

Valuing landscape identity of local inhabitants through a tourism discourse.

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Landscape, people and identity

Landscape is about the interaction of a place or an area with people, which is reflected in the material interaction of people creating or shaping the landscape as well as in their mental perception, valuation and symbolic meaning of that landscape (Cosgrove 1998). This mutual and dynamic interaction forms the fundamental principle of the concept of landscape identity. Landscape identity has been described in scientific literature as a concept to bridge the physical, social and cultural aspects of landscapes. Also policy documents related with landscape and heritage (for example the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, the European Landscape Convention, the Faro Convention) mention identity and landscape as key concepts. In those examples, landscape identity can refer to either the landscape itself - its features that makes the landscape unique (thus the landscape character), or to the social and personal construction. However, there is an interdependency between those two perspectives that needs to be conceptualised. Landscape identity is therefore defined as the multiple ways and dynamic relation between landscape and people (Loupa Ramos et al 2016). Egoz (2013) described this as 'the relation between landscape and identity of humans engaged with the landscape, represents the formative role of landscape in building identify, both collective van individual, in response to the basic human need to belong'. Thus this refers to the identity or character, uniqueness of the landscape itself as well as how people use landscape to construct their individual or collective identity and is conceptualised in a transactional model (Fig. 1). Landscape identity is dependent on the collective and individual values that people attach to a specific place and can also be used to reinforce community cohesion (Bernardo and Palma-Oliveira 2016). This means that landscape identity can be used to define who 'we' are, based on personal, social, environmental

characteristics, and thus acts as a vehicle to look for connectedness, constructed in association with socially valued things, people and places. Different dimensions of identity are identified as the content of identity meaning the dimensions of identity that integrate features and properties that define their identity and characterize the individual as unique (Breakwell 2010; Wang and Xu 2015).

Landscape identity cannot be considered as one state, but rather as a continuous process of interaction between people and landscape. In an ideal situation, this optimal state is an equilibrium between people and landscape. In reality, the character of a landscape will change caused by societal changes on the one hand and the individual or common identity of people will also be influenced by landscape changes on the other hand. We see these transactions happening through a sphere of action and a sphere of perception. The first sphere focusses on how a society takes action on the physical level of the landscape (eg management, tenure ship, policies); the second on the perception by the people that consecutively can lead to different aspirations towards the landscape (Loupa Ramos et al 2016).

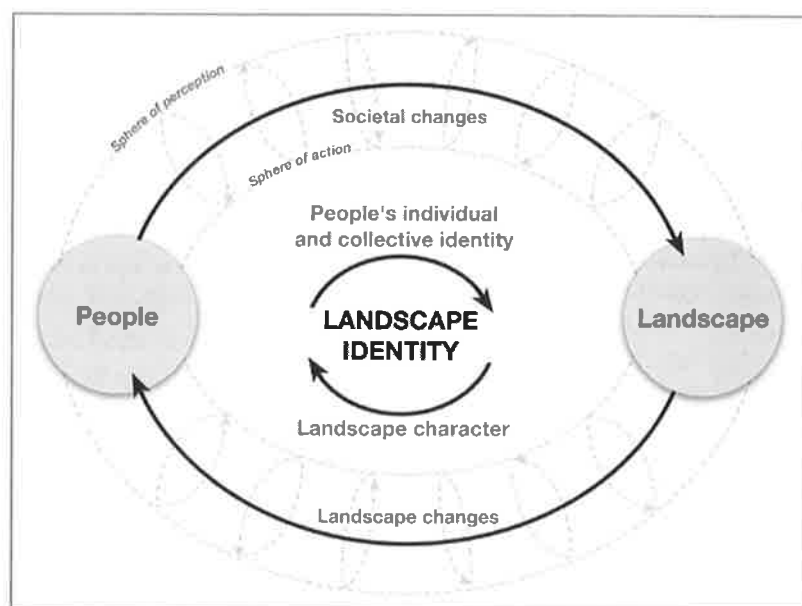


Fig. 1. Transactional model of landscape identity (Loupa Ramos et al 2006)

Case study	Landscape characteristics	Socio demographic characteristics	Initiator or catalyst that triggered tourism	Effect of the trigger
Nazaré	Coastal landscape characterised by beaches and cliffs facing the Atlantic Ocean, traditional fishing villages and a deep underwater canyon that creates 'monster' waves	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Coastal and traditional fishing village with 10,309 inhabitants Main economic activities are fishing, tourism linked with traditional fishing and beaches 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recognition of a new potential of 'old' wave by outsiders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Creation of new job opportunities Introduction of extreme water sport activities (surfing)
Alqueva	Area in the Alentejo region, characterised by an undulated topography, traditional agriculture, small dispersed villages.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Very low population density Main economic activity is agriculture Remote rural area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Construction of dam (2002) on the river Guadiana created a lake of 250km² 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agricultural land, villages and heritage sites were flooded, villages were relocated Development of irrigation agriculture Area of the dam became a touristic destination and branded as 'Region of the largest artificial lake in Europe' Creation of new jobs in tourism (small hotels around the lake) and agriculture
Setúbal & Troia	Estuary landscape near the Sado River facing the Atlantic Ocean, characterised by the peninsula of Troia on the east and the urban area of the city of Setúbal in the west.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> City of Setúbal around 130,000 inhabitants; fisherman community mainly located in historic centre of Setúbal No permanent inhabitants on Troia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased investment in tourism in Troia Restriction of access of local population of Setúbal to the landscape of Troia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decrease of leisure activities in Troia by Setúbal's population Decrease of cultural practices (linked with local traditions and sense of place) Second housing and touristic infrastructure (big hotels)
Westhoek	Agricultural area, ranging from polderland to undulating landscape with dispersed villages and towns, former front zone of the First World War with Yper as main town.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Yper is medieval town specialised in cloth production Brain drain: young people leave the area after studying at university/high school. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The commemoration of the First World War in 2014 increased the number of visitors International recognition of the area as 'In Flanders Fields', increasing number of visitors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Private initiatives of battlefield tours as lucrative activities for micro entrepreneurs (as additional income) Masterplan Remembrance Park 2014-18 Numerous infrastructures for tourism and recreation Redesigning of some important commemoration sites
Hoge Kempen	Region on the Kempens plateau (alluvial fan and terraces), characterised by sandy soils, forest and heathland landscape as well as and rural-industrial transition landscape (former region of coal mines).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No population in the National Park, several towns and villages nearby Decreasing of job opportunities after closing of the mines (1980's) Main economic activities are recreation (holiday parks) and outdoor activities and export 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Designation as National Park (since 2006), 5700 ha Tentative list of UNESCO World Heritage (since 2011) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Focus on sustainable and nature tourism with balance between nature, people and tourism Creation of additional job opportunities Branding and marketing plan of the National Park, including collaboration with local Horeca sector Design and development of 6 entrance gates with different themes Recognition of the area, increasing number of visitors
Redu	Rural village on the uplands of the Ardennes, founded as forest reclamation, characterised by circular territory with meadows and forest areas. Traditional architecture of the Ardennes.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Depopulation of the village (inhabitants: 566 in 1896; 400 in 1984). Forest plantations due to extensification in agricultural sector Main economic activities are wood production and agriculture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Introduction of new activities to revitalise the village (selling books and artisanal fruit products) Start of the 'book festival' (1984), Redu became the Belgian 'village of books' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Start of small second hand book stores in the traditional (farm) houses Increasing number of visitors for one day during high season (summer and festival weekends)

Table 1. Description of landscape character and people of the illustrative cases

One of the questions still to be answered is how much societal and landscape change is acceptable to affect the overall equilibrium of landscape identity (Loupa Ramos et al 2016). The question is how to identify the tipping points where both society and landscape changes in such a way that it would create a new character of the landscape and trespassing into another people's identity. Dossche et al (2016) explored the tipping points of change in the case of a changing mountain landscape in the Northern Apennines and linked this with a possible loss or change in landscape identity in two groups of inhabitants.

To strengthen the conceptual transactional model, to assess the relation between people and their landscape, and to get more insights into the tipping points of change, we are exploring landscape identity through different discourses that might have an impact on the theoretical equilibrium of landscape identity. This paper is using the tourism discourse, since touristic activities and initiatives can influence both the character of the landscape and the identity of the people as well as their reciprocal integration. The objective of this paper is to explore and illustrate how tourism can be framed in the context of the transactional model of landscape identity:

1. How do different tourism activities affect the different components of landscape identity?
2. How is the insiders' landscape identity influenced by tourism?
3. What kind of tipping points and how do tipping points in a tourism discourse influence the equilibrium of landscape identity?

Landscape identity and tourism

The potentials for tourism is strongly determined by landscape characteristics, more specifically different aspects of a landscape can make a place appealing, sublime, unique for tourists to visit (Urry 1990; Bell and Lyall 2002). Especially landscapes that are valued because of their natural, cultural, visual characteristics as well as their legibility, coherence and authenticity are attractive for recreation and different types of tourism (second houses, large-scale tourism). The specific character of the landscape is attractive and can induce economic development that can be considered as contributing to a sustainable conservation of the landscape values. However, the landscape qualities – and thus the content of landscape identity – can also be under pressure when new touristic developments are reshaping the landscape (Bernardo et al 2016). The latter is defined by Vos and

Klijn (2000) as the recreation and tourism paradox.

The public of a (touristic) landscape is rather undefined (Loupa-Ramos 2011). The tourists can be considered as consumers of the landscape; they pass by since they visit the region only once and do not live there permanently. What tourists are specifically looking for can depend on the kind of relation between landscape and tourism and it is clear that there is often a link between the intensity of tourism and for example national identity and heritage (Palmer 1999). Furthermore, the potentials of a landscape are often used in promoting or branding specific regions to attract tourists.

The demands of tourists towards the landscape are however different compared to local inhabitants. Selman (2006) made a distinction between 'insiders' and 'outsiders', which can have similar valuation of the landscape, but do have very different aspirations. He considers recreation and tourism as outsider aspirations, related with the scenic aspects of landscape, local traditions, among others. The insider groups' desires are more related with quality of living, jobs, security, way of live, symbolic meaning, memories and associative representations. However, touristic activities and infrastructure can have an influence on the landscape identity of the local inhabitants, clearly considered as insiders, whose gaze on landscapes has a shared familiarity (Selman 2006; Bernardo et al 2016). In this paper insiders are considered as the local people that live permanently in the area as well as secondary housing (with seasonal inhabitants who sometimes previously lived permanently in the area); this community has developed a strong attachment and identification with the landscape. Their long-term and intense relationship with a place is inevitable for the overall landscape identity. Outsiders – are not 'from that landscape' – who just regularly visit the area can have a kind of attachment to a place, but this is not as intense and most probably only with selective places. Additionally, both insiders and outsiders can initiate new touristic activities, since tourism is sometimes considered as a way to create jobs, to earn money or as a solution for regions that are characterised by depopulation and extensification of the landscape.

Illustrative cases

To elaborate the conceptual framework of landscape identity in a tourism discourse, six cases in Portugal and Belgium were selected to illustrate the different relations

between landscape identity and tourism. They are illustrative since similar examples can be recognised in other regions/countries and are examples of how landscape and people interact with (new) touristic activities. The selection of the cases was done based on the authors' field knowledge of the areas and previous research including surveys. The cases are explained by putting them into the different dimensions of the transactional model. Based on their characteristics of the initial landscape identity and the potential impact of the touristic activities on the landscape identity, different types of relationships between landscape identity of the insiders and tourism are distinguished.

The main traditional landscape qualities and the socio-demographic characteristics for the six cases are described in Table 1. The initiator or catalyst is explained that triggered or effected the tourism. This can be a physical change in the landscape or a new appreciation of the existing landscape features and is considered as the momentum that induced an increase of tourism which might affect the landscape identity. The last column describes the effects that the initiatives have had on the landscape and its local people.

Table 2 goes beyond the basic description and tries to explain the initial identity of the insiders, meaning before the introduction of a touristic activity. Furthermore, the table describes the influence of the specific kind of tourism on the identity of the insiders as well as the new content of identity for both insiders and outsiders as a consequent of the changed landscape or perception.

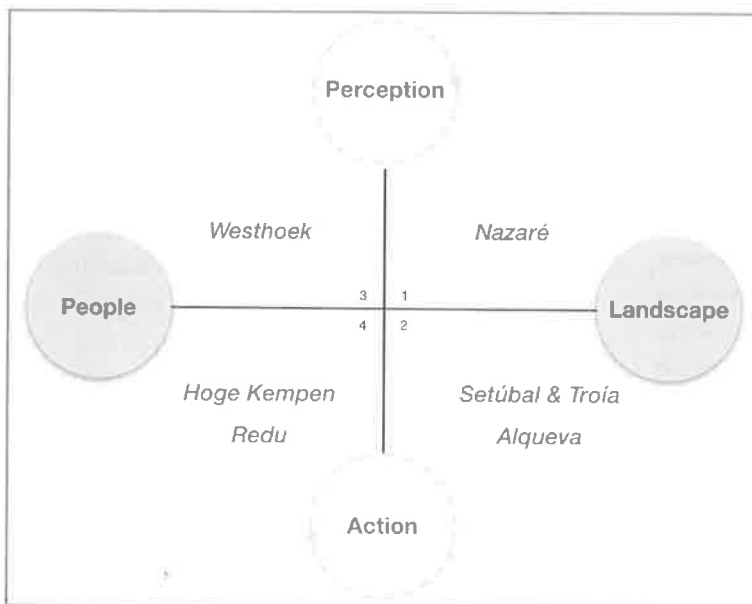


Fig. 2. Relationships between the different dimensions of landscape identity and tourism

Synthesizing and concluding remarks

Based on the description of the illustrative cases, the different dimensions – as the two axes in the scheme – of landscape identity and their relation with tourism is synthesised in Figure 2. The four quadrants of the scheme are considered as different relations between landscape identity and tourism, meaning how touristic activities might influence on the reciprocal interaction between the landscape and its people (thus the overall landscape identity) (Table 3).

The first quadrant combines the sphere of perception and landscape: the intrinsic qualities of the landscape as trigger of changing perception that induced tourism which causes a shift in landscape identity. The trigger is the landscape itself, which is valued for one specific existing landscape quality and enforced a new type of specific tourism. However, no changes to the landscape appear, thus the influenced on the sphere of action is small. The sphere of perception is dominant in the identity shift and therefore the tourism is well integrated to the identity of the local inhabitants. In the case of Nazaré, the value of the big waves is recognized by an outsider, who promoted the place to surfers. This valuation did not affect the traditional activities that form the core of the landscape identity of the inhabitants of Nazaré.

On the interface of landscape and the sphere of action (quadrant 2), landscape changes are considered as trigger for tourism and a shift in landscape identity, both in a positive or negative direction. The changes can vary from small, gradual changes in land use. The illustrative cases however both showed very drastic landscape changes, but each of them with a different impact on the landscape identity. In the case of Alqueva, the introduction of the dam created a new landscape identity for the inhabitants. Although there have been some protest actions against the initial plans of the dam, it now contributes on a positive way to a new landscape identity, which is clearly linked to the water. The region is now even promoted as 'the region of the dam', the largest artificial lake, and this induced new economic activities in tourism and water recreation. For Setúbal and Troia, the introduction of the Troia Resort resulted in a place disconnection: due to high prices for

Case Study	Initial identity of the insiders	Effect of the tourism on the insiders	New contents of identity	
			Insiders	Outsiders
Nazaré	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Traditional place Traditional activities linked to fisheries Strong relation with the ocean: 'Wild ocean, brave people' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reinforcement of identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Same identity as before Bravery of people fishing is reinforced by the extreme sports in the ocean 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New and modern activities (extreme sports) 'New type of tourists: young people, foreigners' looking for extreme experiences
Alqueva	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Human and natural semi-arid place Low-density area Identity linked to traditional dry land cultures as olives and 'Montado' Linked to remoteness, at periphery of Portugal – border landscape 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Restructuring of identity with new contents (water, tourism attractiveness) Removal from peripheral position to a more attractive one. New inhabitants results in more development of the rural area (jobs) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New identity with big lake and new water landscape Initiation of new tourism activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Presence of tourists 'Welcome in the region of the dam' - branding of the region using its new identity
Setúbal & Tróia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Traditional fisherman population of Setúbal uses Tróia for the traditional religious practices, identity is linked to access to Tróia The identity of all the population of the historic centre of Setúbal depends on the access to Tróia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perceived threats of the local identity due to a reduced accessibility to Tróia introduced by the new tourist activities on the beach and dunes. Perception of loss of social status. Perception of social devaluation, of being 'unwanted' (injustice and segregation) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Loss of contents of identity Can be compensated by the outside valuation of the high quality of the resort - still to be studied 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Outsiders are valuing the quality of the space for 'sun and sea tourism' but are kept apart from the traditional population. No awareness of cultural practices.
Westhoek	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> People have big attachment to the region of 'Westhoek' as well as feeling of belonging to community (language) Inhabitants recognize the peaceful landscape, authentic atmosphere and heritage of WWI 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reinforcement of identity: inhabitants recognize the potentials for touristic activities: outsiders come to visit the area, which the inhabitants consider as an added value for the region Appreciate the small-scaled investments in tourism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consider tourism as part of the regional identity that contribute to a better knowledge and image of the region also outside the region 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Presence and increasing of national and international tourists (school children to retired people) Branding of the region as 'In Flanders Fields'
Hoge Kempen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Area of the park was traditionally used for grazing, hunting, walking, cycling Few inhabitants of the area had to move (the shepherds) due to the protection as National Park 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increasing income for the touristic sector (hotels and restaurants) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identity more related with the characteristic landscape (and less with the inhabitants) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Branding of the National Park (logo and style) made it recognizable for the wider public Presence of recreation (walking, cycling, nature education)
Redu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Traditional agricultural community (cattle breeding) Authentic village of the Ardennes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reinforcement of identity due to the combined of traditional agricultural activities with book shops and artisanal fruit products Morphological changes of the farm houses in book shops 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Maintained the initial identity, with increasing of interests in second hand books 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Presence of tourists in high season

Table 2. Illustrative cases and their landscape identity

It starts with...	... the landscape	... landscape changes	... people	... societal changes
What?	Factual, material landscape, linked with landscape character	Changes in land use, infrastructure Changes in management Changes in stewardship	Group of people that have a (more or less) permanent relation with the place, thus the insiders	Changes in population Changes in legislation Changes in perception, values
Spheres?	Perception (→ Action)	Action → Perception	Perception → Action	Action → Perception → Action
Tourism	The landscape 'as it is' is valued for touristic uses and as a consequence, the value is recognised and new activities are introduced. The landscape does not change fundamentally.	Landscape changes have an influence on touristic activities (direct and indirect), which results in differences in perception	People living in the area/place/landscape recognise the value of their landscape and use it for touristic activities.	New touristic activities started induced by societal changes and, on their turn, the tourism can cause landscape changes.
Illustrative cases	Nazaré	Alqueva; Serúbal & Troia	Westhoek	Hoge Kempen; Redu
Influence of tourism on the LSI	Landscape as trigger for tourism and LSI shift	Landscape changes as trigger for tourism and LSI shift	People as trigger for tourism and LSI shift	Societal changes as trigger for tourism and LSI shift
	1/ How an (external) perception can influence the valuation of the existing landscape features and enforce a new type of tourism that is well integrated to the identity of the local inhabitants	2a/ How severe changes of the landscape character contribute to the creation of a new identity of the landscape that is valued by local institutions to enhance tourism and branding and eventually recreate the collective identity of the population itself → <i>landscape changes as opportunities</i> 2b/ How tourism impacted the landscape character so part of the landscape identity disappeared → <i>landscape changes as threats</i>	3/ How people recognize and value the potentials of a landscape for tourism, took advantage of their place attachment and starting new activities that only have very limited impact on the landscape and its main characteristics	4a/ How a delineation of an area resulting in a protected status will effect the landscape characteristics, peoples' valuation as well as the possibilities for tourism → <i>changes due to protection</i> 4b/ How an area that is getting depopulated gets new (small-scaled) economic activities that are attracting tourism and consequently influencing local people's landscape identity → <i>changes due to population dynamics</i>

Table 3. Relationships between the different dimensions of landscape identity and tourism

transport and housing, the local inhabitants of Setúbal do not have access to Troia anymore. They used to go to the peninsula of Troia for leisure and cultural practices, Troia was their favourite place and part of their landscape identity has been lost. So the case of Setúbal and Troia illustrates that the landscape changes are seen as a threat to landscape identity.

The third quadrant relates the sphere of action with societal changes affecting people and their aspirations towards their place. This is driven by the insiders as initiators. They recognise the values of their landscape and when there is a momentum, this is taken as an opportunity to invest in new touristic activities and infrastructures. This is the case for the Westhoek, where due to the commemoration of the First World War, the number of international visitors increased. The different

policy levels invested in the region by creating a Remembrance Park (including new visitors and touristic infrastructures, opening of museums, renovations and redesigning of commemoration sites), hoping that this would even attract more visitors. This was the opportunity for people to start small touristic enterprises as an additional income. The third quadrant therefore combines the sphere of perception and consecutively the sphere of action.

The last quadrant is characterised by the sphere of perception and people as changing society, where people (as community or individuals) are seen as trigger for tourism and shift in landscape identity. On the one hand, a delineation or recognition of an area with a protected status by a legal body will enhance and effect peoples' valuation of that area as well as the landscape itself. A

specific label, like World Heritage, might increase the number of tourists, especially when there is an investment in touristic infrastructure, promotion and branding of the region. This is illustrated with the case of the National Park Hoge Kempen. If the area had not delineated as national park, the whole region would not have had so much attention and thus would have received less visitors.

On the other hand, changes in population (density and composition) – located in the sphere of action – can also result in differences in perception followed by other actions. This is a process that can be recognised in remote/marginal landscapes that are characterised by land abandonment (Dossche et al 2016). In the case of Redu, the depopulation is characteristic for remote villages with a focus on traditional agricultural activities but in a later stage also by extensification of the agricultural land (Vos and Klijn 2000). The village was almost 'dead', until the initiative of the 'book village' in combination with the artisanal fruit products, which

revitalised the area.

Based on the illustrative cases it is clear that tourism can change local people's perception of their existing landscape on a positive or negative way. People can value certain aspects of their landscape to attract tourism (landscape branding). On the other hand, landscape changes may induce new possibilities for new forms of tourism but this also impacts directly the landscape – with infrastructures or activities. The success of tourism depends on landscape quality and the support from its population. However, actions and attention might be needed to make sure the local population can incorporate the touristic activities into their identity. The transactional model of landscape identity showed there are influences on the way tourism perceives the relationship between people and landscape but it can also contribute to the experience of authenticity by a newly created authenticity and identity.

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Landscape Values

Place and Praxis

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