LANDSCAPE AS MEDIATOR
LANDSCAPE AS COMMONS

International perspectives on landscape research

edited by
Benedetta Castiglioni
Fabio Parascandolo
Marcello Tanca

closing commentary by
Kenneth R. Olwig

cleup

LANDSCAPE AS MEDIATOR, LANDSCAPE AS COMMONS

International perspectives on landscape research

edited by
Benedetta Castiglioni
Fabio Parascandolo
Marcello Tanca

cleup

Cover images
Top left: Tablet on the Mincio riverside (Mantova, Italy): "The riverside neatness and the landscape conservation are committed to the citizens' education and courtesy" [B. Castiglioni]
Bottom left: Tagus estuary (Portugal) [M. Tanca]
Right: View of Montirone (Euganei Hills, Italy) in "De Aponis Thermis" by Domenico Vandelli (1761, color print on paper, particular) [http://www.albumdiabano.it]

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LANDSCAPE AS MEDIATOR, LANDSCAPE AS COMMONS: AN INTRODUCTION

Benedetta Castiglioni, Fabio Parascandolo, Marcello Tanca[1]

*Si el paisaje que estamos construyendo no es satisfactorio,
entonces es que nos estamos equivocando*
Javier Maderuelo

1. THE LANDSCAPE IS DEAD, HAIL TO THE LANDSCAPE!

In 1982 *Mort du paysage?*, a book that is still largely quoted by people dealing with landscape studies, was published. The book was edited by the philosopher François Dagognet, and collected the proceedings from a conference that was held in Lyon the year before. The main thesis of the book, formulated by the interrogative title[2], consisted in the realization of the notable transformations that had occurred since World War II in «le paysage rural ancestral», i.e. the traditional rural landscape, due to the social and economical dynamics of industrial society (land revolution, agro-industry, deforestation, urbanization, sprawl, etc.). It is possible to read in its pages passages like the following: «Le paysage – géographiquement et esthétiquement – n'existe plus. [..] Le paysage appartient au passé. La puissance de l'homme le détruit ou le déclasse, de même que la picturalité l'a relégué au musée ou à l'académie. [...] Nous avons perdu le paysage» (Dagognet, 1982, pp. 32-33). This quotation is taken from a section whose title is *Mort et résurrection du paysage*?, with the question mark used to soften the absoluteness of the affirmation, and leaving the question still open for answering. What is most interesting to notice is that, at the precise moment when the end of landscape is foreseen, there is, contemporarily, speculation about its coming back; the disappearing of the "belle contrade" doesn't imply the death of landscape *tout-court*: «il y a une beauté

---

[1] This introductory essay is born of the collective reflections of the authors. Marcello Tanca edited the paragraphs 1, 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3. Paragraph 2 is responsibility of Benedetta Castiglioni, whereas credits for paragraph 3.4 go to Fabio Parascandolo. Paragraph 4 is the result of shared writings. Translation by Alberto Maffini.

[2] It's not infrequent to find the title of Dagognet's book only partially quoted, with the question mark missing. This way, the essay loses part of its interlocutory aspect. It's easy to understand that "The death of landscape" doesn't mean quite the same as "The death of landscape?".

des grandes et moyennes métropoles, une unité visible et sensible, qui frappe et marque ses habitants comme ses visiteurs, les seconds plus consciemment que les premiers: ainsi la beauté de New-York stupéfie le Parisien, et inversement» (ivi, p. 34). There is a «harmonie latente» in the new urban landscape that is just waiting to be discovered and deciphered.

Ten years later, in 1992, Lorenza Mondada, Francesco Panese and Ola Söderström published the proceedings from another conference, held in Lausanne, whose title was *Paysage et crise de la lisibilité*. In just a decade the death of landscape (or, better, *the hypothesis* of its death) had yielded to the crisis of its readability. In a fragment from the Introduction, where the editors repeated the *texte de cadrage* of the conference, it is affirmed that: «Le foisonnement des recherches actuelles sur la "fin du paysage" témoigne paradoxalement de son inertie comme mode d'appréhension du réel. [...] En ce sens la crise de lisibilité serait moins une rupture dans les modes de spatialisation du social qu'un aspect des transformations plus générales des médiations symboliques contemporaines» (Mondada et al., 1992, p. 5). Between the "death" of 1982 and the "crisis" of 1992 there is a substantial difference. The first one seems to refer to the material destruction of landscapes, which are contextually replaced by others (so that their disappearance can be theologically followed by resurrection in other shapes); the latter alludes to the landscape as a metacategory, a symbolic mediation, a conceptual instrument that gives some sort of intelligibility to the world. The possibility to refer with a single word to things so different between them reflects that *arguzia del paesaggio* that Franco Farinelli talks about (Farinelli, 1992). That is the tendency to associate in the same referent the thing and its image, signifier and signified; thanks to this hybrid nature, the landscape device can represent – at the same time – what is material and what is mental, what is visible and what is invisible, *come se* they were analogous (Dematteis, 2003).

This ambiguity has a very specific meaning, and it's useful to spend some words to underline it. Nowadays, the explosion of the concept of landscape and the multitude of discourses that intertwine with it is hard to miss. "Our time – Michael Jakob wrote – is decidedly a 'landscape time', at least as far as its verbal and iconic representation are concerned" (Jakob, 2009, p. 7). This landscape vogue is a natural reaction to our aphasia, i.e. to our inability to read the world in transparency, so we can take that veil of ambiguity off things, showing them for what they really are, without misunderstandings. Today's massive exploitation of landscape metaphors to present contents that are typically outside the dominion of proper landscapes (constituting, thus, extra- or meta-landscape areas, such as ethnoscapes, foodscapes, warscapes, including *paysages de la banalité et du drame*) can be better explained with the urge to give voice to that being that cannot be said (Tanca, 2012) rather than with the sudden spread of a particular sensitiveness to landscape («Plus on pense le paysage, et plus on le massacre» in Augustin Berque's

own bitter commentary, 2008, p. 10; cfr. the opposition between *pensée du paysage* and *pensée paysagère*). That is what an ambivalent, double, structurally opaque reality claims: to be reproduced by a similar ambiguous and evanescent item. For this reason, Farinelli concludes that "there cannot be a crisis (nor a death) of landscape: because it has been already designed specifically to describe the crisis" (Farinelli, 1992, p. 209).

In the essays collected in this book we can find this duplicity, this evocative and mediating ability of landscape, which is constantly suspended between performativity and allusion, materiality and symbolic value, knowledge and action. We want to say that this volume comes from the shared will of its authors to commend some of the contributions presented at the fourth Eugeo (the Association of European Geographical Societies) Conference held in Rome in September 2013[3] and the discussion that followed during the thematic sessions. More precisely, we are talking about session S05, titled *Changes in landscape studies: considering landscape as a "mediator"*, organized by Benedetta Castiglioni (University of Padua), which dealt with the difficulties we have to face when we try to set some key points for a "social" and "democratic" approach to landscape. These considerations can also serve as a starting point to build territorial policies that take in consideration the point of view of local actors[4]. The other session included in this volume is session S18, with the title *Is landscape a common? Geographical diversity of landscape's perceptions and changes through time*, organized by Fabio Parascandolo and Marcello Tanca (University of Cagliari). This session focused on the necessity of interpreting the landscape not only in terms of commodity or public good, but also as a collective resource, which cannot be reduced to the rules of the market, cannot be expropriated, and is fundamental for the welfare of local societies[5].

As it is evident from these quick notes, the two sessions do present affinities that go beyond their shared theme, and that call for issues, worries and recurring questions that go from the well-being (or bad-being) related with the landscape experience to ecological sustainability and the role of planning, from democratic

---

[3] The title of this edition, which was hosted by the Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia of Rome University "La Sapienza", was "Europe, what's next? Changing geographies and geographies of change".

[4] Benedetta Castiglioni, Kenneth R. Olwig, Yves Luginbühl, Theano S. Terkenli, Cristina Mattiucci, Serge Briffaud, Viviana Ferrario, Mauro Varotto, Claudio Cerreti, Loredana Ponticelli, Rémi Bercovitz, Andreia Pereira, Fernando Paulino, Salvatore Cannizzaro, Gian Luigi Corinto, Monica Meini, Diana Ciliberti, Margarita Vološina, Anita Zarina, Andrea Salustri, Sandra Parvu, Arturo Gallia and Chrysafina Geronta took part in this session as coordinators, discussant or authors. The "call" of this session is available at: http://www.eugeo2013.com/component/content/article/68-S05.

[5] The coordinators, discussant or authors of this session were: Ludiger Gailing, Benedetta Castiglioni, Viviana Ferrario, Alessia De Nardi, Guido Lucarno, Raffaela Gabriella Rizzo, Gian Paolo Scaratti, Laura Benigni, Evelien de Hoop, Saurabh Arora, Michele Vianello, Florin Vartolomei, Dimitra Zygra, John Sayas, Kenneth R. Olwig, Diana Dushkova, Matteo Proto, Daniela Ribeiro, Nika Razpotnik Viskovic, Salvo Torre, Gennaro Avallone e Claudia Faraone. The call of the session is available at: http://www.eugeo2013.com/component/content/article/80-S18.

participation in the decisional process concerning the landscape to the contribution of geography, and, more in general, of territorial studies to this kind of problems. Further details will emerge in the following paragraphs, which focus on the role of landscape as "mediator" and "public good". But before we start exploring these points more in detail, the editors want to thank all the authors that gave their consent to the idea of collecting their contributions in a volume, and who made this volume possible.

2. THE LANDSCAPE AS A MEDIATOR

2.1 The landscape as a tension

The considerations about the role of landscape as a "mediator" originate in the same essence of this concept.

In fact, the element that unifies, from any possible perspective, the polysemy conveyed by the idea of landscape, resides in the dimension of "relation".

Just think about the landscape as some sort of synthesis, as a comprehensive picture of natural and anthropic elements like in traditional geographies; or remember the systemic approaches, which read and structure the relations between the different components according to various interpreting keys (cfr. Brossard and Wieber, 1984, or, for an approach to landscape ecology, Ingegnoli, 1993). Even when we consider the "interfaces" of landscape (Palang and Fry, 2003), its relational dimension is intrinsically highlighted: we may be dealing with the interface between natural and human sciences, between different cultural approaches to the same landscape, between past and future, between conservation and use, and so on (ivi, p. 2 and following).

This relational aspect is even more evident when we focus on the double nature of landscape, i.e. its material and immaterial essence, suspended between reality and the image of that reality; the definition of landscape as "area as perceived" that is at the basis of the European Landscape Convention (art. 1, a) adopts this perspective, too. The landscape lies between these two dimensions, belongs to both and links them as a liminal space, constantly on the borders, so it becomes "field of relations": between subjectivity and objectivity, actuality and potentiality, surface and deepness (Turco, 2002, p. 42). In cultural geography, the landscape is analogously interpreted as a "tension": between proximity and distance, between the act of watching and the act of living, between the vision of the image and the action on the ground, between culture and nature (Wylie, 2007, p. 2 and following).

So, the landscape "stays in between" and "links"; the main reason of interest towards this concept and its significance in the contemporary debate seems to lie here, whether we consider this evidence from a theoretical or a practical point

of view. Thus Dematteis states: "It [the landscape] always presents itself as an *ambiguous mediator – and at the same time fertile –* between aesthetic and rational, between the world of signs and the world of living things, between local scale and global scale, between individual and collective feeling and acting" (2010, p. 173; italics are a license of the editor).

2.2 The landscape as a "medium"

But does the landscape just "lie" in the middle or is it a "medium", too? Could it be meaningful to conceive the landscape not only as an "object", but also as an "instrument" (Luginbühl, 2004)? And if that's the case, instrument for what? And used by whom?

The reflection here can develop on different levels.

In the first place, scholars can use landscape as an investigation device. In fact, it can be used to recognize in a sensible form *hints* of unperceivable processes. This is how in geomorphology we can point out, starting from the marks left, the presence of specific morphological agents, today or in the past, and the dynamics that modelled the ground itself: the moraine shows where a glacier had been, the cliff the action of the sea, etc.

Analogously, we can consider the anthropic forms of the landscape as a result – and thus as a hint, too – of economical and social processes, which we can get to know, or, at least, on which we can speculate. In fact, the landscape is an imperfect instrument, which tends to give suggestions rather than assurances (we are talking about hints, and not incontestable proofs). If we consider the plurality and the variety of the territorial dynamics that show up in landscape, and which the landscape itself often synthetizes, this instrumental approach can help us consider it as a "complex indicator" of these dynamics, too. The ability to highlight and put into dialogue a vast plurality of aspects (Castiglioni, 2007) makes the landscape a useful instrument also in the field of evaluation.

Even when the attention is focused, from a geo-cultural perspective, on the immaterial dynamics that regulate the relations between space and society, the landscape can be interpreted from an instrumental point of view as the "key" to understand the "personality of a region", to proceed "*from* the landscape *to* the values and *to* the passions of a community" (Tuan, 1979, p. 93).

More in general the landscape, as a "moment of communication between two systems, the social system and the territorial system", adopts a "mediation role" (Turri, 1998, p. 18) and thus becomes mediator between the territory and the population that perceives and represents that territory (Castiglioni and Ferrario, 2007). The landscape can also be represented under the metaphor of the theatre, as the interface between acting (which is proper of the actor) and watching what is

being acted (which is proper of the spectator) (Turri 1998). In this case it becomes a useful instrument to investigate the relations that a population interlaces with the portion of territory where it lives, that is modified by its activities and that it connotes with values and meanings, thus shaping its identity.

To this plurality of instrumental uses of landscape – and thanks to it – we can add its use in the educational context. On both levels of a scholastic and a permanent education, educating "with" the landscape implies broadening from the knowledge of single cases to the ability of reading different landscapes. From there different abilities and skills can start to develop: careful observation, analysis, synthesis, and rigorous interpretation. It is also possible to learn to recognize and respect different ways of giving value (for example in an intercultural context, according to De Nardi, 2013), to reinforce the sense of identity, the commitment to the area of living and the sense of belonging to a community, building a harmonic and responsible relationship with the territory, following an approach that can result in the adoption of good practices. Educating with, or through, the landscape, doesn't mean only to activate simple teachings or isolated bits of knowledge, but to walk on broader paths of *landscape literacy* (Castiglioni, 2011; Castiglioni, 2015) that can lead to a careful and critical reading of the landscape and to the acquisition of an active and responsible behaviour.

2.3 The landscape as an intermediary

If we switch from the point of view of the investigator and the educator to a perspective that is more representative of the concerns of common people, which role will the landscape assume? Can it play the part of the intermediary?

If we have already mentioned the possibility for the landscape to act as a medium between the territory and the people, here we have to underline the fact that this mediation doesn't involve individuals only, but it can also apply to social groups, communities, and all the other agents who interact (in a positive or conflictive way) in a territory.

The potential that a landscape expresses is represented, on the basis of what has been said until now, by its intrinsic ability to create synthesis, to raise awareness about dynamics, and to make different points of view emerge in their complexity and variety. This mediation potential can be very relevant during processes that concern management and decision making, and that want to include – directly or indirectly – the active participation of citizens. This is to be considered at least appropriate, if not mandatory, to achieve a greater efficiency of the decisions taken during the planning stage (Ferrario, 2011) in the context of sustainability policies and in perspective of that "democratization" of decisions which is promoted by the European Landscape Convention.

This potentiality has acted as the pivot for specific investigation projects and several experimentations in the European area: projects to raise awareness, to strengthen the sense of inclusion and participated planning, whose aim is not so much to build consensus as to favour a wider discussion on territorial themes that are relevant on a local scale. The landscape adopts the role of a "round table", where people sit and share their different views on local territorial issues. Contexts, procedures and methodologies can vary. In particular, the effort of conceptual and methodological clarification of the projects of "mediation paysagere" (Fortin, 2007; Joliveau et al., 2008, Bigando et al., 2011) promoted at various levels in France deserves a mention. There, the landscape is considered especially useful for its ability to initiate (facilitate), indicate and integrate (Derioz et al., 2008).

Having conversations about the landscape with locals, or simply promoting through itineraries of *landscape literacy* the consideration of the landscape dimension, produces a greater awareness, an active involvement, and a dialogue between different subjects. Talking about the landscape or looking together at it facilitates the emersion of the points of view of various individuals, i.e. the different ways of giving value to the landscape and its elements, linked to the various fields of interest of the participants in the debate, to their cultural models and to their level of commitment. This way, even potentially antagonistic visions tend to emerge: it's the first necessary step to be taken in order to avoid the degeneration of the conflict.

The landscape, however, should not be understood as a "mediator" in the sense of "composer of conflicts", nor can it build agreements or make peace. This approach is a little too simplistic, with its roots in a nostalgic and naïf vision of the landscape. As we will repeatedly notice in the essays collected in this volume, the landscape plays its role of mediator when it permits to formulate questions, to present discussions, to promote objectives in planning, to raise awareness as individuals or as a community. Contemporary debate in geographical and territorial studies and in the practices that are being promoted[6] seems to be oriented to this kind of instrumental approach.

---

[6] Recent examples can be taken from the session "Bridging people and place through landscape identity" at the *Permanent European Conference on Studies of Rural Landscapes* held in September 2014. The discussion there pointed out the opportunity of considering the landscape in a way that can be functional to the building of an identity for the individuals and for the community. On the other hand, the road map which collects the objects of the Landscape Observatory of Catalonia from 2013 to 2020 is structured in actions "in" and "with" the landscape (concentrating on the relationship between landscape and society) rather than "on" the landscape as it was in the years before, when the knowledge, the mapping and the evaluation seemed to be the priority (cfr. www.catpaisatge.org).

3. THE LANDSCAPE AS COMMON GOOD

3.1 Common goods and the landscape

If considerations on the landscape as a "mediator" can be seen as the explicitation of properties that are immanent to its concept, that much can also be said, *mutatis mutandis*, about the idea of landscape as a "common good". As a result of a collective construction, produced by "social and cultural, material and immaterial practices that shape the territory" (Olwig 2007, p. 581) the landscape is the final step of historical processes which were led by a plurality of actors. These actors form a "productive system", if we follow the terminology adopted by the Besançon's school, where, provided the different environmental qualities of the landscapes, the joint works of peasants, agronomists and theorists, alongside with the impulse given by the leading class, converge, as it happened to the Tuscan and Venetian landscape after the renovations of the XVIII century.

The landscape then reminds us of a community that forges and models it historically, placing the seal of its identity upon it. Its collective, social, even "public" quality doesn't rest only on the fact that the landscape is born materially from a collective work, in which the values and aspirations of that collective are reflected. In fact, the landscape is also, and it's not a secondary aspect, one of the fundamental elements of individual and social identity, regarding even those who didn't contribute personally in creating it, but inherited it from their ancestors, finding in it a trace of the precedent territorialities and the signifier on which they could project the new values and meanings of contemporaneity. This is how we can speak of a "social request for landscape", as Yves Luginbühl does when he talks about the interest that populations have in it in terms of preferences, perceptions and representations (Luginbühl, 2001).

So, if the landscape appears as a "theatre" (a recurring metaphor in scholars like John Brinckerhoff Jackson, Denis Cosgrove and Eugenio Turri) where we are at the same time actors and spectators, the transformations landscapes are facing, which imply the irreparable loss of that balance laboriously achieved in time through that domestication of nature made by man, pose use a series of unprecedented questions. According to which criteria, canons and models (not only of aesthetic kind) should these transformations be evaluated? According to which instruments, strategies and institutions could we manage the landscape? Is it licit to state that there is a nexus between landscape, citizenship, participation and democracy? If the landscape is a common good, who has the right to it? We are talking about challenges of practical and theoretical nature that we need to deal with and that we will talk about, without the pretension of being exhaustive on the topic, in the following paragraphs, where we will show some of the most important ideas.

3.2 Looking for good landscape practices

If we move from the original production area (specific to economists and lawyers) to the media context, where common goods have started to appear since the referendum about public water in June 2011, the risk is that common goods become a fashionable subject, on which you can build successful slogans. This way, the issue becomes an "axiologeme", i.e. an abused and very general expression, used to give a name to meanings and claims very different between them (Settis, 2012, p. 61; Antelmi, 2014, p. 53). Truth be said, if we stick to Ostrom's publications, winner of the Nobel prize for economy in 2009 and author of the essay *Governing the Commons* (1990), the fundamental text to study collective institutions and the new governance procedures, the expression "common goods" has a very precise and limited reference, because it identifies the reality of auto-organized systems for the management of natural or artificial resources. The basic idea is that in some cases, all demonstrated by document evidence – the analysis of the American scholar are supported by continuous references to empirical examples in Switzerland, Japan, Spain, Philippines, etc. – the ability shown by the local communities managing the resources denies openly one of the main dogmas of the "conventional theory": that the only subjects who could solve problems affecting collective interests would be the "bureaucratic Leviathan" (the control by a central government of the majority of the resource systems) or the market (with the creation of a system of private property rights). According to this conventional way of thinking, *tertium non datur*. On the contrary, the empirical analysis shows that there are concrete situations where, in well-defined spatial and temporal circumstances, users have managed to organize themselves through rules and free institutions, and to have benefits that surpass by far the costs of resource management.

Notwithstanding the sometimes-great differences that exist between the empirical cases, these have some fundamental traits in common: in particular, the fact that all the systems of use of common goods have relatively small dimensions; the most meaningful case involves a community that is no more than 15.000 units big (more or less like the city of Urbino). The reason is simple: auto-organized systems of resource management have more chances of being successful if the limits of the collective resource and the actors who have the right to access to it are clearly defined (Ostrom, 1990). Local communities of small and middle dimension seem to have an advantage when it comes to communicating and reaching internal agreements, establishing some management rules and observing them. In short, there are no common goods without a shared *common idea*, an agreement that makes the appeal to external authorities for rules observation absolutely superfluous. This common idea can perhaps be identified with one of the two meanings that different authors give to the expression "common goods" (Sgard, 2010, p. 6; Donadieu, 2012, pp. 8 and following; Antelmi, 2014, pp. 55-

59): the Landscape Common Good (singular and with capital letters) designates an ideal shared by a community of local actors, whose individual landscape common goods (plural and non-capital) i.e. the material landscapes, represent the concrete realization.

Another recurring element in systems based on the use of collective resources is the way in which they are organized and enjoyed, which makes them structurally different from any others. In other words, common goods are clearly differentiated from public goods (goods which can be enjoyed by anyone without compromising the utilization by others), from private goods (whose fruition is exclusive and limited to the owner only) and even from the so-called *toll goods*, or "club goods" (whose fruition can be obtained after paying a fee that covers the management costs). So, if we want to legitimate the inclusion of landscape among "common goods" we have to prove that it presents structural characteristics and intrinsic functions that differentiate it from the other three categories of goods and make it not comparable to them. The transposition of the *commons* paradigm in the landscape context is not immediate though, nor is it void of theoretical stumbles. These derivate from the fact that Ostrom (but the discourse could be widened to the whole group of scholars who deal with collective goods) refers her analysis to systems like reservoirs, irrigation systems, forests, grazing or fishing areas that a geographer includes among local and territorial resource systems. So, when we apply these ideas to the landscape, we cannot help considering that visual and representational dimension that is excluded by the approach of the American scholar, but the geographer cannot ignore. The duplicity that is integrated in the same concept of landscape ("the thing and the image of the thing") forces us to reckon –without reducing it just to a shallow scenario, though– that our first encounter with the landscape is provided by our eyes, cannot exist without our stare and implies establishing a distance from the object (Besse, 2012, p. 51). The fruition of the landscape as a common good doubles, on one hand, in the withdrawal of natural resources by the local communities in a space organized by specific consuetudinary and juridical principles (for example the rules that regulate the use of irrigation systems in Nepal, or in Spanish *huertas*, or, in Italy, in the Marano lagoon: cfr. Carestiato, 2012); on the other hand, this space is visible and "public" and can be observed by any spectator without compromising the possibility of fruition by others, or putting at risk the resource existence itself. This means that the landscape can be, at the same time, public and private, a payment good or a common good. For example, a mountain landscape can be a public good for those who contemplate it from the border of the road, without owning it necessarily; it can be a private good for the owners of private houses and their relative investment funds; it can be a club good if there are routes or services that can be accessed only after paying a fee; and lastly, it can be a common good for the community that exploits its resources in a collective withdrawal system (for example pastures and forests, like in the Swiss village of Torbel, studied by Ostrom,

in the Valdotain Consorteries, "Su monte" in Seneghe, cfr. p. 40 etc.). In this case the resource itself appears, with every change of perspective, as a public good, whose fruition is open to everybody, or divided among mixed systems of property: private, fee-based, or common. The landscape, too, can pass from a system to another: a private property, but visible to everybody, can become entirely public, becoming a "pure" public good or, as in the case of those Sicilian lands confiscated to the mafia, it can be administrated through cooperative modalities, like a "pure" common good (Donadieu, 2012, p. 12; Forno, 2012).

3.3 Landscape, citizenship, welfare

Alongside with the «institutional and social disarticulation brought by the globalization» (Vetritto, Velo, 2006, p. XXXVII), Ostrom's work has been recognized more and more as a fundamental reference for those who work on themes akin to or regarding the new *governance assets* but also, at the same time, on new paradigms and methodologies of social sciences. That is the case, for example, of the so-called "local empowerment", i.e. the possibility for local communities to define autonomously the fundamental rules for the usage and the appropriation of the common goods (Ristuccia, 2006, p. XI). Local empowerment is connected with the theme of great works of collective interest, which have a strong impact on the territory and are often fruit of decisional processes that don't take into account the opinion of local communities (Bobbio, Zeppetella, 1999). This new paradigm, which confers a renewed centrality to citizens, no more seen as passive receivers of public works, but as bringers of interests and promoters of initiatives (Settis, 2012) is centred around the notion of *engagement*, obtained through the systematic involvement of local actors. From this point of view, considering the landscape as a common good means stating that it must not be dominated and manipulated in function of market interest, and that the decisional processes that regard it must be based on inclusive practices of negotiation and participative selection.

It's not a coincidence that one of the "rules" Ostrom extracts from the analysis of the empirical cases is that users must be put in condition of establishing rules for the access and the withdrawal without any imposition by external authorities, and that national, regional and local governments need to commit themselves in granting this right. This principle has something in common with the new paradigms for the management and the organisation of resources of collective interest, where the systematic commitment of local actors plays a prominent role. If Italy, as Salvatore Settis reminds us constantly (2010, 2013), is one of the few countries in the world that have put the safeguard of landscape in its Constitution[7]

---

[7] Art. 9 in fact states that: "The Republic promotes the development of culture and scientific and technical resource. It safeguards landscape and the historical and artistic heritage of the Nation".

as a fundamental principle, the European Convention affirms that the landscape cannot be the result of technical and economical evolutions decided without consulting the citizens; and for this reason, it must be handled "in a democratic way", acknowledging the same citizens an active role, most of all at a local and regional level (cfr. points 23-25 of the "Explanatory Report"). It's on premises like these that the nexus landscape-democracy has become, also in Italy, an object of reflections and investigations in the geographic area, where it is analysed from different perspectives and points of view (Zerbi, 2011; Castiglioni, De Marchi, 2009; Dumont, Cerreti, 2009; Castiglioni et al., 2010; Aru et al., 2013). In the variety of the jargons and the approaches that are peculiar to them, all these analysis agree when they point to the same direction, suggesting that the landscape is *a political object*, in the noblest sense of the word (politics as "the government of the polis") and that for this reason it's the crossing where the roads of what is existent and what is yet to come, the forms of associated life which we inhabit and those where we would like to dwell meet (or more often crash). As we will see in the following paragraph, the sensitization, the formation and the education to the landscape acquire, from this point of view, a central role. If it's true what Bas Pedroli and Jan Diek Van Mansel write: "The landscape of today reflects the way society has taken care of the landscape" (Pedroli, Van Mansel, 2006, p. 121), then a very strong bond exists between the perception and the awareness people have, on one hand, of landscapes, and the good practices that are (or that aren't) adopted to safeguard and protect it: "Only personal connection with the landscape can allow people to know their landscape in depth, including its opportunities and threats, and base their actions and activities on knowledge of the landscape in all its complex relationships. Personal commitment or engagement with a specific landscape can guarantee the sustainable development of the old landscapes into new living ones, taking into account the values of the former ones".

3.4 Landscape and systemic connections between human and natural communities

No special clairvoyance powers are needed to understand that the conception of landscape as common good will play a crucial role in the future if the *democratisation of landscape* – i.e. the pursuit of good practices and decisional instruments that permit to democratically face the changes our landscapes are going to meet through the involvement and the active participation of citizens – keeps engaging the analysis of social and territorial science. Nor can it be overlooked the fact that the European Convention, picking up the inheritance of lines of thought that refuse to reduce the landscape to an aesthetic dimension only, defines the landscape "as a key element to social and individual wellbeing" (cfr. again Besse, 2012). In other words, we cannot elude anymore an in-depth study of

the relationship between landscape and welfare, perceptive qualities and beneficial virtues, qualification of emarginated spaces and social wellbeing. We refer thus to social and individual wellbeing connected to the presence on the territory of quality landscapes (Anguillari et al., 2011). The discourse we have followed until now results into the opportunity to reach a unified approach that, starting from the landscape values illustrated in the previous paragraphs, could highlight the characters of interconnection and communication between worlds and dimensions of what is real (among *different* realities but not for this reason *unrelated*, which the landscape participates of and puts into dialogue). At the same time, it will be necessary to evidence the notable political implications of "commonality" that the reckoning of landscape issues has on territory and landscape governance. We are still far from an exhaustive theoretical systematization, but we can already foresee promising fields for the elaboration of ideas and interpretative models. These manifest an opposed trend, though, to that expressed by the recent economical strategies of privatization and commodification of common natural goods (and, more than often, of artificial goods too) adopted in a context of integral environmental reprogramming in function of market interests (Shiva, 1993, Goldman, 1998, Ricoveri, 2013). In order to build the "sustainable future" that we need instead (cfr. Spangenberg, 1996), we necessitate of theories and practices *to return to the territory and to the landscape*. In these practices we could and we should build again those material basis and social relations that can foster a new "metabolic civilization", which results from bringing into play co-evolutive relationships between human settlements and environment (Magnaghi, 2013). This civilization model should be configured as a reasonable answer to present difficulties and to the structural character of the current crisis. Considerable opportunities could rise from the maturation of more "inclusive" approaches in our way of conceiving and transforming the non-human world. Since the XIX Century proposals by eminent figures have been formulated, even though they have most often remained isolated – as in the case of George Perkins Marsh (1864) or Elisée Reclus (1905-1908). Recovering these lines of thought we could maybe come out of the dangerous aporias where Illuminist – and intrinsically colonialist and reductionist – models of "nature management" by human societies seem to have stranded (cfr. Torre, 2013).

How could we compose in an equilibrate scenario and converge in a unified perspective both the objective and the subjective components of landscape? How can we avoid that the economical and social use of material and energetic resources conflict with the opportunities of subjective maximization of freedom, autonomy and wellbeing for the living beings (humans and non-humans) that inhabit the Earth? How can we bring back the usage of common natural goods that are essential to living to a social and political perspective of safeguard of the civic rights of the citizens? The unresolved questions and the decisive challenges of

present time are played on numerous tables at a time, and it is necessary to develop and compose them in more games, at the same time socio–ecological, intercultural and intersubjective (cfr. Weber, 2013). If we are open to these new study and investigating horizons, we could give substantial contributions to the recent and contemporary debates that aim to transcend the traditional epistemological dualism that has unduly separated for too much time history and human communities on one hand and nature and ecological communities on the other (cfr. O'Connor, 1999, Moore, 2011 or also Bookchin, 1982). We could then play our part as geographers to escort, and, for what is possible, solicit, change processes that aim to solve the systemic crisis that are acting in today's world.

4. RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES: THE ESSAYS CONTAINED IN THIS VOLUME

The two conceptual categories of landscape as "mediator" and as "common good", in the different meanings that we have examined above, are the scenario of this volume and intersect in the essays that compose it. The arguments of the contributions can vary, from theoretical insights to applications and analysis of particular types of landscape, from field research in direct contact with the population to reflections on the practice of use of the various instruments. In these essays therefore we can find good examples of how, if we put the landscape and territorial issues at the centre of our considerations, we can trace constructive paths for the interpretation and the governance in the actual crisis phase.

Advancing and going deeper inside the reflection on landscape as a common good, Fabio Parascandolo and Marcello Tanca's essay tends to outline the pros and cons of this definition. In the first place, the visual-only conception of the landscape as a background scenario in people's life seems to draw the most criticism. This way we can see the paradoxical divarication that shows how the more the landscape experience, confined in a passive contemplation of the world, becomes unproblematic, the more many of today's forms of territorialisation seem to be characterized by forms of appropriation (privatization and commodification) of space. To get out of this impasse it can be useful to re-think the landscape as a common good in metabolic terms, i.e. as the product of material and immaterial practices that satisfy human needs, preserving at the same time the metabolic fitness of the natural world.

Yves Luginbühl's and Theano S. Terkenley's essays deal both with the theme of the relationship between landscape and "crisis", under two different perspectives. The first one historically interprets the great crisis of the past (political, ecological, demographical) and attributes to them some epochal changes both in the physical landscape as in the cultural models that read and interpret it. Even in today's

crisis, which is also proposing epochal changes, we can recognize the presence of different landscape models: among these, the "daily life" landscape proposed by the European Landscape Convention – even with the risks that it may contain – can be an instrument to anchor to the territory the great challenges posed by the crisis itself.

Theano S. Terkenly's essay reflects about the relationship between landscape – in its immaterial dimension – and quality of life and analyses the "crisis landscape", focusing especially on the Greek case. There, the current economical and financial crisis is producing important changes: on one hand, forms of land exploitation without a long time strategy and in the prospect of a mere commodification of the territory are developing – and the author underlines the risks hidden in this option. On the other hand, the necessity of more sustainable development models is deeply felt, and the conservation of the landscape for a higher quality tourism can also help to find a sense of balance and spiritual values in it that favour a deeper sense of well-being. The strategy to promote these opportunities is based, according to Terkenly, on an integrated approach to the landscape, and a more widespread awareness.

Salvo Torre and Gennaro Avallone's essay centres on the problems of landscape safeguard in Italy, a country where hundreds of conflicts between local committees and associations and the central government or other authorities have taken place. The recurring occasion for these contrasts is, in a way or another, the edification of new infrastructures in the territory. The local communities involved often oppose this change, for reasons that can vary, but among which dangers for local health, opposition to the excessive soil consumption and worries for the worsening of the quality of life predominate. The authors make use of interpretative instruments that had already been designed for other areas of the South of the world by post-colonial studies. The association is considered plausible; more so if we keep in mind the strong private interests at stake (sometimes also involving criminal organizations, as in the case of hazardous waste dumps). They notice cases of suspension of popular control on the choices of environmental transformations. Some communities and local administrations in fact have suffered a kind of territorial militarization, so that they have been deprived of the possibility of deciding on the destiny of the areas where the infrastructures should be built, areas that were deemed "strategic" by government decisions. Torre and Avallone detect in these processes the occurrence of a crawling socio-political transition, which shows a crisis of democratic practices.

Serge Briffaud and Viviana Ferrario deal with energy landscapes and – presenting the results of an international research project on "hydroelectric landscapes" – propose to give landscape a "mediator" role in the process of energetic transition, in order to "conceive the project of the development of renewable energies in a more democratic context" and "integrate more effectively

the development of renewable energies in the territory project". The instrument of the «scénario paysagére» shows how the complex relations that hydroelectric energy has interlaced since the XIX Century with other activities and dynamics in mountain areas (forests, agriculture, tourism; protection of natural areas; management of the water resource) can come to light and be communicated, and it's a chance to re-think the actual energy transition in a "territorial" and democratic key.

Dimitra N. Zygra and John Sayas are also interested, like Terkenly, in touristic uses of the landscape, but they focus more specifically on the topic of second houses of temporary occupation. In Southern Europe, Greece has been maintaining for a long time an exemplary role in the development of gated communities, especially with touristic purposes. This is even more certain if we refer to the intensively globalized economical context of this country, where the forms of seasonal living proposed in areas affected by elevated numbers of visitors are centred on "picturesque" landscape schemes. The real world of these places is continuously reinterpreted according to consumerist models of fruition of living spaces. The constitution of a fragmentary and iconic imaginary is thus privileged, while the touristic landscape itself, with all its peculiar annexes (natural environmental of high visual quality, shopping malls and leisure infrastructures) eventually becomes another high profit commodity for those who sell it. Conspicuous socio-spatial problems derivate nonetheless right from the overwhelming irruption of a model of space utilization that can be accessed by paying clients only.

Guido Lucarno, Raffaela Gabriella Rizzo and Gian Paolo Scaratti describe in their essay some urbanized areas in Milan province, focusing their attention on the important role played in these places by the building of a railway (the building of a motorway is also on the way). These projects imply notable consequences on the collective value of specific portions of land, in function of the forecasted and realized transformations. This happens in the shared perception of the population, but it also implies inevitable effects on the market value of the portions of land affected. The authors have dealt with the forms of alteration, in most cases irreversible, of these landscapes (originally agricultural). This phenomenon can be connected with other trends of territorial and landscape deterioration, like the consumption of natural soil and its impermeabilization. The processes are observed in relation to other two case studies, where the inefficiencies and the limits of a project approach that didn't take into account the environmental complexity of the territory emerged, generating social issues related with the abandonment of the places that had been transformed.

Cristina Mattiucci's essay focuses on the relationship between population and landscape, and explores widely the importance of knowing the perceptions of the local communities about their territories and how they attribute value to them. Using her fieldwork in a Trentino village as a reference, the author offers to the reader the

instrument of the "kaleidoscope" – a sort of composition of different landscapes taken in consideration because of their physical aspect and the meanings attributed to them – in order to represent the polyhedral array of stares and propose for discussion the several facets of local landscape, with special attention to daily life landscapes and to the role practices can play in their perception. The instrument is also recommended for its utility whenever the analysis of the perceptions of a territory are inserted in a process of territorial planning: this way, the landscape itself becomes an instrument that enables to raise and discuss the most relevant issues and put the planner's proposals to test.

Benedetta Castiglioni, Alessia de Nardi, Viviana Ferrario, Chrysafina Geronta and Chiara Quaglia's essay also refers to a fieldwork about landscape perception, and examines the landscape representations of the living space for a small sample of people in Vigorovea, a little village near Padua, in the North-East of Italy. The visual characteristics of the places as well as the corresponding qualitative judgements have been emphasized. At the same time, investigations have revealed various types of living experiences that had deposited there, and that those places transmitted. They were analysed paying a special attention to their affective dimension and to the population's emotional attachment to them. This centre is in fact rather anonymous: an area like many others, characterized by an intense urban sprawl, forming part of an ordinary suburbia in the widespread and extensive conurbations of Northern Italy. Nevertheless, the authors have proved the great importance in identity terms of daily life places for the local population, especially those where collective frequentation is most intense (independently from the juridical state of these areas, public or private, and despite the scarce relevance of "strong" and quality landscape signs that could somehow include them in the category of cultural heritage). Working on a variety of acquisitions perfected and legitimated by the institutional acknowledgement of the European Landscape Convention, the authors make reference to categories elaborated back then by the Italian geographer Eugenio Turri, and reinterpret them while they investigate on controversial aspects of the aesthetic and experiential transformation of urban and periurban contemporary landscape.

The role of landscape representation is the object of Monica Meini and Diana Ciliberti's contribution. They take a special interest in the photography issue, making reference to rural landscape in Molise. Combining in an original way the question of touristic development in rural areas and its sustainability with how landscape photography should be used, Meini and Ciliberti offer the first results of a fieldwork aimed at confronting photographic representations with the auto-representations made by local communities and the symbolic readings of the landscape produced by tourists. Apart from the specific results of their investigation, which highlight the differences in cognitive representations when these are performed by different social actors, the methodology they used could

open a new path for the "realization of an innovative platform of image sharing", aimed at "integrated and sustainable actions for the development of the territory".

Lastly, Sandra Parvu's work is similar, in its approach, to Meini and Ciliberti's, but it is more concerned with drawing and how to use drawing in landscape representation, focusing on architecture landscape and taking advantage of some professionals practice in France. The author develops her investigation starting with some interesting considerations on the role of the images and the modalities of their construction, apart from the knowledge and understanding of the landscapes that generate from them. Drawing images seems more appropriate than maps and technical representations in those processes where the "mobilization" of the actors around a common project is requested. In any case, the contribution suggests a precise consideration on the way landscape representations are used, now and in the past, making special reference to their value for political power, even in the contexts of more recent democratization and participation practices.

We are especially grateful to Kenneth Olwig for his relevant contribution to this volume, in all its phases: for taking part actively as a discussant during the conference session in Rome where the book was conceived, for the advice he gave us during the planning of the publication, and most of all for the conclusive notes that end this volume. In those notes we can find a critical reinterpretation of the relationship between the two main themes of this volume (the landscape as an intermediary and the landscape as a common good) that provide the basis for a new reading of some of the contents of the book, and that contain at the same time some fundamental reference lines that shall be used to identify new investigation issues on the landscape theme.

REFERENCES

ANGUILLARI E., FERRARIO V., GISSI E., LANCERINI E. (eds.), *Paesaggio e benessere*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2011.

ANTELMI D., *Avventure del linguaggio: beni comuni,* in TURCO A. (ed.), *Paesaggio, luogo, ambiente. La configuratività territoriale come bene comune,* Milano, Unicopli, 2014, pp. 45-73.

ARU S., PARASCANDOLO F., TANCA M., VARGIU L., (eds.), *Landscape and democracy*, "Rivista Geografica Italiana", Special Issue, 120, 2013.

BERQUE A., *La pensée paysagère,* Paris, Archibooks + Sautereau Editeur, 2008.

BESSE J.-M., *Tra la geografia e l'etica : il paesaggio e la questione del benessere*, in ARU S., PARASCANDOLO F., TANCA M., VARGIU L. (eds.), *Sguardi sul paesaggio, sguardi sul mondo. Mediterranei a confronto,* Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2012, pp. 47-62.

BIGANDO E., BERCOVITZ R., QUINTIN A., TESSON F., *Everyday landscapes and participations. Landscape as a mediator to involve inhabitants in the decision-making*

process: a singular method implemented in the town of Pau, paper presented at *Colloque international Paysages de la vie quotidienne*, Perpignan-Girona, March 16-18, 2011.

BOBBIO L., ZEPPETELLA A. (eds.), *Perché proprio qui? Grandi opere e opposizioni locali,* Milano, FrancoAngeli, 1999.

BOOKCHIN. M., *The Ecology of Freedom: the emergence and dissolution of Hierarchy*, Cheshire books, Palo Alto, 1982.

BROSSARD T., WIEBER J-C., *Le paysage: trois définitions, un mode d'analyse et de cartographie*, "Espace géographique". 13, 1, 1984, pp. 5-12.

CARESTIATO N., *La comunità di Marano e la sua laguna*, in CACCIARI P., CARESTIATO N., PASSERI D. (eds.), *Viaggio nell'Italia dei beni comuni. Rassegna di gestioni condivise*, Napoli, Marotta & Cafiero, 2012, pp. 66-74.

CASTIGLIONI B., *Paesaggio e sostenibilità: alcuni riferimenti per la valutazione*, in CASTIGLIONI B. e DE MARCHI M. (a cura di), *Paesaggio, sostenibilità, valutazione*, «Quaderni del Dipartimento di Geografia», Padova, n° 24, 2007, pp. 19-42.

CASTIGLIONI B., *Percorsi di landscape literacy. Sensibilizzare e formare*. In PAOLINELLI G. (a cura di) *Habitare. Il paesaggio nei piani territoriali*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2011, pp. 109-118.

CASTIGLIONI B., *La landscape literacy per un paesaggio condiviso*, in "Geotema", n. 47, 2015, pp. 15-27.

CASTIGLIONI B., FERRARIO V., *Dove non c'è paesaggio: indagini nella città diffusa veneta e questioni aperte*, in «Rivista Geografica Italiana», CXIV, 3, 2007, pp. 397-425.

CASTIGLIONI B., DE MARCHI M. (eds.), *Di chi è il paesaggio? La partecipazione degli attori nella individuazione, valutazione e pianificazione,* Padova, Cleup, 2009.

CASTIGLIONI B., DE MARCHI M., FERRARIO V., BIN S., CARESTIATO N., DE NARDI A., *Il paesaggio "democratico" come chiave interpretativa del rapporto tra popolazione e territorio: applicazioni al caso veneto*, "Rivista Geografica Italiana", 117, 2010, pp. 93-126.

DAGOGNET F. (ed.), *Mort du paysage? Philosophie et esthetique du paysage: actes du colloque de Lyon*, Seyssel, Champ Vallon, 1982.

DEMATTEIS G., *Una geografia mentale, come il paesaggio*, in CUSIMANO G., (ed.), *Scritture di paesaggio*, Bologna, Pàtron, 2003, pp. 65-74.

DEMATTEIS G., *La fertile ambiguità del paesaggio geografico*, in ORTALLI G. (ed.), *Le trasformazioni dei paesaggi e il caso veneto*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2010, pp. 151-173.

DE NARDI A., *Il paesaggio come strumento per l'educazione interculturale,* Montebelluna, Museo di Storia Naturale ed Archeologia, 2013.

DONADIEU P., *Sciences du paysage. Entre théories et pratiques*, Paris, Lavoisier, 2012.

DERIOZ P., *L'approche paysagère: un outil polyvalent au service de l'approche opérationnelle et interdisciplinaire des problématiques environ-nementales*, in *1éres Journées scientifiques ARPEnv*, Université de Nîmes, 6 juin, 2008, http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00363625 (ultima consultazione: 6 agosto 2014).

DUMONT I., CERRETI C., *Paesaggio e democrazia*, in SCANU G. (ed.), *Paesaggi e*

sviluppo turistico: Sardegna e altre realtà geografiche a confronto, Roma, Carocci, 2009, pp. 75-96.

FARINELLI F., *L'arguzia del paesaggio,* in ID., *I segni del mondo. Immagine cartografica e discorso geografico in età moderna*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1992, pp. 201-210.

FERRARIO V., *Il paesaggio e il futuro del territorio (osservare e programmare)*, in PAOLINELLI G. (a cura di), *Habitare. Il paesaggio nei piani territoriali*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2011, pp. 159-171.

FORNO F., *Coltivare il bene comune sulle terre dei boss*, in CACCIARI P., CARESTIATO N., PASSERI D. (ed.), *Viaggio nell'Italia dei beni comuni. Rassegna di gestioni condivise*, Napoli, Marotta & Cafiero, 2012, pp. 75-84.

FORTIN M.J., *Le paysage, cadre d'évaluation pour une société réflexive*, in TERRASSON D., BERLAN-DARQUE M., LUGINBÜHL Y. (dir.) *De la connaissance des paysages à l'action paysagère*, Versailles, Éditions Quae, 2007, pp. 223-231;

GOLDMAN M. (ed.), *Privatizing Nature: Political Struggles for the Global Commons*, Pluto Press, London, 1998.

INGEGNOLI V., *Fondamenti di ecologia del paesaggio. Studio dei sistemi di ecosistemi.* Città studi, Milano, 1993.

JOLIVEAU T., Y. MICHELIN e P. BALLESTER, *Eléments et méthodes pour une médiation paysagère*, in WIEBER T. e BROSSARD J.C. (dir.), *Paysage et information géographique,* Paris, Hermes, Lavoisier, 2008, pp. 257-286

LUGINBÜHL Y., *La demande sociale de paysage*, rapport au Conseil national du paysage - séance inaugurale du 28 mai 2001 (http://www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/var/ storage/rapports-publics/014000726/0000.pdf).

LUGINBUHL Y., *Programme de recherche politiques publiques et paysages analyse, evaluation, comparaisons. Synthèse des résultats scientifiques*, CEMAGREF, http:// www.developpement-durable.gouv.fr/IMG/DGALN_synthese_PPP.pdf, 2004 (ultima consultazione 5 agosto 2014).

MAGNAGHI A. (ed.), Il territorio bene comune, FUP, Firenze, 2012.

MARSH G. P., *Man and Nature, or Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action*, Sampson Low, Son and Marston, London, 1864.

MONDADA L., PANESE F., SÖDERSTRÖM O. (eds.), *Paysage et crise de la lisibilité. Actes du colloque international de Lausanne 30 septembre – 2 octobre 1991,* Lausanne, Université de Lausanne, Institut de Geographie, 1992.

MOORE J. W., *Wall Street is a Way* of *Organizing Nature. An interview with Jason Moore*, "Upping the Anti", 12, 47-61, 2011.

O'CONNOR J., *Cos'è la storia ecologica? Perché la storia ecologica?*, "Ecologia Politica CNS", n. 3, settembre-dicembre 1999, anno IX, fasc. 27.

OLWIG K.R., *The practice of landscape 'Conventions' and the just landscape: The case of the European landscape convention*, "Landscape Research", 32, 5, 2007, pp. 579-594.

OSTROM E., *Governing the commons: the evolution of institutions for collective action,* Cambridge, Cambridge University press, 1990.

PALANG H., FRY G. (eds.), *Landscape Interfaces. Cultural heritage in changing, landscapes*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht, 2003.

PEDROLI B., VAN MANSVELT J.D., *Landscape and awareness-raising, training and education*, in *Landscape and sustainable development. Challenges of the European Landscape Convention,* Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg, 2006, pp. 117-140.

RECLUS É., *L'homme et la terre*, Edition Libraire Universelle, Paris : 1905-1908, 6 voll.

RICOVERI G., *Nature for sale: the commons versus commodities*, foreword by Vandana Shiva, Pluto Press, London, 2013.

RISTUCCIA C.A., *Alla ricerca di un buon modello per l'uso delle risorse comuni. Una verifica storica fra* open fields system, *regole ampezzane e partecipanze emiliane,* in OSTROM E., *Governare i beni collettivi*, Venezia, Marsilio, 2006, pp. IX-XXVII.

SETTIS S., *Azione popolare: cittadini per il bene comune*, Torino, Einaudi, 2012.

SETTIS S., *Il paesaggio, bene comune*, "Il Sole 24 ore", 6 ottobre 2013.

SETTIS S., *Paesaggio, Costituzione, Cemento*, Torino, Einaudi, 2010.

SGARD A., *Le paysage dans l'action publique: du patrimoine au bien commun*, "Développement durable et territoires", 1, n. 2, September 2010 (<http://developpementdurable.revues.org/8565>).

SHIVA V., *Monocultures of the Mind: Perspectives on Biodiversity and Biotechnology*, Zed Books, London, 1993.

SPANGENBERG J.H. (ed.), *Towards Sustainable Europe. A Study from the Wuppertal Institute for Friends of the Earth, s*econd edition, Wuppertal, 1996.

TANCA M., *L'essere che non può esser detto, è paesaggio,* in ARU S., PARASCANDOLO F., TANCA M., VARGIU L. (a cura di), *Sguardi sul paesaggio, sguardi sul mondo. Mediterranei a confronto*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2012, pp. 65-70.

TORRE S., *Dominio, natura, democrazia. Comunità umane e comunità ecologiche*, Mimesis, Milano-Udine, 2013.

TUAN Y.F., *Thought and landscape. The Eye and the Mind's Eye*, in MEINIG D, (ed.), *The interpretation of ordinary landscape*, Oxfond University Press, 1979, pp.89-101.

TURCO A., *Paesaggio: pratiche, linguaggi, mondi*, in ID. (a cura di), *Paesaggio: pratiche, linguaggi, mondi*, Reggio Emilia, Diabasis, 2002, pp. 7-49.

TURRI E., *Il paesaggio come teatro. Dal territorio vissuto al territorio rappresentato*, Venezia, Marsilio, 1998.

VETRITTO G., VELO F., *Una lezione per le politiche pubbliche: il governo delle realtà sociali complesse, tra «pubblico» e «privato»*, in OSTROM E., *Governare i beni collettivi*, Venezia, Marsilio, 2006, pp. XXIX-XXXIX.

WEBER A., *Enlivenment: Towards a fundamental shift in the concepts of nature, culture and politics*, Publication Series on Ecology, 1, Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 2013.

WYLIE J.V., *Landscape*, London, Routledge, 2007.

ZERBI M.C., *Paesaggio e democrazia*, in MONTE M., NOBILE P., VITILLO P. (eds.), *Lombardia: politiche e regole per il territorio*, Firenze, Alinea, 2001, pp. 356-364.

IS LANDSCAPE A COMMONS?
PATHS TOWARDS A METABOLIC APPROACH

Fabio Parascandolo, Marcello Tanca[1]

Though the logos is common, the many live as if they had a wisdom of their own.

(Heraclitus, Fragment 2 Diels-Kranz)

L'art, le paysage, le paysan. C'èst en les perdant qu'on les découvre.
(Régis Debray, *Vie et mort de l'image. Une histoire du regard en Occident*, Gallimard, Paris, 1992, cap. VII, p. 263).

1. INTRODUCTION

This essay aims at contributing to the reflection whether it is appropriate to consider the landscape a commons. The first preliminary step is to evaluate whether the landscape and the commons belong to the same area of propositions. The following step is to define the conditions under which the landscape can be identified and enjoyed as a commons. We will then concentrate on the dialectic tension between two types of landscape: the artisan-renewable-biodegradable and the industrial-not renewable-not biodegradable. In the first case, the systemic interactions of the landscape are compatible with the integrity of the biosphere; in the second case, they are not. Finally, we will hold that also in the case of landscape, the commons paradigm facilitates the participation of local communities in its management and in the solution of conflicts over its different destinations.

2. COMMONS AND LANDSCAPE

Let's start from the central question: is the landscape a commons? In this context it is useful to refer to Elinor Ostrom, Nobel Prize for Economics 2009. Ostrom studied systems of natural resources self-organized by small local

---

[1] This essay is the result of a common work of the two authors. However M. Tanca is responsible for the final draft of paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 7; F. Parascandolo, for paragraphs 4, 5, 6. Both authors are responsible for the final paragraph, Conclusions. Translation from Italian by Giovanna Ricoveri.

communities such as fishing areas in Canada, Sri Lanka and Turkey; irrigation systems of Spanish *huerta*; management rules of pasture in the Swiss Alps; hunting reservoirs of American Indians in North America; etc. All these cases – including self-managed collective properties in several Italian regions – are different accordingly to the different local contexts, and yet they are similar in many ways: natural resources are locally determined and limited; the users are largely dependent on them for their sustenance; relations among users are based on trust and reciprocity; the rules of access and withdrawl are decided *directly* by the users without any interference by external authorities on the basis of a *common and shared idea* about the resources management (Ostrom 1990). Ostrom holds that the existence empirically proved of self-organized systems confutes *de facto* the "conventional theory" according to which natural commons are necessarily badly managed in absence of rules coming from outside. To be very precise, what has been confuted is the idea that there are only two ways to avoid the "tragedy of the commons", i.e., the destruction of natural resources because of overexploitation: their privatization or their transformation in public institutions managed by the State. In the first case, a resource becomes exclusive and rival[2], as it belongs to a single subject who can exclude all the others from its fruition (a process similar to that of the enclosures, which enclosed and privatized the English open fields). In the second case, a natural resource becomes "public" and it is therefore managed accordingly to the rules of States' different legal systems. Its *subtractability* (rivalry) will then be low or null, and this means on one side that its fruition by many subjects does not reduce – at least in principle – the access of all the others; on the other side, that the users' pool is greater than that of the subjects whose sustenance depends on it. Being the only proprietor, the State can decide to use the resources in the way it considers more appropriate, and this may not coincide with – or even be contrary to – the goals and the economic activities of local users. The commons are thus a real alternative because they are neither public nor private institutions. Under certain conditions and given certain parameters (as we will see later), the choice of self-organizing can be a virtuous model to reach better results than those obtainable transforming collective resources in public/private goods.

In this context we will go back to the question raised above, whether the landscape can be considered a commons, or a common good in a broad sense. There are at least three reasons suggesting that the landscape and the commons belong to the same field of propositions.

First. The commons are an "open" concept. As stated by the Italian scholar Giovanna Ricoveri, "It is not possible and besides it would be a mistake to define

---

[2] The rivalry of a good (later redefined by Ostrom *subtractability of use*) is as high as its fruition by some reduces the possibility of access of others; it is low, if this possibility is not inhibited. The exclusivity (later redefined by Ostrom *difficulty of excluding potential beneficiaries*) identifies instead the possibility to inhibit or not inhibit access by the users.
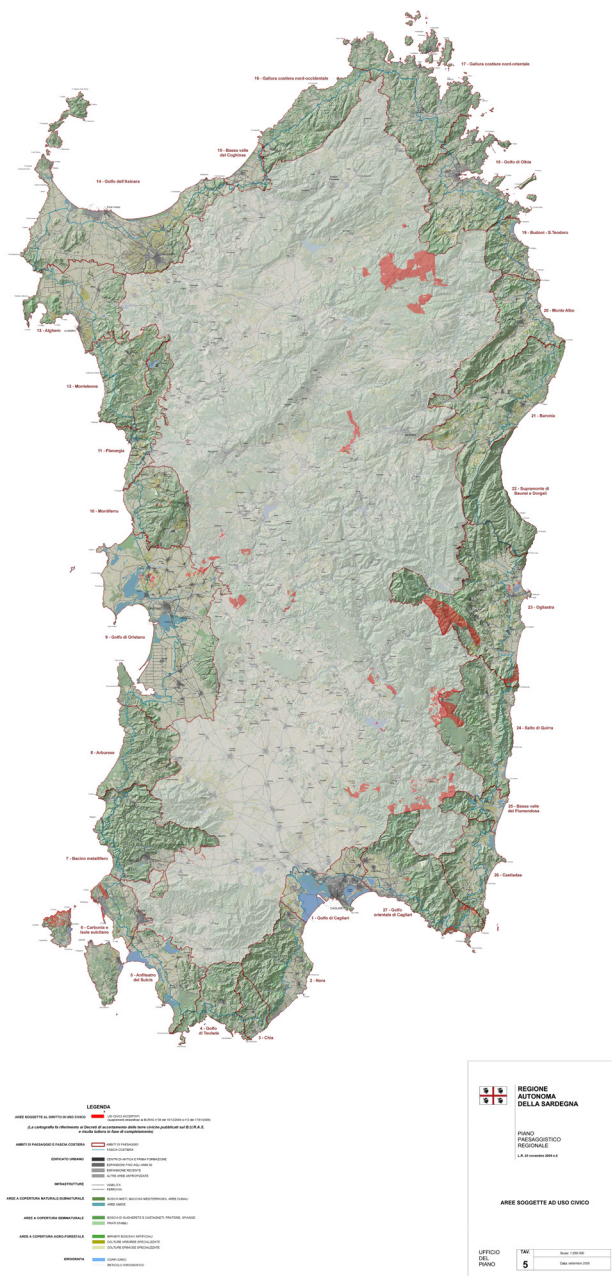
Fig. 1 – Map of Sardinia, Italy: land subject to civil use (*usi civici*) is coloured in red (http:/
www.regione.sardinia.it). The red area only shows the collective property ratified by the
regional government between the years 2005 and 2006. Collective property subject to civil
use – either ratified or not – is far more extensive, and estimated to cover an area equal to
roughly 18-20% of the total Sardinian territory.

the commons precisely and once for all. Their strength and *raison d'etre* depend instead on the specificity of place and the flexibility with which local communities are capable to adapt to change" (Ricoveri, 2013, p. 29). Commons are the result of complex historical processes, and yet the expression "common-pool-resources" detects something changeable, that through time and space can expand and being redefined. In other words the commons phenomenology is inclusive and resilient, and it doesn't object to the inclusion of landscape.

Second. Landscape is polysemous. We think that the landscape is a liquid concept, taking the form of the cognitive, discursive and cultural container in which it is poured. Thus the concept of landscape transmits a plurality of significances as it is witnessed by the ever more frequent use of landscape's metaphors in social sciences as ethnoscapes, foodscapes, deathscapes, warscapes, *paysages de la banalité e du drame*, etc. Nothing prevents us from considering the landscape a commons if we agree that it is capable to associate very different significances and events, taking each time the role of significance and significant – a quality that Franco Farinelli calls *"arguzia del paesaggio"* (landscape wit).

Third. Natural commons – both in their ecological and historical components – are the "raw materials" of the living on the planet earth's metabolism and the cultural identity of the territories. These components – when they manifest in the form of landscape – can be considered commons essential to subsistence of all living organisms, human included.

Landscape is therefore a commons from many different points of view, that change accordingly to the significance given to it (or the "container" in which it is poured).

3. LANDSCAPE AND COMMONS

The relation between possession and fruition of commons, as well as of landscape, is not simple and it requires an approach that doesn't minimize that complexity. The appropriation of landscape can involve heterogeneous subjects and it can be realized in many different modalities, along a scale going from the physical, real propriety of land to the symbolic and emotional identification with localities (Papotti, 2013, p. 380). However the differences among different modalities of appropriation clarify a crucial element. It is true that the private proprietor of the resource land (real property) is the only subject who has the right to decide on the landscape, and yet it is also true that some landscapes are a common property (common to many or to all) that cannot be privatized nor enclosed. To help clarify so complex and articulate problems – having socioeconomic, environmental, aesthetic, legal and political implications – it may be useful to discuss some links of the landscape-commons connection.

The first connection – the most evident – identifies the landscape-commons as a "collective visual asset", a "framework of land", a "panorama", a "*tour d'horizon*", i.e. a *visible object* to look at from outside and from a distance. Going back to its painting and aesthetic origins, this conception assimilates the landscape-commons to a picture or a postcard. The landscape experience, when it is mainly/totally visual, is not particularly problematic: everybody can see the landscape, *therefore* the landscape belongs to everybody. A reflection of this paradigm can be found in the naive realism of veteropositivistic geography, conceived as direct observation of the visible forms of the land (*la physionomie d'une contrée* in Vidal de la Blache) as well as the Italian "Code of cultural goods and landscape"[3], that considers as landscape goods "the panoramic sights and the *belvedere*, accessible to the public, from which to enjoy the view of those sights" (art. 136). Another reflection of that paradigm can be found in the images spread by the mass media (*géographie-spectacle*, Yves Lacoste; *mediascape*, Arjun Appadurai) and propagated through the tourist marketing. In this context it is appropriate to recall what Jean-Marie Miossec said almost forty years ago, that "the tourist space is first of all an image" (Miossec, 1977, p. 55; see Aime, Papotti, 2012, p. 3 and following). This image presents a typical landscape, often a visual stereotype (inflicted more than wanted by the inhabitants of a place). For marketing reasons this stereotype is presented to the potential users as an expression of the more authentic qualities of a territory. It is this stereotype image of landscape, spread by the medias, that becomes part of our collective imaginary as a passive experience, pre-packed, deprived of any surprise and unforeseen event.

But the horizon of the visible doesn't deplete the totality of reality; significances are not all immediately accessible and directly experienced. The mere aesthetic contemplation of landscape might not satisfy us: it is the easier modality of fruition but not the only possible. To overcome these limits, we ought to think the landscape-commons not only as an *imago loci* to admire from a distance. We ought to "go into" this image and see it as the product of material and immaterial practices that through time have given form to the territory. As Kenneth Olwig has affirmed,

> Kings, princes and bishops have long built castles, palaces and cathedrals, and as regents and rulers they have literally 'ruled' their territories, regulating land with lines and graticules imposing the spatial structure of governance. […] But throughout history there has also existed a parallel, bottom-up, form of social and legal organization, based on custom and convention, that has shaped the social and political landscape, and with it the real environments and regions within which people live (Olwig, 2007, p. 592).

---

[3] The Code contains all laws and regulations to defend and improve cultural and landscape assets.

This formulation seems to be coherent with the European Landscape Convention, whose Premise defines landscape "a key element of individual and social well-being", "an important part of the quality of life for people everywhere", "a common resource". A problem we have to deal with today is the crossing out of these virtuous elements by the modernization process, a very *tearing down* of present times – the subject of next paragraphs.

4. CRISIS OF LANDSCAPE, CRISIS OF CIVILIZATION

For a long time the relation between territories and commons has manifested in ancestral forms of government of natural resources for subsistence and organic metabolism with nature. In Italy many of these practices were legally recognized at the end of the eighteen century as *usi civici*, i.e. collective rights given to communities of residents who used local natural resources according to local customs. In 1948, the interest for the defence of the territory and its heritage value was confirmed in a paragraph of art. 9 of the Constitution, which assigned to the Republic the eminent role to protect the landscape. Ever since numerous exponents of the Italian culture stated that knowledge, defence, and improvement of cultural and landscape goods are crucial for the exercise of popular sovereignty. According to Salvatore Settis (2012, p.12, translation ours), "Environment, landscape, and the territory (however defined) are common goods over which we all – individually and collectively – have not only a passive right of fruition but an active right-duty of protection and defence".

Paraphrasing a slogan of the Italian movement for public water, we can say: *write landscape, but read democracy*. How to disagree? Scholars and specialists do agree that landscape ought to be considered as a commons or, better, it is a commons, but what changes if we say so? Experts and lovers of landscapes are only *a part* of the social body, and often they appear powerless to stop the progressive and inexorable deterioration of settlements and territories. In the last decades Italy

has been invaded by a vast process of aesthetic impoverishment worse than in any other country in the world, just because of the richness of its endowment. This phenomenon is under way, and we are at the same time witnesses and victims. The trend is so strong that it looks like a natural catastrophe, an inexplicable, mysterious event [...]. It is undeniable that beauty has been in free fall for quite a while both in the cities and in the countryside. There is no beauty either in high and minor architecture, (while) the beauty created in past centuries is under attack. [Moreover] the exploitation of renown monuments and masterpieces – a phenomenon far from Maecenatism – advances more and more [as well as that of the agrarian and natural landscapes, we want to add] (Prosperi, 2014, translation ours).

Petitio principi of experts regarding the great value of art, nature and landscape are not enough to stop their erosion, nor to contain the increasing *loss of meaning* of social relations with space and nature (see Berque, 1990, pp. 7-8). The point is that the growing environmental degradation and the ugliness and senselessness of our rural and urban landscapes question modern civilization from its roots. The present crisis doesn't concern only aesthetic disfigurements: it manifests in various forms of carelessness and/or aggression of places and their biophysical integrity, reaching in some cases the extreme form of *biocide*[4]. We believe that much can still be done to avoid all this, first of all to deconstruct its evolutionary dynamics and question its foundations.

5. CONDITIONS OF RECOGNIZABILITY OF LANDSCAPES AS COMMONS

Keeping in mind Bernard Debarbieux's later formulations (2007a, 2007b), we will introduce in our approach some basic reflections of Hannah Arendt. This author investigated how the modern human condition has changed vis-à-vis previous historical epochs (Arendt, 1989). In her analysis the distinction between "labor" and "work" plays an essential role, and we will apply it to the territory. To be brief, we will formulate our reasoning as theory propositions.

1. Nature – even in the form of landscape – can be considered a unique commons of which all living organisms are part. It is true however that natural components of reality are not prevalent in social representations. In a world more and more urbanized and dominated by the services industry, natural flows and cycles (from which life still depends) lose relevance in the common feeling.

2. Unlike natural landscapes, those anthropogenic are complex structures constituted by: (a) natural elements or organisms *appropriated by humans*, as they are not spontaneous or "wild" but domesticated (a case widespread on the earth surface is that of agricultural seeds, plants and animals); (b) artificial objects (man made).

3. Concentrating our attention on the nature of artificial objects relevant to landscape, we propose to divide them into two fundamental categories. At the first level there are *artifacts*: various types of utensils or simple machines (lever, wheel axis, screw, wedge, etc.), tools and many kinds of compound objects realized or operated by muscular energy (*labor*), human or animal. At the second level there are *manufactured objects* that we define *works*, whose

_____

[4] Altiero, 2014. To have an idea of the entity of this phenomenon, see specifications in Altiero's article: in 33 member States of the European Environmental Agency the contaminated sites from industrial activities and/or waste disposal are 250,000. Italy has thousands of them, 57 of which classified as SIN (sites of national interest) because of their heavy ecological impact and sanitary risks.

genealogy goes back to the expansionistic evolution of Western modernity. They include complex machines and all objects manufactured at the industrial scale by means of machines. This holds all the more so when the objects are realized and the machines are produced and powered by fossil fuel energy, not renewable. Since the XIX century it is possible to reconstruct the growing trend to disseminate *landscape works* on the earth surface, up to the point of sealing a very large part of metropolitan areas' soils.

4. The metabolic sharing of landscape-commons is strictly related to the fluidity of the metabolic exchange of matter and energy within and through the organisms, the ecosystems and the environmental matrixes of the planetary living. The more the natural original factors are "readable" as landscape components, the greater the metabolic usability of resources and easier to recognize the condition of natural commons in landscapes. Conversely, the presence in landscapes of energies, materials and shaping forces that can be traced back to an artificial logic determines a low decipherability of their metabolic sharing, up to its cancellation.

5. Using Arendt's (1989) categories, we believe that a given landscape can represent a commons in a convincing way, mainly when in that landscape vital activities or metabolic exchanges (i.e., *labor* in Arendt's meaning) are either evident or potentially applicable. This holds true also for *landscape artifacts* that assume the form of "sublimations" and symbols of artistic value. Conversely, the more landscape is determined by human works (especially when these works do not interact or "dialogue" with the metabolic labor), the less relevant will be the feature of landscapes' metabolic sharing. In other words, it is not easy – and perhaps not even *possible* – to consider and identify as *commons* landscapes conceived and realized as *works*, and therefore planned and organized by means of machines which assemble machine products[5]. These functional landscapes are made with motorized machines (fixed of mobile); moreover they are structurally connected to the works of a myriad of other machines (included motor vehicles), in most cases not metabolic with nature because they produce waste which contributes to alter the life-support systems and the biochemical balance of organisms.

---

[5] See Debarbieux (2007a and 2007b). The implications of this approach were already described by Arendt (1989). Arendt explicitly acknowledged the decisive historical break introduced by the spreading of industrial technologies. She thought to be therefore legitimate to ask "[…] whether machines still serve the world and its things, or if, on the contrary, they and the automatic motion of their processes have begun to rule and even destroy world and things" (Arendt, 1989, p. 151). Thus Arendt hints at the theme of overturning the relation between *means* and *goals* (see Galimberti, 1999). We do not want "to demonize" the world of technique but only to question its shortcomings, in order to overcome them. We refer here to the issue of *appropriate technologies*, advanced at first by Ernst Friedrich Schumacher (1973) and more generally to the proposals of Ivan Illich about the convivial conversion of techniques and social organization (see for examples Borremans, 1979).

All this happens as if on the planet two antithetic and mutually exclusive tendencies were at stake. On one side it is going on "business as usual", the conventional process of *privatization and technicalization* tied to the socio-political and techno-scientific paradigm dominant in Western Europe since the XVII century. On the other side it is emerging the opposite logic, that of *re-inclusion and re-vitalization,* oriented to a local, territorial and landscape social action, fulfilling human needs and preserving the metabolic salubrity of the natural world (see Weber, 2013).

This dialectic underlines a structural diversity inside anthropogenic landscapes. The era of climatic instability started off by the global warming shows the *geo*-logic (not anymore only *bio*-logic) role acquired by the human species vis-à-vis the planet. In the wake of Chakrabarty considerations (2009) we will define "anthropocenic" the landscapes mostly or totally *industrial-not renewable-not bio-degradable.* Indeed their systemic retroactions interfere negatively with the metabolic equilibrium of the biosphere. There are also landscapes mostly or totally *artisan-renewable-biodegradable*, that we call "olocenic", because the economic forms and the technical knowledge that shape them are compatible with the metabolic labour of the living nature.

6. LANDSCAPES OF THE ANTHROPOCENE

In modern times the territorial actions of vast masses of private social actors, corporations and institutional subjects have been careless of the metabolic sharing that landscapes may have. The metabolic sharing is like a "rope" interwoven by many "threads" having ecological, aesthetic and ethic bonds. These threads are linked to

> the integrity and salubrity of *the environmental matrixes* (air, water, soil and subsoil), i.e. *the original common resources* from which health, the quality of life and sustenance depend, once it is granted the balanced and widespread access to them and the principle of responsibility between generations (Altiero, 2014, translation and italics ours).

In Italy (and obviously elsewhere) it has happened that certain landscapes have been classified as common goods thanks to laws that have been approved but not enforced. However *very few people have realized it* – also because of the opaque and contradictory Italian legal system – and have therefore changed their spatial, territorial and environmental behaviours. In spite of formal acknowledgment, landscape is far away from being considered and protected as a common good. Accordingly to the requirements of *Vita Activa* (Arendt, 1989), social action is instead conditioned by individual strategies to conquer material success or by

the specular preoccupation to be rejected to the fringes of the social order. In a world where work is exalted through *landscaping* practices (Debarbieux, 2007a, 2007b; see Relph, 1981), the common sense prescribes that majorities, even among stakeholders, do not care for artworks and collective assets: they care – as much as it is possible – to transform what is left in prestigious properties, from which to get a profit.

Accumulation and concentration of private wealth increase together with the decay of many aspects – once shared – of human existence. Examples of what we are saying are the collective fruition of natural goods essential to life or the unselfish contemplation of the world. At the same time, many "environmental services" are often transformed into commodities for "simple souls" (being clear that they ought to be paid for). A systemic crisis is tearing down all that has *public* value, and the crisis is very pervasive because it is embedded in the *chronic unsustainability* of the dominant model of development. The *market society* described by Karl Polanyi (2001) has become a reality on a global scale. Building anthropocenic territories in any part of the world, the market society "privatizes gains and publicises losses", as the old saying goes. In this process of widespread homologation landscapes may have retained, to some extent, the feature of metabolic sharing, which however tends to transform them in *common bad* rather than *common goods.*

7. THE COMMONS: A POSSIBLE PARADIGM TO REGULATE CONFLICTS BETWEEN PRIVATE PROPERTY AND COLLECTIVE FRUITION OF LANDSCAPES

Claude Raffestin says that landscape is the image of a territory that doesn't exist anymore (Raffestin 2005, p. 58), witnessing systems of relations and modes of productions disappeared and substituted by other ones. The Valle d'Aosta's vineyards, for examples, represent "the remnants of an agriculture of the past " that "maintains the material form of the territory of the past". Such reading – that holds everywhere in self-organized systems governing small scale collective resources (civic land, collective rights, etc.) – is all the more desirable also and above all in the case of the landscape-commons. If commons represent *territorial typicalities* strictly linked to the history and the ecological and socio-economic assets of the local *milieux*, then landscapes represent an eco-historical oasis, a socio-spatial discontinuity survived to numberless attempts of removal, as it has happened in the process of capitalist restructuring of agriculture, in the XVII and XVIII centuries. In this oasis we still find the metabolic practices and local knowledge that are the most important presidium to protect biodiversity and territorial balances (Parascandolo, 2005; Aru, Tanca, 2013, for a regional case). The ill-advised cancellation of a good deal of these virtuous practices is in fact responsible for most

of the problems plaguing our territories – from soil consumption and saturation, to hydrogeological instability and environmental degradation of localities.

But the landscape-commons is not only a legacy of the past, a precious archeological exhibit to be preserved. It is not only an asset to protect and transmit to future generations. It can at the same time play a relevant role in the present, inside the existing forms of territorialisation. It is impossible – as Elinor Ostrom explained – to build a general model from empirical cases of self-organized systems because of the vast number of variables to consider, and yet the link between given features of local actors and given features of local resources allows us *to define the building principles of stable institutions for self-management of collective resources* (Ostrom 2000, p. 10). In other words, studying how some local communities avoid "the tragedy of the commons" helps to discover the planning principles that favour the stability in time and space of the common-pool resources institutions. Among these institutions, there is that of landscape.

More precisely, Ostrom summarized these principles as it follows:

1. Clearly defined boundaries. Individuals or households who have rights to withdraw resources units from the CPR (Collective Resource Institution) must be clearly defined, as must the boundaries of the CPR itself.
2. Congruence between appropriation and provision rules, and local conditions. Appropriation rules restricting time, place, technology, and/or quantity of resource units are related to local conditions and to provision rules requiring labour, material and/or money.
3. Collective-choice arrangements. Most individuals affected by the operational rules can participate in modifying the operational rules.
4. Monitoring. Monitors, who actively audit CPR conditions and appropriator behaviour, are accountable to the appropriators or are the appropriators.
5. Graduated sanctions. Appropriators who violate operational rules are likely to be assessed graduated sanctions (depending on the seriousness and context of the offense) by other appropriators, by officials accountable to these appropriators or by both.
6. Conflict-resolution mechanism. Appropriators and their officials have rapid access to low-cost local arenas to resolve conflicts among appropriators or between appropriators and officials.
7. Minimal recognition of rights to organize. The right of appropriators to devise their own institutions are not challenged by external governmental authorities.
8. (For CPR's that are part of larger systems) Nested enterprises. Appropriation, provision, monitoring, enforcement, conflict resolution, and governance activities are organized in multiple layers of nested enterprises.

Those who are aware of the problems of landscape will notice the closeness of these principles with those inspiring the European Landscape Convention, especially where the Convention underlines that "people are given an active role

Fig. 2 – Overview of "Su Monte" (Seneghe, Oristano, Sardinia). "Su Monte" is a local government property of about 900 hectares with wounds and pasture lands subject to civil uses, fully utilized by the local population (Photo by Stefano Flore, http:/www. senegheonline.it).

Fig. 3 – Seneghe Su Monte: a dirt road through the woods (Association of Cultural Tourism S'Archittu, http:/www.atcsarchittu.it).

in decision-making on landscape" (*Explanatory Report*, II, 24) and calls respect for "the aspirations of the public with regard to the landscape features of their surroundings" (Chapter I – Article 1). What these two positions share is most of all the auspice to remove the supremacy of the market in the transformation of landscape and give it back to local communities and actors, favouring the formation-conservation of what Olwig calls "the Just Landscape", i.e. a landscape thought as "Regional *Res Publica*" (Olwig, 2007, pp. 584-586). In short, what is at stake here is to forecast and solve potential conflicts between proprietorship and fruition of landscape through consultation, sharing of experiences, goals and rules, and the participation of local actors in the decision making regarding their life's landscapes. The main goal, i.e. shared rules and definitions on which to build research and action, finds in the landscape a flexible tool allowing to speak of the territory and to make the territory speak (see Castiglioni, Varotto, 2013. p.16, on the experience of landscapes observatories in the Venetian Region, Italy).

8. CONCLUSIONS

We are in a very delicate period of the world history in which many knots of human actions – especially those of modern times – will sooner or later find us out, so to say. The destruction brought about by the socio-economic systems devouring common goods indispensable to survival can determine future scenarios where some species or civilizations will not be allowed to participate to the play of reality as they have proved inadequate to adjust to the rules of the natural system of which they are guests. In a planet with not unlimited resources to absorb the anti-metabolic stress, it is legitimate to think that also *Homo tecnologicus* will be unable to escape to the behaviour's principles of the living systems (see Motesharrey et al., 2014). In this context, which role can the landscape play, or more precisely, the landscape to which has been recognized the status of commons? To sum up, we can list some key points that are not a conclusion but a point of departure for other future reflections.

First. Landscape-commons is *in primis* an artisan-renewable-biodegradable landscape or, to use the terminology of John Brinckerhoff Jackson, a *Vernacular Landscape,* built "from below", whose history is an integral part of the history of the territory. It is sinanthropic, i.e., it represents the product of local knowledge, practices and techniques of a locality, which respect the natural metabolism of the earth and the environmental systems in their hydrogeomorphologic, climatic and biological components.

Second. Landscape is as the more a commons as much it is irreducible both to the public (State) and the private perspective. Once recognized the right of local communities and actors to manage it accordingly to shared rules, landscape cannot

be subdivided, given up to others nor alienated by the State. Its value cannot be measured by market's rules.

Third. Landscape-commons is first of all a *common idea*. Its profile is the historical product of techniques and popular knowledge passed on from one generation to the other (and it could return to be so in the future). Its management follows shared rules decided by the local communities, not imposed nor questioned but accepted and recognized by national, regional and local governments, based on procedures of local empowerment.

To recover and reinforce the concept of landscape as commons means to think that the centralized, economistic and liberal logic is not inevitable. In a systemic and not reductionist vision of globalization, landscapes and territories may become once again commons (Magnaghi, 2014) – *living subjects of high complexity*, whose inhabitants tend to employ and self-manage sustainable techniques "to live in peace with the planet" (Shiva, 2013). We know that the dominant value system doesn't consider landscapes and territories as commons: by all means, its priorities are others. Nevertheless, it is this change of paradigm that we need, in order to come out from the anthropocenic blind alley in which we are now.

REFERENCES

AIME M., PAPOTTI D., *L'altro e l'altrove. Antropologia, geografia e turismo*, Torino, Einaudi, 2012.

ALTIERO S., *Biocidio: soggetti e paradigmi sottotraccia in Europa*, "CNS - Ecologia Politica"*,* nuova serie, n. 4, 29 maggio 2014 (<http://www.ecologiapolitica.org/wordpress/?p=781>).

ARENDT H., *The Human Condition,* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1989 (1958).

ARU S., TANCA M., *Discorso, testo e narrazione nella rappresentazione del paesaggio. Il piano paesaggistico sardo*, "Rivista Geografica Italiana", 120, 2013, pp. 363-378.

BERQUE A., *Médiance. De milieux en paysages*, Montpellier, GIP Reclus, 1990.

BORREMANS V., *Guide to convivial tools*, New York, Library Journal, 1979.

CASTIGLIONI B., VAROTTO M., *Paesaggio e osservatori locali. L'esperienza del Canale di Brenta,* Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2013.

CHAKRABARTY D., *The Climate of History: Four Theses*, "Critical Inquiry", n. 35, winter 2009.

DEBARBIEUX B., *Actualité politique du paysage*, "Revue de géographie alpine", 95-4, 2007a, pp. 101-114.

ID., *The Political Meaning of Landscape through the Lens Of Hannah Arendt's Human Condition*, in Jeff Malpas (ed.), *The Place of Landscape: Concept, Context, Studies*, Cambridge, Ma., MIT Press, 2007b.

FARINELLI F., *L'arguzia del paesaggio*, "Casabella", 575-576, 1991.

GALIMBERTI U., *Psiche e techne. L'uomo nell'età della tecnica*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 1999.

MAGNAGHI A. (ed.), *Il territorio bene comune*, Firenze, Firenze University Press, 2012.

MIOSSEC J.-M., *L'image touristique comme introduction à la géographie du tourisme,* "Annales de Géographie", LXXXVI, 1977, pp. 55-70.

MOTESHARREI S., RIVAS J., KALNAY E., *Human and Nature Dynamics (HANDY): Modelling Inequality and Use of Resources in the Collapse or Sustainability of Societies*, "Ecological Economics", Vol. 101, 2014, pp. 90-102.

OLWIG K., *The Practice of Landscape 'Conventions' and the Just Landscape. The Case of the European Landscape Convention,* "Landscape Research", 32, 5, 2007, pp. 579-594.

OSTROM E., *Governing the commons: the evolution of institutions for collective action,* Cambridge [etc.], Cambridge University Press, 1990.

PAPOTTI D., *Guardare un paesaggio è già possederlo? La "democrazia del paesaggio" fra mobilità globale, immigrazione e localismi identitari,* "Rivista geografica italiana", 120, 2013, pp. 379-395.

PARASCANDOLO F., *Sopravvivenze e potenzialità. L'esperienza della Sardegna*, in G. Ricoveri (ed.), *Beni comuni fra tradizione e futuro*, "CNS-Ecologia Politica", Quaderno n. 1, Bologna, EMI, 2005.

POLANYI K., *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1944 [reprinted: Boston, Beacon Press, 2001].

PROSPERI A., *La bellezza incivile*, "Il Manifesto" (cultura), 04.07.2014.

RAFFESTIN C., *Dalla nostalgia del territorio al desiderio di paesaggio. Elementi per una teoria del paesaggio*, Firenze, Alinea, 2005.

RICOVERI G., *Nature for Sale. The Commons Versus Commodities,* Preface by Vandana Shiva, London, Pluto Press, 2013.

RELPH E., *Rational landscape and humanistic geography*, London, Croom Helm, 1981.

SCHUMACHER E.F., *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered,* New York, Harper Perennial, 2010.

SETTIS S., *Contro il degrado civile. Paesaggio e democrazia*, Napoli, La scuola di Pitagora, 2012.

SHIVA V., *Making Peace with the Earth*, London, Pluto Press, 2013.

WEBER A., *Enlivenment. Towards a Fundamental Shift in the Concepts of Nature, Culture and Politics*, Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Publication series Ecology, Vol. 31, 2013 (<http://www.boell.de/en/2013/02/01/enlivenment-towards-fundamental-shift-concepts-nature-culture-and-politics>).

ABSTRACT

Is landscape a commons? And if it is, is it like air, water, earth and all those shared resources which we habitually manage (such as woods and pastures) and which we normally classify as 'civic use' or 'collective property'? We use the term commons with reference

to Elinor Ostrom's theories of an alternative paradigm to the neoliberalist model, where small-scale shared resources are viewed as a valuable set of goods which are not traded commodities, and are neither exclusive nor in competition with one another.

We speculate here that there are at least three good reasons to consider landscape as a commons.

Firstly, because, as noted by the Italian scholar Giovanna Ricoveri, there is no single definition of commons. Rather, such notion is heuristically fertile, owing to its ability to intersect a wide range of meanings and variables in time and space.

A second reason is deeply rooted in landscape polysemy. This may be called a liquid concept as it shifts shape depending on the cognitive, discursive and cultural vessel into which it is poured, and may thus carry multiple meanings. As a result, there is not one, but numerous senses to landscape-commons, which shift and vary on the basis of superimposed signifieds (or 'vessels' into which we pour it).

Finally, the commons – with their ecological and historical components – form the 'raw matter' essential for the metabolism of all organic life and for the conservation of human cultural and territorial identity. Consequently, when such components appear as landscape, we may consider them as commons which all living beings need, including humans.

Landscape is a commons in many-fold senses. Its most obvious definition identifies it as a 'collective visual asset', 'framework of land', 'panorama', *'tour d'horizon'* and so on, that is to say, as a visible object which can be observed externally and at a distance by anyone. In other words, landscape belongs to anyone and everyone. The main limitation of such a tenet (as spread by the media and holiday marketing) is that it equates landscape to a postcard, thereby turning our experience of it into a selective, static, passive and external one.

In order to overcome such limitations we must think of landscape not just as an imago loci, but rather 'enter it' and look at it as the product of material and non-material practises, which, in time, have come to shape the territory. Thus landscape is an integral part of a historic-environmental, territorial heritage, and, as such, it is a 'commons' to be protected and looked after, so as to preserve the collective memory of the past, as well as the historical identity of the places.

It is also true, however, that all natural landscape components which have not, as it were, been 'reprogrammed' are not always necessarily dominant in social representations. It is indeed the dearth of natural contexts, coupled with privatization and diminished dwellers' contribution, which has led us to raise the question of landscape as either a recognisable or not-recognisable commons. Following on some of Hannah Arendt's theories (further developed by Bernard Debarbieux), we identify two opposite poles whereby we may acknowledge landscapes as commons: a 'renewable' landscape and a predominantly 'industrial' one.

The former is based on metabolic labor between human beings and nature (sharing common traits with John Brinckerhoff Jackson's Vernacular Landscape). It links the conservation of sustainable biological systems as well as horizontal, self-sufficient social practises.

The latter is a sort of 'grade zero', where the intertwines of landscape are virtually all artificialised by human work as they are modelled by machinery (which usually is not compatible with the integrity of life metabolism on earth).

Landscape is a 'common resource', as it is not simply a beautiful view to be admired or the product of territorial practises from a more or less recent past. It is primarily a common resource for it can function as precious intermediary between a territory and its people. In other words, when a community responsibly takes charge of it, landscape is, or can be taken as commons. Upon the auspices of the European Landscape Convention, it is vital that local communities be actively involved in and collaborate with landscape governance. We must therefore look at those local communities who are actively working towards a locally developed reappropriation of both land and common resources as well as the recovery of self-centered, endogenous territorialization.

LE PAYSAGE EN TEMPS DE CRISE

Yves Luginbühl

L'histoire du paysage est jalonnée de crises politiques, économiques, sociales, écologiques, mais aussi esthétiques qui ont modifié leur matérialité mais aussi leurs représentations sociales : chaque crise redéfinit le sens du paysage en même temps qu'elle contribue à des transformations profondes du paysage matériel. C'est un processus d'interaction qui se manifeste par une action de nouvelles formes d'activités sociales et en retour des changements dans les manières de penser le paysage par les sociétés européennes. Trois crises ont fortement marqué l'histoire des paysages : la crise de la fin du Moyen Âge, celle de la fin du 18ème siècle et la crise actuelle, qui a commencé à la fin du 20ème siècle et se prolonge au début du 21ème siècle.

Chaque crise se manifeste tout d'abord par une dégradation de l'équilibre des ressources qui tendent à s'épuiser dans le contexte du système économique en cours : c'est la phase de déclenchement. La crise atteint une phase critique où les sociétés sont désemparées et cherchent des solutions pour remédier à la situation de crise. C'est lors de la phase d'ajustement que ces solutions émergent : ajustement signifie que les sociétés ajustent à la fois leur système économique et social mais aussi leurs politiques et procèdent ainsi à des modifications de leurs institutions. Le terme d'ajustement est préféré ici à adaptation qui signifie que ce sont les sociétés qui s'adaptent à un état des ressources naturelles, comme si la nature leur dictait sa loi, ce qui n'est pas le cas. Ici également, il s'agit d'un processus d'interaction entre les processus naturels et les processus sociaux. Après cet ajustement social, économique, politique et sans doute écologique pour la crise actuelle, le processus revient à un nouvel équilibre qui sera éventuellement remis en cause par une nouvelle crise. Ce processus illustre la courbe du temps historique qui n'est plus un temps régulier comme le mécanisme d'une horloge, tel que l'on l'a pensé longtemps, mais fait de ruptures, de chaos, d'accélérations et de reculs (Luginbühl, 2012).

1. LA CRISE DE LA FIN DU MOYEN ÂGE

La crise de la fin du Moyen-Âge a été souvent décrite comme une crise sanitaire due à l'arrivée de la peste noire en Europe à partir du Moyen Orient par les bateaux commerciaux déchargeant leurs marchandises dans les ports européens de la Méditerranée comme Pise ou Marseille. Il est indéniable que la peste a joué un rôle essentiel, mais d'autres facteurs sont intervenus dans le déclenchement de cette crise, révélant ainsi que toute crise peut être complexe, due à la convergence de plusieurs processus concomitants. La peste arrive en 1348 à Pise et Marseille alors que d'autres facteurs ont déjà commencé à détérioré la situation économique et sociale des sociétés européennes: dès les années 1320, une péjoration climatique apparaît avec des étés pluvieux et froids, des récoltes qui pourrissent sur place et les premiers signes d'une situation sanitaire déplorable (Duby e Wallon, 1976). Mais avant même le début du 14ème siècle, le système économique médiéval était à bout de souffle : la priorité donnée aux cultures de céréales (blé, seigle, orge surtout) contribuait à une faible production animale et donc de protéines qui occupaient une place très restreinte dans l'alimentation humaine. L'élevage était en quelque sorte un sous-produit des cultures, les animaux se nourrissant des résidus des récoltes (vaine pâture) et des rares prairies naturelles[1] et en particulier des herbages des terres communes, symbole du système féodal.

La forte croissance démographique du 13ème siècle avait poussé les paysans à défricher plus de terres pour produire du blé, aux dépens des espaces herbagers naturels et la production animale avait chuté dans les dernières années du siècle et au début du suivant. Les populations n'avaient donc accès qu'à une faible part de protéines dans l'alimentation qui restait essentiellement composée de céréales panifiables, de bouillies ou de soupes dans lesquels on pouvait ajouter parfois un peu de viande de porc[2]. C'est donc sur une population mal nourrie que la peste s'abat au milieu du 14ème siècle, produisant un effondrement démographique spectaculaire en un temps record en Europe. Plusieurs grandes villes perdent 50% de leur population en quelques mois, 1300 villages anglais disparaissent, le développement s'arrête brusquement.

Bien évidemment, cette situation n'est pas homogène en Europe et doit être nuancée : quelques régions restent à l'écart de la peste, mais d'une manière générale, les sociétés européennes sont lourdement affectées par la crise. Il faudra environ un siècle de tâtonnements et d'efforts pour que le retour à une meilleure situation se fasse jour.

---

[1] On ne connaît pas encore les prairies artificielles.

[2] La viande de porc est la seule qui puisse se conserver grâce à la salaison et les viandes de bœuf ou de mouton ne sont que très rarement consommées; le bœuf, en particulier est plutôt réservé à un usage de traction et non pour l'alimentation.

Commence alors la phase d'ajustement : alors que les agronomes prônent le développement de l'élevage (Pietro de Crescenzi, Alamani, Olivier de Serres…), les premiers signes de cet ajustement apparaissent en Angleterre avec la naissance des enclosures, signes précurseurs du libéralisme économique, c'est-à-dire la privatisation des terres collectives, les « commons » réservés aux communautés paysannes. C'est la Renaissance, qui porte bien son nom, comme une nouvelle ère, différente à bien des égards de la féodalité classique antérieure. Tout d'abord par les progrès de l'élevage spéculatif, grâce aux investissements des grandes familles aristocratiques et bourgeoises (naissance du capitalisme) autant en Europe du nord qu'en Europe du sud, comme en Italie où des familles patriciennes se livrent à une agriculture spéculative donnant une forte place à l'élevage : élevage bovin en Lombardie, favorisée par les Sforza, ou élevage ovin en Toscane aux mains des Médicis qui font pratiquer la transhumance sur de longues distances, des Pouilles aux Abruzzes.

En même temps, une forme de centralisme étatique, variable selon les pays, apparaît, révélant les alliances entre grandes familles capitalistes avec les banquiers qui favorisent un commerce international intense. Commence une nouvelle phase de croissance qui s'arrêtera au 17ème siècle avec une nouvelle période de péjoration climatique grave[3] qui se poursuit jusque vers le début du 19ème siècle.

La phase d'ajustement doit être soulignée par rapport au sujet du colloque, c'est-à-dire la question du paysage. C'est en effet à cette période de la Renaissance qu'apparaissent les premiers termes équivalents au mot « paysage » : le « lantscap » flamand apparaît en 1462, renvoyant en réalité à trois sens : la petite région, le point de vue sur un territoire et le « vette lantscap », littéralement « pays gras », c'est-à-dire pays d'abondance. Ce terme est peut-être dérivé de Landschaft, associant Land (pays) à Schaft (communauté) et à la gouvernance d'un district en référence au droit coutumier, tel qu'il était pratiqué dans les frises hollandaises, allemandes et danoises en bordure de la mer du nord. Dans cette région de marais maritimes, les communautés paysannes pratiquaient l'édification des « terpens », sorte de collines artificielles construites par les hommes par entassement de terres extraites des marais pour se mettre à l'abri des marées (Lebecq, 1980). Ces communautés paysannes, assez limitées démographiquement, géraient leurs territoires indépendamment des seigneurs féodaux.

Le terme « lantscap » est équivalent à la traduction du latin « clima », qui signifie contrée ou petite région, lui-même dérivé du terme grec κλίμα (climatos) signifiant inclinaison de la voûte du ciel ou terrain incliné. L'apparition de ce mot correspond à une période d'intense remaniement du territoire flamand, vaste projet territorial qui met en œuvre le « Vette Lantscap », pays « gras » ou pays d'abondance. Le terme apparaît lorsque les Pays-Bas s'engagent dans un vaste

---

[3] Le « petit âge glaciaire » qui contribuera à une nouvelle crise sociale et de conflits politiques et guerriers mais reposant sur les même principes de la féodalité.

projet territorial d'aménagement des marais maritimes en développant le système des polders, plus efficaces que les terpens. L'objectif est tout d'abord d'accroître le territoire du petit pays, restreint dans son extension par la mer et en particulier par le Zuyder Zee qui occupe la partie centrale du territoire national. La technique des ingénieurs hollandais dans la construction des polders est réputée, puisque d'autres pays font appel à eux pour coloniser des marais comme en France (marais poitevin). Il s'agit d'exonder des terres régulièrement envahies par la mer pour les rendre productives. Mais les sols sont salés et il faut apporter de l'eau douce pour réduire la salinité, depuis la Moselle ou le Rhin. La première production possible est celle des herbages naturels qui permettent de développer l'élevage.

C'est ainsi que la Hollande devient le premier pays producteur de bovins, donc de viande et de lait ou de fromages. En même temps, le pays maîtrise la mer et conforte sa puissance économique. Pour atteindre cet objectif, le gouvernement fait appel à de nombreux ouvriers étrangers, en particulier des menuisiers et maçon italiens, spécialisés dans la maçonnerie ou la menuiserie pour construire les canaux ou les moulins qui permettent d'extraire l'eau des marais par pompage et de la renvoyer dans la mer, au-delà des digues édifiées pour protéger les nouveaux territoires conquis sur la mer du nord. Tous ces travaux sont réalisés grâce à des investissements des banquiers d'Amsterdam notamment et par l'établissement de réseaux de transport sur les canaux, permettant non seulement aux habitants et paysans d'accéder à leurs champs et aussi de déplacer les animaux ou de transporter le fourrage (Mitchell, 2002).

Cette politique s'appuie sur des campagnes de communication à l'aide d'images du pays qui valorisent la colonisation maritime, les « dunescapes » où, bien souvent les vaches apparaissent au milieu des herbages. La vache devient le symbole du pays, souvent représenté dans les cachets de cire qui scellent les textes officiels (Jensen Adams, 2002). La représentation du nouveau paysage fait resurgir les modèles paysagers empruntés à l'Antiquité ou à la Bible, comme le modèle pastoral ou bucolique: Le Psaume 23, Cantique de David fait référence aux herbages : *« L'Eternel est mon berger : je ne manquerai de rien. Il me fait reposer dans de verts pâturages, Il me dirige près des eaux paisibles. Il restaure mon âme, Il me conduit dans les sentiers de la justice, A cause de son nom. ».* A ce modèle pastoral s'ajoute le modèle du pays de cocagne qui symbolise l'abondance des fruits de la nature, tant souhaitée par les populations européennes et qui avaient cru l'atteindre avant la crise.

D'autres exemples en Europe peuvent être cités : en Italie, le projet de Cristoforo Sabbadino du 16ème siècle permet à la République Vénitienne d'engager de profonds aménagements du territoire pour fournir le bois nécessaire à l'extension de la ville dans sa lagune et à la construction des navires et galères de sa marine commerciale et militaire après la victoire de la flotte sur les Ottomans à la bataille de Lépante ; mais également de développer l'agriculture dans la plaine du Po tout

en diminuant les risques d'inondation à l'automne et au printemps lorsque les eaux de la Brenta ou des rivières descendant des Dolomites renforcent celles du fleuve et submergent les cultures (Concina, 1992).

En Lombardie et Toscane, les grandes familles patriciennes (Sforza, Médicis…) engagent des projets d'aménagement de la plaine du Po ou de développement de l'agriculture toscane notamment en favorisant l'élevage spéculatif transhumant. En Lombardie, l'édification des « marcite », canaux permettant l'irrigation de la plaine avec l'eau de la nappe phréatique contribue au développement de l'élevage bovin grâce à l'extension des prairies.

En Angleterre, le développement des enclosures privées qui avait débuté au 13ème siècle se poursuit à un rythme plus élevé et se poursuit par celui des enclosures publiques (Parliamentary Enclosures Acts de 1750 à 1850), qui procèdent à la privatisation systématique des *commons* et l'extension des prairies (révolution fourragère du 18ème siècle) ; on retrouve ici le modèle de la pastorale arcadienne qui est mis en scène dans les parcs anglais aux mains des grandes familles de l'aristocratie.

2. CRISE DU 18ÈME SIÈCLE

La crise du 18ème siècle est tout d'abord une crise politique, qui remet en cause l'absolutisme monarchique ; certes, ce processus se déroule de manière différente dans les divers pays européens, les uns tendant vers des monarchies constitutionnelles avec un parlement, d'autres se dirigeant vers la fin de la monarchie comme la France, d'autres encore n'ayant pas encore d'unité nationale comme l'Italie. Mais le sens de l'histoire tend vers la démocratie comme elle verra le jour aux Etats-Unis et en France. Le second versant de la crise politique se manifeste par le développement de la propriété individuelle du sol, déjà en marche en Angleterre et un peu partout par les remises en cause des propriétés collectives de la paysannerie, dénoncée comme un obstacle au progrès de l'agriculture par la plupart des agronomes dès le 17ème siècle (De Serres, 1600).

C'est aussi une crise économique qui voit la fin du système féodal et l'avènement du libéralisme économique, qui sera théorisé par Adam Smith (1776). L'obsolescence du système féodal se traduit notamment par des troubles fréquents dans la paysannerie accablée par la misère et l'incapacité du système féodal à assurer la survie des familles, par l'incurie des grands propriétaires le plus souvent absents de leurs domaines et par le poids des taxes diverses sur leurs budget. C'est notamment l'un des facteurs de déclenchement de la Révolution Française. La phase d'ajustement de cette crise voit émerger le productivisme agricole et industriel théorisé par les agronomes comme Arthur Young, Patullo en Angleterre ou Duhamel du Monceau en France qui considère que le modèle

libéral et productiviste mis en œuvre au Royaume Uni doit être diffusé dans son pays et partout ailleurs. L'instauration de la propriété individuelle du sol est le moyen recommandé pour que les agriculteurs prennent davantage soin de leurs exploitations et ne soient pas tributaires de propriétaires souvent trop exigeants et peu soucieux de l'avenir économique de leur domaine.

En même temps, le renforcement progressif des pouvoirs centraux permet de procéder aux réformes économiques nécessaires pour accroître la libre circulation des marchandises et des hommes, propre au libéralisme économique. Les progrès acquis dans les sciences contribuent fortement à l'amélioration des communications et au développement des transports ou de l'agriculture, comme par exemple la révolution fourragère qui permet de produire des herbages artificiels et d'augmenter la part de l'élevage dans la production agricole.

Ces avancées scientifiques ont commencé par respecter l'ordre religieux et la croyance dans l'origine divine de la nature : c'est la théologie scientifique, science explicative de la création divine qui contribue peu à peu à la laïcisation de la nature et à la victoire de l'homme sur sa peur de la nature ; rêve prométhéen de l'homme également esthétique qui voit l'avènement du modèle paysager du sublime, qui consacre la fin de la nature horrible, telle que l'on la voyait dans les montagnes et aux bords des océans (Corbin, 1988). L'alpinisme ne fait que renforcer ce sentiment de la supériorité de l'homme sur la nature. Il se traduit par le souhait de forcer la nature, aller plus vite qu'elle, comme la machine à vapeur obéissant aux lois de la thermodynamique récemment découvertes qui permettent de comprimer le temps naturel et d'aboutir à des rendements plus élevés (Hoskins, 1955) ; comme en agriculture où les agronomes prônent la fin de la jachère, c'est-à-dire du repos de la terre, inutile à leurs yeux et qui permet de produire plus vite et davantage de grains ou de fruits. Le productivisme est ainsi l'une des conquêtes de l'homme de science.

Parallèlement, le pittoresque, qui émeut les premiers touristes dans les paysages, s'annonce comme le versant affadi du sublime : les Européens découvrent à la fois la grande nature dans les montagnes et sur la mer et les sites charmants ou les paysages traditionnels admirés par un tourisme bourgeois et sélectionnant les sites et les monuments, ciblés par les organisations touristiques comme les Clubs Alpins ou le Touring Club. En France, les lois sur la protection des sites et des monuments voient le jour au tout début du 20ème siècle, comme sont créés les premiers parcs nationaux du Yosemite et de Yellowstone aux Etats-Unis.

Mais vers le milieu du 20ème siècle, au tourisme bourgeois fait suite le tourisme de masse qui profite des avancées sociales comme, en France, les congés payés de 1936. C'est, après l'édification des grandes lignes de chemin de fer partout en Europe, l'avènement de l'ère de l'automobile et peu à peu le règne de l'individualisme qui domine la pensée du rapport social à la nature.

3. CRISE DU 21ᵉᵐᵉ SIÈCLE

En réalité, elle a débuté à la fin du 20ᵉᵐᵉ siècle avec l'émergence des préoccupations à l'environnement. C'est donc une crise écologique, avec la prise de conscience des enjeux écologiques planétaires, le changement climatique, ou l'érosion de la biodiversité (Luginbühl, 2009). Mais c'est aussi une crise politique qui voit se développer la désaffection de la société civile à l'égard du monde politique et mettre en péril la démocratie : abstentions massives aux élections, votes aux extrêmes, notamment, rejet de l'Europe jugée trop lointaine et technocratique. C'est aussi une crise économique qui consiste dans la globalisation des flux commerciaux et financiers, mettant à mal les économies nationales et locales, brisant la petite exploitation agricole familiale qui disparaît peu à peu au profit des « agri-managers » et contribuant à la concentration des moyens de production dans des grands groupes multinationaux qui échappent à l'impôt grâce à leurs filiales dans les paradis fiscaux.

La crise est aussi paysagère : elle met fin aux paysages agraires dans les représentations collectives des paysages ; le paysage n'est plus la campagne qui s'efface devant la nature, sans toutefois faire disparaître la campagne. Celle-ci est devenue nostalgique, la campagne d'autrefois qui était encore aux mains des paysans censés gérer la nature en bons pères de famille. Les crises alimentaires comme l'Encéphalite Spongiforme Bovine et les fièvres aviaire ou aphteuse ont rompu le pacte de confiance que les européens avaient établi avec les agriculteurs, désormais accusés de polluer l'eau ou de produire des aliments non totalement sains. Le productivisme agricole, tel qu'il est pratiqué dans l'élevage hors sol, est dénoncé par les mouvements écologistes, comme l'étalement urbain, l'usage de l'énergie nucléaire. La dysharmonie paysagère est assimilée à la dysharmonie sociale : les paysages des banlieues sont considérés comme des paysages malsains autant du point de vue écologique (pollution, entassement, bruit) que social (chômage, délinquance, misère, violence) (Luginbühl et al., 1998).

Les paysages que l'on rêve sont les paysages de la grande nature lointaine comme le grand nord, la savane africaine ou l'Amazonie, car ils ne sont pas dégradés par les turpitudes humaines ; ils sont purs et là-bas, au moins la nature paraît éternelle. Il s'agit bien évidemment de représentations sociales qui s'appuient sur des fantasmes autant que sur la réalité. Aussi apparaissent de nouveaux modèles paysagers : le pittoresque écologique, scènes animales où règne la loi de la nature comme dans les films animaliers où la gazelle tente d'échapper au lion cruel, certes mais la loi de la nature est respectée, ou bien dans les parcs et les réserves, les grands sites patrimoniaux ; le pittoresque nostalgique, paysages de la vie quotidienne des peuples lointains et menacés de disparition, paysages traditionnels encore marqués par des pratiques estimées respectueuses de la nature. Ou encore les paysages de la modernité comme les grands centres commerciaux, temples de

la consommation de masse où les jeunes se retrouvent et rêvent des biens que le marché international expose à leurs regards ; paysages où tout est organisé pour faciliter la consommation, comme les parkings, les restaurants fast-food, les gardes d'enfants pour laisser les parents faire leurs achats. Mais un paysage moderne idéal existe-t-il vraiment?

C'est peut-être le paysage quotidien, tel que le conçoit la Convention Européenne du Paysage qui tient lieu aujourd'hui de paysage idéal de modernité, car il se rapproche des citoyens qui voient leur échapper le destin de leur cadre de vie. La Convention Européenne du Paysage défend en effet l'idée de la participation des citoyens européens aux prises de décision concernant l'aménagement des paysages de leur vie quotidienne. L'échelle locale s'avère ainsi la voie permettant aux populations d'agir sur leur cadre de vie, mais elle peut être envisagée comme une forme de repli ou de refuge contre la mondialisation face à laquelle on ne peut plus peser, tant les décisions sont lointaines et hors des capacités des citoyens « ordinaires ». La participation citoyenne se traduit donc par des actions de proximité, expériences multiples en Europe et dans les Amériques qui consistent notamment dans le passage de la contestation d'équipements à l'élaboration de projets de paysage (exemple de la Vénétie: 253 *comitati* civils; Varotto, 2000; Varotto et Visentin, 2008). Les expériences de participation citoyenne révèlent une très grande diversité de formes, écologiques, artistiques, sociales, etc. et font intervenir des organismes divers qui se sont spécialisés dans la mise en œuvre de la participation à l'aide d'outils multiples comme la lecture collective des paysages, les forums, les ateliers collectifs d'habitants de quartiers urbains, etc. (Luginbühl, 2009).

4. CONCLUSION

Cette histoire des paysages liés aux crises soulève ainsi la question de l'avenir du paysage dans l'ensemble des grands enjeux écologiques et sociaux comme le changement climatique et l'érosion de la biodiversité. Le paysage peine à s'imposer face à ces enjeux majeurs alors qu'il pourrait constituer une voie plus féconde que les actuelles méthodes mises en œuvre par les groupes de pression qui gouvernent les questions relatives au domaine de l'environnement. Le paysage doit se débarrasser de la protection qui lui colle à la peau et qui renvoie pour la plupart des élus politiques à une notion contraire au développement. Par ailleurs, il doit également s'abstraire du sens qui lui est donné comme objet d'un spectacle alors qu'il est également l'objet de l'action, propre à entraîner derrière lui le processus d'élaboration de projets d'aménagement du territoire. Aussi, même si d'autres enjeux dominent les discours et les pratiques politiques, comme le changement climatique et la biodiversité, le paysage peut constituer un moyen de les expliciter dans ses traductions dans la continuité de l'espace et à des échelles qui peuvent

ouvrir sur des ancrages territoriaux plus concrets. La Convention Européenne du Paysage est donc un espoir pour la société civile, à condition que ses partisans qui ont engagé le combat ne baissent pas les bras et montrent que cet objet et outil peut s'avérer efficace pour l'avenir du cadre de vie des Européens.

REFERENCES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE

CONCINA E., « La Renaissance : Venise, le territoire, le paysage », in LUGINBÜHL Y. (dir.) *Paysage méditerranéen. Catalogue de l'exposition sur le paysage méditerranéen*, Milano, Electa, 1992, pp. 130-135.

CORBIN A., *Le territoire du vide. L'Occident et le désir de rivage, 1750-1840*, Paris, Aubier, 1988.

DE SERRES O., *Théâtre d'Agriculture et Mesnage des champs*, 1600.

DUBY G., WALLON A., *Histoire de la campagne française*, Paris, Edition du Seuil, 1976.

HOSKINS W.G., *The making of the English landscape*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1955.

JENSEN ADAMS A., "Competing Communities in the great Bog of Europe. Identity and Seventeenth century Dutch Landscape Painting", in MITCHELL W.J.T. (ed.), *Landscape and Power*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 2002, pp. 35-75.

LEBECQ S., « De la protohistoire au Haut Moyen Âge : le paysage des 'Terpen', le long des côtes de la mer du nord, spécialement dans l'ancienne Frise », in *Le paysage, réalités et représentations*, X° colloque des Historiens médiévistes, Lille 1979, Revue du Nord, 1980, pp. 125-148.

LUGINBÜHL Y., « Biodiversité, changement climatique et paysage », in *Humanité et biodiversité : manifeste pour une nouvelle alliance*, Ligne ROC, Descartes et Cie, 2009, pp. 212-237.

LUGINBÜHL Y., "Rappresentazioni sociali del paesaggio ed evoluzione della domanda sociale", in CASTIGLIONI B., DE MARCHI M. (a cura di), *Di chi è il paesaggio, La partecipazione degli attori nella individuazione, valutazione e pianificazione*, Padova, CLEUP, 2009, pp. 61-69.

LUGINBÜHL Y., SIGG K., TOUTAIN X., *Sensibilités paysagères, modèles paysagers.* Rapport pour le Ministère de l'Environnement, CNRS LADYSS et SEGESA, 1998.

LUGINBÜHL Y., *La mise en scène du monde. Construction du paysage européen*, Paris, CNRS Editions, 2012.

LUGINBÜHL Y., *La messa in scena del mondo. La costruzione del paesaggio europeo*, Edizioni Media Granda, Alba, 2014.

MITCHELL W.J.T, *Landscape and Power*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 2002 (first edition 1994).

SMITH A., *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations*, 1776.

VAROTTO M., "In difesa dei luoghi dell'abitare: il fenomeno dei comitati spontanei in Veneto", Quaderno 3, *Osservatorio Veneto*, Verona, 2000.

VAROTTO M., VISENTIN L.F., "Comitati locali e criticità ambientali in Veneto. L'evoluzione del fenomeno negli ultimi 10 anni", Ambiente Risorse Salute, n° 116, 2008, pp. 9-17.

ABSTRACT
LANDSCAPE IN TIME OF CRISIS

The history of the European landscape is marked out by economic, social, political and ecological crisis which modified not only the material foundations of the landscapes but also their social representations and as a consequence the values which are attributed to it. The first crisis which affects Europe in the one of the end of Middle Ages, when the plague destroys the populations already touched by a climatic degradation and a feudal economic system out of breath, incapable to supply a balanced diet and in particular with proteins to the populations. It is also the "Hundred Years War" during which countrysides are ravaged by the plunders, the murders and the massive rapes. The Renaissance ends temporarily this crisis by establishing improvements in the agrarian production in particular in the speculative breeding which allows a better food. It is also the beginning of the capitalism where distinguish themselves the big families of aristocracy which seize collective lands – the commons – of the farming community to practice the breeding there bovine or ovine as in England or in Italy.

The second crisis which affects Europe is the one of 18th century: political crisis where the feudal and monarchic system in questioned, ending in the institution of a regime democratic as in France and the United States. It is also the advent of the constitutional monarchies with the royal power is compensated with a Chamber or Parliament. The main political novelty is however the institution of the individual property of the ground which allows in England the arrival of a capitalist economy of big producing domains to produce some meat and at the same time to implement the modern and "productivist" industrial system. It is an opportunity for the new industrialists to push towards the cities the mass of peasant population which makes a commitment in the industrial activity and becomes the labor world.

By returning on this history, it is a question of wondering what are the effects of the current crisis on the European landscape, on its evolution, on the landscaped models which structure its thought and on the capacity of the European societies to master its dynamics. The European Landscape Convention adopted in October, 2000 in Florence and ratified from now on by a great majority of country of the Council of Europe has chances to bend the big tendencies of the evolution of the landscapes and in particular, it can press on the implementation of the local democracy which it recommends. The current crisis is not only indeed a financial crisis, it is also a political crisis with the increasing disaffection of the European societies towards a European political project which delays being born. It is also an ecological crisis, the first one perhaps in the human history, questioning the thought of social relationships in the nature. The paper suggests examining these questions by trying to estimate the effects at short, medium and long term of the crisis on the European landscapes and by wondering finally about the consequences in other countries of the world.

LANDSCAPE AT A TIME OF CRISIS:
SOCIETAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF NEW GEOGRAPHIES OF HOME

Theano S. Terkenli

1. INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES

Current credit/economic and climate/environmental crises pose great risk to the southern European landscape, mainly due to economic re-prioritizing and social pressures for its resources. Our objective in this paper is our repositioning vis-à-vis the meaning of landscape in a changing world, towards building our futures in/on/through the landscape – both tangible and intangible. For this purpose, the mediating role of landscape, at a time of such multiple and interconnected crises as the ones that especially southern Europe is presently facing, is examined, with an emphasis on the Greek and – more generally – Mediterranean landscape. This revisiting and restoration of our individual and collective psychological relationship with the landscape serves in building a sounder basis for future land resource sustainability and for crisis aversion.

Towards this goal, we employ a critical cultural geographical approach, since the latter rests on geographers' traditional argumentation in favor of a cultural landscape definition, articulation and analysis. Furthermore, in recent years, the cultural constitution of landscape has been (re)gaining ground, in all scientific fields pertaining to the landscape. Likewise, as will be shown below, the much-acknowledged cultural underpinnings of 'the crisis' invite a cultural re-appraisal of landscape and offer 'landscape-based' solutions to it. The paper accordingly proceeds from a) a theoretical discussion of the role and contribution of landscape to society under such 'crisis' conditions, on the basis of a re-delineation of the tangible and intangible dimensions of landscape, to b) an exploration of its empirical and symbolic/psychological contribution to the Greek (and broader Mediterranean) society, under conditions of crisis. We argue that, since this problem is fundamentally and foremost cultural, it is further exacerbated by the underlying cultural nature of 'the crisis'.

2. REVISITING LANDSCAPE: FROM THE TANGIBLE TO THE INTANGIBLE

One of the oldest and most succinct definitions of landscape, "a portion of land which the eye can comprehend at a glance" (Jackson, 1984, p.3), refers to a visible expression of the humanized environment perceived mainly through sensory, and particularly *visual*, as well as *cognitive* processes. Furthermore, our ways of conceiving the tangible landscape (or landscape dimensions) may broadly be summarized as a) visual and b) performative/experiential. In reality, since both of the latter dimensions involve human senses and processes of cognition, they interweave in complex and multi-relational ways of landscape conceptualization.

The visual landscape dimension refers to landscape form – or else, structure – and its 'objective', tangible entity – to distinguish it from its intangible, perceptual and symbolic dimensions, specifically emphasized in the European Landscape Convention (ELC, Committee of the Ministers of the Council of Europe, 2000). Accordingly, landscapes are created by human action and experience inscribed in place through time, enhancing and upholding human livelihoods. Moreover, this interactive (relational) landscape quality leads to the inextricability of landscape definition and landscape production/reproduction/consumption from the *scale of the human body* and *human reach* – be that landscape as home, landscape as an economic resource or landscape as an object of recreation, i.e. through the pleasure of walking, sightseeing, etc. This tangible landscape quality has been recently revisited by more-than-representational geographical approaches (Thrift, 1996 and 2007; Lorimer, 2005 and 2008), upholding the most intimate scale of landscape articulation and analysis, intricately relating the subject (observer, user, visitor) with the object of perception, intervention or pleasure (landscape) (Meinig, 1979; Rose, 1996; Nash, 1996; Appleton, 1996). Regardless of scale, then, real, perceived or imaginary landscape becomes only through its relationship with its 'observer'. In other words, the relational dimension of landscape becomes perhaps the most significant aspect of landscape definition and articulation. We may, thus, talk about multiple "landscape spatialities", the term Cosgrove employs in his discussion of the succession of landscape types in European land use and spatial design history (1998).

Therefore, landscape is not just the concept of the environment, as modified by humans (Lukermann, 1964, p. 171); according to the ELC, it also encompasses another intangible, (inter)subjective perspective: people's perception of it. Further, it is a real, contingent, embodied and unfolding entity. A repository of culture, nature and history, landscape is always changing, reflecting the goals, values and priorities of the societies that have been shaping it, as these are imprinted on the land and conceived and enjoyed by its users, the people.

To recapitulate, in recent geographical discourse, newly-emerging more-than-representational and enacted landscape geographies highlight the relational

constitution of the landscape. Rather than landscape beheld, what is advocated in these new post-phenomenological landscape geographies is landscape inhabited and processed (Wiley, 2007; Lorimer, 2005). Relying on social processes, the landscape's existence depends upon being put to task, possessed, consumed, etc. Thus, contemporary geographical thought moves beyond naturalistic views of landscapes as neutral, external backdrops to human activities and culturalistic views of landscapes as cognitive/symbolic orderings of space, and advocates an enacted or "dwelling perspective" of landscape constitution (Ingold, 1993). The latter perspective is especially pertinent to the analysis and discussion that follow.

3. LANDSCAPE IN TIMES OF CRISIS

The major grand challenges facing our society are embedded in landscape: climate change, energy needs, health and safety, food security, urbanization and migration, loss of biodiversity and cultural heritage, rural exodus, lifestyle changes, etc. Likewise, as this essay purports to highlight, the resolution of the problems that contemporary societies face, largely rest on the landscape: 'green development', creation of employment, local (physical and cultural) resource sustainability, educational opportunities, scientific growth, tourism and recreation. At the basis of most of the social, economic and environmental issues and decisions presently facing Europe and the wider world, lie *cultural* uses and meanings of the land; "their spatial dimensions can be addressed through the idea of landscape, which comes into being wherever land and people come together" (ESF and COST, 2010, p. 2). The dual constitution of landscape as a tangible/intangible entity, as described above, will serve as the basis of our following exploration of the roles and meanings of landscape for human societies, in times of crisis.

Arguably, almost all means of human life are extracted from the tangible landscape (food, water, energy, etc); leave their variable imprint on the landscape (field patterns, spatial zoning, etc); are sometimes called after the landscape (wine appellations, village names, etc); and are promoted through and on the basis of changeable, indispensible, multifunctional landscapes (tourism advertising, place branding, etc). In other words, we humans are constituted of the landscape – its historical, geographical and cultural parameters. Our landscapes recount life stories, in which we are protagonists; "*we are landscape*" (RECEP-ENELC, 2008).

Landscape is our common property and responsibility. Moreover, of all geographical entities or realms of reference, landscape is the one closest to our daily basis of survival. It belongs to everybody, and provides for a variety of uses (multifunctionality). In times of scarcity, people – and especially urbanites – turn to the land (and the sea, for that matter) for survival: grow urban or peri-urban gardens, raise small animal stock, obtain firewood from wooded/natural land, fish and hunt, and may even move (back) to the countryside and (re)engage in primary

economic sector activities. The landscape is implicitly and immanently involved in all of these activities and especially vulnerable to unplanned or illegal actions, on behalf of its users and other stakeholders. As a common good, landscape is "a key element of individual and social well-being and… its protection, management and planning entail rights and responsibilities for everyone" (ELC, Committee of the Ministers of the Council of Europe, 2008, p. 24). This may be a double-edged sword, but also offers its stakeholders a valuable opportunity. It implicitly calls for participatory governance, catering not only to landscape sustainability, but also to covering its users' needs in democratic, resourceful and efficient ways, on a broadly beneficial basis – as already successfully implemented in several cases, around Europe (Jones and Stenseke, 2011).

Our lives are carried out and assume their meanings through landscapes, as are our quality of life, our identity construction, everyday practices – in short, all human undertakings and pursuits. At a cultural level, we are the landscape and the landscape is us. If we are to protect and preserve our identity, we need to preserve not only our natural heritage and our historical/archaeological treasures, but also our landscape, lying at the core of our cultural constitution. We are a product, as well as the stewards, of our landscapes – the repositories of our histories and culture. At a personal level, landscape is contact, self-quest, communication, introspection, exploration, attraction, pleasure, involvement. Next to the strictly visual/representational landscape dimension, perhaps the most essential component of the human-landscape relationship lies in the relational and performative experience of a place, indicating the centrality of the human being as player/performer in the landscape. Performance entails intimacy, identification, interaction, connection, and a whole series of all other possible ways of playing out the relationship humans-landscape. The possibilities are endless for the human being and may cater to a wide spectrum of needs: meditation and spirituality, communication through landscape art, therapy and restoration of inner balance, knowledge and education, etc. Moreover, the enduring intensity of *pleasure* sought and found in landscape, since the Renaissance, expresses something profound and constant about the human condition (Daniels in Rose, 1996, p. 345), 'something' that links landscape and pleasure or attraction inextricably together. All of these dimensions of landscape are of extreme and timely relevance to societies in crisis, such as those of the Mediterranean, in need of sources of inspiration, fortitude and balance.

Consequently, if the landscape is to suffer the detrimental impacts of human activity, it also becomes the ultimate source of pleasure, re-creation and regeneration for those who have destroyed it – and are condemned to live without it. Not only do we need, in such times of trial and need for reorientation, to re-assert our identities and gain our livelihoods, through our landscapes, but we may find in them spiritual shelter/retreat and a source of peace, harmony and affirmation. Furthermore, in our present-day post-industrial urban societies, a return to and

restoration of our relationship with the landscape serves in building a sounder basis for future sustainability and crisis aversion. It has been argued that children who lose contact with nature will not fight for it; with half of their time spent at screens, the next generation will be poorly equipped to defend the natural world, including the landscape, from harm (The Guardian, 19/11/2012).

4. THE CASE OF THE GREEK LANDSCAPE IN CRISIS

Globally, at a European level, and specifically in Mediterranean Europe, twenty-first century landscapes are presently facing multiple (landscape-related) crises: credit/economic, environmental, housing, energy- and resource-related, etc. Out of all kinds of European landscapes, this current credit/economic crisis seems to be posing the greatest risk to Mediterranean ones, as southern European countries of the Mediterranean rim (Greece, Portugal, Spain and Italy) are – so far – most affected by it, due to economic re-prioritizing, exerting increasing pressures on their resources.

Since the advent of the crisis, Greece has witnessed a pronounced trend of counter-urbanization: a return to village parental and ancestral homes, a flight back to the rural areas that had been previously abandoned (Figure 1). The latter trend has gone hand in hand with renewed occupation with primary sector productive activities, for purposes of covering basic needs and day-to-day survival. These trends signal a reversal of the steady and rampant urbanization of the post-war decades, which had led to a loss of the former connection with land, nature and landscape – traditionally handed down from one generation to another. The new and already existing urbanites had never developed a sense and conscience of landscape, in the first place. Accordingly, during the post-war period, Greek landscapes and the Greek environment had come under severe threat of depletion, through lack of comprehensive planning, proper management and illegal construction. Such pre-existing trends of neglect and improper use of landscape assets and services were exacerbated through 'the crisis', as the Greek landscape, generally speaking, became an even lesser priority for all those involved. In contrast, however, a large part of the Greek population is starting to show signs of reversing these trends, through their return back to the "eparchia", the countryside, in an urban exodus, that is presently increasingly gaining ground, in the country.

As documented elsewhere, landscape has not constituted a collective good for most (urban) Greeks of the post-war decades (Terkenli and Pavlis, 2012). Specifically, the sense of the landscape as part of a common home (Terkenli, 1995), a commons in every sense of the term, has not taken hold in contemporary Greece. The relatively (to other European nations) ill-defined and undeveloped landscape conscience obviously represents a cultural problem (Terkenli and Pavlis, 2012; Stathatos, 1996). Rather, a "marketplace principle" has persisted, since

Fig. 1 – Collecting greens in olive grove, Lesvos, Greece. Source: Evangelos Pavlis

the antiquities, in Greek socio-cultural public life, all the way up to the present (McNeill, 1978). The 1950's and 1960's rampant urbanization led to mass rural outmigration into the major urban centers, and to the abandonment of agriculture and livestock raising. Just before 'the crisis' set in, the Greek society had been poised to open up to landscape appreciation and acknowledgment, since, generally speaking, environmental awareness rises with average income/capita (Carras, 2013). With the advent of the 21st century, the sense and conscience of landscape showed signs of development through urbanization (as the quest for respite from urban life conditions or as second home construction) and through domestic tourism (Tsartas et al., 2001). The latter showed very high growth rates, especially in the post-Olympic-Games era (2004), and was especially widespread around urban areas (i.e. long weekend tourism), replacing foreign tourism in its significance for Greek economy. Thus, instead of a full-fledged industrial revolution – as in the case of more industrialized and 'developed' European countries – urbanization and domestic tourism have been the main source of the development of a countryside awareness among contemporary Greeks. Then, came 'the crisis' (2008 onwards).

The advent of crisis conditions brought on a two-fold turn in the course of events. First came a general retrenchment in whatever inroads had so far taken

place in landscape protection, planning and management, due to fund shortages and re-prioritization of activities and goals. At all government levels, budgets for environmental causes were curtailed and the newly-instigated 'Landscape Committee' of the Ministry of the Environment, Energy and Climatic Change was effectively dismantled. Foreign and private interests infiltrated the energy industry field, with widespread investments in wind farms and photovoltaic parks – to the detriment of the Greek landscape – while new legal frameworks (i.e. the Special Regional Plan for Tourism) essentially sanctioned urban sprawl in natural and semi-natural areas – all for purposes of ill-guided and out-of-scale grandiose-plan 'development'. For decades, in Greece, the 'environment' has constituted the basic and broader legal and administrative grounds for the landscape cause, both in theory and in practice. When the 'environment' is under threat or misuse, however, the landscape is among the first casualties, despite its great potential for contributing to local and regional sustainable development. In fact, most major advances in the 'landscape cause' have been overturned, through 'crisis' conditions, or rather under the pretext of 'the crisis'.

The fact, then, is that Greek local and regional authorities that ought to be in charge of landscape planning and stewardship, regardless of the political commitment of national authorities, nowadays clearly lack the resources to do so–let alone to implement successfully the ELC, as ratified by Greece in 2010. Rather, the landscape is definitely short-shifted in the sellout of the country, which ensued from its essential bankruptcy. Out-of-scale, enormous wind turbines and endless photovoltaic parks have been sprouting or planned to sprout all over Greece's 'marginal' or 'non-productive' lands. At a community level, in peri-urban areas, demographic pressures are endangering natural or semi-natural ecosystems, through intense illegal timbering – for purposes of securing firewood – and other unplanned resource exploitation, with no regard for the landscape. In addition to a deficient lay landscape conscience, then, a re-prioritization of people's pursuits ensues, to the detriment of non-economic needs and interests. Under dire circumstances, personal motives overrule community principles, leading to grave environmental and landscape depletion. 'The crisis', nonetheless, signals new opportunities. Generally, times of crisis witness a return to the landscape for purposes of survival, as well as building a 'better life', through urban outmigration and thus decongestion, growing community garden plots for sustenance purposes, hunting and fishing (Figure 2), developing sustainable energy sources, reviving (organic) agriculture, resource re-use/re-cycling, favoring alternative forms of tourism (camping, cycling, etc), etc. The tangible 'physical' landscape, thus, becomes a valuable asset, widely available and accessible: a solution to shortage, a renewable resource basis and a means to sustainable and more economical development, as, for instance, in the augmenting shift from 'urban' to 'greener' or rural ways of life. Moreover, the 'cultural' landscape carries local knowledge and grass-routes solutions to problems of survival and well-being, handed down

Fig. 2 – Fishing village of Skala Sykamnias, Lesvos, Greece. Source: author.

Fig. 3 – Taking in the landscape near Molyvos, Lesvos, Greece. Source: author.

from generation to generation, through cultural histories and geographies. Such local practices and lay knowledge are still alive in the highly fragmented and diverse landscapes of the Mediterranean. Old family homes are often preserved in mountain villages of Greece, where rural livelihoods are starting to make a come-back, alleviating social pressures in over-crowded cities. The role of tourism is paramount to these processes.

In terms of economic potential, landscape is quintessential to tourism; i.e. the most central activity to the tourism experience is sight-seeing, directly alluding to 'taking in the landscape/scenery'. As an image or representation of a place, landscape represents the most direct and enduring medium of contact between tourist and destination place (Terkenli, 2004 and 2014), while tourism constitutes the 'powerhouse' of the Greek economy and its first industry. The inextricable link between tourism and the landscape offers brilliant prospects for the development of various forms of tourism, based on the principles of locality and sustainability, highly compatible with Greek and Mediterranean landscapes, i.e. local products, alternative forms of tourism (camping, cycling, agrotourism, etc). Gastronomy, the products of the local landscape, for instance, constitute about one third of all tourist expenditures – at least, in the case of Greece. One may, thus, deduce the great potential for place/destination promotion through the tourism industry, consequently offering a sustainable and profitable economic outlet for local development, on a landscape basis. In short, all – but especially alternative and special-interest forms of tourism – sell landscape images, landscape services, landscape experiences and pleasures, landscape products, landscape knowledge and history, etc. As an example, a case of urban tourism initiative, the 'Alternative Tours of Athens' (ATA) advertise, among their goals, the enhancement of the local community and promotion of culture and tourism, through emphasis on riot sites, deteriorating neighborhoods and alternative landmarks (i.e. through city graffiti tours). Their selling point being modern city life and its landscapes, they aim at "[discovering] Athens like an insider, [learning] about its history and its treasures, [appreciating] the creative dynamic of this city's imperfections" (http://www. atathens.org/home-en.html).

Finally, intangible landscape dimensions become of even more critical and timely relevance to societies in crisis, such as those of the Mediterranean, more generally, and Greece, more specifically. The landscape becomes a vehicle of recreation, pleasure, therapy and the achievement of inner balance, so much needed in a country or region ravaged by multiple crises (such as crisis-induced suicides at twice the rate of suicides attributable to other causes, not to mention a 15-20-ply increase of suicide attempts http://www.economist.com/blogs/erasmus/2013/10/ greece-and-suicide). Our landscapes become the basis on which re-assert our identity, as well as to gain our livelihood. Furthermore, in them we find and develop a spiritual shelter and retreat and a source of peace, harmony and affirmation, in times of hardship (Figure 3).

5. LANDSCAPES IN A CHANGING WORLD

Landscapes around the world, old or new, highly-prized or ordinary, prominent or mundane, are calling for acknowledgment, recording, preservation, management and/or development. Some are under threat of being irreparably lost. Despite recent advances in landscape science and technology, *multifunctionality* and *sustainability* – qualities inherent in the cultural landscape for the best part of human history – are presently endangered. In this context, the European Science Foundation and COST (10/2011) Draft Action Plan for the European Landscape asserts that one of the main assets of Europe's cultural identity, presently at risk, is its great landscape diversity. Population and infrastructure pressures, forces of 'development', land-use intensification, environmental and climatic change and a multitude of other factors deploying landscape resources and the landscapes themselves induce great and irreversible losses.

Besides intensive land and resource use, forces of globalization have been impacting spatial and landscape organization, through processes of '*a new cultural economy of space*': standardization and simulation of landscapes (elements/dimensions); landscape deconstruction and redefinition; and the loss of pre-existing place/landscape identity (Terkenli and d'Hauteserre, 2006). The outcomes of these trends of spatial re-organization are: a) formation of new types of landscapes, often disconnected from local geographies and histories – characterized by 'inauthenticity' and placelessness; b) commoditization of the landscape, in any or all of its dimensions – through the emergence of a "symbolic economy" (Zukin, 1995); and c) the constant reproduction, promotion and dissemination of these changes around the world, through actual, virtual or imaginary connections and flows, via booming info-communication technologies (Gantzias, 2012).

In a changing world, the role of landscape for many European societies shifts from a medium of quality of life to a medium of coping with various crises. This may represent a retrenchment, but it also provides for multiple opportunities. "Many of the social, economic and environmental decisions facing Europe and the wider world concern the cultural uses and meanings of the land. Their spatial dimensions can be addressed through the idea of landscape, which comes into being wherever land and people come together" (ESF, 2010, p. 2). Although the processes of the new cultural economy of space, as presented above, are often exacerbated through 'the crisis', as in the case of Greece, they also open up new possibilities for ways ahead in combating crisis and creating better life conditions, employing landscape resources and assets in resourceful and sustainable ways. Indicatively, some of these suggested ways ahead are:

1. Development of appropriate tools and intervention strategies adopted to and catering to changing conditions. Towards this goal, the employment of new info-communication technologies and social media in landscape research,

use and management may prove especially successful, in reaching out to all population groups and sectors.

2. Broad-based and systematic landscape education and training, at all levels of society and relevant institutions, with the medium- and long-term aim of developing a lay landscape conscience, in accordance with the case of more 'developed' societies.

3. Cultivation of active and ongoing public engagement and participation in landscape governance – the only way to secure the future of our landscapes (Jones and Stenseke, 2011). Sustainable, participatory landscape governance is based on adjustable, iterative and collective/democratic decision-making and integrative co-management of common resources: one that relies on appropriate stakeholder groups (structures) and processes/tools of implementation (functions) of various sorts (institutional, legal, economic, etc.) (Briassoulis, 2008).

6. CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Despite recent inroads in landscape science and technology, European landscape multifunctionality, sustainability and identity are endangered. The advent of the credit/economic crisis in Greece brought about a further retrenchment in the development of a lay landscape conscience and stalled existing and growing advances in the environmental and the landscape causes. In any case, any environmental or landscape crisis is triggered by cultural crisis – and especially so, in the case of Greece (Carras, 2013). This comes at a time in which sustainable and integrated landscape planning, protection and management, now – more than ever before – need to address, combine and connect a large number of diverse landscape uses and functions (ecological stability, economic viability, place identity, recreational activity, historical dynamics etc.). It all represents daunting task; one that offers, nonetheless, exciting challenges for all related disciplines, politicians and practitioners, at all levels of Greek economy and society.

Even harder to negotiate, but our duty to achieve, are human ways of thought and action, central and foremost to any landscape change or articulation (lay landscape conscience). The latter are more difficult to adjust than changes in the landscape itself, especially at a time when changes are occurring at a global scale and at long-term time-frames, beyond individual grasp and local or national control. According to Strecker, in the context of the renaissance of civil society in an attempt to reclaim the public sphere for democracy, "landscape in particular lends itself to the practical realisation of these aspirations … as it is as much about 'responsibility for' as it is about 'entitlement to' a quality landscape" (2012, p. 90). This paper presented certain ways, thoughts and strategies towards the

achievement of life and landscape beyond crisis, especially relevant to the case of Greece. In this way, it simply purports to open this discussion, which is only just starting to take hold among academics, professionals, authorities and other landscape-related stakeholders.

REFERENCES

APPLETON J., *The Experience of Landscape*, New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1996.

BRIASSOULIS H., "Land use policy and planning, theorizing and modeling: lost in translation, found in complexity?", *Environment and Planning B*, 35, 2008, pp. 16-33.

CARRAS C., "Unfortunately the sense of common interest in Greece is ailing", *"K" (Kathimerini),* 11 August 2013, pp. 6-8.

COSGROVE D., "Cultural Landscapes", in UNWIN, T. (ed.), *A European Geography*, London, Longman, 1998, pp. 65-81.

ELC--Committee of the Ministers of the Council of Europe, *European Landscape Convention and Reference Documents*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 2000.

ESF (European Science Foundation) and COST *Science Policy Briefing, Landscape in a Changing World: Bridging Divides, Integrating Disciplines, Serving Society*, Strasbourg, ESF and COST, 2010.

GANTZIAS G., "Info-communication globalization and the global Info-Cash (GIC): a practical way for Greece to emerge from the crisis", in LIAGOVAS P. (ed.), *Greece: Economics, Political and Social Issues*, Nova Science Publishers, Inc, 2012.

INGOLD T., "The temporality of landscape", *World Archaeology,* 25, 1995, n. 2, pp. 152-174.

JACKSON B.J., *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape,* New Haven, Yale University Press, 1984.

JONES M., STENSEKE M. (eds.), *The European Landscape Convention: Challenges of Participation*, Dordrecht, Springer, 2011.

LORIMER H., "Cultural geography: the busyness of being 'more-than-representational'", *Progress in Human Geography,* 29, 2005, n.1, pp. 83-94.

LORIMER H., "Cultural geography: non-representational conditions and concerns", *Progress in Human Geography,* 32, 2008, n. 4, pp. 551-559.

LUKERMANN F., "Geography as a formal intellectual discipline and the way in which it contributes to human knowledge", *Canadian Geographer,* VIII, 4, 1964, pp. 167-172.

McNEILL W.H., *The Metamorphosis of Greece since World War II,* Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1978.

MEINIG D., "The beholding eye: ten versions of the same scene", in MEINIG D. (ed.), *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1979, pp. 33-48.

NASH C., "Reclaiming vision: looking at landscape and the body", *Gender, Place and Culture*, 3, 1996, n. 2, pp. 149-170.

RECEP-ENELC, *We Are Landscape: Understanding the European Landscape Convention,* Florence, Giunti, 2008.

ROSE G., "Geography and the science of observation: the landscape, the gaze and masculinity", in AGNEW D. N., LIVINGSTONE D. N., ROGERS A. (eds.), *Human Geography: an Essential Anthology*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1996, pp. 341-350.

STATHATOS J., *The Invention of Landscape: Greek Landscape and Greek Photography 1870–1995*, Thessaloniki, Camera Obscura, 1996.

STRECKER A., "The implementation of the European Landscape Convention: potential benefits and challenges for Greece", in PAPAYIANNIS T., HOWARD P. (eds.), *Reclaiming the Greek Landscape*, Athens, Med-INA, 2012, pp. 85-91.

TERKENLI T.S., "Home as a region", *The Geographical Review,* 85, 1995, n. 3, pp. 324-334.

TERKENLI T.S., "Landscapes of Tourism", in LEW A.A., HALL C.M., WILLIAMS A.M. (eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Tourism. First Edition*, New York, John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2014.

TERKENLI T.S., "Tourism and landscape", in HALL C.M., WILLIAMS A.M., LEW A.A. (eds.), *Tourism Geography Companion to Geography Series*, Oxford, Blackwell, 2004, pp. 339-348.

TERKENLI T.S., PAVLIS E., "Landscape conscience: awareness-raising, training and education", in PAPAYIANNIS T., HOWARD P. (eds.), *Reclaiming the Greek Landscape*, Athens, Med-INA, 2012, pp. 245-254.

TERKENLI T.S., d'HAUTESERRE A.M. (eds.), *Landscapes of a New Cultural Economy of Space*, Dordrecht, Springer, 2006.

THE GUARDIAN, "If children lose contact with nature they won't fight for it", by G. Monbliot, Monday 19 November, 2012.

THRIFT N., *Spatial Formations*, London, Sage, 1996.

THRIFT N., *Non-representational Theory: Space, Politics, Affect,* London, Routledge, 2007.

TSARTAS P., CHRISTOU E., SIGALA M., CHALKITI K., "Electronic Services and Applications in Tourism: Current Situation and Perspectives", *Report for Information Society EU Project, www.ebusinessforum.gr,* E-Business Forum, Athens, 2001.

WILEY J., *Landscape,* New York, Routledge, 2007.

ZUKIN S., *The Cultures of Cities*, New York, Blackwell, 1995.

ABSTRACT

Most major challenges facing our society are embedded in landscape; likewise, as this paper argues, the resolution of the problems that contemporary societies face largely rests in the landscape. The objective of this paper is to propose our repositioning vis-à-vis the meaning of landscape in a changing world and in building our futures in/on/through the landscape – both tangible and intangible. For this purpose, the mediating role of landscape,

at a time of credit/economic and climate/environmental crises, is examined, with an emphasis on the case of the Mediterranean – and more specifically, Greek – landscape.

Through a return to the landscape, for purposes of survival (farming, renewable energy sources, alternative forms of tourism, etc.), the tangible landscape becomes a valuable economic resource, publicly accessible and available, offering not only physical resources for sustenance, but also cultural knowledge and organic solutions to societal well-being, while raising issues of participatory democracy and governance. Since, at the basis of most of the challenges presently facing the Mediterranean and Europe more generally, lie cultural uses and meanings of the land, the turn to intangible landscape values becomes especially relevant and crucial to the re-assessment and assertion of collective identities, as a spiritual shelter/retreat and as a source of inspiration, affirmation, fortitude and inner balance.

POSTCOLONIAL SOCIAL CONFLICTS AND NEW PERSPECTIVES ON LANDSCAPE AS A COMMON

Gennaro Avallone, Salvo Torre[1]

1. ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICTS IN ITALY, A PRELIMINARY MAPPING

In recent years, various social conflicts arose in Europe around the defense of landscapes. In the same period, this kind of social conflict has spread in the Italian context, from North to South, with more than 400 cases occurred between local communities and central (and/or regional) Government (fig. 1)[2]. Analogous kinds of cases emerged in other European countries (e.g. in Holland against onshore wind projects), but in the Southern European context the conflicts assumed strong forms that involved the main social and political actors at different levels.

In the Italian case, they have developed around not only environmental but also landscape and public health issues, articulating the stake of conflicts. The phenomenon has been differentiated with regard to number of participants, duration (ranging from a few days to tens of years), kind of claim, territorial and institutional scale and forms of opposition. Some local conflicts have expressed a mass participation, long duration, articulated claims, multi-scaling references and varied forms of action, included riots and illegal behaviors. Other conflicts have manifested lower and/or less constant levels of participation, different durations, local scale reference and specific forms of action, often privileging legal forms.

The majority of these conflicts are localized in the Northern areas of the State, because the historical presence of a bigger number of infrastructural interventions. Social structure of the country has obviously influenced the planning of infrastructure projects. These conflicts have been occurred both in rural and

---

[1] This essay is the result of a common work of the authors, but the various sections were written separately by Gennaro Avallone (sections 1, 3) and Salvo Torre (sections 2, 4).

[2] Data are provided also by Nimby Forum, an association of investors and political institutions that try to create different form of social communication to persuade the local population to accept the construction of major public works, the protesters' groups and local authorities (http://www.nimbyforum.it/).

Fig. 1 – Distribution of ecological conflicts on Italian territory.
Source: Author's research on data provided by journal databases, Nimby Forum, political associations.

in urban context, so there are either differences in the areas or in the social composition of population, but there is not a specific segment of the population detectable as the main component of the protests.

Social composition of the movement facing the creation of great works, however, is quite varied, not only because of the spatial distribution. In small towns it seems easier to catch a glimpse of a mixed composition that involves transversally all the inhabitants. In major centers, territorial belonging of participants seems more homogeneous (usually the inhabitants of the areas affected by the construction of the works). The presence of political organizations is much fragmented and divided and a precise statement of position does not seem to exist. Environmental organizations, for example, are often present, but especially in their local articulation, while the national political parties come to have differentiated and contradictory positions in different areas of the country (they are often opposed to one type of intervention in an area of the country and in favor in another, other times they support the policies of the national government in contradiction with the involvement in local movements).

Some considerations may arise from the superposition of the map of conflicts to that of the natural landscape units, also to the one of land use and to the local labour units one (figg. 2 and 3).

The distribution, in relation to land use, is quite homogeneous, covering areas of different types. Only one exception is evident in the northern part of the country, where there is a greater number of cases along the border between different areas.
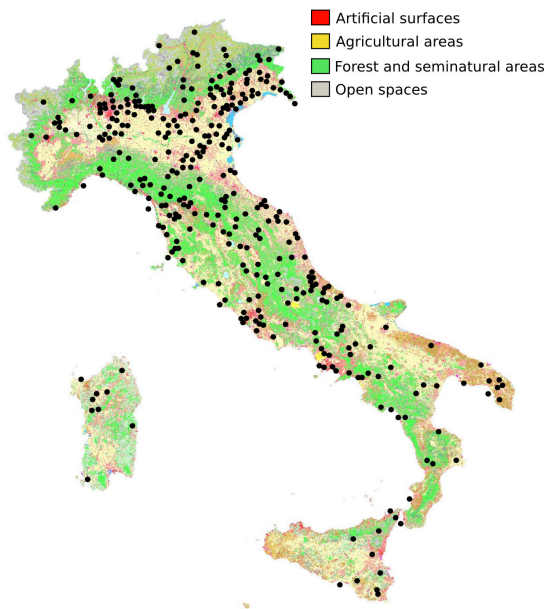
Fig. 2 – Ecological conflicts and land use.
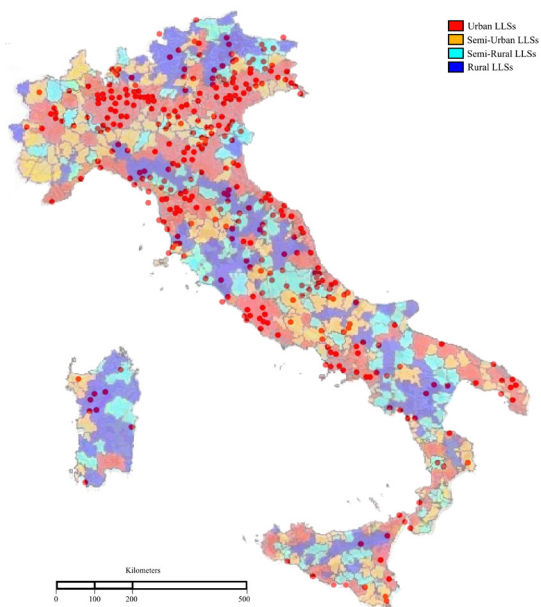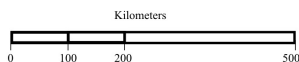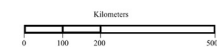Source: CORINE Land Cover

Fig. 3 – Ecological conflicts and Local
Labour System (LLSs).
Source: Avallone e Torre, 2013.

Analyzing the map of Local Labour Systems, it seems clear that the majority of conflicts occurred in the areas of urban local labour system. The population of these areas is typically composed by *city users*, people using the urban space for work activities and services, but who live in larger areas and travel daily within the area bounded by the labour system.

The majority of conflicts therefore exploded in relation to a strong presence of settlements and in areas in which the territory was subjected to strong exploitation. This may explain the wide distribution of these phenomena on the Italian territory.

The advance of the economic crisis has probably affected the growth of the phenomenon and has modified the boundaries of labour systems, but the general structure of the Italian urban system has maintained its fundamental traits.

To analyze the phenomenon, we have to consider the peculiaritie of the Italian case, that consists in huge areas of ecological crisis caused by criminal behaviours, which are not controlled by the government structures. According to the Bank of Italy's studies, the costs of construction of public works are very high throughout the country, construction of public works is very slow, and benefits of achieving them are often very far from those expected.

The construction of an infrastructure lasts almost twice the original financial plan and costs more than double than expected (Banca d'Italia, 2012). This seems to confirm, as a part of supporters of neoliberal policies has sustained, that the State has maintained a central role in the development policies, regulating and financing investments, especially oriented towards public facilities and infrastructures and mega projects. It must be said, however, that it also emphasizes how the programming of the central state takes greater account of the demands of the big companies than those of the local population.

Even if characterized by a wide heterogeneity, this type of grass-roots movements have had a common aim: building opposition directed toward the construction of major public works such as military bases, incinerators, gas terminals, bridges, landfills, generally approved by the national Government. This situation sets the basis for a re-discussion of the role of institutions in land management and preservation of the landscape, but especially for research on the changes in the forms of European democracy.

2. SOME TRADITIONAL DEFINITIONS, A NEW DEFINITION

Following the scientific literature, in a preliminary way, it is possible to classify these forms of conflict as environmental conflicts, which are no longer only due to the scarcity of resources, but also to the violent environmental and territorial transformations (Martinez-Alier and O'Connor, 1996; Douguet et al., 2008; Roman, 2009). This form of social conflict is determined by an action of violent transformation of the environment that produces a reaction by the

population affected in a direct way. Often the phenomenon also affects the defense of the general equilibrium of an ecosystem or the maintenance of the traditional relationship between a community and the surrounding area.

Our analysis starts with recognizing the inexistence of a social syndrome definable as *nymbism*, namely a collective behavior defined by social egoism and territorial particularism, which does not help to understand the real reasons of the local movements and conflicts (Avallone, 2009). Supporting the existence of a social syndrome, a form of disease seems more like a way to not deal with the problems posed to the analysis of extremely complex frameworks that a scientific method of detection. Conflicts detected in the Italian case, for example, lead easier to talk to a syndrome of conflict against the state, because the claims are very different from each other. The preservation of health is a common factor, but not exclusive and the contents of the various organizations, set up around these experiences, seem too different from each other. Finally, to support the existence of a social syndrome, a scientifically recognized limit should be defined within which it makes sense to oppose government initiatives, which does not make much sense in terms of studies of political philosophy.

We also have to consider the fact that in an area such as the European Union, where there is a high index of landscape diversity, any intervention could undermine the local landscape units. In relation to this, it also highlights the enormous limit of the development strategies, which preside over the choices of infrastructural facility in Europe.

Our hypothesis is that this framework could be due, in a majority of cases, to a new typology of conflict. It is similar to the ones occurred in colonial contexts, where local population was opposed to different forms of institutional intervention, from major building projects to new landfills. According to Arthur Westing (1986), common denominator of all colonial wars was that natural resources such as minerals, fuels, fish stocks, products of the land and the land itself played an important role. The entire colonial history has been the history of a conflict over environmental resources, also fought between the armies of the occupants and the local population. This type of conflict has often developed around the construction of large-scale production or conversion of large portions of the colonial countries, as happened in the case of India or in the colonial North Africa.

3. ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICTS AS POSTCOLONIAL CONFLICTS?

To identify the presence of this typology of conflict on European soil, we have to answer to many questions because, in the same way in which they have produced a great transformation in the colonial space, their presence represents a great change in the European territorial context.

The objections to the construction of major infrastructure are a constant problem of the transformation of the colonial territories, which remains in the attempt to build the new post-colonial identity. For example, McFarlane (2008) has highlighted that:

> Rather than belonging to the past, in Bombay's public and intellectual imagination infrastructures have always been an important part of urban politics and everyday life, from their contested production in colonial Bombay to their indexing as central features of modernity in the post-Independence Nerhuvian state (McFarlane, 2004; 2008; Prakash, 2006), to the contemporary media debate.

As pointed out several times by historians of postcolonial studies, the term *postcolonial* works in a chronological analysis, but it is unfeasible in social research, as long as there will be no specific recognized analytical categories.

We may operate by identifying similarities but we do not find precise historical mismatches. Social conflicts, which have been developed over the last forty years across Europe and Italy, have common elements, even if social agents orient themselves toward different objectives. They indicate a general crisis of the current model of democracy and they are the result of a strong concentration of wealth and decision-making power.

However, these phenomena are postcolonial also because they reproduce processes that historically were exported from the colonial spaces of Western society to the European territory. In particular, they realize hierarchical relationships between central and local levels, which bring into question democracy and its meanings and procedures. In Italy, in some cases, State has acted through military dispositives. For example, it has happened in Campania to manage waste crisis in 2008, when a law (Decree May 23/2008, n. 90 "Misure straordinarie per fronteggiare l'emergenza nel settore dello smaltimento dei rifiuti nella regione Campania e ulteriori disposizioni di protezione civile") defined landfills and other waste treatment facilities as "areas of strategic national interest", in other words military sites, subordinated to a military control and management. The same trend has been observed in Val di Susa with regard to conflicts against high-speed trains, especially with adoption of a decree which defined any areas of the project as a zone of national strategic interest (Engel-Di Mauro, 2013) and use of army to control construction sites. Territorial rule by military means is a typical colonial practice acted towards local – occupied – population. It manifests a hierarchy and a strong distance between rulers and ruled, which dispossesses local populations of their right to decide on areas on which they live. In this way, determined territorial areas has been "occupied" by the national army, perceived as a foreign body.

Fig. 4 – Words cloud by text of documents produced by 30 Italian local citizens' committees.

The phenomenon is of particular importance from the point of view of the cultural perception of the landscape. The *Westernization* of the landscape was a constant of the process carried out through very hard colonial practices of domination (Sluyter, 2002; Crosby, 1986). The excluded, those who had no right of choice, belonged to the process of *Westernization* of the landscape, and normally, they were the local population. The colonial experience has also been the experience of a violent exportation of an organizational environment and cultural landscape. The colonial powers could not tolerate the permanence of the old local systems and often clashed with resistance from residents who opposed the transformation of their territory. In the late stage of industrialization the actors of these conflicts were generally companies from other countries who were interested in making a profit, following the colonial model of development, often undermining the local environment. For this reason, The majority of the definitions of Ecological Conflicts can be applied to colonial and postcolonial social structure.

It can also address the issue in terms of general economic theory, because large infrastructure projects generally follow the prevailing model of economic development. In the colonial model development must necessarily follow the rules of the colonizing countries.

In the current situation, the prevailing model still seems to follow the neoliberal theory concerning anything that can be considered of general interest. The idea, which led the greatest projects, reflects the traditional neoliberal attitude,

presented in the classical Hardin's theory, according to which the management of the commons has to be attributed to an overregulation system, and not to the local communities. According to the same principle, we may say that in recent years in Europe there has been a widespread conflict concerning the right of choice of local populations with respect to centralized national programming.

As occurred in the colonial territories, right of local population to rule its landscape and life environment is lost or reduced to allow landscape changes decided by the central government. In this way, a crisis emerges in the relationship between State and local populations, highlighting a central question: who rules landscapes? This question is linked to a more general issue, about legal and political landscape characteristics, which are the real stake of the observed conflicts. Local environmental conflicts make possible to construct a new definition of these characteristics, which goes beyond the classic distinction between public and private to recognize the dimension of common, according to David Harvey's definition: "The common is not, therefore, something extant once upon a time that has since been lost, but something that, like the urban commons, is continuously being produced" (Harvey, 2011, p. 103).

4. LANDSCAPE AS A COMMON GOOD

Inside these phenomena we may observe not just the defense of the territorial context, but also the affirmation of the idea of landscape as a common good. Often, the risk of loss of historical landscape units is placed on the same level of health risk. Sometimes, in cases where it determines a conflict in urban areas, the problem arises in different terms, the predominant is the issue of health risk, but it also raises the defense of the historic urban landscape, such as in the case of Parma's incinerator.

In the Italian case, it means to revise the structure of the claims and policy proposals, in addition to the traditional vision of the landscape as an institutional product. Landscape is claimed as a product of the local tradition that has a considerable value for the recognition of the social identity.

We also may found in these processes the arising of a new definition of Ecological Conflict, which assume the large connotation of conflict between central political institutions and local communities on the environmental and landscape protection, and involves the concept of environmental justice (Bullard, 1990; Schlosberg, 2007). This paper is aimed to support the hypothesis that the failure of state overregulation is followed by spontaneous proposals of self-regulation and management of the landscape considered as a common, which are new kinds of relationship between political practices and local contexts. According to O'Connor's analysis, environmental movements are the obvious consequence of

ecological crisis, produced by the excessive capitalistic use of land. We may note that these movements are produced by intervention on local environment, but they are considered by participating in riots as cases of a general problem they may prefigure the arising of a new social request on environment as a common. These environmental conflicts are postcolonial also because they have developed a conflict between general (State-based) and specific (local-based) knowledge. Local knowledge is based on people's firsthand experience rooted in a specific territorial area. According to international literature (Corburn, 2003; FAO, 2004), it is characterized by some traits, such as: distinction from formal scientific knowledge; embeddedness in community practices, institutions and relationships based on local history, common sense and empiricism; dependence on groups who are intimate with their natural and social world; based on an organized, dynamic and evolving body of thought adapted to the local culture and environment.

A social use of knowledge is evident in these movements, based on a different rationality. A scientific-social rationality is produced by the link across different (scientific and local) forms of knowledge. It is different from technical-scientific rationality, on which are based the institutional discourses that support the siting decisions. The public and local knowledge of community toxic hazards in the last two decades has mostly stalked from the observations of ordinary people and it is frequently emerged through informal participation and grassroots movements. This local informal knowledge is linked to alternative forms of participation that go beyond nimbysm attitude and label. Local knowledge favours the development of the popular epidemiological approach as opposed to traditional or classical epidemiological research, by assuming that community residents are capable of understanding and identifying the sources of environmental hazards and health problems.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In this context, it is highlighted a new limit of democracy, in which the defense of the landscape may be an expression of local democratic instances. Environmental conflicts break local social alliances or arise when those alliances are already in crisis. They occur when the regulation of the landscape as a common good is no longer respected by the central institutional systems. The phenomenon highlights two deep transformations: first one concerns the existence of phenomenon that was only in colonial contexts before; second one concerns the local population's perception of the landscape as a common good to defend.

We may say that these are exactly the qualities of landscape as far as, according to Jacques Derrida these are the qualities of democracy. The landscape changes constantly according to the new demands placed by the inhabitants. Democracy

constantly changing with the emergence of new needs, new rights and it needs to be redefined in accordance with the new forms of social organization. As a common good, the landscape implies changes in the concept of democracy.

REFERENCES

AVALLONE G., *«NIMBY»: definizione e critica di un concetto dell'analisi ambientale,* in L. Struffi (ed.), *Crisi economica, crisi ambientale, nuovi modelli sociali. Atti del 7° convegno dei sociologi dell'ambiente italiani,* Trento, Università degli Studi di Trento, 2009, pp. 333-346.

AVALLONE G., TORRE S., *Do migrations have an urban vocation yet? New trends in italian urban settlement,* in *As Cidades na Historia: populacao. ATAS.* Guimarães: Câmara Municipal de Guimarães, vol. 5, 2013, pp. 11-33.

CORBURN J., *Bringing Local Knowledge into Environmental Decision Making: Improving Urban Planning Communities at Risk*, "Journal of Planning Education and Research", 22, 2003, pp. 420-433.

CROSBY A., *Ecological Imperialism*, Cambridge, New York, UP, 2004.

DERRIDA J., *The Other Heading: Reflections on Today's Europe*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1992.

ENGEL-DI MAURO S., *Introduction to the Symposium: Hints of Post-capitalist Prefiguration in Val di Susa (NW Italy),* "Capitalism Nature Socialism", Vol. 24, Issue 2, 2013, pp. 7-13.

FAO, *Building on Gender, Agrobiodiversity, and Local Knowledge. A Training Manual,* 2004 (http://www.evolutionsociety.org/statements.html).

HARVEY D., *Rebel cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*, New York, Verso, 2011.

MCFARLANE C., *Geographical imaginations and spaces of political engagement: examples from the Indian Allianc*, "Antipode", n. 36, issue 5, 2004, pp. 890-916.

MCFARLANE C., *Governing the Contaminated City: Infrastructure and Sanitation in Colonial and Post-Colonial Bombay,* "International Journal of Urban and Regional Research", Vol. 32, 2, 2008, pp. 15-435.

PRAKASH G., The Idea of Bombay, "The American Scholar", n.75, 2006, pp.88-99.

SLUYTER A., *Colonialism and Landscape.* Oxford, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002.

WESTING A. H., (ed.), *Global Resource and International Conflict. Environmental Factors in Strategic Policy and Action.* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1986.

ABSTRACT
POSTCOLONIAL SOCIAL CONFLICTS AND NEW PERSPECTIVES ON LANDSCAPE AS A COMMON

In recent years, various social conflicts arose in Europe around the landscape protection. In the same period, this kind of social conflict has spread in the Italian context, from North to South, with more than 400 cases occurred between local communities and central (and/or regional) Government. Analogous kinds of cases emerged in other European countries (e.g. in Holland against onshore wind projects), even if these conflicts assumed strongest forms in the Southern European context, involving the main social and political actors at different levels.

In the Italian case, they have developed around not only landscape but also environmental and public health issues, articulating the stake of conflicts. The phenomenon has been differentiated with regard to number of participants, duration (ranging from a few days to tens of years), kind of claim, territorial and institutional scale and forms of opposition. Some local conflicts have expressed a mass participation, long duration, articulated claims, multi-scaling references and varied forms of action, included riots and illegal behaviours. Other conflicts have manifested lower and/or less constant levels of participation, different durations, local scale reference and specific forms of action, often privileging legal forms.

The majority of these conflicts have been localized in the Northern areas of the State, because the historical larger location of infrastructural interventions. The social structure of the country has obviously influenced the planning of infrastructure projects. These conflicts have been occurred as in rural as in urban context, so there are either differences in the areas or in the social composition of population, but there was not a specific segment of the population detectable as the main component of the protests.

The social composition of opposition movements to major public works, however, is quite varied, not only because of the spatial distribution. In small towns it seems easier to catch a glimpse of a mixed composition that transversally involves all the inhabitants. In the largest areas territorial belonging of participants seems more homogeneous (usually the inhabitants of the areas affected by the construction of the works). The presence of political organizations is much fragmented and divided and a precise statement of position does not seem to exist. For example, environmental organizations are often present, but especially in their local articulation, while the national political parties come to have different and contradictory positions in different areas of the country (they are often opposed to one type of intervention in an area of the country and in favour in another, other times they support the policies of the national government in contradiction with the involvement in local movements).

Our hypothesis is that this framework could be due, in a majority of cases, to a new typology of conflict. It is similar to the ones occurred in colonial contexts, where local population was opposed to different forms of institutional intervention, from major building projects to new landfills. According to Arthur Westing, common denominator of all colonial wars was that natural resources such as minerals, fuels, fish stocks, products of the land and the land itself played an important role. The entire colonial history has been the history of a conflict over environmental resources, also fought between the armies of

the occupants and the local population. Often this type of conflict has developed around the construction of large-scale production or conversion of large portions of the colonial countries, as happened in the case of India or in the colonial North Africa.

We also may found in these processes the arising of a new definition of Ecological Conflict, which assume the large connotation of conflict between central political institutions and local communities on the environmental and landscape protection, and involves the concept of environmental justice (Bullard, 1990; Schlosberg, 2007). This paper is aimed at supporting the hypothesis that the failure of state overregulation is followed by spontaneous proposals of self-regulation and management of the landscape considered as a common, which are new kinds of relationship between political practices and local contexts.

In this context, it is highlighted a new limit of democracy, in which landscape protection may be an expression of local democratic instances. Environmental Conflicts break local social alliances or arise when those alliances are already in crisis. They occur when the regulation of the landscape as a common good is no longer respected by the central institutional systems. The phenomenon highlights two deep transformations: first one concerns the existence of phenomenon that was only in colonial contexts before; second one concerns the local population's perception of the landscape as a common good to defend.

We may say that these are exactly the qualities of landscape as far as, according to Jacques Derrida these are the qualities of democracy. The landscape changes constantly according to the new demands placed by the inhabitants. Democracy constantly changing with the emergence of new needs, new rights and it needs to be redefined in accordance with the new forms of social organization. As a common good, the landscape implies changes in the concept of democracy.

RICOLLEGARE ENERGIA E TERRITORIO: IL PAESAGGIO COME INTERMEDIARIO. ALCUNE RIFLESSIONI A PARTIRE DAI RISULTATI DEL PROGETTO *RESSOURCES*

Serge Briffaud, Viviana Ferrario

1. TRANSIZIONE ENERGETICA E TERRITORIO: PAESAGGI DELL'ENERGIA

La produzione, la distribuzione e il consumo dell'energia influenzano fortemente e sono a loro volta influenzati dalle forme e dall'organizzazione del territorio. L'interdipendenza tra i sistemi energetici e quelli territoriali è talmente profonda che non è possibile immaginare una trasformazione dei primi senza ripercussioni sui secondi e viceversa (Puttilli, 2014). Tuttavia sia in ambito scientifico sia in ambito tecnico e progettuale gli aspetti territoriali dell'attuale transizione energetica non ricevono ancora la necessaria attenzione. Sembra dunque necessario individuare uno strumento che consenta di tenere insieme gli aspetti spaziali e sociali, geografici e storici dell'energia. Nell'ambito delle discipline territoriali si è recentemente affermato il concetto di "paesaggio dell'energia" (landscape of energy), con l'obiettivo di investigare la dimensione spaziale dell'energia, dandole visibilità in relazione al suo ruolo di supporto indispensabile per la città e il territorio (Goshn, 2010). Avendo presente i numerosi conflitti che segnano l'attuale transizione energetica, gli studiosi suggeriscono che una maggior consapevolezza territoriale e paesaggistica delle politiche energetiche le renderebbe più efficienti e più efficaci, obbligandole a considerare quegli aspetti spaziali, temporali e sociali che sono ora trascurati (Nadai e Van Der Horst, 2010).

In questo quadro si muove il progetto di ricerca internazionale "*Ressources paysagères et ressources énergétiques dans les montagnes sud-européennes. Histoire, comparaison, expérimentation*"[1]. Attraverso una rilettura storico-geografica delle

---

[1] Il presente saggio presenta alcuni risultati della ricerca internazionale "*Ressources paysagères et ressources énergétiques dans les montagnes sud-européennes. Histoire, comparaison, expérimentation*". La ricerca, che coinvolge ricercatori di quattro paesi (Italia, Francia, Spagna, Svizzera), appartenenti

dinamiche paesaggistiche connesse con lo sfruttamento delle risorse energetiche che si sono verificate in Europa nel corso del Novecento, la ricerca si ripropone di contribuire all'evoluzione del dibattito in corso, esplorando le potenzialità del paesaggio come intermediario, come strumento capace di rintracciare e rendere palesi le complesse relazioni che si stabiliscono tra società, ambiente e territorio nei processi di sfruttamento dell'energia.

Nadai e Van Der Horst nel 2010 sollevano la necessità di avviare contemporaneamente due tipi di ricerca: una lettura dell'energia attraverso il paesaggio, in modo tale che il progetto energetico possa diventare maggiormente sensibile alle necessità del paesaggio (*landscape-sensitive*), e una lettura del paesaggio attraverso l'energia (*looking at landscapes through the 'energy lens'*). Il progetto *Ressources* sostiene l'idea che una lettura del paesaggio attraverso l'energia sia in grado di attivare la capacità intermediatrice del paesaggio stesso. Discuteremo questa ipotesi nelle pagine che seguono.

2. PAESAGGIO COME INTERMEDIARIO: LE IPOTESI E IL METODO

Se analizziamo i conflitti paesaggistici legati all'attuale transizione energetica, l'idea di paesaggio ad essi sottesa è spesso molto "visiva" e si concentra per lo più sul problema dell'impatto dell'introduzione nel quadro paesaggistico esistente di un'infrastruttura nuova. Senza negare che il problema estetico possa meritare di essere sollevato, ci sembra essenziale allargare la prospettiva, provando ad immaginare un ruolo diverso del paesaggio nella costruzione del processo di transizione energetica. Formuliamo dunque l'ipotesi che il paesaggio possa diventare strumento efficace per:

– concepire il progetto dello sviluppo delle energie rinnovabili entro un quadro più democratico;
– integrare più efficacemente lo sviluppo delle energie rinnovabili nel progetto di territorio.

Nel primo caso il paesaggio viene impiegato in quanto strumento concreto e condivisibile, disponibile all'osservazione di tutti, capace di avvicinare le scelte politiche e la conoscenza scientifica all'esperienza comune. Nel secondo caso il paesaggio viene impiegato per sua capacità di raccontare le relazioni che si sono

---

stabilite nel corso del tempo in un determinato territorio tra la società e i modi dello sfruttamento delle fonti di energia. In quanto "archivio" di queste relazioni, esso registra gli effetti territoriali diretti e indiretti delle scelte effettuate dalle generazioni che ci hanno preceduto in campo energetico. In questo modo il paesaggio gioca un ruolo di supporto, raccogliendo gli attori e i soggetti interessati attorno ad un medesimo oggetto di riflessione e permettendo di pensare simultaneamente le connessioni esistenti tra la questione energetica e le numerose altre questioni di gestione territoriale e di sviluppo locale che ad essa si intrecciano. È soprattutto su questo secondo punto che si è concentrato il progetto *Ressources*.

Perché il paesaggio possa essere strumento efficace per integrare la questione energetica nel progetto di territorio è necessario lavorare per far emergere il suo carattere latente di intermediario. È necessario «far parlare» il paesaggio, mostrando come le relazioni con la questione energetica hanno contribuito, nel tempo, a formarlo. Il paesaggio deve poter essere interrogato come un testimone: gli attori e i soggetti portatori di interesse devono poter accedere alle notizie e ai dati contenuti nel paesaggio-archivio.

A questo scopo il progetto ha identificato e sperimentato uno strumento specifico, la *lecture énergétique du paysage*. Questa lettura del paesaggio "attraverso l'energia" ha il ruolo di rendere espliciti i modi con i quali la relazione società/ energia si è manifestata sul territorio, anche entro oggetti e fenomeni tra i quali non verrebbe in mente di cercarne il riflesso (forma dell'insediamento, strutture agrarie e dinamiche agronomiche, infrastrutturazione viabilistica o turistica, dinamiche della vegetazione, ecc.). Concepita in questo modo la *lecture énergétique du paysage* richiede un sapere inedito: attraverso una ricerca geostorica è necessario raccogliere i materiali necessari alla costruzione di quelli che abbiamo definito *scénarios paysagers de l'énergie*. Si tratta di uno strumento, al tempo stesso discorsivo e visuale, che permette di mettere in luce l'intreccio tra le vicende di una società in rapporto alle risorse energetiche di un territorio e il paesaggio che ne registra l'evoluzione, le flessioni, le tendenze, le soluzioni di continuità. Come un fondale teatrale, il paesaggio si trasforma seguendo l'azione che si svolge sulla scena, raccontandone a suo modo l'intreccio. Come un fondale teatrale si sostituisce ad un altro nei momenti cruciali della rappresentazione, così anche il paesaggio può mutare radicalmente al mutare del rapporto tra società e risorse.

Perché il progetto *Ressources* ha scelto la montagna come campo di studi? Le ragioni sono due: in primo luogo il paesaggio montano, per i suoi stessi caratteri, registra in modo particolarmente leggibile il rapporto tra l'uomo e l'energia; in secondo luogo perché la montagna è stata il teatro principale dell'ultima grande transizione energetica prima di quella attuale, cioè quella del passaggio dal carbone al "carbone bianco". Le profonde trasformazioni territoriali provocate dall'avvento dell'idroelettricità tra Ottocento e Novecento fanno della montagna il luogo perfetto per studiare le trasformazioni dei paesaggi dell'energia.

Quella transizione energetica ha comportato una trasformazione profonda del valore riconosciuto alle montagne, che diventano improvvisamente una riserva di energia. Gli svantaggi del territorio montano (la pendenza, l'innevamento, il grado estremo di entropia) fino ad allora ritenute componenti rilevanti del ritardo e della resistenza alla penetrazione della modernità, diventano invece un potenziale, assumono valore come fattore di modernizzazione. Un'inversione di valori come questa è a ben guardare esattamente quello di cui abbiamo bisogno nella transizione energetica attuale. Capire come si è trasformato il paesaggio durante le diverse fasi storiche che hanno contraddistinto lo sviluppo dell'energia idroelettrica può contribuire a rileggere con altri occhi la transizione energetica attuale, le sue problematiche e le sue sfide. L'esercizio che proponiamo impiega il paesaggio come intermediario, come elemento sul quale il rapporto tra la produzione di energia – in questo caso idroelettrica – e il processo di territorializzazione lascia delle impronte leggibili. La lettura di quelle impronte, spaziale e diacronica al tempo stesso, aiuta a ricollegare entro un discorso comune energia e territorio.

3. PAESAGGI IDROELETTRICI

In letteratura il rapporto tra sviluppo dell'energia idroelettrica e paesaggio è stato letto secondo approcci diversi. Ci si è concentrati sull'inserimento paesaggistico delle infrastrutture idroelettriche, studiando la loro "singolare capacità si saper alterare e nello stesso tempo intensificare e svelare i caratteri originali del paesaggio" (Selvafolta, 1998) e nel produrre paesaggi nuovi. I "paesaggi elettrici" sono qui interpretati come paesaggi infrastrutturali creati dalle dighe o dalle infrastrutture di trasporto dell'acqua e dell'energia (Pavia, 1998; Gouy-Gilbert et al., 2011, Bouneau et al., 2011). Un diverso approccio si concentra sull'impatto delle infrastrutture sul paesaggio e sui conflitti con le istanze di conservazione, al centro di vive discussioni fin dagli esordi dello sviluppo dell'idroelettricità. Il paesaggio è qui lo sfondo e l'oggetto di una profonda contrapposizione tra il passato e il futuro (Caravaggi, 1998; Blanc et Bonin, 2008). Fintanto che il conflitto veniva percepito come estetico e culturale ad esso si poteva rispondere con una maggiore sensibilità nell'inserimento paesaggistico dei progetti idroelettrici (Caravaggi, 1998); tuttavia non appena il conflitto esce dal campo strettamente visivo e si sposta su quello della compatibilità ambientale diventa sostanzialmente insanabile (Sognini, 2006) e concorre ad alimentare l'attuale dibattito scientifico sulle rinnovabili (Ferrario e Castiglioni, 2015). Un terzo approccio pone l'attenzione sul processo di patrimonializzazione dei paesaggi e delle infrastrutture idroelettriche attualmente in corso, permesso dalla distanza temporale che ormai ci separa da esso e dai nuovi valori culturali che siamo disposti ad attribuirgli, testimoniati anche da un crescente flusso turistico (Fontana, 1998; Varaschin et Bouvier, 2010; Rodriguez, 2012).

Infine un ultimo approccio solleva la questione del rapporto tra paesaggi elettrici e progetto di territorio, opponendosi alla pericolosa separazione progressiva tra progetti infrastrutturali e politiche territoriali (Pavia, 1998). Gli *scenarios paysagers de l'energie* costruiti nel corso del progetto si situano, come vedremo negli esempi riportati nei paragrafi successivi, al crocevia tra questi diversi approcci.

4. *SCÉNARIOS PAYSAGÈRES* DELL'IDROELETTRICITÀ

Nello spazio montano europeo sono pochi i luoghi che non si presterebbero ad essere letti attraverso la lente dell'energia idroelettrica. Il paesaggio montano è coinvolto nelle vicende dello sfruttamento idroelettrico in tutta la sua complessità: sia nelle sue strutture materiali che si trasformano – la vegetazione, gli spazi dell'agricoltura e dell'allevamento, gli insediamenti, le forme stesse del rilievo – sia nelle sue costruzioni immateriali e simboliche. Nei paragrafi che seguono, a titolo di esempio, esploreremo le interrelazioni tra lo sviluppo dell'idroelettricità e le attività forestali, agropastorali e turistiche, mettendo in luce gli elementi che possono concorrere alla costruzione di una lettura del paesaggio in chiave energetica. Lo sfondo sul quale ci muoviamo è quello delle quattro aree oggetto di studio della ricerca *Ressources*: l'alto bacino del Piave, il Valais, i Pirenei centrali, la Sierra Nevada.

4.1. *Idroelettricità e foreste*

Fin dall'apparizione dell'energia idroelettrica a cavallo tra il XIX e il XX secolo, si stabiliscono forti alleanze tra i promotori del carbone bianco e gli ingegneri forestali che militano per il rimboschimento delle montagne (Selvafolta, 1998; Armiero, 2013). Le politiche forestali e quelle di *Restauration des Terrains en Montagne* (ripristino dei terreni montani), che in Italia hanno il loro corrispettivo nelle cosiddette "sistemazioni montane", trovano legittimazione nei crescenti fabbisogni energetici: la riforestazione e la protezione delle foreste esistenti contro l'instabilità dei versanti – che si ritiene causata dall'eccessivo sfruttamento agropastorale – vengono giustificate anche in vista dello sviluppo delle infrastrutture idroelettriche, che vanno protette dai rischi naturali (le piene dei torrenti, le valanghe, ecc.). La connessione è particolarmente evidente nel caso della creazione della riserva di Néouvielle nel 1935, una delle prime della Francia: i promotori della riserva mettono in relazione diretta l'argomento della protezione della foresta con quello della tutela della risorsa energetica, rappresentata dai laghi esistenti in questa regione (Chouard, 1935).

Dal loro canto gli ingegneri idroelettrici tengono in gran conto la risorsa forestale, perché sanno bene che la foresta regola il flusso delle acque e ne promuove lo stoccaggio, facilitandone l'infiltrazione nei suoli e riducendo l'evapotraspirazione. Un ricco paesaggio forestale rappresenta dunque una condizione particolarmente attraente per i promotori dello sviluppo idroelettrico e contribuisce a selezionare i luoghi più o meno vocati per la costruzione degli impianti.

"Il bacino in esame è quasi completamente ricoperto da folti boschi (…) e si riscontrano pure notevoli quantità di alluvioni. Si comprende subito l'importanza rilevante che hanno questi due fattori, perché bene soddisfano allo scopo della regolazione dei deflussi" (SID – Società Idroelettrica Dolomiti, *Utilizzazioni idroelettriche del torrente Padola*, progetto di massima, ing. Alessandro Corte, 1926).

In Italia lo sviluppo idroelettrico trova un altro alleato nella cosiddetta "bonifica montana", voluta fortemente dal regime fascista: la popolarità di un serbatoio idroelettrico aumenta infatti se esso è occasione per il drenaggio e/o l'allagamento definitivo di terreni paludosi.

"Il terreno a sud della strada dell'Alpago sul tratto tra il canale e la strada d'Allemagna (sic!) a cui quella s'incrocia, è tutto acquitrinoso e verrà completamente sommerso dal lago di Santa Croce quando il livello di questo sarà aumentato di sei metri previsti per accrescerne la capacità (…) niente di meglio: la conseguenza (…) sarà un vantaggio alla salute pubblica perché dove c'è palude c'è malaria" (Tomaselli, 1923).

4.2. *Energia idroelettrica, modernizzazione e paesaggi agricoli e pastorali*

Nelle regioni di montagna il rapporto tra sviluppo idroelettrico e sfruttamento delle risorse agricole si è per lo più manifestato sotto forma di contrasto aperto. Spesso la costruzione degli impianti ha contribuito ad accelerare il declino dell'agricoltura di montagna sia sottraendole spazio – quello che viene sommerso dai laghi artificiali – sia sottraendole forza lavoro, impiegata direttamente nei cantieri o indirettamente nelle attività connesse. In innumerevoli casi i nuovi paesaggi idroelettrici – in particolare quelli connessi ai sistemi diga/serbatoio – fanno scomparire antichi paesaggi agropastorali. A volte la perdita viene risarcita dopo la costruzione dell'impianto, altre volte invece la ferma resistenza degli agricoltori contribuisce a rallentare, se non ad evitare, l'installazione delle infrastrutture idroelettriche. Nell'estremo nord del bacino del Piave negli anni Quaranta del Novecento gli abitanti agricoltori si oppongono alla costruzione dei serbatoi di Campo Croce e di Botestagno vicino a Cortina d'Ampezzo, e di quelli di Val Visdende e Sappada. Negli appelli che essi lanciano emerge con forza la

contrapposizione tra due modi diversi e incompatibili di ricavare energia dagli elementi tipici del paesaggio alpino: i pascoli e le foreste da un lato, l'acqua e il dislivello dall'altro.

In alcuni casi è solo con la scomparsa di un precedente paesaggio agropastorale che può farsi strada il paesaggio idroelettrico. Il problema è particolarmente evidente in quelle regioni montane dove l'irrigazione è condizione necessaria per tutta l'attività agricola. Nel caso del Valais, massiccio relativamente arido al riparo dalle perturbazioni dell'Atlantico e del Mediterraneo, la politica delle grande dighe ha potuto affermarsi solo una volta che i sistemi d'irrigazione basati sulle cosiddette «*bisses*» – cioè su una rete di canali d'irrigazione tradizionali che raccolgono l'acqua di scioglimento dei ghiacciai e la trasportano sui versanti coltivati – erano stati abbandonati in favore dei sistemi di irrigazione a pioggia. Nella Sierra Nevada è solo a partire dall'abbandono di un sistema d'irrigazione ereditato dell'epoca araba che ha potuto svilupparsi lo sfruttamento idroelettrico. Nel Barranco di Poqueira, sul versante meridionale della Sierra Nevada, le prime centrali idroelettriche installate negli anni Cinquanta corrispondono all'abbandono della tipica suddivisione del versante in una parte alta dedicata alla pastorizia e alle colture asciutte e una parte bassa irrigata con le acque del torrente trasportate entro un canale collettore a mezza costa. Anche la foresta di protezione che viene piantumata negli anni Sessanta sui pascoli alti ha il preciso scopo di proteggere gli impianti idroelettrici sottostanti.

Sviluppo idroelettrico, politiche forestali e attività agropastorale sono infatti strettamente collegati, spesso nella forma di un'alleanza dei primi due contro la terza. Ne è un esempio la già citata riserva forestale di Néouvielle sui Pirenei, creata per proteggere la risorsa forestale a favore delle infrastrutture idroelettriche, ma contro il pascolo delle greggi degli allevatori aragonesi, accusati di mettere in pericolo la foresta di *Pinus uncinata*, riconosciuta come la risorsa paesaggistica e botanica principale della riserva (Chouard, 1935).

Se per lo più dunque sviluppo idroelettrico e agricoltura di montagna sono in contraddizione tra loro, qualche volta succede il contrario: la presenza delle infrastrutture idroelettriche può contribuire a volte al mantenimento delle attività agricole. Questo si verifica ad esempio sull'altipiano di Saugue, di fronte a Gavarnie nei Pirenei, dove la strada costruita per la manutenzione dei tralicci delle linee elettriche permette agli allevatori di sfruttare dei pascoli che sarebbero stati altrimenti abbandonati. A Sopalù in Comelico, nell'alto bacino del Piave, la costruzione della strada per la centrale idroelettrica ha permesso di salvare un villaggio che altrimenti sarebbe stato quasi certamente abbandonato per la difficoltà di raggiungerlo. La strada ha consentito ad una delle piccole aziende agricole familiari rimaste in valle di continuare l'attività.

4.3. *Impieghi dell'acqua tra montagna e pianura*

Le relazioni che si stabiliscono tra idroelettricità e pratiche agricole si possono leggere anche come alternanza di alleanze e conflitti per l'uso della stessa risorsa, l'acqua; alleanze e conflitti che finiscono per opporre la montagna alla pianura. È ancora Neouvielle a offrircene un esempio, in quanto la riserva forestale stabilita negli anni Trenta per proteggere la risorsa idroelettrica contribuisce anche a proteggere un'area lacustre sistemata già alla fine dell'Ottocento con dighe di ritenuta per l'alimentazione del canale di irrigazione della Neste, uno degli elementi chiave dell'industrializzazione dell'agricoltura pedemontana nella regione dei Pirenei. In questo caso le sistemazioni idrauliche a scopo irriguo sono il precedente su cui si fonda l'infrastrutturazione idroelettrica.

Nella Sierra Nevada i ruoli si invertono: la sistemazione idroelettrica del bacino del Guadalquivir è l'occasione per la trasformazione della Sierra Nevada in una riserva d'acqua per l'agricoltura della Vega grenadina e delle pianure circostanti. Questa alleanza idroelettricità/irrigazione ha il suo apice con la costruzione nel 1989 del grande lago di Canales sul rio di Genil (Requena Galipienso, 2012).

Una situazione particolare interessa le montagne del Veneto ricomprese nel bacino del Piave. L'irrigazione dell'alta pianura asciutta veneto-friulana con l'acqua rilasciata dopo gli ultimi salti pedemontani è una delle attività che contribuiscono a legittimare gli impianti idroelettrici in montagna. D'altronde l'elettricità serve anche per elettrificare la bonifica delle paludi costiere, che viene razionalizzata a partire dagli anni Venti del Novecento. Si stabiliscono dunque delle relazioni biunivoche tra i paesaggi idroelettrici montani e quelli agrari di pianura, legati a doppio filo da flussi nascosti di acqua e di energia. Al crescere però della scarsità della risorsa acqua, questa alleanza si trasforma in un conflitto: l'obbligo di soddisfare la domanda di acqua per l'irrigazione porta a dover svuotare periodicamente i bacini idroelettrici in montagna, mettendone in luce le rive fangose e compromettendone così l'uso turistico. È allora che i laghi idroelettrici si rivelano in tutta la loro scomoda verità di serbatoi. Il lago di Centro Cadore, situato in una delle principali aree turistiche della montagna veneta, per esempio, deve essere impietosamente svuotato nelle stagioni asciutte per soddisfare i diritti di irrigazione della pianura. Le immagini del paesaggio fangoso del lago svuotato vengono usate come simbolo dello sfruttamento delle risorse della montagna già nei primi anni Cinquanta, subito dopo la costruzione della diga (Vecellio, 1953). Nel 2009, durante l'accesa battaglia che ha visto opporsi la provincia montana di Belluno alla Regione del Veneto per le competenze in materia di acqua, immagini analoghe sono state diffuse sulla stampa per visualizzare e dimostrare così all'opinione pubblica la dimensione del problema.

4.4. *Energia, turismo e costruzione dei valori paesaggistici*

Il maggior cambiamento che interessa la montagna europea nel Novecento, a cui l'infrastrutturazione energetica a suo modo contribuisce, risiede nel processo di trasformazione dello statuto del paesaggio montano, che diviene un oggetto di consumo e una risorsa visiva. Questo cambiamento, che è un processo di lunga durata, ci porta a parlare dei legami molto stretti e non univoci tra lo sviluppo turistico, la costruzione dei valori associati al paesaggio e l'infrastrutturazione idroelettrica dello spazio montano. Questi aspetti sono indissolubilmente legati tra loro: dal loro intreccio emergono nuovamente, attraverso gli *scénarios paysagers de l'énergie*, le nuove relazioni socio-economiche e culturali che si stabiliscono tra montagna e pianura nel corso del Novecento. Le diverse percezioni del valore delle risorse della montagna, mutando nel tempo, influenzano le nuove forme del territorio. Con l'infrastrutturazione idroelettrica fa irruzione nel dibattito sullo sfruttamento della montagna il tema della compatibilità con l'esigenza, tipicamente urbana, di usare lo spazio montano per il tempo libero, per soddisfare la quale la qualità del paesaggio è una condizione imprescindibile. Si stabilisce allora un'altra alleanza, più o meno esplicita: l'idroelettricità favorirà il turismo, in particolare come conseguenza dello sviluppo dei nuovi mezzi di trasporto, cioè le tranvie e i treni alimentati con l'elettricità, che portano in quota grandi quantità di persone, presso le più importanti stazione turistiche.

La creazione di linee di treni e di tram in montagna è una delle principali motivazioni della creazione di centrali idroelettriche fin dalla fine dell'Ottocento. È il caso ad esempio degli Hautes-Pyrénés, allora il cuore del turismo pirenaico: la linea ferroviaria a trazione elettrica tra Lourdes e Pierrefitte è in servizio fin dal 1891, mentre diversi progetti ne prevedono il prolungamento fino a Luz e Cauterets, una delle stazioni termali più importanti dei Pirenei. Cauterets diventerà uno dei centri della lotta contro lo sviluppo idroelettrico in nome della protezione dei siti pittoreschi, ma in quel momento è ancora una città pioniera in materia di elettrificazione. La prima tranvia intrapirenaica che lega Cauterets ai bagni di Raillère viene inaugurata nel 1895, proprio quando si costituisce la *Société d'éclairage de Cauterets* per l'elettrificazione della città e dei suoi hotel. Obiettivo è quello di aumentare la qualità della stazione turistica, che diviene in effetti una delle più significative destinazioni di lusso in Europa.

Questo tipo di processo si ritrova altrove. È molto precoce in Svizzera, ma concerne anche la Sierra Nevada e il bacino del Piave. Nella Sierra Nevada, una tranvia viene messa in servizio nella valle di Genil nel 1925, grazie a due centraline costruite appositamente. Essa permette alla popolazione di Granada e ai turisti che visitano la città di percorrere la valle fino a raggiungere la stazione di partenza di una teleferica, anch'essa elettrica, che li conduce ad un grande albergo di quota. L'operazione è iniziativa di un imprenditore di Granada, proprietario sia dell'albergo in quota che del famoso Alhambra Palace in città.

In Cadore la centrale di Ciampato a Calalzo viene costruita nel 1927 espressamente in vista dell'elettrificazione della ferrovia privata "delle Dolomiti", costruita durante la prima guerra mondiale a scopo militare e convertita poi in ferrovia civile a vapore. Già prima della prima guerra mondiale tutti i villaggi del Cadore erano illuminati con energia elettrica, grazie alle numerose centrali consortili, delle quali approfittavano gli alberghi situati nei paesi, mentre gli alberghi situati in posizione isolata lungo le strade nazionali, come il Grand Hotel Misurina o il Grand Hotel Cristallo, provvedevano autonomamente alla produzione di energia per il loro fabbisogno (Brentari, 1909).

Lo sviluppo dell'idroelettricità non partecipa solo allo sviluppo del turismo ma contribuisce in molti casi anche a cambiarne la spazialità. Nei Pirenei i laghi trasformati in serbatoi per l'idroelettricità giocano da questo punto di vista un ruolo importante. Sono infatti quasi tutti posti ad un'altitudine elevata e prima dello sviluppo idroelettrico erano il punto di arrivo delle escursioni turistiche. Con la infrastrutturazione idroelettrica essi diventano accessibili e si trasformano nel punto di partenza delle escursioni in alta montagna.

Cosi si esprime nel 1934 un ingegnere che opera nei Pirenei:

"Bisogna prima di tutto considerare che la creazione di centrali [idroelettriche] e più esattamente i lavori necessari per la captazione delle acque, cioè la sistemazione dei laghi e le prese d'acqua in alta montagna, hanno avuto immediatamente per corollario la sistemazione di strade e di mulattiere confortevoli, che permettono al turista ordinario di visitare comodamente alcuni luoghi d'altitudine l'accesso ai quali era nel passato riservato agli alpinisti provetti. […] In molti casi le infrastrutture necessarie per i lavori sono rimaste sul posto (strade, teleferiche, costruzioni di cantiere). Esse sono – o saranno – utilizzate per il trasporto dei viaggiatori che raggiungono, in qualche decina di minuti, quote dove non avevano mai pensato di avventurarsi" (Crescent, 1934, 33-34).

L'idroelettricità ha giocato un ruolo significativo anche nello sviluppo delle stazioni di sport invernali. Dopo la seconda guerra mondiale in Francia si assiste ad una politica di infrastrutturazione congiunta delle stazioni di sci e dei grandi siti idroelettrici. Lo Stato, che controlla la produzione mediante l'Ente nazionale per la produzione di energia (EDF), concede volumi edificatori alle amministrazioni locali, in cambio dell'accettazione delle grandi infrastrutture idroelettriche. Nel 1949 il lancio in grande stile della stazione sciistica di Barèges è permesso da un accordo con l'EDF: la costruzione della centrale di pompaggio di Cap-de-Long permette il prolungamento della funivia dell'Ayré, costruita negli anni 1936-37 al di sopra dell'antica località termale, fino a 2050 metri d'altitudine. Si realizza così, su 800 metri di dislivello, quella che allora era la più lunga pista da sci dei Pirenei. In cambio EDF può espandere i suoi impianti idroelettrici su tutto il territorio del comune di Barèges.

Come Barèges anche Cauterets è un esempio di località termale che diventa stazione sciistica. À Cauteres però, dove la funivia Cauteres-Lys-Monné viene costruita nel 1948 su un progetto del 1937, lo stesso processo si svolge sullo sfondo di un conflitto frontale delle autorità municipali e dei gestori delle terme con EDF, che nonostante la presenza di un sito vincolato non vuole abbandonare l'idea della sistemazione idroelettrica dell'alta valle.

Anche in Svizzera la relazione tra grandi dighe e stazioni sciistiche è molto forte. Ad esempio in Val d'Anniviers, a Grimentz, dove viene costruita la diga di Moiry tra 1954 e 1958, la stazione sciistica nasce quando finiscono i lavori della diga, sul versante che domina il paese. È a partire da questo momento che Grimentz si trasforma in un paese modello della montagna Svizzera, offrendo la sua immagine perfetta di paese fiorito (famoso il concorso per i migliori gerani) con le sue costruzioni tradizionali di legno. Pochi luoghi, senza dubbio, illustrano meglio di Grimentz la complicità tra le grandi dighe e il ribaltamento del paesaggio montano nella direzione di un'immagine consumabile, della trasformazione di una società che si offre come spettacolo ai turisti comunicando un'immagine di sé adattata al desiderio degli estranei (Crettaz, 1982).

Anche le stesse infrastrutture energetiche, e soprattutto le dighe e i serbatoi, diventano fin da subito una curiosità turistica importante. La situazione non è tuttavia la stessa nei diversi paesi. In Svizzera, in particolare, si può parlare di un vero culto delle grande dighe, che vengono percepite come espressione del sublime ingegneristico che si accorda perfettamente al sublime dell'alta montagna. In Svizzera la visita alla diga è un'istituzione e le dighe stesse rappresentano la capacità di un popolo montano di dominare la montagna e di appropriarsi delle sue forze.

Nei Pirenei le dighe non hanno uno statuto così preciso, ma la loro appartenenza allo spazio turistico diventa comunque molto presto un'evidenza. Così si esprime, con fierezza, un dirigente di EDF nel 1955, che non esita ad usare argomentazioni estetiche, associate a quelle dell'interesse nazionale, per giustificare il proseguimento dei lavori di sistemazione:

> "Il sistema idroelettrico di Pragnères-Cap–de-Long non è solo una fonte di energia; è un sito grandioso. Cap de Long, sulla strada dei laghi, Pragnères sulla strada di Gavarnie sono già delle stazione turistiche internazionali. A maggior ragione questa centrale idroelettrica rappresenta un'opera che deve essere perfezionata, in uno spirito di solidarietà nazionale, per il più bel sito lacustre delle nostre montagne e una delle più potenti centrali di Francia" (Dubon, citato in Dupont, 1955).

La storia di questo rapporto con l'estetica delle infrastrutture è molto diversa nell'alto bacino del Piave, dove le dighe sono situate per lo più in luoghi poco spettacolari, poco frequentati (ad esempio il serbatoio di Vodo o la diga del Comelico) oppure talmente vicini ai paesi da renderle quasi "domestiche"

(Auronzo); in generale in quest'area si nota una certa freddezza nei confronti degli aspetti eroici/estetici delle dighe, sulla quale ha influito probabilmente la nota catastrofe del Vajont. Non dimentichiamo che lo sviluppo turistico è uno dei miraggi usati come argomentazione dai tecnici della SADE per convincere gli abitanti della valle a vendere le loro terre per la realizzazione del serbatoio del Vajont, quello che verrà spazzato via dall'enorme frana del 6 ottobre del 1963, provocando la morte di quasi duemila persone.

Anche prima di questa data, però, nel bacino del Piave la giustificazione turistica/paesaggistica dello sviluppo idroelettrico non viene mai veramente presa sul serio. Anzi spesso l'infrastruttura idroelettrica viene vista come un pericolo per lo sviluppo turistico e il turismo stesso viene usato come argomentazione contro la costruzione dei laghi artificiali, come avviene in Val Visdende, nell'alto bacino del Piave.

> "Una determinata parte di questa zona inferiore di Valle Visdende sta per diventare turisticamente importante quale sede di villeggiatura e zona di cura; la valorizzazione in questo senso avrà il suo sviluppo tosto che sarà ultimata la sistemazione dell'unica strada di accesso alla valle, sistemazione in parte già compiuta con il concorso dello Stato. Il progettato serbatoio è ampio di superficie, ma poco profondo (mediamente 15 metri) e presenta vaste zone per modo che, nelle variazioni di quota di pelo libero durante le oscillazioni di svaso, molta di questa superficie sarà alternativamente occupata o no dalle acque, trasformandola in stagni fangosi con gli inconvenienti ben noti dal lato igienico. È prevedibile quindi che la superficie che corona il massimo invaso non diventerebbe bene accetta neppure per la destinazione a pascolo, mentre si dovrebbe evidentemente abbandonare ogni idea per quella valorizzazione turistica dianzi accennata » (Archivio Comunale di Santo Stefano di Cadore, X, 58°, 1949)

4.5. *L'invenzione della protezione del paesaggio*

Il trionfalismo ingegneristico che accompagna lo sviluppo idroelettrico genera conflitti importanti, che compaiono fin da l'inizio del Novecento. Agli albori dello sviluppo idroelettrico quello che si rimprovera ai nuovi impianti è il fatto di alterare la bellezza delle cascate, che per l'ingegnere idroelettrico sono appetibili salti naturali, ma che privati dell'acqua perdono il loro valore di attrazione turistica. A Gavarnie a prendere la difesa delle cascate messe in pericolo dallo sviluppo idroelettrico sono in primo luogo gli operatori turistici, una élite la cui fortuna è legata al successo delle stazione termale: ad essi si aggiungono i "pireneisti" (gli alpinisti dei Pirenei), difensori della natura "intatta". Questa resistenza sarà all'origine di una delle prime aree protette in nome della bellezza del paesaggio:

nel 1921 il circo glaciale di Gavarnie viene vincolato da un decreto ministeriale, con l'obiettivo principale di evitare un grande progetto di infrastrutturazione idroelettrica. Otto anni più tardi, tocca al sito di Cauterets ad essere vincolato, in nome della bellezza delle sue cascate.

Cauterets, che per gli ingegneri è una specie di paesaggio ideale del punto di vista delle sue potenzialità energetiche, diventa invece il grande luogo della resistenza. Verranno studiate diverse soluzioni per rendere compatibile lo sfruttamento idroelettrico con la protezione delle cascate: un ingegnere propone di imitare gli americani che avevano installato dietro le cascate di Niagara, per poterle sfruttare dal punto di vista idroelettrico, un sistema di soffioni per far gonfiare la cascata e mantenere il suo effetto anche con meno acqua. Alla fine a Cauterets non verrà realizzato nessun impianto idroelettrico e il sito, proprio a partire da questa lotta per le cascate, diventerà il punto di partenza del Parco Nazionale dei Pirenei, previsto fin dalla vigilia della prima guerra mondiale, ma istituito solo nel 1967. Lo sviluppo dell'idroelettricità è qui all'origine di una vera e propria spartizione degli spazi tra le aree da proteggere, destinate allo sviluppo turistico, e le aree lasciate alla infrastrutturazione energetica.

Anche in Italia, ma con un décalage temporale consistente, si tenta la strada della protezione paesaggistica per difendersi dalle dighe. È il caso della Val Visdende, per la quale sono gli abitanti stessi che chiedono nel 1948 il vincolo sulla base della Legge sulla protezione delle bellezze Naturali del 1939. Il vincolo paesaggistico non ferma però gli ingegneri della SADE e la concessione idroelettrica viene data nel 1951. A bloccare il progetto saranno due avvenimenti concomitanti: la nazionalizzazione nel 1963 con cui l'Ente Nazionale Energia Elettrica acquista la SADE con tutti i suoi impianti realizzati e progettati, e nello stesso anno, il 9 ottobre, il disastro del Vajont.

Il Vajont diventa simbolo della natura che si ribella agli eccessi umani e contribuisce a cambiare la percezione del territorio montano, mettendone in luce la fragilità. L'idea stessa del progresso tecnico può cominciare ad essere messa in discussione. Il caso del Vajont è per eccellenza quello della natura offesa che punisce l'*hybris* dei tecnici. In Italia si può dire che con il Vajont il grande idroelettrico si arresta. Nel bacino del Piave l'ENEL, anche sull'onda del nuovo clima culturale, rinuncia a quasi tutti i progetti non realizzati di cui aveva ereditato le concessioni. Solo negli anni Duemila si ricomincerà a parlare della costruzione di nuovi impianti idroelettrici quando le nuove politiche sulle energie rinnovabili cominceranno a rendere conveniente sfruttare i corsi d'acqua minori con il cosiddetto "microidrolettrico". Una nuova transizione energetica viene avviata in questi anni, un nuovo sfruttamento comincia a nutrire nuovi conflitti (Ferrario, Castiglioni, 2015).

5. RICOLLEGARE ENERGIA E TERRITORIO, NEL TEMPO E NELLO SPAZIO

Quello che c'è in gioco nelle vicende cui abbiamo accennato non è solo la possibilità di comprendere la coevoluzione del paesaggio e dello sfruttamento energetico, ma anche la possibilità di esplorare il paesaggio come *oggetto politico*. Come emerge dai risultati della ricerca *Ressources* il paesaggio riflette e aiuta a concepire contemporaneamente nella loro dimensione temporale, nella loro diversità e nelle loro interrelazioni gli aspetti territoriali del rapporto che le società stabiliscono con le risorse energetiche. In altri termini l'indagine geostorica che caratterizza la ricerca Ressources aiuta a comprendere che una transizione energetica deve essere anticipata da un progetto di territorio e organizzata sulla base di visione strategica di carattere territoriale.

Le trasformazioni del paesaggio si leggono alla scala locale. Tuttavia esse corrispondono ad evoluzioni dei rapporti socio-spaziali che mettono in gioco dimensioni territoriali ben più ampie, come dimostra, nel caso dell'energia idroelettrica, il caso tipico delle relazioni montagna-pianura. Queste trasformazioni si possono dunque leggere anche ad una scala superiore.

Lo sforzo di far emergere la dimensione diacronica nell'energia genera un relativo "disancoramento" del paesaggio, capace potenzialmente di liberarlo da quella dimensione di irriducibile aderenza ad uno spazio e ad una società specifiche che va a volte sotto il nome di "identità locale".

I risultati della ricerca *Ressources* possono essere impiegati perché questo *paesaggio-quadro*, l'unico invitato al tavolo delle negoziazioni in materia di energia, possa essere sostituito con il *paesaggio-territorio*. Scomposto e ricomposto attraverso il prisma dell'energia il paesaggio diventa un oggetto nuovo, un "paesaggio dell'energia" che prima non esisteva per nessuno degli attori territoriali. Questo paesaggio nuovo può diventare non solo una piattaforma di discussione sui destini del territorio, ma anche un ponte gettato tra la società e la transizione energetica con tutte le questioni complesse che essa solleva. Il ruolo di intermediario del paesaggio deve essere inteso in questo senso: non tanto come il mezzo per volgarizzare una conoscenza tecnica, ma come una vera e proprio reinvenzione del paesaggio stesso, per trasformarlo da semplice ostacolo alla transizione energetica (e in quanto tale aggirabile) a mezzo per territorializzarla in senso democratico.

RIFERIMENTI BIBLIOGRAFICI

ARMIERO M., *Le montagne della patria. Natura e nazione nella storia d'Italia*. Torino, Einaudi, 2013.
BLANC N., BONIN S., *Grands barrages et habitants. Les risques sociaux du développement*. Paris, Éditions Quae, 2008.

BONOLDI A., LEONARDI A. (a cura di), *Energia e sviluppo in area alpina: secoli XIX – XX. Atti della VII sessione del Seminario Permanente sulla Storia dell'Economia e dell'Imprenditorialità nelle Alpi in Età Moderna e Contemporanea*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2004.

BRENTARI O., *Cadore e valle di Zoldo. Guida storico turistica*, Milano, Artaria, 1909.

BOUNEAU C., VARASCHIN D., LABORIE L., VIGUIÉ R. (a cura di), *Les paysages de l'électricité: perspectives historiques et enjeux contemporains (XIXe-XXIe siècles).* Bruxelles, Peter Lang, Collection « Histoire de l'énergie », 2012.

CARAVAGGI L., "Natura ed energia. Conflitti e progetti di ricomposizione", in PAVIA R. (a cura di), *Paesaggi elettrici. Territori, architetture, culture*, Venezia, Marsilio, 1998, pp. 97-114.

CHOUARD P., "Les réserves naturelles aux Pyrénées. Création de la réserve du Néouvielle". *Annales de la Fédération Pyrénéenne d'Economie Montagnarde*, 4, 1935, pp. 30-48.

CRETTAZ B., *Un village suisse: le temps, la mémoire, la mort et les dires de Robert Rouvinez, paysan, organiste et conteur à Grimentz*, Grimentz, Musee d'Ethnographie, 1982.

DUPONT G.. "La mise en valeur des vallées de Luz et de Barèges et la contribution d'EDF", in *La Nouvelle République des Pyrénées*, xxx, 1955, n. xx, pp. Xx-xx.

FERRARIO V., CASTIGLIONI B., "Hydropower exploitation in the Piave river basin (Italian Eastern Alps). A critical reading through landscape", in FROLOVA M., PRADOS M.J., NADAÏ A., (a cura di), *Renewable energies and European landscapes. Lessons from the southern European cases*, Springer, 2015.

FONTANA V., "Tra il Veneto e il Friuli; l'architettura degli impianti idroelettrici", in PAVIA R. (a cura di), *Paesaggi elettrici. Territori, architetture, culture*, Venezia, Marsilio, 1998, pp. 167-184.

GHOSN R. (ed.), *Landscapes of Energy - New Geographies,* 2010, n. 2, Harvard University Press.

GOUY-GILBERT C., DALMASSO A., JAKOB M., *Alpes électriques: paysages de la houille blanche*, Renage, Dire l'Enterprise, 2011.

NADAI A., VAN DER HORST D., "Introduction. Landscapes of Energies", *Landscape research,* 2010, n. 35, pp. 235–257.

PAVIA R., "Introduzione", in Pavia R. (a cura di), *Paesaggi elettrici. Territori, architetture, culture*, Venezia, Marsilio, 1998, pp. 11-19.

PUTTILLI M., *Geografia delle fonti rinnovabili. Energia e territorio per un'eco-ristrutturazione della società*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2014.

REQUENA GALIPIENSO A., *Paisaje, energía hidroeléctrica y turismo en un ámbito de Sierra Nevada. Valles del Alto Genil y Maitena,* Tesi di laurea, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Granada, 2012.

RODRIGUEZ J-F., "Paysages de l'hydroélectricité et développement touristique dans les Pyrénées", *Revue de géographie alpine/Journal of Alpine Research*, 100-2, 2012, http://rga.revues.org/1805.

SELVAFOLTA O., "La costruzione del paesaggio idroelettrico nelle regioni settentrionali", in PAVIA R. (a cura di), *Paesaggi elettrici. Territori, architetture, culture*, Venezia, Marsilio, 1998, pp. 41-72.

SEMENZA C., "Le utilizzazioni idroelettriche ed irrigue del bacino del Piave", in BERTI A., *Le Dolomiti orientali. Guida turistico-alpinistica*, Milano, Club Alpino Italiano, Touring Club Italiano, 1950, pp. 15-20.

SOGNINI G., *Acque misteriose: libro bianco sull'uso delle acque nei grandi impianti idroelettrici in provincia di Sondrio*, Sondrio, Cooperativa editoriale quaderni Valtellinesi, 2006.

TOMASELLI C., "Impianto Piave Santa Croce", *Le vie d'Italia*, 29, 1923, n°.1, pp. 38-48.

VARASCHIN D., BOUVIER Y., *Le patrimoine industriel de l'électricité et de l'hydroélectricité. Actes du colloque international de Divonne-les-Bains et de Genève*, Éditions de l'université de Savoie, Geneve, 2010.

VECELLIO, P., *Prospettive per la montagna. Contributo allo studio dei problemi delle vallate alpine con particolare riguardo al Cadore ed alle valli bellunesi*, Roma, Pais, 1953.

ABSTRACT
BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN ENERGY DEVELOPMENT AND THE TERRITORY BY THE MEANS OF LANDSCAPE

The actual transition to non-carbon energies is changing our territories. Energy and the territory are in fact strictly linked, since production, transportation, consumption of energy happen in the space and heavily influence landscape transformation. Nevertheless on one side energy policies did not adopt any territorial approach in designing this transition, and on the other side landscape policies and planning rarely include energy dimension. There is then a need of bridging the gap between energy and the territory. This can be done developing research at the crossroads of landscapes and energies (Nadai and Van den Horst, 2010).

This article presents some results of the international research "*Ressources paysagères et ressources énergétiques dans les montagnes sud-européennes. Histoire, comparaison, expérimentation* » (Landscape resources and energy resources on the south European mountains. History, comparison, experiments), that worked on the landscapes of hydropower, under a geo-historical point of view. Its main objective is to analyse the "landscapes of energy" and the social representations connected, today and in the past, with the development of energy infrastructure.

The project focused on hydropower development from the end of the XIX century until nowadays, in four different European mountainous study areas. On this basis, the research tried to identify some tools for a "*mediation paysagère*", a mediation by the means of landscape, that can help actors in conceiving together energy project and territorial project. Landscape seems able to bridge the gap between energy development and the territory. The question is how to make its role of interface emerge, activating its underlying character of intermediator.

As the article shows, studying mountain landscape helps to reveal and to highlight the complex interrelations among hydropower development and the territory. Since landscape links people and the territory, it can be used as a tool to recognise territorial potential of energy development, giving back to energy its spatial and social dimension.

In the energy field, the discourse on landscape is normally focused on the potentially negative impact of infrastructure associated with the exploitation of renewable energy. This exclusively "visual" landscape appears on one side as an obstacle to the development of new energies, on the other side something to be protected against them. Our research aims to contribute to the current debate, testing the landscape as a tool to ensure that the

choices on energy become a strategic element of territorial concerted projects, able to take charge of the complex relationship between society / territory / environment. The research identifies and tests some methods to use the landscape as an instrument of intermediation, as a reference to be shared among the actors involved. This would happen making the geo-historical and socio-ecological complexity of landscape accessible to them.

The landscape brings deep traces of the relationship between man and energy. This awareness allows us to read landscape *through energy*, showing how energy is inherent in the forms and transformations of the landscapes itself. To achieve this, it is necessary to question landscape as a witness, showing how the energy sector have influenced its transformations. Stakeholders must be able to access information and data included in the landscape-archive.

To reading landscape through energy we need a new specific knowledge, a geo-historical research collecting materials useful to build what we called "*scénarios paysagers de l'énergie*" (landscape scenarios of energy).

This is a tool, both discursive and visual, allowing to highlight the sequence of events at the crossroads between people and the territory, that leave their traces on the landscape. Landscape records somehow this sequence, its inflection points, its lulls. Like a backdrop (scenario in Italian) landscape modifies following the storyline (scénario en Français) and commenting it with its own language. Like a backdrop changes in the crucial moments of the comedy, so the landscape can change dramatically when it changes the relationship between resources and society.

In the mountains the relationship between society, the visible forms of the territory and the exploitation of its energy potential appears particularly easy to read. For example the exploitation of solar energy has largely determined, anywhere, settlements, agriculture, pastoral and forest activity, etc. – in a word – the configuration of mountain landscapes itself. The slope, the altitude gap, is another typically mountainous energy factor: it allows for example to exploit running water, transforming kinetic in mechanical energy. This last case is the one exploited by hydropower energy.

Hydropower appeared on the European mountains between the end of the XIX and the beginning of XX century. This was the last energy transition before the present one. Showing how hydroelectricity changed the mountain landscapes helps us to better understand what is at stake in the current energy transition. Observing the interaction between energy production and the generation and transformation of the landscape we can distinguish two levels. The first is direct, for example when hydropower infrastructures generates their "technological" landscape, sometimes very visible, even exhibited, sometime the hydropower landscape is completely invisible, hidden underground. But there is a second, indirect level of interaction: when a new energy system settles in, it is always accompanied by deep changes.

Every change establishes important interactions between hydropower development and forests resources, agro-pastoral resources, tourism, the protection of nature and the use of water. The article presents some examples of these interactions in the research study areas, where the interface character of the landscape becomes explicit and active.

Reading landscape through energy appears to be the way towards the building of a collective sensibility: not only to observe the elements of the territory and give them a value and a sense, but also a way to make shareable gaze emerge, to enter the game with a

co-constructed representations, to build something that can be placed at the intersection of subjectivities.

In this sense the "*lecture énergétique du paysage*" works with landscape as intermediator. It is at the base of what we call a process of "mediation", whose characteristic is to build the territorial project on a shareable knowledge and negotiated the distribution of values and meanings.

SECOND HOME DEVELOPMENT AND THE LANDSCAPES OF SOUTHERN EUROPE

Dimitra N. Zygra, John Sayas

Although second home development has been a long history, the era after World War II was the time that popularized the practice, especially for the middle classes. This was made possible as free time became available through the establishment of paid vacation, as mobility grew via the increase of available private transportation, all in an economic environment that favored consumption over saving based on growing affluence boosted by credit expansion. Meanwhile, the broadening of second homes use was supported by important socio-cultural developments that formed notions such as the need for traveling to retrieve one's physical and mental vigor (Urry, 2005) and quality time, as time spent ritualistically with somebody's loved ones in contrast to a fragmented and alienated everyday schedule (Harvey, 2007a).

1. HOW DOES IT WORK?

The social function of second homes and the motives for acquiring one are an attempt to cover urban populations' need that derive form factual urban life conditions, from social circumstances and restrictions as well as set practices, which have formed a predominant lifestyle characterized by distinct cultural norms. This lifestyle has been able to set the imagery of the second home through a personal or collective imaginary. In current times second homes are considered to assume a set of additional roles directly connected to changes recorded in the recent past: the globalization of the economy, free flowing capitals and a vast private credit expansion along with changes in western societies' and their economies' cultural and consumption standards that allowed the transformation of several consumer practices and modes of production of means of consumption.

Second homes and second home spaces, through processes of supply and demand for scarce recourses, such as quality natural environments or spare time, can be perceived as consumer goods. Although massively offered, exactly because they can be so diversified, second homes can successfully assume the role of a social demarcation means and one of status attribution to its owner.

A key concept for grasping the social and cultural function of second homes in current times is the concept of consumption. As viewed by J. Baudrillard (2005) consumption is a system equivalent to language as well as a process of social ranking and diversification. The object being consumed ceases to posses its use value and is transformed to a point of differentiation for, or inclusion to social groups. Accordingly, consumption needs are alienated from survival needs and they seem to form systems capable of demonstrating specific aspects of the production systems in which they flourish.

But social diversification is also related to the quality and quantity of the desired goods, and housing is a powerful factor. The distinction in housing is on one hand a geographical matter – contradictions between urban centres and the suburbs, access to quality natural environments, etc. or indoors and outdoors areas of a dwelling – and on the other a matter of proliferation, considering someone's ability to own a second or a third home. Adding the potential to access scarce environmental resources such as fresh air, clean waters or spare time it becomes obvious that housing, and second homes especially, can function successfully as a means of social segregation and prestige accreditation to their owners.

If consumption is one factor characterizing space both in form and function, another just as important is its role as a mode of production and reproduction on an economic level. In a system identifying free market operation as the sole voucher of personal freedom and personal rights, commercial exploitation of space seems to be the only way to go (Harvey, 2007b). The use of space turns into financial recourse as a growing number of everyday life aspects are being commercialized, especially the ones beyond labour, such as education, leisure and socialization. The notion that in order to have a good time one needs to consume, in an environment of no other alternatives, is being moulded in spaces that need to be financially reproduced without any external funding.

Parallel to globalized markets, globalized products – especially in the business of culture – are being introduced to modern societies, which when seen through the lenses of the post-modern turn tend to become rather significant. One of the basic aspirations of post-modernity has been the establishment of the role of imagery as a main means of expression and the pursuit of public involvement in art production (Harvey, 2007a). The "consumption" of images and landscapes, the core of the tourist experience, is thus commencing long before the actual deed. Through already consumed imagery, visitors have in their minds a fragmented snapshot-experience of existing in a specific place. Even when reality is different

from what is expected; it is the "ideal" that stays imprinted, although interpreted as the real feeling (Urry, 2005).

Tourism, as J. Urry puts it, is by itself quite postmodern in the sense that it combines visual, aesthetic, commercial and ephemeral elements. If during the era of mass tourism travel and leisure services were not only fully commercialized but literarily fragmented and packet organized, the era of deregulated economy brings on even bigger changes, as capitalism in its current form encapsulates the dominance of culture, of consumption, of global and local, as well as environmental awareness, as notions notably important in contemporary tourism services. It seems to be the time that tourism becomes less and less a distinct action as it continues to occupy and organize bigger proportions of the contemporary social and cultural experience. According to this approach, it is possible to see the end of tourism, an end that does not bring extinction but, on the contrary, diffusion in all aspects of everyday life. For the most part of times we can all be considered tourists, either because we ourselves are mobile or because of the virtual mobility we experience through constantly changing images (Urry, 2002 & 2005).

It seems that the shifts in the ways we perceive space and time, the shifts in the nature and the time of labour as well as the increased mobility of people, goods and information and the influence they have on a growing and disperse individualism, especially concerning the affluent social groups, constitute according to G. Lipovetski – as C. Paris reports (C. Paris 2009) – a condition of "hyper-modernity" in which fashion is the ultimate dominator over the members of a society that is torn by doubt, anxiety and insecurity and the always present tend to consume. Respectively, as C. Paris notes (2009) "hyper-consumption" is described by S. Charles, as a means of consumption that incorporates an ever growing part of social life driven by an emotional logic that imposes goods consumption for pleasure before any attempt to prevail on or differentiate from other members of society. In this context, second homes are regarded as consumer goods not only for what they have to offer, or as a luxury good and a point of distinction, but because their consumption is a desired option for individuals and households that acquire it: "we do it because we can".

2. THE EMERGING MODEL OF SECOND HOMES

The "traditional" types of second homes are by and large detached dwellings, usually constructed under their owners' supervision. Their spatial organization, at least at first, was following the preexisting rural landscape, in the sense that they were concentrated in places that, apart from the proximity to desired natural settings, offered proximity to non urban settlements, usually being developed within or on the fringes of their boundaries. Differentiations recorded were mostly

due to different urban development practice choices and less due to different second homes' use practices. A great number of such dwellings were scattered in wider rural areas, but some organized developments were also noted. (Gortsos et al., 2000).

In Greece, urban development until the 1970's was based on the exploitation of small property, on self-housing and the system of "antiparohi" which essentially meant the exchange of a plot of land for some built area on that land, as well as the tolerance of central state of informal and illegal building practices. This procedure, in the absence of welfare institutions that could provide housing for the growing urban population, must also be considered under the light of a continuous tactic of supporting small property as a means of social coherence in the post civil war Greek society. In this context, a "dual" housing market emerged, characterized as such not by a public – private dichotomy, but mostly by one based on the "legal – illegal" character of it. The results are detectable on Greek cities urban fabric, the great level of mixed uses and their high density (Sayas, 2006).

The prevailing model is characterized by its self-finance, its near universality and its endurance in time. The factors that supported its rise and prevalence was on one hand the absence of big capital and on the other the hegemony of self-housing, especially among the lower and middle socio-economic strata. It is clear that this practice build a long standing collaboration and consensus between the state, the land owners and all professional groups involved in real estate management and development (Delladetsimas, 2006).

The dominant model of second home development was not far from that of the primary housing development in urban centres. It was also based on the standardized procedure "land segmentation, land parcel acquisition, self-construction or custom development by the end user" often of an illegal nature and with central state tolerance (Gortsos et al., 2000). Similarly to primary house development processes, this model is characterized by the immediate owner involvement in the form of personal labour, by the often illegal construction, the independency from the banking system and its dependency on family savings, its consideration as a long term investment in mainly small properties in absence of any alternative.

After the 1980's, when this model's development reached its peak, decline was the result mostly due to two conditions. One was the partial recognition of the problematic circumstances this development process created, such as the gradual degradation of both urban and natural environment, the lack of infrastructure and the issues of pollution. Second was the rise of construction costs, which made access to second homes' markets less easy through self-construction practices, and basically the result was the same as in urban areas, where access to housing markets was gradually restricted to higher incomes (Gortsos et al., 2000).

Through processes related to the global economy functions and due to several cultural shifts after the 1980's, the modes of development and the types of second homes tend to evolve, there are new ones reported and some of the older, traditional ones, wither. New forms emerge and they seem to reflect the tendencies for increased security or more organized environments, from a time and space consumption perspective.

The main characteristics of the emerging model of second home development is their significantly closer relationship with the tourism and leisure industries and the fact that their construction is alienated from the presence and the involvement of their owners, as nowadays they are mostly purchased as a finished product (Paris, 2009 & 2011). The percentage of foreigners owning second homes in high amenities areas has been rising as a result of lowered airfares and legislation reforms that facilitated foreign nationals owning land, especially in countries participating in economic or currency integrations such se the EU (Couch et al., 2007).

The basic type of the modern second home is a dwelling in a controlled environment, on the footsteps of gated communities. As for the primary ones, these are usually detached houses with outdoors areas of exclusive access within clearly 'delineated' estates. The primary objective of such practices is a "secure environment", the supervision of one's dwelling environment and protection from an outside unfriendly or inappropriate social milieu. But the main objective is, as witnessed by the fact that the invitation to purchase such a dwelling from neighbors or the developer is quite often mandatory (Hall and Muller, 2004). This practice aims to ensure that certain social relations are established, without the interference of elements not compatible with the social status that an owner might believe to acquire by paying rather high rates for such a property.

The upper middle income strata desire but are not able to financially withstand such properties, compromise with vulgarised versions of the model. These are still found within gated second home developments but there are no rules to the right of purchase apply or the amenities are not in such vast collection.

The great expansion of the leisure and tourism industry could not have left untouched the standards of second home environments. Apart from the quality natural environment and the proximity to such scarce landscapes, in order for a place to be considered as interesting and potentially suitable for development, it needs to ensure that second home tourists will have access to a series of athletic, cultural and social activities. The existence of shopping malls, spas, water activities areas, golf courses and marinas in accessible distances are considered great relative advantages in somebody's decision to invest in a second home (Alpha Bank, 2006). Definitely a spin off of the basic emerging model are the hotel complexes that are able to accommodate different types of guests with common requisitions a controlled dwelling milieu as much as the easy access to several leisure activities (malls, sports and cultural events) that the users use at their primary homes'

locations. Complexes offering hotel services are developed with a special care to offer combined services for short time tourism, residential tourism, and even permanent dwellings for the pensioners, forming extensive and fully commodified enclosed environments (Paris, 2006). In this direction, and due to the effective decrease in service expenses, and the changes in legislation that have facilitate it, there is an increasing number of renovated classic hotel complexes offering such dwellings in the market.

Second home complexes that fit the emerging model cannot be easily placed within the limited areas that traditionally hosted such uses, such as rural settlements. These units utilize certain legal tools that enable their development independently from central urban or regional planning. In parallel, following the trend of picking out spaces of high quality natural environment amenities, it is not rare for such complexes to be developed on the fringes or even within the boundaries of natural reserves and protected areas (Paris, 2009). This fact raises a series of questions of whether this treatment of environmentally sensitive areas is legit, to what extent it actually protects and preserves them and to what extent it actually poses limitations to its use, bearing in mind the aforementioned exclusion and delineation practises that are being implemented.

3. KEY PLAYERS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECOND HOMES

Second home development is deeply affected by the interaction of different factors, institutions and social groups, while each one is trying to meet needs and accomplish aspirations on both social and financial levels. Key players in the process of formulating the second homes new environments are the second home dwellers, the people and the institutions involved in their construction and obviously the central state, as the institution responsible for elaborating the legislative framework and the spatial landscape within which the phenomenon is taking place.

Second homers, seemingly having endless choices, appear as the primary player in defining the form of this product. Reality is somehow different; choices are not really open to everybody, since financial limitations are imposed and the chances of access and intervention to the design are limited. Accordingly, second home owners by seeking for their needs to be met, can be a part of the formation process. Whether a second home is considered an investment in order to gain profits or a fixed asset can be a factor of differentiation of the purchase and use procedures, as well as of the standards such a home is required to meet.

Construction sector development systems are greatly dependent on the general structure of the nation state's economy and on the general structural characteristics of the globalized economy. The structure of a state's economy, the way private

property is addressed: in relevance to both the citizens and the stability of each system are cornerstones of the construction sector.

Building activity and the forms of second home development in the countries of the European Periphery, and especially the European South are demonstrating enough similarities to be considered as a solid group. They are characterized by similar approaches to rural areas design, which incorporate the small scale state presence and intervention in combination with several paradigms of illegal building and building legislation bending. These counties have the highest rate of second homes in Europe, accounting for 17% of all residencies. Especially throughout the European South, there are similarities documented concerning the endorsement of the construction sector as an economic development tool in the absence of a strong industrial sector (Allen et al., 2004).

Greece, in accordance to the wider changes in global economy has been trying to specify its place in the new landscape. And so have done several sectors of the economy, including the construction sector of which there is evidence of a new mode of organization (Souliotis et al., 2014).

Three are the basic emergence factors of the new model. First, through the globalization of the economy and the country's choices, the Greek market has been opening through its participation to EU to various new players. This fact has brought about intense competition for the acquisition of high amenity lots as well as for the prevalence of certain specific places among similar others within much wider geographical entities. Second, the realization of major infrastructure projects backed by EU structural funding and the active involvement of the semi-private and private sector. In the aim of maximising profits from already purchased real estate near the projects, these parts of the construction sector sought opportunities of a complementary nature to the new infrastructure projects within preexisting networks and land uses. It is obvious that these actions were an impossible option for the traditional fragmented construction sector, as they required a much larger magnitude of networking and pressure to the political system. The third factor was the Athens 2004 Olympics. Although Olympic Projects did not draw much attention in their construction phase, their post-Olympic use has steered great interest among the players. Their effective exploitation is thought to be commercialization and conversion to high standards shopping malls and housing developments in the form of gated communities, relatively new products on the Greek market and addressed to higher financial strata. This resulted in the introduction of certain modes of housing development and the consumption of differentiated dwelling conditions that echo parallel differentiated choices of tourism and leisure. These choices correspond to the new model of second home development, and in this context are highly important for the discussion.

Last but not least, key player in the emergence of a new model of second home development is the State itself. According to D. Harvey (2007b) the role of the

State in a neoliberalism fashion is to create and sustain an institutional framework suitable for such political and financial practices that further free market and trade as well as secure and endorse private property. The state does not venture, but it is the institution responsible to take action in order to create markets in areas that they did not previously exist. These ideas take form in spatial matters through the implementation of "strategic planning". This is a field where the local and the supralocal, the public and the private, enterprises and organized social groups can meet and find ways of integration. So, the State is that player that forms a legislative framework enabling or not certain stakeholders to act, and in this case develop distinct models of housing construction; it is at the bottom line the regulator of the environment in which activities take place, according to its own strategic options.

4. SECOND HOME LANDSCAPES

In recent years we witness an environment of increased mobility of capital and people bringing forth opportunities for flexible life styles and labour activities that allow longer periods of second home use as well as opportunities in second home markets for would-be owners in rural areas, due to the changes in rural economies and the agricultural sector. These factors, in combination with the unsolved and pressing urban area problems, push more and more urban households to convert their second homes to primary ones. The positive choice of suburban environments is a recurrent theme, especially for the Greek cities and second home areas in proximity to them tend to be transformed into primary residence areas (Kamoutsi et al., 2007; Emmanouil, 1999; 2002). Parallel to these trends, EU documents have been readdressing and reestablishing the notion of landscape as an entity in need of documentation, planning and preservation. The "traditional" take on the European rural areas, dominated by the idea that it is a place of intense agricultural activity is now giving way to a revised model of multi – functionality, where agriculture does not monopolize the natural recourses and the landscape, but it is sharing them with other development bearers that make it available for consumption and recreational purposes, mostly serving urban populations (Papadopoulos & Hadjimichalis, 2008). We are thus driven to the transformation of decaying rural agricultural areas to consumption landscapes, accompanied by the reinforcement of tourism and leisure activities and the consequent development of building activity, so as to cover the needs of these new coming "consumers". The outcome is not always welcome. Permanent or pre-existing second homers can strongly oppose such development of leisure activities or a building boom, as these might be considered factors that will alter both the community and the landscape in which they have already invested (Paris, 2009).

Landscapes are being consumed as goods because of their special features, for the built environments it incorporates as well as a dreamy lifestyle it supposedly hosts. The new consumers are tourists and second home owners (Hall & Muller, 2004), for whom the quest of "authenticity" and the representation of "real life" is declared to be a fundamental goal. This quest is usually answered through scenery settings and representations of iconic images or events taking place within the boundaries of contemporary tourist environments.

It is argued that, either because of financial difficulties or because of the pressure on housing prises exercised by the new-comers, developing second home areas might undergo procedures of gentrification similar to the ones documented in urban areas.

These newly developed landscapes are offered for consumption to the "appropriate" consumer groups, which actually consider this isolation from everybody else a privilege they look for when choosing their destinations.

The environment in which second homes are developed is in itself the host for the use and the location of products for consumption. The significance of landscape in this case, where someone is making a choice based on aesthetic criteria and their consumer preferences are highly important (Knudsen et al., 2008). A landscape is the end product of a social procedure involving processes of commercial manipulations as well as each visitor's projections of standardised images and behaviours affected by historical design and financial choices of the dominant social groups.

The condition of the rural landscape, and the ways in which we appreciate and consume it, is related to several components of the financial and social structure of the globalized economy. Changes in the agricultural sector technologies, rural population movements, the rise of an international consumption interest for certain kinds of landscapes and the resulting tourist industry development as well as the shifts in land and housing politics are some of the key components (Gallent et al., 2003).

An important aspect of design has lately been the pursuit of what is generally called "sustainable development". Although there is a great debate on the subject, about who is the judge of this sustainability, for whom is it designed for and who finally profits from it, the notion has become part of the prevailing narrative. This was achieved by adopting some preconditions about natural and built environments protection and also by adopting positions about the necessity for a constant financial development of regions. The latter is manifested in the encouragement of attraction of investments and financial or taxation incentives. To do so, as part of the investment attraction procedure, rural areas need to gradually, and partly, deny their productive past and embrace a present and a future based on the consumption needs of urban populations. In other words, they are to deny their autonomy and to accept that they will depend on urban capitals, "to accept that the city will be exploiting and consuming the rural" (Gallent et al., 2003).

5. THE ITANOS GAIA PROJECT

In the north east end of Crete, the area of Cavo Sidero has been targeted for almost twenty years by an English company, Loyalward S.A., which has for long submitted different development plans in order to get building permissions from the Greek state. The initial plan included hotels with proximately 7000 beds, conference centres and marinas and several summer houses for sale. The plan has been turned down by local communities and local social groups and it has even been denied building permission by the Greek Constitutional Court in 2010.

Following the cancellation, the company reintroduced the project in its current form, as Gaia Itanos Hotel Complex. Its current permission has been granted by a special Fast Track committee, after Law 4002/2011 which enables such mega projects to get building permissions bypassing the usual procedures, introducing limited regulations and controls. Still, in order to acquire such permission, there were major reductions on the proposed bearing capacity of the complex from 3500 beds to around 1500, on the golf courses areas of about 75% etc.

The plot that the complex is to be situated is a peninsula of about 2.500 ha, part of which under the disputed property of a local monastery foundation (Moni Toplou). The biggest part of the area is protected as a Natura 2000 site, and there are regulations for the protection of the natural landscape, the fauna and flora of the area. Within the plot's boundaries there is the archaeological site of the city of Dorian Itanos as well as Vai Palm Tree Forest which is a famous touristic site and a protected area with harsh restrictions on land uses, the ones allowed include research, environmental education and organic farming, but not hotel and tourism uses. Very close to the plot there are several other archaeological sites of great importance, such as Zakros.

Today, the project is a complex of exclusive hotels and its objective is declared to be the creation of a "new tourist destination" not only in Crete but in the Mediterranean. This is to be achieved by organizing thematic hotel spaces, on natural environment, gastronomy, cultural activities and sports in order to transform the visiting experience to an experience of membership to a community, as the guest is to be transformed from a visitor to a in habitant and a neighbor.

The development consists of five luxury hotels of different themes providing different amenities such as gastronomy restaurants, central and private spa areas, golfing facilities, a golf court of 18 holes and other sports, permanent and periodic exhibitions as well as agro-touristic facilities.

The total built area of the complex is to be about 85.000 square meters, and the complex hotels (hotels offering both standard hotel rooms and furnished apartments) will have a bearing capacity of 1480 beds, in 490 hotel rooms and suits and 281 apartments. Hotel room areas vary from 60 to 200 square meters and apartments from 150 to 315 square meters.
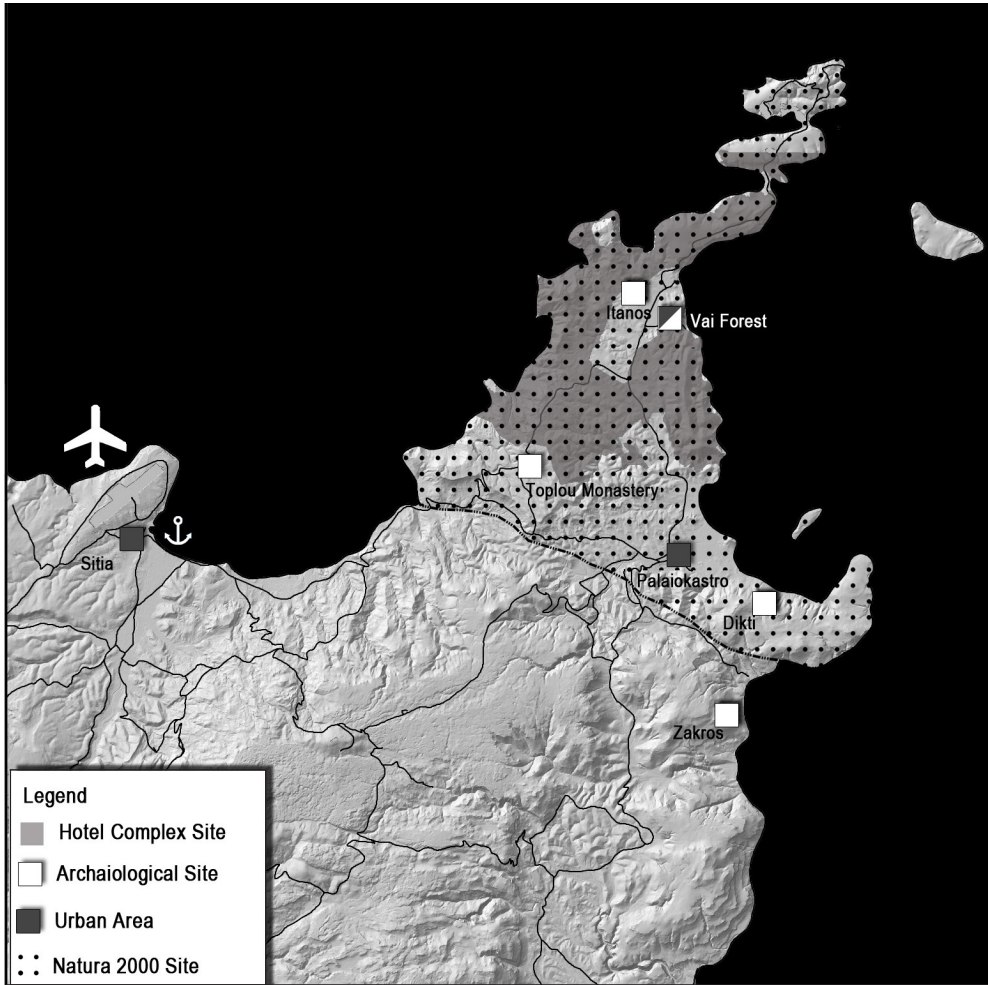
Fig. 1 – The area of the Gaia Itanos Hotel Complex.

Itanos Gaia is a very interesting example as it employs all features of the emerging model of second homes. It is a very large investment plan and it is driven by foreign capital in relation to a Greek institution – land holder and is being realized under newly introduced legislation designed to enable such investments (Law 4002/2011). Under the same law, a notable percentage of the hotels' apartments can be sold or be on a long lease, and the complex owner has the right to the formation of independent, distinct and separate shares in the property, an option not available in traditional extra-urban plan areas.

It is a complex situated in a famous yet almost intact natural environment that is aimed to be exploited as its advantage and unique asset. It is also remarkable for the extent of its plot and the fact that within its boundaries there are numerous protected areas. It promises its residents unique experiences, privacy and access to highly valued amenities, exactly by enabling them to have access to such distinctly environmentally valued spaces.

6. OBSERVATIONS

The new emerging model of second home development results in well defined distinctions on landscape access opportunities and quality dwelling environments, through procedures of inclusion and exclusion of social groups from natural environments until recently considered public. It reproduces a deeply rooted perception of social stratification and segregation as well as a specific consumption culture concerning the ways we understand and interact with nature.

And so, instead of a planning initiative that would allow the reproduction of localities based on productive activities on one hand, and through a mild and sensible use of the rural landscape on the other (in order to meet the undeniable needs of urban populations), central planning promotes division and mutual exclusion practices concerning both social groups and land uses.

In any case, the changes recorded in the development, the supply and consumption of second homes are strongly related to the socioeconomic organization of the places in which they flourish. The processes are specified by competitive market operations and inequalities that they give rise to.

Debate on the emerging model of rural development and on the alternative to the dominant plan, should ultimately answer to what is, or should be, the role of rural areas in modern societies and to whom the right of its use belongs. This is not a matter of private property rights, it is a matter of grasping rural areas as a form of social capital and as such it should be preserved and made available to all.

REFERENCES

ALLEN J., BARLOW J., LEAL J., MALOUTAS T., PANDOVANI L., *Housing and Welfare in Southern Europe*, Oxford, Malden, Carlton, Blackwell Publishing, 2004.

ALPHA BANK, Παραθεριστική Κατοικία και Χωροταξικός Σχεδιασμός [*Vacation Homes and regional Planning],* Economic Report T99, Athens, 2006.

BAUDRILLARD J., Η Καταναλωτική Κοινωνία, [*The Consumer Society*], Thessaloniki, Nisides Publications, 2005.

COUCH C., LEONDIDOU L., PETSCHEL- HELD G., *Urban Sprawl in Europe: Landscapes, Land Use and Policy,* Oxford, Malden, Carlton, Blackwell Publishing, 2007.

DELADETSIMAS P.M., *The Emerging Property Development Pattern in Greece and its Impact on Spatial Development,* "European Urban and Regional Studies", 13 (3), 2006, pp. 245-278.

EMMANOUIL D., Αστική Ανάπτυξη, Αγορά Κατοικίας και Προαστιοποίηση: Ορισμένες Θεωρητικές Σημειώσεις και η Περίπτωση της Αθήνας [*Urban Growth, Housing Markets and Suburbanization: Some Theoretical Notes and the case of Aathens*], in OIKONOMOU D. & PETRAKOS G. (eds.), Η Ανάπτυξη των Ελληνικών Πόλεων, Διεπιστημονικές Προσεγγίσεις Αστικής Ανάλυσης και Πολιτικής [*Greek Cities' Growth, Interdisciplinary Approaches of Urban Analysis and Politics*], Volos, Thessaly - Gutenberg Publications, 1999, pp. 267-280.

EMMANOUIL D., "Κοινωνικός Διαχωρισμός, Πόλωση και Ανισότητες στη Γεωγραφία της Αθήνας: Ο Ρόλος των Μηχανισμών της Αγοράς Κατοικίας και Οικιστικής Ανάπτυξης (1980-2000)" [*Social Segragation, Polarization and Inequalities in Athens' Geography: The Role of Housing Market Mechanisms and Building Growth (1980-2000)*], *Athens, Geographies*, 2002, 3, pp. 46-70.

GALLENT N., SHUCKSMITH M., TEWDWR-JONES M., *Housing in the European Countryside, Rural Pressure and Policy in Western Europe*, London, New York, Routledge, 2003.

GORTSOS, K., KAMOUTSI, F., PANAYOTATOS, E., SAYAS, J., *Second Homes and Settlement Development: the Greek Experience*, "Rivista Geografica Italiana", 2000, CVII, 3-4, pp. 17-56.

HALL M. C., MULLER D. K., *Tourism, Mobility and Second Homes: Between Elite Landscapes and Common Ground,* Clevedon, Bufalo, Toronto, Chanel View Publications, 2004.

HARVEY D., Η Κατάσταση της Μετανεωτερικότητας. Διερεύνηση των Απαρχών της Πολιτισμικής Μεταβολής, [*The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*], Athens, Metaixmio Publications, 2007a.

HARVEY D., Νεοφιλελευθερισμός, Ιστορία και Παρόν [*A brief History of Neoliberalism*], Athens, Kastaniotis Publications, 2007b.

KAMOUTSI P., GORTSOS K., MANOLOGLOU E. MARKOU A., Τάσεις Μετατροπής Ευρύτερων Ζωνών του Παράκτιου Χώρου της Αττικής από Β' & Παραθεριστική Κατοικία σε Κύρια Κατοικία, [*Change Tendencies on the Greater Coastal Attica Area of Second and Vacation Homes to Main Housing Dwellings*], Research Programme, Results Report, Ερευνητικό Πρόγραμμα. Έκθεση Αποτελεσμάτων, IURS/EKKE, 2007.

KNUDSEN D.C., METRO-ROLAND M.M., SOPER A.K., GREER C.E., *Landscape, Tourism and Meaning,* Bloomington, Ashgate, 2008.

PAPADOPOULOS A., HADJIMICHALIS K., "Οι «Φαντασιώσεις / Αναπαραστάσεις» της Ευρωπαϊκής Υπαίθρου: Μια Κριτική Εισαγωγική Συζήτηση" [*The "Fantasies / Representations of the European Rural: A Critical Introductory Conversation*], *The Greek Review of Social Research*, 2008, V. 125, A.

PARIS C., *Multiple Homes, Dwelling and Hypermobility and Emergent Transnational Second Home Ownership*, ENHR Conference: "Housing in an Expanding Europe: Theory, Policy, Participation and Implementation", Ljubljana, 2006.

PARIS C., *Repositioning Second Homes within Housing Studies, Housing, Theory and Society,* Vol. 6, No 4, N.Y., London, Routledge, 2009.

PARIS C., *Affluence, Mobility and Second Homes,* N.Y., London, Routledge, 2011.

SAYAS J., *Urban Sprawl in the Periurban Coastal Zones of Athens,* "The Greek Review of Social Research", special Issue, 2006 121,C, pp. 74-104.

SOULIOTIS N., SAYAS J., MALOUTAS T., *Megaprojects, neoliberalization, and state capacities: assessing the medium-term impact of the 2004 Olympic Games on Athenian urban policies,* "Environment and Planning C", 2014, 32, pp. 731-745.

URRY J., *Consuming Places*, London, New York, Routledge, 2002.

URRY J., *The Tourist Gaze*, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 2005

ABSTRACT

The emerging model of second home development in Southern Europe favours mostly dwelling conditions based on exclusion and control, combined with proximity to leisure spaces. These characteristics are nowadays considered essential in a highly commodified housing market, in response to diversified consumption preferences, as a result of important cultural changes in resent years. The main factors constituting the contemporary model of second home development are the pro-market liberalization policies in globalized economic environment, the changed role of the state in the contemporary governance system, the aforementioned cultural changes, concerning the perception of leisure and quality time as well as the 'value' of the landscape.

Contemporary second home spaces are designed to satisfy the dwellers' needs for proximity to quality natural environments and to leisure activities similar to those offered in primary home areas, such as golf courses, commercial areas and marinas. They are also organised in a way that their inhabitants can have control over the social groups involved, thus reinforcing their sense of exclusive consumption.

Issues raised by the development of second home development are linked to landscape concerns as they affect high quality natural areas, often on the boundaries or within protected natural environments. They are also linked to the transformations of the economic and social function of these landscapes, from places of production to places of consumption and in the end a commodity themselves. Last, the organization of such leisure spaces raises questions for the universality of rights to quality natural environments, land reservoirs and for the prospects of a sustainable development process for these areas.

IS THERE A LINK BETWEEN LANDSCAPE DEGRADATION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF LARGE-SCALE INFRASTRUCTURES? CASE STUDIES ALONG THE MILAN-BRESCIA RAILWAY LINE, PART OF THE 5TH TRANS-EUROPEAN CORRIDOR

Guido Lucarno, Raffaela Gabriella Rizzo, Gian Paolo Scaratti[1]

1. INTRODUCTION: TRADITIONAL COMMONS AND NEW COMMONS

This research is prompted by some key questions for modern-day society. How can we link the importance of strategic transport infrastructures to the preservation of landscape[2], considering both of these – infrastructures and landscape – as essential commons[3] for modern societies? Is it possible to have these two aspects of our lives (the need for transport networks and that for attractive landscapes) coexist in a positive way? In the paper, the authors seek to outline some causes for reflection, partly based on significant case studies in the Region of Lombardy.

The hypothesis of considering landscapes as common pool resources has its basis both in the Italian Constitution (art. 9) and in the European Landscape Convention of the Council of Europe (art. 1, a[4]). The above-mentioned article of the Italian Charter focuses on: "…protect(ing) the landscape and the historic and artistic heritage of the Nation". This means that Italian law considers landscape as a value with an intrinsic connotation of public interest, even if the debate on this topic is still a fervid, multidisciplinary one (Jaccod et al., 2008).

---

[1] The authors wish to specify that – even if the paper is the result of a common effort – the various sections were written separately: by R.G. Rizzo sections 1, 3 and 4, by G. Lucarno sections 2 and 6, by G.P. Scaratti section 5.

[2] Literature about the concepts of landscape, territory, setting, milieu, etc. in the Italian contest is ample: of particular interest are the contributions of the geographers dealing with the *Società dei territorialisti e delle territorialiste* (Dematteis, 2012; Quaini, 2012).

[3] The most significant scholar theorizing about Commons is the Nobel prizewinner Elinor Ostrom. See her publications for details about the basis of the "Commons" Theory (Ostrom, 1990; Hess, Ostrom, 2005) and Hess, 2008. See also Possenti, 1993.

[4] "'Landscape' means an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors" (European Landscape Convention, art. 1a).

Settis clearly describes how one should consider the landscape as *publica utilitas/bonum commune*, and what the implications of this attitude are for the present and future generations (Settis, 2013[5]).

If this is true and we consider landscape as something of common interest, why is Italy one of the European countries with the highest rate of land use, with the consequence of a highly perceivable land consumption, biodiversity and landscapes (COM (2012) 46 final)? Many researchers are attempting to provide contributions to this topic, in order to make the various stakeholders aware of the need to consider landscape and territory as commons (Magnaghi, 2012). This determination results from the need to have a project when dealing with landscape and territory: a project based on a culture of "attractive" landscape in which to live or pass through. Such a planning project considers "the territory as an expression of landscape", in which "the issue of landscape therefore becomes the need of an ethics for the landscape" (Bonesio, 2012). *Publica utilitas* means that the stakeholders have to make the effort to bear in mind individual interests in living and planning the landscape in order to create and preserve harmonious landscapes (Castiglioni et al., 2011). However, governance processes are often difficult and insidious, even if they are aimed at promoting policies that have the goal of the sustainability and reproducibility of commons (Perrone, 2011), such as landscapes.

Within this framework, there is ample need for a debate about the positive and negative externalities of new commons, such as transport networks are (Hess, 2008[6]; Künneke & Finger, 2009; Mancebo Quintana et al., 2010). Societies require infrastructures in order to develop and to improve the links between people and goods, with positive consequences. At the same time they can – if not managed in the right way – become an enemy for landscapes, whichever type of landscape we are dealing with (rural, urban…). They can become the cause that transforms part of a landscape into a hostile, unsafe and degraded environment (e.g., areas between two infrastructures not managed by anyone).

The building of major infrastructures causes the usage of large areas of land and the alteration of the pre-existing natural and anthropic landscapes. This implies the introduction of elements that are external to the previous landscape and the ecosystem. These may be considered akin to new autonomous landscape models only in a few particular cases.

Most of the time, such changes are irreversible: the infrastructure and its barrier effect imply a redefinition of the mutual links with the surrounding area. This leads to the loss of preexisting functions (for instance agricultural or recreational

---

[5] Settis shows the connections (and the resulting implications) between article 9 and other articles of the Constitution, paying attention to the values underlying them. He reflects on the protection of landscape and the expression of articles 2, 3, 21, 32, 33, 34, 41 and 42 (Settis, 2013, in particular pages 8 and 9; Id., 2010).
[6] Paper based on 461 issues (in English) on Commons.

functions) and the creation of new ones. With regard to these new functions, negative aspects are generated by the construction of transport infrastructures. These are caused by the degradation of more or less wide adjacent areas. These areas become the source of management problems and may eventually be abandoned altogether. After being built, the infrastructure is surrounded by additional structures (e.g., under/overpasses, ramps, service areas…), but also neglected areas, interposed spaces, unproductive and often inaccessible easements. All of these have to be administered, managed, fenced in and made safe. They therefore represent a source of costs for the managing authority and – more often – for local communities. Due to the lack of financial resources it becomes impossible to produce plans for alternative use and they therefore turn into a net loss of resources and a cause of land degradation and of illegality at various levels.

2. OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH AND FURTHER INTRODUCTORY REFLECTIONS

The purpose of this study is to evaluate how the consumption of pre-existing "commons" (public lands, countryside, relationships between populations living in the area) creates new "commons" (infrastructures, transport service, emergence of local economic systems) due to the expansion of transport routes, but also territorial externalities represented by access roads and newly-formed wastelands, which are going to create a management burden that has to be borne by the community. Even private property can be considered a common when there is an unlimited possibility of expropriation in order to build public utility infrastructures.

Furthermore, the compensations at a local level aimed at mitigating environmental impact (underpasses, landlocked green spaces) are unmanageable causes of environmental degradation due to local government policies. These kind of "new commons" on a regional scale leads, at a local level, to:
– the loss of productive functionality of the territory (loss of agricultural areas and communication problems due to the barrier effect of the infrastructures),
– negative externalities (areas to reclaim, redevelop, secure and rescue from petty crime),
– irreversible environmental ugliness created by extraneous elements in the traditional landscape.

More generally, the increasing complexity of the infrastructure networks around large urban centres also raises questions about interconnections among the different transport systems, with the creation of large junctions affected by high congestion and traffic density.

The redistribution of transport flows away from the centre, along a more or less wide orbital, moves the congestion to 20-50 km from the metropolis, creating satellite junctions where the concentration of infrastructures determines,

in addition to the consumption of territory, the encaging of urban centres. This calls for the redefinition of Territorial Government Plans and leads to the eventual demise of the original anthropic landscape and a change in social organization, with the spatial relocation of the typical urban functions (sociality of historical centers, dormitory suburbs, trade and market areas, etc.).

This research will examine particular case studies affected by the critical problems of the new infrastructures and their interconnections (see par. 5).

2.1 *Further reflections on commons and new commons*

Our subject presents various similarities – but also methodological differences – compared to the treatment given (from the 1970s onwards) in the traditional literature on common assets, whose taxonomy may however be applied to the case under examination, bearing in mind its peculiarities.

In our case, the construction of a major infrastructure determines the consumption of a traditional "common" (public lands, in particular at river crossings), as well as, for the most part, private land, and "global commons", such as the agricultural land that is theoretically available to the entire human population; this produces a "new common" – infrastructures and transport services – that can also be referred to as a "club asset" or "toll good" (Frischmann & Hogendorn, 2008; Marangon, 2006, p. 9).

This definition is in line with that given by Samuelson in the Fifties, according to which infrastructures correspond to a principle of non-rivalry (the use of an infrastructure by an individual does not impair its use by other people) as well as to one of non-excludability (no one can be prevented from using it) (Marangon, 2006, p. 5; Olson, 1965).

During this process, potential commons are generated – in the creation of relict areas and easements – that in fact become negative external effects for the community. As in a system of communicating vessels, the consumption of the former determines the creation of the latter, but also of reject items for whose cost the community as a whole becomes responsible. The quantification of these collateral damages is the basis for determining the benefit-cost ratio that is almost never taken into account because those who carry out major projects tend to externalize as much as possible the costs not directly related to construction, while local authorities underestimate their consequences on the territory.

The main difference of this model from the classic one regarding the use of commons is that public consumed goods are mainly intangible assets (such as landscape), while private ones are material goods (agricultural land, expropriated buildings); moreover, this process generates other commons under the shape of services (positive commons) and relict areas (negative assets or ones that are hard to reuse or dispose of).

We can find some similarities in the "Hardin Model" (Hardin, 1968). The interests of infrastructure builders and managers are not the general interest of the community: land consumption does not concern building companies and the tendency to externalize environmental problems is always present in transport management all over the world, as confirmed by the case studies examined in the section below. This is demonstrated by the inability of the builders of the new railway line and motorway, running side by side for much of their routes, to give themselves common rules to optimize resources and also by the public administration's inefficiency in managing environment and infrastructure policy. For example, the building contractors have fulfilled their contractual obligations to mitigate the visual impact of the works by duly planting the neighbouring areas. However, since no one is responsible for their maintenance, the new plants have quickly died or been choked by weeds. As Hardin would have said, the lack of state control has led to the collective "tragedy" of environmental commons and spaces have been used only in such a way as to optimize the builders' profits.

Another analogy is with Ostrom's approach, which concentrates study on simple structures ("organisms") that interact between users and resources: even though the infrastructure has a complexity of regional scale, case studies can nonetheless be identified at a local scale, in which one can find models that can readily be extended to other cases within the same infrastructure, such as the management of underpasses and operations for mitigating environmental damage, etc.

Since the environment resource consumed in the construction of an infrastructure is not renewable, but is irreversibly lost, it is not possible on the other hand to find analogies – again with reference to Ostrom – regarding the systems underlying territorial government: in essence, the "environment" common is used up entirely during the construction of the infrastructure and can no longer be regenerated.

In this case, the "appropriators" (those who use the resource) do not concern themselves with regulating the sustainable use of the resource, but only to comply with environmental mitigation commitments that were contractually assumed at the planning stage (Ostrom, 2006).

To sum up, the realization of the "infrastructure common" may be in part codified according to Quintas's description (Quintas, 1979): the infrastructure is built with the collaboration of the group that has a vested interest in it.

But who has a genuine interest in constructing it: the building contractor (in this case not the state but a private company) or the end user? And who is the recipient of the common to be distributed? Is it really true that those who desire the asset are actually those who decide to build it?

The relict areas, "common", cadastral property that no one wants to own, have an original aspect: they are destined to be taken on by the community (municipal government) with all their problems and expenses: they are, therefore, an "unwelcome common".

An asset becomes a true common if, according to the principle of collective responsibility, there is a shared commitment among all the stakeholders, including the contractors who that have built it, to be responsible for its maintenance (Petrella, 2006), while in the case of relict areas, they are considered in a similar way to toxic waste: no one wants to take their management costs upon themselves.

3. METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

The methodological framework of the research follows these steps:
a) a review of the existing literature, to understand the state of the art leading to the so called "new commons";
b) field work (also through interviews with key actors: i.e. local authorities);
c) study of the cartographic materials regarding the new railway/motorway infrastructures;
d) case studies to evaluate the relationship between transport infrastructures, landscape and degraded areas.

4. THE INFRASTRUCTURAL FRAMEWORK

The Lombardy Region is situated between Central Europe and the Italian peninsula. It is crossed by Pan-European Corridor no. 5[7] and it contains a dense transport network of increasingly growing infrastructures. One of the most significant projects planned to innovate this network is the West-East route of Corridor no. 5, and in particular the stretch between Milan and Brescia. This is already formed by the A4 motorway and by the historic Turin-Venice railway line. Also the new BreBeMi motorway – which will shorten the driving distance between Milan and Brescia[8], and (close to it) a High Capacity/High Speed railway line (AC/AV)[9] – are under construction (fig. 1). We will focus later on case studies between Milan and Treviglio.

The building of these two infrastructures interferes with the transport system and pre-existing residential/manufacturing premises in an area greatly transformed by human intervention. Their construction called for the expropriation and

---

[7] The Pan-European Corridors are strategic transport routes between the EU and Central and Eastern Europe (see http://ec.europa.eu/transport/themes/infrastructure/ten-t-implementation/extending/pan-european_corridors_en.htm). See also Marino, 2012

[8] The 62.1 km long BreBeMi motorway will be added of 17.5 km of complementary infrastructures (source: interview with a representative of Autostrade Lombarde S.p.A., 2012). The new railway line connecting Pioltello to Ospitaletto will be 59 km long, plus the interconnections at Brescia with the historic line (source: interview with a representative of Ferrovie dello Stato S.p.A., 2012).

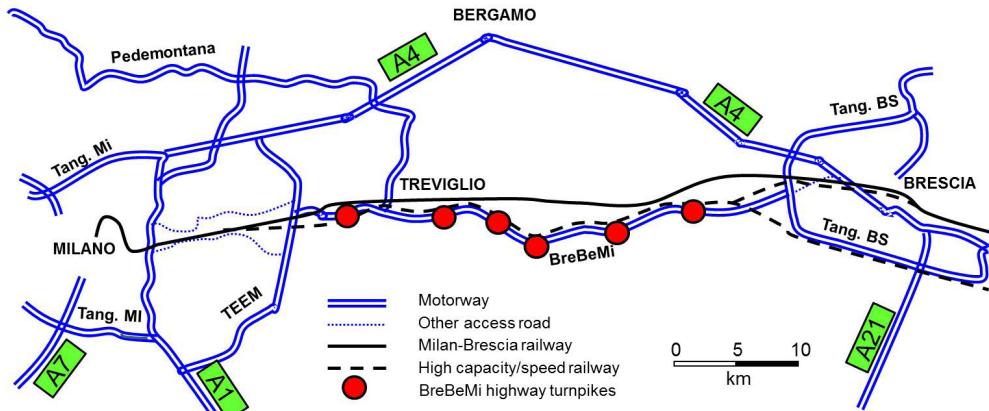[9] High Capacity (Alta Capacità, AC) and High Speed (Alta Velocità, AV).

Fig. 1 – Chorography of the road and rail routes between Milan and Brescia.

settlement of huge private and public areas, not only of those effectively used for the two infrastructures. This was due to the significant amount of space required for the complementary infrastructures (railway crossings, easements) or simply included places that lost their accessibility and were therefore of no interest for reclamation with agricultural or social functions.

In total, 1,800 ha is estimated to be the land use monopolized by the Milan-Brescia line. This is equal to half the area of a medium-sized municipality (e.g. Treviglio[10]). This does not consider the land expropriation caused by the inclusion of patches of land that are no longer usable by the dispossessed, but not functional to the construction of the infrastructures and therefore not included in the above figure.

5. CASE STUDIES: MUNICIPALITIES AND SITES OF ALBIGNANO (TRUCCAZZANO) AND MULINO BRUCIATO (POZZUOLO)

1.1. The case of Albignano Quarry at Truccazzano (Milan, Italy)

AC/AV railway infrastructure, completed and came into operation in 2007, runs parallel to the historic Milan-Venice line before they separate at Pozzuolo Martesana where, on the other hand, it is flanked by the new BreBeMi motorway[11].

---

[10] Data provided by Ferrovie dello Stato S.p.A. and Autostrade Lombarde S.p.A., 2012.

[11] The Programme Agreement (AdP) for Truccazzano was signed on 4th November 1997 by all the stakeholders involved, in order to perform the "*necessary operations to allow for the stretch of railway from Pioltello to Treviglio that lies within the municipality to be quadrupled and the related*

Fig. 2 – The Albignano Quarry at Truccazzano, photographed from the level of the motorway foundations in 2013. Photo by R.G. Rizzo, July 2013.

It was planned that – along its route – environmental restoration would be guaranteed and that the infrastructure would be included in the Adda Nord Regional Park thanks to compensatory activities and works, as defined within the Programme Agreements (AdPs) themselves[12].

Five road and pedestrian/cycle paths within just over 2 km – in the form of overpasses and underpasses – guarantee vehicular access to the surrounding area. At Albignano, the railway line goes over a small but deep gravel quarry that has been abandoned and never rendered safe by its owners (fig. 2). The AdP envisaged that the Park Authority would plan operations for its reclamation aimed at its being used for leisure activities, with the creation of a car park and the planting

and complementary works to be carried out". For the motorway, on the other hand, the procedure provided for under Laws no. 443/2001 and no. 163/2006, was used. In this case, projects and associated observations were approved by means of deliberations by the Inter-ministerial Committee for Economic Programming (CIPE), with the final project of a "_motorway link connecting the cities of Brescia, Bergamo and Milan_" (no. 49/2009).

[12] In Italian administrative law, an AdP is a convention between territorial authorities by means of which the various parties coordinate their activities for the creation of public works, interventions or intervention programmes.

of trees and plants to beautify the environment. All this would be paid for by the railway contractors and by the Region of Lombardy. In the area of Truccazzano the environmental improvement project included – among other things – 26,200 square metres of reforestation, 38,300 sq m of afforestation of the escarpments, 660 m of rows of trees, 5,500 sq m of marsh plants, a tree-lined car park of 1,400 sq m and 16,150 sq m of grassland.

Today, the part of the railway project regarding its insertion in the environment has been abandoned by its signatories and, with considerable difficulty, the possibility of alternative action is being studied in conjunction with the local Authority. The environmental value of compensatory operations is therefore no longer deemed useful in areas that were already partly ruined by the quarrying activities, even though this quarry is now also crossed by the building site of the motorway that flanks the railway infrastructure. Obviously, the crossings that the railway company had completed and opened up to traffic have been demolished by the road works involved in building the motorway, in order to be constructed anew after the necessary infrastructural extensions and adaptations have been carried out.

The little community of Albignano has been subject to the invasive presence of building sites for at least 10 years. The negotiations linked to the expropriation of the necessary building land often include the acquisition of sections of cadastral maps that can no longer be used by the previous owner but which are not strictly functional for the project in question. These, at the end of construction activities, translate into relict areas, without any purpose in production terms. They are often accessible only with difficulty, in the best of cases serving as service roads in case of emergencies along the main thoroughfare. Those who have been expropriated have no interest in purchasing back the relict area, whose value for any sort of production has been almost entirely nullified. Even the Municipal Council has no motivation for buying and managing it, because it is costly and of no use in providing a service for the population. The areas of debris and those between and under viaduct infrastructures thus remain unutilized.

The time needed to complete the works put the patience of the population under great strain because of the inconvenience caused by the building sites, in spite of the fact that the initial project was welcomed: it promised – at least in this stretch – positive repercussions in terms of the railway services offered (the institution of a metro link with new services from Milan and from Treviglio). The planners' coherent attempt to give a positive image to the new landscape and its infrastructure assigned the transport route a new role as a "common", but this was at odds with the unforeseen costs and the inconvenience involved in the management of the route. The amount of time required to build these infrastructures has had a partly negative effect on the non-congestive and rural dimension of the environment and the mitigatory operations are taking too long to make their benefits felt.

5.2 The case of Molino Bruciato

The AdP signed at Pozzuolo Martesana on 30th January, 1995, by all the stakeholders involved – giving rise to the work necessary for quadrupling in the territory of that municipality the railway line between Pioltello and Treviglio – called (in item 5.8) for FS to be deemed responsible for building an underpass along the rural Molino Bruciato –Trecella road. This work has almost been completed, with the exception of the road, and was given over to the contractor building the motorway in the course of the final assignment of the expropriated areas and of the road.

In CIPE's resolution the final project for the construction of the BreBeMi motorway, item 50 of the remarks calls for the creation of a gravel road connecting the service road alongside the Incugnate –Trecella underpass with Molino Bruciato and the demolition of the present ramps, together with the closure of the crossing under the High Concentration line that has been built. There is no mention, on the other hand, of the entire northern section which, after being expropriated, seems to have remained of undefined ownership, with absolutely no interest on the part of the expropriated party in reassuming ownership. At the moment the work is partly underground and the support walls are still clearly visible, as are the debris and the solid urban garbage that has been dumped here illegally. Probably the different timescales involved in the building of the railway and of the motorway have not allowed for greater synergy, or else questions of property – which in such cases are always the last to be considered – are highlighting the difficulty in inserting the infrastructures correctly in their environment, with the due attention to management that the law ascribes to the owner. The costs of making them safe and tidy are clearly often hard to bear.

If the southern portion of the underpass has been correctly removed so that the motorway can run over it, things are not quite so good in the northern section. At least 7,000 sq m of land need to be made presentable once more, and especially they need to be assigned to someone. In the meantime, the country road is also being used for other purposes (prostitution, as an illegal dump for waste, and vandalism) obviously not considered at the time of signing the contracts (fig. 3).

6. CONCLUSIONS

The railway line and BreBeMi motorway projects between Milan and Brescia are giving rise to "new commons": the territory that benefits from these infrastructures and the services they provide to the community.

The programmed agreements for their implementation are generally valid and their contents consider environmental aspects, aiming to reduce land use when infrastructures cross highly anthropized areas.

Fig. 3 – Trecella (Pozzuolo) – One can clearly see the state of neglect of an infrastructure only 90% completed by the Italian Rail Network (RFI). The presence of the BreBeMi motorway has reshaped the southern part in order for the foundations of the road to be constructed, while the ramp to the north should be demolished. So far the function of the entire sedimentary area between the support walls of the ramp that have yet to be demolished seems to be uncertain, while the site has been entirely filled with debris from the quarry, becoming a real relict area. Photo by R.G. Rizzo, July 2013.

While the case Molino Bruciato after 14 years remains unresolved because the allocation of the relict areas remains problematic, at Albignano two projects of environmental mitigation and compensation are nearing completion: two overpass crossings attempt to minimize the barrier effect of the major infrastructures, in order to link the towns with their agricultural areas and countryside, as well as the proposed environmental restoration of the Albignano quarry, which would change a formerly disfigured landscape into a leisure area.

However, these good intentions have been compromised by project errors, long realization times and careless management of the implementation phases, all of which increase the discomfort of the population. Seemingly everlasting building sites thwart any environmental mitigation works and increase the lack of interest in the territory as well as antisocial behaviour (vandalism, illegal occupation of land, spread of petty crime) in what become marginal, inhospitable and socially dangerous areas.

Fig. 4 – The Albignano Quarry at Truccazzano, with some environmental mitigation works in progress. Photo by G.P. Scaratti, May 2014.

At Albignano, environmental compensation has been completed at 70%. On the contrary, the quarry remains as it was prior to the works and is still a private property, while the primary purpose was its environmental recovery to be used by the community. The lay-out of the two infrastructures, justified the combined recovery of the quarry, but, in its becoming, resulted higher charges for this realization.

Even if the restoration of the whole area is compatible with the presence of these important infrastructures, the largely unresolved property issues could complicate the activities of infrastructure maintenance and territorial control (fig. 4).

On the other hand, the long waits for the completion of construction work, for the activation of services and for the end of any inconvenience caused by the building sites cause people disaffection and mistrust of the institutions responsible for administrating the land.

The evaluation of the usefulness of a major public work cannot consider only the relationship between costs (loss of land and landscape) and benefits (new infrastructures and services), but must give a new function to the relict areas and

establish who should be given the responsibility of their cadastral possession and management.

In a study about land planning, the evaluation of relict areas in the consumption of a "common" is a difficult but important challenge, because it is difficult to quantify the costs of their management and to give them a new function.

Until now, the inability to effectively evaluate the relict areas' effects on the environment is a weak point in the planning stages that, in most cases, leads to underestimation of the costs, or to offload them onto the community as externalities.

The rigidity of contracts and the lack of financial resources contribute to this situation: many contractors who have accepted the order of the work downwards, have to close their sites or to fail, as rising costs do not give them adequate remuneration and leave environmental damage which represents a further cost to the community.

REFERENCES

ANGELINI A. (ed.), *Il battito d'ali di una farfalla. Beni comuni e cambiamenti climatici*, Palermo, Edizioni Fotograf, 2008.

BONESIO L., *La questione epistemologica e il linguaggio: territorio, luogo, paesaggio*, in MAGNAGHI A. (ed.), *Il Territorio bene comune*, Firenze, Firenze University Press, 2012, pp. 57-69.

CASTIGLIONI B., DE MARCHI M., RUFFATO M., *Paesaggi democratici: dalla partecipazione alla cittadinanza,* "Rivista trimestrale di Scienza dell'Amministrazione", (1), 2011, pp. 65-83.

COM (2012) 46 final, *The implementation of the Soil Thematic Strategy and ongoing activities*, Report from the Commission to the European Parliament, Brussels 13.2.2012.

DEMATTEIS G., *Generativeness, condivisione e ben-vivere territoriale*, in MAGNAGHI A. (ed.), *Il Territorio bene comune*, Firenze, Firenze University Press, 2012.

DI SIMONE D., RONCHI S., *Terra! Conservare le superfici, tutelare la risorsa: il suolo, un bene comune*, Santarcangelo di Romagna, Maggioli, 2012.

FRISCHMANN B. M., HOGENDORN, C., "Where Micro meets Macro in Technology Space" paper presented at *Governing Shared Resources: Connecting Local Experience to Global Challenges – the Twelfth Biennial Conference of the International Association for the Study of Commons*, 2008, Cheltenham, UK, 14-18 July (download at <http://dlc.dlib.indiana.edu/dlc/handle/10535/1521>).

HARDIN G., *The Tragedy of the Commons*, "Science" (162), 1968, pp. 1243-1248.

HESS C., "Mapping New Commons", presented at *The Twelfth Biennial Conference of the International Association for the Study of the Commons,* 2008, Cheltenham, UK, 14-18 July (download at <http://dlc.dlib.indiana.edu/dlc/handle/10535/304>).

HESS C., OSTROM E., *Introduction: an overview of the knowledge commons* in Id.,

Understanding knowledge as a Commons: from theory to practice, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 2005 (http://mitpress.mit.edu/books/chapters/0262083574intro1.pdf).

JACCOD C., MELA C., NAVASCONE R., *Il paesaggio come bene comune. Un'esperienza di ricerca nel Monferrato,* in ANGELINI A. (ed.), *Il battito d'ali di una farfalla. Beni comuni e cambiamenti climatici*, Palermo, Ed. Fotograf, 2008, pp. 193-222.

KÜNNEKE R.W., FINGER M., "The governance of infrastructures as common pool resources", presented at *the fourth Workshop on the Workshop 4,* 2009, Bloomington, 2-7 June (download at http://dlc.dlib.indiana.edu/dlc/handle/10535/1676).

MAGNAGHI A. (ed.), *Il Territorio bene comune*, Firenze, Firenze University Press, 2012.

MANCEBO QUINTANA S., MARTÍN B. et al., *A model for assessing habitat fragmentation caused by new infrastructures in extensive territories – Evaluation of the impact of the Spanish strategic infrastructure and transport plan*, "Journal of Environmental Management", (91), 2010, pp. 1087-1096.

MARANGON F., *Imprese agricole e produzione di beni pubblici. Il caso del paesaggio rurale*, "Working Paper Series in Economics" (1), Università degli Studi di Udine, Dipartimento di Scienze Economiche, 2006.

MARINO A*., Il corridoio 5: storia e stato dei lavori,* "Il Sole 24 Ore", Milano, 19 aprile 2012.

OLSON M., *The Logic of Collective Action*, Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1965.

OSTROM, E. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*, Cambridge University Press, 1990.

OSTROM E., *Governare i beni collettivi*, Venezia, Marsilio, 2006.

PERRONE C., *Per una pianificazione a misura di territorio. Regole insediative, beni comuni e pratiche interattive*, Firenze, Firenze University Press, 2011.

PETRELLA R., *Le risorse per i beni comuni*, in AAVV, *La casa dei beni comuni*, Bologna, EMI, 2006, pp. 77-87.

POSSENTI V., *Bene comune,* in E. BERTI, G. Campanini, *Dizionario delle idee politiche*, Roma, Ave, 1993.

QUAINI M., *Territorio, paesaggio, beni comuni,* in MAGNAGHI A. (ed.), *Il Territorio bene comune*, Firenze, Firenze University Press, 2012.

QUINTAS A.M., *Analisi del bene comune*, Roma, Bulzoni, 1979.

SETTIS S., *Paesaggio Costituzione cemento. La battaglia per l'ambiente contro il degrado civile*, Torino, Einaudi, 2010.

SETTIS S., *Il paesaggio come bene comune*, Napoli, La Scuola di Pitagora, 2013.

ABSTRACT

Contemporary landscapes in Europe create a mosaic of scenarios: water-based landscapes, rural landscapes, urban landscapes, natural and preserved landscapes, landscapes of culture-based regions, "religious" landscapes… Infrastructures of varying size often cross them or allow people to reach them. The proposed research is characterized by three subtopics all regarding the development of a territory – linked to the construction processes of the railway infrastructure – in terms of sustainable (or otherwise) alteration of the landscape involved. The subthemes are: a) remaining areas resulting from soil consumption due to the building of infrastructures (railways in particular); b) the need to create infrastructural works that intersect with the railways that make soils waterproof; c) desertion of infrastructural projects by major contractors that initiate processes of landscape/territorial degradation.

The study, after the discussion on Commons, intends to consider the link between: a) the landscape considered as a common asset; b) the implications of the need for major infrastructures in the development of societies; c) the right of communities to enjoy a balance between the two (landscape and infrastructures).

The phenomenon will be presented through case studies along the Milano-Brescia railway, partly with the aim of evaluating (with stakeholders) if best practices of territorial governance could limit the mosaic of abandoned areas that now have the consequence of reducing the quality of complex landscapes and so hinder successful territorial and landscape planning. Reflections will also be added regarding the BREBEMI (Brescia-Bergamo-Milano) motorway project.

LANDSCAPE AS A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PLACE AND SOCIETIES. ISSUES (AND TOOLS) FOR SPATIAL PLANNING

Cristina Mattiucci

1. SITUATED CULTURES AND LANDSCAPE: A RELATIONAL DIMENSION

The paper aims to discuss some results coming from a research experience started in 2006, based on investigations about perceived landscapes, in order to explore by a methodologically structured field work some issues arising when we try to apply the principles and the guidelines of the European Landscape Convention (ELC), in an operative perspective belonging to the spatial planning.

Starting from this research, it has been argued (and it is being argued) the potential and the topicality of the definition of landscape as ratified by the ELC[1], as a starting point of a hermeneutic pathway involving contemporary landscape, since it casts the attention of landscape policies unequivocally to ordinary landscape, i.e. the everyday perceived territory. This paper, moreover, also aims to explore the perception as a knowledge tool for the landscape, trying to venture into an updated and operative interpretation of it.

Making reference to the interdisciplinary roots of studies devoted to ordinary landscapes (Meinig, 1979; Lanzani, 2003), the presented approach aims to stress the ontological dimension of landscape perception, as a medium which generates and represents a "cunning object" – as Farinelli (1991) stated the landscape is – which appears, reifies, takes shape while it is being represented, acquiring each time the features these representations may determine, as consequence of the way it is understood and represented.

Actually, the topicality of a revision of some of the interpretive paradigms and transformation practices of landscape has been pointed out for some years, in the awareness that contemporary landscape is not understandable through a unifying narrative, but it is rather primarily expressed in ordinary contexts, which lack well-established models and shared value attributions.

---

[1] As it is well known: *"Landscape means an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human"*(ELC, art.1 par. a)

As it is well know, contemporary landscapes are the objects of manifold studies and interpretations, from the ones with an ecological, environmental, naturalist or geographical matrix, to other cultural, historical, anthropological interpretations. The research we are going to present makes reference to the ones focused on ordinary landscapes, as they may be understood by making reference to the cultural interpretations, stating that the idea of landscape is always culturally determined (Jackson, 1986), even when it does not express itself through exceptional landscapes. And, moreover, even if that idea is expressed by exceptional landscapes, the images of it come from a specific imaginary, built by the values attributed to them, by a cultural, relative and placed point of view, even when it seems to belong to a common shared vision.

This statement conceives landscape the whole inhabited territory, as a system where populations, cultures and physical environments – of which landscape is daily, ordinarily and normally an interpreter – interact.

These studies also focus on the link the landscape establishes between society and territory, letting us understand it as an outcome of the underlying symbolic, economic, political and material structures (among others: Berque, 1995, 2008; Turri 1974, 1998; Cosgrove, 1984; Daniels & Cosgrove, 1988; Tress & Tress 2001; Debarbieux, 2007), which emerges while the society "produces" both the landscape and its image (as a production of the perception); focussing on the relational landscape features rather than its physical components.

Based on an interpretation of the landscape as a manifestation of local societies, as it represents the uses of its territory by a community, these studies also contemplate how the landscape can express a sense of belonging. With the consciousness that an updating of the concept of "belonging" (and the identity which is often associated to it) is needed, in front of the plurality of contemporary societies, these assumptions have constituted a starting point for this research. Actually, it tries to discuss such plurality facing with the possible multiple constructions of a landscape in a certain society, since they come from the manifold cultural imageries and the several social and power relations. In this sense, one of the topic to deepen is how landscape mediates between space and society, discussing a process that – by defining the landscape in itself – it is able to express the situated cultures, in a certain place for a certain period.

Following all these statements, we have assumed the capacity of perceived landscapes of catching the plural cultures – that is a central point – in entrenching the definitions as well as the consequential landscape transformations.

This capacity belongs to the landscape understood as a communication protocol between populations and cultures which co-habit in it (Lanzani, 2008), showing the plural identities which are also determined by the forms assumed by the anthropological dimension, and not only that.

As an expression of the individual or collective life within the territorial context where it occurs, ordinary landscape acquires therefore a status which widens the nature of its attributes, beyond their materiality, and concerns the various practices of the usage of places and the relationships it determines.

Ordinary landscape may moreover be considered as the continuously work of a whole community, a post-modern space (Harvey, 1990) where, more than anywhere else, its *en mouvance* condition (Lassus et al., 2002) is expressed, related to the contingency of local societies with a territory, for a given time and according to certain conditions. With reference to the continuous process of the actions and meaning attributions that give it shape, the landscape is characterizing as a palimpsest of a society in evolution. After all, following the already quoted Farinelli's statement, "*just basing on its innate and calculated ambiguity, landscape remains the only image of the world which is liable to give us back something out of the opacity of the real – therefore the most human and faithful, though the least scientific of concepts*" (1991, p. 3).

Landscape studies claim a transdisciplinary approach, containing more than one nature in the relational dimension of its ordinary manifestations: landscape as a spatial entity, as a mental entity, as a temporal dimension, as a nexus of nature and culture, as a complex system (Tress & Tress, 2001).

Starting from these awareness, we have moved towards the understanding of some traits of these contingent manifestations, from the point of view of the spatial planning and the landscape project, aiming to understand how a such indeed complex material could be useful to substantiate fruitful and up-to-date reflections, policies and projects.

Actually, as it was pointed out when the ELC started to be discussed in Italian context, especially by the point of view of the urban studies[2], focusing on the new perspectives to deal with landscape in transforming the territory and on the institutional and operative tools to do it, it is necessary to overcome the interpretation of the landscape perception as a way to grasp univocal (aesthetic) values, since it is founded – as the same ECL stressed – on the plurality of the meanings for the subjectivities involved to define it (by means of the perception). So any kind of project and policy has to work for a "beautiful" landscape making landscapes

> able to give a sense to the experience of the place by intercepting its latent identities and offering them to the perception of the involved populations. Therefore environmental sustainability, testimonial value, symbolic significance, portrayability

---

[2] The first main research about this issues, committed by SIU (*Società Italiana Urbanisti*) and *Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali* was coordinated by Clementi. First results published in Clementi, 2002.

and representativity are all dimensions which are to be taken into account in the aesthetic evaluation of landscape, emancipating it from the obsolete categories of historicism and opening it to dialogue and pluralism of the signification processes which are deep-rooted in the context[3] (Clementi, 2002, p. 136).

Moreover, from a political perspective, the research aims to propose the landscape perception as a tool to interpret constructively the societal identity, particularly in contemporary societies, with their mix of different cultural and ethical values. Landscape perception can represent these several values and meanings attributed to landscape by the dwellers – both old and new inhabitants, insiders and outsiders – on the basis of the common experience of the same landscape, *hic et nunc*, from the perspective of different cultures. In such awareness, perception proved its potential as mediator to interpret the landscape, by means of a biunivocal process (for planners and professionals, as well as for the population).

Thanks to the research experience, we aimed first to understand ordinary landscapes through the perception of them.

Conceiving the perception as a medium which – in the plurality of perceived landscapes – can bring out and start a dialogue between different views, we assumed that relational dimension already underlined as a key to understand perceived landscapes. Actually, since this dimension comes from the relationship between society and territory, it belongs to the particular modes to live the territory and so to the meanings it generates (a sense of belonging, but also reject, reference, need, indifference and so on).

2. KALEIDOSCOPIC VISION OF PERCEIVED LANDSCAPES

The first experimentation was carried on to build and test a methodology to understand perceived landscapes, basing on all the assumptions and reflections mentioned above.

I took part of the group working at the spatial plan of Roncegno, a little town in the province of Trento, north of Italy, and I focused on a landscape inquiry, while an ordinary planning process was in progress[4]. Merging the research's aims with the planning ones, we had to understand what people perceived as landscape

---

[3] "*in grado di donare un senso all'esperienza del luogo intercettando le identità latenti e offrendole alla percezione delle popolazioni interessate. Dunque sostenibilità ambientale, valore testimoniale, pregnanza simbolica, figurabilità e rappresentatività sono altrettante dimensioni che vanno prese in carico nella valutazione estetica del paesaggio, emancipandola dalle obsolete categorie dello storicismo e aprendola al confronto dialogico e al pluralismo dei processi di significazione radicati nel contesto*" (our translation).

[4] Nuova Variante al Piano Regolatore Generale del Comune di Roncegno Terme (DICA – University of Trento- coord. C. Diamantini, 2008-2010). The research group so as aomce I rea

(both elements and meanings), in order to give back an overview of the issues as well as the main potential useful themes to substantiate the projects in a deeper planning scale.

To better understand the results of the inquiry, it could be useful coming back, briefly, to some steps of its methodological genesis[5].

We have assumed that the places and the landscapes are perceived through actions which belong to the being in the places. Indeed the experience of human-landscape interaction occurs in the places and this is assumed as the preliminary condition to perceive the landscape, according to the experiential landscape perception paradigm as identified by Zube et al. (1982) from which all this research started. Every element is perceived because of its values and images making it evocative, distinctive or reflective of some experiences, since a close bond exists between space and the experience of it (Thwaites & Simkins, 2007).

Starting from the experience of landscape, which belongs to situated gazes (both the more rooted ones and the less rooted ones), we referred to the perception as a complex system in its multiple dimensions, composed of physical/natural, symbolic/cultural, physiological/personal and intersubjective/collective elements (Backhaus et al., 2008), whose understanding becomes meaningful as a synthetic expression of the contemporary condition of living the places.

The inquiry was set in order to identify what kind of places people experience and, as a consequence, which landscapes they perceive, and then the terms by which they consider the values (or not-values) of the landscape experienced.

To explore it, we focused on some specifications. We assumed that each experience of places actually expresses different experiences: the personal one (which belongs to daily activities), the collective one (which is mediated by the cultural and mainstream frameworks orienting our looks) and finally the meditative one (which is timeless and contains the summa of the lived landscape experiences, between memory and sublimation).

We then synthesized the themes/contents which connote each of these experiences: the practices for the personal one; the stereotypes for the collective one; the memories and desires for the meditative one. So, if we agree, as premised, that the ordinary landscape is perceived in function of the experience, each of those themes/contents allows the definition of a sort of archetypal landscape, which may be defined as interpretive paradigm to split the perceived landscape into three layers: the *daily landscape* (where we work, live etc.), the *representative landscape* (coming from collective imaginaries and stereotypes) and the *innerscape* (concerning memories and desires). These layers have been the result of the first research stage.

---

[5] For the complete methodological overview, see "A kaleidoscope on ordinary landscapes. The perception of the landscape between complexity of meaning and operating reduction" PhD dissertation, 2010 (online: http://eprints-phd.biblio.unitn.it/348/), and following publications (Mattiucci, 2010; 2012).

The whole inquiry has been set up as a hermeneutic process, based on the participation at the meetings[6] for the urban planning, when the researcher observed the terms people used to think about and describe their places, in order to then set an interview made of talk plus photo-walk for the involved respondents[7].

As the interview was made of three session, each one dedicated to one of the mentioned landscape layer, the field work allowed the collection of a series of heterogeneous data: physical elements; placed values; social meanings; environmental priorities; reference cultures; usage practices; imaginaries.

To manage this material, in order to give back the perceived landscape (in Roncegno), we worked on it by means of several and following complexity reductions. The process, based on building knowledge in a circular path and on the role of the researcher in the field[8], who followed all stages, aimed to identify common denominators in the ways landscapes are perceived. This aimed also to create references for the understanding the meaning of the places that composed the landscape, through the occurred practices there, the attributed meanings and the social-spatial organization which produces and shapes them[9].

Facing with the evident impossibility to reduce such plurality to a unique image, even less a map, we proceeded by a conceptual interpretation of all the processed materials, composing a *kaleidoscopic vision of perceived landscapes*. It meant building a device able to give a representation of the multifaceted attributes that landscapes assume. So, the Kaleidoscope was conceived as a first research result, as a tool coming from the assumed plurality of contemporary landscapes (tested in the field) and as a starting point for the next debate about the territorial transformation.

---

[6] All the members of the research group took part to the several meetings with the Committee of Inhabitants about different topics concerning the urban planning: population, infrastructure, city development, services and so on. It gave us the possibility to understand the sense of the words they used speaking of their places and their vision. This participant observation turned out being useful to define the interview (talk plus photo-walk) and to manage and then process the collected data, by means of reducing the complexity by association of meanings.

[7] 40 respondents, randomly selected within the administrative boundaries, covering the whole built-up area on the basis of demographic density. Any session of talk plus photo-walk took one hour and half and consisted in a depth interview (three sessions about the three layers) and a walk letting the respondent makes and comment photos to visualize any layer-landscape, sometimes with a last session at home to took and share the images of the *innerscape*.

[8] Thanks to the peculiar context, where the participation in the meeting and to the planning stages produced peculiar interactions between researcher and the field, we worked in a condition of continuous participating observation (Spradley, 1980), and so it was possible to set up a circular relationship between the ways these questions were posed and the way to analyze them, as inevitably driven by the outcomes of the previous stages.

In this framework, all the research concerning the planning was conducted by the research group, but the perceived landscape inquiry was set by one of us – the author indeed – who was more involved in this. In this paper, the research stages carried on specifically by the author and founded on her presence are underlined in the phrases where is the singular subject.

[9] Following Lefebvre (1974) assertions.

Emphasizing even symbolically the point of view of this representation by the perceptors' side, perceived landscapes in the Kaleidoscope were rendered by "typologies of looks". They were presented as "sheets" composing the kaleidoscopic landscape image, where each "look" was matched by a "leitmotiv", as a recurring theme in people narrations and descriptions, made explicit in order to fully understand the look, and so the landscape that look expressed.

In the case study, perceived landscapes emerged by "*Seeing landscape as:*

- *a fact!;*
- *my backyard;*
- *something which is not here;*
- *people;*
- *elsewhere;*
- *beauty;*
- *an open space;*
- *crossing;*
- *taking refuge in memories;*
- *contemplation;*
- *overlapping;*
- *the mountains;*
- *a meeting opportunity;*
- *nature in its landmarks*".

As it has been made, the look is a rhetorical artifice to interpret a landscape perception. It can become a kind of container able to explicit some issues the perception reveals, even if not conceived to translate directly the wide set of way of looking at the landscape.

The synthesis came from a transversal comparative interpretation of all data collected and processed and its set was chosen by researcher also according to her field notes: it has been tested a kind of representation very close to that, which, quoting a Tim Ingold's dissertation (2005), we might call "*mapping across*". Ingold wrote: "Reading across the page rather than along its lines, he [the map's lines writer] joins up the components distributed on its surface through a hierarchy of levels of integration" (ib. p. 8).

This *looking across* seemed fitting well with our issues, since we had (and we wanted too) to manage the landscape in its complexity and diversity. Indeed, *looking across* argues the interpretation of the relationships among elements and implies a wish to shift one's point of view, in order to sharpen the landscape, starting from people's perceptions themselves. Indeed, the look is one of the relational dimensions par excellence and a metaphor suitable to express perceived landscapes, if we agree to the ECL definition which, all things considered, does not belong to landscape, but to those who look at it.

Fig. 1 – *Seeing landscape as crossing.* LEITMOTIV: landscape is what lays among the usually closed and however circumscribed spaces, where usually we go to do something. It is a background to everyday movement, the wide space of crossing. LEITMOTIV INTERPRETATION: it recognizes the substance of a landscape in the connections among the punctual sites they go through, especially where they notice striking details, changes, presences (e.g. the order of Masi settlement, the mountain tops in the background, the colours). The untidy elements, the unwelcome things are automatically excluded – i.e. they are "notseen" – from the kinematic view. This is a landscape which belongs to a lot of looks, having in common a kind of contemporary nomadism which connotes life in contexts like Roncegno, as mid-mountain towns in a network which is interdependent with the services of the neighbouring towns. This nomadism emerges as a multiple nomadism, both short-range and long-range, less characterised by rest and exploration breaks, than by rapid inroads, spaced out by longer times of movement. EMERGED PLANNING THEMES: making infrastructures policies taking in account that, even if they focus on a big scale, they weigh not only upon the kinematic perception but also upon the local landscape perception, especially through the ways in which they influence the places they connect.

Even if the kaleidoscope shows all the partialities of its setting, discussed and in discussion as problematic nodes for this topic, it seemed as one of the most consistent possibilities to comprehend the perceived landscape, finding in its manifest bias an operating potential.

3. SOME TOPICAL ISSUES FOR THE SPATIAL PLANNING

The Kaleidoscope has been set as outcome of a composition of diagrams and narratives, which are translated in typologies of looks. Each of them was then linked to "emerging planning themes", as well themes for the possible future projects, contributing to reify the issues the landscape poses as challenges to the planning disciplines and to the territorial projects, as they come from the perception.

Fig. 2 – *Seeing landscape a meeting.* LEITMOTIV: Landscape is identified with meeting places. These places can be recognized in the open spaces, in the squares, in parks, but they give further meanings to any place where there is possible meeting other people. LEITMOTIV INTERPRETATION: Rather than because of its conformation, these looks recognize landscape because of its possibility of hosting a community. Often places like crossroads or transit squares are singled out not so much by underlining their absence of shape as by marking their essence of meanings as meeting. EMERGED PLANNING THEMES: since the importance of (public) landscape, as meeting place and sharing space, recognizing this potentiality and selecting spaces, to set them as a system and design them in this perspective.

Actually, the themes have been elaborated on the basis of the "leitmotiv interpretations"[10], since they substantiate the definition of an imaginary within which possibilities for effective transformations, as potential shared choices, can be explored.

In some cases it has been possible to identify directly some suggestions which can be translated in action, policies and project themes. In other cases, the leitmotiv interpretations have given the awareness of the potential effectiveness (or not) of some planned projects. The ordinary perceived landscapes, so as emerged, have also broadened the shades of planning intervention, introducing topics beyond the mere safeguarding reserved to selected valuable landscapes.

In a way, the emerging planning themes aimed to design some potential shared strategies: they spring up indeed from reading the relationships which bind each look to the territory. Due to this, they also prove as such strategies are realistic and sustainable, because they are really grounded on the field, as a part of a process

---

[10] In the figures two images excerpted from the Kaleidoscope sheets are proposed. In each caption we present "leitmotiv"; "leitmotiv interpretation" and "emerged planning themes", in order to give an example of the information and the suggestions the Kaleidoscope provides.

of landscape construction that they recognize and then shape, so as to include the possibility to be taken up and pursued by local societies (Dematteis, 2000).

Pointing out how it is necessary to merge the issues and the landscapes rendered by the Kaleidoscope with all the other planning fundamentals, rules and strategies, we can therefore explore how they can then substantiate following projects through the acts, opinions, trends and choices, the perceived landscape may reveal. Since the operational scale where they were set – at the *Piano Regolatore Generale* stage, which refers to a more general superposed *Piano Urbanistico Provinciale* for the landscape rules and understanding – the "themes for actions" in the Kaleidoscope sheets can then become the occasion for a critical review of the actions as envisaged by the superordinate planning instruments, where the blow-up of looks can reveal the distance of real landscape, which is lived and felt as a value or not, from generic qualifications – such as invariants – defined in the landscape policies by the upper planning stages.

Moreover, landscape representations run the risk of becoming the manifesto of a gap between the eternal delay of a discipline working through territory's governance actions, often working on some selected landscapes, and the continuous transformation of ordinary landscapes. So, the necessity of a continuous experimentation of the gazes has emerged. In the study of perception a lot of questions should be included, such as the contemporary dimension of the imaginary involved in perceiving and influenced by quickly evolving models. Actually, just these are what grants an effective landscape sustainability, because the latter does not refer to a heteronymous image, but really belongs to local societies.

If placed on a fitting scale, which is the scale of large strategic choices conceived within a vast consultation logic regarding policies and multilevel options, and rather corresponds to the intermediate scale where those strategies are filled with contents, the study of landscape perceptions can actually reveal emerging topics.

The construction of landscape images – as we are experimenting in another research in a planning context, in progress[11] – can effectively suggest different forms for new actions, also turning into an opportunity for verifying the actual effects of those strategies. It is in the light of the reality of ordinary contexts, charged with multiple subjective communities, where the project is not jointly shared, that perception can become an instrument for "keeping different things together", which means that it is something that should be considered when dealing with territorial development and change, as a manifestation of the relationship between population and territory, in a broad sense (Diamantini, 2013).

We can also recognize a certain topicality of this operative perspective because of the context and the aims of the experience and the features of the Kaleidoscope as a tool. The research assumed that exploring the ordinary, such as the territory of

---

[11] Perceived landscapes are under investigation while working at *Piano Territoriali di Comunità - Rotaliana-Königsberg Community* (coord. C. Diamantini, in progress).

the everyday life, and looking for its meaningful elements is fundamental to draw suitable landscape transformations and to build the consensus around them.

The argument is that, just in the light of the awareness of post-modern planning instrumental uncertainties, it would be possible to give to the landscape perception its role as operational instrument, as a knowledge tool which assumes the complexity of contemporary landscapes and tries to explore them, in order to offer them to the operational actions, without flattening their features. Even if the research faced a little town context and concerned a mountain ordinary landscape, we can there recognize a lot of significant elements belonging to the topicality of contemporary landscape, regarding both "landscape jellies and landscape jams", to use the eloquent metaphor by which Stilgoe (2005) indicated the most ordinary situations, mixed up and overlapping, where landscape constituents run together jam-like (ib., pp. 218-219).

Finally, there is another issue, coming from a reflection about the role of the researcher/planner in carrying on such a kind of inquiries and how they could be effective to work on landscape. As any other hermeneutical path, in order to turn data into knowledge, a synthesis and a framework belong to the researcher's responsibility, who also set them in a planning perspective. To build the Kaleidoscope as a way to render the perceived landscapes, we have used a "concept", meant as a principle for an interpretive definition, which may be accomplished through a knowledge process, rather than following a certain pathway (Bianchetti, 2008, p. 39[12]). With the concept the researcher is called upon opening one more perceptual level (ib.) – linked to the research's aims – to recognize certain problematic issue and build a "discourse" to interrelate the landscape and the subjective interpretations of it with some possible significations.

Indeed, applying the concept to the case-study, it has been proved that the relationship between population and territory, as it is expressed through the perceived landscape, is not a direct one, or at least people do not express it directly, even when they are explicitly called to describe and to "judge" the places where they live.

The ordinary landscape is like the background you never see, yet it contains in the practice all the places and all the things which make up a landscape and to which, due to various reasons, a person is tied to. But this bond is not necessarily based on the recognition of an identitarian resource (as collective belonging, which the theoretical reflections, instead, recognize in it), but rather on habits and affections to one's own microcosm of daily pathways and places.

With reference to Roncegno, the little mountain town where we worked, landscape features as "the tranquility, the green" are appreciated, but at the same time it has to be provided with urban infrastructures (e.g. the national highway

---

[12] Bianchetti refers to Dewey's theory (1973) in *Logica. Teoria dell'indagine*, Torino, Einaudi.

called "Valsugana") and any other immaterial networks, to live comfortably in a middle mountain landscape and living along a regional, if not a wider scale, as soon and easy as possible. As a mirror of people multi-placed experience, a lot of other features emerged: the everyday use of the landscape has revealed a system of spaces, seemingly isolated in their being predominantly spaces of service, but in fact interconnected by the use relationships giving them meaning and making them landscape. These are spaces collectively recognized and potentially recognizable not only for their shapes, but especially for the chance they offer of sharing places with the rest of the community, whose presence is often a determining factor for recognizing them. In this sense, what makes landscape are parks and gardens, shops and the narrow perched streets, the mountain as a dwelling and productive space and more explicit work-places. At the same moment when the proposed methodology allows the discovery and perception, these elements are exposed to people's claims and reflections, becoming material for the transformation of the everyday landscape of a little community, which – while recognizing it – may also recognize itself as a community and may reclaim landscape as a common element and a space of cohabitation.

4. ARISING QUESTIONS

Beyond the peculiarities of the case study, this experience shows some issues to update the debate about contemporary landscapes, both as objects of plans and projects and as way to understand the relationship societies-territories.

As underlined in the previous paragraph, we have chosen to not render an univocal image of the perceived landscape.

This intention comes from the awareness that perception, even if it defines the landscapes, cannot give back it in all its features. Indeed, the Kaleidoscope aimed at tracing its elements, by starting from the further multiplicity of the looks which perceive it, and at defining its features so as to substantiate landscape policies and provide a conscious planner with new insights.

Through the Kaleidoscope we proposed a visualization which can clarify recurring dynamics, in order to verify – if they exist, in the multiplicity of perceptions – common meanings, beyond the physical elements.

Actually, even if we set the "typologies of looks", giving centrality to the perceptive act on which an individual relationship with the world is based "when they are shared, when they become culture, tradition, customs, the ways of looking are a basic denominator in social relationships: they represent a community's agreement, just because they were born from a shared individual thought and guide the themes of the discourse, fixing its codes" (Boeri, 2003, p. 428).

In the multiplicity of subjects (perceiving) and landscape features (perceived), we then attempted to identify an instrument of representation, expressing a "plural visual thinking" which includes a plurality of looks.

On the whole, by the Kaleidoscope, the research proposes a device which contains values and disvalues, by the way the landscape is perceived and told. Indeed, trying to work on ordinary context, on its representations, but also on the projection of desires, one of the research topical issue can emerge: we gathered materials to built an hypothesis of the future landscapes, as a vision of the places we want, according to the aims belonging to a planning experience, which manages and gives rules to the collective and individual visions by means of actions, policies and projects.

As it has been already affirmed and it is also being verified by other already mentioned experimental researches, decoding perceived landscapes means establishing a dialogue among the cultures placed in a given territory, expressing themselves through landscape.

The plurality of the situated gazes, as rendered by the Kaleidoscope, shows synoptically daily modes to live the territory, which reveals themselves in all their discontinuities and ruptures, and which therefore become a fertile material, at hand for whoever operates in the landscape, to spur an inter-generational, inter-territorial responsibility (Lanzani, 2008, p. 115) and also an interdisciplinary one in operating in/on/with the landscape.

As it seems to emerge in other research experiences[13], the perceived landscapes attempt indeed to express that fragmented and sometimes chaotic image of so many (urban) landscapes, which very likely expresses the uncertain co-existence of a plurality of partial, still little understood, orders (Lanzani, 2003), whose dynamics and interdependencies challenge regulation, project and planning.

By means of the Kaleodoscope, which is devised in fact on the basis of the field work and the features the perceived landscape showed, it is therefore possible to confirm the overturning of a cartographic logic and the rupture of the organic nexus between society and territory (Farinelli 2003, p. 196). Such rupture definitely derives from the features acquired by this very nexus within the contemporary society, in which the dematerialization and the not-belonging to an univocal and physic ground become structural, as reflected in the values attributions expressed by respondents, which draw on experience of a space that does not end necessarily in their ordinary context of existence. The dematerialization of territorial experiences (Mitchell, 1996) – which are dispersed in a wealth of opportunities that people

---

[13] See for instance Buchecker (2003), or Castiglioni and Ferrario (2007), but also the feature of the landscape presented in "Dorsale verde Nord" (2009) or the hypothesis of the research in progress "Imagined Landscapes, Constructed Landscapes" by the Laboratorie Architecture Anthropologie (ENSA Paris la Villette).

live in different places – determines a further complex element to understand perceived landscapes: a not necessarily physical experience and the possibility for an attachment towards near or distant places, just because they are experienced in a virtual reality as well.

After one century, Simmel's (1913) proposition stating that "landscape is much more than an evocative metaphor for talking about society" is confirmed.

Essentially, the research has revealed the open topic of the landscapes perceptions plurality, with all the incertitude of the representation and interpretation of them, whose adherence to the planning processes has to be continuously verified in the field. But, even in this consciousness, because of the relational dimension we have assumed in the theoretical framework and the territoriality of social relationships which determines landscapes, we argue the perception – placed in a planning/project with all the described operative adaptations – as a very suitable tool to understand the manifold contingent features of contemporary landscapes and to deal with the material it produces in a project perspective.

REFERENCES

AA.VV., *Dorsale Verde Nord. Una guida alla scoperta degli spazi aperti dal Ticino all'Adda*, Rimini, Maggioli Editore, 2009.

BACKHAUS N., REICHLER C., STREMLOW M., "Conceptualizing landscape: an evidence-based model with political implications", *Mountain Research and Development*, 28(2), 2008, pp. 132-139.

BERQUE A., *La pensée paysagère*, Paris, Archibooks-Sautereau éditeur, 2008.

BERQUE A., *Les raisons du paysage. De la Chine antique aux environnements de synthèse*, Paris, Editions Hazan, 1995.

BOERI S. (ed.), *Uncertain State of Europe*, Milano, Skira, 2003.

CASTIGLIONI B., FERRARIO V., "Dove non c'è paesaggio: indagini nella città diffusa veneta e questioni aperte", *Rivista Geografica Italiana*, 114(3), 2007, pp. 397-425.

CLEMENTI A., *Interpretazioni di paesaggio*, Roma, Meltemi, 2002.

COSGROVE D., DANIELS S. (eds.) *The iconography of landscape,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998.

COSGROVE D., *Social formation and symbolic landscape*, London, Croom Helm, 1984.

DANIEL T. C., "Whither scenic beauty? Visual landscape quality assessment in the 21st century", *Landscape and Urban Planning,* 54(1-4), 2001, pp. 267-281.

DAVENPORT M.A., ANDERSON D.H., "Getting from sense of place to place-based management: an interpretive investigation of place meanings and perceptions of landscape change", *Society and Natural Resources*, 18(7), 2005, pp. 625-641.

DEBARBIEUX B., «Actualité politique du paysage», *Journal of Alpine Research,* (95-4), 2007, pp. 101-114.

DEMATTEIS G., "Il senso comune del paesaggio come risorsa progettuale", in CASTELNOVI P. (a cura di), *Il senso del paesaggio*, Torino, IRES, 2000.

DIAMANTINI C., "Paesaggio, Percezione, Comunità", interviewed by P. De Giampietro, *Sentieri Urbani*, no. 11, 2013, pp. 6-9.

FARINELLI F., "L'arguzia del paesaggio", *Casabella*, 575- 576, 1991, pp. 10-12.

FARINELLI F., "Sui tipi non cartografabili", in AAVV, *Italia. Atlante dei tipi geografici*, Firenze, IGM, 2004.

HARVEY D., *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Cambridge MA, Blackwell, 1990.

INGOLD T., "Up, across and along", *Creativity and Research Papers,* Dundee Creativity and Practice Group, 2005.

JACKSON J. B., "The vernacular landscape", in PENNING-ROWSELL E.C., LOWENTHAL D. (eds.), *Landscape meanings and values*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1986, pp. 67-81.

JEDLOWSKI P., *Memoria, esperienza e modernità,* Milano, FrancoAngeli, 1989.

LANZANI A., "Politiche del paesaggio", in SALERNO R., CASONATO C., *Paesaggi Culturali - Cultural Landscapes*, Roma, Gangemi, 2008, pp. 105-122.

LANZANI A., *I paesaggi italiani*, Roma, Meltemi, 2003.

LASSUS B., BERQUE A., ROGER A., CONAN M., DONADIEU P. (dir.), *Mouvance - Tome. Cinquante mots pour le paysage,* Paris, La Villette ed., 2002.

LEFEBVRE H., *The production of space*, Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, 1974.

MATTIUCCI C., "Il paesaggio di montagna nelle percezioni degli abitanti. Una chiave di lettura per comprenderne l'immaginario", in CORRADO F., PORCELLANA V. (a cura di), *Alpi e ricerca. Proposte e progetti per i territori alpini*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2010, pp. 85-97.

MATTIUCCI C., *Kaleidoscopic visions of perceived landscapes. A methodological proposal to grasp the ordinary landscape's perception*, Saarbrücken, Lambert Academic Publishing, 2012.

MEINIG D. W. (ed.)*, The interpretation of ordinary landscapes: Geographical essays*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1979.

MUIR R., *Approaches to Landscape*, London, Macmillan, 1999.

SIMMEL G., *Filosofia del paesaggio. Saggi sul Paesaggio,* Roma, Armando Editore, 1913. Ed. it. a cura di SASSATELLI M., 2006.

STILGOE J. R., "Landscape Jellies, Landscape Jams", in STILGOE J. R. (ed.) *Landscape and images*, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2005.

SPRADLEY, J. P., *Participant observation*. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston Steiner, 1980.

THWAITES K., SIMKINS I., *Experiential landscape: an approach to people, place and space*, London, Routledge, 2007.

TRESS B., TRESS G., "Capitalising on multiplicity: a transdisciplinary systems approach to landscape research", *Landscape and Urban Planning,* 57(3-4), 2001, pp.143-157.

TURRI E., *Antropologia del paesaggio,* Milano, Edizioni di Comunità, 1974.

TURRI E., *Il paesaggio come teatro. Dal territorio vissuto al territorio rappresentato*, Venezia, Marsilio Editore, 1998.

ZUBE E. H., SELL J. L., TAYLOR J.G., "Landscape perception: research, application and theory", *Landscape Planning*, 9(1), 1982, pag. 1-33.

ABSTRACT

In light of the consciousness of plurality as a constitutive dimension of the contemporary landscape, the paper aims to discuss the potentials – both theoretical and operative – of conceiving and exploring the landscape as relationship between place and societies.

Starting from the a critical review of a research experience in Trentino, which has focused on the experienced landscape to understand its perceptions, its manifold social representations and therefore its attributes, we intend to discuss its methodological potentialities and criticality.

The research has led to recognize the kaleidoscopic nature of the different glances expressing the landscape, that make the reciprocal influences between the landscape's perceived and conceived dimensions and offer a complex material to the future landscape projects. The paper describes the knowledge process, based on understanding the landscape as representation of everyday life, exploring its material and immaterial features, as they are lived and perceived (and thus by practices and imaginaries nurturing the ways of life).

Focusing on landscapes as an expression of different points of views, we will explore the landscape as possible tool for knowledge and stress the dense informations that it can provide for the spatial design and planning.

RILEGGENDO UN CASO DI STUDIO NELLA CITTÀ DIFFUSA VENETA: DIMENSIONE SPAZIALE E DIMENSIONE SOCIALE NELLE PERCEZIONI DEL PAESAGGIO

Benedetta Castiglioni, Alessia De Nardi, Viviana Ferrario,
Chrysafina Geronta, Chiara Quaglia[1]

1. PAESAGGIO E PERCEZIONE

Il nesso tra le modalità di attribuzione di valore al paesaggio e i comportamenti collettivi che determinano le trasformazioni del territorio è stato messo in evidenza in letteratura, ma meno esplorato in dettaglio. La sua importanza dal punto di vista della costruzione di politiche e azioni sul territorio suggerisce la necessità di esplorarne i meccanismi alla scala locale, in particolare per la sfera dei paesaggi della vita quotidiana. Con questo obiettivo si muove la ricerca decennale presentata nei paragrafi che seguono.

1. 1. *Paesaggio percepito e soggetto percipiente: un rapporto reciproco*

La questione del rapporto tra paesaggio percepito e soggetto percipiente non è una novità negli studi di paesaggio, trattandosi di un tema per così dire intrinseco al concetto stesso di paesaggio[2]: la geografia, insieme ad altre discipline, vanta

---

[1] Il presente contributo è frutto di una stretta collaborazione tra gli autori in tutte le fasi della ricerca, coordinata da B. Castiglioni e V. Ferrario: l'individuazione delle domande di ricerca; la strutturazione e la conduzione della ricerca sul campo; l'analisi dei risultati; l'approfondimento e il confronto con la letteratura; la discussione delle interpretazioni e delle conclusioni. Per quanto riguarda la stesura, B. Castiglioni ha curato il paragrafo 1.1, A. De Nardi il par. 1.2, V. Ferrario il par. 2, C. Quaglia il par. 3 e l'apparato iconografico, C. Geronta il par. 4; le conclusioni così come la revisione complessiva sono comuni.

[2] Già Olinto Marinelli nel 1917 affermava che "il concetto di paesaggio è necessariamente qualcosa di astratto e personale, che dipende dalla nostra facoltà rappresentativa e oltre che dalla esteriorità delle cose: un paese può esistere senza di noi, non un paesaggio".

infatti un notevole corpus di ricerche empiriche e di riflessioni teoriche che affrontano la questione. Tali studi hanno rivolto la loro attenzione ora ai meccanismi del processo percettivo, della costruzione di immagini mentali e della indicazione di preferenze, ora all'attribuzione di significati culturali e simbolici ai paesaggi tramite la percezione stessa, ora agli sviluppi sul piano applicativo di tali meccanismi e significati[3].

Tuttavia il rapporto tra paesaggio percepito e soggetto percipiente può essere letto non solo con riferimento a ciò che dal paesaggio giunge al suo osservatore, ma anche considerando le implicazioni di direzione opposta, per come cioè la percezione stessa influenzi le azioni dell'uomo sul paesaggio. Il paesaggio è dunque "interfaccia tra il fare e il vedere quello che si fa" (Turri, 1998, p. 16), con riferimento alla metafora del paesaggio come teatro, che connette tra loro, pur distinguendole, le due dimensioni del rapporto tra uomo e paesaggio: uomo-spettatore che percepisce e uomo-attore che trasforma (ibidem). Le diverse modalità con le quali l'uomo-spettatore attribuisce valore al paesaggio influenzano profondamente scelte e comportamenti dell'uomo-attore, inteso sia come singolo che interviene direttamente o indirettamente con piccole azioni nel paesaggio, sia come collettività che adotta modelli di sviluppo che implicano trasformazioni complessive del territorio. Ancora con le parole di Turri, "il percepire è il presupposto del conoscere e del rappresentare e questo a sua volta dell'agire, consentendo di recepire e di ri-rappresentare gli effetti di quell'agire" (ibidem). In questo senso il paesaggio può essere considerato un intermediario tra popolazione e territorio.

Castiglioni e Ferrario (2007) riassumono così il meccanismo della percezione, caratteristico dell'uomo-spettatore: le forme del territorio, vale a dire ciò che del territorio è manifesto alla vista e agli altri sensi, assumono significati e valori agli occhi di chi percepisce grazie ad un percorso di elaborazione nel quale agiscono filtri percettivi e modelli di riferimento; su questo si basa poi il comportamento dell'uomo-attore, che trasforma tramite le sue pratiche le forme del territorio. La circolarità dello schema sottolinea il collegamento stretto tra le due dimensioni: infatti, "non è tanto la realtà che influenza i comportamenti quanto l'idea che ci si è fatti di essa" (Zerbi, 1993, p. 83)[4]. Il paesaggio è dunque dato tanto dalle

---

[3] Per un esaustivo excursus degli studi (di ambito prevalentemente geografico) sulle percezioni del paesaggio si veda Zerbi, 1993, p. 85 e segg. Alcune riflessioni sintetiche si hanno anche in Castiglioni, 2011 e in Ferrario, 2011.

[4] Castiglioni, e Ferrario (2007) propongono uno schema che riprende e rielabora quello proposto da Rimbert (1973). Anche altri schemi proposti nell'ambito della geografia della percezione e del comportamento (ad es. da Downs, 1970 e da Gold, 1980, citati in Zerbi, 1993) propongono il collegamento circolare tra il mondo reale, il processo di percezione che porta alla costruzione di rappresentazioni cognitive e immagini, e la dimensione decisionale e comportamentale (si veda Zerbi, 1993, p. 92 e segg.). Lo schema può essere inoltre ricondotto, pure in forma estremamente semplificata, alla modellizzazione del paesaggio secondo tre "sistemi" (sistema produttore, sistema paesaggio visibile e sistema utilizzatore) proposta da Brossard e Wieber (1984).

forme percepite, quanto dal risultato di questa percezione in termini di significati attribuiti, quanto dai filtri e modelli che agiscono in questo processo: "Le paysage désigne donc à la fois une réalité, l'image de cette réalité et les références culturelles à partir desquelles cette image se forme" (Dubost e Lizet, 1995, p. 227).

A proposito dei modelli che intervengono nel meccanismo della percezione, Luginbühl opera una distinzione tra il livello globale, locale e individuale. A livello "globale", i modelli costituiscono i "riferimenti estetici e simbolici appartenenti a una cultura comune, condivisa dalle società nazionali o sovranazionali", elaborati grazie alle produzioni iconografiche nelle loro diverse tipologie a formare una sorta di "cultura patrimoniale, forgiata in tempi lunghi", di cui ciascun individuo è più o meno consapevole (Luginbühl, 2012, p. 142). A livello "locale", i modelli – differenti da luogo a luogo – si formano invece sulla base dei rapporti che ciascuna società locale stabilisce con l'ambiente in cui vive "attraverso il confronto fisico, estetico e simbolico con gli elementi del paesaggio, ma anche nel quadro dei rapporti sociali". Le pratiche nell'uso delle risorse, i rapporti di forza tra gruppi sociali così come la storia e la memoria locale intervengono nella strutturazione di questi modelli (ibidem, p.143). Vi è inoltre un livello individuale, collegato con le caratteristiche dei singoli e dei gruppi sociali di appartenenza. A questo livello fanno riferimento i "filtri percettivi" che secondo alcuni autori si inseriscono nel flusso di informazioni acquisite dall'ambiente da cui si sviluppano le decisioni successive (Brossard e Wieber, 1984; Gold, 1980).

L'importanza della percezione nell'ambito più vasto del rapporto tra paesaggio e popolazione è portata alla ribalta dalla Convenzione europea del Paesaggio (2000): questa sottolinea infatti il ruolo delle popolazioni nei confronti dei paesaggi – con il loro diritto di godere di un paesaggio di qualità e il loro dovere di prendersene cura – e sancisce la necessità di parlare di paesaggio ovunque, non solo nei luoghi eccezionali (Priore, 2009). È infatti la "porzione di territorio *così come è percepita dalle popolazioni*" che diventa l'oggetto della salvaguardia, della gestione e della pianificazione, per raggiungere obiettivi di qualità paesaggistica che riflettano "le aspirazioni delle popolazioni per quanto riguarda le caratteristiche paesaggistiche del loro ambiente di vita" (art. 1 e Preambolo della Convenzione). Alla luce di queste indicazioni si rendono quindi necessari studi sulla percezione che adottino chiavi di lettura e di interpretazione non più solo speculative, ma necessariamente feconde di risvolti applicativi.

1.2 Dimensione individuale e dimensione collettiva della percezione del paesaggio

Il meccanismo della percezione è stato più volte indagato con riferimento al livello individuale entro aree di ricerca che enfatizzano la dimensione esperienziale del paesaggio (Appleton, 1975; Kaplan, 1982; Tuan, 1979), influenzata dal vissuto del singolo individuo, dal suo bagaglio di conoscenze personali nonché

dal contesto socioculturale di appartenenza (Zube, 1987; Zube et al., 1982; Purcell, 1992). Questo campo di indagine si sovrappone in parte a quello degli studi sull'attaccamento e l'appartenenza ai luoghi (Rollero e De Piccoli, 2010; Brown, Raymond, 2007; Shamsuddin e Ujang, 2008; Stedman, 2003). Alcuni aspetti tipicamente legati al rapporto con la propria casa o lo spazio della propria vita privata, quali l'attaccamento, il senso di appartenenza, l'intimità, si possono estendere infatti anche al paesaggio (Terkenli, 1995; Bucheker et al., 2003).

Se l'ambito dell'esperienza individuale è ben esplorato, risulta meno indagato quello dell'esperienza collettiva: alcuni autori studiano quest'ultima dimensione prendendo in considerazione la percezione del paesaggio da parte di gruppi di individui con caratteristiche simili per istruzione, cultura, stato sociale, ruolo ed età (Sevenante, Antrop 2009), o accomunate dal fatto di svolgere le medesime attività nel paesaggio (Hagerhall, 2001; Buijs et al., 2006), rilevando come individui simili possano esprimere preferenze simili. Tuttavia, tale coincidenza di preferenze non costituisce necessariamente una percezione condivisa.

L'esistenza di una dimensione sovraindividuale e collettiva del paesaggio è stata sottolineata da molti autori: il paesaggio è considerato prodotto simbolico di una società (Cosgrove, 1998), bene comune (Olwig, 2003; Carestiato, 2007; Maggioli, 2014), punto di riferimento in cui le collettività ritrovano il proprio senso di identità e la memoria della propria storia condivisa (Lowenthal, 1975). Altri autori enfatizzano invece il ruolo attivo della popolazione – intesa come entità sociale – nell'appropriazione del paesaggio, che ad esempio può diventare fonte di identità collettiva attraverso il coinvolgimento diretto nella cura dei luoghi da parte delle comunità (Stewart *et al.*, 2004).

Tuttavia, il ruolo delle interazioni sociali e della condivisione di esperienze "vissute" nel fondare una percezione del paesaggio da parte di una collettività che costruisca un senso di identità è ancora complessivamente poco esplorato, soprattutto in quell'"everyday landscape" di cui parla la CEP, che tra l'altro invita a considerare il paesaggio come "un elemento chiave del benessere individuale e *sociale*".

Quale paesaggio o quali elementi in esso acquistino maggior valore nell'ambito di un gruppo sociale (vale a dire quali sono e come si formano le *rappresentazioni sociali* del paesaggio, secondo Luginbühl, 2009), con riferimento in particolare ai paesaggi della vita quotidiana e al modo in cui sono vissuti, sembra a chi scrive una questione di rilievo, che qui ci si propone di indagare. Il riferimento non è quindi alle attribuzioni di valore connesse ai modelli di livello globale citati nel paragrafo precedente, ampiamente condivisi, com'è il caso degli stereotipi dei paesaggi turistici; quello che qui interessa è piuttosto il livello locale, più pertinente rispetto alla CEP e tuttavia meno esplorato negli studi.

2. UNA PRIMA RICERCA "ESPLORATIVA"

Tra il 2003 e il 2005 nasce e si sviluppa una prima fase di ricerca (Castiglioni e Ferrario, 2007a; Castiglioni e Ferrario, 2007b), focalizzata su un territorio investito in quegli anni da profondissime modificazioni: la pianura centrale veneta, caratterizzata dal fenomeno della "città diffusa".

Uno dei risultati più rilevanti ottenuti in questa prima fase – attraverso un lavoro sul campo che ha previsto sia l'osservazione delle trasformazioni fisiche sia l'analisi qualitativa delle percezioni del paesaggio attraverso interviste semistrutturate – ha riguardato la distanza riscontrata tra l'idea generale di "paesaggio" nell'opinione degli abitanti e la loro relazione con il luogo di vita. Nei luoghi dove vivono essi non riconoscono nulla che possa essere chiamato "paesaggio" (la risposta più rappresentativa è quella di un intervistato che ha esplicitamente affermato: "Che io sappia, qui non c'è paesaggio"). Allo stesso tempo, però, gli abitanti non manifestano disorientamento né disagio, ma al contrario si mostrano fortemente legati al luogo in cui vivono.

Questo apparente paradosso può essere interpretato come segue: la popolazione nella città diffusa non è abituata ad osservare gli aspetti fisici dell'ambiente che la circonda, poiché in qualche modo è parte di esso; difficilmente riesce a prendere le distanze dal proprio luogo di vita e a guardarlo con distacco e pertanto non gli attribuisce i caratteri che è abituata ad associare al concetto di paesaggio; infatti, i modelli che vengono messi in campo parlando di paesaggio ("bel panorama", "monumento" o "paesaggio come natura") sono talmente distanti dalle caratteristiche del luogo stesso, che non sono di nessuna utilità per interpretarlo; la nozione di paesaggio non viene mobilitata nella percezione del proprio territorio. Facendo riferimento alla metafora del paesaggio-teatro sopra richiamata, l'abitante interpreta il ruolo dell'uomo-attore che trasforma, ma senza "guardare consapevolmente" l'effetto delle trasformazioni, e dunque senza una rilevante coscienza delle conseguenze del suo operato, mentre il ruolo di uomo-spettatore è poco praticato o praticato con scarsa consapevolezza. Tuttavia non si può dire che gli abitanti della città diffusa veneta non attribuiscano valore al proprio territorio: al contrario dai discorsi raccolti in occasione della prima indagine emergeva in particolare una forte connessione tra il territorio, il loro vissuto personale e il vissuto della comunità.

Questa constatazione stimolava pertanto alcuni seri interrogativi sul modo con cui le persone attribuiscono valore al paesaggio, sui modelli di riferimento impiegati nella percezione dei paesaggi del quotidiano, sul modo in cui questi influenzano le percezioni e i comportamenti che ne conseguono. Ci sembrava che la comprensione della percezione dei paesaggi della vita quotidiana, considerati nella loro dimensione collettiva, richiedesse insomma un supplemento di indagine.

3. LA SECONDA RICERCA: OBIETTIVI, METODOLOGIA E RISULTATI

Dieci anni dopo la prima indagine – e a tredici anni dalla apertura alla firma della Convenzione Europea del Paesaggio – nel 2013 si è presentata l'occasione di riprendere l'indagine in uno dei casi di studio già considerati. Le domande di ricerca si precisano: quali sono le modalità di attribuzione di significato e di valore ai luoghi di vita, legate più da vicino alla dimensione locale e alle pratiche connesse? Come possiamo indagarle? Esistono – pur trovando scarsa esplicitazione – modalità di attribuzione di valore che fanno riferimento a modelli locali? Come queste attribuzioni influenzano le percezioni e i comportamenti che ne conseguono? E in questo senso, può il paesaggio diventare un concetto pertinente in riferimento ai luoghi della vita quotidiana? Può diventare un efficace intermediario per favorire una relazione più consapevole tra la popolazione e il proprio luogo di vita?

Confrontando quanto rilevato durante la prima ricerca con alcune delle affermazioni presenti nella Convenzione Europea del Paesaggio, ci si può inoltre chiedere: in che modo il paesaggio è in questi luoghi un "elemento importante della qualità della vita delle popolazioni"? In che termini rappresenta "un elemento chiave del benessere individuale e sociale"? Fino a che punto gli abitanti della città diffusa auspicano di "godere di un paesaggio di qualità e di svolgere un ruolo attivo nella sua trasformazione"?

Il caso di studio in questione è Vigorovea, un piccolo nucleo insediativo posto 15 km a sud-est di Padova e complessivamente rappresentativo della "città diffusa" veneta. La frazione, che conta circa 1500 abitanti e fa parte del comune di Sant'Angelo di Piove di Sacco, è situata lungo la Strada Regionale "Piovese" che da Padova si dirige verso la costa adriatica. Dopo essere stata per secoli un insediamento rurale sparso, Vigorovea ha iniziato la sua espansione negli anni '60, grazie alla destinazione di un'area ad attività industriali e artigianali in grado di attirare un discreto numero di addetti, e alla crescita dei nuclei abitativi diffusi nella campagna. Successivamente, e in particolare tra il 1995 e il 2005, l'aumento del numero di edifici (residenziali e produttivi) è stato molto più rapido, rispecchiando una tendenza generalizzata caratteristica di tutta la pianura Veneta, tipica della "seconda città diffusa" (Ferrario, 2009). Nuove aree residenziali sono state previste dagli strumenti di pianificazione urbanistica per formare una "Nuova Vigorovea" discosta dalla strada regionale – costituita da villette mono-bifamiliari e piccoli condomini, e in misura minore da negozi e servizi – che ha il suo centro in un nuovo spazio pubblico, la Piazza Madre Teresa di Calcutta. Da circa una decina d'anni l'espansione dell'urbanizzazione ha subito un rallentamento; negli ultimi anni si notano anche i segni della crisi economica, quali nuove costruzioni lasciate incomplete o ripetuti avvisi di vendita e locazione.

In questa seconda indagine il gruppo di lavoro ha effettuato sedici interviste semi-strutturate agli abitanti incontrati lungo le principali vie di Vigorovea,

durante la primavera e l'estate del 2013[5]; inoltre, è stata effettuata un'intervista articolata e approfondita con il sindaco del Comune di Sant'Angelo di Piove di Sacco. Le interviste si sono soffermate su diversi punti: il rapporto dell'intervistato con il luogo di vita (attraverso domande quali: "Le piace Vigorovea?" "Perché?"); i luoghi percepiti come più rilevanti (il luogo più bello, quello più importante e quello maggiormente rappresentativo di Vigorovea); la percezione dei cambiamenti del paesaggio (quelli passati, ma anche quelli immaginati e desiderati per il futuro), con eventuali riferimenti al ruolo dell'amministrazione comunale in questi cambiamenti e alle conseguenze dell'attuale crisi economica; il significato attribuito al termine paesaggio, impiegato deliberatamente soltanto alla fine dell'intervista. Le domande su questo ultimo punto sollecitavano gli intervistati a dare sia un parere sui caratteri percepiti del paesaggio ("com'è il paesaggio a Vigorovea?"), sia la propria personale interpretazione del termine paesaggio ("secondo lei cos'è il paesaggio?").

La seconda indagine ha permesso così di approfondire le questioni teoriche più generali più sopra delineate, riguardanti i riferimenti alla scala locale che la popolazione usa per attribuire valore ai paesaggi della vita quotidiana. Nel caso di Vigorovea le interviste fanno chiaramente emergere che tali riferimenti sono legati non tanto ai caratteri fisici dei luoghi, quanto alle attività che le persone, collettivamente o individualmente, svolgono in diversi luoghi. Nel definire i luoghi più "belli" e più "brutti" di Vigorovea, così come nel distinguere i luoghi più "importanti", gli abitanti fanno riferimento soprattutto ai loro ricordi, alle loro esperienze e ai significati sociali legati a quei luoghi, e meno alle caratteristiche visive dei luoghi stessi. In sostanza emerge con forza la dimensione esperienziale del paesaggio, che prevale o addirittura sostituisce i suoi aspetti puramente formali e quindi visivi.

Alcuni esempi possono aiutare a comprendere meglio la questione. Tra i luoghi "più belli" e significativi di Vigorovea primeggia il cosiddetto "*baraccon*", un grande tendone da fiera collocato nel cortile dietro la chiesa, centro di molte attività, non solo religiose. Questo luogo, privo di qualunque qualità estetica e anzi piuttosto "brutto" ai nostri occhi di ricercatori, viene indicato dagli abitanti di Vigorovea tra i più "belli". La ragione che spiega questa inaspettata attribuzione di valore è il suo significato "sociale": è il luogo dove le persone si incontrano, condividendo il tempo libero, sviluppando relazioni ed elaborando anche una propria identità sociale.

---

[5] Come approfondimento di questa seconda fase della ricerca, nei mesi successivi è stato predisposto un questionario somministrato ad un campione di circa 100 abitanti; una prima analisi sommaria dei risultati, per la parte pertinente ai temi trattati anche nelle interviste, conferma sostanzialmente quanto emerso nelle interviste stesse. I dati dei questionari sono in corso di elaborazione.

È interessante confrontare le risposte a questa domanda date nelle due fasi della ricerca: nel 2003, la risposta più ricorrente alla domanda "qual è il posto più bello di Vigorovea?" era il nuovo capitello votivo della Piazza Madre Teresa di Calcutta, per la stessa ragione di tipo "sociale": quello era il luogo di incontro preferenziale e di confronto tra i vecchi e i nuovi abitanti, stabilitisi a Vigorovea in seguito all'espansione residenziale.

Una conferma, in negativo, dei significati sociali assunti dal paesaggio emerge dalle valutazioni date dagli intervistati ad esempio alla sala video-poker, che viene giudicata "brutta" perché frequentata da persone che godono di scarsa considerazione sociale. Ancora più interessante per la sua ambivalenza è il caso del piccolo parco pubblico, che viene valutato positivamente in quanto luogo dove i bambini possono giocare, negativamente in quanto malfrequentato in certi orari.

Anche i cambiamenti del paesaggio vengono valutati associandoli ai cambiamenti nelle attività e nelle pratiche della vita quotidiana degli intervistati, piuttosto che alle loro caratteristiche fisiche: la stessa crisi economica viene percepita e raccontata più in base agli effetti che genera nello stile di vita delle persone, che non per i cambiamenti che essa pur produce nel territorio e che sono visibili nel paesaggio (ad esempio l'interruzione dello sviluppo urbano attorno alla piazza Madre Teresa che ha lasciato incerto il suo limite sud-ovest e ha svuotato di senso e di attività gli spazi commerciali ivi localizzati).

Il rivelarsi di questa dimensione "sociale" nell'attribuzione di valore al paesaggio merita qualche ulteriore riflessione.

4. DIMENSIONE SPAZIALE E DIMENSIONE SOCIALE NELLE PERCEZIONI DEL PAESAGGIO

Riflettendo sui risultati ottenuti a Vigorovea, è possibile formulare un'ipotesi relativa alle percezioni del paesaggio della vita quotidiana.

In base alle risposte e alle osservazioni provenienti dalle interviste, si possono distinguere due dimensioni nei riferimenti utilizzati per l'attribuzione di valore: una dimensione "spaziale" – secondo cui le persone attribuiscono valore ai paesaggi sulla base delle caratteristiche visive degli stessi (delle loro "forme" e della loro qualità estetica) – e una dimensione "sociale", secondo cui le persone attribuiscono valore ai paesaggi sulla base delle proprie esperienze e delle pratiche individuali e collettive che si svolgono nei luoghi della loro vita quotidiana.

Come si vede nella tabella 1, sulla base di queste due dimensioni possiamo schematizzare due attitudini nell'attribuire valore al paesaggio: quella dello "spettatore *spaziale*" (che considera prevalentemente le caratteristiche visive del paesaggio) e quella dello "spettatore *sociale*" (che considera prevalentemente le attività e le pratiche che si svolgono nel paesaggio). È ovvio che le due attitudini

possono coesistere nello stesso individuo in misura diversa e, come vedremo, a seconda dei luoghi considerati.

	DIMENSIONE SPAZIALE	DIMENSIONE SOCIALE
modo di percezione:	visivo	esperienziale
attenzione posta su:	forme	pratiche
SPETTATORE *attribuisce valore ai luoghi in relazione a:*	caratteristiche visuali, conformità con canoni estetici e/o funzionali	significati sociali, attività che vi si svolgono, relazioni che vi si sviluppano
ATTORE *si prende cura dei luoghi per:*	migliorarne la qualità estetica e la funzionalità	rafforzare l'identità locale, le relazioni sociali, il senso di appartenenza

Tab. 1 – Dimensioni spaziale e sociale nella percezione e nell'attribuzione di valore ai paesaggi ordinari.

Per analogia, considerando il rapporto stretto tra la dimensione dello spettatore e quella dell'attore (vedi par. 1.1), si possono distinguere due diverse attitudini, *spaziali* e *sociali*, anche a livello degli attori: nel primo caso ci può essere un comportamento attento alle forme, alle caratteristiche visive; nel secondo caso, invece, contano soprattutto le pratiche e le relazioni sociali.

Assumere una attitudine spaziale e/o sociale non è tuttavia un dato invariante, ma sembra essere in relazione con il grado di coinvolgimento che gli abitanti sviluppano nei confronti di ciascun luogo, nel prendersene cura e nel partecipare alle sue trasformazioni. Significativamente, un intervistato ha affermato in modo esplicito che "la cura è legata al fatto che [il luogo] appartiene a qualcuno": per prendersi cura del paesaggio è perciò necessario che esso sia in qualche misura sentito come "proprio". A questo proposito, nel caso di Vigorovea è possibile distinguere tre tipologie di luoghi ai quali associare tre differenti comportamenti.

Nei confronti dei luoghi privati (la propria casa in particolare), gli abitanti dimostrano un elevato grado di coinvolgimento: nel ruolo di spettatori, attribuiscono valore con riferimento sia alla dimensione spaziale (per molti "è il luogo più bello di Vigorovea") sia a quella sociale; nel ruolo di attori, di conseguenza, curano la qualità estetica di questi luoghi (semplicemente per "gusto" e/o per trasmettere attraverso di essi il proprio status sociale) e si preoccupano anche che essi siano adeguati alle attività che vi devono essere svolte.

Nei confronti dei luoghi pubblici, il grado di coinvolgimento delle persone è in generale molto basso: il riferimento principale nell'attribuzione di valore è la dimensione sociale; per esempio, la piazza è valutata negativamente perché non vi accadono attività socialmente interessanti, mentre il parco è giudicato positivamente o negativamente a seconda delle persone che lo frequentano. Inoltre, le persone non si prendono cura di questi luoghi perché ritengono che non sia un loro dovere, che spetta invece all'amministrazione pubblica (con le parole di un intervistato: "Ci prendiamo cura di questo posto solo quando ne abbiamo bisogno per una specifica attività: pregare davanti alla piccola cappella, o una festa di compleanno per bambini nel parco").

Ci sono infine luoghi che non sono pubblici, ma il cui uso è aperto alla comunità in maniera più o meno regolata e in cui si svolgono attività collettive. Nei confronti di questi luoghi le persone dimostrano un grado medio di coinvolgimento: gli
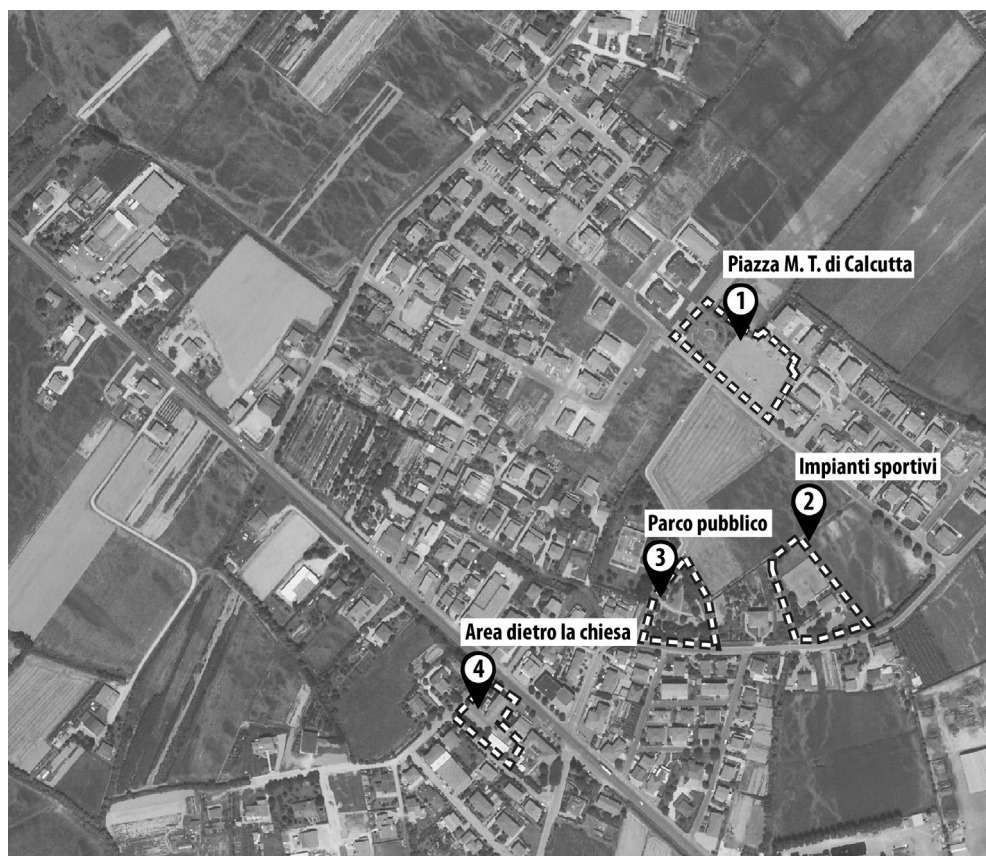

Fig. 1 – Ortofoto di Vigorovea con l'indicazione dei luoghi maggiormente citati nelle interviste.

Fig. 2 – Spazi privati, pubblici e collettivi: a) e b) la piazza M. T. di Calcutta e il Parco, i due spazi pubblici maggiormente citati nelle interviste; c) una casa privata; d) l'area dietro alla chiesa, con il cosiddetto "baraccon"; e) panchine in uno spazio pubblico; f) siepi in un giardino privato.

abitanti si comportano sia come attori che come spettatori e nell'attribuire valore fanno riferimento soprattutto alla dimensione sociale. Il senso di appartenenza alla comunità locale è un fattore determinante nell'indurre le persone a occuparsi di questi luoghi che vengono curati per i significati collettivi che assumono e non per la loro qualità estetica. Ciò avviene ad esempio nell'area intorno alla chiesa dove si ha un notevole coinvolgimento delle persone. Anche nei confronti degli impianti sportivi gli abitanti dimostrano un certo grado di coinvolgimento, sebbene inferiore

rispetto a quello verso l'area intorno alla chiesa, probabilmente perché gli impianti sono meno associati ad una pratica locale tradizionale e perché sono destinati ad una porzione relativamente limitata della popolazione.

5. CONCLUSIONI

Nel quadro di un più generale interesse del gruppo di ricerca per la percezione del paesaggio, il territorio di Vigorovea è stato oggetto di due indagini con obiettivi simili, svolte a distanza di dieci anni l'una dall'altra, relative ai modi con i quali sono percepiti i paesaggi della vita quotidiana, come viene sollecitato dalla Convenzione Europea del Paesaggio.

I risultati indicano in particolare che alla scala locale la popolazione attribuisce valore ai propri luoghi di vita in base a due diverse dimensioni: la prima, spaziale, fa riferimento alle caratteristiche visive dei paesaggi, alle sue "forme"; la seconda, sociale, è connessa alle esperienze vissute nel paesaggio. Queste due dimensioni determinano differenti attitudini, sia negli abitanti-spettatori che negli abitanti-attori.

Mentre la dimensione spaziale costituisce un riferimento soprattutto nei confronti dei luoghi privati – di cui si "osserva" e si cura anche la qualità estetica – essa perde di importanza nei luoghi pubblici, che vengono giudicati, ed anche vissuti, quasi esclusivamente in base a parametri sociali, ovvero in base alle attività e alle pratiche che vi si svolgono. A differenza di quanto avviene con gli spazi pubblici tout court – dei quali gli abitanti non si sentono responsabili – alcuni luoghi di "uso collettivo" (indipendentemente dalla loro proprietà, sia essa pubblica o privata) vengono ad assumere un valore "domestico", un significato di "casa", e gli abitanti manifestano nei loro confronti un alto grado di coinvolgimento, prendendosene attivamente cura.

Queste osservazioni, riferite al caso di studio considerato nella ricerca, sono potenzialmente generalizzabili e forse utili per approfondire le questioni aperte relative al rapporto tra abitanti e luoghi di vita nei paesaggi ordinari. Lì dove spesso si fatica a riconoscere punti di riferimento collettivi legati ad elementi di valore storico e/o simbolico condiviso, la dimensione sociale assume un ruolo fondamentale nel rafforzare il senso di appartenenza degli abitanti alla comunità e al luogo di vita. In altri termini, il significato collettivo di questi paesaggi va cercato nelle pratiche concrete che in essi si svolgono e che permettono alla popolazione di ritrovarsi e di "vivere insieme" il paesaggio. È da qui che si può partire per sviluppare una nuova consapevolezza, aiutando gli abitanti a guardare con occhi più "attenti" non soltanto alcuni luoghi importanti dal punto di vista sociale, ma l'insieme del paesaggio che li circonda e ad agire in esso come cittadini attivi e responsabili. Viceversa, qualunque politica o anche semplice azione di

miglioramento fisico o di "abbellimento" per i paesaggi ordinari, che non tenga conto del loro significato "sociale" e del modo in cui vengono vissuti, appare destinata a non migliorare efficacemente la qualità del paesaggio né quindi la qualità della vita delle popolazioni.

RIFERIMENTI BIBLIOGRAFICI

APPLETON J., *The experience of landscape*, London, Wiley, 1975.

BROSSARD T., WIEBER J.C., *Le paysage, trois definitions, un mode d'analyse et de cartographie,* "L'Espace Géographique", 13, 1984, 1, pp. 5-12.

BROWN G., RAYMOND C., *The relationship between place attachment and landscape values: Toward Mapping Place Attachment*, "Applied Geography", 27, 2007, pp. 89-111.

BUCHECKER M., HUNZIKER M., KIENAST F., *Participatory landscape development: overcoming social barriers to public involvement*, "Landscape and Urban Planning", 64, 2003, n. 1-2, pp. 29-46.

BUIJS A. E., PEDROLI B., LUGINBÜHL Y., *From hiking through farmland to farming in a leisure landscape: changing social perceptions of the European landscape*, "Landscape Ecology", 21, 2006, n. 3, pp. 375-389.

CARESTIATO N., *Beni comuni e proprietà collettiva come attori territoriali per lo sviluppo locale*, Tesi di dottorato in Uomo e Ambiente, XX Ciclo, Dipartimento di Geografia, Università degli Studi di Padova, 2008.

CASTIGLIONI B., *Paesaggio e percezione: un binomio antico, nuove prospettive, questioni aperte,* in ANGUILLARI E., FERRARIO V., GISSI E., LANCERINI E. (a cura di), *Paesaggio e benessere*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2011, pp. 34-45.

CASTIGLIONI B., FERRARIO V., *Dove non c'è paesaggio: indagini nella città diffusa veneta e questioni aperte*, "Rivista Geografica Italiana", 114, 2007, n. 3, pp. 397-425.

CASTIGLIONI B., FERRARIO V., *Where does grandmother live? An experience through the landscape of Veneto's 'città diffusa',* in BERLAN-DARQUÉ M., LUGINBÜHL Y., TERRASSON D., *Landscape: from knowledge to action*, Versailles, Quae, 2007, pp. 67-80.

COSGROVE D., *Realtà sociali e paesaggio simbolico*, Milano, Unicopli, 1990.

DOWNS R.M., *Geographic Space Perception. Past Approaches and Future Prospects*, "Progress in Geography", 2, 1970, pp. 65-108.

DUBOST F., LIZET B., *Pour une approche ethnologique du paysage*, in VOISENAT C. (a cura di), *Paysage au pluriel. Pour une approche ethnologique des paysages*, Paris, Éditions de la Maison de Sciences de l'Homme, 1995, pp. 225-240.

FERRARIO V., *Agropolitana: countryside and urban sprawl in the Veneto region (Italy)*, in "Revija za Geografijo/Journal for Geography", 4-2, 2009 pp. 129-141.

FERRARIO V., *As perceived by people. Alcune considerazioni su paesaggio e percezione*, in ANGUILLARI E., V. FERRARIO V., LANCERINI E., GISSI E. (a cura di), *Paesaggio e benessere*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2011, pp. 23-33.

GOLD J.R., *An introduction to Behavioural Geography*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1980.

HAGERHALL C. M., *Consensus in landscape preference judgements*, "Journal of Environmental Psychology", 21, 2001, n. 1, pp. 83-92.

KAPLAN S., *Perception and Landscape: Conceptions and Misconceptions,* in ELSNER G. H., SMARDON R.C, (a cura di), *Proceedings of our national landscape: a conference on applied techniques for analysis and management of the visual resource*, Berkeley, CA. Pacific Southwest Forest and Range Exp. Stn., Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1979, pp. 241-248.

LUGINBÜHL Y., *La mise en scène du monde: La construction du paysage européen*, Parigi, CNRS Editions, 2012.

LOWENTHAL D., *Past time, present place: landscape and memory*, "The Geographical Review", 65, 1975, n.1, pp. 1-36.

MAGGIOLI M., *Il paesaggio, bene comune,* in TURCO A. (a cura di), *Paesaggio, luogo, ambiente. La configuratività territoriale come bene comune*, Milano, Unicopli, 2014, pp. 107-119.

MARINELLI O., *Ancora sul concetto di paesaggio*, "Rivista di Geografia Didattica", 1, 1917, pp. 136-138.

OLWIG K. R., *Commons & Landscape*, in *Landscape, Law & Justice: Proceedings from a workshop on old and new commons*, Oslo, Centre for Advanced Study, 2003, pp. 15-22.

PRIORE R., *No people, No landscape. la Convenzione europea del paesaggio: luci e ombre nel processo di attuazione in Italia*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2009.

PURCELL A. T., *Abstract and specific physical attributes and the experience of landscape*, "Journal of Environmental Management", 34, 1992, n. 3, pp. 159-177.

RIMBERT S., *Approches des paysages*, "L'Espace géographique", 3, 1973, pp. 233-241.

ROLLERO C., DE PICCOLI N., *Place attachment, identification and environment perception: An empirical study*, "Journal of Environmental Psychology", 30, 2010, n. 2, pp. 198-205.

SEVENANT M., ANTROP M., *The use of latent classes to identify individual differences in the importance of landscape dimensions for aesthetic preference*, "Land Use Policy", 27, 2010, pp. 827-842.

SHAMSUDDIN S., UJANG N., *Making places: The role of attachment in creating the sense of place for traditional streets in Malaysia,* "Habitat International", 32, 2008, pp. 399-409.

STEDMAN R. C., *Is It Really Just a Social Construction?: The Contribution of the Physical Environment to Sense of Place,* "Society & Natural Resources: An International Journal", 16, 2003, n. 8, pp. 671-685.

STEWART W., LIEBERT D., LARKIN K.W., *Community identities as visions for landscape change*, "Landscape and Urban Planning", 69, 2004, pp. 315-334.

TUAN Y-F., *Thought and Landscape: the eye and the mind's eye*, in MEINIG D.W. (ed.), *The interpretation of ordinary landscapes: Geographical essays,* New York, Oxford University press, 1979, pp. 89-101.

TERKENLI T.S., *Home as a region,* "Geographical Review", 85, 1995, n. 3, pp. 324-334.

TURRI E., *Il paesaggio come teatro: dal territorio vissuto al territorio rappresentato*, Venezia, Marsilio, 1998.

ZERBI M. C., *Paesaggi della geografia*, Torino, Giappichelli, 1993.

ZUBE E. H., *Perceived land use patterns and landscape values*, "Landscape Ecology", 1, 1987, n. 1, pp. 37-45.

ZUBE E.H., SELL J.L., TAYLOR, J.G., *Landscape perception: Research, application and theory,* "Landscape Planning", 9, 1982, pp. 1-33.

ABSTRACT
REINTERPRETING A CASE STUDY IN THE VENETIAN "CITTA' DIFFUSA". THE SPATIAL AND SOCIAL DIMENSION OF LANDSCAPE PERCEPTION

The relationship between landscape and perceiver represents a central issue in landscape research. Its significance is demonstrated by theoretical reflections and empirical studies within the field of Geography and other disciplines, as well as by the remarks of the European Landscape Convention (2000) that additionally brought this question into play.

Adopting Turri's interpretation of landscape, in this study we consider landscape as an intermediary between a local community and its territory, as an "interface between doing and seeing what we are doing" (Turri, 1998, p.16). Turri, by suggesting the metaphor of landscape as a theater, interconnects, while distinguishing, two dimensions of the human-landscape relationship: "humans as spectators" and "humans as actors" (ibid.). Therefore, we hypothesize that the way "humans as spectators" assign value to the landscape –through a process of perception in which filters and reference model act– profoundly influences their choices and behaviors, participating in landscape transformations and therefore assuming the role of "humans as actors".

If the relationship between individuals and landscape has been deeply explored in literature, the "collective" landscape perceptions of a community appear to be far less investigated. The role of the social interactions and shared experiences in establishing connections between the landscape and the community's identity seems quite neglected, especially regarding the "everyday landscapes" remarked by the ELC.

Aiming at exploring the link between the way people collectively assign value to the landscape and their shared behaviors that determine landscape transformations, this paper presents the results of two studies carried out during two different time periods.

A first exploratory study, conducted over 2003 and 2005, in the Venetian central plain characterized by the phenomenon of urban sprawl (Castiglioni and Ferrario, 2007; Castiglioni and Ferrario, 2008), detected a gap between the inhabitants' general idea of

"landscape" and their actual relationship with their "place of life". The inhabitants of this area did not identify the even existence of landscape in their everyday life place, however, at the same time, they did not reveal any disorientation or discomfort, manifesting a strong attachment to their place of living. In our interpretation, the inhabitants appear to have scarce awareness about the consequences of their role as "actors" who transform the landscape. Their role of "spectators", instead, seems to be interpreted inattentively and often in a contradictory way.

These observations have raised additional questions: how do people assign values and meanings to their place of life? Is there any reference to their local practices in attributing values and meanings? How could we investigate the processes of value attribution related to the local scale? How the process of value attribution affects people's behavior? Can the landscape be a pertinent concept when referring to everyday life places, raising awareness and improving the relationship between people and their surrounding environments? Furthermore, considering some of the remarks of the ELC, one may question: in what terms does the landscape represent an "important element of people's quality life" and a "key element of individual and social well-being" in the context of ordinary places? To what extent do the inhabitants of the "città diffusa" aspire to "enjoy high quality landscapes" and "play an active part" in their transformation?

On the basis of these questions, a second survey has been carried out after ten years from the first one (through semi-structured interviews) in one of our previous case studies: Vigorovea a small settlement located at 15 Km south from Padova.

Concerning people's processes of value attribution to everyday landscapes, this second survey showed that the inhabitants of this settlement make reference to two dimensions: a spatial dimension, according to which people assign value to landscapes considering visual characteristics (forms and aesthetic quality), and a social dimension, according to which people assign value to landscapes considering their own experiences and collective practices occurring in the everyday life places.

On the basis of these two dimensions, one can assume that in attributing value to the landscape people may act as "spatial spectators" (when considering the visual characteristics of the landscape) and/or as "social spectators" (when considering the activities and practices occurring in the landscape). Moreover, concerning the role of inhabitants as actors, we can observe that the degree of people's involvement in taking care and/or transforming the landscape is highly important. In the case of Vigorovea, three typologies of spaces associated with different behaviors can be distinguished: private places, public places and places "of collective use". The latter are not exactly "public" places, but they can be used by the community in a more or less regulated way accommodating several collective activities.

In private places people manifest a high degree of involvement: as spectators, they assign value to the landscape by referring to both social and spatial dimensions, consequently, as actors, they pay attention to the aesthetic quality of places rendering them appropriate for their private activities. In general, people manifest a very low degree of involvement towards public places: as spectators, they assign value to places only referring to the social dimension, while as actors, they appear quite unconcerned about the landscape stewardship, since its maintenance is thought to be a duty of the public administration principally. In addition, people manifest a moderate degree of involvement towards places of collective use: as spectators, they assign value to the landscape mainly by referring to its

social dimension; as actors, they take care of these places motivated by the existence of the accommodated social practices and activities.

Taking into account these observations, it is possible to highlight an experiential dimension of the landscape that does not merely make reference to the personal experience of individuals or their socio-cultural context, but rather to the sharing of places used for the community's collective activities. Such places, providing people with the opportunity to "act collectively", acquire a central role in the evolution process of the community identity; furthermore, the social practices appear to be the base on which local models of value attribution become constructed.

In conclusion, these results highlight the need for raising people's landscape awareness, assisting them to observe more "carefully" their surroundings besides their social practices and to participate in transformations as active and responsible citizens. Lastly, in our view, any significant policy, as well as any simple intervention to ordinary landscapes should take into account their "social" meaning in order to effectively improve both the landscape quality and people's quality of life.

LA FOTOGRAFIA DI PAESAGGIO COME SPECCHIO PER L'AUTO-RAPPRESENTAZIONE. LINEE METODOLOGICHE E PRIMI RISULTATI DI UNA RICERCA SUI PAESAGGI RURALI IN MOLISE

Monica Meini, Diana Ciliberti[1]

1. ELEMENTI INTRODUTTIVI

Le aree rurali rappresentano oggi i luoghi della natura, delle tradizioni e delle radici, ma anche i luoghi della modernità e delle sue contraddizioni economiche e sociali, animate da uno scambio continuo di risorse, materie, popolazione con le aree urbane. A partire dagli anni Settanta del secolo scorso gli spazi rurali europei diventano luogo di intensi processi sociali, economici e culturali, innescando profonde trasformazioni che la letteratura codifica come "ristrutturazione rurale" (Marsden, 1998). In Italia – in cui la preesistente varietà dei paesaggi agrari (Meini, 2013) si perpetua in rinnovate forme di "campagna differenziata" (Murdoch, 2006) – la campagna rurale, al contrario della "campagna ad una dimensione" della fase fordista strettamente legata ai cicli produttivi dell'agricoltura (Berti, 2009), vede l'affermarsi di concetti nuovi, quali multifunzionalità e diversificazione, che fanno entrare in gioco un insieme di interessi differenti e di possibili conflitti. Contemporaneamente si generano visioni politiche meno settoriali e più sistemiche intorno al concetto di sviluppo rurale, in cui rientra anche il turismo rurale (Inea, 2001). L'emergere dell'approccio culturale nell'economia (Ray, 1998) inquadra infatti queste tendenze in dinamiche di più vasta scala, che inseriscono lo spazio rurale in un nuovo modello di produzione-consumo (Lash e Urry, 1994) capace di affermarsi attraverso nuovi paradigmi: "estetizzazione della merce", "mercificazione dell'estetica" (Amin, 1994), "retorica della ruralità" (Basile e Cecchi, 2001). È in questo quadro che l'immaginario paesaggistico assume sempre più importanza per la produzione di un marketing turistico di approccio territorialista in grado di contribuire allo sviluppo rurale e il paesaggio rurale comincia ad essere considerato una risorsa strategica (Cassi e Meini, 2003; Grillotti Di Giacomo, 2007; Tinacci Mossello et al., 2011).

---

[1] Il contributo è frutto di riflessione comune delle Autrici, tuttavia la stesura è da attribuirsi a M. Meini per i primi due paragrafi e a D. Ciliberti per i restanti paragrafi.

Al paesaggio rurale viene attribuito un valore strategico, non solo per il suo legame con le qualità ambientali degli spazi rurali, ma anche in quanto esito e riflesso delle azioni territoriali. Oltre ad un approccio conservativo (Romano, 2003), si fa strada un approccio patrimoniale, che vede un incremento di valore tramite nuovi usi compatibili nell'ottica di uno sviluppo sostenibile (Saxena et al., 2007; Zerbi, 2007). Questo ultimo approccio rimanda ad una pluralità di dimensioni del paesaggio, tra cui quella semiotica, legata ai segni, ai simboli, agli iconemi (Turri, 1979), di cui il turismo si nutre dando vita ad una propria iconografia paesaggistica. Il turismo rurale, in particolare, si caratterizza per una forte dimensione territoriale: si basa sulla costruzione di capitale territoriale e sulle modalità relazionali attraverso cui si realizza tale costruzione, al centro della quale troviamo il capitale simbolico (Belletti e Berti, 2011; Garrod et al., 2006, Brunori, 2006).

Da diverso tempo quindi le campagne registrano tendenze contraddittorie, che vanno dal crescente disinteresse per la terra, con l'abbandono e l'esodo della popolazione verso le aree urbane, a fenomeni opposti, di attrazione per nuove forme di ruralità basate sulla funzione estetica del paesaggio e sul relax offerto agli abitanti delle città nel loro tempo libero. Questa contraddittorietà riflette una dicotomia nella lettura delle risorse rurali e uno scollamento nelle immagini legate alla campagna: da una parte quelle di coloro che vi abitano permanentemente, dall'altra quelle di chi le vive temporaneamente per esigenze ricreative. Tale dicotomia concettuale rivela matrici emotive ed estetiche diverse e, sulla base della dissociazione di immagine che viene a crearsi fra *insider* e *outsider*, vengono talvolta a prodursi forme di territorializzazione turistica di origine esogena che, non coinvolgendo gli abitanti nel processo di sviluppo economico, determinano un'accelerazione dell'esodo demografico anziché la riduzione dello spopolamento, che è la condizione preliminare per uno sviluppo sostenibile delle aree rurali. Peraltro la frammentazione dell'immagine paesaggistica non si limita al dualismo sopra accennato fra *insider* e *outsider*, ma riguarda una pluralità di attori, con specifiche percezioni e particolari interessi; frammentazione che, senza un'attività di vigile orientamento, rischia di favorire logiche speculative o comunque di disperdersi in una sterile parcellizzazione individualistica.

Appare dunque fondamentale comprendere quali interessi e visioni della ruralità intervengano e coesistano su uno stesso territorio, al fine di realizzare – attraverso processi di *governance* – una convergenza strategica per la definizione e il rafforzamento di una immagine complessiva capace di essere attraente all'esterno e di generare autoregolazione all'interno[2].

---

[2] Si rimanda qui a una serie di concettualizzazioni di supporto: sui processi di territorializzazione, si veda Raffestin (1984); sui sistemi territoriali autopoietici e sui modelli territoriali per l'analisi dello sviluppo locale, Dematteis (2003); sulla pianificazione strategica e la coscienza di luogo, Magnaghi (2010); sulla applicazione di questi concetti al turismo, Saxena et al. (2007), Meini (2012).

Fig. 1 – Paesaggio collinare con case sparse nei pressi di Ururi (CB) (fonte: Panoramio 2013. Autore: Aldorindo Tartaglion).

Il presente contributo si inserisce nel dibattito sul ruolo delle aree rurali nell'attivare processi di sviluppo neo-endogeno sfruttando le risorse locali nel quadro di un mercato turistico globale (Ray e Jenkins, 2000). Ci si interroga sulle percezioni dei vari soggetti interessati nei processi di sviluppo rurale, sull'importanza dell'auto-riconoscimento da parte delle comunità locali come strumento essenziale per uno sviluppo rurale sostenibile e più specificamente sull'utilizzo della fotografia di paesaggio per la costruzione di un'immagine condivisa in regioni rurali con potenziale turistico inespresso. Rifacendosi a quelli che Knox e Marston (1998) chiamano "paesaggi simbolici", si cerca di individuare alcuni paesaggi generici che sono potentemente evocativi, in quanto intesi come particolari tipi di luoghi rappresentativi di una regione. La ricerca che qui presentiamo prende avvio da alcune domande: fino a che punto l'utilizzo di immagini attraenti di paesaggio può essere uno strumento di valorizzazione per le aree rurali di questo tipo? può la fotografia di paesaggio essere considerata come un mediatore tra *insider* e *outsider*? si può creare una piattaforma innovativa di confronto per la costruzione di immagini condivise di paesaggio? L'obiettivo è di approfondire il rapporto tra le comunità locali e il loro paesaggio e analizzare la percezione da parte di coloro che vivono ogni giorno il paesaggio rurale in confronto con i visitatori della campagna

e dunque con le popolazioni temporanee, alla ricerca di una possibile interazione sociale, nonché di strumenti e metodi innovativi di riconoscimento collettivo.

Qui saranno presentate sinteticamente le linee metodologiche della ricerca e alcune riflessioni a partire dai primi risultati di un'applicazione ai paesaggi del Molise, una delle regioni più rurali d'Italia, connotata da un elevato grado di valore ambientale e da patrimoni intangibili legati ai valori e alle tradizioni del mondo contadino, in grado di attrarre nicchie di mercato orientate verso il turismo rurale e paesaggistico (Meini, 2006; Ciliberti, 2013).

2. LINEE METODOLOGICHE

L'impostazione della ricerca riflette gli orientamenti della geografia umana post-strutturalista (Gregory, 1994; Peet, 1998) e ruota intorno alla riflessione critica su alcuni temi e questioni di grande attualità nella letteratura geografica italiana – come il valore patrimoniale del paesaggio, la rappresentazione cognitiva e il senso di appartenenza ai luoghi – che qui richiamiamo brevemente con riferimento alla nostra ricerca.

Il valore patrimoniale del paesaggio viene qui considerato nelle due accezioni di bene culturale e bene comune, in entrambi i casi visto come risorsa per una comunità (Caldo e Guarrasi, 1994; Dematteis, 1998; Mautone, 2001): secondo la prima accezione, il paesaggio assume un ruolo connotativo, poiché viene visto come il risultato di forme di convivenza e convivialità storicizzate, rientrando pertanto nel dominio scientifico della geografia storica e in quello della geografia culturale per le rappresentazioni che ne sono scaturite; nella seconda accezione, il paesaggio assume un ruolo performativo, in quanto esso viene preso come referente per la condivisione di valori identitari su cui fondare nuove territorializzazioni (ad esempio, quelle del turismo rurale) e pratiche condivise di sviluppo locale.

Il tema del valore sociale del paesaggio è stato oggetto di recente dibattito nella geografia italiana, che – senza pervenire a posizioni definitive e neodeterministiche – ha tuttavia enucleato alcuni temi su cui appare opportuno indirizzare la ricerca, secondo approcci sempre più transdisciplinari (Riv. Geogr. It., 2013). La questione più pregnante, per la geografia e non solo, resta comunque a nostro parere la definizione condivisa dei tratti costitutivi di un paesaggio, quelli che fanno di un paesaggio quello specifico paesaggio e meritano pertanto di essere conservati, sia che esso sia colto nella irriproducibilità del suo insieme – data dall'incrocio delle dimensioni spazio e tempo – sia che venga assunto a "tipo" rappresentativo di specifiche combinazioni che si ripetono in varie parti della superficie terrestre. Questi tratti costitutivi possono essere considerati tali grazie ad un modello interpretativo che include parametri di varia natura, di tipo biologico-ambientale e socio-culturale, e riguardano sia la dimensione materiale che quella intangibile del paesaggio, quest'ultima legata al sistema di valori, alle esperienze, alle emozioni

che interessano tanto il piano individuale quanto il piano collettivo delle azioni e dei comportamenti.

Un asse importante della nostra ricerca riguarda la rappresentazione cognitiva del paesaggio (Cosgrove, 1984; Farinelli, 1992 e 2003). Essa viene indagata qui attraverso un metodo che integra dati visuali e dati verbali: una serie di fotografie di paesaggio rintracciabili in rete come immagini rappresentative di una regione vengono selezionate come identificative di paesaggi tipici di quella regione; le fotografie selezionate vengono quindi mostrate ad un campione di persone presenti a vario titolo nell'area di studio per verificarne la riconoscibilità come paesaggio tipico e innescare un processo di analisi critica volto a sollecitare risposte, attraverso interviste semistrutturate, sul senso del luogo, sull'appartenenza territoriale, sul significato attribuito al paesaggio rurale e sulle visioni progettuali in merito allo sviluppo del territorio. In questo tipo di studi, il ricercatore opera nella fase di *crowdsourcing* per la selezione delle fotografie (nello specifico, durante la raccolta delle immagini presenti in rete) e nell'impostazione della traccia di intervista, quindi si pone in secondo piano quale attore silente nel momento in cui viene data voce ai soggetti interessati, per riprendere il proprio ruolo di analisi nella fase di elaborazione delle interviste[3].

La fotografia di paesaggio ha assunto negli ultimi anni una notevole rilevanza scientifica per l'emergere di un approccio visuale nelle scienze sociali (Bignante, 2011). Essa è sempre stata uno strumento utile in geografia, impiegata in più modi e con diversi obiettivi, principalmente per documentare la realtà geografica sia nella fissità del presente sia – attraverso la fotografia ripetuta – nei suoi processi evolutivi (Cassi e Meini, 2010). Nella nostra ricerca è stata impiegata anche come strumento per comunicare con i residenti, con gli operatori che lavorano nel territorio, con gli amministratori locali e con gli osservatori esterni, i turisti. In questo contesto la fotografia ha rappresentato uno spunto per capire ed apprendere come questi percepiscono il paesaggio rurale, come lo vivono e quali valori ad esso attribuiscono. La fotografia di paesaggio viene usata dunque sia come mezzo per comprendere le visioni di paesaggio veicolate ad un pubblico ampio attraverso Internet sia come strumento di analisi per il riconoscimento di "segni" da parte di vari soggetti e dei "significati" ad essi attribuiti, ovvero delle rappresentazioni cognitive di diversi attori sociali (Rose, 2001; Castiglioni, 2011; De Nardi, 2012), con lo scopo di selezionare alcune immagini come elementi di una "rappresentazione per condividere" (Poli, 2013) da mettere a disposizione per nuove progettualità e un nuovo senso del luogo che incroci le varie prospettive e i diversi punti di vista[4].

---

[3] Una ricerca di questo tipo era stata precedentemente condotta da chi scrive sul paesaggio industriale (Lazzeroni e Meini, 2006).
[4] Ci si muove dunque su un piano antitetico rispetto a quello del marketing turistico tradizionale, orientato a sfruttare il potenziale attrattivo del paesaggio per l'immaginario collettivo e quindi a selezionare immagini fortemente semplificate e stereotipate.

Secondo questo approccio, non sono soltanto gli abitanti del luogo a partecipare alla costruzione di nuove immagini del territorio, ma tutti coloro che a quel territorio sentono di appartenere possono concorrere alla definizione di una visione collettiva del paesaggio.

Il concetto di comunità va dunque rivisitato alla luce non solo degli spostamenti continui di popolazione, ma anche della diffusione del senso di appartenenza multipla (Meini, 2008). L'introduzione nelle scienze sociali del concetto di "comunità glocale" sembra in parte rispondere a questa esigenza di rivisitazione: il glocale (paradossale sintesi fra locale e globale) è "un locale intriso e attraversato dalla modernità", il prodotto "artificiale" di una nuova capacità di progettazione culturale, dello sforzo di costruire identità culturali sincretiche, capaci di assumere in modo non schizofrenico la contemporanea appartenenza allo spazio della mondializzazione e allo spazio della comunità locale" (Bonomi, 1996). Della comunità glocale possono fare parte tutti i soggetti legati a reti di relazioni che mirano ad uno sviluppo sostenibile del territorio come sistema aperto, dagli appartenenti alla società-abitante fino a coloro che praticano e promuovono un turismo responsabile.

Secondo l'idea del territorio come sistema spaziale aperto, tutte le dinamiche di sviluppo locale si fondano contemporaneamente su spinte endogene ed esogene capaci di produrre innovazione territoriale, attraverso interventi "che rendano i sistemi locali più ricchi di capitale sociale e quindi più capaci di esprimere progettazione auto-riferita" (Tinacci Mossello, 2001, p. 31). Un territorio si trasforma grazie all'apporto, consapevole o inconsapevole, di diversi gruppi di popolazione che con quel territorio entrano in contatto, per i motivi più vari e secondo modalità che si differenziano sia per gli spazi interessati che per la durata del contatto. Tra questi diversi gruppi, alcuni sono tendenzialmente interessati ad uno sfruttamento immediato delle risorse del territorio senza preoccuparsi degli impatti e delle ricadute di tale sfruttamento. Altri invece, essendo più attenti alla gestione delle risorse nel lungo periodo e al mantenimento del patrimonio territoriale, partecipano direttamente o contribuiscono indirettamente alla sua identità, al riconoscimento di valori comuni, alla costruzione di senso, ai processi di sviluppo endogeno. In questa prospettiva, la distinzione *insider/outsider* non pare sempre appropriata, tanto più con riferimento al paesaggio, che è una costruzione continua a cui anche il turista col proprio sguardo partecipa in maniera solo apparentemente passiva (Stock, 2005). È opportuno dunque interrogarsi sull'apporto dei diversi attori locali e distinguere anche all'interno dei diversi gruppi di abitanti temporanei, poiché un rapporto limitato nel tempo può essere non meno significativo di un rapporto duraturo, se consideriamo l'esistenza di gradi differenti di interesse e di potere.

3. PRIMI RISULTATI

Il contributo presenta alcune riflessioni a partire dai risultati iniziali di uno studio empirico di cui è stata condotta una prima fase in Molise e che ha posto la base per la realizzazione di una piattaforma innovativa di condivisione di immagini di paesaggio. La ricerca si è basata su interviste orali e fotografie che hanno consentito di identificare e classificare le diverse letture di paesaggio da parte di varie categorie di abitanti messe a confronto con quelle dei visitatori esterni. La ricerca è stata avviata nell'area del basso Molise, in provincia di Campobasso, e precisamente nei comuni di Acquaviva Collecroce, San Felice del Molise, Montemitro, Palata, Mafalda, Guglionesi, Tavenna e Montefalcone.

La traccia dell'intervista si basa sull'identificazione di 13 fotografie di paesaggi raffiguranti territori rurali molisani, scaricate dal Web (Panoramio, Flick'r, Instangram) e quindi accessibili a tutti (incluso i turisti potenziali), ma comprende anche una serie di domande che toccano le diverse dimensioni della rappresentazione soggettiva del paesaggio, così riassumibili:

– sfera sensibile: identificazione e percezione dei segni materiali dei paesaggi rurali;
– sfera emotiva: descrizione delle emozioni nella rievocazione dei paesaggi rurali;
– sfera analitica: valutazione del rapporto tra comunità locale e paesaggio rurale;
– sfera progettuale: attribuzione di valore "territoriale" agli elementi del paesaggio rurale.

L'intervista è stata sottoposta a venti persone rintracciate nell'area di studio. Sono stati individuati diversi gruppi di intervistati, sia *insider* (residenti; operatori agricoli; operatori turistici; amministratori pubblici) che *outsider* (turisti italiani e stranieri), con alcune domande specifiche per le diverse categorie di intervistati ed altre domande comuni per tutti.

Nel primo gruppo di domande, è stato chiesto di indicare gli elementi che caratterizzano maggiormente il paesaggio molisano e di attribuire un valore ad alcuni elementi specifici. Mare e collina sono gli ambienti più comunemente percepiti come distintivi (per l'80% degli intervistati); da rilevare che l'assenza della montagna è probabilmente da attribuire alla localizzazione dell'area dove sono state finora condotte le interviste; i comuni considerati hanno, infatti, un'altitudine media che oscilla tra i 369 e i 508 m. s.l.m. e sono caratterizzati da dolci colline digradanti verso il Mare Adriatico.

Agli intervistati è stato chiesto di attribuire un valore, in una scala da 0 a 4, ad alcuni elementi fisici, naturali ed antropici, riscontrabili nei paesaggi di riferimento e suggeriti dall'intervistatore: campi coltivati, tratturi, morge/rocce, borghi, boschi, case sparse, fabbriche.

In media i valori attribuiti a tali elementi da parte degli *insider* fanno emergere un valore molto alto per i borghi (3,42 su un range 0-4), seguiti nell'ordine da

boschi (2,97), tratturi[5] (2,66), morge[6] (2,55), case sparse (2,39), campi coltivati (2,22), e un valore molto basso per le fabbriche (0,76).

I borghi rappresentano, soprattutto per gli operatori turistici e gli amministratori locali, un elemento importante di attrattività e per questo sono ritenuti particolarmente adatti ai fini della valorizzazione turistica. Al contrario, gli outsider attribuiscono il valore massimo alle morge (4), ovvero ad un elemento fisico di particolare impatto visivo nel paesaggio rurale, sostenendo che le morge sono un elemento distintivo del paesaggio rurale molisano. Questo risulta un elemento di condivisione con la percezione dei residenti. Peraltro, i paesaggi più riconosciuti dagli *insider* nelle fotografie mostrate contengono proprio le morge, anche se sotto forma 'umanizzata' come nelle foto 5 e 1, mostrando forme di insediamento umano abbarbicate su spuntoni rocciosi.

Gli *outsider* attribuiscono ai paesaggi rurali del Molise un alto grado di attrattività, evidenziandone il livello di genuinità e autenticità, ma ovviamente non sanno localizzare le foto mostrate. Nella localizzazione delle fotografie, il 62% di tutti gli intervistati non ha risposto alla domanda e anche gli *insider*, soprattutto i residenti, hanno mostrato delle difficoltà nel riconoscere i propri paesaggi; il 17% ha attribuito una localizzazione generica, pur riconoscendo che si trattasse di un paesaggio molisano, mentre solo l'1% ha collocato alcuni dei paesaggi mostrati al di fuori della regione. In molti casi i residenti non riescono a identificare esattamente il luogo raffigurato, forse per la troppa familiarità con i luoghi e l'abitudine a vedere ogni giorno gli stessi paesaggi.

Dal punto di vista emotivo sono soprattutto gli operatori agricoli e turistici che hanno espresso emozioni positive nei confronti delle immagini che abbiamo loro mostrato, in quanto riconoscono il valore del paesaggio rurale e delle identità locali: "*la ruralità viene vissuta come qualcosa di naturale, fa parte del nostro essere, non lo abbiamo sconvolto o devastato, ci siamo presi ciò che ci ha dato*" (Cristina B., operatrice turistica, Montemitro). Alcuni imprenditori turistici, pur manifestando un'opinione positiva nei riguardi del paesaggio rurale molisano, hanno mostrato perplessità rispetto alle costanti minacce che la ruralità deve oggi fronteggiare, come l'aumento del "*costruito, il cemento che sta pian piano devastando la biodiversità della regione*" (Julièn, imprenditore turistico, Tavenna). Alcuni operatori agricoli hanno posto l'accento sul valore che l'agricoltura ha sempre rappresentato per la regione, evidenziando però come in tempi recenti la ruralità non sia più vista

---

[5] I tratturi sono larghi sentieri erbosi, di pietra o terra battuta, utilizzati dai pastori per compiere la transumanza, una pratica comune a tutta l'area mediterranea e che in Italia ha prodotto una rete molto estesa e articolata soprattutto in Molise, regione di transito fra le montagne abruzzesi e le basse terre pugliesi.

[6] Le morge sono pietre di grandi dimensioni, enormi macigni rocciosi o spuntoni di roccia dura posizionati nel terreno in senso verticale. Sono diffuse in gran parte del Molise e il toponimo Morgia è fortemente ricorrente in tutta la regione tranne che nella parte più occidentale (De Vecchis, 1978).
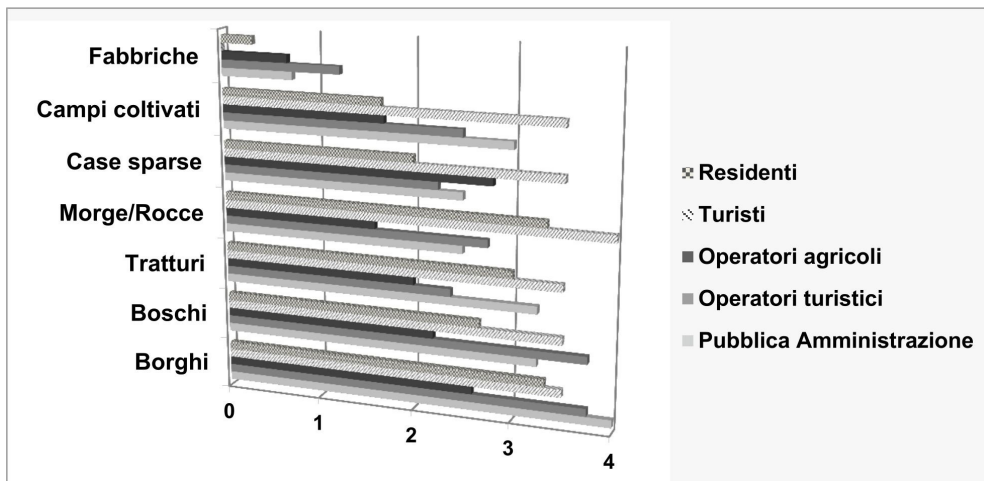
Fig. 2 – Elementi del paesaggio caratterizzanti per l'immagine regionale nella percezione degli intervistati (fonte: Ns. elaborazione su indagine diretta)
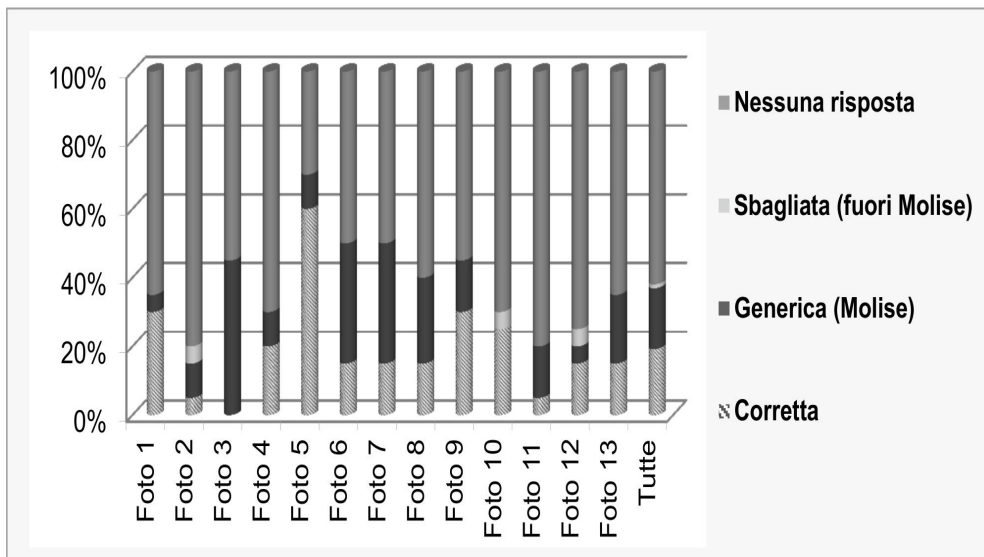

Fig. 3 – Localizzazione delle fotografie da parte degli intervistati (fonte: Ns. elaborazione su indagine diretta)

come valore su cui investire, anzi viene percepita come segno di arretratezza, da qui il forte spopolamento che hanno subito le campagne a favore delle zone urbane; inoltre, sono gli stessi imprenditori a non trasmettere ai propri figli la passione per la cultura rurale: "*gli agricoltori preferiscono lasciare emigrare i figli e non continuare l'attività di famiglia. Una nota positiva in questa situazione è la nuova forma di ruralità che da anni si sta facendo strada, l'agriturismo, grazie ad esso ancora qualche aspetto delle nostre tradizioni agricole sopravvive*" (Antonietta M., imprenditrice agricola, Palata). I residenti esprimono pareri contrastanti riguardo al proprio rapporto con la ruralità. Alcuni sottolineano la sua importanza, sia per il legame che l'agricoltura ha con le proprie origini e tradizioni, sia perché l'aspetto rurale può rappresentare un forte richiamo al di fuori della regione. Per molti, invece, essa rappresenta un ostacolo perché la mancanza di servizi e infrastrutture ha impoverito molti agricoltori e ha portato ad una forte emigrazione; l'agricoltura non viene più percepita come una fonte di reddito e il risultato è la perdita del valore intrinseco che essa ha rappresentato per il territorio: "*mi sembra di vedere sempre lo stesso paesaggio, in cui non c'è nulla da far vedere. Ormai l'agricoltura non ha più motivo di esistere in questi territori perché siamo stati isolati, abbandonati*" (residente, Acquaviva Collecroce). La perdita d'interesse per la cultura rurale e il non riconoscersi in questi paesaggi attivano nel territorio processi di spopolamento, degrado e impoverimento, che vengono subiti dagli amministratori con una certa passività: "*gli enti pubblici possono aiutare, supportare ed intervenire nella riqualificazione territoriale ma è solo attraverso un'accurata formazione e l'aiuto di chi vive il territorio, chi lavora, chi gestisce le attività che si può smuovere davvero la situazione e ritrovare il giusto equilibrio per la preservazione del patrimonio rurale*" (amministratore regionale, Acquaviva Collecroce). È pertanto necessario stimolare la sensibilità e l'interesse della collettività verso l'osservazione e l'interpretazione del paesaggio rurale e favorire così una presa di coscienza delle potenzialità di azioni concrete per la sua difesa, riqualificazione e inserimento in processi di patrimonializzazione e di innovazione territoriale.

Per la popolazione molisana si potrebbe parlare di "quasi-riconoscimento" o "riconoscimento parziale", intendendo con tali espressioni il fatto che gli attori locali sanno identificare le risorse, almeno in parte, e sono consapevoli della loro indispensabilità nell'ambito di una *governance* locale, ma non ne riconoscono quella parte che attraverso la sua valenza simbolica dovrebbe essere spesa nella produzione di valore aggiunto territoriale. In questo contesto sembra carente la capacità di utilizzare il paesaggio rurale in maniera innovativa per identificare il territorio e renderne riconoscibili le trame identitarie. Questa difficoltà comporta il rischio che i beni paesaggistici e identitari, difficili da riconoscere, da salvaguardare e rimettere in circolo, quindi da riterritorializzare, finiscano con l'essere considerati non essenziali, come presenze obsolete o di intralcio, privando di fatto il contesto locale di quello che dovrebbe essere uno degli elementi centrali del suo *milieu*.

Rispetto al quadro delineato in riferimento alla percezione degli *insider*, formano uno stridente contrasto alcune frasi emerse dalle interviste agli *outsider*, che qui ci limitiamo a riportare:

"C'est avec bonheur que nous avons découvert ce charmant petit village du Molise (Tavenna), où il fait bon vivre! nous apprécions cette petite région qui conserve encore les traditions et la tranquillité" (Filipe e Patrice, Belgio);

"Si sente nell'aria il profumo della natura, amiamo la tranquillità che il posto offre alla nostra famiglia soprattutto per i bambini" (Giuseppe e Gabriella, Treviso, Italia);

"Veniamo in Molise per ammirare questi paesaggi dai colori straordinari" (Marco e Nicola, Varese, Italia);

"We are here because through our research on internet we were fascinated by the photographs of Molise. The region is attractive, is authentic, unexplored. It could become a tourist destination for people who love this kind of tourism" (Jane e Marcus, Regno Unito).

4. ASPETTI CONCLUSIVI E PROSPETTIVE

La crescente attenzione nei confronti del mondo rurale da parte delle popolazioni urbane ha portato ad una maggiore consapevolezza della valenza culturale del patrimonio paesaggistico. In particolare, al paesaggio rurale è stato assegnato un significato più ampio divenendo espressione visibile della cultura e dell'identità territoriale così come delle sue peculiari qualità ambientali. Ma, oltre ad essere l'espressione concreta dell'impronta che la società locale ha lasciato sul territorio, il paesaggio rurale può assumere anche un ruolo fattivo se interpretato come risorsa, un fattore propulsivo per la progettazione e l'applicazione dello sviluppo sostenibile (Grillotti Di Giacomo M., 2007). Lo studio condotto in Molise ha cercato, in questa prima fase, di capire se e come le immagini di paesaggio possano avere un ruolo di mediazione culturale tra coloro che vivono il paesaggio quotidianamente e coloro che lo osservano dall'esterno o lo abitano temporaneamente; ciò ha permesso di operare una prima valutazione del grado di percezione e auto-riconoscimento degli attori e ipotizzare possibili scenari di sviluppo turistico sostenibile. I primi risultati possono essere considerati incoraggianti per proseguire la ricerca, ampliando il numero di interviste, e fanno intravedere la possibilità di confronti stimolanti fra le varie popolazioni coinvolte, con possibilità di pervenire ad una condivisione delle immagini di paesaggio su cui può fare leva una promozione turistica attenta alle identità territoriali.

L'utilizzo della fotografia è stato particolarmente efficace per indagare la percezione soggettiva: lo stesso paesaggio può essere, infatti, interpretato in modi differenti e con significati diversi. Sosteniamo, a tal proposito, che la sostenibilità di un'immagine di paesaggio dipenda principalmente dall'auto-riconoscimento delle popolazioni autoctone: se c'è auto-riconoscimento da parte degli *insider* rispetto a immagini ritenute attraenti (e attrattive) dagli *outsider*, possiamo parlare di sostenibilità della rappresentazione paesaggistica; quest'ultima non viene ridotta cioè a immagini artefatte, alienanti, irreali ben al di là dello stereotipo.

A dare sostegno a tale teoria, i recenti cambiamenti della domanda nel mercato turistico, che spingono sempre di più alla creazione di pacchetti differenziati, non omologati, spinti dall'esigenza di vivere una vacanza autentica, a contatto con la cultura e gli stili di vita di chi la abita, dunque non necessariamente dipendente dalle immagini proposte dall'industria turistica. La creazione di un'immagine turistica passa, oggi – con il ruolo crescente del geoturismo –, attraverso un processo di selezione delle diverse anime del territorio: la sua morfologia, i valori paesaggistici, economia, demografia, tradizioni, cultura; tra queste vengono scelti una serie di elementi che risultino, per diversi motivi, di particolare attrazione per i visitatori e che siano compatibili con le percezioni che gli *insider* hanno di se stessi e del proprio stile di vita, del proprio territorio e dei suoi patrimoni. In questo scenario, assume importanza centrale la percezione soggettiva di coloro che abitano il territorio, infatti uno dei problemi chiave nella messa a fuoco e nella diffusione di un'immagine di paesaggio risiede proprio nel rapporto con l'immagine percepita dagli abitanti, che da un punto di vista collettivo è alla base del senso di appartenenza di una comunità.

Questa prima fase di ricerca in Molise rappresenta il punto di partenza per la realizzazione di una piattaforma innovativa di condivisione di immagini che permetta di sviluppare, in futuro, azioni di sviluppo territoriale integrate e soprattutto sostenibili. Se ragionare di paesaggio significa soprattutto ragionare della storia del rapporto tra le immagini di cui il paesaggio è composto e il soggetto che le descrive (Farinelli 1992), il nostro contributo parte dalla consapevolezza della soggettività delle visioni e va alla ricerca di nuovi strumenti che consentano – pur nella moltiplicazione dei soggetti interessati e delle immagini riprodotte anche con l'apporto delle nuove tecnologie – di interrogarsi sulla riconoscibilità dei segni e sul valore dei significati, per indirizzare la gestione del paesaggio su percorsi di sostenibilità condivisa. L'obiettivo del progetto di ricerca è infatti la creazione di una *community platform* sul paesaggio rurale estesa anche a coloro che apprezzano esteticamente i paesaggi di questa regione, una piattaforma volta a facilitare la comunicazione e il dialogo costruttivo e che possa offrirsi come punto di partenza per l'istituzione di un osservatorio sul paesaggio, in cui valutare e discutere potenziali investimenti e interventi, secondo l'esperienza di altre regioni italiane ed europee (Nogué, 2010; Castiglioni e Varotto, 2013).

RIFERIMENTI BIBLIOGRAFICI

AMIN A., *Post-fordism: A Reader*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1994.

BASILE E., CECCHI C., *La trasformazione post-industriale della campagna. Dall'agricoltura ai sistemi locali rurali,* Torino, Rosenberg & Sellier, 2001.

BELLETTI G., BERTI G., "Turismo, ruralità e sostenibilità attraverso l'analisi delle configurazioni turistiche", in PACCIANI A. (a cura di), *Aree rurali e configurazioni turistiche. Differenziazione e sentieri di sviluppo in Toscana*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2011, pp. 21-62.

BERTI G., *Valorizzazione della diversità e sviluppo nella campagna contemporanea: la costruzione del web rurale in Lunigiana*, Tesi di Dottorato, Università di Bologna, 2009.

BIGNANTE E., *Geografia e ricerca visuale. Strumenti e metodi*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2011.

BONOMI A., *Il trionfo della moltitudine. Forme e conflitti della società che viene*, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 1996.

BRUNORI G., "Post-rural processes in wealthy rural areas: hybrid networks and symbolic capital" in MURSDEN T.K., MURDOCH J., (eds.), *Between the Local and the Global: Confronting Complexity of the Agri-Food Sector*, Research in Rural Sociology and Development, 12, 2006, Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp.121-145.

CALDO C., GUARRASI V., *Beni culturali e geografia*, Bologna, Pàtron, 1994.

CASSI L., MEINI M., "The Tuscan Rural Landscape. Cultural Heritage and Local Development"*,* in LAURENS L., BRYANT C. (eds.), *The Sustainability of Rural Systems – A Social and Cultural Construction*, Proceedings of the Colloquium of the Commission on the Sustainability of Rural Systems of the International Geographical Union (IGU), Rambouillet, France, July 2001, Montpellier, AVL Diffusion, 2003, pp. 61-73.

CASSI L., MEINI M., *Aldo Sestini. Fotografie di paesaggi*, Roma, Carocci, 2010.

CASTIGLIONI B. (a cura di), "Paesaggio e popolazione immigrata: primi risultati del progetto LINK", *Materiali del Dipartimento di Geografia*, 31, 2011.

CASTIGLIONI B., VAROTTO M., *Paesaggio e Osservatori locali: l'esperienza del Canale di Brenta*, FrancoAngeli, Milano, 2013.

CILIBERTI D., "Il Basso Molise: un ecomuseo al servizio della comunità", *L'Universo*, XCIII, 2013, 3, pp. 448-472.

COSGROVE D., *Social formation and symbolic landscape*, London, Croom Helm, 1984.

DE NARDI A., "Paesaggio, identità e senso di appartenenza al luogo: un'indagine tra gli adolescenti italiani e stranieri", *Rivista Geografica Italiana*, 119, 2012, n. 1, pp. 33-57.

DE VECCHIS G., *Territorio e termini geografici dialettali nel Molise*, CNR, Roma, Istituto di Geografia dell'Università, 1978.

DEMATTEIS G., *Le metafore della Terra*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 1985.

DEMATTEIS G.*,* "La geografia dei Beni culturali come sapere progettuale", *Rivista Geografica Italiana*, 105, 1998, n. 1, pp. 24-35.

DEMATTEIS G., "Il modello SLoT come strumento di analisi dello sviluppo locale", in ROSSIGNOLO C., SIMONETTA IMARISIO C. (a cura di), *Una geografia dei*

luoghi per lo sviluppo locale. Approcci metodologici e studi di caso, SLoT Quaderno *3,* Bologna, Baskerville, 2003, pp. 13-27.

FARINELLI F., *I segni del mondo. Immagine cartografica e discorso geografico in età moderna*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1992.

FARINELLI F., *Geografia. Un'introduzione ai modelli del mondo*, Torino, Einaudi, 2003.

GARROD B., WORNELL R., YOUELL R., "Re-conceptualizing rural resources as countryside capital: The case of rural tourism", *Journal of Rural Studies*, 22, 2006, n.1, pp.117-128.

GREGORY D., *Geographical Imaginations*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1994.

GRILLOTTI DI GIACOMO M.G., "Il paesaggio rurale da paradigma scientifico a fattore di sviluppo locale", in ZERBI M.C. (a cura di), *Il paesaggio rurale: un approccio patrimoniale*, Torino, Giappichelli, 2007, pp. 47-80.

INEA, *Lo sviluppo rurale. Turismo rurale, agriturismo, prodotti agroalimentari*, Quaderno informativo n. 4, 2001.

KNOX P., MARSTON S., *Places and Regions in Global Context*, Upper Saddle River, Prentice Hall, 1998.

LASH S., URRY J., *Economies of Signs and Space*, London, Sage, 1994.

LAZZERONI M., MEINI M., "Il paesaggio industriale di Pontedera: dalle tracce ai valori", in DANSERO E., VANOLO A. (a cura di), *Geografie dei paesaggi industriali in Italia. Riflessioni e casi studio a confronto*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2006, pp. 133-150.

MAGNAGHI A., *Il progetto locale: verso la coscienza di luogo*, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 2010.

MAGNAGHI A. (a cura di), *Il territorio degli abitanti: società locali e autosostenibilità*, Milano, Dunod, 1998.

MARSDEN T., "New Rural Territories: Regulating the Differentiated Rural Spaces", *Journal of Rural Studies,* 14, 1998, n. 1, pp. 107-117.

MAUTONE M. (a cura di), *I beni culturali. Risorse per l'organizzazione del territorio*, Bologna, Pàtron, 2001.

MEINI M., "Per una valorizzazione delle potenzialità territoriali del Molise*", Ambiente Società Territorio. Geografia nelle Scuole*, n. 1, 2006, pp. 11-14.

MEINI M., "Il paesaggio, luogo d'incontro culturale: fra punti di vista diversi, fra insider e outsider, fra passato e futuro", in MEINI M. (a cura di), *Mobilità e territorio. Flussi, attori, strategie*, Bologna, Pàtron, 2008, pp. 209-215.

MEINI M., "Sguardi sui paesaggi italiani dal dopoguerra agli anni Sessanta*", in BONINI G., BRUSA A., PAZZAGLI R. (a cura di), *Paesaggi agrari del Novecento. Continuità e fratture*, Quaderni del Museo Cervi, 9, 2013, pp. 105-116.

MEINI M. (a cura di), *Mobilità e territorio. Flussi, attori, strategie*, Bologna, Pàtron, 2008.

MEINI M. (a cura di), *Turismo al plurale. Una lettura integrata del territorio per un'offerta turistica sostenibile,* Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2012.

MURDOCH J., "Networking rurality: emergent complexity in the countryside", in CLOKE P., MURSDEN T., MOONEY H. P. (eds.), *The Handbook of Rural Studies*, London, Sage, 2006, pp. 171-185.

NOGUÉ J., *Altri paesaggi*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2010.

PACCIANI A. (a cura di), *Aree rurali e configurazioni turistiche. Differenziazione e sentieri di sviluppo in Toscana*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2011.

PEET R., *Modern Geographical Thought*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1998.

POLI D., " Democrazia e pianificazione del paesaggio: governance, saperi contestuali e partecipazione per elevare la coscienza di luogo", *Rivista Geografica Italiana*, 120, 2013, n.4, pp.343-361.

RAFFESTIN C., "Territorializzazione, deterritorializzazione, riterritorializzazione e informazione", in TURCO A. (a cura di), *Regione e regionalizzazione*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 1984, pp. 69-82.

RAY C., "Culture, Intellectual Property and Territorial Rural Development", *Sociologia Ruralis*, 38, 1998, n.1, pp. 1-20.

RAY C., JENKINS T.N., "Putting postmodernity into practice: endongenous development and the role of traditional cultures in the rural development of marginal regions", *Ecological Economics*, 34, 2000, pp. 301-314.

Rivista Geografica Italiana, 120, n.4, 2013 (numero monografico: *Paesaggio e democrazia*).

ROMANO D., "Agricoltura e ambiente: vincoli, opportunità e strumenti per la politica agraria del 2000", in GIAU B. (a cura di*), Il ruolo dell'agricoltura italiana alle soglie del XXI secolo*, Atti XXXV Convegno di Studi Sidea, Palermo, Sidea-Edizioni Anteprima, 2003, pp. 39-104.

ROSE G., *Visual methodologies: an introduction to the interpretation of visual materials*, London, Sege, 2001.

SAXENA G., CLARK G., OLIVER T., ILBERY B., "Conceptualizing Integrated Rural Tourism", *Tourism Geographies*, 9, 2007, n.4, pp. 347-370.

STOCK M., *Habiter dans les sociétés à individus mobiles: l'exemple des pratiques touristiques*, EspacesTemps.net, Textuel (http://espacestemps.net/), 2005.

TINACCI MOSSELLO M. (a cura di), *La sostenibilità dello sviluppo locale: politiche e strategie*, GRISS, Gruppo di ricerca interuniversitario sullo sviluppo sostenibile, Bologna, Patron, 2001.

TINACCI MOSSELLO M., RANDELLI F., ROMEI P., SIMONCINI R., TORTORA M., "Gli aspetti geoeconomici e ambientali del turismo rurale in Toscana", in PACCIANI A. (a cura di), *Aree rurali e configurazioni turistiche. Differenziazione e sentieri di sviluppo in Toscana*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2011, pp. 63-101.

TURRI E., *Semiologia del paesaggio italiano*, Milano, Longanesi & C., 1979.

ZERBI M.C. (a cura di), *Il paesaggio rurale: un approccio patrimoniale*, Torino, Giappichelli, 2007.

ABSTRACT

LANDSCAPE PHOTOGRAPHY AS A MIRROR FOR SELF-REPRESENTATION. METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES AND PRELIMINARY RESULTS OF A RESEARCH ON RURAL LANDSCAPES IN MOLISE, ITALY

This contribution is part of the debate on the role of rural areas in activating processes of neo-endogenous development using local resources in the global tourism market (Ray and Jenkins, 2000). It questions about the perceptions of the various stakeholders in the process of rural development, on the importance of self-recognition by the local communities as an essential tool for sustainable rural development and more specifically on the use of landscape photography for the construction of a shared image in rural areas with tourism potential untapped.

Referring to what Knox and Marston (1998) call "symbolic landscapes", we try to identify some generic landscapes that are powerfully evocative as particular types representative of a region. The research starts with a few questions: to what extent can the use of attractive landscape imagery be a tool for the development of rural areas? Can landscape photography be seen as a mediator between insiders and outsiders? Can an innovative platform be created for the construction of shared images of rural landscapes?

The setting of the research reflects the orientations of human geography (Gregory, 1994; Peet, 1998) and proposes critical thought on topical issues and themes such as the asset value of the landscape, the cognitive representation and the sense of belonging to the places. As for the cognitive representation of the landscape (Cosgrove, 1984; Farinelli, 1992 and 2003), it is investigated through a method that integrates visual and verbal data: a series of landscape photographs grabbed in the Internet and codified as representative images of a region are selected as supposed typical landscapes; selected photographs are then shown to a sample of people in the study area to assess if they are recognizable as typical landscapes and trigger a process of critical analysis intended to elicit responses, through semi-structured interviews, on the sense of place, territorial belonging, the meaning attributed to the rural landscape and visions regarding territorial development. In this type of study, the researcher is very active in the process of crowdsourcing and selection of photographs (specifically, during the collection of images in the Internet) and in setting the interview outline, then stands in the background during the interviews, to resume its active role during the data analysis.

Landscape photography has become in recent years of great scientific importance for the emergence of a visual approach in the social sciences (Bignante, 2011). Indeed, it has always been a useful tool in geography, primarily for documentation of the landscape at particular times but also – through repeat photography – in its evolutionary processes (Cassi and Meini, 2010). In our research it has also been used as a tool to communicate with residents, with people working in the area, with local government officials and tourists. In this context, the photographs have been an inspiration to understand and learn how they perceive the rural landscape, how they live and what values they assign to it. Landscape photography is used, therefore, both as a means to understand the visions of landscape conveyed to a wide audience in the Internet and as a tool of analysis for the recognition of the "signs" by various actors as well as the "meanings" attributed to them, to assess the cognitive representations of different social actors (Rose, 2001; Castiglioni 2011; De Nardi,

2012). The aim is to select some images as elements of a "representation to share" (Poli, 2013), to be made available for new projects and a new sense of place that crosses different perspectives and points of view. Our aim is therefore antithetical to that of the traditional tourism marketing, oriented to take advantage of the attractive potential of the landscape for building collective imagination and to select images greatly simplified and stereotyped ready to be sold to the tourism industry.

This first phase of research in the study area of Molise represents the starting point for the realization of an innovative platform based on the sharing of images, in order to develop integrated territorial development actions and especially sustainable ones. Our contribution starts from the awareness of the subjectivity of the visions and goes in search of new tools that enable – though in the multiplication of the stakeholders and of the images reproduced with the contribution of new technologies – to question the recognition of the signs and the value of meanings, to direct the management of the landscape on sustainable shared paths.

The use of photography has been particularly effective in the case study to investigate the subjective perception: the same landscape can be interpreted in different ways and with different meanings. We support, in this regard, that the sustainability of an image of the landscape depends primarily on the self-recognition of indigenous peoples: if an image has strong cultural value for the insiders and at the same time is considered an attraction by outsiders, the representation is not reduced to unreal image artifacts, even far beyond the stereotype, and can be considered sustainable.

The results are encouraging for carrying on the research and creating a community platform on the rural landscape also extended to those who appreciate aesthetically the landscapes of this region, a platform to facilitate communication and constructive dialogue and that can be offered as a starting point for the establishment of an observatory on the landscape, in which potential investments and interventions can be evaluated and discussed, according to the experience of other Italian and European regions (Nogué, 2010; Varotto and Castiglioni, 2013).

THE GESTURES OF DRAWING IN LANDSCAPE PARTICIPATORY DESIGN

Sandra Parvu

1. THE MEDIUM, AN INTRODUCTION

In a seminal essay entitled "Representation and landscape: drawing and making in the landscape medium", James Corner published five collages by three of his students at the University of Pennsylvania (Corner, 1992). All of the drawings mix different techniques: pencil sketches, shaded sections, topographic lines, geological textures, historic aerial photographs, contemporary site details, and so on. The juxtaposition of points of view, scales, and materials gives a sense of the layers accumulated over time, and also reveals the traces of a thought process performed by speculative associations, thinking hands, abandoned paths, and rapid back-and-forth between the project and the existing site. The drawing actively encompasses at once historical sediments as well as the layers of visual processing that led to the making of the drawing. As a result, the drawings don't provide an easy and unequivocal understanding. Just like a work of art, they become an object of discussion for a cultural and social field of production and criticism in which the landscape architect takes a position. Corner insists upon the important status and form of this representation in contrast to analytical drawings. Contributing to the visual formation of ideas, these collages explore a field of practices in which making images is a way of thinking and ultimately producing knowledge.

Earlier in his essay, Corner points out that landscape is *a representation, a way of seeing*, and that there are differences between the way in which geographers or environmentalists see landscapes for restorative or analytical purposes and the way landscape architects represent them as part of a design process. Beyond the contents of representation, the difference lies in the status of the image. For geographers, it is a way of reproducing something that exists. For landscape architects, it sets up a mode of thinking visually. In one case, images transcribe an already existing knowledge, in the other they are a tool for creating knowledge. While a farmer's knowledge of the historical evolution and practices that shaped

his fields and the configuration of the villages nearby may be very developed, his ability to use images as a tool for thinking may not be. The semantic field of mediation in relation to landscape has in the last ten or so years functioned more and more as a process in which knowledge is shared as widely as possible by and with local communities. Representation, in this context, refers to ways of visually performing an already existing knowledge. It is thus quite different from the mediation performed through the drawing medium described by James Corner. And yet, this discrepancy is more a product of how various professions theorize what they are doing than how representation functions in their actual practice. In the following essay, I would like to investigate the status of images in participative landscape mediations by focusing on what practitioners do. What kind of professional turn has landscape mediation induced? How do landscape architects think of representation in this context? What impact does it have on their practice? And ultimately, what kind of knowledge emerges from it?

The research described in this work is the result of an anthropological study conducted in 2013. During six months, I accompanied eight French landscape architects[1] in their daily activities and conducted with each of them two to three interviews at their office and on-site.[2] The primary purpose of this study was to investigate the contemporary visual culture of landscape design. Therefore, I selected designers actively reflecting upon the role representation plays in their practice.[3] Their offices varied in size: three worked alone, three young designers were each associated with two other partners, and two were associated with another partner and in charge of a mid-sized team of employees. Their modes of working also varied: some worked mainly with computer-aided tools of representation, others exclusively by hand. Among those who worked by hand, some drew mainly in their offices, while others almost always on-site spending their time in the office taking care of administrative tasks. There were differences not only between practitioners' tools of representation but also in the way some used gardening tools. Independently of the office configuration and the tools of representation used, all but one had been regularly involved in landscape mediations. Because of the thoughtfulness that goes into the production of their visual artifacts, the

---

[1] Spanning across different generations, the landscape architects who took part to this study were: Gilles Clément, Alain and Alice Freytet, Pablo Georgieff, Alice Roussille, Chloé Sanson, Bruno Tanant, and Gilles Vexlard.

[2] The interviews were video recorded so as to include discussed drawings and other visual material. I collected unpublished sketchbooks and working models, as well as site visit reports and books of technical specifications. All visual material in this paper comes from this collection.

[3] As an architect trained to think visually in a process of making drawings and models, I compared my observations and their descriptions of how they worked with my own experience of designing and working in architectural offices. Although the fieldwork was not conducted in the classical form of a participant observation, my architectural education and practice helped me relate to the experiences described by the landscape architects and in return establish a trusting relationship.

account of these mediation projects were of particular interest. In order to situate the study of these practices in a larger context, I will first relate some historical studies to the position taken by recent landscape theory on representation. I will then discuss modes of representation implemented by landscape practitioners and their implications in terms of the status they give images. In conclusion, I will show that the attempt to design "shared projects" with "shared knowledge" continues to feed mechanisms of power at work in the production of images.

2. TWO INTERPRETATIONS OF TWO SERIES OF LANDSCAPES

Image production in landscape painting as well as landscape design has been historically bound to the question of knowledge. What kind of understanding do images convey? Is it aesthetic, immersive, strategic? How does it construct a relation to the world in which we live? Does the "way we see" consequently lead to the "way we act"? Denis Cosgrove demonstrates for instance that the evolution of landscape painting is strongly related to land property, and as such this pictorial genre becomes instrumental in exerting power over land (Cosgrove, 1985). Similarly, the philosopher Jean-Marc Besse examines the visual foundations of landscape painting by describing the embodiment of the relation between cartography and experience of landscape in the friendship between Abraham Ortelius, the cartographer, and Pieter Bruegel, the painter (Besse, 2000). Besse pauses on the composition of a set of large landscape etchings. He sees in the split between the foreground – a pedestal on which a human figure standing in the shade of a tree contemplates the unfolding landscape at its feet – and the panoramic background, a manifesto of visual experience:

> One must consider these characters as the delegates of the spectator and of his gaze over the earthly world. More precisely, one must understand them as representatives of a thought about the world and what is the possible vision of this world. Bruegel sets up not only a world but the visual relation between this world and the gaze. […] This conception of Earth, which is an image to contemplate and a space to travel through, is not only a theory, but also corresponds to a *practice* and a new experience of the surface of the Earth. (Besse, 2000, p. 58 and pp. 67-68; my translation)

Thus the image even in its most pictorial dimension reveals a political or philosophical involvement, and a specific form of practice. Coincidentally, Kenneth Olwig examined another series of Bruegel's paintings known as the *Series of the Months* (Olwig, 2002). In spite of the relation that binds the two series – according to art historians, the set of landscape etchings prefigures the Months painted ten years later – Olwig's reading is entirely different. For him, the interest of these paintings lies precisely in the breakaway from viewing landscape as a place of contemplation and travelling. In the painting *The Hay Harvest*, for instance,

landscape is depicted as a community of people, strongly anchored in a place, sharing the land and its customs:

> Bruegel's painting, as the art historian Michael Rosenthal writes, "emphasizes not only the logic of the terrain", but also "the logic of the activity" shown in the paintings. […] The writing of Henry Peacham, a roughly contemporary English landscape painter who admired the artistic and political culture of the Netherlands, suggests that this didactic artistic emphasis on the local customs and qualities of a country was intentional. […] Landscape painting was thus a way of representing, and making concrete, the more abstract, social idea of landscape expressed by representative legal bodies and the law they generated. (Olwig, 2002, pp. 24-25)

Bruegel's paintings help Olwig demonstrate the tension inherent in the notion of landscape at the Renaissance: on the one hand, a political entity locally organizing a community of people on the basis of their customs, and on the other a painted backdrop for theatrical performances, a way of building a collective imaginary for the King to break the power of these local entities and unify the different countries of England under the vision of a British nation-state.

The two readings of Bruegel's landscapes are interesting as it exposes an approach which combines a pictorial experience with ongoing social and political undertones. It is possible that for Bruegel, his experience of landscape during his travels across the Alps that inspired his drawings did not represent a break from his experience of Dutch rural day-to-day with which he later peopled his paintings. The receding planes in *The Hay Harvest* are made of a peening scyther – the same character appears in the foreground of *Solicitudo Rustica*, one of the early etchings – next to whom pass women carrying rakes, mullets carrying food – lower down men in the fields loading hay on wains, behind them houses, distant green hills, idyllic riverbeds, and further in the distance mountains. All seamlessly inscribe work, customs, tools, and gestures in a picturesque landscape.

3. MEDIATION AND THE DISTRUST OF IMAGES

Bruegel's paintings are predicated upon the idea that the production of pictorial beauty and the representation of social reality go hand in hand. Recent design theory seems to have called this unity into question. The process of making landscape and looking at it are no longer imbricated facets of one and the same notion: the social challenges the pictorial. In other words, fields, pastures, and forests are not to be enjoyed for their beauty but should be understood in the context of the physical and cultural practices that create them. Aware of the dangers of pictorialization – a representation which only mimics landscapes without offering an understanding of the social, administrative, and political context that generates them – the European Landscape Convention consciously avoids the debate by

discussing "procedures" and "protocols," but leaving the question of the visible, aesthetic, and pictorial, untouched. In two places, it encourages readers to give as much attention to "ordinary landscapes" as to "outstanding beauty", but there is no explanation of how one can distinguish the outstanding from the ordinary, or why they ought to be treated as on par with each other. The implicit subtext would be that there is no point in treating beautiful landscapes differently from other kinds of landscapes. Good landscape management is not based on aesthetics, but on an analytical study of the land with environmental diagrams, agricultural charts, social networks, and economic statistics. What implications has this rejection of the pictorial entailed?

One of the most striking consequence is the disappearance of the category of images concerned with the medium in the process of seeking meaning – Corner's collages –, and the identification of a new boundary:

> It becomes necessary to mobilize objects of mediation pertaining to two different poles:
> – A cold pole amassing knowledge to produce content. *Land-use maps, bloc diagrams, or landscape architects' sketches*, which even though they convey an atmosphere and the point of view of a specialist *are not designed to be discussed or questioned*. They are there to facilitate the transfer of knowledge. […]
> – A hot pole whose aim is to animate and mobilize actors around a common project. Combining different kinds of media and encompassing the realms of the sensitive and the rational, one introduces in the debate criteria that pertain to the hot pole. […] According to the used media, each actor will be able to share more or less effectively his or her *point of view* with the other participants, make actors more aware and their interplay more *explicit*, which is one of the objectives of the hot pole. (Joliveau et al., 2008, p. 273; my translation, emphasis added)

Interestingly, landscape architects' corpus of images together with that of geographers' has been taken out of the heat of the debate. Scholarly knowledge is outside the frame of discussion. Even though it represents someone's point of view, the fact that it is not questioned gives this form of knowledge, in contrast to the other one that will be debated, the status of objectivity. It is unclear whether geographers and landscape architects are also considered as actors and thus included in the group participating in the hot pole in which their knowledge is put back into play and discussion.

The previous quote shows the artificiality of this polar division and the difficulty for a practitioner to navigate it. The attempt to rationalize the process leads to another contradiction. According to different studies, holders of scholarly knowledge should work towards finding modes of representation in which their point of view can be more easily appropriated and shared (Droz & Miéville-Ott, 2005; Brossard & Wieber, 2008; Jones & Stenseke, 2011). Identified as one of the main problems of landscape mediation is the insufficient capacity of visual

documentation to voice the concerns of different social categories. Drawing, these geographers argue, remains the privilege of specialists who should make an effort to popularize its techniques (Joliveau et al., 2008, p. 276). In these cases, the visual and graphic skills developed by landscape architects have therefore shifted from the production of multi-layered, complex, and evocative drawings to the development of simplified forms of representation – although it remains unclear what this simplification may entail – for purposes of clarity and facility of access. This leads to the rather Platonic understanding of the landscape architect's role as a midwife helping in the delivery of someone else's knowledge:

> The observer perceives the landscape by mobilizing his or her knowledge. Landscape mediation consists of using visual aids to reveal the knowledge of the observer, his comprehension of the area, his intentions, and his development projects regarding landscape elements. The sharing of this knowledge and these management intentions during participative workshops in the planning process becomes pertinent for designing a shared project. (Planchat Héry, 2011, p. 179; emphasis added)

These excerpts from recent literature on landscape mediation rely on a model in which knowledge immaterially exists in the mind of an individual and images are merely an efficient way of transferring it into the material world.

An alternative critique to the pictorial, as Julia Czerniak remarks (1997) was started at the turn of the nineties by practitioners such as Michel Desvigne (1988), James Corner (1996), and Adriaan Geuze (1995) whose work brought about a shift from image to process while continuing to work under the premise that working with the knowledge of the production of shapes could only enrich the visual formation of ideas. In that sense, they continue the tradition of landscape painters such as Bruegel who activated the superposed strata of landscape's semantic fields. Their focus on process has driven them to think images as methods for generating shapes. A series of plantation drawings for the Millennium Park in London (Desvigne, 1997-2000) or Freshkills Park in New York (Corner, presently undergoing construction) reflect this knowledge. In a recent lecture, James Corner indicated that "the design is in the methodology of its transformation rather than in leaving any traces beyond itself" (Corner, 2014). Apprehending mediation in the tradition of these landscape architectural practices, what would then be the role of image?

4. LAYERS OF GESTURES

I am in the office of the landscape architecture firm "Paula Paysage", with Alice Roussille, one of its three partners. After discussing the importance of drawing by hand and how central it is to her own teaching today, she tells me that sketches are

not properly archived in the office and that often they are jotted down on tracing paper which is then thrown away. Most of their archives consist of computer drawings. However, traces of their work in progress are kept in the models with which they work regularly and which are kept at different stages of completion. We pause around a series of models. She explains that they were made by residents of a commune east of Paris as part of a design for a series of private gardens which make a transition between a communal wood and their house. Decisions involved problems of visibility and light. Roussille organized a workshop in which residents were given plastic sheets with trees, people, and children games printed on them. The process was cheap and simple and it enabled each participant to overcome their "fear of drawing" by cutting out elements of their choice and gluing them on a piece of cardboard. Roussille picks up one of the models:

> This interested us, because there were transparencies, and that put forth another vision. We made beautiful photos of all these spaces with these overlaps. It was really about working on the edge of the forest, it was about this spatial in-between, with a history of superposed strata and distances. So, the models enabled us *not to get lost in stories that had nothing to do with the project*. These images are important to us. *When you are inside* [she raises the model at the height of her eyes], *it is quite beautiful.* (March 3, 2013. Paris; emphasis added).

She then proceeds to show me the series of photographs documenting the workshop: the sheets of plastic on a table, the curiosity and excitement of the residents, the common sessions in which they transcribe the information from the models onto a plan, and her photographs of the models (fig. 1).

The gesture of lifting the model to eye height and photographing it from this point of view bespeaks a professional approach to the object. Architects learn to do that in an attempt to imagine what it is like to be inside the place they model. However, in this context, it implies more than that: Roussille structures the gestures with which the residents represent their environment. They cut and glue pre-printed images on a transparent support. The ready-made elements structure not only the gestures of the residents but also provide a frame in which to think visually the transformation of their garden. The danger would be "to get lost in stories that [have] nothing to do with the project". The elements of representation make the residents focus, according to the landscape architects, on the narrative of the project. The documentation of the entire process allows to reconstitute the economy of gestures that led to the production of graphic images and decision making[4]. Breaking down the stages in which residents make models enables the landscape architect to address questions of transparency, visibility, and light in a

---

4   Powerpoint   http://www.valmaubuee.fr/concertation-autour-des-lisieres-du-bois-du-luzard/#. U2tRYPmSyFV

Fig. 1 – Alice Roussille, Paula Paysage, "Requalification des lisières du bois du Luzard". Residents' models, photographs of the consultation (2011), and videograms of the interview with Alice Roussille (2013).

fairly nuanced way. Moreover, it builds a back and forth between the basic gestures of the residents and the skilled gestures of the practitioner.

Notwithstanding the democratic ideals motivating this exchange, the landscape architect still exerts some control over the point of view and this ultimately enables her to think further about issues of transparency, depth of view, and articulation of distances. All notions that are not perceptible when looking at the model from above. At no time does Alice Roussille say that the models enable her to decide which tree to cut or hay to plant. To a certain extent, the gesture of lifting the model up to the eye validates the process as a whole: it transforms separate ingredients into a visual spark which will later motivate project decisions on the ground. The aesthetic dimension of the photographs – "we made beautiful photos" – guarantees that the outcome is not just an amalgamation of different points of view but becomes a project, an experience, an atmosphere, a place that can be shared by the group of people that live in it.

5. DOCUMENTATION OF GESTURES

I am at Alain Freytet's house in front of a double height wall covered with bookshelves on which he has organized his sketchbooks. Freytet designs his projects almost entirely by sketching on-site. When he picks out three sketchbooks containing the project of Sarah Bernhardt's house and gardens in Brittany, it chronologically unfolds in front of my eyes. The procedure under which this project is conducted is not designated as participative – even though Freytet does a lot of landscape mediation – but the fact that he is constantly on-site drawing in front of politicians, nearby residents, non-profit organizations, and architects from the national building conservation enables all locally involved groups to make comments and react to his proposals. Freytet draws and the others watch him draw. They have under their eyes the actual landscape and the represented landscape. Thus, the participants can compare the things they see to the way the landscape architect sees them. Moreover, a particular moment can change the perception of the landscape, for instance the flooding of an area. The specific light and atmosphere of that moment becomes a shared experience and a reference point in their discussions (February 7, 2013. Maisonnisses, France).

Beyond a consummate art of sketching, what makes Alain Freytet's drawings of particular interest are the objects he chooses to represent. On two pages extracted from the Sarah Bernhardt project figure on the left are three scenes of workers equipped with machines. They crush tree branches and take away the asphalt of an old parking lot (fig. 2). There is a small dimension plan at the bottom of the page and above a man with a shovel clears a canal filled with dead leaves and other organic matter that has accumulated over time. The sketch refers to Freytet's contractual request to clean the canal by hand rather than with a heavier
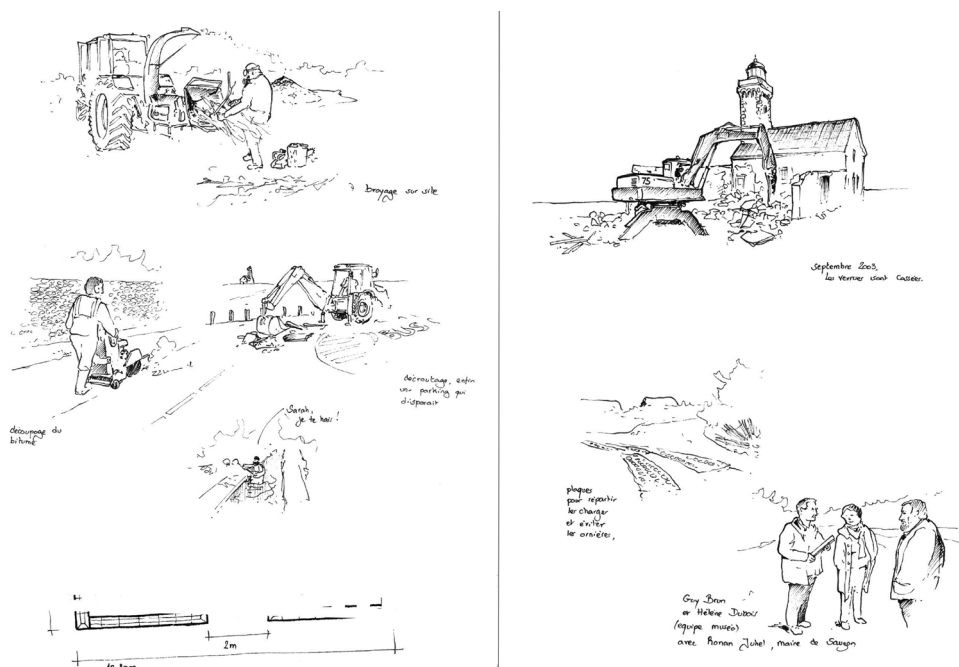
Fig. 2 – Alain Freytet, "Restauration et valorisation de La pointe des Poulains" (Sarah Bernhardt House and Gardens). Excerpts from different sketchbooks (2000-2004).

motorised engine in order to protect the surrounding vegetation from being torn off or trampled on. On the right, there are two drawings of work in its demolition phase and at the bottom three characters, the mayor and two architects, standing against a horizon of vegetation. The different members of the team discussing on-site are on the same page as craftsmen at work. Keeping track of a process in which plans, sections, discussions, and construction are all meticulously represented gives a sense not only of the trajectory of the project and its building process but also of the specific gestures each participant makes in order to reach a decision, a desired atmosphere, and eventually a landscape. This is fairly different from the more classical representation of a project in which only survey and design intentions are drawn. According to Freytet, the visibility of the process gained with drawings, but also with his hand drawing in front of people, becomes a basis for negotiation with the political representatives, the builders, and other organizations. They see themselves in his sketches, they see what they do through the eyes of the landscape architect, and then they see what he wants them to do.

In Alain Freytet's case, each participant contributes to a different realm: builders build, local politicians talk, the landscape architect draws. In Alice Roussille's project, a dialogue is set up based on a shared corpus of images to which each person contributes with his or her set of gestures. In both cases, the

continuous documentation becomes the common reference, a framework through which they see their contribution to the project in a unity of place and time. In the history of film and video, there is a stream of artists' experiments – most notably Alexander Medvedkin's series of short films (*Film-train*, 1932) – that have reflected on the ways in which the passage from one side of the camera to the other, from acting to looking as a spectator to the fleeting images, can change the dynamics of social interactions and production[5] (Parvu & Torres, 2007). As Vilém Flusser commented on the work of the artist Fred Forest, the experience of showing to people their lives on a screen within a very short time loop provokes "people to look at themselves and to stop looking at the past and the future. It forces them to look at the present, that means their 'reality'" (Flusser, 1975). Freytet sketches enhance this sense of unfolding present all the more so as they take place on a building site. In the description of his process, knowledge occurs between the rapid observation of the craftsmen, the point of view of the political representatives and his hand drawing. The images are live, constantly updated. They concatenate real-time information about the existing landscape and the work in progress. The visual knowledge produced by the continuous assessment of the situation affects, redefines, and shapes project negotiations.

6. THE NARRATIVE

I am in the office of "TN+", a Parisian based firm. Bruno Tanant, one of the two partners talks me through models, sketches, computer drawings, and numerous references to artists and choreographers. They speak of an enhanced interest in aesthetics and form. Nevertheless, when I ask him to speak in more detail of one of his latest projects, he chooses to describe a series of participative workshops developed by the French Ministry of Ecology on "fragile territories". The workshops are structured around a site visit with local and national politicians, organizations, and administration representatives. On the same day, the designers (architects, landscape architects, urban planners, environmental engineers, etc.) brainstorm in a session during which they put together a proposal. The next day, a presentation takes place in front of an audience composed of the same people present during the site visit. They can comment, suggest, and sometimes draw. Tanant speaks enthusiastically about the moment when he chose to sketch his proposal in front of the audience instead of presenting slides of finished images:

> When you draw on the board, it is not precise. You start with a point on a white page. Well, then, where you start, where you draw the river, but the river is not quite like that… then the road… yes, if you put the drawing on top of the aerial photo, it is not

5 On this subject, see also Agnès Varda, *The Gleaners and I* (2000), Fred Forest and Vilém Flusser, *Vidéo Troisième âge* (1973).

quite… you tell a story… the first line you draw, there is already a sort of hierarchy, if you start by drawing the river, then you draw the mountain, then the road, it is not the same. One thinks, he puts that first, people see you draw, you see if you capture their attention, if they switch off, how you take them, it is the role of a storyteller. But you must rehearse a lot for that. (April 11, 2013. Paris)

Bruno Tanant's experience captures in a different way the previously described practice of Alice Roussille and Alain Freytet. With Freytet, the mastered, much rehearsed art of drawing in front of people is similar. With Roussille, Tanant shares the concern of the narrative: how to make sure that the story told visually lets the audience partake in a process of representation.

What Tanant's account adds to this concern is the particular finesse with which he describes the impact on the audience of the hierarchy and temporal order of the drawn elements. Depending upon the latter, the audience's vision of the place may be altered and the outcome different. If gestures were photographed in Roussille's work and an object of study in Freytet's sketches, Tanant's storytelling consists of series of unfinished sketches, the description of shapes always in the process of being made and unmade. He does not draw a figure in a unique moment, but the continuity of a movement – implicitly encapsulating an off-frame gesture, that of him drawing – that describes the figure. Looking at one of these series (fig. 3), it may seem improbable that an untrained audience will be able to grasp the contents of the drawing. What makes it possible to understand them is the fact that Tanant does not present these drawings as a result but performs them, takes the audience, transports it along the paths of his thinking hand. In the process, he becomes a true storyteller, according to Walter Benjamin's definition, insofar as this practice of drawing enables him to share his experience of a place (Benjamin, 1936; 1968).

However, storytelling, the shaping of a narrative, also carries with it its dangers. As in the historical context thoroughly interpreted by Kenneth Olwig, the production of a narrative via image construction sets up a potentially powerful trap. In this paper I have shown that narrative construction is embedded in the three practices described. If constructing a shared visual framework has helped to reach the status of objectivity in the same way as more classical forms of scientific representation have done before (Daston & Galison, 2007), providing the feeling that a solution or a point of view does not stem from the intention of an individual but from the logic imposed by the image – Alain Freytet once told me, "it is not me who says that, the sketch does" –, arguably landscape mediation continues to feed through the creation of narratives, a mechanism of power. Louis Marin has meticulously exposed the trap set by those who know when and how to tell a story. It may be exaggerated to see in the landscape practices I described the same craftiness as the one displayed by the fabulous characters of La Fontaine throughly dissected by Marin. Nevertheless, the recurrence of narratives in the mediation process suggests that there may be something ideological in the objective of sharing a project. One shares a design in the same way one shares a story. In
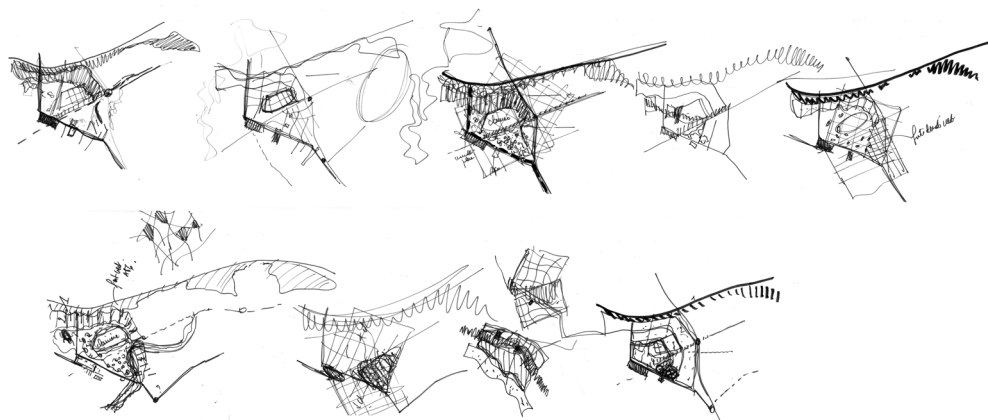
Fig. 3 – Bruno Tanant, TN+, "Atelier national *Territoires économiques*". Series of sketches for a project on the outskirts of Cahors (2012).

Marin's own words, "the power of tales consists in giving the one who listens the imaginary satisfaction of a desire, the benefits of pleasure. What is this desire? That of knowing, but this knowledge is never in the fulfilment of the narrative, since it is imaginary [and image driven]. What the narrative does is to make see and hear a possible, fictitious world of the initial contract: I tell a story, you listen to it" (Marin, 1978, p. 31, my translation).

REFERENCES

BENJAMIN W., "The Storyteller: Reflections on the 'Works of Nikolai Leskov'", *Illuminations*, New York, Schocken, 1968, pp. 83-109 ["Der Erzähler. Betrachtungen zum Werk Michail Lesskows", 1936].

BESSE J.M., *Voir la terre. Six essais sur le paysage et la géographie*, Arles, Actes Sud, 2000.

BROSSARD T., WIEBER J.C. (eds.), *Paysage et information géographique*, Paris, Lavoisier, 2008.

CORNER J., "Representation and Landscape: Drawing and making in the landscape medium", *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry*, 8, 1992, n. 3, pp. 243-275.

CORNER J., "Daniel Urban Kiley Lecture", Graduate School of Design, Harvard University, April 15, 2014.

CORNER J., MacLean A., *Taking Measures across the American Landscape*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1997.

COSGROVE D., "Prospect, Perspective and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 10, 1985, n. 1, pp. 45-62.

CZERNIAK J., "Challenging the Pictorial: Recent Landscape Practice", *Assemblage*, 1997, n. 34, pp. 110-120.

DASTON L., GALISON P., *Objectivity*, Cambridge (Massachussets), MIT Press, 2007.

DESVIGNE M., *Jardins élémentaires*, Rome, Carte Segrete, 1988.

DROZ Y., MIÉVILLE-OTT V. (eds.), *La polyphonie du paysage*, Lausanne, PPUR, 2005.

FLUSSER V., "Fred Forest or the destruction of established points of view", Fontevrault, 1975, unpublished.

GEUZE A., *West 8 Landschapsarchitectuur/ Landscape Architecture*, Rotterdam, 010 Publishers, 1995.

JOLIVEAU T., MICHELIN Y., BALLESTER P., "Eléments de méthode pour une médiation paysagère", in BROSSARD T., WIEBER J.C., (eds.), *Paysage et information géographique*, Paris, Lavoisier, 2008, pp. 257-285.

JONES M., STENSEKE M., (eds.), *The European Landscape Convention. Challenges of Participation*, Heidelberg, Springer, 2011.

MARIN L., *Le récit est un piège*, Paris, Minuit, 1978.

OLWIG K., *Landscape, Nature, and the Body Politic*, Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 2002.

PARVU S., TORRES E., "Teaching Experiments in and around Geneva", *Journal of Landscape Architecture*, 2007, n. 3, pp. 20-29.

PLANCHAT HÉRY C., "The Prospective Vision: Integrating the Farmers' Point of View into French and Belgian Local Planning", in JONES M., STENSEKE M. (eds), *The European Landscape Convention. Challenges of Participation*, Heidelberg, Springer, 2011, pp. 175-197.

ABSTRACT

Landscape theory frequently underlines the divergent purposes that geographers, painters, and landscape architects make representation serve. Recent studies on landscape mediation demonstrate that these differences remain a stumbling block when participants from various backgrounds attempt to share visual knowledge. Based on the observation of French landscape architectural practices in their professional everyday, this paper examines the fabrication of images and their consequent role and status in projects, particular those that involve some kind of participative mediation. It studies three situations in which practitioners describe how they invent ways of drawing and modelling with residents, political representatives, and design professionals. Each case study reveals the development of quite sophisticated techniques: documentation of gestures, reordering of the temporal frame in which representation occurs, and construction of narratives. In spite of a participative process that succeeds at involving a larger number of people in design decisions as part of a "shared project", the paper concludes that these techniques are an extension of historical techniques of landscape representation in which power mechanisms continue to operate.

EPILOGUE TO *LANDSCAPE AS MEDIATOR*: THE NON-MODERN COMMONS LANDSCAPE AND MODERNISM'S ENCLOSED LANDSCAPE OF PROPERTY

Kenneth R. Olwig

This inspired collection of articles focuses on the intriguing notion that landscape might be best understood as being a kind of mediator and commons. It becomes clear, when reading the book's various chapters, that there are different ideas of what constitutes landscape, and thereby different ideas of what constitutes landscape's role as mediator and commons. I have argued that there are at least two very different notions of landscape, which are materialized differently in the physical environment (Olwig, 2002). The first idea of landscape developed prior to the Renaissance and mediated the communality of the commons, whereas the second arose in the Renaissance as an expression of ideas of modernity, and mediated the space of private property. The two differing landscapes thus have the common denominator that they act as a mediator, but they mediate, on the one hand community, and the other, individual material possessiveness and profit.

In order to parse the differing meanings of landscape, and the way they act as mediators, I have previously undertaken what Michel Foucault called an "archaeology" (Foucault, 1973). It was an investigation rooted in the historical-etymological and technological (cartographic) basis for discourse concerning landscape (Olwig, 2002). Following on this work I will here distinguish between a "modernist" notion of landscape, which is to say an idea developed by people who sought to envision and create a world they thought of as modern, and a "non-modern" sense of landscape. Rather than use the term "pre-modern" I use, following Bruno Latour, the term "non-modern" since, as he puts it, "we have never been modern" (Latour, 1993). In this way I hope to avoid the teleology built into the idea that the world naturally and necessarily evolved from a pre-modern to a modern state. It is Yi-Fu Tuan, I believe, who most succinctly encapsulated the distinction between the original non-spatially enclosed, non-modernistic idea of landscape, and the spatially enclosed modernistic idea of landscape, when he wrote:

Scenery and landscape are now nearly synonymous. The slight differences in meaning they retain reflect their dissimilar origin. Scenery has traditionally been associated with the world of illusion which is the theater. The expression "behind the scenes" reveals the unreality of scenes. We are not bidden to look "behind the landscape," although a landscaped garden can be as contrived as a stage scene, and as little enmeshed with the life of the owner as the stage paraphernalia with the life of the actor. The difference is that landscape, in its original sense, referred to the real world, not to the world of art and make-believe. In its native Dutch, "landschap" designated such commonplaces as "a collection of farms or fenced fields, sometimes a small domain or administrative unit". Only when it was transplanted to England toward the end of the sixteenth century did the word shed its earthbound roots and acquire the precious meaning of art. Landscape came to mean a prospect seen from a specific standpoint [… and] the artistic representation of that prospect. Landscape was also the background of an official portrait; the "scene" of a "pose". As such it became fully integrated with the world of make-believe. (Tuan, 1974, p. 133)

In this essay I am going to "look behind the scenes", unbidden, and see how the scenic landscape became a key "mediator" for transformations which helped create what we now think of as the "modern" globalized world. I will also outline the difference between the non-modern and the modernist landscape, and then I will examine how the landscape mediations treated in this collection of articles relate to the modernist and non-modern conceptions and materializations of landscape. I will argue that the original meaning of landscape was, and is still, tied to the common wealth of a polity, as rooted in their shared interest, as a community, in common resources. This landscape thus mediates through its role as a "common place," or in Latin, *locus communis*, or Greek *tópos koinós*, the binding together of a *commonwealth* or, in Latin, the political community of a *res publica* (Olwig, 2013). This common place is embodied in the customary law and morality that regulates the common wealth of the community. It is in this way that the landscape polity administers not only Tuan's "collection of farms or fenced fields", but also the larger body of resources under its domain. The modernistic meaning of landscape, on the other hand, is tied to private property, with the Euclidean space of enclosed property as its mediator. The original meaning of landscape as common place, I will argue, is still very much with us, and relevant, as I think many of the papers in this collection document, not the least with reference to *The European Landscape Convention* and its common place definition of landscape (Olwig, 2007a). But it is arguable that the newer modernistic meaning of landscape has had the tendency to spatially "enclose" and obliterate our understanding of the original common place sense of landscape as commons.

1. THE MODERNIST SENSE OF LANDSCAPE AS A PRIVATIZED SCENIC PERFORMANCE SPACE

The word landscape, per se, comes from the northern European "Germanic" group of languages, which includes German, Dutch, the Scandinavian languages, and English (where landscape was previously variously spelled, e.g. as *landskip*), but one should not exaggerate the importance of the northern origins of the word. The equivalent words in the Romance languages, such as the French *paysage*, or the Italian *paesaggio*, in some ways are closer to the original Germanic meaning of landscape as country, polity and place than the modern Germanic use of the term. This is because the prefix *pays* and *paes*, solely have the meaning of country, polity and place, whereas the Germanic prefix *land* in *land*scape, though it also originally referred to country polity and place (as in Scot*land*, land of the Scots), can also be confused with the meaning of land in the sense of soil, so that landscape comes to be identified with the scenic, superficial, study of the surface of the earth, rather than a common place shared by a community. This difference makes a collection of articles by Italians and Greeks about landscape as mediator and commons particularly interesting. Similarly, the meaning of the Germanic suffix *-scape* (a variant of *-ship*) is also made clearer by comparison to the Romance language suffix *-age*, or *-aggio*, because all are cognates meaning that something has a particular character, shape, quality, or state of being. The suffix "*-scape*" or "*-aggio*" thus denotes the mediating, common, quality that gives character and meaning to a land or place, suggesting that landscape is fundamentally a common mediator. In the first sense the character of landscape is tied to its mediating the communality of a community as tied to customary and common law, and in the other it is linked to its spatial mediation of the property of private individuals and individual states under statutory law.

The modern sense of the word landscape as scenery was indeed "transplanted" (as Tuan put it above) to England in the sixteenth century from the Dutch, together with the popular paintings by the Dutch *landschap* provinces. To the English the word *landschap* thus came to be identified not so much with the subject of the Dutch paintings, which were Dutch provinces, places and polities, called "*landschap*" in Dutch, but first and foremost with a genre of painting, then with the world perceived and framed as if it were scenery in such a painting, and finally with the land shaped as scenery by an architect to resemble a painting. But this is only part of the story, because it does not explain why the English chose to focus on landscape as a form of scenic spatial representation, rather than upon the *landschap*, or *landskip*, polities and their places as represented in the Dutch paintings. Denis Cosgrove helped explain this by showing that the scenic conception of landscape also, at about the same time, came to England via Italy, particularly Venice and the Veneto, and this idea of landscape was not the folksy landscape image of the

Netherlands, but a vision of modernity rooted in Neo-platonic Italian Renaissance arts, theater, sciences, and engineering (Cosgrove, 1984; 1993). The modern English idea of landscape was thus, in some sense, originally Italian, scientific, theatrical and performative.

Cosgrove showed that it was the Italian development of methods of surveying and mapping, based on the rediscovered cartography of the Greco-Roman astronomer and Platonist Claudio Ptolemy, that made it possible for the merchants of Venice to spatially enclose and purchase vast estates in the "Terraferma" of the mainland. Using celestial coordinates, much like a sailor navigating via the stars, the boundaries of these estates were plotted as a series of separate discrete locations marked as points on the graticule lines of cadastral maps. It was thus, I imagine, almost as if the merchants of Venice were transposing their imperial idea of space, as seafarers and traders navigating the open sea, to the Terraferma, transforming the land thereby into an ideally open, uniform, sea-like and chart-like surface as property (on space and navigation see Olwig, 2007b). This transferal was facilitated by the fact that much of the Terraferma to which they moved (i.e. the Veneto) was itself flat and marshy, and because the Venetians were used to surviving as amphibians in an environment that was midway between water and land. The Dutch and the Venetians, in fact, had much in common in this respect.

2. "ENCLOSURE"

The English term "enclosure" is a bit misleading, because it leads one to think that enclosure was primarily about putting up walls or hedges around the land. Actually, as Cosgrove showed, it was primarily about the use of surveying and cartography to turn the land into a spatially bounded property that was engineerable, salable and taxable according to an absolute Euclidean spatial measure. The surveyor drove stakes into the ground to mark the boundaries of the property owner, who staked a claim to the land, thereby literally becoming a "stake holder". The development of the techniques of surveying and cartography described by Cosgrove owed, as noted, to the Renaissance rediscovery of the cartography of Ptolemy. This technique of mapping, which is still in use, involved the creation of a grid-like graticule, in an abstract, absolute, uniform Euclidean space, made up of the lines of latitude and longitude upon which locations are plotted. It is therefor a mistake to think that a map of this kind is a representation of a pre-existing territory. The space of the map, with its graticule, precedes the territory mapped, and the topos of pre-existing places is then mapped onto this space, thereby creating an image of a territory on the map which then can be imposed upon the places mapped, for example in the form of enclosing borderlines. The map thus might be termed a "hyperreal simulacrum," in the sense used by Jean

Baudrillard, because it is a representation of something that itself does not (yet) exist, but which can provide the model for material phenomena that subsequently come into existence (Baudrillard, 1988). When Ptolemy's globe is flattened using spatial projections, the grid can be used to plot and bound the space of private property, often as a squared area of uniform space. This Euclidean, global space, I would argue, is what mediates modern scenic landscape.

The Renaissance transformation of land into Euclidean, cartographic, scenic space made it possible, as the art historian Samuel Edgerton points out, to reduce land to an easily measurable quantity and thereby facilitate its alienation and sale as a commodity, much as, at the same time, the introduction of uniform measures of weight and size likewise made this reduction possible for other commodified goods (Edgerton, 1975; on alienation see Olwig, 2005a). It now became possible to reduce the quality of commodities to a measurable quantity that can be monetized and valued according to a unit of weight or size as valued in relation to a unity of circulating currency. Thus, instead of valuing land or other commodified goods according to their use value, for example as meadow – or arable – land, or in terms of the quality of the bread produced by grain grown on the land, it now became possible to reduce these phenomena to uniform forms of measurement, as so many square meters of land, or kilos of bread, which could be traded, through a circulating currency, according to their exchange value on the market.

3. PERSPECTIVES ON THE PERSPECTIVAL SPACE OF LANDSCAPE SCENERY

The use of surveying and mapping to enclose properties on the *Terraferma* essentially involved the imposition of an ideal "utopian" Euclidean geometric scalar space upon the earthly *topia* of terra firma. Because the point and the line in Euclidean geometry are infinitely small, they do not actually exist on the finite tangible *topia* of the earth[1]. By artfully drawing tangible lines connecting the locational points plotted on the map, it nevertheless became possible to delineate the boundaries of the estates, and then enclose them with tangible hedges, walls or fences. When connecting the locations plotted on the map it was naturally easiest to "rule" the territory by drawing straight lines using a ruler, and thereby demarcate the rectangular properties of the estates. The area of property encompassed by the rectangle is also easy to measure by multiplying the rectangle's length by its width. The rectangular properties, typical of Renaissance Veneto, also resembled earlier

---

[1] "Definition 1," with which Euclid's *Elements* begins, is thus: "A point is that which has no part." "No part" means that a point has no width, length, or breadth, but does have an indivisible location (Euclid, 2013 - orig., c. 300 BC).

Roman patterns of settlement in the same general area, and thus could also be seen to represent a renaissance, or re-birth, of classic Roman imperial territoriality. In this way an intangible utopian space is made to structure the tangible *topian* world in which we live.

The maps gave a top-down perspective on the terrain, which was necessarily viewed at a single given Euclidean spatial cartographic scale. Scale is thus a property of the map, not of the world in which we live, and it is hence a problematic concept when applied to the common place world of *topian* phenomena (on scale see Marston, 2000; Marston et al., 2005). If one wished to view the terrain as mapped at a different scale it is necessary to have a new map, or maps, which can be arranged as a scalar series of layered maps, like a ladder – the word scale derives from the Latin for ladder, *scala*. But because the scale is measured in Euclidean space, the layer covered by a given map is infinitely thin, and this means that there will always be a gap between the layers, just as between the rungs of a ladder. This gap helps remind the map user that one cannot assume a smooth uniform homologous relationality between scales in the absolute space of the map – the social life of insects at the scale of an ant hill is thus not homologous with that in a human city at another scale. The same techniques, and the same Euclidean space used to create the Ptolemaic map, were also used to create the perspectival representation of landscape as scenery. This was often done in atlases by, to put it simply, tilting the map projection from a top down vertical view toward a horizontal view, thereby creating a perspectival landscape illusion of three dimensional scenic space. Thus, whereas a given map can only represent a given ideal space at a given scale, the perspectival scenic illusion created by tilting the map's perspective toward the horizontal, creates an illusory image of landscape as a totalizing spatial phenomenon encompassing an infinity of unbroken scale smoothly reaching to an infinite global horizon. On the stage this is accomplished by painting part of the scenic background on a series of parallel side curtains, or "legs," on either side of the stage along the side wings of the stage. The scenery on each set of side curtains is painted at a different scale which merges with the perspectival scene painted on the backdrop, so that when each individual in the audience looks through the proscenium arch the scales will blend into one, thereby creating the illusion of unbroken, unified, perspectival scenic depth. That which the individual spectator sees, spread out before him or her on a stage, or in a landscape painting, thus is perceived as a smoothly unified, multi-scalar scenic image of, for example, the countryside, nature or a city. But though it looks like the countryside, or nature, or a city, it is a representation of phenomena that cannot possibly exist because the phenomena depicted exist in an isotropic, uniform and absolute utopian Euclidean space. This becomes, apparent, for example, in a theater if one shifts one's position from a central position in the hall, where the illusion of perspective is high, to a position on the side, where the sense of perspective is distorted, almost as in a cubist painting. This theatrical

scenery is thus, in effect, a "hyperreal simulacrum", in Baudrillard's sense, because it is a representation of something that itself does not (yet) exist, but which can provide the model for material phenomena that subsequently come into existence. This is basically what Tuan is describing, when he notes how the ideal image on a canvas provides the model for how the world is perceived. When this perception is then, for example, applied, via landscape architecture, to the design of a physical landscape, and thus transformed into soil, water and vegetation, then the ideal image of something fundamentally utopian and non-existent, comes into tangible existence. At a time when we now live in a world where the private ownership of property, and the rule of the market, is taken for granted, and the price of real estate commonly reflects the value of the scenic view from a picture window, a notion of landscape as consisting of private commodified properties distributed in scenic space will understandably have great appeal. It has thereby become the perfect "mediator" for liberal society's relationship to its land. But, the fact that many "make-believe" that landscape can be fully commodified as private property does not mean that landscape is not still very much a commons, and a common good to which all have a claim, as many authors in the collection argue.

The scenic landscape, as Tuan puts it, has apparently become "fully integrated with the world of make-believe". If, on the other hand, one goes behind the scenes, then "the unreality of scenes" becomes apparent, and one feels a bit as if one has joined Alice behind the looking glass[2]. I experienced this in a most forceful way once when watching a performance, in which a woman I knew was dancing with the Danish Royal Ballet at Copenhagen's Royal Theater. After the performance I walked straight down the central isle of the theater and up onto and through the center of the stage to the place, backstage, where I joined the ballet dancer for a beer after the ballet. It was a highly disorienting experience to see of how the totality of the scene I had been watching throughout the ballet suddenly shattered as I passed through the proscenium arch. A similar effect is described in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (Shakespeare, 1954: Act IV: lines 1880-1887; Olwig, 2011) which made use of perspectival scenery to create an illusory image of the scenery of a magic isle. At the play's end the illusion is shattered when the magician, Prince Prospero, gives up his power to create such scenic illusions*,* and at this point the scene:

> [Was] melted into air, into thin air:
> And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,

---

[2] Lewis Caroll (Charles Dodgson), the author of *Alice in Wonderland*, was a mathematician who was inspired by the absurd, non-sensical distortions of Euclidean geometry resulting from projective geometry. He was also an early satirist of cartographic representation, writing in a short story of a map with "the scale of a mile to the mile". Due to practical problems using this map a figure in the story declares that "we now use the country itself, as its own map, and I assure you it does nearly as well" (Bayley, 2009).

The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
. . . . [disolved]
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
[Left] not a rack behind.

The unreality I experienced in the Royal Theater is less apparent, however, when experiencing a landscape garden which, though it also acts as a setting for a pose, or a performance, and which makes use of the same perspectival tricks, nevertheless is more difficult to "look behind". This is because there is no back stage, and the stuff of a landscape garden is trees, bushes, grass and water, not painted screens or curtains, and it therefore seems more real and less illusory. We are therefore unlikely "to look 'behind the landscape,' although a landscaped garden can be as contrived as a stage scene, and as little enmeshed with the life of the owner as the stage paraphernalia with the life of the actor," as Tuan put it. The same applies even more strongly to the world outside the garden, when that world has also been enclosed, engineered and designed as landscape scenery. Through the perspectival illusion the viewer is thus deluded into thinking the tangible, finite, topian world of terrestrial earthly nature actually is made up of the isotropic, uniform, absolute, infinite global space of the Ptolemaic map. And as such, to use Tuan's words, it arguably becomes "integrated with the world of make-believe".

4. THE NON-ENCLOSED COMMONS LANDSCAPE

Prior to enclosure, the farming households of an area would likely have managed their cultivated fields in common, each having use rights to a somewhat irregular area surrounding their village or hamlet that, in given years, would be suitable to particular crops. There would be some land that tended to be wet and thus well suited as meadowland, some land that would be moist and under crops that manage well under such conditions, and some land that would be dry and thus suitable for yet other crops. The meadowland would provide fodder for grazing animals that would, in turn, provide manure for the croplands as well as milk, hides, and draft for farm implements and transportation. The mix of differing soils in the fields used by differing farm households meant that they would have a balance of wet and dry soils in wet years and dry years. The meadows and the grazing lands of the farmers often were used in common as a shared source of subsistence and market production. The use of the different lands encompassed by the village, or even a city, would have been shaped to a large degree through meetings or assemblies of the "farmers" and other users of the land (many urban citizens in times past would also be engaged in some form of farming). This would take place in a form of court or "thing" in a common place where people would

agree about the customary procedure, for example, for regulating the time of harvest, or the grazing of a meadow (Olwig, 2013). These meetings were important because the idea of common law, as in England to this day, was rooted in custom, and the meetings of the court were an important way of agreeing upon what was the applicable custom. An important dimension of custom was the principle of use rights (usufruct) based on precedence. Pastures, like a suburban lawn, need to be cut or grazed to be maintained, otherwise they cease to be a pasture. In the non-modern landscape one was customarily and morally bound to use, or loose, one's use rights. The word morals, in fact, comes from the Latin word for custom, *mores*. In this non-modern landscape it is thus the *locus communis* (Greek *tópos koinós*), or common place, that mediates our understanding of the world through what might be termed "commons sense".

5. THE DISSOLVING OF THE MODERNIST LANDSCAPE

When we fly over many "modern" landscapes that have been "enclosed" within the space of the map, and look down, we see a spatialized landscape of rectangular fields bearing uniform areas of particular crops. This is because the spatial enclosure of these areas, as the private domain of a farming estate, made it possible for the estate owner to, for example, straighten streams and install a complex underground network of drains, thereby making it possible to plant uniform fields of a particular crop (on water and landscape see Cosgrove, 1990a; 1990b). Enclosure also had an effect on the growth of large urban conurbations. Those who took control of the newly enclosed farms often remained on the land, but many of the other dwellers in the landscape, who filled differing niches ranging from crafts to manufacturing, and who were dependent upon the resources of the now enclosed commons, were forced to move into ever growing cities, where they came under the control of urban employers and urban landlords. At the same time the agricultural lands, meadows and commons belonging to the city were often enclosed for new housing developments and factories, thereby effectively forcing the new immigrants from the countryside into a strict money economy by removing them from access to the common resources previously available in the countryside. The enclosure of the land belonging to the cities similarly involved land drainage and the straightening and burying of streams in culverts. The expansion of the urban population likewise required a drastic increase in water supply to feed growing industries and population, which in turn often meant the damming of streams to create reservoirs in distant uplands far from the city, and a lucrative source of economic and social power. Here, too, a vast network of underground drains was needed to direct water quickly and rapidly from its former winding and leisurely downhill course in endless rivulets, springs and brooks, and straight into the reservoirs. Today these reservoirs often appear to be attractive "natural"

lakes, which make a picturesque *point de vue*, with its attendant cultural capital, for the homes of urbanites fleeing urban congestion to places where they can work in pastoral peace, connected via the ethernet to the world of the internet. These reservoirs, however, are often environmental time bombs. The problem is that most of the time these reservoirs regulate a steady and even flow of water which runs through drained urban areas, in the lowlands below, in streams that no longer meander through the meadowlands that once acted as a buffer to the seasonal periods of increased rainfall. This regular flow encourages people to move their dwellings and businesses ever closer to the streams, building on the now drained wetlands that once acted as a buffer to flooding. When unseasonable heavy rains occur, perhaps a consequence of climate change, the water rushes straight to the reservoirs, filling them quickly, and forcing the water companies to open their flood gates to avoid bursting the dams. Water, however, does not scale as smoothly as the illusory spatial scale in perspectival landscape representations. Instead, as volume and speed increase, water becomes disproportionately turbulent, chaotic and destructive (Hayles, 1990; 1992). The urban areas below, whose resistance to flooding once was afforded by the former wetlands, are now subjected to severe and violent flooding at enormous social and individual cost (Spirn, 2005).

What we see when our engineered and designed landscapes are flooded is that the scenic landscape, which had become fully integrated with the world of make-believe, begins to dissolve, and the former non-modern landscape reemerges. Then it becomes possible for us to look behind the scenes where the unreality of scenes becomes apparent. The chapters in this book do much to help us look behind the scenes and understand how landscape functions, in various ways, as a mediator and a commons.

6. MEDIATING ITALIAN AND GREEK LANDSCAPES

6.1. *Landscape as modernist scenic space*

Some of the articles in this collection are concerned with the role of landscape as spatial scenery, as a "mediator" and as a commons. Theano Terkenli in her chapter, "Landscape at a time of crisis: societal and psychological dimensions of new geographies of home", thus points to the importance of landscape as the site of "performance" because it is key to the role of landscape in tourism and recreation, which is a vital economic factor for many Mediterranean societies, notably Greece. Dimitra N. Zygra and John Sayas illustrate this point in their article: "Second Home Development and the Landscapes of Southern Europe". This article is very much concerned with landscape scenery in relation to the "'consumption' of images and landscapes" whereby the core of the tourist experience commences long before the actual deed as a kind of hyperreal simulacrum. According to Zygra and Sayas,

"through already consumed imagery, visitors have in their minds a fragmented snapshot-experience of existing in a specific place. Even when reality is different from what is expected, it is the 'ideal' that stays imprinted, although interpreted as the real feeling". The notion of performance in tourism derives, of course, from theater, and theater is a key metaphor in Benedetta Castiglioni and her colleague's contribution, "Reinterpreting a study case in the Venetian 'città diffusa': Spatial and social dimensions in landscape perception". "Landscape as a theater," in this case, thus acts as a mediator because it "interconnects, while distinguishing the two dimensions of the human-landscape relationship: 'human as a spectator' and 'human as an actor'". This, of course, is precisely how landscape scenery is perceived in the context of the perspectival scenery of the theater, as constructed in the Renaissance by Andrea Palladio and Inigo Jones. This is a landscape which, as Castiglioni, Fabio Parascandolo and Marcello Tanca argue in the introduction, combines "reality and representation," because it consists both of objects and of ideas about these objects". "This double dimension, as they put it, leads us to consider landscape as an intermediary between people and space, or, in other words, as the interface between doing (as referred to objects) and seeing what has been done (as referred to meanings and values)" (on the role of objects as "things" in landscape see also Olwig, 2013).

The idea of landscape as scenic space, as has been seen, largely grew out of the enclosure and privatization of land, not the least common land. Yet, as Parascandolo and Tanca point out in their article, "Is landscape a commons? Paths towards a metabolic approach", the scenic landscape is also a kind of commons:

> The first connection – the most evident – identifies the landscape-commons as a "collective visual asset", a "framework of land", a "panorama", a "tour d'horizon", i.e. a visible object to look at from outside and from a distance. Going back to its painting and aesthetic origins, this conception assimilates the landscape-commons to a picture or a postcard. The landscape experience, when it is mainly/totally visual, is not particularly problematic: everybody can see the landscape, therefore the landscape belongs to everybody.

This point was also made by the American transcendental philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson (Emerson, 1991 – orig. 1836), but it should be noted that Emerson made clear that it takes an educated eye to own this landscape, and for this reason, it could be argued, many people, such as native peoples, may be excluded from this visually framed landscape (Mitchell, 1994; Olwig, 2005b). Parascandolo and Tanca make a similar point when they write:

> But the horizon of the visible doesn't deplete the totality of reality; significances are not all immediately accessible and directly experienced. The mere aesthetic contemplation of landscape might not satisfy us: it is the easier modality of fruition but not the only possible. To overcome these limits, we ought to think the landscape-commons not

only as an imago loci to admire from a distance. We ought to "go into" this image and see it as the product of material and immaterial practices that through time have given form to the territory.

Their view of landscape as being, most importantly, people's material and immaterial practices, brings to mind the sense of landscape as "taskscape" espoused by the British anthropologist Tim Ingold (Ingold, 2000). Ingold pioneered an exploration of what might be termed the "non-modernistic" sense of landscape (see also: Cosgrove, 2004; 2006; Olwig, 2008).

6.2. *The non-modern Landscape*

If one flew over a non-modern landscape, such as that described above, one would see anything but the neat arrangement of rectangles that we often see today. The shape of the land would instead conform to the pre-existing terrain as shaped through natural processes and through the movement of people in their daily tasks, as described in the chapter, "The landscape as relationship between place and societies. Issues (and tools) for spatial planning" by Cristina Mattiucci. Here she writes, citing Ingold: "'Reading across the page rather than along its lines, he joins up the components distributed on its surface through a hierarchy of levels of integration'". The "mediator" in this landscape would be the people's shaping of the resources they share in common, thereby shaping both the land and a community as a political landscape. This is a landscape that is not a spatially bounded territory, and this means, as Mattiucci puts it, quoting the geographer Franco Farinelli, it is "not cartographable". For this reason: "Ordinary landscape may moreover be considered as the continuously moving work of a whole community, a post-modern space where, more than anywhere else, its condition is expressed, related to the contingency of local societies with a territory, for a given time and according to certain conditions". In such a context, as she puts it, "landscapes are perceived through actions which belong to the being in the places". This is the landscape that Parascandolo and Tanca describe as a commons because: "Nature – even in the form of landscape – can be considered a unique commons of which all living organisms are part", because "natural commons – both in their ecological and historical components – represent the 'raw materials' metabolism of the living on the planet earth and the cultural identity of the territories". As they put it:

> If commons represent territorial typicalities strictly linked to the history and the ecological and socio-economic assets of the local milieux, then landscape represents in its turn, an eco-historical oasis, a socio-spatial discontinuity survived to numberless attempts to be cancelled as in the capitalist process to restructure agriculture in the

XVII and XVIII centuries. In this oasis we still find the metabolic practices and local knowledge that are the most important presidiums to protect biodiversity and territorial balances. The mad cancellation of a good deal of these virtuous practices is in fact responsible for most of the problems plaguing our territories – from soil consumption and saturation, to hydrogeological instability and environmental degradation of localities.

From the perspective of the modernistic concept of landscape, the non-modernistic landscape can seem highly ambiguous because it is rooted in human experience in what might be termed a pre- or post-modern landscape. Nevertheless, as Mattiucci suggests, citing Farinelli, it is precisely this non-modern quality that makes it seems most real: "'just basing on its innate and calculated ambiguity, landscape remains the only image of the world which is liable to give us back something out of the opacity of the real – therefore the most human and faithful, though the least scientific of concepts'".

6.3. *Modernistic contra non-modernistic landscape*

Guido Lucarno, Raffaela Gabriella Rizzo and Gian Paolo Scaratti in their article "Is there a Link between Landscape Degradation and the Construction of Large-Scale Infrastructures?", and Gennaro Avallone and Salvo Torre in their article on "Postcolonial Social Conflicts and New Perspectives on Landscape as a Common", deal with what might be described as ongoing Italian conflicts between, on the one hand, promoters of the modernistic landscape and, on the other, defenders of the non-modern landscape as place and commons. They are thus concerned with what Avallone and Torre describe as "the arising of a new definition of Ecological conflict, which assume the large connotation of conflict between central political institutions and local communities on the environmental and landscape protection, and involves the concept of environmental justice". These environmental conflicts are postcolonial, they argue, "because they have developed a conflict between general (State-based) and specific (local-based) knowledge" which occurs "when the regulation of the landscape as a common good is no longer respected by the central institutional systems". They conclude by pointing out that "as a common good, the landscape implies changes in the concept of democracy," and, of course, a major ambition of the *European Landscape Convention* is precisely to help create a more democratic and representative approach to landscape (on the right to landscape see Peil and Jones, 2005; Mitchell and Olwig, 2008; Egoz et al., 2011; Jones and Stenseke, 2011). How, then, in this context, might one foster a mediation between the modernistic scenic notion of landscape and the non-modern landscape of place?

6.4. *Mediating between the non/pre/post modern landscape and the modernistic landscape*

Sandra Parvu's contribution, "Drawing, Participation, Narrative: The Triple Mediation of Landscape", recognizes, and seeks to mediate between, the non-modern and the modern meaning of landscape. She takes her point of departure in the landscape architect James Corner's point that "landscape is a representation, a way of seeing". "For landscape architects", she notes, spatial landscape representations set up "a mode of thinking visually". "In one case", she argues, "images transcribe an already existing knowledge, in the other they are a tool for creating knowledge". "The semantic field of mediation in relation to landscape", thus, "has in the last ten or so years functioned more and more as a process in which knowledge is shared as widely as possible by and with local communities". But this is not unproblematic, for example, because: "While a farmer's knowledge of the historical evolution and practices that shaped his fields and the configuration of the villages nearby may be very developed, his ability to use images as a tool for thinking may not be". And she notes, in this context, that Cosgrove demonstrates "that the evolution of landscape painting is strongly related to land property, and as such this pictorial genre becomes instrumental in exerting power over this land". She sees here a "tension inherent in the notion of landscape at the Renaissance" because it is not just land as property, but "a political entity locally organizing a community of people on the basis of their customs", at the same time that it is becoming transformed into "a painted backdrop for theatrical performances, a way of building a collective imaginary for the King to break the power of these local entities and unify the different countries of Britain under the vision of a British nation-state".

These two opposing ideas of landscape are nevertheless mediated, or at least juxtaposed, in the paintings of Bruegel who "examines the visual foundations of landscape painting by describing the embodiment of the relation between cartography and experience of landscape in the friendship between Abraham Ortelius, the cartographer, and Pieter Bruegel". The two aspects that can be read in Bruegel's landscapes thus reveal "an approach which combines a pictorial experience with ongoing social and political undertones". Bruegel's paintings are thus "predicated upon the idea that the production of pictorial beauty and the representation of social reality go hand in hand". The mediation between the esthetic and the social to be found in Breugel's paintings, however, seems to be called into question in recent design theory. This is because "the process of making landscape and looking at it are no longer imbricated facets of one and the same notion: the social challenges the pictorial. In other words, fields, pastures, and forests are not to be enjoyed for their beauty but should be understood in the

context of the physical and cultural practices that create them". Parvu also points out, in this context, that "the *European Landscape Convention* consciously avoids the debate by discussing 'procedures' and 'protocols', but leaving the question of the visible, aesthetic, and pictorial, untouched". The implication, however, is that "good landscape management is not based on aesthetics, but on an analytical study of the land with environmental diagrams, agricultural charts, social networks, and economic statistics". In this way the non-visual knowledge and representational media of experts are privileged because they are "not designed to be discussed or questioned". There is, however, an alternative, as developed by a number of pioneering landscape architects, such as James Corner, in which the social and the pictorial work together, as in Bruegel's paintings. For them image is tied to the process of generating ideas in an ongoing process involving the architect and the communities who will share the landscape they jointly create, thereby enriching the visual formation of ideas.

A similar position to that of Parvu, on the need to integrate the visual perception of the landscape and the landscape as experienced by those who dwell within it, is taken by Monica Meini and Diana Ciliberti in their article, "Landscape photography as a mirror for self-representation. Methodological issues and preliminary results of a research on rural landscapes in Molise, Italy". Their focus is on the use of the camera to facilitate "self-recognition by the local communities as an essential tool for sustainable rural development". Self recognition is also an important approach to mediating between the scenic/spatial and the experienced perception of landscape in Castiglioni et al.'s chapter where "the inhabitants make reference to two dimensions: a spatial dimension, according to which people give value to landscapes considering their visual characteristics (their forms and aesthetic quality), and a social dimension, according to which people attach value to landscapes considering their own experiences and collective practices occurring in everyday life places". "Taking into account these observations," the authors argue, "it is possible to highlight an experiential dimension of landscape that does not make reference merely to the personal experience of individuals or to their socio-cultural context, but rather to the sharing of places used for collective activities. Such places, giving the inhabitants the opportunity to 'act together,' have a central role in the building process of community identity; at the same time, the social practices occurring there appear to be the base on which local models of value attributions are constructed". On this basis she proposes a kind of mediation between the two: "At the same time, these results highlight the need for developing people's awareness, helping them to look at more 'carefully' not only some important places from the social point of view, but the whole of the landscape that surrounds them, and to act in it as citizens active and responsible".

7. LANDSCAPE AS MEDIATOR AND COMMONS

Landscape, as has been seen, can be understood in a number of different ways. It can be a mediator in terms of the space of enclosed private property and scenic representation, and the interests of the varying stakeholders, including the state, who have statutory ownership rights to the property. It can also be seen as an unenclosed commons mediated by the use rights and embodied experiences of the communities that share the land. Finally, it can be seen as a mediator between both senses of landscape, by which we learn to reflect upon and design landscapes which combine individual, social and community interests. In this way it might be possible to think landscape in ways that enable society to live up to the *European Landscape Convention's* imperative. As Parascandolo and Tanca remind us, we must understand that landscape is "a key element of individual and social well-being", "an important part of the quality of life for people everywhere", and "a common resource". For this reason it is necessary to understand landscape as a cultural phenomenon that mediates between the spatial, the esthetic and the commons in the creation of communities and their political landscape.

REFERENCES

BAUDRILLARD J., Simulacra and Simulations. *Selected Writings*. M. Poster, ed. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1988, pp. 166-184.

BAYLEY M., "Alice's adventures in algebra: Wonderland solved", *New Scientist,* (2739), 2009, pp. 38-41.

COSGROVE D., *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape,* London, Croom Helm, 1984.

COSGROVE D., "An Elemental Division: Water Control and Engineered Landscape", in COSGROVE D., PETTS G. (eds.), *Water, Engineering and Landscape: Water Control and Landscape Transformation in the Modern Period*, London, Belhaven, 1990a, pp. 1-12.

COSGROVE D., "Platonism and practicality: Hydrology, Engineering and Landscape in Sixteenth Century Venice", in COSGROVE D., PETTS G. (eds.), *Water, Engineering and Landscape: Water Control and Landscape Transformation in the Modern Period,* London, Belhaven, 1990b, pp. 35-53.

COSGROVE D., *The Palladian Landscape: Geographical Change and Its Cultural Representations in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, University Park, Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993.

COSGROVE D., "Landscape and Landschaft", lecture delivered at the "Spatial Turn in History" Symposium German Historical Institute, February 19, 2004, *GHI Bulletin,* 35, pp. 57-71.

COSGROVE D., "Modernity, Community and the Landscape Idea", *Journal of Material Culture,* 11, 2006, pp. 49-66.

EDGERTON S., *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective,* New York, Basic Books, 1975.

EGOZ S., PUNGETTI G., MAKHZOUMI J. (eds.), *The Right to Landscape: Contesting landscape and human rights.* Aldershot, Ashgate, 2011.

EMERSON R. W., "Nature", in ELDER J. (ed.), *Nature/Walking.* Boston, Beacon Press, 1991, orig. 1836, pp. 1-67.

EUCLID, *Elements.* Worcester, MA, Department of Mathematics and Computer Science, Clark University, 2013, orig. c. 300 BC.

FOUCAULT M., *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences,* New York, Vintage, 1973.

HAYLES N. K., *Chaos Bound: Orderly Disorder in Contemporary Literature and Science,* Ithica, Cornell University Press, 1990.

HAYLES N. K., "Gender Encoding in Fluid Mechanics: Masculine Channels and Feminine Flows", *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies,* 4(2), 1992, pp.16-44.

INGOLD T., The Temporality of Landscape, in *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood Dwelling and Skill,* London, Routledge, 2000, pp. 189-218.

JONES M., STENSEKE M. (eds.), *The European Landscape Convention: Challenges of Participation,* Landscape Series, 13, Dordrecht, Springer, 2011.

LATOUR B., *We Have Never been Modern,* Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, 1993.

MARSTON S.A., JONES J. P., WOODWARD K., "Human geography without scale", *Transations of the Institute of Brittish Geographers, NS* 30, 2005, pp. 416-432.

MARSTON S. A., "The social construction of scale", *Progress in Human Geography,* 24(2), 2000, pp. 219-242.

MITCHELL D., OLWIG K.R. (eds.), *Justice, Power and the Political Landscape,* London, Routledge, 2008.

MITCHELL W.J.T., "Imperial Landscape", in Mitchell W.J.T., *Landscape and Power,* Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1994, pp. 5-34.

OLWIG K.R., *Landscape, Nature and the Body Politic: From Britain's Renaissance to America's New World.* Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 2002.

OLWIG K.R., "Representation and Alienation in the Political Land-*scape*", *Cultural Geographies,* 12(1), 2005a, pp. 19-40.

OLWIG K.R., "The Landscape of 'Customary' Law versus that of 'Natural' Law", *Landscape Research,* 30(3), 2005b, pp. 299-320.

OLWIG K.R., "The Practice of Landscape 'Conventions' and the Just Landscape: The Case of the European Landscape Convention", *Landscape Research,* 32(5), 2007a, pp. 579-594.

OLWIG K.R., "Are Islanders Insular? A Personal View", *Geographical Review,* 97(2), 2007b, pp. 175-190.

OLWIG K.R., "Performing on the Landscape versus Doing Landscape: Perambulatory Practice, Sight and the Sense of Belonging", in INGOLD T., VERGUNST J.L. (eds.),

Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008, pp. 81-91.

OLWIG K.R., "Performance, ætherial space and the practice of landscape/architecture: the case of the missing mask", *Social & Cultural Geography,* 12(3), 2011, pp. 305-318.

OLWIG K.R., "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), 2013, pp. 1-23.

PEIL T., JONES M. (eds.), *Landscape, Law and Justice,* Oslo, Novus/Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning, 2005.

SHAKESPEARE W., *The Tempest*, KERMODE F. (ed.), London, Methuen, 1954.

SPIRN A.W., "Restoring Mill Creek: Landscape Literacy, Environmental Justice, And City Planning And Design", *Landscape Research,* 30(3), 2005, pp. 395-413.

TUAN Y.-F., *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values,* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1974.

THE AUTHORS

GENNARO AVALLONE is an urban and rural sociologist at Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche, Sociali e della Comunicazione at Università di Salerno. His main research areas are: migrations in urban and rural context, especially in Southern European countries; agricultural and rural changes; housing and urban transformation; socio-ecological relations, focusing on the relationship between human and ecological communities. He has recently published articles about migrant farmwork in the Southern European agriculture and on the relationships between housing, migrant population and Italian cities.

SERGE BRIFFAUD is historian, professor at the École national supérieur d'architecture et paysage de Bordeaux, researcher in the ADESS laboratory (CNRS-UMR 5185). He researches on the history of landscape and social representation of nature in Europe. He authored a number of works on mountain and viticulture landscapes, on the history of gardens and of landscape policies. He was the general coordinator of the international research « Ressources paysagères et ressources énergétiques dans les montagnes sud-européennes Histoire, comparaison, expérimentation ».

BENEDETTA CASTIGLIONI is Associate Professor at the Department of Historical and Geographic Sciences and the Ancient World of University of Padova (Italy). She is lecturer of Geography in the degree course of Planning and Management of Cultural Tourism. Her approach to landscape focuses mostly on the relationship between people and landscape (social perceptions, participation, education, evaluation, Landscape Observatories), following the national and international debate originated by the entry in force of the European Landscape Convention. She is representative for her University in the Uniscape network and she is member of the Regional Landscape Observatory's Scientific Committee.

DIANA CILIBERTI is PhD student at the Department of Biosciences and Territory of the University of Molise. Degree in Cultural Heritage and Tourism, with a thesis in Applied Human Geography on the theme of the ecomuseums in Italy. She has been focusing her studies on the Molise region in Italy, with particular reference to rural tourism development and territorial marketing strategies.

ALESSIA DE NARDI is Junior Research Fellow at the Department of Historical and Geographic Sciences and the Ancient World of University of Padova (Italy). In 2010 she earned a PhD degree in "Uomo e Ambiente" ("Human and Environment"; XXII cycle) at the Geography Department of the same university. Her main research interests concern the role of landscape as a "mediator" between people and place, with particular attention to how immigrants construct and develop sense of belonging to places.

VIVIANA FERRARIO is researcher in geography at the Iuav University of Venice. She works on the relationship between urbanization and rural space, with particular attention to historical agricultural landscape understanding and preservation. She authored a number of works on alpine rural landscape and on agriculture in the sprawl. She coordinated the Italian group within the international research « Ressources paysagères et ressources énergétiques dans les montagnes sud-européennes Histoire, comparaison, expérimentation ».

CHRYSAFINA GERONTA is PhD candidate in human and physical Geography at the School of historical, geographical and anthropological studies of the University of Padua. She obtained her Master degree in Architecture school of Thessaly (2008) and a 2nd level Master degree in architecture and sustainable technologies for the environment at the University of Rome (2010). Her research regards the role of landscape perception and evaluation in tourism destination planning and management.

GUIDO LUCARNO is Associate Professor of Geography at the Catholic University of Milan. He has coordinated some researches on development ad magamement of tourism regions and transport systems in Northern Italy at the Catholic University of Piacenza. He is author of about 100 scientific publications concerning Human Geograpy, Migration, Transport, Tourism and Political Geography. Corresponding member of the Italian Geographic Association (AGeI) and of the Italian Cartography Association. His current main didactic and research activities concern Human, Political Geography and devolpment of tourism systems.

YVES LUGINBUHL: agronomist, PHD in geography, Director of research in the National Center of Scientific Research in France. President of scientific committee of research program "Landscape and sustainable development" of French Ministry of Ecology, President of the scientific committee of National School of Architecture and Landscape of Bordeaux, member of miscellaneous scientific committees, co-redactor of the European Landscape Convention, expert of European Council for the implementation of the European Landscape Convention.

CRISTINA MATTIUCCI is an architect, PhD in Environmental Engineering (curriculum Planning, Landscape Architecture and Sustainable Building) with a thesis on the landscapes perception. She is currently Marie Curie research fellow at the University of Trento and at the Laboratoire Architectures, Milieux et Paysages of the ENSA Paris – la Villette. She focuses on contemporary landscapes' multiple meanings, with a predilection for its feature of inhabited territory and public space. Her research activities mix design and planning works and teaching experiences, both abroad and in Italy.

MONICA MEINI is PhD in Urban and Regional Geography. She is Associate Professor of Geography at the University of Molise, Director of the Tourism Programme and scientific responsible for MoRGaNA Lab (Mobility, Regions, Geo-economics and Network Analysis) in the Department of Biosciences and Territory. Her research covers various branches of Human Geography. Key fields of analysis are spatial mobility, local development, heritage and landscape.

KENNETH OLWIG is Professor in Landscape Planning at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, with specialty in landscape theory and history. He was previously professor in Landscape History and Planning at the Department of Geography at the University in Trondheim, Norway. He received his Doctor of Philosophy degree from the University of Minnesota, Department of Geography, 1977, where his advisor was Prof. Yi-Fu Tuan, and where he also studied with Prof. David Lowenthal. A combination of aesthetic, legal, literary and cultural geographical approaches characterize his approach to landscape and the relationship between society and nature. His interests range from the effect of cultural perceptions of nature and landscape in regional development, to the role of ideas of law and justice in shaping the political landscape and its physical manifestations.

FABIO PARASCANDOLO is Assistant Professor in Geography at the University of Cagliari. He is interested in the geography of modernization and development. His research activities have focussed primarily on the ecological history of rural communities and the social patterns of representation, attendance and use of local resources and landscapes. Among his writings are "Domande sul paesaggio, domande al paesaggio", in S. Aru, F. Parascandolo, M. Tanca, L. Vargiu (ed.), *Sguardi sul paesaggio, sguardi sul mondo. Mediterranei a confronto* (Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2012); "Fra terra e cibo. Sistemi agroalimentari nel mondo attuale (e in Italia)", in «Scienze del territorio», 1 (Firenze, University Press, 2013).

SANDRA PARVU teaches at the Higher National School of Landscape Architecture in Versailles. Trained as an architect, she has worked and taught in collaboration with landscape architects in France and Switzerland. Her work focuses on large-scale planning, postwar urbanism, and more recently on the visual culture of landscape architects. She has published «Grands ensembles en situation. Journal de bord de quatre chantiers» (Geneva: Metispresses, 2011) and articles in European journals, including The Journal of Landscape Architecture, Urbanisme, Faces, and OASE.

CHIARA QUAGLIA is a PhD candidate in human and physical Geography at the School of historical, geographical and anthropological studies of the University of Padua. She graduated in 2008 in Architecture at IUAV University of Venice. Her interests regard landscape planning and the processes of attribution of value to landscape by institutional entities.

RAFFAELA GABRIELLA RIZZO is PhD in Geomatics and GIS. She has been involved in geographical research with different Universities and Institutions since 2004 with projects (at national and international level) dealing with geography of tourism, cultural geography, landscape and LUCC. She is a member of the Scientific Committee of the Italian Association

of Cartography (AIC), of the editorial board of the Journal of AIC and corresponding member of several geographical Italian associations and of two IGU Commissions. She is subject expert in Geography (Univ. Cattolica del Sacro Cuore - Brescia, Faculty of Arts and Philosophy), Topography and Advanced Geomatics (Univ. of Brescia, Dept. DICATAM). She is author of about 70 pubblications. She collaborates as teacher of Cultural and Tourism Geography with the Fondazione "G. Toniolo" of Verona.

JOHN SAYAS is Associate Professor at the School of Rural and Surveying Engineering, Department of Geography and Regional Planning of the National Technical University of Athens. He teaches urban geography, spatial planning methods and techniques, environmental planning at graduate and post graduate level. He has been a scientific director and principal investigator in many research projects, dealing with the spatial and socio-economic impacts of development at urban and regional level. He has published papers and books on issues of spatial planning methodology, social segregation, urban sprawl, collective consumption and the geography of manufacturing. His main research interests focus on issues of theory and methodology of spatial analysis and spatial planning with particular emphasis on the urban and regional aspects of geographic and economic structures and processes.

GIAN PAOLO SCARATTI is subject expert in Geography at the Catholic University of Milan. He is a planner, and has experience in the transport sector as he has worked for the Italian national railways state. He is a system expert in the planning of complex infrastructures. He has participated in many infrastructure projects in Northern Italy. He is member of the board of ALOT, Agency of East Lombardy for Transport and Logistics - Italy, for the promotion of logistics and transport. He has been vice president of the National Order of Architects in Cremona.

MARCELLO TANCA is Assistant Professor in Geography at the Department of History, Cultural Heritage and Territory of University of Cagliari. He teaches Regional Geography. His studies have focused on the role of geography in the cultural dynamics of modernity, on the function of the landscape as an indicator of a positive and active relationship between the territory and its inhabitants, lastly on immigration to Cagliari. He has published *Geografia e filosofia. Materiali di lavoro* (Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2012); along with S. Aru, F. Parascandolo and L. Vargiu has edited the special issue of the "Rivista geografica Italiana" dedicated to *Landscape and democracy* (4, December 2013).

THEANO S. TERKENLY is Associate Professor and founding member of the Department of Geography (since 1994), University of the Aegean; member of the Faculty of the Interdepartmental Graduate Program in Tourism Planning, Administration and Policy (since 1999), University of the Aegean. PhD in Geography from the University of Minnesota-Twin Cities, USA (1993); M. Sc. in Landscape Architecture from University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA (1986) and B.Sc. in Forestry and Environmental Sciences from the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki, Greece (1983). Extensive research, publications and teaching in Cultural Geography, Landscape Geography and Critical Perspectives in Tourism.

SALVO TORRE is researcher of Geography at University of Catania. He is a member of the editorial boards of "Human Communities Ecological Communities", "La libellula" (Galway University), and "Annali della Facoltà di Scienze della Formazione". His main topics are cultural geography, urban conflicts, political ecology, and postcolonial migrations. He has recently published: *Dominio, natura, democrazia. Comunità umane e comunità ecologiche,* Milano, Mimesis, 2012 and, with G. Avallone, *Abdelmalek Sayad: per una teoria postcoloniale delle migrazioni*, Catania, Il Carrubo, 2013.

DIMITRA ZYGRA is a PHD Candidate at the School of Rural and Surveying Engineering, Department of Geography and Regional Planning of the National Technical University of Athens. She has received a Diploma in Architecture and an MSc in Urban and Regional Planning, both from the School of Architecture of the N.T.U.A. She is a practicing architect/ urban and regional planner, participating in property development and urban and regional spatial analysis studies as well as urban and agricultural cadastral surveys. She is also a temporal teaching assistant in the fields of urban geography and spatial analysis at graduate and postgraduate level. Her research interests include spatial analysis, spatial politics and planning. Her thesis' main research focus is the identification of qualitative differentiations of the spatial organization of periurban areas in southern Europe, during the current financial crisis.

The book concerns and associates two issues of great relevance in the scientific debate on landscape that emerged from the discussion in the thematic sessions of the fourth EUGEO Congress, held in Rome in September 2013. The first question refers to the ability of the landscape to mediate, which is always suspended between performativity and allusion, materiality and symbolic function, knowledge and action; the second regards the need to interpret the landscape not only as a commodity or a public good, but also as a collective resource essential for the well-being of local societies. The essays here proposed address and intersect the two issues moving within diverse and plural theoretical and methodological perspectives

Benedetta Castiglioni is Associate Professor at the University of Padova. Her approach to landscape focuses mostly on the relationship between people and landscape from the points of view of social perceptions, education and awareness raising, participation.

Fabio Parascandolo is Assistant Professor in Geography at the University of Cagliari. He is interested in the geography of modernization and development. His research focuses primarily on the ecological history of rural communities and the social patterns of representation, attendance and use of local resources and landscapes.

Marcello Tanca is Assistant Professor in Geography at the University of Cagliari. His studies focus on the role of geography in the cultural dynamics of modernity and on the function of the landscape as an indicator of a positive and active relationship between the territory and its inhabitants.