Park: redefining landscape democracy in an age of "planetary urbanism"', the Turkish landscape architect Burcu Yiğit-Turan, now based in Sweden, argues that the terminology relating to landscape democracy in policy and scholarly texts is based upon the 'concepts of participation, consensus and conflict reduction' which are rooted in the 'conventional liberal conception of democracy' (p. 210). She then goes on to argue that 'neo-liberal politics, and consequently urbanism, exerts sophisticated control over the meaning of any spatial development; it manipulates every possible medium to propagate the message that there is no alternative to that which it proposes, and uses participatory planning mechanisms to legitimise its envisions' (p. 211; for similar arguments in 'Western' contexts, see Almendinger and Haughton 2012; Mitchell et al. 2015). The Turkish government's appropriation of a public park in the service of neo-liberal interests exemplifies, for Yiğit-Turan,

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 18 14/05/2018 15:59

how landscapes have been transformed 'at a planetary scale during the past century, and this change has gained pace in recent decades, with all social and ecological layers of the planet having been altered by neo-liberal models of urban development, changing social, mental and environmental ecologies on Earth' (p. 212). It is 'through this "development", [that] the links between people and landscapes have been severed. People have lost any power for making and connecting with landscapes, losing their biological, physical, social and symbolic relationships with them – that is, their "right to the landscape"' (p. 213).[9]

In another chapter, 'Landscape architecture and the discourse of democracy in the Arab Middle East', the landscape architect Jala Makhzoumi, of the American University of Beirut, pursues a similar critique of Western liberal democracy, arguing that landscape democracy is necessarily 'concomitant with the call to de-link democracy from its Western association and enable bottom-up, culture and place specific discourses' (p. 31). Makhzoumi argues that '"Landscape" contextualizes the abstract, universal ideal of democracy, just as "democracy" serves to emphasize the political dimension of landscape' (p. 31). She illustrates this with a case focusing on the de-facto state enclosure of a rural commons to make space for intensive forestry, and argues for the need to recognize indigenous notions of conservation if democratic land management is to succeed. In this case there is a happy ending, but in others the enclosure of indigenous commons in the name of conservation has resulted in a form of land grabbing that integrates former commons into an enclosed and layered planetary space of property, stretching from the local to the global (Olwig, M.F. et al. 2015).

Yiğit-Turan's and Makhzoumi's chapters thus raise the question of to what degree the practice of Western European and American landscape planners can divorce itself from the spatial, proprietorial premises of liberalism and its globalized variant, neo-liberalism? A key premise of liberal democracy was the enclosure and privatization of the commons so as to create the individualized private property regime that is foundational to liberalism (Blackmar 2006). This meant the transformation of places governed by use rights into uniform Euclidean spaces governed by property rights, including the property rights of the state, that are bounded within the space of the cadastral map, as carved out at various spatial scales from the local to the global (Blomley 2003). This criticism problematizes whether design and planning, in practice, are capable of working outside the box of the scaled space of the map writ large as a 'plan', a small-scale form of map, and whether participatory design and planning is necessarily bound to the stakeholders who have pounded their proprietorial stakes into an earth upon which this map has been engraved? This book indeed raises many questions – questions that are difficult to answer, but no less important for that.

Kenneth R. Olwig, Copenhagen, Denmark
Don Mitchell, Uppsala, Sweden
April 2018

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

Notes

1. Or, as in the case of locations where there are few or no public spaces, as described in the chapter by Eleni Oureilidou, 'Planning the cultural and social reactivation of urban open spaces in Greek metropoles of crisis'.
2. A good example of an approach taken from the 'inside' is the chapter by Paula Horrigan and Mallika Bose, 'Towards democratic professionalism in landscape architecture'.
3. An exception is Charles Geisler, in his chapter, 'Shatter-zone democracy? What rising sea levels portend for future governance', which is concerned with the conflicts arising between the physical landscape of rising sea levels and the planned landscape of property and governance.
4. See http://www.centralparknyc.org/things-to-see-and-do/attractions/sheep-meadow.html. The treatment of Central Park as a kind of inviolable artwork, within which play is repressed, is relevant to the more general issue concerning the relationship between democracy and public art addressed in the chapter by Beata Sirowy, 'Democracy and the communicative dimension of public art'.
5. For example, Jørgen Primdahl et al., in their chapter on 'Rural landscape governance and expertise: on landscape agents and democracy', and in Lillin Knudtzon's 'Democratic theories and potential for influence for civil society in spatial planning processes'.
6. For example, Morten Clemetsen and Knut Bjørn Stokke, in 'Managing cherished landscapes across legal boundaries'.
7. See also Deni Ruggeri's chapter, 'Storytelling as a catalyst for democratic landscape change in a Modernist utopia'.
8. On liberal democracy, see also Lillin Knudtzon's chapter on 'Democratic theories and potential for influence for civil society in spatial planning processes'.
9. For a contrasting questioning of the role of democracy in park planning, see the joint chapter by Lilli Lička, Ulrike Krippner and Nicole Theresa King, 'Public space and social ideals: revisiting Vienna's Donaupark'.

References

Almendinger, P. and Houghton, G. (2012). Post-political spatial planning in England: A crisis of consensus? *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 37, 89–103.

Blackmar, E. (2006). Appropriating the commons: The tragedy of property rights discourse. In Low, S. and Smith, N. (Eds), *The Politics of Public Space*, New York: Routledge, pp. 49–80.

Blomley, N. (2003). Law, property, and the geography of violence: The frontier, the survey, and the grid, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 93, 121–141.

Cosgrove, D. (1993). *The Palladian Landscape: Geographical Change and its Cultural Representations in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Mels, T. and Mitchell, D. (2013). Landscape and justice. In Schein, R., Johnson, N. and Winders, J. (Eds), *The Blackwell Companion to Cultural Geography*, new edition, Oxford: Wiley- Blackwell, pp. 209–224.

Mitchell, D. (2007). New axioms for reading the landscape: Paying attention to political economy and social justice. In Wescoat, J. and Johnston, D. (Eds), *Political Economies of Landscape Change: Places of Integrative Power*, Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 29–50.

Mitchell, D., Attoh, K. and Staeheli, L. (2015). Whose city? What politics? Contentious and non-contentious spaces on Colorado's front range, *Urban Studies*, 52, 2633–2648.

Olwig, K.R. (2005). The landscape of 'customary' law versus that of 'natural' law, *Landscape Research*, 30(3), 299–320.

Olwig, K.R. (2011). Choros, chora and the question of landscape. In Daniels, S., Richardson, D., DeLyser, D. and Ketchum, J. (Eds), *Envisioning Landscapes, Making Worlds: Geography and the Humanities*, London: Routledge, pp. 44–54.

Olwig, K.R. (2013). Heidegger, Latour and the reification of things: The inversion and spatial enclosure of the substantive landscape of things – the Lake District case, *Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography*, 95(3), 251–273.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

Olwig, K.R. (2016). Virtual enclosure, ecosystem services, landscape's character and the 'rewilding' of the commons: The 'Lake District' case, *Landscape Research*, 41(2), 253–264.

Olwig, K.R. and Mitchell, D. (Eds) (2008). *Justice, Power and the Political Landscape*, London: Routledge.

Olwig, M.F., Noe, R.K.C. and Luoga, E. (2015). Inverting the moral economy: The case of land acquisitions for forest plantations in Tanzania, *Third World Quarterly*, 36(12), 2316–2336.

Said, E. (1993), *Culture and Imperialism*, New York: Vintage.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

Preface

The Centre for Landscape Democracy (CLaD) established in 2014 at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences 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. Its mission is:

> To lead, host and provide a conceptual framework in order to motivate high quality research discourses and practices associated with democracy, rights and public engagement in landscape functions, patterns and change.

The making of this book is a response to the above aspirations. The discourses, discussions and deliberations presented by the authors are underlined by a conviction that landscape, in its wider conceptual sense, is the life support system for human and ecological communities. Physical, mental, emotional, economic, social and cultural wellbeing depend in large part on inclusive planning and management of landscape. The general axiom is that one can own land, but landscape is a common good and resource that should afford equal access rights to all. Seen in this way, a right to landscape is a universal human right and the intellectual discourses on the concept of landscape democracy are paving the road toward spatial justice. At the same time 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 can be understood as the spatial materialisation of democracy (or oppression). At this time of global environmental and economic challenges driving increasing social tensions, there is an urgent need for an ongoing discussion about the role of landscape in society. The relevant insights and knowledge included in this anthology are one small step towards spatial justice.

The Editors
Ås, Norway
April 2018

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

Acknowledgements

There are many colleagues who have made this project possible. First, we would like to thank the leaders of the Faculty of Landscape and Society at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Eva Falleth and Inger-Lise Saglie, for their trust and support in the establishment of the Centre for Landscape Democracy (CLaD) in 2014. Many other colleagues at the Department of Landscape Architecture and Spatial Planning were enthusiastic about CLaD and contributed time and energy toward the making of an international body for producing knowledge on landscape democracy. We feel especially grateful to our deceased colleague, Eirin Hongslo (1973–2017), who was instrumental in securing funding for the CLaD project from the Norwegian Research Council.

We thank Don Mitchell and Kenneth Olwig for taking the time to write the Foreword to this book and the blind reviewers of our book proposal for their critique, insights, sound advice and support. We would also like to acknowledge the contribution of our colleague Tim Richardson in formulating our joint book proposal. Tim, regrettably, had to back off from his role as co-editor because of other academic administration commitments that had come along unexpectedly.

All chapters in this volume have been rigorously reviewed 'double-blind'. We extend our gratitude and appreciation to our community of landscape researchers for their time and sharp intellect – please see the list of contributing reviewers at the back of the book. Such academic dedication and generosity is what enables the production and dissemination of important knowledge for society.

The Editors
Ås, Norway
April 2018

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 23 14/05/2018 15:59

Introduction

This anthology, *Defining Landscape Democracy: A Path to Spatial Justice*, presents a collection of essays that explore the concept and processes of a relatively newly formed term. As with all new concepts, it is not always evident what the term actually means. One way to clarify is to elicit a discussion that includes a variety of approaches, reflections and understandings of an emerging ontology in landscape studies, one which extends into a political realm and acknowledges a particular dimension of an aspired social existence: democracy as it relates to landscape.

We acknowledge that the extent of this collection is not exhaustive or representative of all possible angles or examples of landscape democracy. The majority of the authors in this book are landscape architects, yet there are several other contributors from spatial planning, cultural geography, philosophy, sociology, landscape management and architecture – all of whom share a mutual interest in social justice. The scope of these case studies is international and includes Central and Southern Europe, the Middle East, South America, the USA and Scandinavia. This variety of geographies, areas of knowledge, and perspectives is critical to forming the concept of landscape democracy that will continue to evolve into a universal concept of spatial justice.

The contributions to this book thus seek to frame, and at the same time propel forward, an interpretation of what landscape democracy means, but also how it can be imagined, performed, critiqued, and expanded to affect global environmental change for 'a new democratic engagement occurring across space, time, and generations' as articulated by Charles Geisler in this volume (pp. 54–55).

We have divided the book into two parts. Section A frames the discourses and includes several ponderings and theoretical observations on landscape democracy. Section B presents case studies to contextualise the various abstract notions in real space and landscape, discussing these in relation to a number of different perspectives, both theoretical and from a practice angle. Nonetheless, each chapter stands as an independent piece telling its own story, understanding of landscape, and visions for landscape democracy.

Section A: Framing the discourse

In her chapter, 'Democratic theories and potential for influence for civil society in spatial planning processes', sociologist and spatial planning researcher, Lillin Knudtzon, introduces us to democracy in spatial planning processes through an overview and analysis of four fundamental types of democratic systems, their robustness, and the challenges associated with each approach to governance. She codes these: L (liberal), P (participatory), D (deliberative) and R (radical).

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

For each category, she clearly highlights the role of the individual versus that of the collective. Most importantly, she does not stop at describing what is already known, but enters the realm of utopia by laying out a model for a healthy democratic process able to direct change toward outcomes that represent the diverse perspectives of all people. Radical, bottom-up approaches, even those engaged in tactics that go beyond the traditional governmental sphere, are integrated into this process.

What happens after landscape change decisions are made? This question is partly addressed in the following chapter by geographer Michael Jones. 'Landscape democracy: more than public participation?' goes along the lines of Knudtzon's democratic landscape change process model. It offers a richly argued critique of participatory landscape design and planning. Jones' findings from the Trondheim metropolitan region in Norway illustrate how democratic institutions and power relations are reflected in the construction and reconstruction of the Norwegian landscape. He describes the conflicts between top-down decisions and the radical re-appropriation of public space to construct new community landscapes for the benefit of all. These cases and experiences inform a theoretical model explaining the type of landscape transformations different institutions may be able to generate, and the actors involved in these landscape changes.

Beirut-based landscape architect Jala Makhzoumi presents a pertinent approach to landscape democracy. In her chapter, 'Landscape architecture and the discourse of democracy in the Arab Middle East', Makhzoumi introduces readers to the problematic of a colonial concept of democracy, illustrated by the processes of top-down so-called democratisation imposed by the West in Arab Middle-Eastern countries. While providing the explanation for why democracy is often resented and not openly embraced in these countries, she argues for the role of landscape in working towards a local democracy. Public space and parks represent the locus for the daily, everyday performance of democracy; these are places where democracy could be learned and practised in the long run. As the landscape is a quintessential cultural construct, it becomes the ideal vessel for the values and beliefs of residents. It is both the outcome of social processes and a structuring element for new processes of social construction. Landscape, as she suggests, 'contextualises democracy'. This entails overcoming challenges, which Makhzoumi says are unique and contextual, and can only be managed through a landscape approach to envisioning change, which includes its physical transformation as well as the governance processes needed for its maintenance and survival.

Another chapter that focuses on the instrumentality of understanding the cultural agency of landscape is Italian geographers Benedetta Castiglioni and Viviana Ferrario's 'Exploring the concept of "democratic landscape"'. They describe a way of identifying a democratic landscape from the perspective of the landscape as a physical and visual expression of a particular society, its values, beliefs and attitudes. Their chapter begins with a discussion of the European Landscape Convention and its democratising definition of landscape as inclusive of any landscape, whether the everyday, degraded, or outstanding. This is

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

reflected in a renewed effort on the part of policy-makers to engage communities through participation in decision-making and policy-setting. The authors argue that this might result in an 'exercise in democracy', that is, a way to redefine citizenship (and ownership) of the landscape. The Venetian region in Italy offers a case in point, while also exemplifying a landscape seen by many as aesthetically compromised, no longer beautiful, and thus badly managed. The authors' analysis reveals that the disorderly looking landscape is in effect representative of the changing values and landscape attitudes of the people of the region. Moving away from the common association that only a visually pleasing landscape represents a well-functioning and just society, the authors argue that there is a need to dig deeper into immaterial components of the landscape to evaluate its democratic character.

At a different landscape scale, and presenting a planetary perspective on the consequences of the environmental crisis on society and democracy, development sociologist Charles Geisler's chapter, 'Shatter-zone democracy? What rising sea levels portend for future governance', tackles some complicated unknowns. At the global scale, the overwhelming challenge is to redefine humans' relationship to the landscape in all coastal areas, where the social effects of climate change and rising sea levels are likely to have the most dramatic consequences. The author suggests that the solution may need to be a paradigm shift that deeply alters established relationships between people and nature, and between land and sea. But he warns of a major risk: in light of these unprecedented challenges, the solution may become centralised, top-down and removed from the experience of residents and individuals, and landscape democracy may become politically inconvenient.

The political nature of landscape is also stressed by landscape architects Shelley Egoz, Karsten Jørgensen and Deni Ruggeri in their chapter, 'Making the case for landscape democracy: context and nuances'. They argue that, in order to make a case for landscape democracy, one would need to acknowledge the political potency of landscape and its universal value. The main axiom is that landscape is a life-supporting system of material and emotional needs and a common resource. Democracy itself is an elastic concept and does not always deliver equality and social justice. Landscape democracy is a complex concept influenced and shaped by multiple variables requiring mindfulness of context and nuances. Yet the main message is that while each situation has to be handled according to specific social and cultural manners, the underlying doctrine must remain an ethical commitment to justice in terms of social equality.

The above six chapters offer some theoretical approaches. Section B provides an array of examples in an attempt to contextualise how these ideas relate to a multitude of situations, whether it is conundrums in the professional arena of activating a democratic versus an undemocratic top-down process, or stories about places where such processes have taken place, including authors' reflections and insights about their interpretations of landscape democracy.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

Section B: Contextualising landscape democracy

In the first chapter of this section, 'Towards democratic professionalism in landscape architecture', landscape architect Paula Horrigan and architect Mallika Bose discuss the democratic professionalism of landscape architecture, in relation to the social trustee and radical critique models of professionalism, and their blend, democratic professionalism, as studied and taught in academia. Six landscape architecture educators whose teaching and scholarship centres on democratic design praxis contribute to the understanding of democratic professionalism's pathways, positionality, praxis and purposes.

The role of professionalism in landscape democracy is explored further by landscape planner Andrew Butler, who, in his chapter, 'Landscape assessment as conflict and consensus', raises the question of what it means for landscape assessments to deal with landscape as a democratic entity, through studying both the process and the final assessment documents, and asking how they may provide transparency in landscape planning processes. Landscape assessment has the potential, he claims, to contribute to democratic landscape planning by providing a medium for questioning the values of landscape, and discussing landscape and democratic processes.

The democratic process as it relates to design and landscape architecture is also what landscape architect Richard Alomar addresses in his chapter, 'Invisible and visible lines: landscape democracy and landscape practice'. How, he asks, can landscape architects achieve more equitable and democratic outcomes through their work? The chapter presents three urban projects where invisible and visible lines serve as a point of departure for a review of the design process. The lines may divide social classes, define properties, or delineate infrastructure and jurisdiction, and working in this landscape requires an approach that allows a broad inclusion of people and methods of engagement, in contrast to the traditional role of the expert that produces top-down designs based on accepted planning regulations.

In 'Enacting landscape democracy: assembling public open space and asserting the right to the city', another landscape architect, Joern Langhorst, illustrates how most theoretical perspectives on the relationship between the spatio-material and the democratic, foreground highly diverse, contested and uneven urban processes' formation and transformation. Langhorst argues that various systems of neo-liberal restructuring are threatening democracy. He proposes adopting the concept of 'assemblage' as a methodology by '[c]onceptualizing public urban space as being continuously "assembled", and operating in fluid environments with various human and non-human actors that intersect and interact' (p. 108). This, says Langhorst, has the potential to enhance understanding of the relations between the actual and the possible, as well as the various ways that urban inequality is produced and experienced. In addition, assemblage can be imagined as collage, composition and gathering, offering generative and actionable ontologies and epistemologies.

Landscape architects Lilli Lička, Ulrike Krippner and Nicole Theresa King investigate a historical context of social democratic ideals in their chapter,

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

'Public space and social ideals: revisiting Vienna's Donaupark'. They examine the role of parks as urban public spaces that mirror the dynamic histories of planning approaches, design concepts and ideologies. They conclude that although common characteristics of landscape democracy, such as citizen participation in decision-making and a bottom-up process, were not embraced in this case: it is 'a huge success in terms of "social green"' (p. 126), adapting well to changing social needs over time. Their analysis highlights that what we might often define as practices for landscape democracy is not necessarily the only way to achieve landscape democracy.

On a community scale, and focusing on people's interaction and participation, landscape architect Deni Ruggeri demonstrates in his chapter, 'Storytelling as a catalyst for democratic landscape change in a Modernist utopia', how storytelling can enhance participation and engagement in a community development process. Through a case study of the Italian new town of Zingonia, the relevance of residents' stories as tools for achieving sustainable, democratic change is revealed, moving a community from inaction and despair toward hope, through democratic, collective action.

Movement in a different sense is the physical crossing of boundaries as a democratic right that is discussed by landscape architect Tim Waterman in his chapter, 'Democracy and trespass: political dimensions of landscape access'. Waterman views legislation against trespassing, and the barriers to physical access to landscape that it creates, as 'a sign of the breakdown or denial of democracy in the public sphere' (p. 143). Democracy, he argues, is based on values of egalitarianism; enclosure is undemocratic and those who are denied access have a right to resist it. In highlighting mass trespassing events in 1930s England and the more recent Occupy movement, Waterman makes the case that '[t]respass is necessary to the defence of democracy, as is the idea of utopia: the dream of a better world beyond those boundaries' (p. 147).

A group of Scandinavian countryside planning researchers, Jørgen Primdahl, Lone Søderkvist Kristensen, Per Angelstam, Andreas Aagaard Christensen and Marine Elbakidze, in collaboration with philosopher Finn Arler, add to this argument in their chapter, 'Rural landscape governance and expertise: on landscape agents and democracy'. They claim that landscape democracy must go further than the present highly individualised and market-oriented landscape management, which has resulted in an increasing number of economic, environmental and social problems. According to the authors, the three key agents – the individual manager, the public agency and the local community – have to find new modes of collaborating constructively. The aim is to reach a level of trust and collaboration that enables the evolution of local dialogue-based institutions, such as territorial co-operatives or similar kinds of collaborative landscape initiatives.

More insights on countryside landscape management and boundaries are presented in the chapter, 'Managing cherished landscapes across legal boundaries'. Landscape architect Morten Clemetsen and geographer Knut Bjørn Stokke investigate, through case studies from Western Norway, how management regimes of protected nature and landscapes depend on the stakeholders' democratic agendas and perceived legitimacy. They suggest that education of

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 28 14/05/2018 15:59

landscape planners should enhance skills and values so candidates may work as 'integration actors' and promote democratic and transboundary landscape management. Their theory lays the foundation for an integrated, network-based democratic landscape governance system. In this way, the authors begin to answer the question left open by the previous chapter.

The following three chapters are based on case studies in which the authors themselves were involved, and argue that landscape democracy has in effect been realised in one way or another.

The first is the chapter, 'Landscape as the spatial materialisation of democracy in Marinaleda, Spain', by architects Emma López-Bahut and Luz Paz-Agras. They apply the work of contemporary critical theorist Nancy Fraser regarding three scales of justice: the distribution of resources, recognition of individual rights and political representation, and analyse the development processes in Marinaleda against those criteria. They conclude with the uplifting message that, although never stated as a goal, a bottom-up democratic process 'transformed the town and its urban and agrarian landscape through a genuinely democratic process, representing a tangible expression of their society' (p. 187).

Also addressing bottom-up processes is architect Eleni Oureilidou's chapter, 'Planning the cultural and social reactivation of urban open spaces in Greek metropoles of crisis', describing bottom-up initiatives for landscape democracy. The biggest challenge of public spaces in Greece is to correspond to social changes caused by the economic recession, immigration, and identity fragmentation. Bottom-up initiatives have to take into consideration the complexities of multi-ethnic neighbourhoods. In such cases, urban open spaces may work as incubators of cultural co-habitation and self-organisation. The author describes her involvement with a team project, 'Kipos^3-City as a resource', in the city of Thessaloniki, mapping vacant spaces within a densely populated urban fabric to identify areas suitable for urban agriculture. The process involved social capital and fully embraced the community as an equal partner.

Social capital is also a key factor in the chapter, 'Landscape democracy in the upgrading of informal settlements in Medellín, Colombia', by landscape architect Eva Schwab. Informal settlements' governmental upgrading initiatives focused on spatial and infrastructural improvements based on participatory planning and design processes. Public open spaces proved to be key intervention sites of urban upgrading programmes, as they triggered wider social and physical change in the areas.

The last two chapters explore further angles on the role of public spaces in democracy.

The Occupy Gezi Park events in Istanbul, Turkey, in 2013, started as a protest against the privatisation of a public park; it became an iconic series of events addressing people's demand for democracy and for the right to landscape. Turkish-born landscape architect Burcu Yiğit-Turan claims in her chapter, 'Learning from Occupy Gezi Park: redefining landscape democracy in an age of "planetary urbanism"', that there is no such thing as an innocent reading of the production of a landscape. She describes how the Occupy movement revealed the way in which fragmented pieces of neo-liberal economic forces came

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

together in a transformative way to destroy a people's cherished landscape. She argues that where there are conflicting interests, a mitigating consensus process will not deliver justice. Rather, it is exactly such expressions of conflict as those that were encountered in Gezi Park that are essential for the revelation of, and for achieving, political justice that might bring about progressive change.

In the last chapter, 'Democracy and the communicative dimension of public art', architect and philosopher Beata Sirowy presents the problematic of making decisions about the type of public art in cities. Discussing recent public discourses in Norway, Sirowy describes the tensions between an artist's freedom of expression and the public's acceptance of an art creation that is presented in public space. The author shows how public art, like any other intervention in public space, may strengthen or limit the role of public space as an arena for collective action, depending upon whether it sustains ownership and sense of belonging, or reinforces alienation. She then suggests that in order to embrace democracy in this context, the criteria for selecting art to be exhibited in public space should adopt a hermeneutical theoretical perspective inspired by German twentieth-century philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer, whose 'perspective [on] the meaning of a work of art is neither once and for all determined by the author and waiting to be deciphered, nor freely constructed by the observer. It is, rather, negotiated between the observer and a work of art' (p. 231).

Overall, this collection presents varied perspectives on landscape democracy, and we hope this is just the beginning of a continuing discussion that will become another path to spatial justice.

The Editors
Ås, Norway
April 2018

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

Section A

Framing the discourse

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

1

Democratic theories and potential for influence for civil society in spatial planning processes

Lillin Knudtzon

Introduction

As the landscape convention bides countries to plan democratically, there is a need to decipher what democracy can imply. This chapter focuses on the place of civil society in four contemporary theoretical approaches to democracy, discussing the consequences of each for processes of land-use decisions.

Planning and design processes involve a spectrum of actors, with designers, (landscape) architects, real-estate developers, public planners and politicians being core part-takers. They may agree in principle that a process should have democratic legitimacy, but may have diametrically different ideas of what that implies in practice. Elaborating on ideals for democracy may clarify the theoretical terrain and facilitate communication in a policy area with immanent contestations.

What does democracy imply? Following the Greek words demos (people) and kratos (ruling), this text centres around inclusion of civil society in planning processes: who are 'the people', and what does their 'ruling' imply within each approach to democracy? I describe what potential each holds for inclusion of civil society at different stages of a planning process, distinguishing between liberal, participatory, deliberative and radical understandings of democracy. As the liberal (with its core role of the people voting) is dominant in many Western societies today, I demonstrate that the others represent alternative perspectives pointing to richer processes but in alternative ways at different stages. The participatory gives prevalence to local and direct power, preferably in initiating phases. The deliberative seeks construction of a best possible knowledge base through discursive representation as well as well-reasoned solutions. The radical challenges the hegemonic power and seeks mobilization of marginalized voices.

The chapter starts with a short background on challenges for public participation followed by a review of the four approaches to democracy. The next section

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 3 14/05/2018 15:59

presents a model of ten generic stages of a planning process, and discusses concrete and practical consequences on public inclusion depending on conceptions of democracy. The chapter concludes by highlighting implications of democratic models for public planners seeking stronger democratic legitimacy.

Challenges of participation as democratic inclusion

Over recent decades, the ambition of *public participation* has become a popular answer to a challenge of more democratic inclusion, and has made its way into appropriate legislation. This is also the case in the European Landscape Convention, as article 5c bids each party:

> ... to establish procedures for the participation of the general public, local and regional authorities, and other parties with an interest in the definition and implementation of the landscape policies ... (CoE 2000, p. 4)

The associated Guidelines provide further ambitions and recommendations for public inclusion (Jones and Stenseke 2011). Still, including phrases in legislation does not necessarily have large impacts in practice. Numerous texts problematize inclusiveness of actual planning processes related to different dimensions. Classical lines of exclusion are gender, social class, age, race and ethnicity. These are well recognized in democratic theory and may be labelled *external* as they concern how people are kept outside political processes (Young 2000, pp. 52–55). Exclusions can also be more subtle or *internal* as 'they concern ways that people lack effective opportunity to influence the thinking of others even when they have access to fora and procedures of decision-making' (ibid., p. 55). Another version of this is *cognitive closure*, as described by Hanssen and Saglie (2010), where the dominant discourses in planning exclude certain arguments, perspectives or understandings.

In the planning arena, differences in power might follow difference in economic interests. Actors with economic interests in developments might oppose interference from civil society as it may imply a risk of prolonged decision-making processes and diminishing profit. Unintended shortcomings of participatory ambitions in planning are aptly summed up by Jean Hillier (2003, p. 157):

> The commitment to increase participation in planning practice has tended to overlook populist mobilization of public opinion, often favouring networks of articulate, middle-class property owners to the exclusion of the voices of the marginalized and of planning officers. In such instances, public involvement is 'skewed' and 'public opinion' distorted.

Still, while acknowledging possible pitfalls of public participation, theoreticians and researchers keep promoting democratic inclusion in planning (Forester 2009; Hillier 2002; Jones and Stenseke 2011; Sager 2013). I will join forces with them, pointing to different potentials for influence for civil society depending on understandings of democracy.

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 4 14/05/2018 15:59

A brief review of democratic theories and their respective accounts of civil society

Democracy can be categorized as a contested concept (Cunningham 2002). There are numerous ways to label and group models of democracy. Mine largely follows common categorizations (Held 2006; Purcell 2008) but is adapted by placing civil society[1] as a distinguishing feature.

To highlight main differences for civil society in decision-making in planning, I start by presenting the distinct divide between a liberal and a republican tradition (Habermas 1996; Held 2006). Within a liberal understanding, primacy is given to the individuals' rights and freedom *from* the state, whereas in the republican tradition exchange of arguments and active citizenship are core values. In the liberal understanding, individuals are the only relevant entities, whilst the republican is oriented towards collectives and communities, with Rousseau advocating the ideal of identifying a 'general will'[2] that all citizens should be bound by.

The republican tradition has branched in several directions, where participatory democracy and deliberative democracy have especially influenced planning theory over recent decades. As there are different versions of these, and as communicative and collaborative planning theory often merge aspects from both, core elements for the reasoning in this text will be specified. In addition to these, a radical perspective on democracy is included. Some radical approaches to democracy have seen civil society as part of the state and as reproducing a repressive structure (Scott and Marshall 2009, p. 83). Later approaches, such as Chantal Mouffe's, see participation of citizens as essential. Her version explicitly 'shares the preoccupation of various writers who want to redeem the tradition of civic republicanism' (Mouffe 2005b, p. 19). All three versions, opposing the liberal approach, may be labelled radical due to their quest for an expansion of arenas for democratic processes and their challenge of the established liberal construct and its thin democracy (Vick 2015, p. 206). However, the term 'radical democracy' is in this text reserved for an approach that goes further in advocating the need for disclosure of differences of interests.

Hence, I put forward four ideal typical[3] versions of democracy – liberal, participatory, deliberative and radical – and stress the place of civil society within them. For each I focus on core values, citizens' role in a democratic process, view on legitimacy of decisions and the natural place of public participation in planning.

Liberal democracy: indirect power through voting

The term 'liberal' appears in contrasting ways within literature and everyday language. Here it is not used in the common (North American) understanding as being politically progressive and inclusive, but, rather, connected to classical liberal political theory founded on liberalism (Held 2006, p. 59). This approach to democracy is also called 'aggregative', due to its basic view of a right decision as the aggregation of individual votes.

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 5 14/05/2018 15:59

Schumpeter's (1942) assessment of democracy as a method for making decisions remains a core within a liberal understanding of democracy. The primary roles of the 'demos', or citizens, are as voters in elections and as rights holders, whereas elected representatives make the calls between elections. Decisions made by representative bodies are a priori legitimate as long as no basic individual rights to freedom and property are violated. Citizens' option to not vote for politicians in further elections, should they disagree with decisions, is a crucial element giving citizens some power.

Applying this democratic theory to a planning context implies that public participation should consist of enabling legitimate stakeholders in general and neighbouring property holders in particular to secure their (primarily economic) interests, as their interference and defence of their properties' value is considered legitimate. Written inputs to hearings, as well as protesting, lobbying and activism from civil society are all actions in line with this understanding of democracy, as a right to protecting your own interests is a main characteristic. Politicians have an incentive to listen to (powerful) citizens to secure re-election.

Although this understanding of democracy is rarely advocated as an ideal in planning theory, some advocate the market as a better indicator of civic opinion in planning than participatory efforts (Pennington 2002). Furthermore, a minimalist approach may in practice be a customary solution in actual processes, as it can be seen as time efficient and possibly requiring less effort from planners. Property developers seeking to minimize interference will often hold this view of democracy.

Participatory democracy: local and direct power

Participatory democracy implies that people have genuine influence in decision-making (Pateman 1970), and advocates a transformation to further the principles of direct democratic decision-making (Vick 2015). Decisions need to be grounded in broad public participatory processes where those affected are consulted and preferably given decisive power, ideally resulting in an outcome based on locally based consensus. This builds on a deeply different view of the citizen compared with the one represented by liberal democracy. Citizens are seen as resources to develop well-founded and viable solutions that are acceptable to those who are affected.

Participation by all who are affected is a practical problem when the number of people rises (the problem of scale). Hence, a participatory approach may work best on small-scale polities. Detailed planning may be at a scale where a participatory approach is closing in on being practically feasible. Face-to-face involvement in meetings and workshops, and development of locally adjusted solutions after broad recruitment to reach all affected, are participatory approaches matching this view. Several planners have advocated these ways of practical working (Forester 2009; Innes and Booher 1999).

Participatory democracy implies a strong position for civil society, and addresses imbalances of power, particularly focusing on the exclusion of women (Pateman 1989). However, it risks not addressing these issues properly in prac-

Made available for the EDPA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 6 14/05/2018 15:59

tice, thereby assuming communities as one-dimensional. The outcomes may be challenged by others in a pluralistic society, and might therefore still imply protests or activism, hence breaking with the idea of consensus-based solutions found in participatory democracy.

As participatory democracy shifts the decisive power from elected politicians to locally based process participants, it risks becoming elitist, as citizens' strength of voice will vary. A strong preference for the local scale may also lead to disregard of matters of national or global importance, such as some environmental impacts (Strand and Næss 2017).

Deliberative democracy: power through argumentation

Within deliberative democracy, citizens are seen as political beings oriented towards the best outcome and as producers of arguments. Decisions are only legitimate when well-reasoned (Gutmann and Thompson 2004). Reasons should be acceptable to free and equal persons seeking fair terms of co-operation (ibid., p. 3). The processes should be inclusive (Dryzek and Niemeyer 2010) so everyone may be allowed to challenge them. Habermas' (1996) theory of communicative action and his defence of the republican tradition have been influential. Democracy becomes a way to explore and find good solutions for the society at large, and the civil society is of paramount importance to achieve this. The legitimacy of the outcome is dependent on the justification to those affected.

Within this framework, the purpose of exchanges of arguments is to get all (or most) important aspects of an issue scrutinized and included in a decision process where new insight and preference formation is achieved through dialogue. To counter the problem of scale, this can be done through representation of discourses[4] rather than people: discursive representation.

Communicative planning theorists draw on Habermas and emphasize the formation of meaning through dialogue. However, they explicitly do not embrace a notion of power-free consensus (for example, Forester 2009; Healey 1993; Sager 2013).

For planning, deliberative democracy implies that civil society, both people and organizations, are actively mobilized to ensure all relevant discourses are represented and that potential new insights and perspectives surface. As this position acknowledges pluralism, claims should be considered and answered in land-use decisions, but not necessarily met.

Although the main way of influencing is through argumentation, activism can also be an important supplement of action (Young 2001, p. 678).

Radical democracy: transformative power

Finally, there are the radical perspectives voiced by theoreticians such as Jacques Rancière and Chantal Mouffe. Based on a diagnosis of hegemonic status for neo-liberal values, profound power imbalances and irreconcilable differences in today's Western societies, Mouffe warns against concealment of power and real

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 7 14/05/2018 15:59

interests through consensus-oriented processes. She stresses that the political aspect of decisions implies deep and irreconcilable contestations, meaning that consensus represents concealment of power structures (Mouffe 2005a).

Detailed planning will often have the potential to become political in this sense (Hillier 2002). Radical planning should, then, confront power through agonistic[5] processes where profound differences of interests are recognized and respected (Pløger 2004). The social constructedness of knowledge is important and implies a temporality and plurality of knowledge (Rydin 2007). Civil society's role is to expose pluralism and differences in interests. The approach is positive to direct action as a way to express both passion and standpoint. Coalitions of marginalized and disadvantaged groups should work with strategies to counter current hegemonic power relations (Purcell 2009, p. 159). As Mouffe says, '[a] healthy democratic process calls for a vibrant clash of political positions and an open conflict of interests' (Mouffe 2005b, p. 6), intended to lead to 'a profound transformation of the existing power relations and the establishment of a new hegemony. This is why it can properly be called "radical"' (Mouffe 2005a, p. 52).

A generic planning model and democratic openings for civil society

Although sharing important similarities across nations, physical planning does have distinct national features depending on factors such as political tradition and property regimes. Furthermore, features of the land considered for development are influential, implying that planning a public park will require different actions from everyone involved than deciding on the use of a privately owned lot in the outskirts of an industrial park. Is it desirable, possible or meaningful to draw up a generic model of local (detailed) planning? I propose that the answer is yes, as it makes it possible to concretize and compare the otherwise abstract issues.

I propose that a planning process can be divided into ten stages, as seen in Table 1.1, where the main actors and their roles are indicated. The model is loosely based on the Norwegian system, but includes more stages. Planning systems in different countries might have many or few of these stages. The model comprises public planning monopoly and private right of initiating development. Applicability of stages may vary if the land is privately or publicly owned.

In the following paragraphs, I will discuss the potential influence of civil society under each stage and relate it to the approaches to democracy, abbreviated in Table 1.1 as L (liberal), P (participatory), D (deliberative) and R (radical).

Stage 0 is included to stress that new initiatives relate to higher tier plans and infrastructure frameworks. This normally involves compliance with, fulfilment of or adjustment to the overarching expectations, or to apply for exemption from them. Compliance normally guarantees democratic legitimacy for the process. However, from a perspective of seeing the local as the paramount level for decision-making (as the participatory and radical approach might do), overarching plans and instructions may be seen as unwelcome restrictions.

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 8 14/05/2018 15:59

Table 1.1 Planning stages, main actors and potential for civil society influence depending on democratic approach

Planning stages	Main actors	L	P	D	R
0. Master plans and requirements impose limitations and directions					
1. Initiative – forming of ideas	Initiative by either Public Planning Office (PPO) or Property Developer (PD)[a]	–	X	O	X
2. Discussions of broad set of frames	Public planning officers and initiators (PPO or PD)	–	X	O	–
3. Initiative made public / invitation to civil society to take part	Initiators (PPO or PD) and/or Public Planning Office	–	O	O	O
4A. Response or input by civil society	State / national / regional / local level public bodies Civil organizations with diverse mandates / local community / neighbours	X	–	X	X
4B. Collaboration and drafting of plan/agreement	Initiators (PPO or PD) with consultants / architects State / national / regional / local level public bodies Civil organizations with diverse mandates / local community / neighbours Public planning office Politicians	–	X	O	–
5. Drawing up full proposal	Initiators with consultants/architects	–	O	–	–
6. Municipal handling and alterations	Public Planning Office Initiators (PPO or PD) with consultants/architects	–	O	–	–
7. Political consideration – leading to approval for hearing or rejection/ amendments	Elected representatives/politicians	O	–	–	O
8. Hearing of proposed plan – response by stakeholders	State / national / regional / local level public bodies Civil organizations with diverse mandates / local community / neighbours	X	–	X	O
9. Political consideration and decision	Elected representatives/politicians (Others through lobbying/interference)	O	–	O	X
10. Approval or appeal	Higher level government (approval) Higher level government (appeal) Initiators (if proposition is denied) Civil society / neighbours (appeal)	–	–	–	O

Note: a. 'Property Developer' comprises private companies, publicly owned companies and local communities.

Key: L = Liberal; P = Participatory; D = Deliberative; R = Radical; O = Possible stage for civil society engagement; X = Central stage for civil society engagement.

Stage 1 is making the initiative, having an idea and formally opening a planning case. Public planners have traditionally done this, but in some countries, private developers as well as local communities may put forward planning applications. Consultancy firms and/or architects can be involved as technical expertise. Civil

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

society is not traditionally part of this phase. Plans initiated in a local community by the people who will use the area can be truly participatory and radical in a democratic sense. However, neighbourhood plan initiatives may also originate from a desire to exclude groups.

Stage 2 is where the initiative is adapted to frames set by strategic plans and formal requirements. If the initiators are external, they meet the appropriate public planning authority and negotiate. Representatives for other public agencies may set further specifications or constraints. Civil society is often excluded from this phase, in line with a liberal approach. Particularly the participatory approach, but also the deliberative, would endorse wider inclusions at this stage. Radical democracy, however, voices scepticism of co-optation and of negotiations that may close a process prematurely. Stage 2 may to a large degree be defining for the project, as main lines are drawn and fundamental decisions are made, limiting the possible input from the upcoming stages (Nordahl 2006).

Stage 3 is the announcement of the initiative. It may set off genuine public participation and deliberation. However, mandatory requirements are often limited to public information and/or letters to legal neighbours. Institutionalized consultation parties (for example, government agencies, NGOs and formal interest groups) might also be informed. Within a participatory framework for planning, those affected should actively be invited in. Active inclusion is in line with a deliberative and radical understanding of democracy also, but the liberal approach is content with information only.

Stage 4 is here given two different versions: A or B dependent on the nature of the initiated engagement. At this point, the proposed development is not yet fully designed. Stage 4 might take the form of exchanges of viewpoints, either in writing or in meetings (4A), or it can be in a format where the public influences directly, gives ideas and draws up alternatives in (for example) workshops, thus closing in on a participatory approach (4B).

4A may hold deliberative qualities, where arguments are generated and then met with acceptance or with counterarguments. However, a more normal progress is stakeholders submitting their concerns in writing without any dialogical process. Public authorities (at state, regional or local level) are routine partakers who normally feed in assessments and requirements at this time. Neighbours, local organizations and different interest organizations might also provide perspectives and issues of concern.

Scarce information about a proposed plan might yield few responses or reactions. A result may be that unaddressed contested issues could erupt later in the process.

Within a liberal approach, where civil society's role is to pursue individual interests, sending notifications directly to neighbours and other legal stakeholders will suffice. This implies a risk of a lack of spokespeople for interests that are *not* private and individual. Within a deliberative approach, there is an ambition to have special focus on such interests through discursive representation. Mobilizing counter hegemonic voices at this stage is paramount for a radical approach.

4B represents an ambition of engaging civil society directly in forming the

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 10 14/05/2018 15:59

proposal and seeking consensus on the outcome. In a successful version of this, with initiators, planners, public agencies, technical expertise, politicians and a comprehensive selection from civil society collaborating in finding solutions, stages 5 and 6 become incorporated. Stage 7 is the logical end-stage where final approval is granted.

A radical approach to democracy opposes the striving towards consensus, as it is seen as likely to support hegemonic positions and legitimize the existing relations of power instead of challenging it (Mouffe 2000; Purcell 2008). The liberal approach opposes the shift of power away from elected politicians implied by 4B.

In stage 5 (following 4A), the proposal is concretized and designed by technical expertise (consultants/architects working with/for the initiator). If the initiator is a private developer or the community, this might be done in dialogue with public planning officers who can advise on regulations and requirements (integrating stage 6).

Depending on legislation, the proposal might be obliged to present input from stage 4A and comment on how these are considered and potentially incorporated into the plan. This might embody deliberation where addressed issues are discussed and countered with arguments.

Within a deliberative approach to democracy, all relevant discourses should be addressed and incorporated as a part of the legitimation of the basis for decision. This is not crucial in the liberal approach, as it does not require a link between arguments and decisions.

Stage 6 is the processing of the plan through the professional system in the municipality, ultimately resulting in a concrete plan proposal to the politicians. The main actors are the public planning officer (PPO) and initiators moulding the proposal to existing requirements, politicians' expectations and realistic scenarios of development. The openness of this process has implications for the public's awareness of the emerging proposal and interests connected to it.

Stage 7 consists of local political consideration and temporary endorsement of the plan to put it forward for comments in a hearing. Approaching politicians in connection to this stage – lobbying to make sure they are aware of interests and standpoints – may be an efficient channel of influence for developers. It may also be used by civil society if the public is amply aware of the content of the upcoming proposal. Lobbying is normally to impose already established positions, not to undertake explorative deliberation. Hence, use of this channel of influence is mostly in line with liberal and radical democracy.

Stage 8 is the official hearing of a fully drawn proposal. It can take the form of a classical liberal democratic hearing where stakeholders are informed and invited to state their views. As the physical dimensions and consequences of the proposal are now easier to grasp, this is the stage where civil society often becomes aware and aroused for the first time. At this point any adversarial nature of the process may become apparent. Actors may position themselves as adversaries with different positions in a struggle. The issues will then (if not already) become political in Mouffe's sense, with clear lines of disagreement.

A deliberative dimension may be present if this is civil society's first

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 11 14/05/2018 15:59

opportunity to influence through argumentation or if the land use is not very contested. Information and arguments are supplied to further new insight and deeper understanding. A deliberative approach seeks to resolve disagreements by revealing the strengths and weaknesses of arguments. Within a radical framework, the issues should be debated in agonistic confrontations where consensus is not the goal. However, compromises can be acceptable within this framework (Mouffe 2000, p. 102).

A radical democracy implies that the planning process will gain legitimacy if differences are transparent and diverging options or opportunities for the coming physical results are made visible. This is in line with a liberal democratic approach where different conflicts of interest are acknowledged and expected to be handled through a majority decision by elected politicians.

Stage 9 is the final local political consideration. Civil society actors may use tools such as protests, petitions, media and lobbying to influence politicians. Lobbying conforms with a liberal tradition, but it is not inherent in either participatory or deliberative democracy. In radical democracy, however, any way to voice your view is appropriate as the approach specifically welcomes passion and mobilization of marginal voices.

Stage 10 follows decision-making. If the plan proposal is rejected, the initiator may in some planning systems appeal the decision, or adjust their proposal to try again (returning to stage 5). There may also be additional levels of state or national approval. Furthermore, some countries may grant a right of appeal to different actors, such as civil society or public bodies, if they disagree with the approval. However, at some point, a final decision to proceed or not must be made, although the radical perspective promotes temporality on solutions.

Conclusion

To be legitimate, land-use decisions need to be democratically grounded. Through the review above of the consequences of democratic ideals on the stages in planning processes, I have discussed how diversely democratic legitimacy may be understood in practice. Different actors in a land-use decision process may have opposing anticipations. The distinction between ideal typical versions of democracy enables analysis, discussion and evaluation of the legitimacy of a concrete planning process across frames of reference. It also highlights alternative positions for public planners to explore, when deciding on appropriate actions for a specific planning process. Suitable actions may depend on context, such as institutional frames, civic culture, type of development, and level of existing and potential conflicts.

Two especially potent factors are the ownership of the land in question (public or private) and the importance of the planned landscape for the public. Private ownership may limit potential civic involvement formally depending on a country's legislation, but it may also restrain participation through more subtle mechanisms if private developers are in charge of designing the process. As for the importance of the landscape for the general public, resources may be well

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 12 14/05/2018 15:59

spent on securing wider involvement and embracing politically heated engagement if the area in question is of high public value.

I have argued that the liberal democratic type is a minimal approach to civil society involvement. For the public planner it implies making information available, sorting input, and leaving the weighing and considerations to elected representatives, granting citizens mainly indirect power. A public planner may seek to supplement this by drawing on the approaches from the republican tradition of active citizenship and 'the people' seen as a resource.

The participatory approach implies identifying and actively mobilizing those affected by a proposed change to seek agreed solutions. It requires skills in facilitating consensus and compromise in organic and creative processes. Such processes could gain high local legitimacy, but are time-consuming and might be unrealistic in a world of diverse and polarized interests. When implying genuine redistribution of power to a (non-elected) local level, it may challenge established political structures.

The deliberative approach seeks a foundation for judgement and preference formation in informed and inclusive dialogues. The inclusiveness and the quality of the argumentation and considerations are the most important aspects for legitimacy. Hence, the public planner must secure transparency of considerations and make sure actors who can bring discourses to the table are included. The approach does not challenge the decisive power of elected politicians.

Within radical democracy the role of the planner is to ensure transparency to enable civil society to mobilize diverse interests and influence through direct action and lobbying. Redistribution of power and challenging the hegemonic structures is inherent.

In a society with increasingly different publics, with pluralistic and contradictory interests, and the traditional class lines of power and interests being blurred and multifaceted, the liberal approach to a democratic planning process becomes too thin. Hence, there is a need to supplement and incorporate approaches from the participatory, deliberative and radical understandings of democracy. Embracing any other approach to democracy than the liberal implies that the planner no longer only expedites the technical and administrative process and acts as bureaucrat for the politicians, but is also a facilitator for a deeper and fuller democratic process.

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Notes

1. *Civil society* refers to public life as contrasted with the family and the state, comprising public participation in voluntary associations, mass media, and as voiced citizens (Scott and Marshall 2009, p. 83).
2. The 'general will' should be distinguished from the 'will of all', as the first is a judgement about the common good and the second 'a mere aggregate of personal fancies and individual desires' (Held 2006, p. 46).
3. 'Ideal typical' implies that they are constructs made to communicate the essence of each type.
4. A discourse may be defined as 'a shared way of comprehending the world embedded in language' (Dryzek and Niemeyer 2010, p. 31)
5. The distinction between *agonism*, understood as struggle between adversaries, and *antagonism*, understood as struggle between enemies, is crucial (Mouffe 2000, pp. 102–103).

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

References

CoE (Council of Europe) (2000). The European Landscape Convention, Florence: European Treaty series No 176.

Cunningham, F. (2002). *Theories of Democracy: A Critical Introduction*, London: Routledge.

Dryzek, J.S. and Niemeyer, S. (2010). *Foundations and Frontiers of Deliberative Governance*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Forester, J. (2009). *Dealing with Differences: Dramas of Mediating Public Disputes*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gutmann, A. and Thompson, D. (2004). *Why Deliberative Democracy?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Habermas, J. (1996). *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hanssen, G.S. and Saglie, I.-L. (2010). Cognitive closure in urban planning, *Planning Theory and Practice*, 11(4), 499–521, DOI: 10.1080/14649357.2010.525373.

Healey, P. (1993). Planning through debate: The communicative turn in planning theory. In Fischer, F. and Forester, J. (Eds), *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*, London: Duke University Press Books, pp. 233–253.

Held, D. (2006). *Models of Democracy*, Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Hillier, J. (2002). *Shadows of Power: An Allegory of Prudence in Land-Use Planning*, London: Routledge.

Hillier, J. (2003). Commentary: Puppets of populism? *International Planning Studies*, 8(2), 157–166, DOI: 10.1080/13563470305155.

Innes, J.E. and Booher, D.E. (1999). Consensus building as role playing and bricolage, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 65(1), 9–26.

Jones, M. and Stenseke, M. (Eds) (2011). *The European Landscape Convention: Challenges of Participation*, New York: Springer.

Mouffe, C. (2000). *The Democratic Paradox*, New York: Verso.

Mouffe, C. (2005a). *On the Political*, Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Mouffe, C. (2005b). *The Return of the Political*, London: Verso.

Nordahl, B. (2006). *Deciding on Development: Collaboration between Markets and Local Governments*, Doctoral thesis no 96, Trondheim: Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Faculty of Architecture and Fine Art, Department of Urban Design and Planning.

Pateman, C. (1970). *Participation and Democratic Theory*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Pateman, C. (1989). *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism, and Political Theory*, Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press.

Pennington, M. (2002). A Hayekian liberal critique of collaborative planning. In Allmendinger, P. and Tewdwr-Jones, M. (Eds), *Planning Futures: New Directions for Planning Theory*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 187–205.

Pløger, J. (2004). Strife: Urban planning and agonism, *Planning Theory*, 3(1), 71–92, DOI: 10.1177/1473095204042318.

Purcell, M. (2008). *Recapturing Democracy: Neoliberalization and the Struggle for Alternative Urban Futures*, Hoboken, NJ: Taylor and Francis.

Purcell, M. (2009). Resisting neoliberalization: Communicative planning or counter-hegemonic movements? *Planning Theory*, 8(2), 140–165, DOI: 10.1177/1473095209102232.

Rydin, Y. (2007). Re-examining the role of knowledge within planning theory, *Planning Theory*, 6(1), 52–68, DOI: 10.1177/1473095207075161.

Sager, T. (2013). *Reviving Critical Planning Theory: Dealing with Pressure, Neo-Liberalism, and Responsibility in Communicative Planning*, London: Routledge.

Schumpeter, J.A. (1942). *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, New York: Harper.

Scott, J. and Marshall, G. (2009). *A Dictionary of Sociology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 14 14/05/2018 15:59

Strand, A. and Næss, P. (2017). Local self-determination, process-focus and subordination of environmental concerns, *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning*, 19(2), 1–12, DOI: 10.1080/1523908X.2016.1175927.

Vick, J. (2015). Participatory versus radical democracy in the 21st century: Carole Pateman, Jacques Rancière, and Sheldon Wolin, *New Political Science*, 37(2), 204–223, DOI: 10.1080/07393148.2015.1022960.

Young, I.M. (2000). *Inclusion and Democracy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Young, I.M. (2001). Activist challenges to deliberative democracy, *Political Theory*, 29(5), 670–690.

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

2

Landscape democracy: more than public participation?

Michael Jones

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Introduction

'Landscape democracy' is associated with public participation under the European Landscape Convention (ELC) of 2000 (CoE 2000a; 2000b; 2008). Studies indicate that participatory processes are often steered top-down (Jones and Stenseke 2011a). The 'ladder of participation' suggests that bottom-up participatory processes are more genuine, legitimate and effective (Arnstein 1969; Jones 2007; 2011). However, landscapes may reflect developments that give little or no consideration to public participation, for example major infrastructure construction, housing and business redevelopment, decisions of major corporations, cumulative small-scale market forces, or the aftermath of fires and environmental hazards. In democratic society, decisions are ultimately made by elected bodies, for example parliaments, town councils or other representative bodies, which may choose to ignore public participation. A complication is the increasing importance of transnational agreements, criticized as being without or only to a limited degree under democratic control, for example the European Economic Area (EEA), World Trade Organization (WTO), Trade in Services Agreement (TISA) and Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). Public protest may result where groups of citizens feel their welfare or interests are not taken into account, for example action groups against urban development projects, action-oriented local community initiatives opposing official plans, environmental activism, and other types of protest. Successful protest actions provide an alternative bottom-up outcome to top-down participatory planning.

I aim to contribute to a theoretical understanding of how participatory processes and protests are reflected in the landscape in relation to alternative ideas of democracy. Examples are taken from case studies undertaken in Trondheim over 40 years with colleagues and/or master's students examining landscape issues in planning. Trondheim is Norway's third-largest town (population in 2015 185,000), but protests are small-scale compared with mass protests seen in larger European cities. I relate planning in protest situations, communicative planning, and new public management to broader notions of democracy.

An autobiographical approach illustrates how my ideas have evolved through

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 16 14/05/2018 15:59

engagement with landscapes and their inhabitants. A scholarly autobiography narrates elements of one's life as part of the research process (Moss 2001; Purcell 2009; Jones 2012). Personal life stories both reflect and affect development of knowledge. The personal element influences information collection and research content. Everyday experiences and emotions affect values and preferences in the research process. I illustrate how my personal life and career experiences have influenced my geographical research and led to my interest in landscape democracy.

I understand landscape as people's physical surroundings in relation to the perceptions, representations and practices of inhabitants and others associated with the area, mediated by legal and other institutions regulating how people shape their surroundings. This article focuses on how democratic institutions influence landscapes in a Norwegian context.

Democracy is understood as 'the idea that political rule should ... be in the hands of ordinary people' as well as a 'set of processes and procedures for translating this idea into practices of institutionalized popular rule'; democracy demands that 'decisions should be made in the open and should be based on consent, and that institutions and organizations should be accountable' according to the principle that 'legitimacy of rule depends on authorization by ordinary people affected by the consequences of actions' (Barnett and Low 2004, pp. 1, 7–8). Democracy requires citizen access, influence and participation in political processes (Dalton et al. 2003, pp. 253–256). Opposition and dissent should engage with power rather than simply resisting it (Barnett and Low 2004, pp. 7–8). For Low (2004, p. 144), 'there is no basic blueprint for democracy that is valid for all times and all places'; democracy necessarily involves communication and contestation between citizens and power.

Protests against urban development projects in Trondheim in the 1970s

Soon after moving to Trondheim in 1975, I became involved in a protest action to save a small mid-nineteenth-century suburb, Ilsvikøra, threatened by redevelopment. Ilsvikøra comprises 27 wooden, working-class houses surrounded by late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century industry and harbour installations. The original inhabitants were urban fishermen and timber-yard workers, whose descendants still live there. A 1950s plan required demolishing the houses for industry. Architect Lars Fasting, head of the city's Antiquarian Committee, presented an alternative conservation proposal in 1974 (Fasting 1976, pp. 195–204). In early 1977, an exhibition arguing for conservation was mounted by Fasting and architecture students Dag Nilsen and Gunnar Houen, historian Dagfinn Slettan, my wife ethnologist Venke Olsen, and myself. We cooperated with the newly established Ilsvikøra residents' association. An elderly resident told of growing up there and the strong feeling of identification with Ilsvikøra. Venke Olsen and I mounted part of the exhibition comparing Ilsvikøra with a successful conservation area, Footdee in Aberdeen, Scotland, which we had visited following my first visit there on a field trip during the Institute of

Made available for the EDRA Book Award only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 17 14/05/2018 15:59

British Geographers' annual conference in 1972. Like Ilsvikøra, Footdee was a community of urban fishermen and industrial workers whose houses were surrounded by industry and harbour works in Scotland's oil industry capital (Jones and Olsen 1977). The exhibition was reported in the local press. Ilsvikøra featured in a television programme with well-known local musicians. New national legislation in 1976 favoured conservation rather than total renewal. The conservation proposal was accepted by the city council later in 1977 and approved by the Ministry of Environment in 1978, resulting in funds from the State Housing Bank for rehabilitation. Ilsvikøra became Trondheim's first urban conservation area (Stugu 1997, pp. 170–171; Betten 2002; Kittang 2014, pp. 147–149).

Simultaneously, a proposed major road along the riverside threatened another area of wooden housing in Trondheim's oldest suburb, Bakklandet. The road plan, introduced in the city's structure plan in 1965 and approved by the city council in 1975, resulted in strong protests, including house occupations, led by a residents' association established in 1971. Local architects presented an alternative plan for conservation, which the city planning committee rejected. The local branch of the National Trust of Norway included Bakklandet in a series of debates on cultural heritage, initiated by Venke Olsen. Prominent local musicians held a concert in support of the protests (Stugu 1997, pp. 159–169, 171–177). The strong protests and media debate led to the road plans being shelved in 1983, although the city council did not approve a conservation plan for Bakklandet until 1994 (Kittang 2014, pp. 154–181). Despite subsequent gentrification, Bakklandet became a showcase for urban conservation.

Inspiration from these actions contributed to my formulation of a notion of landscape values. Collating existing literature, I distinguished between economic value and various non-economic values – scientific and education values, aesthetic and recreational values, and identity and orientation values – attached by people to landscape features. This classification was presented at the Permanent European Conference for the Study of the Rural Landscape (PECSRL) in 1977 and later developed further (Jones 1979; 1981; 1993; 1999; 2009).

To understand outcomes of planning and protest in the landscape, I used two classical models from social anthropology (Lloyd 1968), the harmony (or equilibrium) model and the conflict (or direct action) model (Jones 1981; 1993; 1999). The harmony model assumes that a balance or equilibrium can be found between various established interests and disagreements solved by institutional means. The conflict model focuses on incompatibilities between different values, resulting in contestation between established and non-established interests, the latter often working through action groups outside the established institutional structure.

Examples of landscape and planning in Trondheim 1983–2007

Between 1983 and 2007, I organized the master's course 'Landscape and Planning', examining planning conflicts and debates concerning landscape. Many of the 25 studies involved the urban landscape of Trondheim. The research questions were: Whose values shape the landscape? What weight is given to

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 18 14/05/2018 15:59

the existing landscape in planning? Who deliver the premises for landscape planning – residents, planners, landscape specialists, business or politicians? The studies involved fieldwork, and analysis of planning maps and documents, policy documents, historical sources, and media coverage. Semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted with residents, landowners, planners, environmental and cultural heritage managers, landscape experts, business interests, and politicians (Jones 1999; 2009).

One conflict involved the oil company Statoil's establishment of a research centre at Rotvoll in an area singled out in expert reports as a high-value landscape aesthetically and for its cultural heritage as an historical estate. In 1991 an action group established an 'environmental camp' in a protest aiming to protect the existing cultural landscape. I lectured at the camp on landscape values associated with the area (Jones 1991a). The police subsequently removed the camp. The actionists initiated an inquiry, where I was among several academics, environmental managers and politicians invited to give their views on Rotvoll's varied landscape values (Jones 1991b). Notwithstanding this, the research centre opened in 1993 (Jones 1985; 1999; 2009).

Other conflicts involved protests over plans producing significant landscape changes. One case concerned the construction in Bakklandet of an apartment building in an area of high cultural heritage value overlooking the Nidelva river; protests were unsuccessful and the building was completed in 1997. Another case in the 1990s concerned a planned railway freight terminal at Leangen, where residents formed an action group protesting against the potentially detrimental effect on the adjoining landscape of small houses, gardens, parks, a cemetery, and educational institutions. The railway authorities later abandoned these plans, and searched for an alternative location (Jones 1999; 2009).

A fraught conflict in the 1990s concerned Svartlamon (Reina) with working-class wooden housing from the 1870s. A 1951 plan designated it for industrial development. Many houses were demolished in the following two decades. In the 1980s, young people squatted in the 30 remaining houses. Artists, musicians and students sought cheap accommodation and an alternative lifestyle. They eventually received temporary rental contracts. Between 1996 and 2001, plans to evict them and demolish the houses led to strong protests. The cultural heritage authorities opposed the plans. Residents formed an action group, which established a 'Freedom Park' hindering a car firm's planned expansion. Two nationally prominent Trondheim artists, Håkon Bleken and Håkon Gullvåg, painted a mural on a gable wall overlooking the park and donated it to the city to mark Trondheim's millennium in 1997. They painted a vignette on each house, providing an argument that the houses were not only historically but also artistically valuable. Continued protests led to increasingly wide and strong public engagement. Although not directly involved in the conflict, I joined protesters in the workers' mayday parade in 1998. A small contribution to the debate was my letter in the local newspaper suggesting that the city council would be committing 'topocide' or at least 'domicide' – the destruction of place and home in the terminology of Canadian geographer J. Douglas Porteous (1988; Porteous and Smith 2001) – if demolition went ahead (Jones 1998). A

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 19 14/05/2018 15:59

construction technology professor replied that planning decisions were political and should be respected, as 'this is the way democracy functions' (Hugsted 1998). Nonetheless, arguments against what many considered an outdated plan were eventually successful. In 2001, the city authorities retracted the old plan and passed a new one. The car firm moved elsewhere. Svartlamon was designated an experimental area for urban ecology and cheap housing run by its inhabitants. A business and culture foundation was established in 2006 to attract culture-based enterprises. The landscape subsequently reflected an alternative lifestyle with experimental architecture, organic gardening, music festivals, and local self-mobilization (Jones 1999; 2009).

Summing up the 25 studies, I concluded that residents had with few exceptions limited influence on planning outcomes. Landowner interests came more to the fore. Economic values were frequently given more weight than non-economic values. The strongest protests occurred against powerful business interests allied with public agencies in promoting decisions that would result in significant landscape changes. Yet public agencies did not speak with one voice; disagreements could occur between agencies with differing responsibilities. Different economic interests could also be mutually incompatible in their landscape requirements. The outcome of the harmony model tended to be minor adjustments to plans; the outcome of the conflict model tended to be delays, while major changes in plans only occurred exceptionally (Jones 1999; 2009).

Participatory landscape planning: ideal and reality

The harmony and conflict models can be recognized in the debate between Jürgen Habermas' (1983 [1990]) theory of communicative action and Michel Foucault's (1984 [1987]) critique that communication is unavoidably influenced by power relations and contestation. Habermas' theory presents ideal conditions for communication; Foucault argues that conflict and struggle provide a necessary corrective to existing social institutions.

The dichotomy between these ideas is complicated by tension between the dialogic ideals of communicative planning theory (CPT) (Habermas 1983 [1990]) and the neo-liberal realities of new public management (NPM) (Lane 2000). Trondheim planning professor Tore Sager (2009) finds that both CPT and NPM are responsive to users' needs, involvement and satisfaction, but in differing ways. CPT emphasizes discursive practice in a liberal, pluralistic society, with open participatory processes involving a broad range of affected groups. NPM prefers participation in the form of communication with stakeholders and information to the public, while emphasizing market choice. Whereas CPT is amenable to a bottom-up approach, NPM is top-down by inclination.

CPT and NPM provided a framework for understanding differing planning outcomes after fires on 7 December 2002 destroyed historic buildings in central Trondheim and in the Old Town of Edinburgh in Scotland. Anne Sofie Lægran, a PhD candidate at the Department of Geography in Trondheim who was under-

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 20 14/05/2018 15:59

taking fieldwork in Scotland and living in Edinburgh, suggested comparing the fires' consequences in the two cities; this resonated with me as I had both family links and research interests in Scotland. In autumn 2003, groups of master's students studied each city's planning during the first year after the fires. People's expectations concerning possible outcomes of redevelopment were investigated through guided field visits and qualitative interviews with planners, architects and representatives of interest organizations. Debates in both cities illustrated tension between recreating the landscape's lost features and creating something new. In Trondheim, a modernistic building was erected on the fire site by 2004, whereas in Edinburgh the site remained unbuilt in 2010. Both sites had complex ownership patterns. An important explanation for the different outcomes was owners' differing abilities to co-operate. Successful co-operation facilitated rapid redevelopment in Trondheim, whereas failure to agree delayed redevelopment in Edinburgh. Stakeholder consultation and public meetings took place in both cities, while the general public contributed to the media debate. Architects, developers and commercial interests had significantly greater say than heritage organizations and the general public. In both cases planning showed more features of NPM than CPT, although the Edinburgh case indicated that NPM does not necessarily guarantee rapid and efficient redevelopment (Jones 2010). In 2012–2013, a modern mixed-use complex was built on the Edinburgh site. The site is part of Edinburgh's UNESCO World Heritage Area. Plans for a similar development on a nearby site led in 2016 to strong protests by heritage groups, local residents and homeless people, including an 'Occupy' camp (*Edinburgh Evening News* 2016; Johnstone 2016).

Sager (2015) further discusses influences on urban regeneration in Trondheim of three ideologies prevalent in democratic states: neo-liberalism (applied to the public sector as NPM), participatory democracy, and environmentalism. He finds that neo-liberalism is strongly influential but less hegemonic than often claimed, while participatory democracy and environmentalism can also be recognized in municipal planning goals.

Landscape planning has long been associated with environmental concerns. The ELC, in force in 2004, placed public participation in landscape matters on the agenda (CoE 2000a). These ideas informed my teaching on landscape and planning. However, not all landscape experts gave public participation first priority or considered it more than a top-down exercise (Jones 2007, pp. 619–620; Olwig 2007, pp. 206–210; Conrad et al. 2011; Jones and Stenseke 2011b, pp. 13–14). In 2008, Swedish geographer Marie Stenseke and I organized a workshop at the PECSRL meeting in Portugal to explore how far the ELC's provisions for participation had been implemented. The resulting book presented participation theory and experiences of participation in 12 European countries, including examples of good practice and challenges of participation. Identified problems included: time-consuming, costly public participation; apathy or social barriers hindering people's involvement; incompatible stakeholder aims; danger of manipulation by the powerful; public participation steered in a top-down manner; and unclear relationships between participatory and representative democracy. Despite various participatory methods in differ-

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

ent countries, procedures often lacked for implanting participatory inputs in planning outcomes dependent on decisions of politically elected bodies (Jones and Stenseke 2011a).

The unresolved tension between participatory (or deliberative) democracy and representative democracy came out at a seminar on the ELC at the Swedish Institute in Rome in 2007. Illustrating public participation, I used Norwegian examples from my personal involvement, either directly or indirectly through university teaching (Jones 2007). I received criticism in the discussion for insufficient consideration of how participatory approaches relate to the elected representative bodies that ultimately make the decisions.

Notions of democracy and the landscape

In 2009, Danish environmental and planning philosopher Finn Arler introduced me to his work (Arler 2008; 2011; Arler and Mellqvist 2015). He notes that 'landscape democracy' came on the ELC agenda (CoE 2000b) without defining democracy in relation to landscape. He presents three sets of democratic values that influence decision-making in landscape issues: co-determination and participation; private self-determination; and impartiality and respect for arguments. Alongside participation, procedures contributing to democratic decision-making include elections, consultation, markets and informed argument. Moreover, the landscape is not formed simply by landscape policy, but also by commodity markets, globalization, and political decisions not concerned with landscape.

In 2013, I lectured in a PhD course on landscape democracy at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences at Alnarp and the University of Copenhagen. Subsequently, the Centre for Landscape Democracy was launched at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences at Ås in 2014. These events encouraged further exploration of landscape democracy (Jones 2016).

Barnett and Low (2009) distinguish between liberal and radical democracy. In liberal democracy, popular representation is institutionalized through elected legislatures 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 citizens' active role in all facets of decision-making.

Participatory approaches are often associated (although not exclusively) with the local level. At higher levels of democratic governance, the 'will of the people' is primarily expressed through elected, representative bodies. Liebert (2013) compares this liberal democracy with direct democracy (referendums), participatory democracy (civil society) and 'dual-track' democracy (protecting minorities against the majority, for example through the courts).

Dalton et al. (2003, pp. 252–253) distinguish between representative democracy, direct democracy, and advocacy democracy. In advocacy democracy, 'citizens or public groups directly interact with government and even directly participate in the deliberation process, even if the actual decisions remain in the hands of government elites', and citizens may challenge government actions

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 22 14/05/2018 15:59

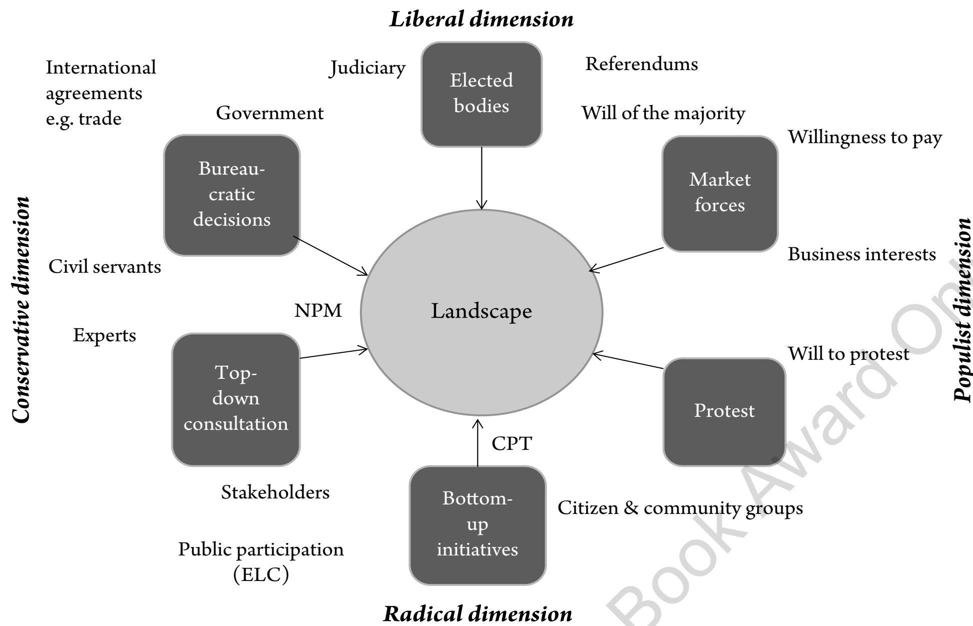

Figure 2.1 Landscape and democracy: conceptual model of six institutions of democracy affecting landscape, with actors involved, related to four normative dimensions of democracy

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

through the courts (ibid., p. 254). The authors examine how far five democratic criteria – inclusion, political equality, enlightened understanding, control of the agenda, and effective participation, formulated by Yale political scientist Robert Dahl (1998, pp. 37–38) – are fulfilled in each form of democracy. They conclude that none is ideal, each having advantages and limitations (Dalton et al. 2003, pp. 256–265).

I conclude by combining my experiences and various theoretical notions in a conceptual model aiming to identify and critically examine how different institutions of democracy may affect landscape issues in practice. In Figure 2.1, landscape democracy is related to six principal institutions (dark grey boxes), surrounded by actors strongly associated with them. Normative dimensions of democracy are shown (in italics) along each side of the diagram, indicating differing views of what is considered most significant in democratic society.

Bottom-up initiatives include actions by volunteer groups, residents' associations, community organizations, citizen groups, and other non-governmental organizations in civil society. Initiatives range from spontaneous actions to dialogue-based participatory planning. Problematical aspects include: representativeness of such groups and their leaders for those they claim to speak for; power relations and issues of inclusion and exclusion; often lack of dispute-resolution procedures; and governing authorities' power to ignore bottom-up initiatives.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 23 14/05/2018 15:59

Top-down consultation gauges defined stakeholders' views. Problematical aspects include: determining relevant stakeholders; consulting stakeholders rather than citizens more broadly; the potential ability of developers, planners and experts to use consultation to further their own agendas; tokenism or placation rather than genuine consultation; and danger of manipulation.

Bureaucratic decisions involve civil servants and other administrators who interpret and implement government policies and laws. Problematical aspects include: managerialism with rigid adherence to rules rather than genuine problem-solving; the potential ability of administrators to influence excessively the policies they implement; and decisions reflecting the political majority but overlooking or ignoring legitimate minority interests.

Elective bodies include legislative bodies at different administrative levels, whose composition is determined through elections, and who in turn elect national or local governments. The system is designed to represent the majority will in passing laws and determining policy, including international agreements. In an independent judiciary, courts ensure that laws are followed and rights of individuals, minorities and landowners upheld. Problematical aspects include: electoral bias though manipulated electoral district boundaries or unfair franchise systems; uneven campaign financing and unequal access to or control of the media; safeguards for minority interests; the relationship between elected bodies at different administrative levels, especially if there are strong disagreements; and potential misuse of power. Referendums also reflect the majority will, although generally limited to advising elected bodies or governments, and often suffer from low electoral turn-out.

Market forces include consumers and business interests. Consumption reflects the people's will depending on willingness to pay, which has an element of social inequality through varying ability to pay. While business interests may in varying degrees work in the interests of society at large, profitability is necessarily their overriding concern. Large business interests can act as powerful lobbyists, arguing that they create workplaces or threatening relocation elsewhere to influence political decision-makers. New forms of governance incorporate business interests in urban management without the public responsibility or accountability of elected bodies. International corporations are powerful forces that often escape democratic accountability.

Protest involves social and environmental movements that feel fundamental values are disregarded or significant groups discriminated against. They range from small-scale local protests to huge mass protests. They may provide a useful corrective, but are often regarded with scepticism or as illegitimate by the authorities. A problem is that the loudest rather than the weakest or most representative groups may be heard most. Successful protest actions tend to have resourceful leaders, but it should be remembered that powerful vested interests may also conduct protests. It is also necessary in democratic society to draw a sharp line between

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 24 14/05/2018 15:59

peaceful and violent protest, while not forgetting that heavy-handed policing can also result in violence.

'Landscape democracy' as formulated in the supporting documents of the ELC (CoE 2000b; 2008) is closest to the bottom left-hand side of Figure 2.1. The ideal of CPT has much in common with bottom-up initiatives. NPM is reflected in bureaucratic decisions and top-down consultation.

Figure 2.1 does not address global democracy: although international trade agreements may be approved by elected parliaments, negotiations are often outside democratic control; lack of strong democratic control of transnational corporations is another problem. Other institutions important for democracy, such as free press and other media, and independent critical cultural institutions, are not addressed in the figure, although they influence perceptions by providing representations of landscape. The diagram does not indicate alliances between different groups of actors or lobbying activities.

I suggest that the bottom of Figure 2.1 represents radical democracy, the left-hand side conservative democracy, the top liberal democracy (with neoliberalism favouring the market but influencing bureaucracies through NPM), while the right-hand side tends towards populist democracy.

Conclusion

Landscape democracy is a relatively new concept and open to discussion. I show how engagement with local landscapes, and with people's aspirations and attachments to these landscapes, led to my concern with issues of public participation in landscape matters and landscape democracy, which the ELC was instrumental in bringing onto the public agenda.

I argue that, to explain how democratic institutions affect landscapes, it is necessary to understand different conceptualizations of democracy in relation to one another. This may help identify what may be missing in specific democratic situations. It is important to focus on the locus of power in different institutional constellations. Questions for further research include: In whose interest do different institutions of democracy work? Who is represented and by whom, and who is excluded? What landscapes are produced by different power constellations?

The relative weight given to these different expressions of democracy can directly affect how landscape issues are tackled and the outcome of conflicts concerning landscape. There is not a simple causal relationship between the workings of a particular institution and a particular outcome in the landscape, but the effects of different institutions are intermixed.

I present a conceptual model to illustrate how public participation and protest relate to other institutions of democracy in landscape issues. Different notions and institutions of democracy each have particular advantages and disadvantages. Different institutions may be afforded differing degrees of legitimacy in different situations. They may also be manipulated in different ways. This helps explain limitations of public participation, and why it is often unsuccessful in

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

influencing outcomes and hence considered unsatisfactory by participants, sometimes leading to strong protests. Particular democratic institutions – including participation and protest – should not be romanticized. There is need for critique of all institutions of democracy in the interests of its better working in landscape issues.

References

Arler, F. (2008). A true landscape democracy. In Arntzen, S. and Brady, E. (Eds), *Humans in the Land*, Oslo: Unipub, pp. 77–101.

Arler, F. and Mellqvist, H. (2015). Landscape democracy, three sets of values, and the connoisseur method, *Environmental Values*, 24, 271–298.

Arnstein, S.R. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation, *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35(4), 216–224.

Barnett, C. and Low, M. (2004). Geography and democracy: An introduction. In Barnett, C. and Low, M. (Eds), *Spaces of Democracy*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage, pp. 1–22.

Barnett, C. and Low, M. (2009). Democracy. In Kitchen, R. and Thrift, N. (Eds), *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, vol. 2, Oxford: Elsevier, pp. 70–74.

Betten, H.G. (2002). *Bylandskapet som konfliktarena*, Master's dissertation in geography, Trondheim: Geografisk institutt, Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet.

CoE (Council of Europe) (2000a). The European Landscape Convention, Florence, 20.X.2000 (ETS No 176), Council of Europe, retrieved 6 March 2007 from: http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/176.htm.

CoE (Council of Europe) (2000b). The European Landscape Convention (ETS No. 176): Explanatory Report, Council of Europe, retrieved 6 March 2007 from: http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/Reports/Html/176.htm.

CoE (Council of Europe) (2008). Recommendation CM/Rec(2008)3 of the Committee of Minister to Member States on the Guidelines for the Implementation of the European Landscape Convention, Council of Europe, retrieved 24 September 2009 from: https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=1246005.

Conrad, E.F., Louis, F.C., Jones, M., Eiter, S., Izaovičová, Z., Barankova, Z., Christie, M. and Fazey, I. (2011). Rhetoric and reporting of public participation in landscape policy, *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning*, 13, 23–47.

Dahl, R.A. (1998). *On Democracy*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Dalton, R.J., Cain, B.E. and Scarrow, S.E. (2003). Democratic publics and democratic institutions. In Cain, B.E., Dalton, R.J. and Scarrow, S.E. (Eds), *Democracy Transformed?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 250–275.

Edinburgh Evening News (2016). Protesters camp out in bid to hobble £65m Old Town hotel, *Edinburgh Evening News,* 4 June, retrieved 11 January 2018 from: https://www.edinburghnews.scotsman.com/news/protesters-camp-out-in-bid-to-hobble-65m-old-town-hotel-1-4146038.

Fasting, L. (1976). *Trondheims bybilde*, Trondheim: Antikvarisk utvalg.

Foucault, M. (1984 [1987]). The ethic of care for the self as the practice of freedom. In Bernauer, J. and Rasmussen, D. (Eds), *The Final Foucault*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 1–20.

Habermas, J. (1983 [1990]). *Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action*, Lenhardt, C. and Weber Nicholson, S. (trans.), Cambridge, UK: Polity Press. (Originally published in German, 1983.)

Hugsted, R. (1998). Stedsdrap? *Adresseavisen*, 26 February.

Johnstone, A. (2016). Protest over Edinburgh development shows we need to reassess city vision, *Edinburgh Evening News*, 7 June, retrieved 11 January 2018 from: https://greens.scot/blog/protest-over-edinburgh-development-shows-we-need-to-reassess-city-vision.

Jones, M. (1979). Change in a Norwegian rural landscape: Concepts and case studies, *Northern Studies*, 14, 6–44.

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 26 14/05/2018 15:59

Jones, M. (1981). Landskap som ressurs, *Dugnad*, 1981(1), 1–15.

Jones, M. (1985). Landskapsgeografi og interessekonflikter: Bruk av konkrete planleggingssituasjoner i geografiundervisningen. In Lomøy, J. (Ed.), *Geografi og planlegging*, Trondheim: Norsk samfunnsgeografisk forening, pp. 250–268.

Jones, M. (1991a). Landskapsverdier og Rotvollsaken, *Arbeider-Avisa*, 11 October.

Jones, M. (1991b). Kulturlandskapets verdier. In *Høring om kulturlandskap og Rotvoll*, Trondheim: Folkeaksjon Bevar Rotvoll / Naturvernforbundet i Sør-Trøndelag, pp. 3–8.

Jones, M. (1993). Landscape as a resource and the problem of landscape values. In Rusten, C. and Wøien, H. (Eds), *The Politics of Environmental Conservation*, Dragvoll: University of Trondheim, Centre for Environment and Development, pp. 19–33.

Jones, M. (1998). Bystyret kan begå stedsdrap, *Adresseavisen*, 23 February.

Jones, M. (1999). Landskapsverdier som konfliktpunkt i planleggingen. In Eggen, M., Geelmuyden, A.K. and Jørgensen, K. (Eds), *Landskapet vi lever i*, Oslo: Norsk arkitekturforlag, pp. 178–203.

Jones, M. (2007). The European Landscape Convention and the question of public participation, *Landscape Research*, 32, 613–633.

Jones, M. (2009). Analysing landscape values expressed in planning conflicts over change in the landscape. In Van Eetvelde, V., Sevenant, M. and Van De Velte, L. (Eds), *Re-Marc-able Landscapes*, Gent: Academia Press, pp. 193–205.

Jones, M. (2010). Two fires and two landscapes – a tale of two cities, *Fennia*, 188, 123–136.

Jones, M. (2011). European landscape and participation – rhetoric or reality? In Jones, M. and Stenseke, M. (Eds), *The European Landscape Convention: Challenges of Participation*, Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 27–44.

Jones, M. (2012). Om faghistorie og selvbiografi: Innledningsessay. In Aase, A., *Et liv med geografi*, Trondheim: Tapir akademisk forlag, pp. I–XIV.

Jones, M. (2016). Landscape democracy and participation in a European perspective. In Jørgensen, K., Clemetsen, M., Thorén, A.-K.H. and Richardson, T. (Eds), *Mainstreaming Landscape through the European Landscape Convention*, Abingdon and New York: Routledge, pp. 119–128.

Jones, M. and Olsen, V. (Eds) (1977). *Ilsvikøra – Footdee: To samfunn – samme debatt. Artikkelsamling til utstillingen 'Ilsvikøra – fortid og framtid'*, Trondheim: Galleri Hornemann.

Jones, M. and Stenseke, M. (Eds) (2011a). *The European Landscape Convention: Challenges of Participation*, Dordrecht: Springer.

Jones, M. and Stenseke, M. (Eds) (2011b). The issue of public participation in the European Landscape Convention. In Jones, M. and Stenseke, M. (Eds), *The European Landscape Convention: Challenges of Participation*, Landscape Series, Vol. 13, Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 1–23.

Kittang, D. (2014). *Trebyen Trondheim – modernisering og vern*, Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Lane, J.-E. (2000). *New Public Management*, London: Routledge.

Liebert, U. (2013). Democratising the EU from below? Citizenship, civil society and the public sphere in making Europe's order. In Liebert, U. Gattig, A. and Evas, T. (Eds), *Democratising the EU from Below?* Farnham, UK: Ashgate, pp. 1–22.

Lloyd, P.C. (1968). Conflict theory and Yoruba kingdoms. In Lewis, I.M. (Ed.), *History and Social Anthropology*, London: Tavistock Publications, pp. 25–61.

Low, M. (2004). Cities as spaces for democracy: Complexity, scale and governance. In Barnett, C. and Low, M. (Eds), *Spaces of Democracy*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage, pp. 129–146.

Moss, P. (Ed.) (2001). *Placing Autobiography in Geography*, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Olwig, K.R. (2007). The practice of landscape 'conventions' and the just landscape: The case of the European Landscape Convention, *Landscape Research*, 32, 579–594.

Porteous, J.D. (1988). Topocide: The annihilation of place. In Eyles, J. and Smith, D.M. (Eds), *Qualitative Methods in Human Geography*, Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 75–93.

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

Porteous, J.D. and Smith, S.E. (2001). *Domicide: The Global Destruction of Home*, Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press.

Purcell, M. (2009). Autobiography. In Kitchen, R. and Thrift, N. (Eds), *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, Oxford: Elsevier, pp. 234–239.

Sager, T. (2009). Planners' role: Torn between dialogical ideals and neo-liberal realities, *European Planning Studies*, 17, 65–84.

Sager, T. (2015). Ideological traces in plans for compact cities: Is neo-liberalism hegemonic? *Planning Theory*, 14, 268–295.

Stugu, O.S. (1997). *Trondheims historie 997–1997*, Vol. 6, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Made available for the EDRA Book Award Only.

Property of Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. Unauthorised copying or distribution is prohibited.

EGOZ_9781786438331_t.indd 28 14/05/2018 15:59