THE UNIVERSITY
of EDINBURGH

The Past in the Present:

History, Policy and the Scottish Landscape

Sarah M. Govan

S0899601

PhD

The University of Edinburgh
College of Science and Engineering
School of Geosciences
Institute of Geography and the Lived Environment

2018

Abstract

History matters. It helps us understand where we have come from, where we are now and how we might choose to move forward. Landscape also matters, but the past is often presented as something separate from everyday life and the landscapes in which we live and work today. This research examines the official discourse of landscape in Scotland in order to understand how landscape as a whole is characterised, and identify the extent to which the historic dimension is addressed in institutional discourse in Scotland. By focusing on language, I analyse the assumptions embedded in the discussion of landscape in order to understand the significance afforded to the historic dimension.

Official institutions in Scotland, including government and incorporated third sector bodies have contributed to the landscape discourse directly and indirectly. This research addresses a particular knowledge gap on how this discourse specifically addresses the historic dimension of landscape. Using discourse analysis and semi-structured interviews, this research examines how the concept of landscape is characterised in Scottish institutional discourse and explores the extent to which a historic dimension is recognised and addressed. It considers landscape is presented as the result of a dynamic and continuous process of complex interactions between people and their place over time, and the implications for its understanding and management.

Three strands of public policy are examined (including landscapes, the historic environment and broader governance) for the extent to which this historic dimension can be detected in the meanings applied to 'landscape'. It is focused on the combination of people and place in time and the extent to which these three factors are reflected in the literature.

The research detects ambiguity in the institutional norms, with a discernible distinction between human as 'receiver', experiencing and perceiving landscape, and human as 'agent', in a dynamic relationship with a habitat. The analysis shows how this impacts on cross-sectoral and inter-disciplinary dialogue, the parallel use of 'place' and our wider sense of being in the world and being 'in time'.

Overall, this thesis concludes that the term 'landscape' means different things to different people and this prevents effective communication on the different dimensions of landscape, and their relative value to society. In characterising landscape, Scottish institutional discourse conveys a broad sense of meaning. It recognises the difference between people as perceiver,

and the entity which is being perceived and which is largely captured as scenery, countryside or natural beauty. But this characterisation does not significantly capture the essence of time and the constant processes of continuity and change. The historic dimension is only partially addressed in the discourse, mainly through implicit and ambiguous language that obscures its potential value for how we might understand and better manage an essential and highly valued resource.

This research found that the historic dimension is not meaningfully addressed beyond reference to particular individual features. Landscape is conceived largely as a natural entity of scenic value that people can experience and enjoy, but with little reference to a its continuous evolution through time.

KEY WORDS: historic environment; landscape; place; interaction; discourse, time

Cover page image: Aberdeenshire – general view of Loanhead of Daviot (recumbent stone circle and enclosed cremation cemetery), with Mither Tap of Bennachie in the distance (Crown Copyright HES).

Lay Summary

Landscape, as we think about it and experience it today, is widely understood as the result of people interacting with the world,. We are all different, and so there are many different ways to see and know the landscape. The focus of this research is on the history that we can find in landscape, and the traces that people in the past have left for us today. The landscape is valued in Scotland in lots of different ways, and this dissertation will study how official organisations write about landscape and how they think that history in landscape is important.

Landscape is what we choose it to be as individuals, a choice based on what we think is important, coloured by our experiences and memories as we grow up and grow old. People live and work within the landscape; we move through it, absorbing it, reflecting on it, ignoring it and being constantly surprised by it; it is a complex and personal relationship for the individual, but also for the communities to which we belong. These relationships take place in time and space, and 'landscape' has become the popular term to capture 'the world out there'.

It is difficult for government organisations to reflect the preferences of a nation, and so what they write tells us about how things might matter to the people of Scotland. This is important because the landscape that we care for and enjoy today is the result of the interaction between people and their environment over thousands of years; we experience the traces of the past in our present day lives. In order to understand how official organisations approach history in today's landscape, I have analysed how official texts are written. I have also interviewed professionals to learn what they think landscape means, and whether this affects how communicate with each other and with other interested groups. To tie this research to real landscapes in Scotland, I have also included eight short case studies that illustrate the idea of landscape in places that I know.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

There are a great many people to whom I owe enormous thanks for their support, advice, guidance and kindness in getting to the finish line. This is a marathon and not a sprint.

Firstly I want to thank my supervisors – Professor Emily Brady for her wisdom, unceasing patience, and faith that I really could complete this task; Dr Franklin Ginn for asking the hard questions when I was at risk of coming adrift on my methods and Dr Nina Morris for providing a firm hand in the tricky stage of writing up when I felt I was losing my senses. Professor Andy Dugmore offered sage advice at critical points, and all four kept me afloat on a sea of coffee and cake.

I am indebted to the seventeen individuals who gave up their time for the interviews that provided an essential pillar for the argument that I have built. Their contribution, though anonymised here, has been invaluable; you know who you are and I am very grateful.

Special thanks must go to Dr Lesley Macinnes whose extensive knowledge, experience and passion for her subject formed part of the inspiration for embarking on this research in the first place. She has been a mentor and a friend throughout, with constructive challenge, and giving up her limited time to read drafts at very short notice. I couldn't have crossed the line without her. The sustained support and friendship of Dr Dan Marriott helped confirm my decision to begin this research and blazed a trail for me to the finish. Lesley Martin has also given invaluable support as I navigated the rocky shores of discourse analysis, and I only hope I can do the same, in turn, for her. I was also touched by the Benbecula 'inmates', who took me to their heart – to Sophie, Kate, Ben, Ruari, Lorna, Jake Anna and Richard, thank you for having me on your team.

I have been touched by the time my friends have freely offered; thank you to Lorna, Fiona, Julia, Joanna and Marion for simply being there, and particularly to Douglas, Sophie, Angela and Dan for your impeccable proof-reading. My colleagues (friends!) at ClimateXChange – Dan, Anne Marte, Lee, Ciara, Sarah, Darcy, Andy, Joe and Ragne – you have been incredibly supportive, listening to endless moans and rants, and guiding me back from distraction. I also grateful to Aileen Appleyard for her support through the final process of write up. There were times when I never thought I could finish – a lot of water has passed under the bridge since that first day of matriculation in 2008 (eek!). Huge thanks are due to my amazing friends, who didn't sign up for the ride, but who helped to make it much less bumpy; they have also

Permissions

List of Figures

List of Vignettes

Abbreviations

CCS	The Countryside Commission for Scotland (1968 – 1991)
CoE	Council of Europe
ELC	European Landscape Convention
HEM	Historic Environment Management
HES	Historic Environment Scotland (2015 – present)
HLA	Historic Landuse Assessment
HS	Historic Scotland (1991 – 2015)
FCS	Forestry Commission Scotland
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature

LCA	Landscape Character Assessment	
LUC	Land Use Consultants	
NCCS	The Nature Conservancy Council for Scotland	
NLS	National Library of Scotland	
NNR	National Nature Reserve	
NPF	National Planning Framework	
NSA	National Scenic Area	
NTS	National Trust for Scotland	
OED	Oxford English Dictionary	
RCAHMS	Royal Commission for the Ancient & Historical Monuments of Scotland (1908 – 2015)	
SE	The Scottish Executive	
SG	The Scottish Government (formerly known as Scottish Executive, to 2012)	
SHEP	Scottish Historic Environment Policy	
SNH	Scottish Natural Heritage (1991 - present)	
SPP	Scottish Planning Policy	
SWT	Scottish Wildlife Trust	
TCA	The Countryside Agency (for England)	
WHC	World Heritage Convention	
WHS	World Heritage Site	

Declaration

This thesis has been composed wholly by me, Sarah Govan, and is my own original work. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Signature:

Date:

Chapter 1: Introduction

Research aims & objectives

The overall aim of this dissertation is to examine the extent to which institutional discourse in Scotland accommodates the historic dimension of landscape. This is important because the landscape that we care for and enjoy today is the result of the interaction between people and their environment over thousands of years and we experience the traces of the past in our present day lives.

There are a range of different discourses on landscape in Scotland. This dissertation will examine the official institutional discourse to gain insight into how public institutions approach the historic dimension of landscape in Scotland and the idea of a shared past. By studying how language is used to describe and discuss landscape in Scotland, references to the idea of a past (whether explicit or implicit) might be detected and in turn analysed for for evidence of cross-sectoral and interdisciplinary working relationships. This is an area of scholarship which has been somewhat neglected, tending to fall between disciplinary boundaries. This research set out to test the premise that the historic dimension of the landscape in Scotland is not coherently addressed in institutional discourse. It was designed to test the extent to which landscape is presented as the result of a continuous process of complex interactions between people and their place over time.

People live and work within the landscape; we move through it, absorbing it, reflecting on it, ignoring it and being constantly surprised by it; it is a complex and personal relationship for the individual, but also for the communities to which we belong. These relationships are practised on a temporal as well as a spatial plane, and 'landscape' has become the popular term to capture "'the world out there', as understood, experienced and engaged with through human consciousness and active involvement" (Bender 2006, 2). Through analysis of official texts[1] and semi-structured interviews with landscape practitioners, this thesis will examine the extent to which the meaning of landscape is applied consistently and whether potentially inconsistent interpretations challenge communication between different disciplines and interest groups; it will consider how this might impact upon approaches to conservation and

---

[1] i.e. those that have been produced by formally instituted policy actors, referred to here as corporate authors

management. The evidence is drawn largely from texts published between 2000 and 2015. The starting point reflects the attention paid by the newly established Scottish Parliament to a wide range of policy matters, while the end point is more practical, capturing the end of the reporting year prior to the creation of Historic Environment Scotland. Eight discrete case studies, in the form of vignettes, tie the strategic analysis to places, each of which has importance in their own right.

Landscape is the result of human interaction with the world, as it is perceived by people. But we are all different, and so there are many different ways to see and know the landscape. We value it as an entity in Scotland, demonstrated partly through its official recognition through policies and practice. My aim in embarking upon this research was to better understand the evidence for reference to significance of traces of the past in this official discourse of landscape, and what this might mean for how it is managed.

Landscape is what we choose it to be as individuals, a choice based on the aggregation of experiences gathered through our 'being in the world'. When we take the time to stand and *be*, we might hear the sounds of the wind in the trees and the crows on the fence, smell the cattle in the field and the drying seaweed on the beach; we might feel the warmth of the sun on our face and taste the salt spray on the air, while seeing what is laid out before us. But each personal experience will be different, and it will also change over time. **Error! Not a valid bookmark self-reference.** is taken looking north from the fifth tee on Shiskine Golf Course; where I might be alert to the sound of the oystercatchers overhead, you might be struck by the top of the cliff where you know there is a hillfort hidden from view, testament to people who were here before us. Other golfers on the course repeat the practice of players in the past, who in turn might have heard deck hands calling from the maritime highway that is now an empty sound. If you had been here in the 1980's, you might now notice that a substantial amount of the course has been lost to coastal erosion, with over ten yards of grassy beach head lost in the storms of 1991 (Shiskine Golf and Tennis Club, 2017).

Narratives of landscape tend to be rooted in the personal, in the sense of how it feels to be in that place of a moment; it is not my intention to challenge this position. My motivation in embarking upon this study was twofold – a desire to explore how we exist on a <u>temporal</u> as well as a spatial frame, and how individuals come together within that frame and in community to make choices going forward. We live in a present that is embedded in the past, although we may not all be conscious of this fact, or place value upon it. The traces that survive

of people in the past are an integral part of our individual and collective identity, and something that comes with us as we move into the future. These traces can take the form of material structures, objects (both visible and buried) and marks on the land, (see Bender (1993 & 2002), Thomas (1996 & 2006) and Tilley (1994) and their connection of archaeology, material culture and landscape). Traces can also be found within the stories, poems and songs passed down from generation to generation. It can be found all around us in the 'setting' of our daily lives, or what can otherwise be described as our landscape; embedded within our experience as individuals, and remaining a personal concept. It is also shared within our different community groups, both large and small.

The continuity and change of daily life presents choices and the need for decisions, particularly when tied to economy and society. Once an issue becomes a concern shared within a wider group, it prompts dialogue and proposals for decision-making and action; it becomes the legitimate subject for public discourse and policy-making. How landscape, and in particular this historic dimension, is recognised within this process is what interests me here. At its most basic level, it is the farmer deciding whether she will be better planting barley or short-rotation coppice, broccoli or linseed, based on factors including the futures market, government incentives, the suitability of the soil, the machinery and labour to plant and to harvest, and

Figure 1: Shiskine Golf Club, Arran

the resilience of the crop to the risk of pest and disease. It also depends on her knowledge, experience and personal preferences. Even this apparently simple decision betrays the complexities of the contemporary relationships: a combination of local farming networks, the local community who may have concerns over specific crops and their child's health, the regional conservation groupings advocating for field margins and native species, and the commercial and research links advising on best practice for soil conservation or mechanical efficiency. The decision will also be informed by past experience – what worked before, what did not and why.

Public administration and governance is also a significant factor, whether in the form of incentive, or environmental or fiscal regulation. In the past 50 years some areas have been designated for special protection while a demand for increased transparency and accountability now means our farmer has the opportunity to feed into policy before it is finalised. Succeeding administrations have tried to find better ways to increase consistency across the breadth of sectoral interests, whether domestic or tied to funding from the European Union, for example through the Common Agricultural Policy, the terms of which have changed continuously over the past 60-70 years. The time and money invested in these

Figure 2: Colinsburgh and the Balcarres Estate, East Fife, Crown Copyright HES

decisions is hidden from view to many observers of any rural summer scene (see, for example, **Error! Reference source not found.**, showing the productive agriculture of east Fife that continues to support a thriving rural economy today); but it is the year-on-year tradition built on such processes that contributes to what is understood to encapsulate our landscape today, with triggers to memory and anticipating that which is yet to come. Governance is also concerned with the conservation and management of the wider environment, through the emergence of approaches at a range of spatial scales. The transdisciplinary connection in landscape is recognised in Landscape Ecology by Naveh and his work on multi-functioning landscapes (2001 & 2010) and through the reflections of Tress and Tress (2001). However, relatively scant attention is paid to the traces of human activity embedded in the natural environment, as revealed by the work of Cronon (1991, 1996 & 2003) and Smout (1991, 2000, 2003) from the perspective of Environmental History, and the complex interaction of people and nature through time. Finally, archaeologists such as Macinnes (1992, 2002), Fairclough (2008) and Herring (2013) have provided an important framing for emerging thinking on the conservation and management of the historic dimension of landscape – this is a relatively young area of work, and one strongly influenced by practitioners in the field meeting challenges in real time.

Research questions and approach

My aim in undertaking this research was to understand how public administration tools address the idea of landscape and its historic dimension across key sectors. I wanted to make a close study of the language that is deployed in a corporate context in order to reveal hidden assumptions, overlaps and gaps in the different sectoral and disciplinary perspectives. Landscape is a tricky concept to grasp, and the scale of the available academic literature was potentially overwhelming.

I began by asking the following research questions:

1. How is landscape characterised in Scottish institutional discourse?
2. To what extent does this characterisation address the historic dimension of landscape in Scotland?

The dissertation will examine the language of landscape specifically for reference to its historic dimension, in institutional discourse in Scotland through eight chapters. To provide the reader with an understanding of the many ways that landscape (with its different dimensions) is

discussed, Chapter Two explores the literature across the key disciplines of Geography, History, Archaeology and Landscape Ecology. These fields have been selected partly because there are significant areas of common interest between them, particularly when the specific landscape of Scotland is considered. I recognise that there are several other disciplines with a clear interest (for example Landscape Architecture and Geomorphology), but the scope was kept relatively tight to ensure a manageable project. Further analysis of wider disciplinary interests would certainly be of merit in future.

The breadth of literature is very wide, and I will concentrate on key themes of people, time and place in landscape in relation to the historic dimension, where they are explicitly discussed and where they are absent.

In Chapter Three I will detail the methodology that has been used and why, explaining the value of discourse analysis and its relevance to this study, how the evidence was selected and analysed. It will also describe the importance of the use of semi-structured interviews with professional land managers in framing the written evidence. Chapter Four will examine the public policy literature and provide a short narrative history of the approach to landscape policy in Scotland. This will give the reader the necessary context to frame the historic dimension in the sphere of public administration.

The research returned a large amount of evidence which I will explore in three related themes. Chapter Five will examine the discourse of landscape and the extent to which a temporal dimension can be identified. This will include how 'landscape' is discussed within key sources and an analysis of different interpretations. I will also explore the implicit underpinning assumptions, and the constructive ambiguity that is, at times, deployed. It will also draw in the evidence captured during my interviews with practitioners to demonstrate how the language of landscape affects how the historic dimension is positioned. Chapter Six examines how landscape is characterised as an administrative entity in 'time', where discourse is framed in the present. Here I will also consider key terms including character, elements, patterns and features, all of which are intrinsic to how landscape is understood and explained.

Finally, in Chapter Seven I will consider how the concept of 'place' is positioned in the discourse, and how it links to people in the present. I will draw landscape together with time to study 'place', 'sense of place' and the extent to which it serves as a means to coalesce the wide range of dimensions and capture the holistic totality of the concept addressed in Chapter Two. Landscape is about relationship, the interaction between people and their place, but all

of these terms are loaded with ambiguity and many different ways of interpretation. This chapter will also consider the extent to which sources and themes of discourse draw different characteristics together into a coherent whole.

In Chapter Eight I will draw together my conclusions, arguing that while landscape is broadly considered as a holistic entity, reference to the characteristics of the historic dimension are largely implicit, if present at all. The supporting narrative tends to concentrate on specific dimensions, often dependent on the positioning of the corporate author and their governance function. The historic dimension is one aspect of a temporal framing, and analysis for temporal language and references to the past, present and future reveals an assumption of present time, and planning for an immediate future, and with reference to inter-generational equity. A sense of the 'past' in landscape is difficult to detect beyond recognition of the material remnants in the form of relics and monuments which are acknowledged as features of potential value.

This research explores the different ways the term 'landscape' is defined and interpreted within the institutional discourse in Scotland to better understand the challenges that have been experienced in approaches to conservation and management. Each discipline or practice approaches landscape differently, and by beginning to understand the differences in interpretations, there is potential to identify common ground to support dialogue on shared interests and diverging management objectives. The traces of past human activity that survive are integral to the present landscape and inform our understanding of how what we know now came to be the way it is. This innovative research cuts across disciplinary boundaries that underpin corporate dialogue on landscape. The aim is to examine the process of landscape and governance framed through the historic dimension to draw out underlying assumptions and shed light on how it contributes to the wider whole.

Chapter 2: Understanding Landscape

Landscape is a holistic concept where the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. A wealth of academic and popular literature has been devoted to different perspectives, perhaps in terms of nature or of scenery, but there has been more limited discussion of how we understand landscape in its entirety. It could be considered akin to a three-dimensional jigsaw in any one place where no single piece is the same, making each landscape unique. I will argue that a fourth dimension – the evidence for the passage of time – remains largely unrecognised. However, by focusing on this historic dimension I will draw attention to the 'whole' that is embedded in the interaction through time and space.

In this chapter I explore landscape in the context of time, place and people and examine the pertinent theoretical debates and will argue that language is critical to the way landscape is treated in a policy context. I will concentrate on the fields of Geography, History and Archaeology with selected reference to Landscape Ecology and Landscape Architecture, all of which are concerned with the idea of landscape and how it is linked with the principles of environmental management. My concern is that a more traditional focus on scenery and natural beauty has not been balanced with a human and temporal dimension of landscape. By overlooking the action of people and their dynamic interaction with the environment, we remove an essential connecting piece that explains why the landscape we perceive today came to be that way. Landscape is about the relationship of people in time with their place, whether it is their home, or where they might be at work or leisure.

The language of landscape

Like culture, landscape "is elusive and difficult to define in a phrase" particularly as "neither can be defined by itemising its parts" (Tuan 1979, 89). Articulating these parts can help to illustrate the essence of landscape, suggesting that "it is made up of many interacting elements: rocks; plants; animals; people… [including] …the past evidence of all of these" (Macinnes & Wickham-Jones 1992, 1).

In 1860, American polymath and early 'environmentalist', George Perkins Marsh wrote "every landscape is merely the fragmentary contingent resultant of unrelated forces, successive in time, discordant in action and tending to no common aim" (Lowenthal 2007, 641). Landscape is the combined total of many parts and the story of how they do – and do not – come together

matters; harmonious and discordant and testament to the communities who created them as they made their own living.

There is plenty of discussion around how the word is defined, but this doesn't necessarily help when trying to explain what it *is*, and how that landscape can be described. The challenges of language have been recognised in early consideration of landscape policy, "the study of landscape as a concept is bedevilled by semantic differences, misunderstandings and controversies" (CCS 1971, 1). Wylie describes landscape as tension, articulating the different ways that this can be explained (Wylie 2007, 1). Arntzen is more detailed, describing a landscape that

> embodies and is expressive of a dynamic relationship of reciprocal influence and dependence of humans and non-humans, of culture and nature, of present and past, the landscape that somehow combines preservation and use, including productive use, of the land (Arntzen 2008, 42)

Jackson however speaks much more clearly to the purpose of this research, and the idea of human and environmental history as a significant dimension of what he understood as landscape,

> anchored in human life, not just something to look at but also to live in, and not alone but with other people. Landscape is a unity of people and environment, not a false dichotomy of people and nature. Landscape is to be understood as a place for living and working, to be judged in terms of those living and working there. (cited in Baker 2003, 118)

The concept of landscape is inseparable from people. There are however differing perspectives on the form of the relationship between them, whether perception, experience, knowledge or some form of practice.

Perceiving and experiencing landscape

Landscape perception emerged as a focus of study in geography through the work of Lowenthal, among others, where landscape perception was defined as the "relationship between the perception of landscape as sensation and the objects that produce that sensation" (Olwig 2005, 873). Perception is essentially a very personal experience through the mind of the individual. But moving beyond the individual to a group or community, each will respond to a common and shared material physicality, whether or not every individual

perceives every element or feature within it (see for example Vignette 8 and my personal experience of the Small Isles National Scenic Area).

The roots of landscape and perception go deep in terms of valuation and management, with Robinson et al (1976, 19) arguing that "for the majority of people, the most familiar and least intellectually exacting landscape concept is that of landscape as scenery". Their research confirmed through literature review that "many studies regarded landscape simply as the scenic resource of the countryside, assessing only on the basis of visual appearance … [where] … landscape is regarded as an aggregation of separate components" (ibid,19). The personal is embedded in this understanding and most telling is the acknowledgement that "when people are asked to make qualitative assessments, their decisions may be influenced strongly by the particular interpretation of landscape that appeals to them most." (ibid)

Certainly, Meinig's now classic discussion of ten different ways of seeing recognises diversity in the perception of landscape, suggesting that should one:

> take a small but varied company to any convenient viewing place … and have each in turn describe the 'landscape' […] it will soon become apparent that we will not – we cannot – see the same landscape. [...] Any landscape is composed not only of what lies before our eyes, but what lies within our heads (Meinig 1979b, 33).

While it is important to remember that this text is now somewhat dated, preceding as it does extensive research on landscape, scenery and perception, the emphasis on description remains instructive, and chimes with the aims of this research, which is focused on detecting perspective by analysing the careful use of language. It also explains to some extent why there is very little reference to the individual and their experience of landscape, but instead a framing of popular ideas of landscape that might appeal broadly to the reader without placing preference on any one group.

Landscape – material and perceived

For landscape to exist as a coherent whole requires human perception. Similarly, Cresswell argues that landscape is linked closely to place, an "intensely visual idea, linking what can be seen with 'the way it is seen'" (2004, 10). We may each perceive different features in the sweep of landscape, but regardless of the personal reaction, we will each suffer a bruise if we walk into the stone or the tree; physical existence is taken here as a material reality.

The landscape experienced today resembles a patchwork of fragments from other times and places stitched together, spread out in a sometimes random, sometimes regular pattern. For

many years landscape was discussed as palimpsest, text that could be decoded and read like an ancient document. For example, the "landscape historian may view it as a palimpsest of human activity to be stripped off layer by layer and read as text" (Johnston 1998, 56). This perspective has strongly influenced the tendency to generate simplified illustrations that might interpret key features within a certain period of time in the past. In the process this can remove the sense of the whole that *is* landscape; perhaps speaking to a lost dead past rather than a dynamic evolution; "like archives, relics make the past present, and give the physical existence to history" (Lowenthal 1976, 11). There is a different way to approach the idea of palimpsest however, taking it back to its roots in Greek and the idea of parchment rubbed smooth (OED) to be written on again. The historic dimension of the current landscape is the simple existence of traces of earlier activity which has survived despite subsequent action. Tilley explicitly rejects the notion of landscape as capturing only mental representation and cognition, arguing "…the appearance of landscape is something that is substantial and capable of being described in terms of relief, topography, the flows of contours and rivers, coasts, rocks and soils and so on" (Tilley 1994, 25).

People in landscape

During the 1990s, debate in geography and landscape archaeology centred around the absence of people (Thomas 1996, Bender 2002); discourse concentrated on the characteristics of the physical remains rather than the people who created them in the first place. Bender wrote with a tangible concern for how we understand people in the past, capturing "tension between the pleasure gained from a worked over, lived-in landscape and the uneasy knowledge of what the working and living often involve" (Bender 1993, 245). **Error! Reference source not found.** shows a familiar view of Ben Nevis, but one taken in the 1890's when the foreground was very different to that which exists now. Landscape has been *appropriated* over time, revealed through study of the (material) archaeological and historical evidence to which we have access today; a process which is continuous, and where "in reality the landscape can never be frozen as it is always in the process of appropriation" (ibid, 270). Focusing on the substantial prehistoric traces in Avebury village, she explores questions around who owns landscape and who controls where people live and work, highlighting a directive from fourteenth century church authorities that insisted local people devote time and effort to the destruction of the stones.

Figure 3: Ben Nevis from the North, Erskine Beveridge 1883, Crown Copyright HES

Exploring this tension requires an understanding of the physical remains of the past that survive in the landscape (along with other sources of evidence). Bender's objective is to place the people who inhabited this place *in the past* directly into the present landscape, as it is conceived today, to gain some insight into the lives that they lived, an objective shared by others:

> To date, countryside and nature conservation has concentrated on present form, with an eye to the future. Past history, in particular the interaction of the human and natural elements, has been neglected. But this dimension should be an essential ingredient of decision making for future management strategies (Macinnes & Wickham-Jones 1992, 6).

There is an important distinction here however, between expanding our understanding of the past and the specific objectives of conservation management, where the latter is focused on the identification and conservation of elements of the past as marker to what has gone before, while also supporting the very processes that support the former.

Character

The main way to begin to understand an individual landscape is to examine its component parts, break it down and build it up again – "landscapes are valued for their character, features and patterns …" (Moore-Colyer & Scott 2005, 502). Institutional approaches have concentrated on identifying, describing and evaluating these components, which can be examined in types and sub-types, whether in terms of patterns, visual comprehension, perceptual categories or thematic aspects of character.

A primary concern is how we understand the landscape as a total entity but also as a complex accretion of multiple overlapping and disparate features that combine into that coherent whole. What we value today is often testament to earlier episodes of innovation, whether in terms of the aesthetic design of a great landscape park, or the distant manifestation of ritual exemplified by the stones of Stenness; we will never know whether there were howls of protest from early farmers at Brodgar at the time of its construction. What we can be sure of is that "coherence between small composing elements in a broader spatial context is important for the legibility of the landscape" (Antrop 2005, 21); in other words, perception is one form of interaction and it influences our understanding of, and attitude to, character.

There is a clear potential for blinkered thinking in the present time, "areas that are not easily accessible by people are often characterised as stable natural places" (ibid, 26). Accessibility is a relative term, and areas considered remote from the perspective of roads and the internal combustion engine, may have been at the heart of a thriving transport network when viewed from the busy channels around the coastal seas of Scotland. In those different ways of seeing the landscape, one angle must be in how we open our minds to past travellers making their living by trading or hunting around the coasts. In more practical and administrative terms, "landscape elements exist in a great variety of patterns and spatial scales, from which is derived the character of a landscape. It is capable of description in objectives terms which will be broadly intelligible to the majority of people" (CCS 1971, 26). A detailed study of the philosophy of aesthetics is outwith the scope of this study, but the different traditions that underpin perspectives on character are captured by Lothian in his examination of the subjectivist (the perception of the physical landscape by the human brain) and objectivist (landscape quality as an inherent physical attribute) approaches (Lothian 1999, 195).

Historic Character

Rippon describes historic landscape character as "the locally distinctive pattern of fields, roads, settlements, woodland, moorland, industry etc [as] one of the richest parts of our heritage" (Rippon 2004, 1), starting from the present and working "back until the period when the fundamental features of the historic landscape came into being is reached" (ibid, 4). The central focus on time, and the processes of people interacting with their environment help us to understand "how the present countryside came into being" (ibid, 3).

Landscape has long been a direct concern of archaeology and focused on the "…threefold task of: characterising the past tense of a landscape, providing a critical perspective on the present tense of a landscape and contributing to the discourse and actions through which the future of a landscape is imagined and realised." (Dalglish 2012, 337) The first task of the archaeologist is to investigate "the social, material, ecological and human-ecological relationships, processes and practices through which a landscape was or has been lived…" before then shedding "critical light on present-day relationships, helping to reveal their positive or negative character and their historical roots by analysing how they came to be" (ibid).

Landscape archaeology emerged as a practical exercise in field recording and analysis in the second half of the twentieth century, which has been argued to have "more in common with geomorphology – both are process orientated and concerned with objective investigation of the processes which shaped and create landscape" (Muir 2000, 5). Where landscape seems to have been seen "principally as the backcloth to history, as the scenery in front of which historical dramas were enacted" (Baker 2003, 115), Hoskins brought the idea of the history of landscape to a wider audience through *The Making of the English Landscape,* explaining how the landscape of England as it appears today "came to assume its present form, how the details came to be inserted" (Hoskins 1955, 15). Hoskins' interest was in the past processes that had brought the landscape into its present state – where he found that attractive – but less so with the people who inhabited those landscapes, and their descendants who might want to continue processes into the future. In contrast, the American environmental historian Cronon, noted for his detailed analysis of Chicago (Cronon 1991) and New England (Cronon 2003), has led the charge in understanding how the people who lived in the past "laid the foundations of the lives we now lead and the world we inhabit." (Cronon 2003, 172).

Fairclough describes character as "a less tangible but more powerful and pervasive concept that includes fabric, but also transcends it" (Fairclough 2008a, 304). He was instrumental in

the development of historic landscape characterisation, which he defined as "a technique developed to help people understand time depth in the landscape" (Fairclough 2008b, 408) and led the programme of initiatives that led to implementation across England. While this approach differed from that developed in Scotland, relationships between practitioners were strong and supported considerable cross-border dialogue on shared opportunities and challenges.

Time as the fourth dimension of landscape

Landscape is most frequently discussed as a spatial and geographical concept, often represented on a two-dimensional map base, but which requires the understanding of a three-dimensional space in reality – breadth, depth and height. It also reflects the passage of time, as rivers flow and sediment is washed downstream, but also in the features that survive to indicate a sense of time passed. It is this fourth dimension which particularly interests me.

Theories of time

The historic landscape is essentially a 'thing' of the past. For the purposes of this dissertation, I will touch only briefly on the philosophy of time, as it relates to perception and experience of the tangible and intangible. How we perceive time and how that influences our thinking is explored in the Stanford Encyclopaedia: "we do not perceive *time* as such, but changes or events *in* time […] we do not perceive events only, but also their temporal relations" (Le Poidevin 2015, 1). To relate to a specific example, the aerial photograph of Falkirk (Vignette 5) captures a plethora of 'objects', not all of which are visible, but which stand as symbols to events in time, whether in the construction of a defensive wall, or the transitory location of a battle.

Time as a measure of change has been discussed for centuries (Bardon 2013a) with a cogent argument that there can only ever be the present; the past does not exist because it has gone, while the future has not yet come into existence. However, human societies place value upon the past, and their experience of the material evidence of the past, combined with our capacity for memory. When presented with that aerial view of the Antonine Wall (see Vignette 5), the simple fact of its pastness may be clear even to those with no knowledge of its history. Accepting information as reliable knowledge relies on our belief system which is in turn embedded in perception, experience and memory and allows us to accept the possibility of

32

people who have come and gone before us. My argument is framed by the passage of time as objective fact, divided into past, present and future. Although chronological ordering has its place, what matters is the idea of pastness in the link to events and the consequent memorials to the people involved in their creation, use and destruction.

Bardon describes the idea of time 'passing' as "the change that occurs as events go from being future to being present to being past." (Bardon 2013b, 1). Time becomes a pertinent factor when we consider causation *behind* that activity; the decisions and drivers of people in the past who, in their own present were anticipating some kind of future (for example, growing food, managing woodland for fuel) and making their physical mark on the landscape that contributes to our sense of place and identity today. The idea of sense of place, of identity, is pervasive in the language of landscape, situating the concept in the sentience of human experience. Our senses are part of what it means to be a living individual. The argument is made that if we sense such a passage, then that must be evidence of its reality. To take an analogy, while it may be true that each musical note is experienced as a singular individual moment, we sense the melody through a series of connected moments (Bardon 2013b, 13). The missing link for me here is the idea of purpose, or cause – static moments taken in isolation, ignoring the infinite connections and interrelationships that we experience across even a short period of time.

Temporality

Pryor, an archaeologist, describes "the progressive attitude to human history or prehistory", where the present is at the right-hand end of the line, the ascended pinnacle of progress and development and humans are at their most clever and sophisticated (Pryor 2014, 7). Our concept of lived time is embedded in those who have gone before, when the communities who made their mark on landscape in the past were living in their own 'present'. If we take a longer view across the millennia of human habitation in Scotland, we can surmise a longstanding appreciation of the temporal plane at the Maeshowe chambered cairn on Orkney (Figure 4). This monument was constructed over 5,000 years ago, and aligned with the setting of the midwinter sun, so that the light illuminated the tomb's interior – an event that can be experienced at the same point in the annual cycle of time today (Historic Environment Scotland website).

Figure 4: Maeshowe chambered cairn, Orkney, an established presence in the landscape for 5,000 years, Crown Copyright HES

Each individual has their own conception of lived time, over daily, weekly and seasonal cycles, in the different scales of temporality in the diurnal, seasonal and annual cycles experiences in the landscape (Ingold 1993). Crops grow and are harvested to be stored for the vagaries of the winter when survival is challenging. In time, we can detect continuity and change; accumulated knowledge that means we can anticipate the seeds planted will grow into crops, the saplings that are bare will leaf and continue to develop into trees for shelter, for timber and as habitat to sustain life. Macinnes & Wickham-Jones argue for the importance of archaeology in contributing a "proper chronological framework for understanding the landscape" (1992, 10). It has at its core a stratified approach to the material remains that survive, to ensure that they can be 'read' in the correct sequence of 'pastness'.

All this means that in experiencing the world we experience our place in the world through the information we gather; our personal perceptions, experiences and inheritance that frame our response. Singular actions are related to life as a whole (Hammer 2010, 35), with a focus on the human individual, but also recognising that people come together in society to create monuments that testify to their place in time past. Glasgow Cathedral took decades to build and has survived for the best part of a millennium. On the other hand, less tangible 'events',

such as the Battle of Bannockburn, though lasting less than 48 hours, remain in the national memory to the present day, regardless of the survival of any material reminder on the ground (research has only recently confirmed its most likely physical location – see Pollard 2016).

Lessons from history

Historical time can be measured on different scales – with some change taking place within a portion of a human lifetime, such as the Great Depression of the 1930's or the Vietnam War, while the enclosure of common land in Scotland that continues to underpin the land tenure of today took place over a period of centuries. What captures the headlines today may have very limited long-term impact and may be detected as a reflection of the broad themes identified above, rather than having significance in and of itself. The French *Annales* School of history is particularly pertinent in the context of landscape, with their distinction of different scales of time, and a concern with the "interrelationship between historical change and the near-permanent in history … conceptualising the interrelationship between rhythms of material life and fluctuations of human existence" (Tilley 2017, 9). Contemporary commentators might argue over emerging significance, or drivers for change, but reflecting from a distance can bring some clarity. Barony courts imposing regulation on the cutting of timber or pasturing of sheep in fifteenth century Scotland reflect a need to impose controls, either to promote regeneration or to control ownership boundaries. The key point is that "history reflects agency – the choices by individuals and groups, and it reflects constraining structures and circumstances" (Little 2010, 14). The post-medieval field systems which survived the dramatic rectilinear enclosure of the nineteenth century can be seen in the field boundaries surrounding the medieval village in Figure 5, which were in themselves examples of earlier attempts to increase productivity, and now interspersed with ornamental (and commercial) planting.

https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1484543

Figure 5: The medieval village of Kilconquhar, surrounded by designed landscape and concealing cropmark evidence for post-medieval field systems, Crown Copyright HES

The material past

This temporality is experienced through the tangible evidence for the human past embedded within the present-day landscape, "we perceive the past through artefacts, physical traces and objects in the landscape that we believe endured from earlier times or 'are old'" (Lowenthal 1979, 108). These traces are partial, and highly selective, where only a small subset of what survives has been deliberately preserved through conscious choice. Some features have survived by 'accident' – fallen out of direct use but adapted to suit alternative functions of or simply absorbed into the landscape, becoming invisible. For example, the ruins of Grulin on the island of Eigg are testament to a rural population now much diminished (see Figure 6).

Thomas cites Foucault and his belief that "human beings are <u>in</u> history, they are fundamentally historical […] more concerned with history than temporality, being in history than being in time, being historical rather than temporal" (Thomas 2002, 39). For an individual "the difference between past and future is just the difference between memory and anticipation"

Figure 6: Grulin township, Eigg, including remains of the township, field-system, rig, lazy-beds, dun and shepherd's bothy 2003, Crown Copyright HES

(Bardon 2013a, 14), but that relates to their perception and experience, rather than a concern with a material environment. Archaeology is essentially a discipline of the material, using tangible entities (objects, structures, soil, remnants of living things such as plant remains and beetles) to gain insight into lives lived in the past. Survival is rarely complete, and plausible stories about the people who built and used surviving artefacts must be generated through fragmentary evidence. There is potential for countless different interpretations and the process of decoding can never be considered a single discrete act; the narrative evolves as new evidence emerges. Neglected stone dykes may appear today as a landscape feature in need of repair, or as an example of past innovation dependent on cheap and available skilled labour for backbreaking work to enclose land for individual rather than common use. Neither

serves a social or economic driver of modern farming practice and contemporary understanding of function might be seen as a purely visual feature of the landscape.

Until the early 1990's any theoretical approach to support the identification and understanding of the archaeology of landscapes was largely absent (Darvill et al 1993, 564). As part of a coherent programme for monument protection, English Heritage defined a specific category of relict cultural landscape as "a piece of natural or artificial scenery containing remains relating to a particular form, stage or type of intellectual development or civilization which exists now in the same pattern or arrangement as in some previous age" (ibid). The use of 'scenery' in this quote is particularly striking, as their only reference to a scenic dimension of landscape. The text also refers to 'topographically defined areas', which suggests a focus on spatially delimited locations that can be physically identified.

Materiality is embedded in the physicality of living in the world and the "interlocking habitus of action, belief, experience and engagement" (Bender 1993, 248). Similarly, Tuan argues that "objects anchor time" (1977, 187), echoing the idea of time made visible and recognising the significance of material as symbol for previous generations who occupied the same space – if not the same place. The historic dimension of landscape has traditionally been focused on individual features, the prehistoric monuments, castles, bridges and forts that draw the eye and speak of a distant past. Landscape however, is more than just a collection of sites, "it is a series of places which are dependent on both visuality and a chronological materiality" (Nash 1997, 3). Sites and monuments are traditionally approached in the form of inventory (e.g. the National Monuments Record for Scotland) and have meaning based in a long history of valuing relics that have survived from an earlier time. Arntzen suggests human activity is in fact 'artefactual', "being the work (the direct outcome) of human design and production" (Arntzen 2008, 44), which can be interpreted as the material construction of a feature or element, that results in a series of connected fields, a farmstead or perhaps a neatly planted productive woodland. They are the by-product of people and their 'being in the world', the result of human decision-making processes. This contrast suggests an alternative perspective where the members of a township agree how they might allocate lands and tasks between themselves year on year, but without any formal design or plan.

If landscape today is the outcome, the question arises of how we trace the myriad of overlapping and interlocking pathways that represent its historic dimension. Narrative is often considered structurally, examining significant themes like the industrial revolution or feudal

modes of production (Little 2010). In Scottish terms this would include the Lowland and Highland Clearances or the enclosure of commons, issues that have been discussed widely in both academic and popular literature (e.g. Hunter 2014, Aitchison and Cassell 2003 and Devine 2014) and which will be familiar to many people. They are also clearly reflected in the historic dimension of the landscape through the material evidence of abandoned homesteads and the neat field systems that survive in use today, "our human landscape is our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations and even our fears in tangible, visible form" (Lewis 1979, 12).

The cultural past

The term 'culture' is often applied to human activity in terms of the past – our cultural heritage, but it is another term where the meaning is very hard to pin down. According to Ingold, culture "is not a framework for perceiving the world, but for interpreting it to oneself and others" (cited in Thomas 1996, 23). The sense of activity is important here – we have free choice on how we interpret what we see, what we experience. Arntzen and Brady capture the different dimensions where we live and work as individuals and in community – "environment becomes place, landscapes take on meaning, becoming significant" (2008, 10), a direct link between the choices that people make and how they are embedded in the present landscape. This is important for two reasons. On the one hand, the impact of those choices on the land over time presents one part of the evidence for the historic dimension of landscape. The evidence that can be read and interpreted today, that speaks of the continuity and change in those decisions over time. On the other, it highlights for me the risk of simplifying patterns, whether in space or time, (the now discredited *Dark Age* or the idea of agricultural improvement) to the extent that it masks a complex reality.

A "cultural landscape embodies a distinctive narrative, a story of its developmental stages and their significance" (Arntzen 2008, 15), but that narrative must by definition include the story of the people, their environment and the interaction between them. Environmental history is now a recognised discipline and our understanding of the dynamic characteristics of the natural world has increased dramatically. It combines the humanities disciplines with the insight that can be gained through studying the archives, and scientific disciplines such as palynology to shed light on past climates, habitats and species. This also helps us to understand the complexity of human interaction with their environment in the past and apply evidence to some popular myths. See for example Breeze on the myth of the Caledonian wood

(Smout 2014) and Tipping's palaeoecology revealing the natural 'drowning' of pine woods on Rannoch Moor some 6,500 years ago (Tipping 2003, 30).

The natural past

In drafting this section I briefly considered using the heading 'natural history' – the words should capture the same meaning, but the OED defines it as "a work dealing with the properties of natural objects, plants, or animals; a systematic account based on observation rather than experiment" (accessed 19 July 2018); no indication of a temporal plane. In this dissertation I want to concentrate the idea of different entities in time, and nature must also sit on that temporal plane.

The study of nature has a long history, and the idea of landscape as an ecosystem is not new: "landscape equals habitat plus man […], and in nature it is obvious that the total ecological relationship is most clearly realised as different types of scenery" (Robinson et al 1976, 17). In terms of different disciplinary perspectives, with "ecosystems and landscapes are used as the two major spatial units for ecological research and practice" (Naveh 2010, 64). While different concepts, he argues that their meanings remain vague and they are used interchangeably. This paper is instructive, exploring language and meaning in a level of detail similar to that of Olwig (2015) on landscape and Cresswell (2004) on place, within a separate discipline. Naveh is one of the few scholars to have directly addressed the cross-disciplinary dimension, in his exploration of a holistic conception of 'multifunctional landscapes' (Naveh 2001). Of the ten premises articulated, his fifth addresses the 'total human ecosystem' where "landscapes are the concrete, space-time defined ordered wholes" and recognising "the deeply embedded evolutionary connectedness between humans and the rest of the natural world" (ibid 275), neatly illustrated on the Orkney west mainland shown in Figure 7.

https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1143423

Figure 7: Heart of Neolithic Orkney WHS - prehistoric monuments are integrated within improvement period field systems and contemporary agricultural practice, adjacent to the Lochs of Harray and Stenness SSSI, all part of the Hoy and West Mainland NSA, Crown Copyright HES

From a geomorphologist's perspective, the central theme might be the "interaction between nature and culture […] positioned between an 'objective' scientific history and a moral history which is all cultural construction" (Simmons, 2001, 1). 'Nature' captures the processes embedded in our understanding of ecosystems, but also the realities of our physical position in the world "within the temperate zone of the northern hemisphere, situated off the western perimeter of the Eurasian continent" (ibid, 3). His understanding of 'culture' is also instructive here, used in its full anthropological and sociological sense as referring to the whole repertoire of learned behaviour which comprises inherited ideas, beliefs, values, knowledge and technology, and which is transmitted and reinforced by members of the group (Simmons 2001, 9).

From the archaeologist's perspective, Tilley makes a similar distinction, between topography and physiography – with the latter being restricted to the geological and geomorphological, while the former includes all surface features of an area, natural and man-made (1994, 15). Thomas puts this a different way, "the spaces we inhabit have a fundamental nature which

allows a cultural superstructure to be constructed as a secondary and derived phenomenon" (Thomas 1996, 84).

A grandfather of modern conservation – George Perkins Marsh – presented an interesting parallel with landscape in his concern with nature "not simply as an object of study but also as an individually and culturally perceived phenomenon that was historically constituted as much through the arts as through the sciences" (Olwig 2003, 872). The dichotomy of nature and culture, where entities in the landscape must fall into one or other category challenges the holistic approach but goes some way to explaining the administrative structures of the present-time. Countryside conservation is often regarded as dealing with the protection and management of 'natural' features, including both species protection and landscape assessment …" despite the fact that there can be no "clear distinction between the human and natural aspects" (Macinnes & Wickham-Jones 1992, 2).

What cannot be disputed is the extent to which the fortunes of people and nature are intertwined, and the potential for environmental history to scotch the myth of harmony or balance; "human interaction with the land has always been in precarious balance, and past crises have occurred as a result of both human agency and natural events" (Macinnes and Wickham-Jones 1992, 2). In the current century the crisis is often tied back to human causes with a global impact. Research in history illustrates the reality of that interrelationship, whether in the 'year without a summer' in 1816 (Veale and Endfield 2016) or an overview of the records surviving from the long fourteenth century that can shed light on the environmental factors as a driver for long term change (Oram 2015, 1).

The presence of the 'past'

The essence of the interrelationship between people and nature leaves traces through time, where "antiquity is in large part an artefact of the present, even our own perceptions of it altering over time" (Lowenthal 2005, 89).

Landscape, power and control
Later twentieth century cultural geography engaged closely with the concept of landscape, when "according to Cosgrove, the modern idea of landscape as spatial scenery originated in the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, with the re-discovery of Ptolemy's cartography" (Olwig et al 2016, 170). This emphasised the complex association between art, scenery and

landscape recognising the physical reality portrayed in iconic imagery and reflecting the desire to convey their social position; it was never simply about a beautiful view.

The visual and the material are inextricably linked in the landscape. While the "idyllised vision of landscape covered up and concealed the actual material conditions of Italian country life" (Cosgrove as cited in Wylie 2007, 62), the practice of landscape design is strongly associated with "the control and dominance over space as an absolute objective entity". This control was "as much temporal as spatial" (Cosgrove 1985, 56). The act of appropriation (and the confidence in its longevity) resulted in land management decisions that might not bear fruit (in some cases quite literally) for decades if not centuries. For example, Figure 8 shows an aerial view of Blair Atholl estate and the evidence for commercial forest management in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which is corroborated in the extensive documentary archives. Aesthetic values were an important factor, but functionality and economics were equally important (there is always value in the land and in the production of hard timber),

Figure 8: Atholl estate, Perthshire, Crown Copyright HES

exemplified by the fourth Duke of Atholl's belief that, "in my opinion, planting ought to be carried on for Beauty, Effect and Profit" (House and Dingwall 2003, 135).

The emphasis on the spectator as implicit consumer of landscape reinforces the idea of landscape as work of art, echoing Cosgrove (1984). For many, landscape equates to *designed* landscape, for which a national Inventory of over 300 sites has been prepared for Scotland. The vast majority of these sites are estate landscapes, which largely originate from powerful interests demonstrating their control of land and dominance in society – for example, Gordon Castle, Moray (Figure 9), where the village of Bog of Gight was moved for aesthetic reasons to become the new town of Fochabers, by a process of 'consensual clearance' through "robust negotiation" (Barrett 2015, 198). The key to understanding such landscapes is to consider how they are being produced (Mitchell 2000, 107).

Effort is required to effect this impact on the landscape, highlighting the transitory nature of the human energy invested in crops for food and clothing, where the sweat and hardship was a necessary part of making a living and had to be repeated with gruelling regularity. In such circumstances, change may be welcomed in the place of continuity, although individuals may

https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1050373

Figure 9: Gordon Castle and estate, with the village of New Fochabers visible top left; the site of old village was to the right of the walled garden, Crown Copyright HES

not have been able to control the nature of that change and the extent to which they might directly benefit.

Continuity and change

Implicit within this evidence of our past, is the evidence for continuity and change. *Continuity* in the survival of features and elements of various scales, fulfilling their original use, but perhaps deployed to a new use; or simply just 'there'. As we shall see, this point is illustrated in several of the vignettes later in the thesis, but particularly that for Glen Nant and Bonawe (Vignette 6) where the current woodland is described as ancient woodland and yet supported intense industrial processes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

But also *change*; many will be familiar with the saying from Heraclitus and his belief that it was impossible to step in the same river twice, arguing that "reality is characterised by unending change, with nothing constant in the world" (Bardon 2013a, 2). The patchwork of temporal
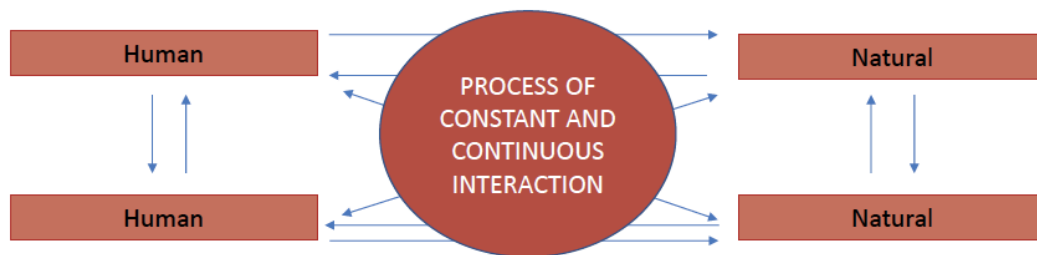
Figure 10: a visual simplification of the dynamic interaction across and between all dimensions of the landscape

evidence that survives to be experienced today is an integral dimension of landscape, speaking to changes in community activity through time, and highlighting the drive to innovation that is part of what it means to be human. That evidence is often the direct result of impact, which with hindsight may be judged to sit at various intervals on the spectrum from positive through to negative. Essential existence as fact is the starting point for my work, but that existence takes place on a temporal plane where change is constant and "the parent is the ruin of the child, the butterfly the ruin of the chrysalis" (Lowenthal 2014, 32:42). I have tried to capture this interrelationship in Figure 10.

Public policy and decision-making have traditionally worked best where physical reality is assumed. Each of us may perceive a boulder field or a forest in a different way, but that doesn't alter the structural existence of its physicality – we each can experience it with our bodily senses. "The sources of concern turn on the question of what kinds of changes are thought

appropriate" (O'Neill et al 2008, 177). This process of decision-making is more commonly described as management, defined by Baxter as "an organised ability to effect and cope with change" (Baxter 2012, 11). We apply criteria and select those elements we believe matter, but we rarely connect it to surrounding features, or equally important, to the spaces in between and the collective – multiple and potentially contradictory – that we choose to apply; "we mark the site – locating it, but also disassociating it from its surroundings" (Lowenthal 1979, 109). He goes on "when we cherish something old or venerable, we usually seek to preserve it from the further ravages of time, halting deterioration and extending life as long as possible" (ibid, 112) In hanging on to this cherished item, it becomes more disconnected from its surroundings, and akin to flotsam washed up upon the shore, out of place.

Tuan questions whether communities want to "keep evidence of societal failure" (Tuan 1977, 196) raising a question around the balance between prizing that which has survived from an earlier time, against the need for development and innovation. For example consider the village of Culross, Fife (Figure 12 – the square in 1937 and Figure 11 – 2005) – the reason these houses survived was because of economic and commercial depression during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when there was insufficient wealth to modernise or replace them; they have suffered "an essential interval of neglect that precedes the ruin's reclamation as a symbol of a faded golden age" (citing Jackson in Desilvey and Edensor 2012, 472). They are now rehabilitated, and support a form of economic resurgence, having featured in several film productions, including as the fictional Cranesmuir in the recent 'Outlander' TV series.

Place

Throughout this research I have been interested in the similarities and differences between the concepts of landscape and place, which seem to be used interchangeably at times in the literature; "humans invest meaning in a portion of space, and then become attached to it in some way (naming is one such way) it becomes a place" (Cresswell 2004, 10). Agnew's three core meanings of place (as cited in Castree 2009, 154) are particularly helpful when

Figure 12: Culross village square 1938, Crown Copyright HES

Figure 12: Culross village square 2005, Crown Copyright HES

approaching the administrative perspective. The first – *location* – is perhaps the most self-explanatory, capturing the sense of a geographical point on a map, where places can be considered 'unique' rather than 'singular', recognising that "they are different, *and* they have something in common in an interdependent world" (ibid, 161).

Sense of place

Agnew's second definition of place concerns the idea of a *sense of place*, the subjective and emotional attachment people have to a place, as "a feeling that we as the reader/viewer know what it is like to be there" (cited in Cresswell 2004, 7). Emphasis is given to the experiential quality of 'place', where meaning is individual, but has the potential to be shared in a collective. In Agnew's interpretation, place is less a point on the earth's surface, and more about "how different individuals and groups, within and between places, both interpret and develop meaningful attachments to those specific areas where they live out their lives" (Castree 2009, 158); humans and their environment, bringing the perceptual sense to the material surroundings through time in a dynamic and complex interaction.

As we become familiar with that place, our sense of prioritising what matters may change in the pursuit of more prescient goals. The temporal and material dimensions of landscape are strongly related to the experience of a sense of place, capturing the three temporal dimensions equally – "all that we are we owe to the past. The present also has merit; it is our experiential reality, the feeling point of existence with its inchoate mixture of joy and sorrow. The future in contrast is a vision …[but] … without vision and the desire for change, life turns stale" (Tuan 1977, 197).

A resident might be rooted in a place and perceive it as the basis of her living, promoting change to ensure continuity in her quality of life; but a visitor's sense of place might be based upon different criteria that they value in their solidity, therefore resistant to any change that might diminish the characteristics that contributes to the whole. On the other hand, a visitor might also see potential in a place, perhaps the opportunity for creating a wilder habitat, that may be perceived differently by those who live there.

> In understanding how our past continues in our present we understand also the demands of responsibility for the past we carry with us, the past in which our identities are formed, we are responsible for the past not because of what we as individuals have done, but because of what we are. (Massey 2005, 192)

Sense of place or belonging might also be described as an influence where "the symbolic ritual value of places, both natural and man-made, and other cultural associations for example with writers and painters important to both residents and visitors/ tourists in terms of how they perceive the character of a landscape" (Rippon 2004, 24). This again raises the suggestion of perception of an external entity – that which is perceived – rather than conveying a complex and dynamic interaction. The link of cultural association to the 'arts', rather than wider ideas of 'being in the world' and living daily lives is telling in its positioning of people in that world. Sense of place is a complex concept, but each individual will draw on their range of experiences as part of the process, influencing their sense of who they are,

> particular places matter to both individuals and communities, in virtue of embodying their history and cultural identities […] the physical and natural worlds have histories that stretch out before humans emerged and have futures that will continue beyond the disappearance of the human species (O'Neill et al 2008, 3).

Places are always already place-like as soon as we are aware of them, use them and consume them" (Thomas 1996, 83). There is however, a risk of reductionism, where the distillation of

evidence results in warm statements on sense of identity and description of landscape as "an anchor and context for the lives of people and communities of today" (Arntzen 2008, 47). This implies a homogeneity that does not exist; unity of thought that resists change and an absence of hierarchy and the power and control dynamics that this brings.

Insider - outsider

"Human beings came to think of themselves as outside of landscape, and landscape became a 'thing', an assemblage of tangible features, capable of measurement, quantification, representation and possession." (Dalglish 2012, 329). Place has been described as something to be 'inside' while landscape is appreciated as an 'outsider', where "we do not live in landscapes – we look at them" (Cresswell 2004, 11); "to be inside a place is to belong to it and identify with it" (Relph cited in Cresswell 2004, 44). This suggests that both place and landscape are identical, and that it is simply a matter of perspective, but there are an infinite number of identities linked with a plethora of different communities of place or location and communities of interest, some of which will overlap.

The potential to experience is universal, but the process of writing has tended to present a much narrower interpretation of what landscape should and should not be; raising the aesthete above the commoner. Thus, Lowenthal argues that underlying all writing on landscape is the hidden history that "proper landscape appreciation was the privileged domain of the cultivated; 'the optic was that of the outsider'" (Lowenthal 2007, 642), the privileged outsider. Admittedly, this puts the landowner in a more ambiguous position, taking pride in what is theirs but in the knowledge that it compares well with other places. Kenneth Clarke, in a somewhat superior tone argued "to the 'average layman' […] nature was not enjoyable. The fields mean nothing but hard work" put more in a more egalitarian way by Jackson, "we are not spectators; the human landscape is not a work of art. It is the temporary product of much sweat and hardship and earnest thought" (Lowenthal 2007, 653).

Ingold describes the landscape of the insider as "the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them." (1993, 155), and echoing Heidegger's connection of 'being in the world' with that physical world, which may be perceived in a myriad of ways, but which exists within a material reality. Bender challenges his position, concerned at the implicit harmony and balance in his study of Breughel's *The Harvesters* (cited in Massey 2006, 41), that belies a reality of struggle and injustice that was explored by Cosgrove (1984). She stresses the physicality of "living in the

world", describing it as the "interlocking habitus of action, belief, experience and engagement" (Bender 1993, 248).

Being in the world also means moving through the world, like the urban dweller who leaves the city to look for a place in the country (Thrift cited in Cresswell 2004, 49). They embark on a journey with an idea of what they are looking for, a preconception of what that experience of the countryside might be, something that is, if nothing else, different from their daily routine experience of their city or town. In whatever way we relate to travelling through landscape – whether as tourist consuming the marketing of Scotland's heritage, or as delivery driver at work, we encounter significant scenic points, whether they be formally identified as viewpoints, or as moments of personal mark. They might be presented as summits to be reached, achieved with the reward of a welcoming scene to be surveyed and captured (in the mind and on film); to be taken away. The dynamic landscape can be described as

> an anonymous sculptural form, always already fashioned by human agency, never completed and constantly being added to, and the relationship between people and it is a constant dialectic and process of structuration […] the landscape is both medium for and outcome of action and previous histories of action." (Tilley 1994, 23).

Setting

Place is context, captured in historic environment management terms as *setting,* but which has much in common with Agnew's third interpretation of place as *locale* - a material setting for social relations. This acknowledges the physical reality that exists with or without humans in the present moment – as the backdrop to relations within society, and between society and its environment. (cited in Cresswell 2004, 10). For Massey (among others) this is "the scale at which people's daily life was typically lived" (Castree 2009, 160). This does beg a question about differences between individuals – for example, the broadband engineer whose work might take him one day to the island of Harris and the next to Dalgety Bay (pers. comm, 20 June 2018), the health visitor who might cover Glenrothes and the surrounding district, as opposed to the care home worker who travels a mile from home and back. My aim is not to challenge this interpretation, but to highlight the very personal issues relating to scale and landscape that vary between individuals and communities, and that will inform perceptions and perspectives rarely captured through the policy process.

Archaeologist Christopher Tilley describes place as "an irreducible part of human experience […] it is about situatedness in relation to identity and action. Place is context." (Tilley 1994, 18)

He also touches on the concept of naming, and argues that without such a label, culturally significant sites would not exist, "in a fundamental way names create landscapes [...] an unnamed place on a map is quite literally blank space" (ibid, 19) for the outsider unfamiliar with the location in question, though perhaps not those who lived there. However, should an individual stumble upon a deserted glen, the first to do so in centuries, there is still potential to be affected by the physical remains of past human activity, without knowing whether names existed in the past, or what function such relics might have held.

The concept of *setting* has emerged in planning and management terms as a way of considering the impact of change on existing 'assets'. It has strong links to sense of place, and our moving through, and being in, the world. Sometimes the setting can be defined through the survival of contemporary features that support a wider complex – perhaps the curtain wall of a castle or the garden designed specifically to enhance a country house (Black 2005). But prehistoric monuments can also be seen to have a setting, often in relation to topographical landscape features, aligned with a distant horizon or positioned on the summit of a hill such as Mither Tap of Bennachie (**Error! Reference source not found.**), a monument clearly visible for many miles around. The relationship of people as individuals is with place, which is a very personal thing, but which can be shared as a social experience, emphasising connections with other people, or even to emphasise their difference from a chosen group. "Particular places … matter to individuals because they embody the history of their lives and those of the communities to which they belong" (O'Neill et al 2008, 39).

Relationship through time

Place is closely linked to time, through three different but interconnected dimensions identified by Tuan. First, time and motion as flow, with place as pause in the temporal current, recognising the importance of mobility within and between places. His recognition of attachment to place as a function of time (i.e. it takes time to know a place) speaks directly to the present temporal dimension, being in time and acquiring knowledge as one passes through time. Finally, the historic dimension is addressed, with place as time made visible, or place as memorial to times past (Tuan 1977, 179); tangible 'relics' with intangible qualities that can also be evidenced in the counterfactual – without it, something significant is missed. Hoskins on the other hand represents a more traditional approach to a historic dimension of landscape, highlighting significant features and narrating the (chronological) history of a place. The focus is on the surviving features, with white space marking the absence of information in between. Places are too often seen as "frozen scenes for human activity" or as "an inert

experienced scene". Places are never finished, but always becoming, "place is what takes place ceaselessly, what contributes to history in a specific context through creation and utilisation of a physical setting." (Pred cited in Cresswell 2004, 35)

The presence of meaning – narrative, landscape and identity

History is about story-telling. The traditional approach is chronological, starting with the underlying geology, moving through landforms to the evidence of the first peoples to settle, and following a line through to the present day and remains popular in local histories today (see for example Hay (2015) and Love (2001)). There is a clear logic to this – starting at the beginning, with an extended 'middle' before arriving at the present as end-point. The concept of 'meaning' is important, often embedded in the language of experience, with assumptions and generalisations ascribed to individuals and groups. Landscape reflects agency – human and natural - and the interrelationships between multiple and interconnected actors. To make sense of the past, we build individual narratives to tell the stories of people, places and events, "we use facts in the present […] to support inferences about circumstances and people in the past" (Little 2010, 15); certainly, those who are interested in the past do.

Narrative

The "story of the place matters" (O'Neill et al 2008, 146); the story of the place is what defines it as a place. A story that includes the environmental and human history, and the traces that survive of a dynamic interaction between them. Landscape can be considered in the same terms, and whether the idea of the uniqueness of place might also apply – "a particular place embodies a history, blocks the substitutability of one place for another" (ibid, 176). "Landscape tells – or rather is – the story […] of the native dweller" (Ingold 1993, 152) but this suggests a single story, when in fact the story can only ever be generated by people who have direct experience of the event or of hearing that event described by another.

Each day we take in our surroundings, our place in the world, whether at a moment's rest from the labour of making a living, or to pause during travel. I cannot imagine what it must feel like to have invested time and energy into clearing a piece of land on which to settle, only to find after two or three or four years that it is unproductive and will not support your family (a plotline captured beautifully in Chevalier 2016). Alternatively, I can appreciate the satisfaction of building a more successful enterprise which is stable and productive and allows

52

production of a wider range of crops, broadening your own diet and generating produce for market.

The textual metaphor of palimpsest is continued through the idea that "it is the very fact of reading that authors" (Mitchell 2000, 123). Not all of what is 'written' is read however, and the selection process will depend on what is identified by whom and whether or not it is subsequently valued. The public process of defining what is to be protected and conserved is crucial, including the influence of cultural groups, identity politics, distinctiveness and difference; "if landscape is a text, then it is so because of its very materiality […] not despite that materiality" (Mitchell 2000, 144). Much of what we value is the by-product of activities focused on making a living, whether by a subsistence tenant, enlightenment improver or absentee landlord focused on positive commercial gain.

Landscape is associated with our sense of individual, community and national identity. In exploring history, narrative and memory, Little draws attention to the concept of the group, stating, "groups find their collective identities through shared understandings of the past; and these shared understandings provide a basis for future collective action" (Little 2010, 36). Scottish society is an amalgamation of multiple overlapping groups with a variety of identities who have influence on how it is conceived, perceived and apperceived, created and evolving. Communities of place, of interest, of knowledge, of skill and of family connection come together and diverge across space and time.

Authenticity is explored by O'Neill et al, reasoning that "place and nature cannot be faked, nor their in-situ biodiversity. What matters is the story of the place" (2008, 176). It is certainly possible to restore and recreate – for example, Eilean Donan Castle is one of the most popular tourist attractions in Scotland and features in iconic landscape images (Figure 13, Figure 14 & Figure 15). It could be described as a 'fake' in architectural history terms – rebuilt in the early twentieth century on the footings of a long-standing ruin. Considered in a different way, the ruined footings become "objectified heritage" that "can be visited, touched, bought and experienced" (Baxter 2012, 1); and tied to memory, both individual and collective. This restoration helps to authenticate the popular perspective of Scotland and sell an experience that visitors (domestic and overseas) want to buy. It does what we want and expect it to do. If we step back however and take an aerial view, a more authentic narrative might capture the ancillary features: a busy access road, car park, visitor centre and café that indicate its present-day function as a visitor attraction. It is set alongside a contemporary community thriving in

the present but surrounded by traces of the past and continuing the relationship with the castle's owners in the support for their economy.

Figure 15: Eilean Donan castle - the 'classic' view - castle, water, hills ...

Figure 14: A less familiar view showing human settlement and cultivation, Crown Copyright HES

Figure 13: From a different angle, revealing the tourism infrastructure, showing its importance to the local economy, Crown Copyright, HES

The same might be said of landscape-scale restoration, with potential for creativity in design – consider Charles Jencks work at Lassodie, central Fife (Figure 17) to create a brand-new designed landscape through the restoration of the St Ninian's open cast coal mine. The process of extraction destroyed extensive evidence for a thriving early twentieth century mining community, although detailed recording of the site was undertaken beforehand, the layout of which can be seen on the Ordnance Survey mapping from the early twentieth century (Figure 16).

Figure 17: Oblique aerial view of Fife Earth Project at St Ninian's Open Cast Site 2011, Crown Copyright HES

Figure 16: 2nd Edition Ordnance Survey Map of Lassodie village and collieries c. OS

Relationships in landscape

The material space of the human world results from people making their living within that space and making conscious as well as unwitting alterations. A network of complex, dynamic and evolving relationships that together form a wider system, where "landscape itself is in the centre of things." (Dalglish 2012, 329), encompassing the relationships between people, other living things and the environment. Dalglish goes on to develop the idea of relational landscape ethics, where "the landscape is a dialectical web of relationships binding actors together. These relationships are social (between humans), material (between humans and the material world), ecological (between non-human elements of the landscape) and human ecological (between humans, other living things and the wider environment)" (ibid 332). To bring this full circle, "the relationship with place and with things is a social one, in which people belong to the land as much as the land belongs to the people" (Thomas 1996, 71), and it is that sense of being in the world that I will consider next.

Conclusion

I have tried to present here the many different ways that landscape can be conceived and described across different science and social science disciplines that might have a concern with how it is understood and managed. Review of the literature proved challenging, partly because of the wealth of material returned through academic search engines across a wide range of disciplines, and partly due to the important contributions by practitioners that may be published in conference proceedings or seminar papers, but which can be difficult to find. It was outwith the scope of this thesis to undertake a systematic evidence review that would identify all disciplinary interests in landscape, but I have concentrated on those referenced in the primary literature, including geography, archaeology, landscape architecture, landscape ecology and landscape management. My primary aim has been to emphasise that there is no single correct way to define what we mean by landscape, and that this in itself is a strength, recognising the myriad of potential interpretations that exist and the infinite ways that the qualities of landscape can be valued within society. The position taken in this dissertation is that the present landscape is the result of the interaction between people and their environment through time, with a historic dimension that is the physical, tangible result of such historical change that can be perceived by society today, to hand on to tomorrow's generations. My intention in this research is to understand how that historic dimension is addressed in the institutional discourse in Scotland.

Chapter 3: Framing my Research

This chapter addresses my approach to the research detailed in this dissertation. I begin with my personal positionality to explain my background and the pathways that brought me to formal study. I have applied two main methods – examination of formal language through the application of discourse analysis, and semi-structured interviews with landscape management practitioners drawn from several specialist areas. I consider the distinct role that institutions play in my research, and the unique position of the corporate author in a Scottish context. While the source material is directly concerned with landscape, it is frequently strategic and applied at a national scale. I have therefore supplemented this analysis with eight case studies to illustrate my key findings with real-life examples.

Background

In order to provide context for the dissertation's approach and methodology, I begin with some biographical background relevant to my positionality as a researcher of this project. My interest in the historic dimension of landscape is long standing. Since my time as an under-graduate I have been fascinated by what I could see in the landscape and what it meant in terms of the people who lived and worked there in the past, particularly in relation to the aspects of human history that survive to be recognised and appreciated today.

My professional career began with Fife Regional Council as assistant archaeologist, where I became involved with the early development of the Historic Landuse Assessment (HLA). This led me to question the distinction between the archaeological landscape, and what the term 'landscape' meant in this context, alongside other interpretations.

Subsequently I worked for the Council of British Archaeology, and then Historic Scotland, both roles helping me develop my understanding of the relationship between individual monuments as landscape features. Academic research was increasing our understanding of the location of monuments in specific places, valued for their topographical location, alignment with astronomical features, or their proximity to land or sea-based transport routes. This in itself is nothing new, but the results were focused on individual or groups of sites in particular locations. I became increasingly mindful of a disconnect between what was considered to be landscape within the archaeological community, and how it was described

and developed in official texts produced by those more concerned with the management of landscape, such as planners or natural heritage managers.

I renewed my involvement with the HLA when I joined Historic Scotland and the process of bringing to publication case studies for the two new National Parks and National Scenic Area pilot projects brought me back to those recurring questions of the temporal dimension of landscape and how it was addressed through different disciplinary and professional perspectives; we were talking, but not necessarily effectively.

Within six months of beginning this dissertation research, I was given the opportunity to work in the private office of the First Minister of Scotland. My career to this point had been focused in a very specialist area, but this role brought me to the heart of government and offered valuable insight into the day-to-day management of overlapping (and often conflicting) policy goals, witnessing the detailed process of how decisions are actually made. It is by far the hardest job that I have ever done and necessitated an interruption in my research for three years. Juggling part-time research with full-time work (largely outwith my core discipline) has been a significant challenge, but I have been able to bring my professional expertise and experience to understanding the complexities of policy development and implementation and how different sectors and institutions operate.

This experience has given me considerable insight and understanding of the circumstances specific to Scotland, and it was a logical step to select Scottish discourse as the focus of this research.

Methodology and approach

The approach to this research is based firmly in a pragmatic paradigm, which supported a flexible and reactive approach as the project evolved. I considered myself to be conducting socially-situated research arising from a "real-world problem" (Jensen & Glasmeier 2009, 90), analysis of which would contribute to active debate on the management of landscape in Scotland.

My research was to some extent made more challenging by the length of time that had passed since my undergraduate study and my basic knowledge of the underlying philosophies of human geographical research. I had quite a bit of catching up to do, and several times found myself disappearing down unhelpful rabbit holes, wondering whether I should consider

Marxist or structuralist approaches. Through this extended deliberation, I returned frequently to a firmly realist position – described as:

> a common-sense philosophy which maintains that there is a 'real' world out there, independent of our conceptions of it […] when we study, say, some aspect of the human landscape, we are studying something that has a material existence beyond our perceptions of it (Graham 2008, 19)

While respecting that each individual has their own perception of landscape, public policy is required to deal with the physical reality of the external world that exists (the fact that each of us will collide with a boulder, should it lie in our path), and must provide the basis for any description, legislation or guidance if a shared position is to be officially agreed.

As the dissertation developed, I concluded that I was following an established path of Cartesian categorisation, following organisational boundaries (Historic Scotland for historic environment, Scottish Natural Heritage for nature) defining an ever-more exclusive concept that implied the past was separate from the present and from the natural or physical landscape. This seemed the antithesis of all that I was trying to demonstrate, that the idea of the historic landscape was an integral and fundamental element of the whole landscape that was all too easily ignored.

Discussions with colleagues in Historic Scotland and Scottish Natural Heritage drew me to the conclusion that I should adopt the more accurate descriptor of the *historic dimension of the landscape*. This led me to develop the two questions driving this research:

1. How is landscape characterised in Scottish institutional discourse?
2. To what extent does this characterisation address the historic dimension of landscape?

Landscape can be described as a multi-dimensional concept viewed through the disciplines of geology, geography, ecology, art, landscape architecture and archaeology, to name but a few. The temporal, or historic dimension is sometimes referred to as the historic landscape, but no definition has been agreed or formally discussed, and different meanings can be detected. In order to understand the values that might be ascribed to the historic dimension of landscape across different institutions, understanding how the 'parent term' *landscape* is defined is critical. Leading from this is a key methodological issue – the transdisciplinary nature of research on landscape.

A transdisciplinary concept

My work in Historic Scotland brought me into contact with professionals from different institutions and disciplines, including planners, ecologists, archaeologists, foresters, countryside managers and landscape architects. I also worked closely with community volunteers of all ages, who had extensive knowledge and experience and who were committed to understanding what they considered to be their own landscape. I was impressed by the breadth of perspectives on the landscape, and the extent to which it can be conceived as a transdisciplinary concept. This has shaped my approach to the project by giving due consideration to how different disciplines approach the issue of landscape (while not drowning in the vast amount of material that this would entail).

Hadorn et al (2010, 431) describe the aim of transdisciplinary research as grasping "the relevant complexity of a problem, taking into account the diversity of both everyday and academic perceptions of problems, linking abstract and case-specific knowledge and developing descriptive, normative and practical knowledge for the common interest." It is important to emphasise the distinction between this and inter- or multi-disciplinary approaches. Transdisciplinarity captures more effectively the dynamic dialogue between different disciplines to deliver a co-produced and more integrated result. Simply placing colleagues in a room or on a project does not automatically result in a coherent dialogue where each can influence – and be influenced – by partners. In completing this research, I have deployed robust qualitative methods drawn from the discipline of geography, while recognising that my subject of study is one that crosses the boundaries of several disciplines. Naveh (2001) recognised that as a landscape ecologist his starting point was very different from other sources and argued for a transdisciplinary approach to the study of landscape, integrating science and social science approaches from the beginning.

The role of institutions in the research

The process of decision-making places an emphasis on informed knowledge, and society has developed formal mechanisms for the formulation of agreed positions on issues considered to be important. There are two key factors involved in this process – the use of language and the actors that deploy them. Research across several disciplines has examined "the ways in which language is used to create and shape institutions and how institutions in turn have the capacity to create, shape and impose discourses on people" (Mayr, 755). To understand

internal functions, we need to focus on the role of actors, institutions (the rules and norms <u>within</u> organisations), policy networks, context and ideas outlined above. Specifically, "it matters which government departments take the lead, since this indicates which rules they use to prioritise and understand the issues" (Cairney 2016, 105). Ideas are supported by the beliefs of the different actors, and their ability to persuade others to act (Cairney 2016, 27-30). There is considerable potential for confusion with normal application of plain English, where institutions might imply the corporate actors listed below. This dissertation will adopt the following interpretation of actors and institutions:

Table 1: Institutional terminology applied in this dissertation

Element	Description	In relation to landscape
Actors	Individuals and/ or collectives Described in this research as '<u>corporate author</u>' or '<u>corporate actor</u>' to distinguish them from the broader policy understanding of 'institution'	Scottish Natural Heritage Scottish Government Scottish Ministers Historic Scotland National Trust for Scotland John Muir Trust Assoc. for the Protection of Rural Scotland Campaign for National Parks
Institutions	Rules, norms, practices and relationships	Landscape protection Countryside protection Conservation management Development planning
Networks	Relationships between actors and pressure participants	Other government depts. (e.g. HES); Landscape professionals to others (e.g. HEM professionals, Ecosystem services, advocacy groups)

Element	Description	In relation to landscape
Context	Extent to which the policy environment is within the policymaker's control	Dispersed control – in the sense that landscape policy is influenced by wide range of operational institutions on the ground
Events	Routine, or momentous	National Scenic Area Devolution & creation of the Scottish Parliament European Landscape Convention
Ideas	Ways of thinking	Visual impact/ ways of seeing Sensory perception Topography
Policy choices	Decisions made with incomplete knowledge and in the face of uncertainty and competing demands	Climate Change Plan Agriculture Forestry Renewable energy Tourism Housing

Language

Any text published by a corporate body must be formally approved at a senior level prior to publication. Institutions develop texts through a series of 'authors' and therefore represent the considered perspective of those who identify with that institution. There are reasons behind all statements – both in definite and ambiguous statements – and they are the result of extended negotiation. Indeed, Atkinson and Coffey (2004, 70) observe that "official materials do not normally have visible human agencies expressing opinions, beliefs, etc [...] this is a rhetorical device and implies a reality that exists independently of any individual, observer, interpreter or writer." It is the stated position of that institution and one that can be robustly defended if necessary. Once published it will not change for a certain period of time.

Prior (2004, 91) writes that "traditionally documents are considered for their content rather than their status as things – the focus is usually on the language contained in a document as

a medium of thought and action." However, published policy documents carry a special role as official documents where their status as published government policy adds weight to the language they contain. This, in turn, influences the drafting process and the resulting final text. As Taylor asserts, "the system of language works for communication because it is a vehicle for meaning […] and the notion that language is not transparent is one of the fundamental assumptions of discourse analysis" (2001, 6). The particular challenge faced here is the ambiguity in definition of the main key words that are used in conjunction with landscape.

Legislation, guidance and advice are the principal formal mechanisms for influencing behaviour within society, and they rely on a shared understanding of language if the agreed intention is to be implemented effectively. Mayr describes language as "the principal means by which institutions and organisations create their own social reality. Language is used to communicate thoughts and ideas [and] in discourse analytical studies of institutions, discourse is language in real contexts of use" (2015, 755).

By studying formally constituted bodies in Scotland, including executive public organisations, professional practice and independent interest groups, I hope to gain some insight on the discourse surrounding the concept of landscape in Scotland and the values placed on its historic dimension. I must, however, be clear on how I am approaching the 'institution'. Mayr notes "popular definitions of an institution see it as an established organisation or foundation, especially one dedicated to education, public service, or culture, or the building or buildings housing such an organisation" (2015, 757). He goes on to quote Agar's definition – "a socially legitimated expertise together with those persons authorised to implement it." (ibid)

These two distinct but overlapping perspectives sit at the heart of how public institutions are understood and why their behaviour is relevant to the study of discourse. However, they also highlight challenges in the use of language – Cairney as a public policy researcher describes institutions in a more cross-cutting, non-structural way, while Mayr's definition is focused on formal, constitutional bodies. The documents that are the focus of my study have been generated by public institutions as formal statements of their policy on specific issues, with expert individuals employed to generate drafts for internal discussion, amendment and agreement. The expertise of these individuals is the result of study, experience and engagement within their individual fields, developed through various forms of interaction across a range of institutions including, perhaps, their employer, their professional body, any

interest organisations to which they have chosen to belong, as well as the more informal networks of friends, family and general acquaintance.

Official landscape writing in Scotland has been strongly influenced by approaches in the professions of countryside management and landscape architecture. An extensive archive of popular literature continues to be produced on landscape in Scotland, but it is the authorised discourse that I will examine here; one that I expect to be largely generated through networks of institutional experts charged with performing specific tasks within a framework of formal (and informal) aims and objectives. While not a specific object of study, interviews suggested that these experts were drawn from the disciplinary training of Landscape Architecture, Geography and Environmental Management. Deriving some insight into the perspective of such an expert community and their attitude to a temporal dimension is a key strand of this work. "No text can determine or constrain exactly how it will be read – the reader brings their stock of cultural knowledge, including knowledge and ignorance of related texts and a unique biography" (Atkinson and Coffey 2004, 72).

I want to examine the extent to which the meaning of landscape implicitly conveys an absence of a temporal human dimension, as a result of the underlying framework, which in turn influences how the reader might understand landscape. Recipients of institutional texts "tend to accept beliefs, knowledge and opinions … through discourse from what they see as authoritative, trustworthy or credible sources, such as scholars, experts, professionals or reliable media." (Nesler et al 1993, cited in van Dijk 2001, 357). Van Dijk expands on this "a typical feature of manipulation is to communicate beliefs implicitly, that is, without actually asserting them and with less chance that they will be challenged" (ibid).

My approach involves a detailed analysis of published documents. The purpose of this analysis is to find out whether the corporate actors whose activities have some impact on the management of landscape assert an interpretation of landscape that includes an explicit – or indeed implicit – temporal dimension. I want to understand what is meant when they use the term landscape and whether any account is taken of the temporal human dimension of landscape.

The corporate actors

To identify the documents that should be subject to analysis, I considered the governance structure in Scotland to determine which institutions have an interest in landscape

management (**Error! Reference source not found.**). As the primary legislative administrator, the Scottish Government is responsible for policy across a range of themes that have a direct and indirect impact on landscape. It is by no means the only significant operator, but it presents a tight scope for the evidence reviewed in this research. (note - UK-wide landholders such as The Crown Estate and Ministry of Defence are not accountable to Scottish Government and are not included for the purposes of this thesis, although would merit separate analysis). It also sets the strategic priorities for operational agencies and bodies.
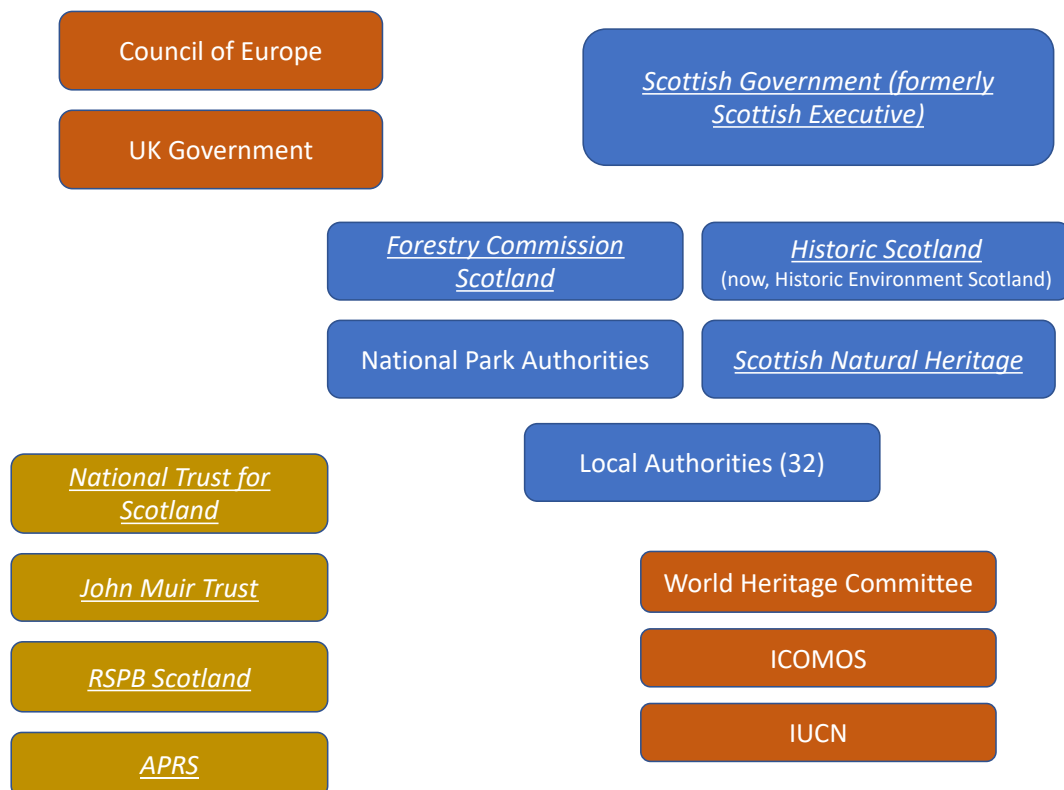
Figure 18: Key Corporate Actors

blue = Scottish public authorities, ochre = Scottish third sector organisations, red = international organisations. subject to detailed analysis are highlighted in italics and underlined

The research for this dissertation began fifteen months into the third term of the Scottish Parliament, and the Scottish Government. Shortly after taking office, the new administration adopted a National Performance Framework that introduced an outcomes-approach designed to encourage public sector institutions to work in partnership to achieve a clear purpose and specified national outcomes (see Campbell 2012). These were underpinned by five strategic objectives, with 50 national indicators designed to monitor progress. This framework sets the

context for all public bodies in Scotland, who have produced formal statements of how they support this overarching purpose and strategies for how they will contribute to achieving the agreed outcomes.

The Scottish landscape is not addressed directly in the Performance Framework, and it may at first sight appear somewhat removed from what may be seen as an administrative exercise. However, there is no doubt that this significant shift in the strategic approach to governance had a strong influence on all government departments and public bodies, and how they engaged formally with stakeholders and citizens. Further, the steps taken to meet these strategic objectives will result in both direct and indirect impacts upon that landscape, whether in the form of increased forest areas, increased development of rural energy infrastructure and expanded urban settlements and managed green space. They create a significant frame to the institutional governance that is at the core of my work. In addition, there are several organisations that have a significant impact on how landscape is managed in Scotland, either through management of their own land, or contribution to the debate.

Methods

In order to address the research questions, this thesis utilises two empirical methods: (1) discourse analysis of policy documents and (2) semi-structured interviews with professionals who work in landscape management across a range of sectors and disciplines.

Discourse analysis

I have carried out a detailed analysis of published policy documents to establish how the use of specific terms and the context in which they are deployed provide insight into institutional governance in Scotland.

The selection criteria identified current documents that have the potential to influence landscape policy and management in Scotland. For practical reasons, my cut-off date captured documents published before March 2015 – dialogue across the network of institutions continued passed this date (indeed continues now) and this date marked the end of a reporting period and merger of Historic Scotland with the RCAHMS. The purpose of this type of analysis is to expose "the often-hidden ideologies that are reflected, reinforced and constructed in everyday and institutional discourse" (Mayr 2015, 765). I wanted to explore whether the institutions whose activities have some impact on the management of landscape in Scotland assert an explicit – or indeed implicit – meaning in their use of the term landscape;

and to determine whether this definition takes any account of the temporal human dimension of landscape, or if this is effectively overlooked.

The literature on what constitutes 'discourse' is extensive, but it is important to be clear on what it means for my research. It describes a discussion or dialogue, as well as a specific use of written or spoken language, although other forms of communication, such as art, music or maps have been successfully studied. The aim of the analytical process is to "expose patterns and hidden rules of how language is used and narratives are created", forming a "research method which involves examining communication in order to gain new insights" (Hewitt 2009, 2). The purpose of my research is to gain insight into the extent to which the historic dimension of landscape is recognised and valued in a Scottish institutional context.

Foucault is often given a defining place in the history of discursive analysis, although Sawyer's genealogical review of French and Anglo-American theory provides an excellent introduction to the emergence of this form of study (Sawyer 2002). For the field of environmental policy, Hewitt (2009, 10) identifies several examples, observing the benefits of "a prolonged period of immersion in their respective fields […to…] uncover the power relations within the policy arena" (ibid). I am not approaching this research in the belief that any evidence for the positioning of power is malicious or based on a deliberate coercion. Power in this context is most likely to be one based on a dominant or primary authority tasked with this particular responsibility and whose discourse is accepted without challenge from others who could have an interest in the historic dimension of landscape.

When considering the methodological approaches for this dissertation, one option was to focus on one specific discourse of landscape (for example, a detailed analysis of the emergence of the Historic Landuse Assessment and its links with the Landscape Character Assessment, or the National Scenic Areas as the national landscape designation). However, the relative absence of scholarship examining such discourse in Scotland suggested a broader experimental approach to identify discourse streams, connections and boundaries between them.

Kaal (2012, 1) describes the aim of critical discourse studies as filtering "out what is discursively implied and enforced by the contextual cohesion of discourse worlds." The 'worldview' that I am addressing here – the landscape of the Scottish institution – has not emerged in a vacuum and has structural characteristics and patterns that bring cohesion. For this dissertation, "researchers with different theoretical concepts have different attitudes and

worldviews" (Tress & Tress 2001, 146), and the primary aim of this analysis is to identify the influence of these worldviews on the institutional texts that represent the positions of the contributing corporate authors. Kaal continues "for a text to communicate ideas, the simplest solution is to avoid explicit elaboration and rely on assumptions" (2012, 1). This dissertation research sought to identify assumptions within and across the landscape discourse in Scotland and examine potential links with the intended audience.

I also recognise that discourse analysis has traditionally addressed social and cultural problems, particularly in terms of inequality and exclusion. I fully accept that understanding the value placed on the historic dimension of landscape may not feature in a list of core social problems to be prioritised by society. I do firmly believe however, that recognising our past, and how that informs our understanding of our place in the world (both temporal and spatial), is of fundamental importance, and if overlooked, we are the poorer for it.

There are some limitations with this approach. Discourse analysis is most useful when exploring two basic questions – how more powerful groups control public discourse, and the consequences in controlling mind and action of the less powerful (van Dijk 2005, 355). This dissertation research is not based on analysis of specific power groups in Scotland, and it is not my intention to identify the role played by particular individuals or institutions, nor their detailed motivations. By focusing on the corporate author, the text is depersonalised and becomes representative of an institutional position. The iterative manner in which documents are drafted, involving multiple internal versions before the publication of a consultation draft, and then the final production of a text, makes this task prohibitive in terms of time and available versions. More importantly however, the drafting 'actors' are driven by a complex myriad of motivations, much of which would comply with the principles of honest campaigning and impartial public service. I do not expect therefore to draw out underlying drivers of power and control from the finer details of the text. My methodological approach has been designed to explore language that can shed light on whether historic dimension of landscape is acknowledged and if so, what form that takes.

The selection of documents

I have examined three distinct categories of discourse for the framing of the concept of landscape and the extent to which attention is given to the historic dimension – the discourses of landscape, historic environment and Scottish administration and governance, with reference to examples from the wider context of advocacy at a domestic and a global level.

This includes the corporate documents that seek to frame the scope of the organisation's interest, highlighting key priorities, as well as the policy and practice documents – Scottish Historic Environment Policy (SHEP) and thematic documents such as those for the topics of *Battlefields* and *Setting*. Their recent guidance on the use of the Historic Land Use Assessment is particularly helpful for shedding light on landscape from 'the bottom up' rather than as a thematic catch all. In order to understand the breadth of corporate concern for – and interest in – landscape (geographical and topical), I have examined the position of stakeholders, through selected documents, including the Cairngorms National Park Authority, Aberdeenshire Council and also the UK National Ecological Assessment. And there are other framing documents that guide expert and institutional thinking, including Finke (2013) for the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), and the Heritage Lottery Fund. Finally, the European Landscape Convention and the World Heritage Committee (through UNESCO) define detailed rules that are also used as helpful reference points by domestic actors. In addition documents shared across the UK (e.g. collaboration between SNH and the Countryside Commission for England/ English Nature and Natural England) when the Landscape Character Assessment was being pulled together as the preferred methodological approach.

The criteria for selecting documents is set out in Appendix 1, along with a list of all those studied. I began by identifying official texts specifically concerned with the landscape in Scotland – those produced by SNH as the government's lead agency responsible for landscape policy, and wider development planning documents that directly address landscape decision-making. I searched for current policy and guidance, interrogating official web sources and using general searches of academic and grey literatures, concentrating on the management of landscape, but also the management of the historic environment. It soon emerged that landscape is as much a cross-sectoral interest for government as it is a transdisciplinary concept within academia, and the boundary of influence, responsibility and potential impact was rather grey in some places. I have therefore identified four different 'roles' that institutions 'play' through the production and application of 'discourse'. I wanted to ensure I captured all relevant contributions, from the strategic direction of government policy, through the design and application and guidance, but also including evidence of practice in local authorities and significant third sector organisations. Local authorities have some responsibility for the designation and management of local landscape areas, and within existing National Scenic Areas. In addition, voluntary organisations such as the RSPB and

National Trust for Scotland are extensive land holders and have published plans and guidance on how they will follow best practice conservation principles.

For the purposes of this research, I have focused on the primary published policy documents, the tools that support their implementation, and texts that provide context for the management of landscape in Scotland, across different parts of government, and covering key representative groups of wider society. During the data-gathering phase I examined the relevance of internet sources – a significant web-presence is now essential for all public institutions, and represents a particular type of discourse, analysis of which can provide insight into the attitudes and priorities. However, a full analysis was deemed to be beyond the scope of this particular exercise, as was the analysis of the wide variety specialist literature (such as conference papers and newsletters), although both would merit further investigation.

Identifying the characteristics of the historic dimension of landscape

It is clear from the literature that there is no single definitive 'formula' for this type of study, but certain key elements are repeated in several studies. I was drawn to an iterative approach, and this was underpinned by guidance detailed in the 'ten steps' set out by Hajer and explored in Hewitt (2009, 12). Taken with Aitken (2005, 242), I could approach the material in the confident knowledge that a robust analysis and interpretation would only emerge through repeated engagement. Both emphasise the importance of reading the text again and again to understand the relationships between text, author, intended audience and the discursive suite that is the subject of study.

My focus was on the characteristics as they are revealed through the use of written language in institutional text. Specifically, whether the language of history, culture, people, time and place could be identified in the context of landscape discourse (specific search terms are given in Appendix 2).

I began by reading and annotating a hard copy of each document to gain an overview of its broad purpose and a sense of the extent to which landscape was addressed in the text. Hajer sees this as an essential step "to identify story lines, metaphors and the sites of discursive struggle" (cited in Hewitt 2009, 12). To take the last first, I was questioning the extent to which meaning could be discerned in the use of *landscape*, and whether that meaning could be interpreted to include (implicitly or explicitly) a historic dimension. Is the language used sufficiently vague to dispel any suggestion of omission; is it open to interpretation by the reader, or is there discernible intent? Is there a clear line of argumentation – that is, does the

text provide a systematic reasoning for the interpretation that can be placed on the finalised text?

I then moved on to study the documents digitally; initially using basic search tools and coding the results in a self-generated excel spreadsheet. I became aware of the value in using bespoke digital analysis tools and adopted NVivo software to explore each text in depth. To be able to interpret the underlying meaning in relation to landscape, key search terms were identified for electronic word searching in each document. In contrast to context analysis, the primary aim was not to come up with a simple word count within documents, although meaning can be interpreted through the presence – or indeed absence – of certain key words.

When a search term was identified, the full sentence would be allocated a code within the software. A corresponding reference table was maintained, recording ambiguities in the data, along with circumstances when the use of a term should not be coded. For example, when searching for the term 'landscape', if its use conveyed a meaning interpreted as metaphorical – for example, a 'regulatory landscape' – it was excluded from the data set and not coded. Such exclusions were recorded in the reference table to ensure a consistent approach across the data. Similarly, where a term formed part of a proper name ('natur' and Scottish Natural Heritage or 'histor' and Historic Scotland), or where the word stem being searched formed part of an unrelated word ('scen' for scenic, but also capturing descend or scenario) this instance would be excluded. The full table of search terms is in Appendix 2.

Once a document was fully coded, it was considered against a pre-prepared record sheet (see Appendix 3, informed by Aitken (2005, 242)). While noting that there are several ways to approach textual analysis, I followed Aitken's basic steps for engaging with each text. Key to any research is the recognition that "every decision that you make about your research is steeped in your politics" (ibid). This method is designed to ensure that as data is collected, the analyst is fully aware of the perspective that they bring to the process and their potential relationship with the data collected. He emphasises the importance of questioning why an author creates a text, what is their relationship with that text and with the broader social, political and institutional context; what is explicit, implicit and absent and what might this mean for your analysis. By considering each of the questions that have been generated, it is possible to engage more meaningfully with each text, and also examine patterns that may emerge across the set of texts that are subject to study.

The purpose was to access the data in the context of the research questions and support the conclusions that could be drawn. Digital analysis is incredibly helpful to this process, easing the word search process and ensuring a consistent approach to the material. However, repeated read through of the full text was also necessary to ensure that a comprehensive understanding of the whole document could be gathered, and to see the search terms in their context.

Search Terms

Selection of the search terms is critical to identifying the characteristics of the historic dimension in the discourse – whether a sense of people in time and place can be detected either implicitly or explicitly in the language used. In approaching this research, it is my contention that landscape has become a ubiquitous term in language used to discuss environmental issues, and its core meaning can be obscured. I have therefore selected terms that both shed light on the intention of the author when referring to landscape, and which allow a broader insight into their attitudes to human/ cultural temporality in relation to landscape. I began with primary terms, and during further iterations of textual analysis followed up with related terms (e.g. human followed by people, landscape followed by related words such as historic or natural).

The terms are intended to elicit insight into the particular use of 'landscape', and how it sits alongside similar terms (environment, countryside and heritage), the meaning of which may be ambiguous (sometimes deliberately so!). These terms were also analysed for their use in conjunction with qualifying words, such as historic or cultural, to discern the weight given to the influence of human activity in the past.

To isolate meaning that conveys a sense of time, and the scale across which that is considered (recent years or centuries) a series of terms are examined. This was intended to provide insight into the institutional importance of 'time-past' and whether it has significance when considering the management of landscape. Text was analysed for the presence of any sense of time, whether in the form of present/ future/ past, and for specific references and the purpose to which these were deployed.

For over a century the idea of natural beauty has underpinned the British approach to landscape in institutional terms, and it continues to influence policy making today. The search terms were selected to target references to the aesthetic perspective on landscape and analysed both for presence/ absence and to determine whether their use gives insight into

meaning within specific pieces of text and across whole documents. Finally, the concept of place has emerged strongly in policy making in Scotland, and it is my contention that this has potential to unify traditionally self-contained sectors to include the multiple dimensions of landscape which are valued today.

Two levels of terminology were studied (see Appendix 2):

Table 2: Primary and secondary terms subject to detailed analysis

Headline term	Purpose	Secondary/ associated term
Landscape	The primary search term – how is the term used in context, and what can we learn about the significance that is afforded to the dimensions explored in the lit review.	Historic, natural, cultural, scenic, visual
Environment	A generic term that has grown significantly in application over the past 30 years; to some extent used interchangeably with landscape and countryside	Historic, natural, cultural
Countryside	Often used in place of landscape – search to explore the extent to which it is used and how that relates to 'landscape' in the discourse	
Natur*	Landscape is frequently linked to nature. This search was designed to capture the connection of these two words	
Heritage	Heritage has emerged as a dominant theme over the past 30 years, but it is rarely defined clearly in context. These search terms were deployed to examine whether a cultural and material dimension was acknowledged/ discussed within the literature	Archaeolog*; Built; Histor*; Cultur*; natur*
Human	To determine the extent to which people matter in relation to landscape. The analysis not only explores where there is reference to people, but whether that is directly connected to landscape, or more broadly to the purpose of the document.	Human; People

Headline term	Purpose	Secondary/ associated term
Scenery & Natural Beauty	Landscape has traditionally been associated with scenic beauty – indeed, until recently the only reference to the concept of landscape in legislation was through the use of 'natural beauty' in the Act that established SNH.	Scen*; Beaut*; Aesthetic
Temporal	To determine whether there is a sense of time within the discourse, and if that sense of time is directly linked to the understanding of landscape.	Ancient; Millenn*; Past; Since; Time; Generation; Centur*; Years
Place	There has been a shift in the past ten years to discussion of place as a key concept in spatial planning – these search terms were used to determine the link between place and landscape in the discourse	Place; Setting

Semi-structured interviews

The dissertation research adopted an innovative approach to the analysis of Scottish institutional landscape discourse. I calibrated the emerging results through interviews with seventeen individuals with a role in the management of landscape in Scotland. All had some form of professional experience in this field, but covered a range of institutional relationships, from commercially independent through to roles as embedded representatives actively contributing to the creation of some texts that were subject to analysis. The original intention was to undertake the interviews in two phases – the first in advance of, and setting context for, the documentary analysis, and the second following detailed analysis and prior to the finalisation of conclusions.

I chose to use the technique of semi-structured 'active' interview with open questions on predetermined topics. I wanted to build trust and encourage "natural exploratory conversation" (Newton 2010, 3). To be of greatest value, each interviewee had to feel comfortable in expressing their thoughts, experience and perspectives in their own words, which would then be subject to detailed analysis. I was acutely conscious from the beginning

of the effect my own positionality could have on the interview, as "all knowledge is created from the actions undertaken to obtain it" (Holstein and Gubrium 2004, 141). Several of the interviewees were known to me professionally (and some personally), and it was important for me to fulfil the role of interviewer in such a way that the interviewee was comfortable responding with relevant and honest answers that would generate robust evidence. As "respondents are not so much repositories of knowledge … as they are constructors of knowledge in association with interviewers" (ibid), careful thought was given to how each interview would evolve from initial greeting to final leave-taking. Each interview was recorded using digital equipment and with the consent of the participants. I also took my own notes as the conversation progressed to capture key points but also as insurance against equipment failure.

Potter & Hepburn (2012) explore the risks of misrepresentation through the transcription process, particularly in under-analysis of action and selection of isolated quotations. To mitigate these risks I transcribed the interview material myself, rather than contracting a third party. I listened through, then transcribed, then listened through a second time to confirm my transcription. The first four interviews were fully transcribed, including my own contributions, gaps and features of talk (for example, hesitations and repetition). Subsequent discussion with Eric Laurier (pers. comm) established that full transcription was considered unnecessary for the purposes of this research, as my intention was to collect a sample of practitioner views (including some who will have contributed directly to drafting) to reflect the different discourses being analysed. For the remainder of the interviews, I listened to the recording shortly after the interview, then listened again in order to generate a summary 'journo sheet' in which I transcribed the key points from the interview, recording precise quotes that were particularly pertinent to the research questions. I also listened to a series of extracts when drafting this dissertation to confirm accuracy.

The benefits of this approach lie in the detailed aspects of testimony that are retrieved from the interaction, which are then analysed alongside the other forms of evidence. I was aware however, that in encouraging a dynamic dialogue, there was a risk that my enthusiasm for the conversation on a topic of personal interest to me would contaminate my results by leading the respondent in a preferred direction or through projecting my own views in advance of their response. To manage this risk, I sought guidance from my supervisors following two 'test' interviews and adjusted my style as a result – to reduce my own contribution and instead use

encouraging 'prompts' that placed emphasis on the contribution of the interview. Recordings have been retained, with the permission of the interviewees.

Interviewees were selected for their professional interest and knowledge of landscape in Scotland and to achieve a breadth of professional and institutional experience. This aspect was designed to triangulate with the results of the discourse analysis, and not intended to be an exhaustive exploration of expert opinion. Nonetheless, to reflect the transdisciplinary nature of the research subject, it was important to capture a broad range of personal and expert views, to gain insight into the different professional approaches and attitudes that might exist, and also get a sense of personal and professional motivations of those committed to the field. It is fully acknowledged that the interviewees cannot be taken as representative of any sector or discipline. They do, however, have potential to shed light on the themes that emerge through the analysis of the textual data.

A list of interviewees (anonymised) is provided at Appendix 4. Two individuals refused my request, one on the grounds of relevance (they suggested someone with more appropriate experience within their network), and one on the grounds of pressure of work. My original intention was to carry out 25 interviews, with the second group to follow completion of my analysis. However, time constraints prevented this, and I was only able to complete two final interviews in summer 2018 with individuals who had been closely involved in the evolution of landscape policy tools, the results of which have provided very useful data to calibrate my findings.

For each interview, I covered the same topics (Appendix 5). The order was reconsidered before each interview, and I remained alert and flexible throughout, placing greater emphasis on the comfort of the interviewee and the free-flow of conversation. I was also careful in advance of each interview to provide the same background information on my topic, the reason for requesting their participation and my own role in relation to landscape management. I had an existing relationship with some interview subjects, where others were known only by reputation and professional role. My relationship with each individual is recorded.

One challenge was to allow interviewees to engage fully with the question, but this raised some ambiguity on the extent to which they were speaking on behalf of their institution as opposed to giving a personal opinion. While the interviewees have – or have previously had – professional links with the institutions whose documents are the subject of study, their

contributions remain their personal opinions. They were given the opportunity to declare their position, but further analysis makes clear that this positionality shifted throughout the interview, with a mix of the personal, the professional and the official. If questions arose concerning their positionality during the interview, a clear record was made to ensure clarity on personal views, compared to dialogue where they were explicitly reflecting the views of their institution.

Illustrative Vignettes

During the process of data analysis, it became clear that the majority of sources addressed the landscape of Scotland largely in the abstract. I originally planned a case study approach to assess my initial results against circumstances that linked texts to conditions and actions on the

Figure 19: "The appearance of Nantgwynant, near Beddgelert, in Gwynedd, has been shaped by people over thousands of years. By identifying historic features in this photograph, we can begin to understand how and why the landscape looks as it does today; in other words, why it is a historic landscape" Cadw 2007, 3 (Image: Crown Copyright Cadw)

ground. The intention was to support the explanation of my argument in line with Yin's representative case rationale (2009, 48). However, as the research evolved, variation in special qualities and characteristics made this approach feel constraining, and I chose instead to select a small number of case studies as vignettes.

I want to acknowledge Cadw as the inspiration for this approach, having been impressed by their use of a landscape image with multi-period annotations, linking time and place to landscape (Figure 19). As a social science research tool, the vignette is described as "text, images or other forms of stimuli [to]which research participants are asked to respond" (Hughes and Huby 2004, 37). To be clear, this is not how I have applied them – the vignettes did not feature in the interviews to elicit views from others. They are instead based on archival sources (Yin 2009, 105), calibrating the evidence from discourse analysis and interviews and, moving from the theoretical and abstract to an illustrative example in present day reality.

There are eight vignette case studies in total, all of which have been selected based on my personal knowledge of the landscapes in question. For each I have identified the formal landscape designations, where they exist, and examine the values or special qualities identified against traces of past human activity, and documented knowledge.

Ethics

The discourse analysis is largely desk based, but I recognise that key stakeholders may have a professional interest in the policy documents and datasets that have been subject to analysis, and there is potential for some direct interest in the case study vignettes. It was crucial that I approached this research with transparency and integrity, neither pre-judging my results, nor denying my reflexivity.

The interviews were conducted in compliance with the University's codes for ethical research. My primary objective was to ensure the positive participation of interviewees either as individuals or on behalf of their organisations, on the grounds that my research is robust, my approach transparent and that I do not pre-judge the outcome. All interviewees were provided with brief details of my research, why they had been selected for interview and asked to complete a consent form. This included details of the arrangements for managing the data they provided, ensuring it remained secure and confidential during the process. All interviewees agreed to be quoted, but I have anonymised them for the purposes of this dissertation to avoid any misleading connections to the corporate bodies that they may be –

or have been – connected to in the past. My intention was to gain insight from their personal experience and understanding, rather than directly of any individually constituted corporate bodies. I remained aware throughout of the risks of confirmation bias – a risk that has potential to impact on all social research. My knowledge and experience are what brought me to ask this question, and transparency in reporting and analysis is critical, and so I was careful to introduce myself and my professional background at the start of each interview. It took me two or three interviews to master the skill of interviewing informally, without it becoming a dynamic two-sided conversation, but this quickly became easier with practice. I was also careful to frame the questions as a form of statement and seek the reaction of the interviewee with the full assurance that I was interested whatever that reaction might be.

Chapter 4: Landscape in Policy and Governance

It became clear through this research that academic discourse runs parallel to institutional discourse on landscape, so I would like to explore here the evolution of the official discourse and its context. Landscape policy in Scotland has emerged through the overlapping concerns for countryside, environment, landscape and nature and through a complex dialogue between advocates, experts, stakeholder interests and administrators. This chapter draws attention to the importance of contemporary marker points and highlights the slow and steady accumulation of knowledge that brings us to the present day.

Stretching over a period of several decades, official landscape discourse reflects the wider debate over the conservation and management for the future. From the first Countryside Commission Occasional Paper (Countryside Commission 1971) to the most recent SNH Corporate Plan (SNH 2015) we can trace the evolution of landscape as a topic of societal interest, and a selection of key events relevant to this research are set out in Table 2 below. It includes the first steps of designation and protection, through the establishment of Scottish Natural Heritage and their delivery of a full Scottish coverage of Landscape Character Assessment (LCA); the contributions to the idea of a European Landscape Convention (ELC) and the subsequent application of the emerging principles and setting a policy position for Scotland. Appendix 6 presents a selection of key events that have influenced the development of landscape policy and practice in Scotland.

Why landscape matters

Society in Scotland has chosen to place value on countryside and landscape by devoting resources to its consideration, and the need for some form of conservation and management, which can be "about preserving the future as a realisation of the potential of the past [...and ...] negotiating the transition from past to future in such a way as to secure the transfer of [...] significance" (Holland and Rawes 1994 cited in O'Neill et al 2008, 155). A key challenge lies in the definition of significance, what justifies continuity into the future and who gets to decide? There are some existing systems of arbitration, but they are fragmented and also subject to an aggregation of different systems for power and control. "Before nature and antiquity could be treasured, they had first to be recognised as realms apart from the everyday present" (Lowenthal 2005, 82).

As already identified, landscape is a complex concept and there is no universally agreed definition within the professional sphere that captures all possible meanings applied to the term. Indeed, there "can be no clear cut and precise definition of landscape acceptable for everyone for the word is used with different shades of meaning, by the different professional groups with an interest in landscape" (Robinson et al 1976, 15). Olwig argues,

> the 'conventional' meaning of landscape does not lie in the establishment of a fixed theoretically founded definition from which planning is to proceed (as in classic top-down planning). Rather this meaning must be found in the process that sets in motion a plethora of gatherings involving members of various interest groups, polities and communities in which the common perception of landscape that emerges provides a basis for subsequent practice. (Olwig 2007, 580)

As these passages show, there are clearly tensions in the protection and management of landscape. How can we possibly develop sensible policies when the entity to be protected will continuously change of 'its own accord', assisted by the people who live and work within it? "Landscape changes are seen as a threat, a negative evolution, because the current changes are characterised by the loss of diversity, coherence and identity" (Antrop 2005, 22). Yet, the novelist and commentator Elif Shafak recently pointed to how the past can be one vehicle to the future, embedded as it is in our personal and shared perceptions, defining who we are, what we think and why (Edinburgh Book Festival, 18 August 2017).

Theories of public policy

I am not a political scientist, and do not intend to adopt a different discipline's theoretical approach here. That said, if I am to explore the cross-disciplinary idea of landscape, it is important to gain some insight into the academic literature concerned with the analysis of public policy. Cairney's work on the politics of evidence-based policy making has been particularly helpful, both in its accessibility to someone outside the discipline, and also his focus on Scotland and the post-devolution period. It is through the policy process that the documents that form the basis of my data are formed, so any conclusions I draw on the use of language in discourse are directly linked to that process.

Cairney's *The Politics of Evidence Based Policy Making* (2016) provides a useful introduction to the idea of policymaking as science, arguing that at heart it is an ideal type, "something to aspire to … to help us compare an artificial situation with the real world" (Cairney 2016, 5). In political science there is a clear difference between the ideal or optimal (known as

82

comprehensive rationality), and "what really happens when policy makers have unclear aims, limited information and unclear choices" (ibid), termed 'bounded rationality'. This basically means the necessary, 'real-world' short cuts in the process of making policy, which is directly related to psychology where

> policymakers have to make important decisions in the face of *uncertainty*, which is based on limited information, *ambiguity*, which is based on the fact that there are many ways to understand a policy problem (this kind of uncertainty cannot be solved by more information), and competition between actors to interpret information and draw conclusions (ibid).

In short, they use information from sources they trust, and adapt that information to the beliefs they already hold. The practical method of problem-solving – heuristics – is not guaranteed to be optimal or perfect but describes how policy makers gather what they can within the constraints of the working environment.

A key part of the process is 'how problems are framed by their advocates, and how they are understood by the policy makers held responsible for solving them" (ibid, 6). Cairney goes on "it is about the power to ignore or pay attention to particular studies" (ibid). In this dissertation research, policymakers sit in The Scottish Government (formerly known as The Scottish Executive, and prior to devolution, The Scottish Office) and in government agencies with particular responsibilities – Scottish Natural Heritage for natural heritage (landscape) and Historic Scotland (now Historic Environment Scotland) for cultural heritage matters. Responsibility for wider matters including the relationship with the Council of Europe for the European Landscape Convention and with the World Heritage Committee remain reserved to the UK Government in Westminster.

Indeed, Cairney notes that evidence can take decades to be accepted. How difficult is it then to influence policy when the evidence might be framed in a way that doesn't fit neatly into the contemporary supporting context: a square peg in a round hole. He largely targets the science community arguing the focus should be on the policy process as it works in practice, rather than how it <u>should</u> work. The suggestion in science writing is that politics should be removed from policymaking, with reliance placed on the scientific evidence, but this assumes a simple agreed process of developing knowledge without uncertainty, advocacy, active debate or disagreement.

The policy process

To begin with, it might be assumed that the values of society are reflected in the values of policy makers, when in fact government is about making choices between competing aims and legitimising those choices that are made (ibid, 15). Next, it is often assumed that there are a small number of actors controlling the process from the centre, when the reality is one of power shared across a network of shifting sands, competing perspectives, partial interests and personal relationships; and a continuously evolving focus.

The policy process rarely takes a simple, linear path. Issues are complex and overlapping and policy demand may emerge from several different directions. The idea of the policy cycle (Figure 20) emerged in the middle of the twentieth century and can be helpful for the novice trying to navigate their way into a problem. Identifying specific stages can draw attention to the challenges and difficulties that might be faced. For example, bringing a policy question onto a busy agenda is fraught with difficulty but in whatever way it is identified, any solution is dependent on who holds the power to frame it and decide what will fall in or out of scope. For example, we can chart the demand for some form of countryside policy back to the later nineteenth century in the draft bills on access tabled between 1884 and the 1930's. It was only following the Dower Commission in the early 1940's that issues of landscape and countryside were formalised, with an agenda laid out in the manifesto of the government that was subsequently elected in 1945 (The Labour Party, 1945). The process of designation and establishment of the relevant administrative functions took time, and methods for assessing policy effectiveness began to emerge in the 1960's and 70's. The wide range of policy actors (those within government and those advocating particular positions) made any agreement on policy termination unlikely once a milestone has been achieved.

> The basic idea that organisations cannot generate all relevant information, and policymakers cannot process all of the information available to them underpins the study of public policy. The problem is that many new scholars, without a background in policy studies, refer to something very close to comprehensive rationality underpins, seeing it as an ideal, and bemoaning real world policymaking when it does not live up to it (Cairney 2016, 19).
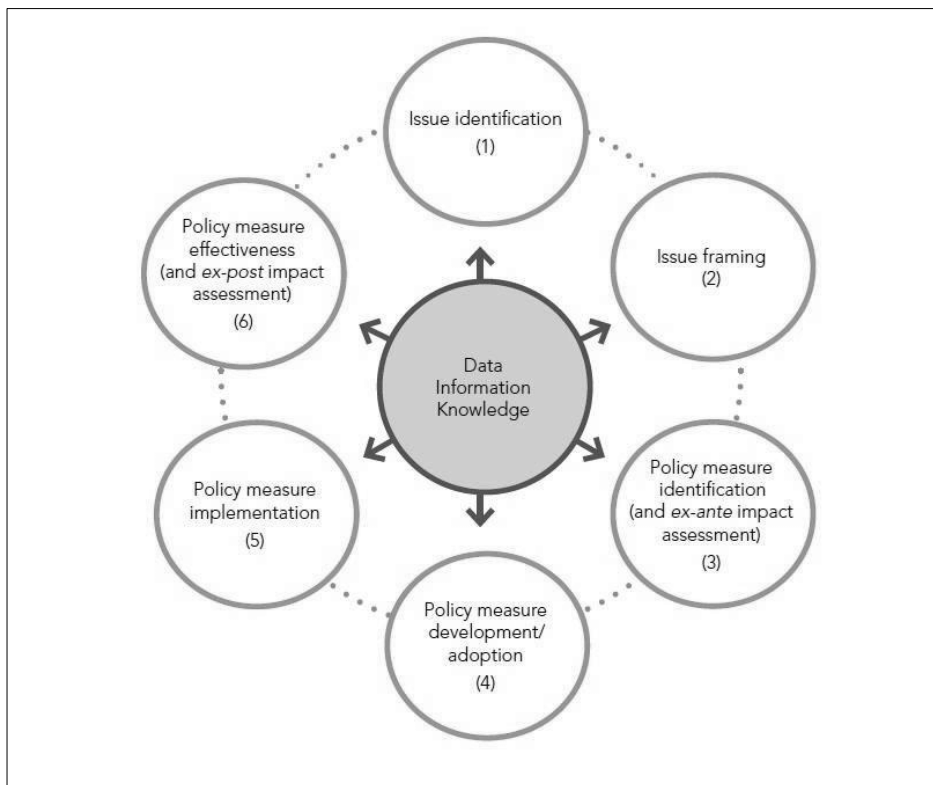
Figure 20: Main stages in the policy cycle, supported by data, information and knowledge. Source: European Environmental Agency (EEA)

Critically, decisions still need to be made, regardless of the state of the evidence (ibid, 21). There is a difference between technical and political feasibility in considering what works, but both must be afforded weight in policy; to "know why people make decisions, we need to know how they think before they act" (ibid, 24). If we treat policy documents as the result of a series of actions (with decision as action), each becomes a puzzle, the solving of which will unlock at least some of the thought processes that went into its making. Policy problems reach the top of the agenda for a variety of reasons, with varying degrees along a line of proactive-reactive initiatives. I would argue that the landscape can be placed at several points along this spectrum, depending on the point in time across the past 100 years or so. For example, a proactive approach can be seen in the legislation to designate national parks in England, as opposed to the reactive resistance experienced at the same time in Scotland which prevented implementation of this part of the 1949 Act.

Kahneman's 'Thinking Fast and Slow' (2011) sheds additional light on practical policy thinking, where various 'cognitive shortcuts' can be identified (cited in Cairney 2016, 26), four of which have some relevance to the landscape policy focus:

1. **Prospect theory**, when people value losses more than equivalent gains, as illustrated by Moore-Colyer and Scott (2005, 501) "the public today care passionately about their local landscapes and resent the current scale and pace of change, homogenising development and destroying sense of place", based on analysis of evidence from the Welsh LANDMAP initiative. I am nervous of sweeping statements about 'the public' simplifying a collective attitude towards the scale and pace of change. Change is a fact of life – we change as people, growing up and growing old, and our mode of living changes as we make our living while adapting to evolving circumstance. There is no doubt that globalisation has prompted building design that may be common from Dundee to Detroit to Delhi and Dakar. However, if we look back to significant times of change in the past, the industrialisation of the Clyde saw the dramatic urbanisation of Govan and Paisley from previously enclosed agriculture, which in turn had seen the clearing of the lowland cottars to make way for a more efficient production to support a growing population and an expanding economy.

2. **Framing effects** as a shortcut, often based on emotional and moral judgements over well thought out preferences in cultural expression of value for beautiful scenery, now embedded in what might be called the 'national branding' of a Scotland renowned for its beautiful landscapes. (e.g. McCrone et al 1995, Lorimer 1999, and **Error! Reference source not found.**).

3. **Confirmation bias,** on its own but also in conjunction with (4.) **status quo bias,** exemplified by the now idiomatic description of *Scotland's Finest Landscapes* applied to those designated as National Scenic Areas, despite the ad hoc origin of their designation which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Notably, he argues that "decisions are also influenced by familiarity or processing fluency" (Cairney 2016, 26); that is, the ease in which policymakers process information; "they may pay more attention to an issue or statement if they already possess some knowledge of it, and find it easy to understand or recall, and may place more value on things they find familiar, even if the less familiar alternative is otherwise identical" (ibid). While the sources studied here are not individually authored, I have considered whether landscape specialists (as expert) have supported a status quo by emphasising their training in landscape architecture or geography, rather than the principles and practice of history. Conversely, I have also reflected on the cultures of archaeology and architectural history which focus on sites and monuments in

Figure 21: The shortbread tin image of Scotland, Copyright: Walkers Shortbread Inc

particular time periods, at the expense of how the wider totality is experienced in the present-day.

The political economist Ostrom (2007), who specialised in the economics of practical common property resource management, recognises the influence of different institutional levels on one another, including the shaping and implementation of policy rules and the 'venues' for decision-making. In the past 20 years Scotland has been subject to the overlapping venues of Brussels, Westminster and Holyrood, with implementation being deployed to more regional and local centres of decision making. In landscape terms, we can see that while the term does not appear in legislation until very recently, subordinate instruments place responsibility with countryside actors, the planning system and local government, with differential roles in expert advice, decision-making and implementation. There is a further dimension in the delegation of authority in certain circumstances as a means to allow certain actors to distance themselves from ownership as opposed to the direct deployment of power.

When past policy is based on this thinking, it provides the frame for current and future policymaking. Framing is, in turn, linked to social construction theory which considers policy design in relation to target groups and populations, based on values and characterisations of preferences. The distribution of benefits is cumulative, "influencing future action by signalling to target populations how they are described or will be treated" (Cairney 2016, 34), so if landscape is continually described as a thing of natural beauty, it becomes counter-intuitive to consider a cultural or human dimension as significant in how it is valued.

The social construction of problems results in advocacy coalitions of people with shared beliefs. For example, concern for battlefield sites brought together over time individuals who prioritise the protection of a sub-dimension of landscape – in the form of the Scottish Battlefield Trust – to mark a specific type of event that can be dated and located in space and time; landscape as persistent memorial. But there are contrasting coalitions, who compete with each other to dominate how policy is made and problems are understood (Cairney 2016, 25). By this we can also see super-coalitions of multiple groups coming together on shared interests, diverging where they differ, for example, Scottish Environment Link and the Built Environment Forum Scotland.

The use of evidence in landscape policy

Theory becomes practice when we move on to consider the challenge of implementation in policy making. Objectives are rarely clear, consistent, well-communicated or understood, with ambiguity frequently being 'written in' to ensure collective agreement (Gray 2015, 67). Success also depends on: effective intention and accurate identification to successfully correct underlying cause; and appropriate resources, skill level and delivery networks. Those charged with implementation through decision-making of the higher-level guidance, often depend on their own knowledge, objectives, experiences, beliefs and in-built biases (conscious and sub-conscious). Put simply, whether the relevant individual or group interpret landscape to mean a beautiful view, a spatial-scale ecosystem, or an area of land created by people interacting with nature.

Cairney draws attention to a research community that assumes policy actors have the same expert baseline knowledge, but "policymakers often do not know about, or have the resources to find or understand, up-to-date scientific information" (Cvitanovic cited in Cairney 2016, 92). In my professional role, I find it hard enough when exploring targeted scientific topics with

tightly framed questions; this seems doubly challenging for a policy official faced with landscape literature which is dispersed across a wide range of disciplines and advocacy groups, with overlapping and disparate vehicles for publication. Even if there is something useful to be found, it is not clear how an individual might first find it, before determining whether or not it might be accessible or relevant to their purpose.

Ambiguity in policy

The legislative process is rarely straightforward, and final enactment represents considerable concerted effort and competing demands. Where that effort is concentrated, clarity might result in an instrument's text – for example, Smoking, Health and Social Care (Scotland) Act 2005 that introduced the ban on smoking in public places has seen a high degree of compliance. This is, however unusual, and a level of ambiguity is often incorporated into legislation and guidance. While Cairney et al (2016) discuss how policy makers might seek to reduce ambiguity, there is perhaps evidence here to suggest that constructive ambiguity is a valuable tool in reaching agreement on an issue. They argue that ambiguity reflects a combination of complexity, where a single answer or solution may not have confident knowledge to support it, and disagreement over the entity that is to be regulated. In this context, the question might surround whether the focus of landscape should be on scenery, land or countryside, or its natural beauty, as a specific dimension, or indeed whether it concerns the 'looking at', walking through or regulating change. There is a danger of over-simplification when viewing the debate that contributes to the legislation or regulation in question and of overlooking the complexities of different arguments, the closeness of any decision, and the compromises required for a vote to pass. Mitchell argued (2000, 199) that one person's scenery is another's opportunity for production. To understand how these two positions might be reconciled, one route is to analyse the relevant discourse to identify where compromise might have been achieved, perhaps with the useful deployment of constructive ambiguity.

Drivers for Action: campaigns for wider access to the countryside

The history of the conservation movement in Scotland is well-documented (see for example Smout, 1990 & 2000, Macinnes & Wickham-Jones, 1992, Selman & Swanwick, 2010). I want to concentrate here on the articulation of concerns for landscape in particular, and how this relates to the policy process. Moore-Colyer & Scott highlight twentieth century writers and preservationists who developed an aesthetic rhetoric in which planners were seen as

authoritative composers of landscape (2005, 505). To what extent this is still true is open to debate but an idealised landscape might be deployed as a tool to support decision making.

Current attitudes to landscape are built on the firm foundations of a demand for access to the countryside that strengthened in the second half of the nineteenth century, a long-standing discourse dominated by the power and control of the land owners against the broader fight for access for wider democratic rights across the sphere of governance. The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1881 is a good example of legislation resulting from a popular concern over destruction of prehistoric monuments, and followed decades of activity around understanding, visiting, promoting and resisting destruction. Similarly, the access to countryside legislation (for which there were several failed attempts between 1884 and the 1930's) represented a campaign for public access (Figure 22) which continues today, with some in England jealously coveting the recent rights afforded under the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2003. I will look briefly here at the political context for the key events considered here.

General Elections

Both Conservative and Labour Party Manifestos for the 1945 election (The Labour Party 1945 & The Conservative Party, 1945) talk of building a better future, to fairness, and to better

https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1250972

Figure 22: Fifteen men with bicycles, possibly in the Stanley area, demonstrating the desire for leisure and recreation in the countryside, and taking advantage of new technology. c.1889, Crown Copyright, HES

90

homes. Both also refer to a new approach to town and country planning to ensure that improvement is delivered for everyone. Emphasis is placed on achieving a prosperous peace, a future that has been worth the fighting, in a post-war Britain. Labour achieved a parliamentary majority of 146, easing the process of implementing their objectives, and freeing up parliamentary time for the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949, which was passed with all-party support (although the ability to designate national parks in Scotland was not enacted – see Smout 2008).

It is outwith the scope of this research to examine the wider discourse around countryside and landscape in the 1960's, but the 1962 conference (Landscape Institute for Scotland and National Trust for Scotland 2012) set a key milestone and would certainly have touched policy officials. This conference was part of a wider concern; the National Trust for Scotland commissioned W H Murray, mountaineer and writer to survey the Highland Landscape (Murray, 1962), and in 1963 the Forestry Commission sought the advice of Dr Sylvia Crowe, landscape architect and author of *the Landscapes of Power* Crowe, 1958), where she wrote "there can be no doubt that men have not learned to reconcile their activities with the ecology of the earth, either visually or organically", encouraging the direction of resources to "the well-being and appearance of the land" (cited in Foot 2003, 180).

The strength of this debate influenced inclusion of related issues in both the main party manifestos in advance of the 1966 General Election. The Conservatives proposed policies for "a countryside preserved where it is beautiful and transformed where it is ugly and derelict" and commits to creation of "a new Coast and Countryside Commission" (The Conservative Party, 1966). Labour committed to

> a new and more powerful Commission to deal with the whole countryside and coastline is now proposed. Its first aim will be the creation of country parks, to provide suitable sites for picnics, for leisure pastimes, and for the motorist (The Labour Party, 1966).

The significant point here is the majority of seats that eased business management in the relevant Parliamentary Chambers, allowing time for the subsequent passage of what might be considered less controversial legislation. While the main legislation was generated under large Labour Party majorities, Appendix 6 shows that some of the key developments at a more operational level were instigated under Conservative, Labour and later Scottish National Party administrations.

The emphasis on leisure and recreation is telling – it is about the demand by the electorate to *enjoy* that countryside, with benefits of fresh air and appreciation of natural beauty perhaps made explicit – each reader/ voter was asked to imagine how they could directly benefit personally from this commitment. The similarity between the two texts suggests a contextual discourse, perhaps internal to government but also most likely external advocacy that has prompted each party to see this as an issue to which the electorate will be responsive. It was considered of sufficient public concern to merit inclusion. A Labour majority of 98 seats secured the passing of the Countryside (Scotland) Act 1967 which established the Countryside Commission for Scotland (CCS), and also for England and Wales.

Broader environmental concerns and a sense of 'crisis'
The emphasis on countryside was linked to a wider green debate that emerged in the mid-twentieth century and represents a growing concern over environmental crisis, with an accompanying demand for sustainable management of the world's resources (Macinnes & Wickham-Jones 1992, 1). Contributions have been articulated at a strategic (Brundtland 1987) and a sectoral level (UN 1992), and recognition is given to the past as "an important dimension of an holistic approach to the environment" (ibid) but where cross-sectoral approaches are necessary to address common problems.

The Countryside (Scotland) Act 1967 gave powers to the Secretary of State to "designate any area in the countryside [which] should by reason of its beauty or amenity or other special characteristics" (CCS 1971, 1) as an area of special planning control. So, landscape was recognised as an issue worthy of political and administrative attention, using tools created through the town and country planning system; these tools did not concern the whole landscape however, just the areas considered to be special.

Subject – object
For much of the last 50 years, a focus on the difference between subjective and objective ways of assessing landscape have featured strongly, partly because of the emphasis placed on robust scientific methods but also because of the impartiality of the civil service in developing any administrative approach. The Countryside Commission for Scotland (CCS) concentrates on the science of landscape appreciation, including their contemporary understanding of physiology and psychology, and the interaction of the external and internal worlds of the observer (CCS 1971, 16). Further activity culminated in the publication of *Scotland's Scenic Heritage* in 1978 (CCS 1978), which formalised scenery in the Scottish approach to landscape,

but this document was also the first to identify specific areas for potential protection from a solidly scenic perspective (see Selman & Swanwick 2010, 199). From a different perspective, "the archaeological and historic landscape is studied predominantly by academics of various disciplines, while its management, at both national and local level is led by specialists" (Macinnes 2002, 25).

Landscape assessments can therefore present a paradox, where the resulting classifications might be described as being objective, but this really means "that having defined certain assumptions the process of evaluating the landscape is conducted rigorously in accordance with these criteria" while ignoring the subjective basis of the landscape character preferences that underlie the original criteria (Lothian 1999, 178). Certain values are legitimised in the planning process while others are ignored, privileging those who share those accepted views and effectively "defining for whom the landscape is planned" (Butler 2016, 1).

There has been increasing debate in the past twenty years over the role of expert knowledge, particularly in planning and landscape contexts, with a move to increasing democratisation in decision-making processes in line with the principles of the ELC (Natural England/ LUC 2009, 10). An essential dimension of what is perceived and experienced is the knowledge we bring to the process, whether that is our own memories or personal understanding of our place in the world; the knowledge and information that rests in what we perceive.

Priede's innovative approach combined quantitative and qualitative methods to explore the different values ascribed to landscape by members of the public from school children through to senior citizens. She examined how people value different elements of the landscape today: "not all landscape users are experts – lay people also have perceptions and values for landscape which must be taken into account" (Priede 2009, 11). She also acknowledges the material landscape, quoting Prentice and Guerin's point that "techniques of landscape evaluation have focused too strongly on people's responses to landscape rather than what aspects of landscape they are responding to" (ibid, 12). Such techniques have evolved to include experiential qualities above and beyond the visual, although there is still a dominant focus on the visual aesthetic. They go onto argue that "while it is essential to examine which elements of the material landscape people value, the influences on these values are not material facts of the land" but influenced through their knowledge based on their "identity, experiences and social situation" (ibid, 12). Balanced against this however, is the value that expert judgement can bring to the understanding of the historic dimension of the landscape,

and the contribution of emerging research (Tress & Tress 2001), provided it is communicated through a process of knowledge exchange.

The cultural landscape

The term most frequently cited in relation to the historic dimension of landscape in the 1990's was the 'cultural landscape', described as a social construct (Byrne 2008) and recognised as a legal entity, as set out in the World Heritage Convention Article 1 as

> The combined works of nature and of man [and] illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal (WHC 1992, article 1)

It is clear from the literature review that cultural landscape was the preferred term for the archaeological heritage community in describing the wider spatial scale of the historic dimension of landscape,

> landscape is in fact doubly cultural. Its components ('ingredients') within the environment are the product of hundreds, sometimes thousands, of years of human, cultural actions. At the same time, however, the landscape as a whole is cultural because it is created only in the present-day by our own cultural and social attitudes – it is not the same as environment, but an intellectual construct. (Fairclough 2008, 409)

This brings further ambiguity, because in quite a bit of the literature cultural landscape is described as a thing … with a boundary (pers. comm. Macinnes). Two types of relict cultural landscape were also been identified through the English Heritage monument protection programme – synchronic (valued for evidence relating to one single period), and diachronic (containing superimposed patterns of several main periods) (Darvill et al 1993, 567). While refining what is meant by landscape, the focus is on pre-determined time periods relating directly to physical evidence in the form of monuments. Value is placed on landscape as a mechanism for the articulation of features to "provide a framework which physically connects elements and delimits spaces" (ibid 565). This language makes sense when its functional context is considered, which is focused on management, and protection from dramatic change. Baxter argues however that management itself is an agent of change, transforming a material entity into a heritage object (Baxter 2012, 11), drawing attention to the challenges of applying the principles of a 'monument' protection programme to large spatial areas that might be described as a landscape.

94

'Cultural landscape' has become much less popular in the institutional literature in the last fifteen years or so and goes against the principles of the ELC. It was discussed during my conversation with interviewee I/V HEM3, who reflected,

> my take on what has happened over time is that we used to use the term cultural landscape for human interaction with landscape… it became superseded by historic environment/ historic dimension of landscape maybe partly because cultural implied modern culture and the different nuances that are in the world heritage descriptions… so cultural became a more nebulous term.

Cultural landscape as a term that has been subsequently replaced by 'historic environment' in a Scottish context (partly as a result of such ambiguity, particularly in relation to an interpretation in a more modern sense), but it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to examine this in detail.

Landscape Character Assessment

The Landscape Character Assessment (LCA) was developed by SNH over several years, working closely with local authorities to achieve a full national coverage by 2002. As is often the case, it was soon established in the narrative of landscape and planning policy, and it is easy to forget just how innovative an approach it was when first envisage in the late 1980's. Interviewee I/V L3 was involved in the early pilots, describing the position as,

> well there's a blank sheet of paper here and you need something that's actually an impartial database […going on to say]… Well it was quite an exciting time because no one else was doing landscape character assessment before we were on a national basis; we were the first country … Scotland … as a devolved nation to be doing a country-wide landscape character assessment; England followed us, in effect in the end and they did it differently.

it is also important not to underestimate the experimental nature of the proposed approach, and the emphasis placed on completing a national coverage while at the same time reviewing strengths and weaknesses and potential adjustments. Interviewee I/V HEM3 was involved in discussions from the historic environment perspective and recalls

> In the early days of landscape character assessment we did try to put in a historical framework, but it ended up being no more than a little introduction […] and that was at least in part because we didn't have the landscape-wide language for dealing with the historical development of landscape. So we could talk about sites, we could talk about some historical events if you…knew, about the desertion of settlements perhaps, but you couldn't really talk about dominant character …

However, the assessment was largely conducted by landscape specialists, with the result that

> "rather than addressing landscape as a lived experience, landscape planners, through LCAs tend to handle it as an objective unit of analysis, representing a backdrop of predominantly an objective outsider view; contrasting with the intimate experience of those who inhabit the landscape" (Butler 2016, 11).

Origins of policy relating to the historic dimension of landscape

The idea of the historic dimension of landscape was discussed through the 1990's (see Macinnes & Wickham Jones 1992, Darvill 1993 & Thomas 1996), although described predominantly as either the 'cultural landscape' or the 'historic landscape'. Hingley, speaking for Historic Scotland, followed the international lead with a focus on the 'cultural landscape' which he defined as reflecting "the interaction between people and their environment over space and time" (Hingley 1999, 2). The grey literature confirms established relationships between corporate officials across the UK home nations, with several contributions on what might constitute a historic landscape. For example, Fairclough et al (1999, 9) explore the philosophy and interpretation behind the English Heritage Historic Landscape Project, and 1998 saw publication of the Register of Landscapes of Outstanding Historic Interest in Wales (Cadw 1998).

At a more local level, Kilmartin Glen, Argyll & Bute (Vignette 4) is described as "a rich archaeological landscape, with many visible monuments covering a wide timespan […] best known for the early prehistoric ceremonial landscape" (Macinnes 1996, 47). The diversity of terms in this short paragraph gives some indication of the complexity in the concepts being conveyed, emphasising the importance of this research, in trying to understand the breadth of contexts in which it is applied.

In 2000 Macinnes set out the vision for the future of Scotland's historic landscape, on behalf of Historic Scotland, creating an interesting benchmark against which the current policy position might be considered. Explored within the context of "the problems of the cultural landscape as it exists in its environmental setting" (Smout 2002, 10), she argued that "the historic character of the wider Scottish environment, whether rural or urban, is neither well understood nor adequately considered in the predominantly site-specific focus of existing conservation mechanisms" (Macinnes 2002, 21). This paper included a long-term vision for the management of the historic landscape in Scotland and set out seven strategic objectives to support delivery of this vision (the vision and objectives are set out in Appendix 7).

The sustainable development principles (originally set out in Brundtland 1987) – meeting the needs of today without compromising the needs of future generations – were highly topical at the time and were applied here in "seeking to promote understanding and awareness of the historic development of the modern landscape, and to secure the conservation of key elements for the benefit of present and future generations." (Macinnes 2002, 22). There are two issues here – firstly, how we understand the historic development of the modern landscape and share this with the wider population to appreciate the extent to which this knowledge affects their connection to their place; their home. The second is the immediate link between understanding and conservation – the assumption that once we understand something to be important, we will want to protect and conserve it. The long history of this approach for individual monuments or buildings demonstrates its validity but faces significant challenge when considering the wider countryside which continues to underpin the rural economy and produce at least a proportion of the food required to sustain the wider population.

In Scottish governance, human history has been categorised as a subset of culture, both in academic and broader public terms. Historic Environment Scotland falls within the remit of the Cabinet Secretary for Cultural and External Affairs (also the approach taken in England, albeit with slightly different titles, while SNH reports to the Scottish Government's Environment and Forestry Directorate). This may be convenient in administrative terms, and link across the dimensions of human experience, but it also serves to obscure the value of how we tell the story of our past, separating the human from the environmental in administrative categories.

The Historic Landuse Assessment

The Historic Landuse Assessment (HLA) emerged from concerns that the Landscape Character Assessment (LCA) Programme did not adequately capture the significance of the human dimension of landscape. Early conversations within the cultural heritage community, planning colleagues and landscape specialists prompted serious debate over the practical management of nature and culture, what is considered to be important, and how we perceive the physical evidence for human activity that survives today as features within the landscape (e.g. Hingley 1999, Macinnes 2002). If the historic dimension is not included as a significant dimension of the landscape to the observer who has perhaps been trained in topography, landscape ecology and the experience of that space in the present, it is more likely that people will be invisible in the process of characterisation, and so too the wider relationship of people in time.

As a lead instigator of the HLA, Hingley described its purpose to "explore the ability of creating a method of assessing historic land use patterns in Scotland" (Hingley 1999, 3). The focus was on "time-depth within the present-day landscape" (Millican et al 2017, 71), a concept which is taken for granted within archaeology, but which would merit further dialogue with other disciplines. The primary aim of the assessment was to map "the historic dimension of today's landscape" and critically, "regardless of value or perceived quality … to consider the whole of the landscape rather than just individual archaeological sites." (ibid 72) The method focused on the tangible materialised evidence in the landscape and examines the underlying historical process and forces that have combined to produce the character evident today. Writing at the conclusion of the project, nearly twenty years after its original conception, Millican et al assert

> "it has analysed the character and time-depth of the whole of the landscape, recording any land-use that has left a mark, whether that land use is current or relict (i.e. no longer active) […] it takes an explicitly archaeological approach to landscape, considering landscape as active material culture both shaped by and shaping people" (ibid, 72).

I have long taken for granted the distinction between relict and active forms of land use, as one of the first steps in grasping and communicating time depth. However, this may not be clear to different disciplines and stakeholders and emphasises the importance of dialogue in appreciating the range of different perspectives on landscapes, and this is a critical reminder to why the exercise was begun in the first place – Interviewee I/V HEM3 was able to provide useful context:

> So the HLA in a way, it set out to try and look at the whole landscape … for the first time it has approached the whole landscape and said, there's a historical dimension to all of this and it's something which is unfamiliar; … so it started to look at the landscape (if there is such a thing) and say how did it go from the way it is now … what were the historical processes that helped create that?

So, in Scotland we do have a baseline tool that begins to consider time depth in the present landscape, with potential for analysis at a local, regional and national scale to improve our understanding of how the landscape came to be the way it is today.

International Policy Influences

The European Landscape Convention

The European Landscape Convention (ELC) is pivotal in providing a wider context for this analysis. The UK Government formally ratified the Convention in 2006, and while this marked the formal change, several actors and institutions were actively engaged in debate and drafting from the initial suggestion in 1994. Ratification was the result of extensive deliberation and advice within government on whether it was a desirable act in principle, and whether there would be any adverse consequences in practice. As a result, while this event marked a key staging point, it did not present a dramatic change in approach. Indeed, it is unlikely to have been signed by the UK government at all if it had been perceived to bring dramatic change to the existing approach to regulation of land. Responsibility for implementation rests with the Scottish Government as a devolved 'matter' (as defined by the Scotland Act 1998). While it is recognised that this text has been prepared by a series of multi-national and multi-lingual committees, the official versions are published in English and French, and it is the definition in the English language version that is most frequently cited in Scottish sources examined here.

The text of the Convention runs to eighteen articles aimed at promoting "landscape protection, management and planning, and to organise European co-operation on landscape issues" (Council of Europe 2000, article 3). Signatories agree to support the interests of landscape in several areas, including training and identification.

As the official definition of the Council of Europe, it frames the UK Government's approach to landscape, and as an international treaty, that of the devolved administrations. Before a treaty is ratified, it is normal practice in the UK to assess the regulatory impact of a proposed mechanism and it is my understanding that existing legislation and guidance was compliant, and no additional instruments were required (Interviewee I/V L3). The ratification of the ELC seemed to present a key point to build upon, but hindsight tells us that this fell not long before the global financial crash and the ten years of austerity measures, limiting time and resources available to lead-agencies, and requiring elected members to focus their energies elsewhere. 2007 also marked a change of administration in Scotland, and the introduction of the National Performance Framework (Campbell 2012), bringing the development of five interconnected strategic policy outcomes to guide governance.

The combination of these events influenced the national approach to landscape, partly through the revision of policy implementation mechanisms such as the National Planning Framework (SG 2014a) and Scottish Planning Policy (SG 2014b), along with a refined approach to corporate governance tying organisations more tightly to their core functions. The business of landscape continued, and it is through examining the language of the key documents over this period that I will get a sense of the extent to which the historic dimension is addressed.

The definition

The Convention definition of landscape is perhaps the most widely used since it was originally opened for signature in 2002 and has had significant influence in framing the approach in Scotland. In 2013 an accompanying glossary was adopted by the Council of Europe Conference on the European Landscape Convention, and while State Parties to the Convention are encouraged to make use of this text, the glossary was too recent for its influence to be detected in the discourse studied here.

> *an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/ or human factors (CoE 2000a, article 1).*

It is impossible to generate a definition of landscape that captures each individual's perception of its meaning, but this text was agreed after at least eight years of intense international debate and negotiation, and close reading provides useful insight into the issues discussed that prompted agreement of a text. I want to take each element of the definition in turn, to examine the meaning encapsulated in the whole, but will start by considering how the glossary approaches the parent concept of 'landscape'. This definition sits at the core of my analysis, and each element has its own genealogy.

One of the major innovations brought about through the ELC was the theoretical end of fragmentation of the concept into cultural and natural landscapes, urban and rural landscapes, outstanding and everyday landscapes, tangible and intangible landscapes. Landscape is the result of an overall approach to the interaction between natural and human factors, between people and their territory, between past, present and future. (CoE 2013, 13)

In 2013 the Council published a Glossary to accompany the Convention. I do not know if this is standard practice for treaties issues under the CoE, but it offers a fascinating insight into the factors that are central to the understanding and management of landscape and offers considerable potential for inter-disciplinary and cross-sectoral dialogue.

An area, as perceived by people – the opening noun appears simple but is open to wide interpretation. The starting point is with a spatial extent of the earth, no value judgement or claim, simply an area, to which layers of meaning and understanding are subsequently applied; otherwise known in cultural geography as space and place. In its most straightforward form, it refers to the physical part of the earth's surface, of potential any scale; the spatial extent of what might be defined as a territory. The term is explored in the ELC glossary (CoE, 2013), and defined as "an area is part of the Earth's surface, whether or not precisely delineated. Areas are first and foremost tangible expanses of land" (ibid, 10). The text makes an explicit distinction with territory, understood as involving delineation through social and legal systems, which may (or may not) be associated with natural elements such as rivers or ridges.

The second part of this phrase sits at the heart of this thesis, in which it is interpreted to mean that the act of perception is only within the minds of different people, separate from the material reality that constitutes the area. I will argue that the act of perception relies on the daily interaction of people with their surroundings and the material and intangible processes that are part of the experience of being in the world. The issue of 'perception' is in its very essence an interactive and multi-dimensional one, and an essential element of landscape is the perception through the mind of an individual. It is essentially a personal experience (hence the reference to 'aspiration'). But moving beyond the individual to a group or community, each will respond to a common and shared material physicality, whether or not every individual perceives every element or feature within it.

Whose character is the result of … The sentence construction is important – it is the character of the spatial area that is important but meaning is dependent on context. Several of the documents subject to my analysis define or explain the concept of character. For example, the LCA Guidance (TCA & SNH 2002, 8) describes it as "a distinct, recognisable pattern of elements in the landscape that makes one landscape different from another, rather than better or worse." Curiously, in the 25-page ELC glossary, no specific mention is made of character. This section goes on to relate the term 'area' to 'landscape', drawing what is the critical qualifier

for the opening words 'as perceived by people' arguing that within the meaning of the convention, it is a "subject of public evaluation and aspirations" (CoE 2013, 13).

Or perhaps, 'is caused by', 'got to be that way because of'; this phrase to me is crucial. The glossary does not define this particular phrase, although it is clearly acknowledged. For example, the section on *heritage* (CoE 2013, 6) argues that "heritage is routinely defined as all the assets of a group or community. It is inextricably linked with the concept of handing down to future generations the legacy received from previous generations."

Cronon's contention that environmental history is about understanding how places got to be the way they are, arguing that the people who lived in the past "laid the foundations of the lives we now lead and the world we inhabit" (Cronon 2003, 172). Crucially, he recognises that not only humans have history, and that the earth and non-human nature are captured in the landscape which "bears innumerable marks of past transformations whose signs are everywhere, if only one learns to recognise them" (ibid, 173).

One lens through which one might assess character is that of 'land use'; particularly pertinent when we consider that management of landscape is firmly tied into the system of town and country planning, albeit partially through arguments of exemption. Understanding land use, today and how it has evolved over time is crucial to understanding why the landscape has come to be the way it is. Robinson et al recognise the importance of the land use concept, describing landscape as "the product of the lands uses which make and change it … the product of varying and often conflicting social and economic pressures for the use of land" (Robinson et al 1976, 16), and linking neatly to the HLA.

The action and interaction of natural and/ or human factors: this is a complex phrase, where the meaning is also open to interpretation. I believe it conveys the constant process of interaction through the earth's system, where all living things interact with their environment and with each other, impacting upon physical characteristics and processes, and being impacted upon; a continuously dynamic change. For example, people dependent on a particular piece of land for their family's survival might extract lime to alter the pH of the soil, create lazy beds to grow crops and plant a shelter belt to protect their livestock, evidence for which can be detected in different ways in the landscape today.

Some of these factors are perceived by the individual, but they are more likely to be part of a complex process of making a living that involves multiple interactions between the material and the mental, action and interaction, between people and their place. The ELC Glossary

states under the heading of 'landscape elements' that "landscape is a system of interaction, both spatial and social, between its elements [...] When [...] elements or basic components of the landscape are studied or used in their own right, they cannot reflect the systemic, holistic dimension of landscape" (ibid, 13). It may be simple semantic rhythm, but dimension seems to me to sit uncomfortably here – the systematic whole must capture the multiplicity of different dimensions in a single entity that is landscape. The important point is that in considering landscape, all elements within the system should be taken together, rather than selecting one dimension over another. The text goes on "in practice, it is the interaction between the different elements that is more important than the elements themselves" (ibid).

In this discussion of interaction, there is no analysis of just what is meant by natural and/ or human factors. Perhaps the natural feels easier to grasp – the drama of the mountains, the light on the moors and the sinuous burn heard bubbling faintly from afar; the mind's eye (and ear!) can appreciate these elements and their combination partly because that is what we have been taught to do – in Scotland at least, although I am speaking generically on what is a very personal and individual issue.

The ELC in the literature and policy

In the context of the European Landscape Convention "the 'conventional' meaning of landscape does not lie in the establishment of a fixed theoretically founded definition from which planning is to proceed (as in classic top-down planning). Rather this meaning must be found in the process that sets in motion a plethora of gatherings involving members of various interest groups, polities and communities in which the common perception of landscape that emerges provides a basis for subsequent practice" (Olwig 2007, 580). Signatory states are required to "recognise landscapes in role as an essential component of people's surroundings, and expression of the diversity of the shared cultural and natural heritage, and foundation of that identity" (ibid, 581), recognising landscape as a surrounding comprising the material and intangible setting for our lives. Or as Olwig puts it "not so much the objective scenic spatial framework of a location, but a place constituted through the tangible and intangible social and cultural practices that shape the land" (ibid).

> "the meaning of the term 'landscape' has become broader than that of a view or panorama of natural scenery, which characterised many national protection laws and policies until the middle of the 20th century and that of *environment* or *nature* to which it is often been limited during the recent years of environmentalist battles." (Scazzosi cited in Olwig 2007, 581)

In this one sentence, he captures the value in studying institutional documents, because in struggling to find a legal place for landscape in policy, practitioners in Scotland are still finding it difficult to differentiate these terms. A challenge is embedded in the Convention to traditional approaches which might be said to consider landscape as a form of layered scenery with 'nature' understood as the geomorphic foundation for the natural flora and fauna and 'culture' perceived primarily in terms of visible material objects superimposed by human beings in accordance with, or in resistance to, the demands of the natural environment. This approach can emphasise the character or aesthetic appeal of scenery, but it can also emphasise ecological relations.

While it lies beyond the scope of this research, I want to draw attention to complexity theory, described by supporters as "a new scientific paradigm providing new ways to understand, and study, the natural and social worlds" (Cairney 2016, 38). His message is deceptively straightforward, "if you recognise the role of complexity in your own scientific research, recognise complexity in mine" (ibid). A core property of a complex system is that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, neatly describing the concept of landscape "those parts are interdependent – elements interact with each other and combine to produce systematic behaviour" (ibid), echoing the definition of landscape in the ELC, and the idea of interaction. A transdisciplinary approach to research recognises different perspectives from the start, different from my own experience of multi-disciplinary projects where there is a marked tendency for each individual to focus on their own contribution rather than exploring the common ground that is shared on the topic in question, where the evidence for interaction and inter-relationship lies, too often undiscovered.

While not exhaustive, a summary of the references to 'landscape' in recent legislation reveals a certain level of ambiguity where in certain circumstances it was considered acceptable to refer to a concept not actually defined in law (a selection of key references in legislation is included at Appendix 8). .

Scotland and the ELC

The European Landscape Convention was a pivotal event in the governance of landscape. The Explanatory Report describes the general purpose of the Convention to "encourage public authorities to adopt policies and measures" at all levels of governance, for "protecting, managing and planning landscapes […] to maintain and improve landscape quality and bring the public, institutions and […] authorities to recognise the value and importance of landscape

and to take part in related public decisions." (CoE 2000a, para 25). The following paragraph emphasises the intended scope "it is not confined to either the cultural, man-made or natural components of landscape: it is concerned with all of these and how they interconnect." (ibid para 26). In essence, this constitutes a direction to consider the bigger picture; the whole is greater than the sum of the parts.

While the innovation in the ELC is clear, and the UK and Scottish Governments are to be commended for their support of the principles, the institutional structures both in and beyond government and the expertise and experience of key actors means that eleven years on from ratification, discourse is not reconciled to the principle detailed above. To be fair, the majority of documents specifically addressing landscape were produced in the first decade of this century. While this has not been confirmed officially, it is likely that any further work has been challenged by the onset of the global recession and its impact on already constrained resources and the appetite for engaging policy matters that were not considered to be a priority. In the wider governance narrative, a strengthened economy and a push for social justice were arguably more important, and environmental matters were increasingly framed around climate change, renewable energy and planning for a sustainable future.

The global context

International institutions have also generated significant contextual material. The idea of landscape has been extensively considered by two organisations with a global reach, and they are worth referencing briefly here.

World Heritage Committee

The World Heritage Committee was formed following adoption of an agreed text for a Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage by the General Conference of UNESCO in 1972. It is officially described as "recognising the way in which people interact with nature, and the fundamental need to preserve the balance between the two" (UNESCO 2018). Its roots were two-pronged, lying in the aftermath of the Second World War and the desire to protect cultural sites and objects, and to conserve an increasingly threatened natural world.

There is only one reference to landscape in the text of the Convention, with reference to what might be considered as cultural heritage and including:

groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or <u>their place in the landscape</u>, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; (UNESCO 1972, Article 1, my emphasis)

The Convention is striking on three counts. Firstly, the opening statement for the Convention, which frames the subsequent text, explains one driver of the Convention by

Noting that the cultural heritage and the natural heritage are increasingly threatened with destruction not only by the traditional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions which aggravate the situation with even more formidable phenomena of damage or destruction (UNESCO 1972, preamble).

In the context of the earlier policy discussion, I see this as a direct action precipitated by heartfelt concern for unacceptable change and irreversible loss. I am not challenging the dramatic extent of the change and their experience of it, but simply noting that the baseline for the Convention is a desire to halt an undesirable trend, rather than a more balanced desire to recognise and retain that which is valued (to the standard judged as 'outstanding universal value'), while allowing for continuous development and progress. There is a sense of overcoming powerlessness in the face of larger forces, and retaking control over special sites and areas for protection and conservation.

The second point that strikes me here, and it is perhaps more nuanced, is that reference to 'place in the landscape'. The landscape is positioned as the setting for buildings or groups of buildings, valued because of its interrelationship with them. It is not mentioned elsewhere in the description of cultural heritage, which recognises the importance of monuments and archaeological sites, and the combined works of man and nature.

The third element that I find striking is the separate definition for 'Natural Heritage', where reference is made to the concept of 'natural beauty', although without further explanation, "natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty" (UNESCO 1972, Article 2). The implication here is that 'natural beauty' is entirely natural, and not something that relates to the cultural heritage. At the signing of the Convention natural and cultural heritage were recognised equally, but at this point they are considered to be separate. This seems to me to contradict the description of the Convention's purpose on the website, as the recognition "of the way people interact with nature"; there is natural heritage, and there is cultural heritage,

and the Committee is advised by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature on the first, and the International Council on Monuments and Sites for the second.

I have possibly overemphasised this point and recognise that the Convention was merely the start of a process, instigating a series of operational guidelines and advisory documents. I believe this sense of separation reflects, and is in turn reflected by, subsequent discussion of landscape as a natural or cultural entity in subsequent administrative approaches.

While not subject to full analysis, I have examined the *Operational Guidelines* (WHC 2015), the World Heritage Site papers on *Cultural Landscapes* (WHC 2010) and *Linking Universal and Local Values* (WHC 2003b) as part of the wider landscape governance context. These documents have an official value for anyone preparing a nomination document for World Heritage Site status, but also a less formal significance where they are positioned as the text from pre-eminent experts of international standing, and therefore carry weight for regional and local levels of administration who have limited access to the resources required to engage with complex heritage issues. Officials will consider these texts as a standard of acceptable norm, saving them the time and resource of examining the primary evidence and coming to their own independent view.

This is particularly pertinent to Scotland's six World Heritage Sites (The Antonine Wall, Heart of Neolithic Orkney, New Lanark, Edinburgh Old and New Towns, St Kilda, the only site in the UK designated for both natural and cultural outstanding universal value, Figure 23), and The Forth Bridge.

The International Union for the Conservation of Nature
Established in 1948 to support the conservation of nature across the world, it includes governments and civil society organisations within its members. It has become a powerful voice for nature conservation of sites, but also considering the underlying principles that govern best-practice. It is named as an official advisor to the World Heritage Convention on natural heritage matters, and policy positioning and briefings are likely to have a strong
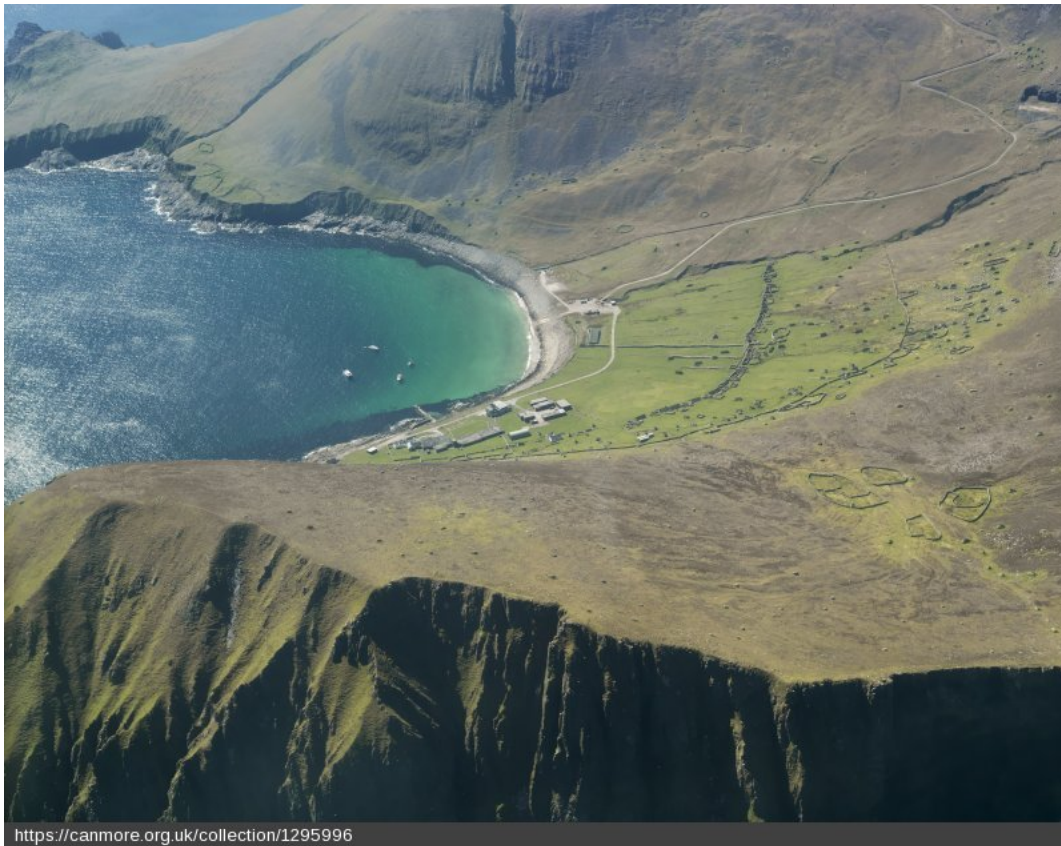
Figure 23: St Kilda World Heritage Site - the only joint designation for natural and cultural heritage in the UK, Crown Copyright HES

influence on how issues are framed within the work of the Committee under the Convention. The publication of their paper *Linking Landscapes* (Finke 2013) was particularly useful as I was gathering my data. Lowenthal observes "in the very book that launched and lauded UNESCO's cultural landscape programme, essay after essay implies that nature is perfect and culture, a nuisance, and rates 'anthropogenic' areas below pristine ones – even where they admit that none are pristine" (2005, 89) He goes on to highlight that a primary criterion for designation of cultural landscapes in World Heritage Sites remains their "supposed harmony with nature" (ibid 90)

The International Council on Monuments and Sites
The parallel organisation for cultural heritage, the advice of ICOMOS feeds through into the official guidance of the WHC and is concentrated in this context in the area of nomination for designation as a World Heritage Site. At its simplest level, there is a clear contradiction in the continued use of cultural and natural landscape labels with the position taken in the ELC which clearly argues for a multi-dimensional landscape where value is in the evidence for interaction, rather than any particular special quality.

A fundamental challenge

This chapter has set out the existing structure of national and international policy approaches and related tools that frame the analysis of the institutional discourses of landscape in Scotland. It has highlighted a key issue in the policy context of the need for a corporate author to generalise and anonymise what is essentially individual and personal. It has also drawn attention to the wider international literature that is frequently cited as key sources in the discourse examined in this thesis.

The three discursive formations – landscape, historic environment and corporate governance – share some common elements. For example, those charged with drafting on behalf of public bodies are bound by the Civil Service Code, its core values of integrity, honesty, objectivity and impartiality, and the need to operate without preference or prejudice to any citizen or group. (The Civil Service Code, 2015). This Code, with the principles and practice of political science and the historical themes and events, frames the context for many of the sources examined here.

The material remains survive to be perceived and interpreted by everyone. While those perceptions may be different, the first stage is identifying tangible remains that are *available* for interpretation and reinterpretation. Like LCA, we start by finding ways to articulate the concept of concern, to allow further debate, comparative evaluation and judgement, whether that be on the part of an individual, communities requesting funding support or those proposing some form of dramatic change.

Case study vignettes

This research explores the official discourse on landscape in Scotland, which concentrates on the use of language to convey and confirm meaning. I wanted to tie my analysis to the Scottish landscapes that I know and examine how value is captured through the tools that are currently deployed. By discussing specific places, I wanted to understand the extent to which different qualities might be identified and acknowledged and consider how these different factors interrelate within the landscape, and impact on my perception and experience of it in the present day. I have used eight vignettes to illustrate the link between text and physical place, and positioned these throughout the text, at the end of the main analytical chapters.

The first considers a central Scotland area that has no formal national landscape designation, while the final study is the most reflective, considering my personal experience of a National Scenic Area.

Vignette 1 – Loch Leven and the Lomond Hills

The first example is Loch Leven and the Lomond Hills, a well-known lowland landscape with scenic values, within which can be detected a long-standing dynamic interaction between people and their place. There are several designations for nature conservation value, and for historic environment assets, but only local recognition for landscape qualities.

Chapter 5: Describing Landscape

This research examined how the use of the term 'landscape' is characterised in the institutional discourse and the extent to which a historic dimension is addressed. The language selected conveys how landscape character is perceived and the sense of values that are placed upon it. In this chapter I will set out the results of my analysis of how the specific term 'landscape' is used within the different discourses studied here. I will discuss the different interpretations that I have found, and the implications for the process of communication with the different communities of interest who form the audience, and subsequent cross-boundary dialogue. I will identify where meaning is left open to the reader's interpretation, and how this affects the perception of the historic dimension. This chapter will also examine the significance of scenic value in policy and practice in Scotland, how it accommodates a historic dimension of landscape and how this has influenced the wider approach to governance.

The language of landscape

In keeping with Tress and Tress, "landscape is a seemingly familiar term, in research and practise as well as in everyday language" (2001, 143). Despite being widely deployed, analysis of linguistic contexts of the use of 'landscape' can reveal how corporate authors understand the term as they approach their formal obligations. I will start by considering the different interpretations identified through this analysis, beginning with an interviewee who neatly captured the challenge,

> First of all, there is an understanding among those that I work with in the landscape profession that landscape is in effect a social construct term therefore it will mean different things to different parts of society (Interviewee I/V L3)

A range of contrasting responses were heard in the interviews, for example

> Landscape probably means two things to me. One is the public perception version which is the nice pretty picture landscape to go walking through, enjoy the views of, etc, but the overriding perception for me it is in the landscape that everything sits, everything happens; it is historical… (Interviewee I/V HEM 2)

> I use the term when talking about large scale habitat management or making change on a landscape scale meaning bigger than local; larger scale management of the environment […] larger than protected areas but smaller than national that work on

an ecological functional basis; the bigger areas of management, the bigger the benefit in ecological/ management terms. (Interviewee I/V P4)

The majority of documentary sources refer to the corporate author's interest in the meaning of landscape. Close reading can reveal a sense of how each actor frames landscape, perhaps through a natural or temporal lens, from a scenic perspective or as an entity subject to administration or governance. These are not mutually exclusive but how the emphasis is placed sheds some light on how the historic dimension of landscape might be positioned.

Some public documents include glossaries to aid the reader, but more importantly, to clearly establish the positioning of the publishing authority and the meaning that is being specifically ascribed in the context of the text. It also allows potential for wider interpretation and deployment (for example, to support the case for decision-making within the planning system, or in operational practice).

While the concept of 'scenery' is inherent in the wider discussion of landscape, only two specific definitions of scenery were found:

1. The Landscape Policy Framework defines it as "a popular term for landscape, which emphasises people's visual perception of their surroundings and the landscape's composition in views." (SNH 2005, 20)

2. Three years earlier the National Assessment of Scotland's Landscapes, issued in 2002 (SNH) and following completion of the national coverage of the LCA programme, defined it as "a term in popular usage, which is used to describe landscape compositions" and referencing "the visual aspects of the landscape." (SNH 2002a, 39)

Both describe 'composition', which could be interpreted to mean the combination of elements that build together into a whole; but this term is also common in the aesthetic appreciation of art and might suggest to the reader a role of active 'recipient', with personal choice in judging how a scene is to be perceived, and how it comes to be framed. I detected several distinct themes of meaning through my analysis of the discourse:

1. As a _being_ word

   a. an all-embracing concept, where no explanation is deemed necessary; 'landscape is '
   Landscape is frequently discussed as an entity that requires no particular explanation for the reader. The author respects their knowledge and invites them to apply their own interpretation. This echoes van Dijk (2001, 357) to some extent in the reference to implicit

communication of beliefs, although in this context less as manipulation and more in acknowledgement of the breadth of legitimate interpretations. For example, SNH 2011 opens with "our nature and landscapes are part of our heritage" (SNH 2011, 1), presenting the purpose of the text as

"to outline the way the landscape of Scotland could be affected by climate change and describes some of the challenges for managing these effects." (ibid, 2).

Frequent reference is made to landscape throughout this source and yet, despite its use in the title confirming 'landscape' as a core object of discussion, no explanation is given for what is meant in this context. The subject matter is clearly confined to Scotland (the Scottish landscape), but also 'our' landscape, for example (ibid), reporting on research evidence and in certain circumstances indicating where action may be required in terms of management. In this particular text, the primary reference is to future time, and the potential impact of a changing climate over the next 50 years. One reference was found to past-time in "significant habitat loss in the past" (ibid, 7), and the sense that activity in the past (the implication for the reader is human activity) has prompted the need for action now and in the future.

Several contributions to the discourse provide contextual definitions for landscape, with three approaches identified. Each of the interviewees were asked about their personal understanding of landscape:

> Landscape is a physical and visual interrelationship of place, so it's very place related [...] when I talk about a landscape I will also talk about how you experience it, parts of which will be visual, part of it will be sense of space and scale [...] it's emotional as well (Interviewee I/V L1)

> From a professional point of view what we understand as landscape is that which [...] it's the land and its resources and how it looks and how it is and how its health is expressed in terms of our surroundings and natural surroundings; at a larger scale that is a landscape at a very broad strategic rural setting, it can be a small-scale urban setting and it can be the space outside someone's back door or front door; that is also landscape for us. So, it's all scales of external environment (Interviewee I/V L3)

> Landscape is two different things – there is the land and the way we look at it; landscape is a constructed construct on the way we look at land and what we value (Interviewee I/V P2)

> I immediately think of a view and something to walk in and something to enjoy and something to experience full of intangible stuff (Interviewee I/V HEM1)

Landscape is physical and perceptual, something to experience from within or from a distance. The interviewees, all of whom are involved in land management of one form or another, reflect the breadth of shared opinion, from the material and topographical, through to the perceptual and emotional.

b. *an entity that is valued*

Corporate actors write about landscape in response to the values they understand it to hold within society, and usually with an agenda or framework for some form of action. Analysis detected discussion of an entity that can (perhaps should / deserves to) be – protected and managed; this also captures references alongside parallel entities in list-form to illustrate the breadth of scope concerned.

The National Planning Framework (SG 2014a, 42) expressed concern with "Scotland's landscapes are spectacular, contributing to our quality of life, our national identity and the visitor economy." This succinct list captures the visual amenity (scenery), experiential qualities that contribute to our well-being and sense of Scotland as a place. The text does not define what landscape <u>means</u> in this context, though it does consider what it <u>does</u>. So, "landscape quality <u>is</u> found across Scotland, and all landscapes support place-making" (ibid my emphasis). This statement captures the principles of the ELC in implying that all landscape matters.

In the Scottish Planning Policy in the section on *placemaking*, the term appears in a list of examples of local features that development must complement "landscapes, topography, ecology, skylines, spaces and scales" (SG 2014b, 13). This is a curious mix of terms, combining specific features with spatial scales. Streets and building forms are also mentioned in a way that may be deemed to capture historic value. The sentence concludes with the aim "to create places with a sense of identity" which must encompass past experience alongside other contributing factors, although this is rarely found to be explicit.

During the process of analysis, I cross-referenced the emerging results against the SG and SNH websites to compare and contrast the use of language. The 'natural heritage management' page on the SG website (accessed August 2017) opens with the following statement "Scotland's natural heritage is its wildlife, habitats, landscapes and natural beauty, features which have helped shape the history and culture of the country." It is striking that landscapes are directly categorised under natural heritage, and that the implication is a one-way process of nature helping to shape history and culture, and not the interaction between the wide

range of different features within a complex system. It is not until the reader accesses this page that a link to the functions of Scottish Natural Heritage can be found, and where it is described as "SNH is the Government's adviser on all aspects of nature and landscape across Scotland" (SNH Website, accessed August 2017). Helpfully, the page also explains what is meant by natural heritage – "Natural heritage includes wildlife, habitats, landscapes, coastal areas and natural beauty. The natural heritage of Scotland is unique and holds intrinsic value. It helps shape our economic, social and cultural activities." There is a parallel description of cultural heritage, although it is less prominent on the page. Crossing to the 'historic environment' topic pages (there is no embedded weblink), there is no reference to landscape. It is too simplistic to argue that landscape must then be classed as natural heritage by Scottish Government institutions and does not appear to be a concern for those managing the historic environment. However, my detailed analysis of the range of texts suggests that this categorisation is deliberate and represents the core beliefs (though perhaps sub-conscious) of those involved with the management of landscape today; it is best categorised as natural heritage. This represents an example of confirmation bias, reflecting the embedded structures of government that place landscape and nature within the sphere of 'environment' and historic environment in the sphere of 'culture'.

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to explore the discourse against a detailed theory of values (for example Schwartz 2012), but these examples demonstrate that a sense of landscape as a valued entity was clearly identified.

c. a 'partner' in some form of 'proprietary relationship' with people (our landscape, their landscape, the Scottish landscape …)

A sense of personal relationship can be identified in the increasingly frequent reference to people who are clearly placed at the centre of several sources – with frequent reference to a sense of ownership with 'our heritage', 'our shared past'. 'Our Place in Time' (SG 2014c) describes the strategy as a collaborative effort within the sector and beyond, and that "it is for everyone" (SG 2014c, 1). The text repeatedly talks of individuals, communities and people, with the ministerial foreword giving emphasis with "the past, which is all around us, defines who we are as a nation and as a people" (ibid, 1). I found only one reference to impersonal 'human' - "Scotland's historic environment is the physical evidence for human activity that connects people with place, linked with the associations we can see, feel and understand" (ibid, 2), but linking it directly to the idea of personal experience. It is difficult to argue with this statement, but then it is clearly concerned with the nature of the evidence, and not what

should be done with it. In a similar vein, a clear link is made in the NPF between people and landscape with 'our landscape', 'their landscape' and 'enjoyment of landscape'. (SG 2014a 24-25)

d.   an ecological concept;

The phrase 'nature and landscapes' is deployed repeatedly in the SNH Strategy papers (SNH 2012, SNH 2015), describing the primary entity of concern, focus and underlying reason for the author as corporate actor. The reader is perhaps expected to make certain assumptions based on SNH as author and publisher – a formally constituted government agency with statutory responsibility to advise ministers on the natural environment and charged with landscape matters through their concern for 'natural beauty and amenity'. Similarly, The Heritage Futures Overview (SNH 2002b) makes repeated reference to landscape, communicating the sense of a valued entity but without glossary or interpretation, for example

our landscapes and wildlife are highly valued assets (2)

the diversity of Scotland's landscapes inspire people (4)

the character and distinctiveness of Scotland's landscapes (15).

The text is well illustrated with colourful, high-quality images of different perspectives on the Scottish landscape, including urban and rural, farmland, mountain and coast. The Climate Change and Quality of Life paper (SNH 2011) includes illustrations alongside the text – attractive photographs (both aerial and ground shots), the majority of which could be described as having discernible landscape content, but without any caption or explanation. The reader is invited to take what they want from the images, although careful consideration will have been given to their selection.

Close reading revealed a significant evolution within the natural heritage discourse theme, where landscape is increasingly associated with nature as a conscious combination. While the SNH Corporate Plan appears to give a central position to the concept of *landscape* (with fourteen separate references to 'nature and landscapes'), emphasis is placed on the benefits of nature and landscape to our health and wellbeing (language which is also familiar from the discourse on cultural ecosystem services) with the implication of present and future time, and time 'in the now', rather than living on a temporal plane (SNH 2015). It suggests that people benefit from the sustainable management of landscape in their health and wellbeing in the

present, rather than as an active partner in its dynamic evolution, creation and recreation. I interpret this to relate firmly to the compartmentalisation of governance that requires an individual institution to demonstrate how they are complying with the government's overarching objectives. Reference is also made to health and to well-being (albeit in slightly different formulation) in the historic environment and governance themes as well, but this language fails to capture the richness of what has been passed down to us, and to acknowledge how that too might enhance our health and wellbeing; a sectoral rather than holistic perspective.

In complete contrast, the Scottish Wildlife Trust defined landscape as a

> mosaic of heterogeneous landforms, vegetation types and land uses. As with ecosystems, the boundaries or 'limits' of the landscape depend on individual, subjective perception. A landscape could be anything from the whole of the country to a single hill or 'view'. In biodiversity conservation, the term is most often used to refer to areas covering several square miles which often have a distinctive character, shaped by geology, geomorphology or land use. So for example, a range of hills (e.g. the Ochils or the high Cairngorms) constitute typical landscapes (Hughes and Brooks 2009, 6)

This contribution recognises the existence of different interpretations of landscape, continuing with:

> One important distinction to make when using the term landscape is between the cultural landscape and the ecological landscape. From a cultural perspective the landscape encompasses people's experience and perception of their physical surroundings. The ecological landscape refers to the relative functionality of the ecosystems contained within that landscape […], which may be inextricably linked to the cultural value of the landscape, for example as a perceived area of 'wild land' (ibid).

This corporate author is comfortable in continuing to define different types of landscape rather than approaching different dimensions of a unitary area, as perceived by people that combines natural and human factors. This contradicts the work of Naveh (2001) and his multi-functioning landscapes and goes against the suggestion of landscape as a transdisciplinary concept.

   e. *a designed space within a defined boundary; historic garden and designed landscape*
The most frequent application of this interpretation can be found in the historic environment discourse and discussion of the Inventory of Gardens and Designed Landscapes. Here it refers

to an explicitly designed space where a boundary is drawn based on documentary and map-based evidence and traces that survive on the ground today. The Inventory landscape of Valleyfield Wood (Vignette 2) is described as a landscape specifically because it is a renowned example of a specific type of design. In contrast, the late 18th century park at Donibristle House, laid out by the renowned landscape designer Thomas White is not recognised today (Turnbull 1990, 207), although fragments of planting and structures survive in the layout of Dalgety Bay (Vignette 7). This raises the question of what constitutes a landscape as a defined entity. The criteria for the Inventory have been agreed after much debate. These examples however highlight the ambiguity in what constitutes a landscape, and when. Even the most celebrated of the entries on the national Inventory (e.g. Blair Castle Designed Landscape, fig 7) would not meet the criteria of those areas elsewhere described as Scotland's Finest Landscapes – those designated as National Scenic Areas. Any inclusion is apparently accidental – for example, the designed landscape of Kinloch Castle on Rum lies within the designated area of The Small Isles NSA, though is not referenced in the special qualities (Vignette 3).

The criteria for inclusion on the Inventory of Gardens and Designed Landscapes are interesting, one of which concerns scenic value where, "A site has outstanding scenic value if: (i) it makes a major contribution to the quality of the surrounding landscape by virtue of its size, location or nature, or because it is particularly prominent because of rarity and contrast with the surrounding landscape" (HS 2011a, 82). It would appear that the judgement does not value the interaction of these different criteria, nor the interaction of the 'site' with the different dimensions of the wider landscape. It would be an interesting test case to suggest that the quality of the surrounding landscape included a detailed analysis of its historic dimension in combination with other criteria.

The Scottish Historic Environment Policy (HS 2011a) is primarily concerned with the material evidence for human history, where to have cultural significance is to attain a sense of value sufficient for consideration in the formal process of decision-making. As a formal governance tool, the text explores in some depth what is meant by cultural value, and while the specifics of the language might vary between different types of asset, each has some form of *intrinsic* (inherent to the asset)*, contextual* (relating to an asset's place in the landscape, or in the body of existing knowledge) and *associative* (more subjective assessments, including current or past aesthetic preferences) characteristics.

f. The historic environment discourse strand and landscape as a 'being' word

Historic environment sources shed some light on the different approaches to landscape. In the SHEP references were found to the general idea of landscape, but also to battlefield landscapes, gardens and designed landscapes and the historic landscape. Specific reference is also made within one of five possible criteria for identifying a monument as nationally important, set as "its contribution, or the contribution of its class, to today's landscape and/or the historic landscape;" (HS 2011a, 73).

Analysis identified at least five different interpretations of 'landscape' in the historic environment discourse theme alone (as countryside, as environment, as designed landscape, as historic landscape and as the context for a historic battle). While each captures an individual example of a heritage asset, it is impossible to discern a precise boundary for the term 'landscape'. No reference is made to the ELC, but if we apply the definition to this context, each adjective can be understood as 'an area as perceived by people', focused in particular on the archaeological, designed or underwater features that can be discerned. There is some sense of spatial scale and one interpretation might be the need to emphasise a collection of assets that go beyond the confines of a tight boundary.

The use of 'historic landscape' as a term to describe a particular entity has evolved over time. Discussion in the interviews was particularly insightful:

> The historic landscape in effect is the landscape that we see today… and the ways in which … we can as professionals, open up a window on historicity of it for other professions and members of the public (Interviewee I/V HEM1)

> Historic landscape to me does not imply geological forces; historic landscape implies to me the way landscapes were due to human influence. (Interviewee I/V LM2)

> All landscapes are historic; I mean, to my mind, but some are more important than others (Interviewee I/V HEM1)

> Most of Scotland is a historic landscape in one aspect or another so in the same way as you can map national scenic areas or SSSI's or whatever, you could probably map areas that were particularly important for historic landscape. You're talking about something beyond the fairly small areas which are gardens and designed landscapes? (Interviewee I/V LM1)

In this sample, it is striking that two interviewees introduced the idea of comparative value (Interviewee I/V HEM1 and Interviewee LM1), while Interviewee LM2 is the only one to reference human influence directly. I did not ask interviewees to consider the historic dimension of landscape, and there is potential value in framing further conversations around the idea of dimensions rather than different types of landscape.

Common to official discourse is explicit reference to other sectors of government; for example, "there are close links between the historic environment and wider land-use and nature conservation policies that sustain a healthy landscape, diverse ecosystems and vigorous rural communities," recognising SNH's "significant role in the conservation of Scotland's landscapes, all of which have a historic element." (HS 2011a, 11). This text is a formal policy intended as guidance to inform decision-making for the historic environment within the statutory framework of the national system for town and country planning. Language is important – while this paper is in itself not statutory, decisions supported by this text are material considerations in decision making and may be tested at public local inquiry. Thus, the key principles repeat (to the point of idiom) an asset list of 'building, site, monument or landscape and of its wider context' (though not always in that order). In this particular

Figure 24: Dalvorar, Mar Lodge Estate; the largest township on the estate, abandoned in the early nineteenth century (Crown Copyright, HES)

context, I interpret landscape to mean here 'battlefield' or 'designed', where it can have a 'setting' that surrounds the individual site, and references the legislation and guidance focused on assets that can be clearly defined. Separately, other government departments are charged with responsibilities, "whether managing individual sites or areas of landscapes" (ibid), implying that landscape is a spatial extent of topography, rather than in the sense of an individual asset. There is some sense of ambiguity in the reference to "support available" for the National Trust for Scotland who care for "some of Scotland's most important historic buildings and landscapes…" (ibid 17). The Trust does manage significant *designed* landscapes such as Culzean and Brodick, but also has responsibility for large tracts of rural Scotland, including the Mar Lodge estate (**Error! Reference source not found.**) and Glen Coe, and in that sense, it is not clear in what circumstances Historic Scotland might prioritise support. In the late 1990's the RCAHMS completed a field survey of the recently acquired Mar Lodge Estate. Historic Scotland subsequently assessed the results, scheduling individual monuments judged to be of national importance. This estate lies within the Cairngorms National Park, and also partly in the Deeside and Lochnagar National Scenic Area, although it is not clear that a link has been made between the collection of different designated entities.

2. As a *describing* word in the sense of an adjective, qualifying related entities

The list below (Table 3) collects together a wide range of examples from the sources where 'landscape' is used to describe a quality or entity, a related noun. I have drawn out three particular themes (using coloured highlight) which fall into the administrative activity of action, the temporal sense of history and heritage and the broader language of categorisation and characterisation.

Each of the terms identified in this table could merit detailed analysis, particularly those within the different groupings. That is beyond the scope of this thesis, but I include them here to demonstrate how widely landscape is applied across the discourse, sometimes to make a very specific and clearly defined point (landscape design, or landscape ecology), or to refer to clearly accepted concepts for which supporting literature can qualify its particular use (landscape quality, or landscape policies). More esoteric language is also identified (e.g. landscape values or landscape sensitivities) where interpretation is more challenging.

Table 3: A list of examples of 'landscape' used as an adjective identified during analysis

Approach	Archaeology	Architecture	Backdrop
Categories	Change	Character	Concept
Conservation	Context	Design	Designation
Ecology	Elements	Enhancement	Factors
Features	Forms	Heritage	History
Interpretation	Management	Materials	Movement
Objectives	Painting	Patterns	Planning
Policies	Protection	Quality	Scale
Sensitivity	Setting	Territory	Types
Values		Issues	

Colour coding:

orange – as a category of action, particularly in relation to planning and management
pink – as temporal or historic quality, capturing the temporal dimension
green – as ways of categorising and characterising landscape
White – other nouns identified in the discourse where landscape is applied as a 'qualifier'

This also captures landscape as a spatial extent (landscape-scale). Closely tied to landscape as an ecological concept, reference to landscape-scale was identified in certain specific contexts. For example, SG 2014d (SRDP) makes provision for "ecosystem or landscape scale projects." Interviewee I/V L2 touched on this, reflecting "I can accept that the idea of landscape scale ecology is a good thing, but do not accept that this is landscape; it's much more than that."

3. As a *doing* word

This features particularly in the sense of local planning and the activity of *landscaping, hard landscaping* or *highway landscaping.* Reference in the discourse is largely confined to detailed planning guidance, for example "areas of soft-landscaping" (SG 2000, para 45), "using landscaping and natural shading to cool spaces in built areas" (SG 2014b, 14) and "Structural

landscaping and planting are likely to be essential components of land raising" (Scottish Landscape Forum 2007, 64).

Related Terms

Landscape as countryside

Landscape and countryside are sometimes used interchangeably, particularly in the earlier sources of discourse. The majority of documents subject to analysis were published in the last 30 years. They were generated from earlier thinking, where I found more limited reference to landscape as an entity, with more frequent use of 'countryside', for example with the purpose of the paper described as "the scenic attractiveness of the countryside" (CCS 1978, 2). Highlighting the genealogical origin of administrative interest, the absence of 'landscape' from the 1967 legislation which established the Countryside Commission for Scotland, concerned with recreation, but also "natural beauty and amenity" explains this to some extent. 'Countryside' is a widely used term and one that needs little explanation for the broader public, perhaps explaining its continued use into more recent texts. For example, in discussing what constitutes the historic environment

> past generations have left their mark in the form of monuments, buildings, and sites, in our towns and cities and in the countryside around us, even in the patterns of our streets and fields. (HS 2011a, 5)

This could be a description of the Scottish landscape, and yet the text is concerned with the historic environment. Historic Scotland did not have responsibility for landscape within its terms of reference, although SNH is clear that delivery of the landscape framework depends on cross-sectoral collaboration (SNH 2005).

The term 'countryside' is deployed in the National Planning Framework (SG 2014a). There is potential for the reader to interpret an overlap with landscape and studying its use will perhaps shed some light on any sense of interaction between the natural and the cultural (back to the ELC position of the combination rather than separation.) The OED defines this as "the rural parts of a country or region; the land and scenery of such an area" (accessed 26 Aug 17). I interpret its use as a type of qualifier to distinguish the difference between what may or may not be considered town, for example:

> scenic countryside and towns (SG 2014a, 16)

high quality countryside and distinctive towns (ibid 17)

manage demand in our most accessible countryside around towns and cities (ibid 21)

The overall tone given with this term is consistent, connecting settlements to a wider spatial area in terms of economy and society; the countryside lies beyond the town as something connected, but also something separate, particularly for those who are resident within it. The countryside might form the source of any locally produced food but is also more of a place to visit for recreation.

Landscape as Battlefield

The criteria for inclusion of a battlefield site on the National Inventory includes discussion of 'battlefield landscape' where

> The **landscape** context of the battlefield is important in view of the fact that battles were seldom fought in small clearly-defined areas but were more often events ranging across a wider **landscape**. It is important for understanding military tactics, strategic planning and the importance of key features such as vantage points and lines of sight, and for explaining why events unfolded as they did. The battlefield **landscape** includes the area where the armies deployed and fought initially; the wider **landscape** where significant associated events occurred, including secondary skirmishes, associated earthworks, camps and burials, and lines of advance and retreat; and additional elements such as memorials that may be detached from the main areas of the battle. (HS 2011a, 84, my emphasis)

The suggestion here is of landscape as a topographical area of physical land, over which there is evidence to suggest a specific historical event took place, and for which there may be surviving material evidence and with some confident knowledge that can be shared with observers, or others. **Error! Reference source not found.** shows the wider setting of the Culloden Battlefield – while the action was concentrated between the two strips of modern woodland in the top right-hand corner, troop movements, and the scattering of forces after the battle are likely to have crossed this landscape, which today might be considered a picture of ordered rural industry.

We perceive the battle through these events, and our understanding of the physical ground surface. This may also be coloured by particular associations or perceptions of the participants, and whether one's connection is to an inhabitant, a bereaved relative or a military victor. During the consultation process for the Inventory, attention was also drawn to

battlefields as hallowed ground, that should be maintained as a memorial for the people who died there (pers. comm. Macinnes, 2018).

Terminology may not always be clear to the uninitiated reader – where historic battlefields are discussed, for example, "parts of some battlefields may have additional protection through other measures such as … designation as a conservation area or area of landscape value" (HS 2011a, 27), both of which can apply to spatially extensive areas and are the responsibility of local planning authorities. While significance is on the "inter-relationships between the different elements of a battlefield and between these and the surrounding landscape" (HS 2011b, 14), hinting at the 'interaction' that is central in the European Landscape Convention, placing emphasis on tangible topographic elements and key vantage points that would have been significant before, during and after a battle. Similarly reference to a wider landscape setting is tied to the unfolding events of the battle.

Battlefields present an interesting case of the historic dimension of landscape – part of the reason they are valued is essentially because of their distance in time – they speak to our sense of place – in space and time; of inconceivable trauma and violence in the places that matter to us and which we perceive in the present time. And they also sit on a different temporal plane – as relatively short events in time but carrying meaning about who we are

https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1429721

Figure 25: River Nairn and the site of Culloden Battlefield on the far right, Crown Copyright HES

and who lived before us. There remains a question of whether they are perceived, or experienced through a complex set of relationships.

Heritage

'Landscape and the idea of heritage is recognised in wider government strategy, for example in the Economic Strategy (SG 2015), where reference is made to community-led local heritage, and to the internationally recognised World Heritage Sites. Emphasis is placed on the importance of "the people, resources and features of rural Scotland […] vital to the nation's heritage, identity and economy" (SG 2015, 67). However, this source also links rural funding support to actions that benefit Scotland's natural heritage (ibid, 68). References to history are more opaque in relation to long-standing gaps in productivity. However, there is recognition of temporal longevity in rural businesses "such as farming and fishing, where businesses with long histories are often at the heart of rural communities" (ibid). The tone suggests that momentum rests with 'can do' rather than 'can not'. There is little sense of a temporal frame beyond the short term. While heritage might be broadly understood as reference to the valued past, the longest backwards span is "the worst recession in 50 years". While looking forward, it addresses "the next 25 years" for North Sea oil and gas and reference to future operations; apart of course from the familiar adage "the legacy of past industrial decline" (ibid, 24). The intention may not be to only reference the past in negative terms, but by concentrating on challenges that require remedial action, the inherited problems from the more recent past are more likely to resonate in such strategic planning.

Perception and experience

There is a fulsome glossary and appendix in CCS 1971 devoted to the 'factors affecting environmental perception', where perception is described as "the seeing and interpreting of the environment" (CCS 1971, app 4). While emphasis is placed on the visual, the factors identified – home environment, cultural environment, education (formal and informal) and experience of other landscapes – demonstrate the complexities that influence what is observed. Background is not the only issue however, and they go on to highlight the importance of the immediate situation of the observer as a unique individual, including their knowledge about the landscape being looked at, and their familiarity with it. This includes associations from any previous role of the observer, in terms of whether they are at work or play, their physical position in the landscape (whether static or mobile) and their immediate

126

state of mind – their mood, "temper, tiredness, degree of preoccupation will affect the receptivity of the observer" (CCS 1971, App 4).

Such a detailed breakdown demonstrates an early recognition of the very personal and individual experience that rests in the perception of landscape, and for me highlights the enormous challenge in capturing a societal perspective in planning and the effective management of development.

The idea that landscape is an entity of perception by people is embedded across the landscape discourse. For example, discussing values which are "largely concerned with the aesthetic and compositional aspects of landscape and focus on people's perceptions" (SNH 2002a, 8). In the fulsome definition of landscape found in the SNH Policy Framework (2005, 12), perception and experience are discussed as a combined unit three times in a paragraph, and always referenced together. It is the activities of *perceiving* and *experiencing* that connect us to the "physical environment that surrounds us" that generates the concept of landscape. People are receivers of that which is perceived and experienced; a process of internalising that which is external to us as individuals. Landscape is described as "multi-faceted, and individuals and communities can perceive a landscape in subtly and significantly different ways, with sometimes very personal and individual responses, that can change over time." (ibid). This is a clear recognition of change through time, where both the landscape can change, but also the individual and their response. Landscape is not fixed.

Curiously, the Scottish Wildlife Trust argues that "the landscape encompasses people's experience and perceptions of their physical surroundings" (SWT 2009, 6). This is an exact quote from the SNH discussion paper on landscape (SNH 2003, 2), and repeated again in the Forum Report (Scottish Landscape Forum 2007, 10), both of which clearly consider the experiential qualities of landscape. The perspective of the SWT however, is dominated by that of landscape ecology, evident in the third quote below.

> People's understanding of the term landscape varies. For SNH, landscape encompasses people's experience and perception of their physical surroundings – drawing upon all our senses and influenced by personal sensitivities and associations. But while an individual's response to a landscape and its qualities is bound to be to some degree subjective, we can describe landscapes through a largely objective process called landscape character assessment. This can help us to identify what makes each place distinctive. (SNH 2003, 2)

People's experience and perception of the land and adjacent sea turns the physical fabric into landscape, predominantly through sight but it is the totality of all our senses, together with the feelings, memories and associations evoked by different places that condition people's response. (Scottish Landscape Forum 2007, 10)

One important distinction to make when using the term landscape is between the cultural landscape and the ecological landscape. From a cultural perspective the landscape encompasses people's experience and perception of their physical surroundings. The ecological landscape refers to the relative functionality of the ecosystems contained within that landscape […], which may be inextricably linked to the cultural value of the landscape, for example as a perceived area of 'wild land'. (SWT 2009, 6)

In SNH 2010, landscape issues are described as "issues associated with understanding landscape character, experience, perception and values" (SNH 2010, 20). To take this into the more active realm explains that "we experience and perceive this physical fabric predominantly through sight, but the totality draws upon all our senses, together with the feelings, memories and associations evoked by different places" (SNH 2005, 12) very similar text is found in SNH 2003, 9 and Scottish Landscape Forum 2007, 46).

Perception is a complex psychological activity personal to each individual and dependent on the complex multiplicity of factors that define them as a unique human being. The literature concentrates on the act of perceiving on the part of the individual, and this is mirrored in the discourse, frequently tied to scenery and aesthetics (e.g. SNH 2002b & Scottish Landscape Forum 2007). Experience is also very personal to the individual; while we may travel together with friends through the Highlands of Scotland on a steam train, what we each experience will be driven by our own internal priorities, biases, interests, knowledge and background (Meinig 1979, Wylie 2007). The child in the party may be lost in reliving the fantasy of Harry Potter as they approach the Glenfinnan viaduct, while their parents are enjoying the different sounds and movement that contrast with their electric commuter train and gran is recalling her own steam train journeys from her childhood.

Scenery and natural beauty

The key elements of landscape have been described as mainly "aesthetic and emotive" (SNH 2002b, 4), while also repeating the definition of natural heritage set out in the National Heritage (Scotland) Act 1991 which includes 'natural beauty and amenity'. The Assessment of Scotland's Landscapes (SNH 2002a) presents a significant contribution to the discourse. It is a

synthesis of national themes that emerged from the LCA programme, but presented as a paper on landscape, rather than one focused on natural heritage in contrast to the Natural Heritage Futures Overview (SNH 2002b) which uses a similar evidence base but is focused on natural heritage and takes a more ambiguous approach to landscape. SNH, as Scottish Government advisor on landscape, clearly establishes its position

> At the forefront of SNH's approach is a concern with the aesthetic and more natural qualities of the landscape, and the enjoyment people derive from this, always recognising the strong connections that exist with other *overlying values* which are primarily the responsibility of others. (SNH 2005, 2, my emphasis).

This description is adapted from that which is used in the National Assessment of Landscapes (SNH 2002a), with a concentration on what is there, rather than considering 'how it got to be there'. SNH is clear that its remit is concerned with the aesthetic and compositional aspects of landscape but will consider the breadth of interests in collaboration with other responsible partners. It is also interesting to note the use of 'overlying', referencing the long-standing approach to the landscape as layers, with human activity presented as the 'surface' layer over the more substantial (natural?) elements beneath.

Landscape quality is a judgement, as opposed to a search for inherent character, and is based on the values that society – as individuals and in a collective – applies. Analysis of public discourse suggests that one long-standing thread in Scotland is to approach the landscape as a manifestation of scenic beauty. Daniels argues that "landscapes are duplicitous in so far as they tend to present themselves as 'scenery' or 'nature' in a way that obscures and masks the social and economic conditions that go into their making" (Wylie 2007, 104). The repeated – formal and informal – use of the term 'natural beauty' and its persistence in the public discourse also serves to support the argument that it is the visually impressive scene that is valued institutionally, akin to seeing a framed picture but in an outdoor setting, and in three dimensions. Selman and Swanwick (2010, 7) make "a strong case that beauty is explicable in terms of theories of aesthetics, and that the 'natural' world can comprise a distinct category of the 'aesthetic'".

A chronological trend is detectable to a certain extent. Scotland's Scenic Heritage, published by the Countryside Commission for Scotland (CCS) in 1978 is very definite about "the scenic attractiveness of the countryside" (CCS 1978, 2) and their underpinning aim in identifying "scenery which best combines those features which are most frequently regarded as

beautiful" (ibid, 5). They concentrate on Highland Scotland but recognise that elsewhere there is "scenery of great charm and soft beauty" (ibid, 6).

The *Heritage Futures Overview* (SNH 2002b, 4) includes an extended description of the diversity of Scotland's landscapes, arguing that they "inspire people, conveying evocative images of the interplay between land and water, and the grandeur of outstanding landscapes". It is significant here that this phrasing is preceded by "wildness, roughness and perceived naturalness", and that reference to features of human origin appear to be selected to convey a sense of the picturesque (literally) – "the settlement against the backdrop of hills […] an ancient croft-house" (ibid 4).

There is no direct mention of scenery, but the description certainly conjures up a sense of natural beauty in my mind. The interpretation here is of an individual or group perceiving and reflecting on the visible land laid out before them, rather than suggesting an interaction of different people through time as other communities (perhaps related, perhaps not) made their living from that land, raised families, dwelt within it; perhaps enjoying the beautiful sunset as they complete the weeding or milking, while the horrific weather of the previous year remains in the back of their minds. The inspiration described implies a receptor who has not known want of food and shelter, but is experiencing that environment through conscious choice, revelling in the absence of commuter traffic, or the constant call of the company mobile phone. These are aspirational experiences and may not capture the imagination of the hill farmer in 1948 with recent experience of a long hard winter that threatened the lives of her stock and her very livelihood. (it is estimated that in the six or so weeks around February 1947, extended snowfall resulted in the loss of around 6 million sheep and 30,000 cattle across the UK (Whitlock 1978, 156)).

More than 30 years on, *Talking about our Place* (SNH 2012a) argues that "landscape is more than just scenery; it is the interaction between people and place; the bedrock upon which our society is built" (SNH 2012a, C1). The use of 'interaction' could be interpreted in two ways. Firstly (and I suspect from my reading, more commonly) it might describe the interaction that occurs between the human mind and its spatial surroundings, as an individual in the present time moves through the landscape experiencing and appreciating that landscape – the scenery – through their perception of it. On the other hand, it could also reference the more tangible dynamic interplay of people dwelling within their place, and the interactions of

everyday life, between people and their environment, and between other non-human elements of that environment, following Ingold (1993).

Several documents reference 'scenery' in quite general terms, suggesting that it is a concept familiar to the reader. It is deployed in broad and generally positive contexts, for example:

1. "wild character of our countryside and coast is of considerable importance to the tourist industry. It underlies the basic images used in the promotion of Scotland's fine *scenery*. And it is greatly valued by visitors, especially the committed regular visitors" (SNH 2002c, 5). The first sentence is used as a supporting argument for "the importance of Scotland's wild land", and under the heading of 'economic factors) (ibid 5). The emphasis on the 'committed regular visitor' is also noteworthy – repeat visits are prized by the tourist industry and there is a suggestion here that harming wild land might also harm the goose that lays the golden egg, driving those visitors – and their money – elsewhere.

2. "the *scenery* and wildlife supported by traditional farming in the area enables around 12 wildlife tour companies to operate, attracting tourism, investment and spending to the local community" (SG 2015, 19). Wildlife is one reason for visitors to come to Scotland, related to – but separate from – scenery. The use of 'traditional' is also interesting – a somewhat ambiguous term which might refer to continuing farm practice evident in the present-day land use pattern; or perhaps constant innovation through time of farming methods to support long-standing mixed production of livestock and arable crops, while keeping up to date with contemporary and evolving regulations around animal health, farm safety and funding support.

3. "characteristics that individually or combined give rise to an area's outstanding *scenery*" (SNH 2010, i). This paper goes some way to explaining why the concept of 'scenic' and 'scenery' remains prevalent in Scottish landscape discourse. The primary landscape designation is the National Scenic Area, 40 of which were originally designated in 1981 (ibid, 11). Only recently defined formally in law, they are described as areas of "outstanding scenic value in a national context.", with the basic description of each set out in CCS 1978 (see for example Vignette 4 – Knapdale NSA).

Scotland's Finest Landscapes – National Scenic Areas

The SNH Corporate Plan commits to "maintaining and enhancing the quality of Scotland's best nature and landscapes" (SNH 2012b, 6). By implication, it is the National Scenic Areas (NSA) and National Parks that are the key concern, focusing on the special rather than all landscapes, somewhat contrary to the spirit of the ELC.

In anticipation of the UK ratification of the ELC and following several years of review of landscape conservation mechanisms, NSA's were recognised in law under the 2006 Planning Act. The description of NSA's as Scotland's 'best' landscapes, speaks of an assessment and judgemental process, although that masks the extensive discussion between expert and political fields before agreement could be reached. This chimes with Scott's findings that "expert-led elitism has dominated 'focusing resources and attention on iconic landscapes arguably at the expense of the local landscapes that are more widely valued'" (Scott 2011, 2754). A fulsome definition is repeated in the Scottish Historic Environment Audit (HS 2012b, 14):

> There are 40 National Scenic Areas (NSAs) in Scotland, covering 13% of the land area of Scotland. NSAs are an accolade designation for areas of land which represent the very best of the landscapes for which Scotland is renowned, and which are of such outstanding scenic beauty that they should be safeguarded and enhanced. NSAs contain many historic environment features.

The document also includes a glossary, focused on formal explanations of designations or responsible authorities. An extended discussion of NSA's is repeated, but adding a more detailed discussion on historic elements:

> People have influenced the landscape since the earliest times and, as Scotland's only national landscape designation, National Scenic Areas have a key historic environment dimension. NSAs are those areas of land considered of national significance on the basis of their outstanding scenic interest which must be conserved as part of the country's national heritage. They have characteristic features of scenery comprising of mixture of richly diverse landscapes including prominent landforms, coastline, sea and freshwater [sic] lochs, rivers, woodlands and moorlands (ibid, 57).

A detailed explanation of National Scenic Areas (NSA) designation is provided on the Scottish Government website; the corporate author has been careful to avoid use of the term 'landscape' and instead concentrates on scenic quality describing these areas as representative of the best "of the type of scenic beauty popularly associated with Scotland

and for which it is renowned." They have also made a point of including the definition of 'special qualities' here as "the characteristics that, individually or combined, give rise to an area's outstanding scenery." (Interviewee I/V L1) supported this position, arguing that there is a substantive difference between landscape character and scenic quality, with the latter standing as a more popular definition where it would be difficult to argue there is scenery in Scotland that is missing from the current designations. The most recent link to relevant legislation is the Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act 1997, which requires planning authorities to pay special attention to the character or appearance of an NSA. As a national designation, it features elsewhere – for example, in the National Planning Framework, where tourism value is ascribed as "National Scenic Areas and National Parks attract many visitors and reinforce our international image" (SG 2014a, 42). Scotland is not the first to deploy the accolade description of 'finest' – Milford Track in New Zealand continues to be described as the finest trek in the world, based on a journalist's description in the late 1800's (Stalcup, 2001).

Designated areas are picked out in "National Scenic Areas and National Parks attract many visitors and reinforce our international image" (SG 2014a,42), although there is no qualifying statement to explain the basis for their separate selection. Both are "national" which conveys a certain level of valuation – considered selection based on criteria for which knowledge is pre-supposed, but that awards considerable significance. This sentence also emphasises the value of a positive view of Scotland by outsiders, and while the opening sentence talks of "our quality of life" and "our national identity," visitors are referenced twice. There is a strong connection between the idea of landscape as painting and use of 'image' reinforces landscape as a visual entity, albeit in composite terms of overall branding. The Scottish Forestry Strategy in 2006 continued this theme with "tourism depends on our world-class scenery, geodiversity and diverse historic environment" (The Forestry Commission 2006, 43).

Time in landscape discourse

My starting position in this project is very much the present and what the past brings to the present; how the present came to be in the form it is, combining events and processes of people and nature through time, some continuing, some evolving and changing; adapting and developing. Change is the baseline, rather than a static, fixed point. Analysis of temporal terms has identified a series of approaches for the discussion of time, which I have grouped into

1. Broad sweep – past, present and future time
2. Framed time – for example, geological time, generational time and lived time (travelling time?)
3. Administrative time – strategic or planned timeframe
4. Related factors such as the idea of continuity and change, of evolution of the idea of a baseline and of time made visible

The discourse on landscape is peppered with references to the past, the present and the future. While these might also be presented as memory, being and anticipation in the mind of an individual, the relationship between individuals as part of a community, and their relationship with the material world in time is one way we can conceive of landscape.

The historic dimension of landscape comprises the tangible and intangible evidence of natural processes, human activity and their complex interrelationships that survives and can inform the historical narrative. My study of the use of words that relate to 'time' in the discourse was intended to capture a sense of perspective, and whether anything could be discerned about a forward or backward-looking perspective.

Taking a disciplinary approach compartmentalises our understanding of landscape, allowing different specialist interests to narrow their definition, by exploring only the landscape of art, of nature or of forest or of the sublime. The evidence suggests a tendency to select particular timeframes with an explicit – or implicit sense of a baseline allowing a judgement of gain or loss, rather than starting from a point of understanding space and nature of change through time. The discourse of formally incorporated actors is generated for a purpose, either to establish the actor's position on the topic concerned, perhaps to comply with statutory function or manifesto commitment. To some extent, therefore, almost all of the discourse studied here falls into an administrative or strategic category, where time is not explicitly discussed, but they have been published on a chronological and temporal plane.

Relationships in time

The physical experience of perceiving a landscape might be considered timeless, or more accurately, a moment in time (even a moment stolen from time, borrowing from the practice of mindfulness and a focus on each individual moment). Relationship implies something more involved, that requires the investment of time and builds over time. Interviewee I/V AC1 talked of a

"now line [...] formed from all those legacies of the past; everything collapses into this now point, but we're constantly moving this now point".

This interviewee sees "landscape very much as in the present but having a deep understanding of past development and casting forward; the way you engage with the historic landscape is conditioned by where you think you are heading", and expressed discomfort talking about "an archaeological landscape as something that has come to us intact; the collection of dots becomes a landscape when people in the present engage within it as landscape, connecting all those bits and pieces with other stuff in a relationship with meaning".

Reference is made to the whole of human history being characterised by "people shaping nature to their own advantage" (SNH 2015, 4). I recognise the risk of overstating the weight of such language, but the use of 'to their own advantage' might be taken to imply a consequence of disadvantage elsewhere, perhaps even to nature itself; in contrast to the possessive language used above, it is notable that the ownership here is 'their', rather than 'our'. There are few temporal references here, although there is recognition that we "inherit nature from previous generations" (ibid, 1). Perhaps surprisingly, there is little to suggest a temporal dimension within nature, whether geological, geomorphological or historical timeframes. The concept of change is used repeatedly in this text, with a significant proportion relating directly to climate change, and the remainder focused either on administrative change or changes in biodiversity or our environment. For the latter, there is a link to a cause, but no explicit recognition that change is as much part of life as living and breathing. Analysis allows no sense of time to be discerned in connection to landscape, and certainly no sense of interaction of nature and the human past.

The assumption in Scotland's Landscape Charter that human hand is heavier now than in the past links strongly to the language of the 1962 conference (LIS & NTS 2012) and to the mid-twentieth century concerns of dramatic change. This merits some examination however, as the evidence base for earlier comparisons is not given. Recent change may certainly be dramatic over a shorter timescale, but agricultural improvements, quarrying and land management for industry had a dramatic impact in the eighteenth and nineteenth century landscapes (Vignette 1 – Loch Leven and Vignette 6 – Bonawe & Glen Nant) and I am not clear that a like-for-like comparison can be made. Perhaps this was at a time when there were fewer people to see it and to have a negative opinion of it. Barrett's study of Moray gives some

insight to the human and financial resource deployed to modifying the land in the name of progress (Barrett 2014).

Continuity and change

A sense of continuity and change is clearly discernible throughout the discourse. CoE (2000b) is much less frequently referenced than the actual convention text, but provides valuable context on the underlying debate and the intended meaning in the text:

> This definition reflects the idea that landscapes evolve through time, as a result of being acted upon by natural forces and human beings. It also underlines that a landscape forms a whole, whose natural and cultural components are taken together, not separately. (ELC 2002 para 38)

Reference was found in several sources that demonstrate the recognition by corporate authors that landscape is subject to change, for example "Scotland's landscapes continue to evolve in response to natural processes and as a result of society's demands." (Critchlow-Watton et al, 2014), and "Landscapes are not static and continue to evolve. Decisions need to be made about the acceptability of change." (SNH/ HS 2004, 12)

SNH, in their analysis following the completion of the LCA, recognise that landscapes will change, but using a somewhat judgmental tone to articulate the circumstances:

> Landscape character always exists, even if it changes, however some landscape character types might be lost, or their quality may be reduced, over time. It is equally likely that new types of landscape character may evolve, some of which could become valued. While all landscape character changes over time, there are likely to be areas where change in character is relatively rapid, such as where existing landuse is economically unsustainable, or where there are ideal conditions for a new type of land use or development to take place, which would quickly dominate the character of the landscape. (SNH 2002a 36)

> Landscapes evolve continuously. The past half century has seen particularly marked changes. Some of these have been piecemeal and cumulative, and slow enough to have been virtually imperceptible at the time. (SNH 2003, 1)

The temporal framing for much of the official discourse is revealed here – the concern is for change over the last two generations (within living memory) but without contextual reference for change on a longer temporal frame. A significant global impact of dramatic changes in the second half of the 20th century is implicit throughout the discourse, although there is little evidence of any comparison with earlier periods of change which I would argue may have been

equally dramatic (for example, the enlightenment and the agricultural improvements). The report on Special Qualities in the NSA's argues

> It is recognised that these landscapes are the current endpoint of a long period of evolution, involving a complex interplay of the natural elements of climate, geology, geomorphology, soil development, vegetation succession and herbivore impact – and with a rich overlay of human elements linked to settlement, transport, farming and forestry. Similarly, we should expect these landscapes to continue to evolve in future in response to on-going social, economic and environmental change. (SNH 2010, 10)

The Knapdale NSA is particularly interesting (Vignette 4), when we consider that Kilmartin Glen contains exceptional evidence for human occupation over millennia, and yet the boundary of the NSA was drawn to the edge of the Moine Mhor, excluding these very features. A temporal frame can be discerned in some sources – for example, the Land Use Strategy for Scotland values soil formation over "thousands of years" (SG 2011, 18), and refers to landscapes shaped by people "over centuries" (ibid, 25) and recognition of different land uses "in the past" (ibid, 19). This is important. While this text is focused on a vision for the *future*, it recognises that any action is built on long standing practices, representing continuity and change through time. Mention is however made to past contamination (16), and of the remaining references, four are to 'future generations', consistent with its purpose of setting out a long-term vision.

The idea of change

In terms of structure, biodiversity and the historic environment follow the discussion of landscape in the National Planning Framework (SG 2014a 42) and emphasis seems to be placed on human as passive receptor of nature, rather than dynamic agent interacting with, acting upon and being acted upon/ affected by nature. Several references to 'landscape and visual impact' were found in the Scottish Planning Policy (2014b), generally relating to infrastructure developments with one "including effects on wild land" (SG 2014b, 40). There are further references to the importance of visual impact to communities but making no mention of landscape, whereas reference to 'landscape characteristics' is only mentioned in relation to sites included on the Inventory of Historic Battlefields (SG 2014b, 149). This echoes Macinnes who argued "though the historic elements of the landscape are themselves finite, they constitute, at the same time, a dynamic resource which grows and alters with time" (Macinnes 2002, 24).

One of the few sources concerned with an overarching strategy for Scotland's land cover was *Getting the Best From Our Land: A Land Use Strategy for Scotland* (SG 2011). Its

implementation directly impacts on the landscape resources of Scotland, which features in one of the underlying principles of sustainable land use, "all Scotland's landscapes are important to our sense of identity and to our individual and social well-being" (ibid, 4). However, the concept itself is not defined. There are several references to landscape as a physical entity (e.g. best-known landscapes, their local landscapes), and one to landscape and visual impact associated with wind farm development (ibid, 2). There are two references to 'landscape-scale' (ibid, 3), both in relation to habitat restoration and the ecosystem approach.

Direct reference is made to the European Landscape Convention, though shortening the definition to landscape "as areas perceived by people" (ibid, 25). It recognises that all of our landscapes have been shaped by people over centuries, that they contribute to our sense of identity and feeling of well-being. However, it is significant that the only specific characteristic that merits a mention is "wildest land" (ibid), and its elemental quality, alongside identification of psychological and spiritual benefits. While the document is strategic, I would argue that the mention of the 'wild land' quality is not accidental and has been included as a result of significant influence by key actors through the established networks. This section also celebrates the experiential dimension of the land in a way that is open and inclusive, rather than presenting an impression of formal restriction for any future management decision. However, the strong link between landscape and nature is retained in the annex of maps, all of which relate to natural elements or land cover and one that includes a caption "this map shows areas protected for their natural heritage or landscape value" – which includes National Scenic Areas and National Parks (ibid, 41), tying Scotland's landscape designations tightly to their natural heritage value.

Change relative to the present-time
A clear strand is detected that captures a sense of change for the worse in relation to the present from a previous state. This is most clearly seen in the use of '**degraded**' in relation to landscape, although there are subtle variations in its application. The central theme appears in a list of possible states – the SNH Landscape Policy Framework is clearly positioned in "SNH's interest extends across all Scotland's landscapes, encompassing the rural and the urban, the ordinary, the degraded and the special." (SNH 2005, 5). This sentiment is repeated elsewhere and can be interpreted as a commitment in compliance with ELC (CoE 2000a, 9) to a concern for all landscapes, and not just those considered to have special qualities.

This principle is directly cited in the Scottish Landscape Forum report (SNH 2007, 17) and their proposal for a Framework for Scotland's landscape work, as the second of five underpinning principles "all landscapes – landscape exists everywhere, encompasses town and country and whether considered beautiful or degraded, is everyone's shared inheritance." It is not clear what each corporate author wanted to convey in deploying the term; 'degraded' conveys a sense of judgement against existing values, with a negative conclusion. The author here is an advocacy group, positioning themselves against a sense of negative change from an earlier, preferred state. It is in this context that the word seems to be deliberately chosen, as in "there is currently inadequate protection for landscapes in our most important wild land areas. As a result, they are being lost and degraded at an alarming rate." (John Muir Trust 2010, 145).

The judgement implied in *degradation* is linked directly to a prompt for action – in the Forum Report (SNH 2007, 54), with reference to how those landscapes should be treated in the planning system, argues "some of our landscapes are degraded by past activity and need positive policies to restore them". This text was the result of a coordinated and cross-sectoral dialogue, which has resulted in the subsequent qualifying sentence that "care will be needed to reconcile the restoration of 'degraded' landscapes with their existing cultural and biodiversity value, for example as industrial archaeology." (ibid).

With reference to the challenge of incremental change, the Scottish Planning Policy recommends that development plans "should consider the natural and cultural components together and promote opportunities for the enhancement of degraded landscapes." (SG 2014a, 47). This sentiment is confirmed three years later in the text of Scotland's Landscape Charter, "it is all landscapes that matter – the degraded the ugly and the simply neglected included" (SNH 2010, 2).

The message is slightly more ambiguous in the SNH Policy Framework, where a commitment is made to "the enhancement of those landscapes which have been degraded by past activities, so they can make a positive contribution." (SNH 2005, 4), but then "encourage enhancement of those [landscapes] that are degraded and safeguard of the most valued." (ibid, 7), while later including in their objectives "enhancing those landscapes degraded by past use (recognising cultural values where appropriate) to secure a positive contribution to Scotland's landscapes." (ibid, 14). A subtly different emphasis is detected in the Guidance on Local Landscape Designation (SNH/HS 2004, 11), a jointly authored contribution by two

agencies – Historic Scotland and Scottish Natural Heritage. This draws attention to comparative value:

> "an all-landscapes approach is not itself a substitute for identifying and taking action for landscapes which merit special attention, either because they are recognised as being of particular value and warrant safeguard, or because they are degraded and require more active management or positive restoration."

This contribution is directly focused on the concept of designation for landscape value, arguing that "their potential role as an accolade is also increasingly important, and serves to differentiate them for parallel action for degraded landscapes taken forward by local authorities" (ibid 13).

Reference to the concept of 'degradation' is recognised as a value judgement in TCA/ SNH (2002, 44) and is advised against when carrying out LCA on the grounds that such terms (also bland, beautiful and ordinary) are "very subjective and 'in the eye of the beholder'." LCA is a tool that is designed to inform policy and decision-making, where nuanced language is perhaps more acceptable, but it is important to see 'degraded' as a value judgement. Reference was even found in the guidance for using the HLA, arguing it can help "to highlight landscapes of degraded character or of lower sensitivity." (HS & RCAHMS 2012, 42).

Wider use is made of the term '*modified*'. For example, in an SNH discussion of landscape, "commercial forestry has modified the landscape character in some areas" (SNH 2002a, 358). Kilmartin Glen could equally be described as a highly modified landscape, for which it is highly valued (**Error! Reference source not found.** & Vignette 4). Turning to a dictionary definition draws attention to a potential for alternative interpretation; the OED (accessed 18 June 2018) defines the term as "that is or has been modified; limited, altered, qualified." To a reader, altered may indeed mean a straightforward change in the character of an entity; limited or qualified however suggest a more nuanced interpretation; limited suggesting a constraining or confining activity. At heart this discussion is focused on change, and the use of modified or degraded, while not always stated, conveys a sense of human activity in this discourse, rather than modification through natural process.

The IUCN categories of designation provide a further dimension, describing wilderness areas (category 1a) as "usually unmodified or slightly modified areas, retaining their natural character and influence, without permanent or significant human habitation, protected and managed so as to preserve their natural condition." (Finke 2013, 4). This definition is further

qualified through the same author's emphasis on natural qualities "relative to both ecosystem structure and human activity" where "each of the respective protected area categories depict landscapes that are more or less humanly modified, providing a description of the areas' character in comparison to the intensity of human-nature interaction" (ibid, 6). The implication here is that modification has negative connotations, and yet land management practices created the field patterns that we value today, whether rectilinear improvement fields, or those that reflect post-medieval 'reverse-S' practice. Similarly, while modern renewable energy infrastructure is often resisted, the evidence of early technological innovation by Professor James Blyth of Anderson's College in Glasgow (now University of Strathclyde), is recognised in the marking of the first windmill to generate electricity.

This is not to decry the potential threat of widespread wind power in the wrong place, but to recognise the complexities of environmental management today. Cronon warned

> our concerns in the present will inevitably shape our understanding of the past, which is as it should be – but they also tempt us to misunderstand the past by imposing our own assumptions on people quite different from ourselves (Cronon 2003, 178)

The idea of a modified landscape has deep roots; Sauer in his seminal paper on the morphology of landscape (first published in 1925) describes geography as "distinctly anthropogenic in the sense of value or use of the earth to man. We are interested in that part of the areal scene that concerns us as human beings because we are part of it, live with it, are limited by it, and modify it" (Leighly 1963, 325).

On a more personal level, it is important to remember that the individual's perception of the landscape is unlikely to subscribe to that identified by official disciplinary expertise. For example, when discussing Kelvingrove Park in Glasgow, "When I look at this park, I don't see trees and splendid scenery, I just see all the places where I was flung into the fountain or where I saw the cleansing department tipping snow into the Kelvin River … it's lovely" ('Billy Connolly: Portrait of a Lifetime', 49:05). This is his landscape, whether or not these feelings are captured in the dataset prepared by government.

Discourse of governance and working across sectors

As a corporate governance document, the Historic Scotland Corporate Strategy (HS 2012a) concentrates on statutory and administrative responsibilities, on behalf of Scottish Ministers. I was keen to triangulate policy documents with those which set out the strategic purpose of the key actors and formal institutions, to explore consistencies in language and emphasis, and also any significant absence.

Repeated reference is made here to 'the future' or 'future generations' (e.g. HS 2012a, 3 & 15). This is consistent with the purpose of government being to envisage a positive future and plan for its achievement. Temporal reference is also made to past time - 'our past', 'earliest

Figure 26: Kilmartin Glen - a highly modified landscape

settlements 10,000 years ago' and the 'from earliest to most recent times' (HS 2012a, 14).

The historic environment is tied in firmly to the broader policy environment, Scottish Government's central purpose, the National Performance Framework and Scottish Planning Policy (see Appendix 9). It is interesting to note though, that one National Outcome commits to protection and enhancement of the 'built and natural environment', arguing that "protection and management of the historic environment is best carried out in balance with the surrounding environment, not in isolation from it." (SG 2014b, 7). This reflects an evolution in the language of spatial planning and environmental protection. In 2007 built heritage was the preferred term for describing the wide range of historic environmental assets, but a rapid

review of the Scottish Planning Policy (SG 2014b) gives only a handful of references to 'built environment' the majority of which refer to the contemporary rather than the historic, when viewed in their wider context.

While there are links between the discourse themes, the historic environment keeps to its own focus, with only brief reference made to 'natural heritage' – for example highlighting the dual designation of the St Kilda World Heritage Site and emphasising the 'built and natural environment' together. No mention is made of scenery, aesthetic values or natural beauty, nor is tangible/ intangible used. As a strategy for 2012-15, this document (HS 2012a) must have been in preparation while the SHEP (HS 2011a) was being finalised. Interviewee I/V P1 referred to their experience within an advocacy group, saying "we perceive a split between SNH and Historic Scotland over who does landscape effectively ... particularly where the boundary/ demarcation."

Landuse and tools for managing change
The National Planning Framework (NPF) is described as the spatial expression of the Government economic strategy, "a strategy for all of Scotland – championing our most successful places and supporting change in areas where, in the past, there has been a legacy of decline" (2014a, iii). The implication here is continuity of success and change from decline, but there is an argument to suggest that successful places will have experienced considerable change through innovation and development, and those in decline will have seen little substantial structural change (for example the absence of substantial change in the village of Culross, as opposed to the frequent redevelopment of Andrews Square, Edinburgh).

Landscape is explicitly discussed – in the chapter on 'a natural resilient place'. This clearly combines from the outset 'nature and culture' in "we will respect, enhance and make responsible use of our natural and cultural assets." (SG 2014a, 42) and the opening statement at 4.1 attempts to set the tone of the chapter with "Scotland has a world-class environment – our nature and culture are inextricably linked." (ibid) Following a long-standing tradition, the text goes on to itemise in prose different aspects of Scotland's environment. The language of paragraphs 4.2 – 4.5 combines different aspects of the physical resource with the values placed upon them, both in terms of utility and of intrinsic value. 4.2 opens with "our principal physical asset is our land." (ibid). This first page takes a sequential approach, opening with a discussion of soil, from productive qualities through habitat for wildlife and its value in sequestering carbon. This is followed by mineral resources (beneath the soil!) but then,

moving onto woodlands as an economic resource as well as environmental asset. (ibid) Once they have covered soil, minerals, woodlands and water – the text turns to landscape (para 4.4), with "Scotland's landscapes are spectacular, contributing to our quality of life, our national identity and the visitor economy."

The text does not however define what landscape *means* in this context, though it does consider what it *is*. So, "landscape quality <u>is</u> found across Scotland, and all landscapes support place-making" (42, my emphasis). This statement captures the principles of the ELC in implying that all landscape matters. It links very neatly to the idea of place, and the importance of the broader setting when considering individual places. The historic environment is left to the final paragraph, 4.6, which to me, is where it belongs – the history of our environment helps to explain why it is the way it is today. However, there is no reference to the interaction between people and nature, drawing attention to the dynamic interrelationship that helps to explain biodiversity, land cover and habitat; this format also seems to subscribe to the chronological approach to landscape, with human impact the final layer in understanding what is before us. This source is focused very much on the built – heritage sites, cities, towns, villages, buildings, townscape, archaeological site and human settlement. People together as a collective, the impact largely of 'group' activity. This document is designed to capture the full breadth of strategic land use planning issues for the future of Scotland and must necessarily be brief in its signalling of priorities and concerns. However, it does mean that careful thought has been given to the language and terms selected and supports my argument that the *interaction* of nature and culture remains challenging in our approach to landscape. In his analysis of development plans, Scott found a focus on protection rather than planning and management, which may be a reflection on the resources available for a more proactive concentration on landscape matters (Scott, 2011, 2757).

Use of both 'landscape' and 'environment' has been deliberately applied here. Although the terms are not specifically defined, 'landscape' is discernible as something more refined than environment, which is used as the macro-term to capture nature and culture. The question arises over the extent to which they are considered in combination. The absence of the two together in this document is difficult to analyse as it works at a more strategic level. But this may signpost a more defined 'separation' at a detailed level of policy and practice that may become clearer when the full corpus is examined.

Overall the NPF (SG 2014a) is inherently concerned with how themes, sectors and resources can be combined in a coherent plan for physical land use in the medium-term future. The natural and cultural environments/ heritage are afforded equal emphasis in key paragraphs, although ambiguities in terminology make 'cultural' more difficult to grasp. Landscape is not explicitly defined – its meaning is left to interpretation – but implies that landscape is the natural on a spatial scale. It is not clear whether the human/ cultural factors refer to people in the present experiencing the landscape, rather than recognising a long-standing temporal interaction. And the emphasis on remote and wild suggests the absence of evidence for historic human activity as a valued quality in keeping with Ingold, "in a world constructed as nature, each object is a self-contained entity, interacting with others through some kind of external contact, but in a landscape, each component enfolds within its essence the totality of each and every other" (Ingold 1993, 155).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined the different way in which the term 'landscape' is used in the context of institutional discourse. The evidence shows that while there are circumstances where the term is defined within a text, this meaning varies between documents and between institutions, generating ambiguity. At times this is constructive, allowing the reader to apply their own interpretation and being inclusive of different perspectives. Analysis of this breadth of interpretation shows little specific emphasis on the historic dimension of landscape, obscuring definite characteristics that are clearly identifiable. Specific terms such as 'landscape history' or 'battlefield landscape' convey a sense of a past time, but are confined to very specific contexts.

I have demonstrated that while 'landscape' is a widely used term in official discourse, the way in which it is characterised and the contexts in which it is used are highly variable. Analysis shows that there is limited explicit reference to a historic dimension of landscape. This confirms the view of Tress and Tress who argued that "the situations in which we use it and its connotations are changing over time" (Tress & Tress 2001, 143). The breadth of different situations in the Scottish institutional discourse serves to obscure the value placed on its historic dimension.

Discourse on landscape appears to focus on describing a defined state, and ascribing character based on predetermined values. Mitchell argued that, "the things that landscape tries to hide

[…] are the relationships that go into its making." (Mitchell 2000, 104), and while I do not entirely agree with his allocation of the role of subject or actor to 'landscape', the suggestion is that the evidence for human activity is deliberately obscured. This is patently impossible, but in the very act of creating and defining landscape as a concept, particularly in relation to the strong associations with leisure and recreation, it seems to have become incompatible with the concept of work, or as Mitchell continues, "a central component of landscape representation is the erasure of the work that goes into making a landscape" (Mitchell, 116).

Vignette 2 – Valleyfield Wood

Valleyfield House is included on the Inventory of Gardens and Designed Landscapes, and thus recognised as a 'landscape' of national significance. It is certainly "an area as perceived by people", in keeping with the ELC, with a thriving local Valleyfield Heritage Project. It is protected through national and local planning policies. The Inventory entry awards the site outstanding historical value but refers only to the survival of the original Red Book. The details highlighted here draw attention to the official assessment of the landscape through the LCA and HLA; also to the breadth and depth of its significance to the generations who lived and worked on the estate, and who continue to value it as their local landscape today. The official tools discuss nature and history, but it is the people who are absent.

Vignette 3 –Wild Land Area 17: Rum

Designated as one of Scotland's finest landscapes, this collection of four main islands – the Small Isles – will be recognised by many in the iconic images of Scotland's landscapes. There is a wealth of archaeological features that testify to the long temporal frame of human occupation, which I believe will also be recorded in the vegetation, should the requisite studies be undertaken. However, the special qualities only partially capture that complex time-depth. While there is nothing incorrect in the LCA and the HLA descriptions, neither capture the richness of the human interaction with the landscape over an extended period of time. The landscape is present, but the people are missing.

Chapter 6: Characterising Landscape

The established approach to assessing landscape is to distinguish the elements and patterns of that particular place in time, capturing the essence of its character and exploring what features combine to afford value (Robinson 1976, Swanwick 2001). The dominant paradigm underpinning landscape in the official discourse in Scotland is the assessment of character, a strong theme evident in the sources considered here. This process of characterisation has a considerable influence on how the concept of landscape is characterised overall. In order to assess the extent to which the historic dimension can be detected, in this chapter I will examine how character is described and positioned within the discourse and assess the extent to which evidence for a historic dimension is found within the processes that ascribe character to landscape. These in turn inform the approaches to policy and practice, where "character is emerging clearly as the basis for describing the special qualities of individual landscapes and beauty is being interpreted as an expression of landscape quality" (Selman and Swanwick 2010, 14).

Character: patterns of elements and features

A key theme in the discourse is the concept of character and how this helps the individual to add meaning to what it is that they perceive and experience. If the present landscape is the result of action in the past, then it follows that a historic dimension of landscape will inherently form part of its character, with evidence identifiable in the discourse. Character is another term often left open to the reader's interpretation. SNH describes this as "the distinct and recognisable pattern of landscape elements that occur consistently in a particular area and how these are perceived by people that makes one landscape different from another" (2005, 19). A landscape comprises a plethora of features and elements identifiable in our surroundings, with value placed on the duality between the inherent qualities of each feature and the relationships identifiable between them.

At their most basic level, "landscapes are composed of fixed objects arranged in three-dimensional space, some of them being essentially of natural origin, others being modified by human intervention, and others being totally artefacts" (CCS 1971, 25). Several of the documents subject to analysis explore the concept of character. For example, the SNH Landscape Policy Framework (2005, 19) describes it as "the distinct and recognisable pattern of landscape elements that occurs consistently in a particular area and how these are

perceived by people, that makes one landscape different from another." Character is a difficult term to define outwith landscape, with several overlapping dictionary definitions, often relating to the personality of a sentient being (largely, though not exclusively human), and sometimes including a judgement of moral standing. Despite – or perhaps because of – the ambiguity in its meaning, it has become a key concept in the interpretation and discussion of landscape. In those documents that carry a glossary, few however define it.

It is clear that this term is intended to encapsulate pattern, and in a way that is distinct rather than abstract. The definition does not specify whether the pattern comprises only what is seen – in person or on a map – or if it includes the meaning behind that pattern: what caused it to be in that form, through time and as a result of natural and/ or human factors. Meaning can be attached in that causation to the form and function of the constituent elements with the pattern and the processes that caused it to come into being, whether accidental circumstances or conscious decision-making.

For example, the designed landscape at Valleyfield House, Fife (Vignette 2) and the range of actors who participated in its construction and management; the associations and memories of the local residents who have grown up there, perhaps walking their family through the woods on days off, once it had been abandoned and fallen into disrepair. Or consider the ancient woodland in Glen Nant, valued for its considerable ecosystem services and benefits, but the origin – and the modern character – of which is dependent on economic drivers in 18th century Britain (unseen market creating demand) and the individuals who provided the labour, skills and capital to manage the process of production over decades.

Elements and features

This idea is found across the discourse themes, with the SNH definition above partially quoted in the HLA guidance (HS & RCAHMS 2012, 31) to frame a chapter linking HLA and landscape character. Similarly, the local landscape designation guidance (SNH & HS 2004, 30) quotes this description for landscape character in the glossary. What might constitute an *element* is left to the reader's interpretation, although there may be an implicit link to the LCA Guidance (TCA/SNH 2002, 8) where they are described as "individual components which make up the landscape, such as trees and hedges." There is also a wider connection to the ELC Glossary where elements are described as forming "the basis for the analysis of landscape features, landscape protection, management and planning activities and for the definition of landscape

indicators" (CoE 2013, 13). Historic character and elements are detailed (in LCA & HLA and SNH 2005), but their purpose was captured succinctly by Interviewee I/V L2:

> Back to idea of place – for practical purposes you need some kind of unit; unit is in effect a place so what are the characteristics and what are the elements that provide value?

Features can be identified as components with a strong visual dimension, defined in LCA Guidance as, "particularly prominent or eye-catching elements, like tree clumps, church towers, or wooded skylines" (TCA/SNH2002, 8). The form of each component, and the way that they articulate with other components determines historic landscape character; a repeated combination of components define a wider historic landscape character type. Rippon is careful to distinguish between "character defining features" such as settlement pattern, field systems or open water, and other "more conceptual influences" such as patterns of exchange, trade and consumption, status and power or designed/ ornamental landscapes (Rippon 2004, 22).

This explains the repeated reference to 'cultural features', suggesting that cultural elements are more likely to be visually striking when a wider landscape is perceived. A note of caution is required however, as the extent to which something is prominent depends on the value given to it by the 'receiver', which will be based on their individual knowledge, experience and personal values. For example, this attractive lowland view of Aberdeenshire may be appreciated, whether or not one is aware of the nationally important hill fort of Mither Tap of Bennachie, on the volcanic plug in the centre of the picture (**Error! Reference source not found.**). An alternative way to look at it might be to see where elements may be detectable on a map as factually in existence; features own an additional special characteristic particularly open to visual perception. Interviewees referred to sites as features in the landscape. For example, Interviewee I/V L2 spoke in principle, "you experience a particular feature within a context", whereas Interviewee I/V AR2 was more fulsome

> Landscape is the form and features of the environment … I mean we tend to look at it as a rural thing rather than an urban but obviously it does cover both … and it's the interaction of the physical features, both natural historic and how they make a whole and how they change through time.

https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1204506

Figure 27: Mither Tap of Bennachie, Aberdeenshire - a landscape with a lowland farming landscape character with the iron age hill fort on the skyline, Crown Copyright HES

Interviewee I/V HEM1 tied it closely to their focus as an archaeologist

> I'm interested in the material elements … evidence for human activity in the landscape. I'm not dismissing the intangible or the other cultural heritage elements, but my particular focus is on the material elements because there are particular issues with how you manage them physically.

In relation to landscape design and forest management, Interviewee I/V L1 noted:

> you usually use the word feature when you mean a 'one off' thing but actually here's something that's become a characteristic in this landscape … this fort feature repeats itself several times through this landscape … we need to design this forest in such a way that that reputation is important so it's not just the feature that's important, it's not just the setting of the individual fort that's important, it's the fact that it consistently appears through the landscape.

The relationship between landscape elements and features is not always clear. Features are discussed separately, where "the description of a 'specific landscape' leads to the highlighting and describing of specific characteristics of that landscape in its current condition as they

150

Figure 28: Patterns in the present - haymaking on Islay, Crown Copyright SNH D9594

result from natural and/ or human factors and from landscape driving forces" in the context of landscape knowledge as the "first fundamental stage in the process leading to landscape action" (ELC 2013, 15). The essence of the challenge – both in terms of language, and of differing perceptions in the role of officialdom – was captured in this interview:

> I can see how these different elements, you know human impact, natural/built – I can see how they get separated, because humans love to sort things, you know we love to be able to pigeon-hole things into categories and then particularly where you end up with government agencies, quangos, being set up to manage elements of these things you have to define them, you have to say ok, you know, Historic Scotland you're going to manage the built heritage, and SNH you're going to manage the natural heritage and yes the two cross over, but from an administrative point of view you need to be able to make a distinction but I think as with all bureaucracy you end up with bureaucracy impacting on the human psyche (Interviewee I/V LM2).

Pattern

The contribution of a feature to the broader pattern is based on an understanding of intrinsic qualities, which might include elements of knowledge (perhaps of origin and evolution) and their contribution to the wider scene whether as contrast, texture or movement. It might also include a sense of temporality, whether that feature be considered as part of the present or as a monument to the passage of time. For example, **Error! Reference source not found.** above illustrates haymaking on Islay. Perhaps immediately obvious are the lines of cut hay waiting to be baled and placed randomly across the stubble on the left. This activity takes place within a field boundary that, from this angle, appears to be composed of a rubble stone dyke of unknown date, drawing the eye to the horizon and further fields bounded by fencing, with

sheep grazing beyond. The activity of hay-making might be perceived at the time this image was captured, but it can also be considered indicative of time-depth, as a long-standing land use activity in this part of Scotland, though perhaps with more people and horses visible in earlier scenes, where the work involved more manual human and animal labour; a good example of an Ingold 'taskscape', where temporality is neither history nor chronology, but a merger of the passage of time and the events which happened in an earlier time (cited in Thomas 2015, 2). From a management perspective, Interviewee I/V HEM2 felt that "you can't successfully manage a landscape without understanding how the elements relate to each other … what they make up in that landscape."

Perspectives on landscape

The interviewees were fairly evenly divided between those who perceived landscape to be part of an external environment and those who define it in terms of a dynamic interaction between people and their place (this will be explored further in Chapter Seven).

> As a society we put special value on iconic areas that we think of as looking a certain way; associated with the visual…end up seeing it as a visual appreciation of large areas (Interviewee I/V P2)

Time and again in this research I have been drawn back to the concept of interaction. One interpretation is the way an individual interacts with and relates to their physical surroundings through the practice of perceiving and experiencing; a sense of separate entities where the mind processes the sensations we experience of our physical surroundings and generates personal meaning that we may (or may not) choose to share with others. This suggests a bipartite situation – first of the individual receiving that which is transmitted by their wider physical surroundings, "the relationship between the perception of 'landscape as sensation' and the objects that produce that sensation" (Olwig 2003, 873). Subsequently, the individual might be considered as composer, processing what is received through their personal experience as an individual, and thus generating a mental scene.

The process of characterisation

Evolution of landscape assessment and evaluation

This research is about policy, and the extent to which a historic dimension of landscape is addressed. In keeping with Cairney, I have explored the roots of the current policy position, and principles that underpin the development of the primary tools; the evidence base that

supports the development and implementation of policy. There is an inherent link between the academic discussion of landscape and the generation of official discourse. Geographers were engaged in finding a mechanism for categorising and characterising landscape to allow a comparative evaluation and identify what might be considered as the 'best' examples and worthy of protection. This formed part of the debate that led to the creation of the CCS, where a concern for the 'natural beauty and amenity' of Scotland was included in its remit (Coppock, 1968).

One could argue that the different approaches represented early forms of 'evidence-based policy making' through consultation with "a large number of interested bodies and individuals" (ibid), the stakeholders and experts of their time. Following the 1949 Act, National Parks and AONB's in England and Wales were surveyed by visiting parties from the National Parks Commission, with technical advice from their field officers; the local planning authorities were then invited to prepare a preliminary boundary proposal for consideration by the Commission. Concerns began to be raised in the 1960's that landscape assessments were largely carried out to identify areas for designation, and were openly subjective, based only on field visits and informal discussion.

"The original recommendations were arrived at subjectively by one man, or by a small group" (Robinson et al 1976, 21) and later modified during further consultation or ratification in formal process. According to this report, by the 1960's techniques of landscape evaluation based on ecological consideration had become well-established in schools of landscape design, giving

> considerable emphasis to the interaction of natural factors (these being the least flexible and most fundamental of the factors determining the form and function of landscape) and seeks to relate the more flexible and controllable socio-economic needs of man to this natural framework. (ibid)

The emphasis on the interaction between *natural factors* is telling, implying landscape is a complex system, but one that is separate from people; people are outwith, rather than part of, the landscape. This led to the criticism that evaluations at the time "either assess visual quality subjectively or concentrate on character classifications of landscape as a guide for development planning" (ibid). Case studies were criticised if their approach was deemed too subjective with some planning authorities considering it "necessary to be as objective as

possible" (ibid, 22), deploying more analytical approaches, leading into the 1970's and the attempts to score and measure and code.

Debate over the balance between the 'whole' and the 'specially selected' has been long standing, with a clear articulation that all landscape in Scotland is valued in 1971,

> we do not need a survey to be able to state that Scotland possesses large extents of very fine landscape, of international fame. These landscape resources are of value to those who live amongst them and to the Scots who visit them for recreation. (CCS 1971, 6).

Here we have early recognition of the resident and the visitor, insider and outsider. The following sentence is also revealing, "nowhere else in Britain is there such an extent of almost uninhabited mountainous country adjacent to a major population centre" (ibid). The two primary characteristics worthy of early mention in relation to the attractiveness of the landscape as resource is the presence of mountains and the absence of a resident population; the interest in what is more recently termed as wild land and related special qualities. This leads directly into economic benefit – always a strong argument when supporting government action – with "since tourism is so dependent upon scenery, these landscapes are also one of the major resources of the national and regional economies" (ibid, 6). Scenery might be a nice thing to have, but economic benefits must justify any action that might be proposed. **Error! Reference source not found.** captures a frame from the film *Local Hero* (1984) where the Russian fisherman (seated) is comforting the American oilman who is anxious about the damage his deal will do to the village and the landscape by saying "it's their place Mac ... you can't eat scenery".

Figure 29: "you can't eat scenery", Local Hero, 1983, Goldcrest Films

These aspirations came to partial fruition with the publication of *Scotland's Scenic Heritage* (CCS 1978) which detailed what were to be described as Scotland's finest landscapes and formed a basis for the designation of National Scenic Areas; formally recognised through a planning circular in 1980 and updated to legislative recognition in the Planning etc (Scotland) Act 2006. This early language is striking – discussion of different conceptions of landscape, and reference to other authorities that continued to believe "visual quality grading is dependent on the interpretation of the individual observer" and that any evaluation must be subjective, maintaining that "subjectivity is acceptable provided it operates within certain limits" (CCS 1978, 22). Landscape was considered a total visual experience, rather than a collection of components. The primary governance mechanism was created through the establishment of the '1947 planning system', with decision-making given to locally elected planning authorities (local councils). The early 1970's saw the introduction of structure plans and the ability to agree policies for the protection and management of landscape. This system of decision-making was designed to be informed by an evidence base using expert advice and presented a key driver for robust and transparent techniques that could withstand challenge; this was about managing change, not preventing it, and provided a forum of debate on often controversial proposals that might be supported or opposed by different groups and factions. The effect of this move to characterisation was the separation of evaluation of landscape from

analysis, description and classification, anticipating the ELC and the idea that all landscapes matter, not only those deemed to be 'special'.

Subject and object – what is seen and what is there to be seen

The LCA approach in Scotland follows the subjectivist paradigm "in which the beholder rather than the object determines the aesthetic" (Selman & Swanwick 2010, 5). The potential for recording the "more aesthetic aspects of landscape character […] in a rigorous and systematic" way (SNH/TCA 2002, 34) is illustrated in the list of adjectives (**Error! Reference source not found.**) which concentrates very much on the visual aesthetic. A sense of texture is certainly conveyed, but at a landscape scale the visual sense seems the obvious vehicle to convey that experience of texture. A sense of calmness or busyness will be absorbed also through a sense of sound or touch, whether in the form of wind blowing through the trees, or the discordant sound of a flock of disturbed sea birds. However, to my untutored mind, there is little reference to perception beyond the visual. The aesthetic attributes described require the combination of our senses to achieve the complexity of the experience implied, although this will vary between individuals.

Box 5.1: Aesthetic aspects of landscape character			
SCALE	Intimate	Small	Large	Vast
ENCLOSURE	Tight	Enclosed	Open	Exposed
DIVERSITY	Uniform	Simple	Diverse	Complex
TEXTURE	Smooth	Textured	Rough	Very rough
FORM	Vertical	Sloping	Rolling	Horizontal
LINE	Straight	Angular	Curved	Sinuous
COLOUR	Monochrome	Muted	Colourful	Garish
BALANCE	Harmonious	Balanced	Discordant	Chaotic
MOVEMENT	Dead	Still	Calm	Busy
PATTERN	Random	Organised	Regular	Formal

Figure 30: Extract from Landscape Character Assessment (SNH/TCA 2002)

The Landscape Character Assessment

The origins of assessment lie in the 1960's, articulated in the report commissioned by the CCS in 1971 to "suggest how the landscape resources of Scotland might be graded so as to help

better planning for their protection and use" (CCS 1971, Foreword). In discussing the future, opportunity is recognised for control and direction using existing planning powers, but arguing that, a "landscape survey and classification would show what resources Scotland has, in quantity, quality and distribution. Change could then be considered in full knowledge of its consequences, rather than in an atmosphere of suspicion and doubt" (CCS 1971, 11).

Landscape studies have largely relied on expert input, particularly in the formal policy sphere, where "relationships of trust and establishment of expert credibility matter greatly in the acceptance of knowledge claims" (Cairney 2016, 91).The field of landscape characterisation in Scotland is a small one, which might perhaps enhance the risk of confirmation bias as relationships between research and policy are deepened over time, and linked closely to the aesthetic and the ecological, with less focus on the historic and material culture. If networks are more open and inter-disciplinary, this should become evident in the analysis of discourse. It is all too easy to make judgements with hindsight, but the landscape character assessment represented Scotland's first foray into the creation of an impartial nationwide database,

> it was quite an exciting time because no one else was doing landscape character assessment before we were on a national basis; we were the first country … Scotland … as a devolved nation to be doing a country-wide landscape character assessment; England followed us, in effect…" (Interviewee I/V L3).

There have been several projects exploring how the principles of LCA and HLA might relate to one another. Interviewee I/V AR1 spoke of their experience on a project that involved close working with colleagues from different perspectives on a characterisation exercise,

> you are fitting into a process which is dealing with character … historic elements within that character are not necessarily particularly obvious and it is all … what they were interested in … scale of openness or closedness, scale of tree and arable and pasture, scale of field size versus moorland and so […] to actually find elements within a landscape character […] that were historic in their character that weren't agricultural improvements or fields and farmsteads and nineteenth century vernacular […] you know the monument to so and so or the hill fort […] was extremely difficult

Historic character

The opening chapter of the Historic Environment Policy (HS 2011a, 3) contains a detailed assessment of what constitutes the historic environment, beginning with "Scotland's distinctive character". There is strength in this language, but with some ambiguity; character

could refer to the people of Scotland, but also to landscape character. By not specifically using *landscape*, they leave this open to the reader's interpretation, and in the process, avoid tying the subsequent text to a broad concept which cannot be said to lie within the direct scope of Historic Scotland's interests. The second sentence provides qualification with "Past generations have left their mark in the form of monuments, buildings, and sites, in our towns and cities and in the countryside around us, even in the patterns of our streets and fields." (ibid). This list attempts to capture the main elements and features (the choice will depend on the level of significance afforded to an element by the 'receiver'), making it clear to the reader that character is affected by the wide range of historic assets that fall within the responsibility of Historic Scotland, as author of and responsible authority for the policy.

Character is repeated in the next paragraph, "the historic character of our environment is important to our quality of life and sense of its identity. Many of its *elements* are precious, some are not well understood" (ibid, my emphasis). I have drawn attention to elements, as this seems to me the central conundrum of character, whether of environment or landscape, and how we might begin to understand it. The challenge is in exploring individual elements and why they matter, but then drawing them together in a pattern that presents a coherent entity of substantive meaning, particularly when they are examined in such detail by separate specialist interests. As a text created to support the process of decision-making, attention is given to explaining the *author's* understanding of what is defined as the historic environment (for full text, see Appendix 8). Explicit reference is made to *patterns, features and historic character* (HS 2011a, 5).

While the ELC definition is referenced repeatedly, there are subtle differences in its framing. For example, in SNH 2010, landscapes are described in terms of 'surroundings' and 'character', with readers/ signatories left to make their own interpretation.

It is important to remember that the development of the HLA as a national tool continued through the 2000's towards its completion in 2015, and HS & RCAHMS as the corporate bodies responsible produced interim reports as areas of the country were completed (e.g. RCAHMS/ HS 2000 and RCAHMS/ HS undated). However, for a tool to be suggested for deployment in national policy, full national coverage must be available, which partially explains its absence from inclusion in the sources addressed in this dissertation.

The historic landscape

The Historic Environment Policy (HS 2011a, 55) refers twice to 'historic landscapes' owned or managed by government departments or bodies in a list of historic assets – "buildings (both in use and ruined, archaeology and historic landscapes". It is not clear whether the term 'assets' is intended to define a sub-set (i.e. designed landscapes such as Holyrood Palace or Kinloch Castle) or whether it could be interpreted as capturing the whole of the Royal Park of Holyrood or the island of Rum, as a spatial area of land owned and managed by the state.

One example serves to broaden the potential meaning that can be applied to landscape and suggest an element of semantic convenience: "Scottish Ministers have made large areas of Scotland's historic landscapes freely accessible through new rights of access to land and inland waters" (HS 2011a, 7). The use of language is curious here - not large areas of land or countryside, or even just landscape, but of *historic landscapes* plural, implying a deliberate connection and suggesting that such landscapes are connected to place, rather than covering the national spatial extent of the idea of landscape. Strictly speaking, Ministers have legislated for open access to land regardless of ownership, and under certain conditions. The historic landscape is not specified in the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2003, although landscape is mentioned in the definition for 'cultural heritage', which "includes structures and other remains resulting from human activity of all periods, traditions, ways of life and the historic, artistic and literary associations of people, places and landscapes;" (para 29(3)). Natural heritage on the other hand includes reference to "the flora and fauna of land, its geological and physiographical features and its natural beauty and amenity" (ibid); no reference is made to the 'historic landscape' in the Scottish Outdoor Access Code (2005). If we consider the full paragraph (HS 2011a, 7 para 1.10, see Appendix 8), of the five sentences, each has at least one mention of 'historic environment' – except that quoted above. It is perhaps more likely that *'historic landscapes'* is deployed here as a simple semantic device to avoid repeating excessively the core subject of the document itself. The original SHEP (HS 2011a) was conceived as a suite of documents where policy and guidance for specific assets could be added where relevant. *Managing Change in the historic environment: setting* was the first to be published and concerned

> "the principles that apply to developments affecting the setting of historic assets or places including scheduled monuments, listed buildings, inventory parks/ gardens/designed landscapes, World Heritage Sites, conservation areas, and designated wrecks." (HS 2010, 3)

Several references to landscape are included, suggesting more than one possible interpretation:

1. *Wider surroundings* of an asset or place, and how they are 'placed'
2. *Descriptive term* for elements of those surroundings – landscape features, character of the landscape
3. *A discrete entity* – alongside topography resources, monuments and buildings (such as designed landscape, or historical, artistic, literary and scenic associations of places or landscapes)
4. *A temporal dimension* – the current landscape

Following a sustained public campaign for the protection of historic battlefields in Scotland, research was commissioned to inform the preparation of an inventory, resulting in publication of interim guidance *Managing Change in the Historic Environment: Historic Battlefields (interim guidance)* in March 2011 (HS 2011b).

Straying briefly into the historic features within landscape, a slight change was noted to the original definition of 'monument' given in the 1979 Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas (Scotland) Act – the 2011 Act allows for the designation of "any site comprising any thing, or group of things, that evidences previous human activity." (HS 2011a, 92). This amendment was made to ensure that artefact scatters could be included (e.g. stone and flint tools or midden material). However, this does NOT include "palaeoevironmental" deposits within a waterlogged area or peat bog, which may contain information relating to human impact on the landscape but are primarily of natural formation" (ibid, 93). In landscape terms, this may provide evidence of human interaction with the land, and the knowledge gained would enhance our understanding of the landscape and its sense of place. **Error! Reference source not found.** shows clearly the fertile land on the coastal strip, but what is not visible is the extensive depth of peat underlying the A830, identified in pre-construction assessments in 2000 (Discovery and Excavation Scotland 2000, 47). .

Being 'in' time

We experience landscape in the now, in present time. This is affected by our own memories and attitudes, formed as our lives have been lived and in the wider context of communities and events. This is influenced by the substantive material landscape that surrounds us and contains the evidence – both tangible and intangible – for people who have previously

interacted with an environment that is constantly changing. In this chapter I will examine the temporal discourse, for its presence or absence, but also for the weight afforded to past in the context of present and future.

While not specifically referring to landscape, the statement on the historic environment and sustainable development – *Passed to the Future* (HS 2002) clearly conveys a sense of being in time; what we have inherited and our responsibility for what we hand on to future generations. People are central to this text, with a clear ownership for 'us' and 'our heritage'. The link to landscape is not direct, and if anything, is used to capture the whole patchwork, to ensure the focus is not solely on the individual assets (buildings, sites and monuments).

"The historic environment provides a focus and resource for lifelong learning about the past and how people have inhabited the landscape and used natural resources through time" (HS 2002, 24). Government has a clear statutory and administrative responsibility for education, but here emphasis is placed on 'lifelong' learning (it's for everyone) and implies a three-dimensional approach to the idea of people inhabiting a landscape through time. This is perhaps the closest the historic environment documents come to capturing the idea of the interaction of people with their place through time, and it is perhaps telling that it appears under the heading of 'an educational resource' as an opportunity, rather than in terms of conservation and management. It is clear that thought has been given to the selection of the images, conveying the importance of having people in the places discussed (whether passing through, or participating in organised events); people are central, whether living in or visiting the historic environment, participating in its conservation and management, or supporting its continued use; "never assume that the way we understand the past today is the way people in the past understood their own present" (Cronon 2003, 177).

In contrast, for a text concerned directly with the historic environment - and with time explicitly used in the title – I could find very little sense of any particular timeframe in *Our Place in Time* (the first Scottish Government Strategy for the historic environment) (SG 2014c). Several references were found to 'the past' or 'our past' – for example, the Ministerial Foreword states "the past, which is all around us, defines who we are as a nation and as a people" (SG 2014c, 1). Frequent reference is also made to 'historic'. No explanation is given, and the reader might infer that the past is a homogeneous and widely understood entity that requires no further explanation. Scotland's historic environment is defined as "the physical evidence for human activity that connects people with place, linked with the associations we can see, feel and understand" (ibid, 2). There is no discussion of what is meant by time, nor of what they perceive our place in time to mean. I would not expect this kind of text to take a philosophical approach, and one might question why there is any need to explore this phrase in more detail – our place in time is now, the past is behind us, the future yet to come. But by examining the temporal aspect of discourse, it is clear that the idea of time is not explored to any significant degree elsewhere and seems to be something of a new direction set out here.

Figure 31: Arisaig and Traigh, Morar - the green fringe is testament to centuries of human interaction with nature, Crown Copyright HES

The only reference to a particular point in time is made in relation to the management of their historic environment which has become "increasingly professionalised in the last 50 years" (ibid, 21). If this source is about understanding our place in time, it is curious that no reference is made to any position on the temporal plane. However, *historic* is in itself a temporal term, referencing a specific category of time passed (the evidence for human activity *in* the past). Mention of the 'present' is not related to time, but how monument and material are presented, or represented. This idea of a separate entity of 'the past' is striking. It chimes with the philosophical notion of a time no longer in existence, unreachable. However, through regular repetition, it is given a sense of tangible existence in the form of a complete unit where components from 5000 years ago might be treated equally from those only 50 years distant. If we look more widely at the historic environment theme of discourse, the HES Corporate Plan Consultation Draft (HES 2015) follows a similar line, referring only to "our past' and 'past human activity' and its benefits now and for future generations. No sense of a timeframe or a period of the past is mentioned, beyond reference to the parent agencies and their role in looking after the nation's past for over a century.

There is a definite sense of our past in the now, and as an entity that can be passed on, but without a sense of whether that covers decades, centuries or millennia. This belies the complexity of relationships between individual actors and communities across space and time. The previous Corporate Plan for Historic Scotland (HS 2012a) explicitly discussed remains across a period of 10,000 years, referencing human activities from earliest to most recent time, but also focused on passing these to future generations.

Reference is made to the concept of time, framed early on, for example, with "shaped by human and natural processes over thousands of years" (HS 2011a, 5), combined with frequent mention of the past, Scotland's past and patterns of past use. This text is concerned with what we have inherited from past time, and gives a clear sense that decisions are being made in the present for future generations. It recognises that what exists today is the culmination of the interaction of people with their environment since the end of the last ice age (10,000 years is taken as the usual reference point for evidence of the earliest post-glacial populations in Scotland). There is a strong sense of temporality throughout, with repeated reference to *past* over centuries or millennia. There is a tendency for assertion of the existence of a 'time past' as an entity worthy of consideration and some value.

Occasionally, examples will reveal some aspects of component in terms of historic asset, for example "buildings (both in use and ruined), archaeology and historic landscapes" (HS 2011a, 55). But there is rarely a clear sense of relationship between such assets, time past and people in the present. It is however assumed that it is people who value their environment and chose to identify historic aspects. The sense of decision-making embedded in the past, and how these are interpreted in the present, was captured by Interviewee I/V AR3,

> So many of the things you see are the result of particular people and the decisions that they've made in the past at some point; and every decision will be made slightly differently; you can grasp general trends, but are you forcing into a theme or does that theme really exist?

Time present and time future

The sources examined here are produced as part of the wider government role, assessing current issues of concern and demonstrating the need for action, first by investing time and resource in a statement of some form, and perhaps making commitments in the form of policy objectives. The concept of inter-generational equity has become largely mainstream, in no small part because of the emphasis placed on our duty to future generations in the Brundtland Report (1987). Direct reference is made in the first of the NTS conservation principles (NTS 2003, 3) to the importance of 'inter-generational equity', and the "essential ecological processes [...] fundamental [to] survival of humankind" (NTS 2003, 3), although it is also tied to issues of human quality of life (ibid). There is however frequent reference throughout the sources to 'future generations' as the beneficiaries of the action to be taken now, or the reasoning behind the processes of protection and conservation. For example, *Our Place on Time* (SG 2014c); most frequent reference is made to the *future*, and notably to how "future generations" might benefit (for example, SG 2014c, 1, 7 and 19). Where the 'past' is discussed as a noun, a being word, implying a fixed construct, the future is found most frequently as adjective, as in future generations.

Heritage

Throughout the discourse there is parallel use of 'heritage' and it is not always clear where the boundary lies with landscape. The discourse was analysed for the use of the term to determine the extent to which landscape was clearly the focus of discussion, or where semantics required use of a broader range of terms.

While natural and cultural heritage are discussed in SNH 2005, they are largely segregated with very little suggestion of working across boundaries. The text commits SNH to working with partners, or in partnership, and while it is beyond the scope of my work, 'partnership working' has in my experience, become a standard theme of government policy since the 2000's, partly to break down organisational silos and encourage working across government, but also in recognition of increasingly limited resources that encourage sharing of any financial burden.

> SNH has no statutory remit for individual buildings, monuments or assemblages of buildings but it does have an interest in the overall contribution of the past to today's landscape and regional distinctiveness, which is often undervalued." (SNH 2005, 24).

The SNH Corporate Plan refines the agency's core purpose in a way that might appear to give a central position to the concept of *landscape*, with the intention to, "secure the conservation and enhancement of nature and landscapes; foster their understanding and facilitate their enjoyment; and promote their sustainable use and management" (SNH 2015, 6). The implication is that people benefit from the sustainable management of landscape in their health and wellbeing in the present, rather than as an active partner in its dynamic evolution, creation and recreation

The difficulty here is that it ignores the richness of what has been passed down to us and fails to acknowledge how that too might enhance our health and wellbeing; a sectoral rather than holistic perspective. The repetition of 'nature and landscapes' becomes almost idiomatic (see SNH 2015 and SNH 2012b, for example), suggesting an inextricable link and supporting the idea that landscape might describe the spatial extent of nature and the related idea of *landscape-scale approach*. Looking at the broader discussion of heritage, this extends from the specific and discussion of World Heritage Sites, through to the holistic discussion of our rich cultural heritage. Following the extensive discussion of the historic environment above, it is worth noting their inclusion of a shorter definition here, "the historic environment has been defined as 'all aspects of our surroundings that have been built, formed or influenced by human activities from earliest to most recent times'" (HS 2012a, 14).

This does not contradict the definition given in the SHEP (HS 2011a) but can be interpreted to go beyond the narrow boundaries of the site, building or monument to recognise all evidence for the interaction between people and their place over time, whether that can be found in the vegetation, the soil (for example, evidence of burial or burning) or in physical structures

that have stood the test of time. This is important, because it recognises that the full breadth of our landscape/ environment has potential to be of interest, and that a process of evaluation is required to inform decisions on protection, conservation, management or neglect and destruction. The research in this dissertation confirms the view that "Scotland has taken a philosophical standpoint on heritage as having intrinsic value" (Baxter 2015, 36). It is the administration of those valuation processes – in terms of actors, institutions and networks – which influences the sense of public value, and how landscape is perceived as we go forward.

Although there is no direct reference to heritage, a strong sense of a shared inheritance runs through the text of the Landscape Charter, with the Chairman's foreword giving a broader definition of landscape:

> Scotland's landscapes, which are renowned throughout the world, show the imprint of countless *generations* of Scots who have shaped this land, sometimes through deliberate design but more often unconsciously. The current *generation* of Scots continues to make its mark on this canvas, but in an age when the hand of man is so much heavier than in the *past* it is important that we do so with care and forethought. (SNH 2010, 2, my emphasis)

Everything was new at some point

The scenery valued today is the result, to some extent at least, of innovation and change in the past – the novelty of the designed landscape around the country house; the rectilinear field systems bounded by hedges and drystone dykes. Landscape is at the very heart of the Landscape Charter (SNH 2010) and clear reference is made to the definition included in the European Landscape Convention. There is no mention of scenery or natural beauty, but I find some ambiguity in the language used – landscapes are described in terms of 'surroundings' and 'character', but neither term is defined, and readers/ signatories can make their own interpretation. Apart from the ELC definition, the issue of 'perception' is not significantly discussed, and it is easy to read into the text that landscape is a material entity, rather than a matter of perception through the senses.

Special qualities in the discourse

In Scotland the identification of special qualities is seen as a separate process to characterisation, where the latter might be described as "wall-to-wall carpeting" while the former might capture the "beads and the necklace" (Interviewee I/V L3). In other words,

assessment of character is concerned with capturing a baseline of data to support understanding of the whole generated from component parts, while exploring special qualities involving judgement based on a set of defined values.

The SNH approach to assessing special qualities (SNH 2008, based on Tyldesley 2006) places the initial listing of special qualities *after* a process of background research and familiarisation with the area concerned, with explicit reference made to the LCA and the HLA as source material. This makes perfect sense, but due to a combination of circumstances outlined in Chapter Four (a short narrative of landscape and institutional Scotland) I could find no evidence of the approach being tested on a landscape that was not already designated as either a National Scenic Area or a National Park.

Three field sheet templates were published as part of the guidance, to help the assessment team determine objective analysis, visual analysis and describe their personal response to the landscape (SNH 2008, 19). The analyst is invited to record "a subjective description of their personal response to, and feelings about, the scene" and "note any contrasting feelings relating to different parts of the scene" (ibid). The examples given – while clearly not exhaustive – are insightful:

> e.g. exhilarating, inspiring, exciting, awesome, challenging, surprising, spectacular, dramatic, turbulent, unsettling, uncomfortable, wild, remote, isolated, undiscovered, secret, mysterious, tranquil, peaceful, hidden, idyllic, contrasting, harmonious, unified, refreshing, reassuring, comforting; time-depth, sense of history

All these words describe the reaction of the 'receiver' to the scene that is perceived; they are words that describe personal feelings and reactions that the individual might experience in this particular landscape. That is apart from the final two terms – time-depth and sense of history, which are 'being' words and capture more the features, elements and patterns that exist to be 'transmitted'. They are neither feelings, nor descriptions of a reaction. It is certainly true that a landscape with time-depth might also prompt feelings of mystery, harmony or spectacle, but my analysis has found little connection between these descriptive terms and a quality that might be described as a sense of continuity of human habitation or of people in their place. For example, the special qualities description of The Small Isles NSA includes two references to spectacular:

> The coastline of all the islands is impressive and spectacular. It is predominantly steep and rocky and common to all are cliffs, caves, natural arches, wave-cut platforms, skerries, isles, stacs and raised beaches. (SNH 2010, 3)

> With the spectacular, mountainous backdrop of Rum, the Bay of Lairg is impressive in many ways. (SNH 2010, 6)

The second quote refers to the special quality identified on the island of Eigg of 'The fascinating shapes and sounds of the Cleadale Coast' (**Error! Reference source not found.**), describing geological curios and the high-pitched squeak that is heard when walking across the sands. It also includes supporting information about the Victorian geologist Hugh Miller, and his assertion "that there were 'few finer scenes in the Hebrides' (1858)". Yet there is no reference to the very clear evidence for human settlement that existed over hundreds if not thousands of years in this particular place on the island (Vignette 8).

Wildness

The special quality most frequently deployed as an example within the discourse is 'wildness'. I want to explore this in some detail, because it is the quality most frequently referenced as an example when special qualities are cited. Rather than particularly prioritising wildness as a quality, its framing as a special characteristic of landscape makes it more 'legible' in the landscape discourse. Other characteristics, such as the historic dimension, seem to concentrate more on the individual features and elements and less in their combination as a special quality, making them more difficult to grasp. For example, in exploring landscape character within cultural ecosystem services,

> Preferences in landscape character, such as the developing British taste for wildness as a quality of landscape, can also be measured. A YouGov poll (2012) commissioned by the John Muir Trust (established in 1983 to campaign for wild land protection across the UK), based on a sampling of 2,269 adults drawn from a range of socio-economic backgrounds and regions – the first poll to attempt to gauge public attitudes to the siting of wind farms on wild and scenic lands – revealed that 40% of those polled want protection for wild land against commercial wind farms (John Muir Trust, 2012). (NEA WP5, Annex 1, 2014, 19)

in 2002 a policy statement was issued by SNH on Wildness in Scotland's Countryside (SNH 2002c). This reflected a concerted campaign on the part of a coalition of advocacy groups concerned about the increased threat to the wild land qualities they valued, particularly as a result of the expansion of renewable energy and of wind farms in particular. The precise form of their argument is not the focus here, although it is important to understand the context

https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1228320

Figure 32: Loch Morar, within wild land area 18 - Kinlochhourn - Moidart - Morar, Crown Copyright HES

that frames the published text: it contains no reference to beauty, either natural or scenic, although wild land is described as having a "special aesthetic quality" (ibid 3). Appreciation of wildness is acknowledged as a matter of an individual's experience, followed by a series of examples arguing: "it is enjoyed by visitors as they tour Scotland and view **scenery** from the roadside which is markedly different from what they experience at home, and which may appear to them to be highly natural" (my emphasis, ibid, 1). Considering that the criteria for the definition of wild land captures that which is a certain distance from modern human infrastructure, this suggests that if someone sees wild qualities, or what they *think* is natural, that may be sufficient to define it as such. However, this paper is framed directly at the values of wild land and does not allow for the possibility that the attention of said visitors might be drawn to the extensive – though perhaps somewhat obscured – remains of an abandoned township that was formerly home to dozens of families. This might contradict that sense of naturalness, and certainly of wildness, by emphasising the previous presence, and current absence, of a resident and thriving human population (Vignette 3).

The descriptions that support the wild land areas are very much set in the present, valuing the solitude of wild land character now, but only briefly acknowledging resident populations in the past. For example, wild land area 18 (**Error! Reference source not found.**) includes:

> Historic features, such as ruined buildings and enclosures, as well as currently occupied crofts and estate settlements or cottages, are located within some glens
>
> and around some shorelines. These appear as human artefacts and/or evidence of contemporary land use, but their effects tend to be limited and localised where small, isolated in location, low-lying, and discrete in siting and design. (SNH 2017, 5)

The text continues to project onto the visitor (based I am certain on firm evidence, though it is not directly cited), a perception of such land as "unspoiled and mainly untrammelled by human actions" (ibid 3), although this is balanced by a reference to social history alongside ecological and archaeological evidence that "tells us some of these landscapes have been modified or influenced by past human uses." (ibid, 3). I note the reference to evidence of past human activity, but also question the selection of 'some' (the majority of Scotland has been substantially modified, but the underlying evidence rarely makes it into the landscape narrative).

Although SNH 2002c concerns wild land qualities, it borrows from the traditional perspective of 'natural beauty' arguing

> "wild character of our countryside and coast is of considerable importance to the tourism industry. It underlies the basic images used in the promotion of Scotland's fine scenery, and it is greatly valued by visitors, especially the committed regular visitor" (SNH 2002c, 5).

Emphasis also seems to be placed on the level of naturalness, with remoteness and absence of evidence for people frequently referenced as examples of qualities that are particularly valued: "we also want to continue our strong protection for our wildest landscapes – wild land is a nationally important asset" (SG 2014a, 42). This is the first use of 'protection' in this chapter and there is emphasis in the use of 'strong'. They aren't messing around here – no ambiguity; not respecting, conserving, managing sustainably, but *protecting*. Examination of the historic environment discourse shows considerable discussion around the relative merits and appropriate use of protection, preservation, conservation and sustainable development. This wording isn't accidental. It is also interesting to note that this exact phrasing was used in the consultation draft (published 30 April 2013). 'Strong protection for wildest landscapes'

retained its priority through the process. Its position immediately before the next sentence is also significant "closer to settlements, landscapes have an important role to play in sustaining local distinctiveness and cultural identity, and in supporting health and well-being." (SG 2014a, 42) There is nothing to actually dispute here, and when the sentences are taken together, the essence of landscape as an experiential quality valued by people is captured. However, in keeping with the Land Use Strategy (SG 2011), 'wild' is the only quality deemed worthy of specific mention. In addition, it is implied that the qualification is those furthest from present day settlements, valued in part simply for that distance from the main centres of population; they have a different role to that of sustaining local distinctiveness and cultural identity. This can be read as two mutually exclusive entities valued differently by diverse groups. But remoteness is a relative entity, and for those living in Wester Ross or Shetland, Edinburgh or Manchester are equally distant.

There is significance in what is left out –the everyday landscape that has formed the dwelling place for generations of Scottish people who have left their mark on those landscapes, however they may be occupied or experienced today. The recent discourse on wild land in Scotland is directly relevant where NSA designation overlaps with wild land areas and where historic human habitation is evidenced. For example, a substantial portion of the island of Rum is designated as Wild Land Area 17. Designated as a National Nature Reserve, it has a very small permanent community today, but contains extensive traces for long-term inhabitants across the previous centuries (for example, see the deserted settlement of Harris on the island of Rum in Vignette 3). The wild land area description makes little reference to the earlier populations who numbered in the hundreds in the early nineteenth century and can be said to support the visual image of the 'shortbread tin' of a remote and uninhabited moorland. The key point here is that people may respond to the description of wild, their eye directed to the mountain, glen and loch but the supporting evidence does not discuss the proportion of wild land supporters who might want to appreciate the reality of the experience far from home comforts. Such images (whether visual or narrative) are illusory and, I would argue, that the implied isolation that comes with the wild land experience is a much more acquired taste, and the sense of isolation and tranquillity can equally be achieved on a secluded rocky outcrop close to Aberdour, Fife or Cramond Island, City of Edinburgh.

While the Land Use Strategy for Scotland makes explicit reference to the ELC, and to the idea of special qualities of landscape, the only example characteristic that merits a mention is "wildest land" (SG 2011, 25), and its elemental quality, alongside identification of

psychological and spiritual benefits. While this source is intended to be strategic, and any examples given must be taken as illustrative rather than comprehensive, the selection of 'wild land' to illustrate landscape qualities is unlikely to be accidental and may have been intended as a response to significant influence by key actors through established policy networks. In the John Muir Trust's Vision, they envisage

> "large areas of wild land, incorporating our most spectacular, remote and beautiful landscape, rich in wildlife, will be protected by new legislation and holistic policies". (JMT 2010, 14)

These are interesting adjectives to associate with landscape – spectacular, remote and beautiful. The first and last are dominantly visual in reference; the second is a relative term that requires some form of spatial anchor. The implication must be remote from centres of dense population, which suggests a national or regional rather than a local perspective. Their vision is for protection, although the nature of that protection is not defined here. Subsequent bullet points highlight several specific values associated with wild land, referencing tranquillity and solitude, community and cultural capital, though not 'social' or 'society'. Emphasis is placed on the experiential, with reference to the popular terminology of scenery and beauty. For example:

> "spectacular scenery and abundant wildlife" (ibid, 4)

> "solitude, beauty and challenges" (of such land) (ibid, 4)

> "high scenic and wildlife value" (ibid, 7)

> "our most spectacular, remote and beautiful landscape" (ibid 14)

There is no reference to the European Landscape Convention, nor of the landscape being the result of the interaction of people and place over time.

I have concentrated on the discussion of wild land qualities in part because this is the most frequently cited example, but also because it is most definitely an experiential and perceptual quality. My discussion with Interviewee I/V HEM3 captured the essence of the problem, arguing that Scottish Government have "effectively legislated for an emotional response which is given weight … but you could equally identify all these areas of deserted settlements and say these are areas of … which evoke for me memories of past use of this landscape,"

describing the impact of this approach in the following terms, "if policy for the land excludes the human past or the human present it is denying something extremely important."

Battlefields

The only significant reference to 'special qualities' in the historic environment discourse theme is to the Inventory of Battlefields and a site's special qualities and landscape characteristics. A definition is provided

> Special qualities are the physical features within the battlefield area. These can include upstanding buildings and memorials, as well as known or potential areas of archaeological remains. Landscape features such as enclosures, defensive banks and ditches might also be included if they played a significant role in the battle. (HS 2011b, 15)

This is significantly different from that used in the NSA context, with a focus on physical features, and no reference to perception, experience or understanding. It is a factual and tangible dimension to what makes a battlefield special. The concept is referenced in HLA: Pilot and Study Areas (HS/ RCAHMS 2010), but in direct reference to National Scenic Areas.

Aesthetic qualities

SNH (2002c) combines natural and aesthetic qualities, suggesting a deliberate link but one that does not seem to extend to the 'cultural' in the sense of evidence for past human activity, whether past or present. For example, Ben Nevis sits within the Ben Nevis and Glen Coe NSA and has captured the imagination of photographers for over 100 years (**Error! Reference source not found.** & **Error! Reference source not found.**). The special qualities entry refers to

> "The mountains, moors and glens are visited by many of those in search of the outstanding scenic experience, or outdoor exhilaration and challenge. It is not remote by distance or time from major settlement, particularly Fort William, and a sense of true remoteness must be searched for, with human contact in the upper glens and moors to be expected." (SNH 2010, 2)

The John Muir Trust Guide to Ben Nevis makes only brief reference to habitation within their land ownership area

> People lived in this area in the past. The two buildings in Steall were built in the late 1700s and were home to shepherds until the 1940s. Meteorologists made hourly measurements of weather conditions from an observatory on the Ben's summit from 1883 until 1904. The observatory was expanded to include a hotel which was open

until the end of the First World War. Fragments of a telegraph cable connecting the observatory to Fort William can still be seen on the mountainside (JMT 2012, 2).

No mention is made of the substantial charcoal burning platforms identified in Glen Nevis on the boundary of their property (Canmore ref NN16NE001), or of the clear annotation of cultivation on the Roy Military Survey of Scotland 1747-1755 (NLS, accessed May 2018). My intention here is not to challenge the factual correctness of the text, but to draw attention to the framing around the wild land experience, relegating any evidence for past human activity as a matter of interest. **Error! Reference source not found.** from 1883 of Upper Ben Nevis does support the descriptions in this guide and in the NSA special qualities, but neither explain the origin of the established track clearly identifiable on the left.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined the established approaches to characterisation of landscape, and assessed the extent to which evidence for the historic dimension is incorporated within the process. It is clear that invisible genealogies – the established formal and informal cultures that build over time within constituted governance structures – have a strong influence on individual corporate approaches. While I have found language that captures a sense of a historic dimension of landscape, I found little evidence to confirm that significant value is placed upon it through the formal processes of characterisation. I have found the historic dimension is not firmly embedded across the landscape characterisation processes, resulting in its significance being not fully addressed.

I understand 'character' as an inherently transdisciplinary term, as distinct from more traditional multi-disciplinary approaches where different sources, types or themes of evidence are discussed separately. This issue arose with Interviewee I/V HEM1, whose experience of assessing planning proposals for their impact on historic environment assets and their settings found "no cross-fertilisation of ideas and no co-operation" across the different chapters in environmental assessment, and in particular between landscape and archaeology sections. They had the impression that

> "the environmental consultancy would not have people on staff; it would portion out the work to various different consultancies and then there'd be somebody at the environmental consultancy who just cut and pasted it altogether … they wouldn't have any idea about how to read the cultural section against the landscape section against the wildlife section against the transport section."

https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1228525

Figure 33: Footpath, Glen Nevis 1883, Crown Copyright HES, Erskine Beveridge Collection

Macinnes (2002) identifies a significant problem in the compartmentalisation of organisational structures, which hinders the integration of natural and cultural heritage management, a very real parallel for the dichotomy between nature and culture discussed by (Whatmore 2005) among others. Macinnes highlights the Statement of Intent signed between Historic Scotland and Scottish Natural Heritage, but my analysis above suggests that this tool was one victim of recession and the effect of efficiency savings that forced each institution back to the basics of their core objectives. This is in direct contradiction to Tress and Tress who explored the potential for a system-orientated transdisciplinary approach to landscape research, concluding that "landscape is neither a solely objective, nor a purely subjective reality; it is both simultaneously [...] it is necessary to bridge the gap between human and natural sciences in landscapes research" (2001, 154).

The analysis explored in this chapter confirms the idea of "a certain circularity in landscape characterisations because through the very act of characterising landscape, one is also defining what one means by landscape" (Olwig et al, 2016, 169). I conclude from the evidence presented here that the historic dimension of landscape is not given significant weight in the way that landscape is characterised in the institutional discourse. The completion of national

coverage of the Historic Landuse Assessment presents opportunities to redress this imbalance in the future.

Vignette 4 – Kilmartin Glen

The boundary of the Knapdale NSA runs through the southern end of the Glen, and while this boundary might make sense on scenic grounds, it fails to acknowledge the coherent prehistoric landscape which continues to be inhabited today. Reference is made to the historic artefacts and associations, but it is not clear what that special quality means, and therefore the reference is left somewhat suspended. For SNH, the people of importance are those who visit, perceive and experience the landscape, while for Historic Scotland its predecessors, people are implicit as the builders and occupiers of the ruined structures that survive, with something of a disconnect from those who might visit to experience the naked stone structures in the present day.

Vignette 5 - Falkirk

In complete contrast, I suspect there are few who would describe Falkirk and its surroundings as a landscape; yet it is an area that can be perceived by people, and it clearly demonstrates a complex interaction between human and natural factors over time. In this case study I contrast the detailed knowledge of the elements and what they bring to the pattern that is the landscape with the characterisation tools.

Chapter 7: Landscape and Place

By analysing the language used in the institutional discourse, characteristics that capture the essence of the historic dimension of landscape emerge. Three distinct interlocking themes can be identified – time, place and people – within and across the discourses of landscape, historic environment and governance. Together, they support the idea of landscape as a multi-dimensional entity, a socially constructed concept perceived in space and time. From the outset I was struck by the extent to which 'place' and 'landscape' seemed to be used interchangeably, particularly in the discourses of governance and of the historic environment. To understand how the historic dimension of landscape is addressed, this chapter considers how the discourse addresses the concept of 'place' within institutional discourse, and what is shared in common with the concept of 'landscape'.

It may not matter whether an individual resident describes the setting around their home as their place or landscape, but in the sphere of governance, such terms can take on a very definite meaning. In this chapter I explore how landscape and place are deployed in the sources. I consider specifically the concept of sense of place, and how it is used to implicitly capture different dimensions of landscape. The European Landscape Convention (ELC) embeds people as an essential aspect of landscape, opening up the idea of relationships in landscape, whether between people and place, or between different elements and features. Understanding the relationship between people and landscape in time – and through time – are essential to how a historic dimension might be characterised. I will also examine how this is treated in the discourse.

'Place' in the discourse of landscape

'The use of 'place' becomes more frequent through the chronology of the sources and this can be directly linked to the more recent emphasis in the Scottish Government on placemaking and creating places. Frequent reference was found to 'Scotland as a place' (e.g. HS 2011a, 5, SG 2014, 5 NPF and SNH 2012b, 5). The National Planning Framework (NPF) (SG 2014a) and the Scottish Planning Policy (SPP) (SG 2014b) are both framed around a central focus on place, and on places for people, the latter positioned deliberately at the heart of the Scottish Government's national outcomes, which goes some way to explain the emphasis on people in the management of nature and landscapes. It recognises that this work is being

carried forward for the people of Scotland where, in later twentieth century texts, the beneficiary might have been described as the natural environment itself.

The idea of 'place' sits at the heart of the NPF, and the ubiquitous use of the word (compact and stemmed) reinforces its significance. Planning in Scotland – for economy, life and leisure is about placemaking, and this policy framework attempts to communicate a holistic approach. However, challenge lies in presenting the different dimensions of place, while retaining an overview of the whole. This challenge is clear in the consideration of human heritage under a 'successful, sustainable place', but landscape categorised under a 'natural resilient place'. The language throughout the document however is one that attempts to associate rather than separate. As with the NPF, place is central to the SPP. The headings are consistent across the two documents, and, the tone of the SPP is very much in keeping with the NPF (the two documents were prepared and published concurrently). There is clear recognition of the historic environment, the natural environment and the landscape, alongside the central position for place. The extent to which these factors are linked is however questionable, echoing government and expert structures, reinforcing invisible divisions that exist between what are clearly closely connected concepts, and contradicting the arguments of Lowenthal (2005) and Cronon (1996) that the natural and cultural environment (natural and cultural heritage) are inseparable. National designations are recognised in the annex, but it is left to the decision-making bodies of local and national authorities to balance competing priorities in the face of proposals for change.

The function of the sources studied here is focused to some extent on identifying challenges and mitigating actions. It makes sense then, that the National Planning Framework (SG 2014a) is structured around 'Scotland today' and 'Scotland tomorrow'; it is a mechanism for planning how we will move forward within our national boundary, to support decision making on proposals, whether planned collectively, or as individual projects. Paragraph 4.6 recognises the "long history of human settlement" (ibid, 43), in the context of archaeological sites. Reference to the 'past' is more frequent, with the majority either directly associated with 'decline', or the need for remedial action or restoration.

The Scottish Planning Policy (2014b) follows the same structure in categorising 'landscape' with 'natural heritage'. Some sense of its application here can be drawn from para 41 in the section on placemaking, where it appears in a list of examples of 'local features that development must complement "landscapes, topography, ecology, skylines, spaces and

scales" (ibid, 13). This is an interesting mix of terms, combining broad generalities (spaces and scale) with specific features (skylines) and sectoral themes (landscapes, topography, ecology). Streets and building forms are also mentioned in a way that may be deemed to capture historic value. The sentence concludes with the aim "to create places with a sense of identity" which in itself must encompass past experience alongside other contributing factors. While an extensive glossary is included, there is no specific definition of landscape, although the term does appear in the definitions for 'open space', 'place', 'sensitive receptor' and 'setting'; not, however, in the definition for 'National Scenic Area'. This is a conscious decision, emphasising the focus on scenery and not to be confused with landscape (Interviewee I/V L1).

Coming to the SPP (SG 2014b) blind, the reader could interpret *landscape* in one of four ways:

1. As an environmental asset
2. As a constituent element of natural heritage
3. As an adjective to describe features or characteristics
4. As a verb – hard landscaped areas.

As part of its broader approach to placemaking, the Scottish Government published *Creating Places* (SG 2013), a strategy for architecture and place and focused on demonstrating the role of high-quality architecture, rather than the full breadth of what encapsulates place. It includes a broad definition of place, with an emphasis on people interacting with their environment echoing the language of the ELC;

> the environment in which we live; the people that inhabit these spaces; and the quality of life that comes from the interaction of people and their surroundings. Architecture, public space and landscape are central to this (SG 2013, 7).

The reader is left to make their own interpretation of what this might mean in practice. In contrast, the *Land Use Strategy for Scotland* (SG 2011) makes very limited reference to the concept of *place*, with one mention of 'sense of place' and three of 'places to live and work'. However, it can be read implicitly in the principles of sustainable land use (j) where it states that "opportunities to broaden our understanding of the links between land use and daily living should be encouraged" (SG 2011, 4). This principle is certainly open to interpretation, but it could be read as recognition of the interaction between the cultural and natural factors which combine to create what is understood as landscape.

Interviewees were asked for their thoughts on the concept of place, particularly in relation to landscape. The responses reflected a broad spectrum; Interviewee I/V P1 felt that

"we'd almost use them interchangeably in the organisation … and I suppose it's a bit like a ship and boat; I'd say place is smaller than landscape, perhaps a bit more local, but I think place in the sense of understanding and belonging."

Interviewee I/V LM1 argued

"it's up to local people to define their place which might be a small village or it might be a suburb or it might be a whole, you know, the machairs of Galloway. It might be a very extensive rolling landscape with five or six villages in it or which fields are connected to each other."

Speaking from a different perspective, Interviewee I/V P4 preferred to speak of saving special places, steering "away from landscapes as they are not concerned with visual impacts of land use change." Interviewee I/V P2 used the example of an SNH project report on work at Carse of Stirling,

"it doesn't talk about landscape as the focus but talks about landscape in a real way by looking at it though different lenses; what that *place* delivers, how can attributes be enhanced … a decision-making forum where people are talking about managing the landscape; talking about something that's tangible" (my emphasis).

These examples demonstrate the level of ambiguity across the different landscape discourses, although it is clear that this may not in itself present a problem when a place-based approach is taken, as the place becomes the focus, rather than how it might be defined by stakeholders.

Sense of place

People are central to the landscape in the Landscape Charter (SNH 2010), with reference to 'our' landscape giving communities 'a sense of place'. The custodianship of land owners and managers (also intended as potential signatories), and a series of charter principles includes the need to involve people in decisions about change. The historic environment strategy *Our Place in Time* (SG 2014c) presented a particular challenge through the repetition of place and time, conveying a sense of branding given by the title, although it is not clear how this relates to the content of the strategy. The use of *place* in the title is deliberate, allowing for multiple meanings where the 'present' is positioned between the past that is gone and the future that is yet to be; the 'our' can also be interpreted to mean the positioning of *people* on that continuum of time, and the importance of our place in the broader environment. Finally, the addition of 'our' could silently signal Scotland and address the history of the nation.

Scotland's historic environment is described as 'cultural heritage of places' (SG 2014c, 1) with a direct reference to 'landscape' in defining what this 'comprises'. Five references were also found to 'sense of place', although without definition and it is left to the reader to provide their own interpretation.

Similarly, while 'place' is explicit in the title of the document, it is not directly defined or discussed in the text. The wider focus of the government on placemaking, as set out in the strategic planning policies and elsewhere, ties neatly to the concept of creating places, and the broader commitments of the National Performance Framework. To emphasise the shared approach, quotes from external bodies are scattered throughout, including "mainstreaming should mean that we see each place as a special place" (SG 2014c, 12), and "we must inject the place dimension, and thus the historic environment, into community planning" from the Chair of the Built Environment Forum Scotland. The idea of 'sense of place' is repeated, although not defined, and brief reference is made to the idea of the wider setting of assets.

I found a relatively frequent reference to 'place' in JMT 2010, almost all to 'wild places'. This vision is clearly concerned primarily with wild places, and their protection and enjoyment. The paper is beautifully illustrated with full colour photos dominating the small amount of text. A brief analysis of the images used identifies an almost equal number of landscapes which contain people, against those that contain no people; of the former, six are focused on conservation activities. While detailed analysis was outwith the scope of this particular research, I was struck by the absence of evidence for past human activity in any of the images selected, although it is known that several of the JMT estates, and many of the designated wild land areas contain surviving material remains.

Frequent reference is made to enjoyment of the landscape, and to benefits for people and their well-being. Recognition is also given to communities whose livelihood depends on wild places, but the language is constrained to sustaining that which exists provided it is compatible with this vision, and there is no mention of innovation that might elicit change within those communities or encourage expansion or renewal. There is no suggestion of support for the idea of re-peopling a cleared landscape (Hunter 2017). In fact, there is no reference at all in this document to the fact that many of the areas valued for their wild qualities largely coincides with those cleared of their inhabitants in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for sheep and for sport.

As a text focused on principles, there is little discussion of specific people and places in the policy on battlefields (HS 2011b), although inferences can be made. The idea of 'sense of place' is mentioned, but without definition, nor acknowledging the importance of the individual person who can experience that sense of place. There is some ambiguity in the inherent position of people (who would be valuing the special qualities of a battlefield if not people battles are an essentially human concept and involve human participants. There are very few direct references to people, although a sense of ownership is scattered through the text ('our culture' and 'our sense of history') and mention is made to 'visitors' – acknowledging the value to the economy through tourism. Guidance is intended *for* people, although the framing is anonymous, almost soul-less (local authorities, public bodies, interested parties).

Setting as a form of relationship

Similarly, there are few references to the idea of setting, a relatively new concept in institutional terms. It had only recently been included in planning guidance requiring consideration of 'a site and its setting'. The meaning applied is somewhat ambiguous, for example, in the historic environment as a setting for other activities, but also how a building or monument sits in its setting. There is some overlap here with the origins behind the use of scene and scenery, and the link to the backdrop for a theatrical production – where the action is set. I do not argue with that, but perhaps there is more that can be made of this idea of the landscape as a setting for the lives of the people within it, who interact with it and are constrained by it; part of the structure on which our lives are built. The Scottish Historic Environment Policy (HS 2010b) was originally conceived as a suite of documents where policy and guidance for specific assets could be added where relevant. The first issue to be addressed was the concept of 'setting', which set out the principles that apply to developments affecting the setting of historic assets or places including scheduled monuments, listed buildings, inventory parks/ gardens/designed landscapes, World Heritage Sites, conservation areas, and designated wrecks (HS 2010, 3). It is worth repeating their definition here:

> Setting should be thought of as the way in which the surroundings of a historic asset or place contribute to how it is experienced, understood and appreciated. Monuments, buildings, gardens and settlements were not constructed in isolation. They were often deliberately positioned with reference to the surrounding topography, resources, landscape and other monuments or buildings. These relationships will often have changed through the life of a historic asset or place. Setting often extends beyond the immediate property boundary of a historic structure into the broader landscape. (HS 2010, 3)

https://canmore.org.uk/collection/1253069

Figure 34: Rosyth Castle in the early 1900's, Crown Copyright HES

So, setting is to some extent understanding how the individual monument or building *interacts* with other features within an area; perhaps approaching the idea of landscape where the starting point is the specific asset. It is a challenging concept to pin down, particularly when considering continuity and change, and multiplicity of perspectives that will be offered should any significant alteration or addition be proposed. Even where it might be argued an asset's setting has been substantially compromised. The published text includes an image of Rosyth Castle (**Error! Reference source not found.**), preserved as the Rosyth Naval Base was constructed around it in the early twentieth century, and which continues the tradition of shipbuilding and maritime support today (**Error! Reference source not found.**).

Attitudes may be very different for future generations. DeSilvey and Edensor explore the ruin in depth, discussing the idea that images of a ship-breaking industry "depict the wasting processes of globalised capitalism" (Crang cited in DeSilvey & Edensor 2012, 470). Not far from the Castle lies the Inverkeithing ship-breaking yard – I pass it every day on my train journey to work. It has always seemed a sad place, a graveyard for redundant hard-working ships that no longer served a practical use. But I now find its present condition sadder – a small pile of metal waste betrays a smaller business, perhaps with fewer employees and an absence of working

ships to be 'recycled' to a new purpose. I do not see the ship-breaking as a wasting process, but rather as one of potential renewal; the cleaning process that sorts materials ready for a rebirth.

'Setting' is clearly an issue of perception, but this brings us close to one of the challenging areas in development planning and management where a sense of impartiality is retained throughout the process, with an underlying sense of not privileging any particular individual or group. There are three separate references to 'sense of place', which is described as "the overall effect formed by" (HS 2010, 4) and referring to a series of nine factors that include 'the current landscape or townscape context', character of the surrounding landscape' and relationships between both built and natural features'; there is no reference to the individual that will experience this sense of place, nor the personal factors that might be significant, such as memory, experience, knowledge and preference. Visual perception is also discussed, but in a somewhat clinical sense (visual envelope, key vistas, prominence in views and general and specific views). A person must exist to experience this perception, but the underlying principle of impartiality seems to remove the idea of the individual from this process of perception, suggesting a false objectivity.

The guidance on battlefields (HS 2011b) makes repeated reference to *setting*; no definition is given for what is meant by 'setting', but the reader is directed to the related policy which specifically addresses setting (HS 2010). While mention is made of 'sense of place' there is no reference at all to 'placemaking', but study of the NPF and the SPP suggest that the emergence of this concept as a primary approach post-dates the publication of the SHEP (HS 2011a). However, close reading of all three documents does not identify any significant inconsistency, and one can conclude that this is the natural refinement of the policy language, and a greater focus on putting 'place' at the heart of planning policy for development, and also for communities.

It is worth noting that a further revision to this policy was published in 2016 (HES 2016), following the establishment of Historic Environment Scotland. Due to time constraints it has fallen outwith the scope of this research, although a quick review of the covering letter issued with the document suggests little substantial change beyond updating the guidance to take account of legislative and administrative implications of the merger of the predecessor organisations.

Figure 35: Rosyth Castle, 2006, surrounded by the Naval Base, Crow Copyright HES

The guidance on battlefields (HS 2011b) recognises the importance of context or setting in a battlefield landscape, as well as landscape features, components, characteristics or elements. A two-page annex on 'understanding the battlefield landscape' focuses on the material elements of the landscape, connecting the events of the battle with the surrounding terrain. Significance is placed on the "inter-relationships between the different elements of a battlefield and between these and the surrounding landscape" (HS 2011b, 14), hinting at the 'interaction' that is central in the European Landscape Convention, placing emphasis on tangible topographic elements and key vantage points that would have been significant before, during and after a battle. Similarly reference to a wider landscape setting is tied to the unfolding events of the battle.

This is instructive, giving some insight into the process of interaction between human and natural factors focused on a particular historical event, but one which survives in the collective memory, and for which there may be material survival. It frames all aspects of the landscape through a particular lens and helps us to understand the process of interaction between people and a place.

There are very few references to the wider historical context (in the sense of a narrative of events) beyond the actual battle, apart from 'historical associations', which is not defined, but taken to mean the direct links to individuals (e.g. Cromwell or the young pretender). This is very much focused on a specific event at a place in space and time, and significance is not placed on broader historical, social, economic and cultural interrelationships. That is not surprising – this is guidance for a particular planning tool and needs to retain a tight focus if it is to be effective; and the historical narrative is not seen to fall within the remit of government, which can take responsibility for protecting physical memorial, but not the interpretation of that memory in the process of law.

'People' in the landscape discourse

People are inseparable from landscape, but an infinite number of different perspectives on the relationship between them are obscured, combining perception, experience, knowledge and some form of practice. Institutional discourse adds a further dimension, with a strong tradition of generalising and anonymising language, with the result that while people are implicit and inseparable, direct reference (beyond generic use of 'public') is a comparatively

recent phenomenon. In this chapter I explore how people, and their relationship to place, are captured in the discourse.

The historic dimension of landscape is inherently connected to the concept of place, and more specifically, people in place and of place. I see it as essentially about relationships across space and time, where an individual is experiencing their surroundings as a mental exercise, but also on a material and temporal plane as they navigate through their 'being in the world'. Where Chapter Five found evidence for the interaction of people and landscape as somewhat separate entities, internalising perception of an external entity, here I examine evidence for a more dynamic sense of action and interaction. I identified three different ways in which landscape and people interact.

1. Landscape and its perception <u>by</u> people
2. The experience of landscape by people
3. The impact of people <u>on</u> landscape

Landscape and its perception <u>by</u> people

The ELC is unequivocal "landscape is an area as perceived by people", and "the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors" (CoE 2000a, article 1). For human factors, we must read 'people'. When I began this research, I was interested in how people – or perhaps more accurately people as citizens within a wider society – are positioned in the discourse. The positioning of the corporate author in relation to the public or wider society is largely anonymous, with texts being written on behalf of an incorporated body. People are largely referred to in the third person, as separate entity. For example:

a. People value, celebrate and enjoy the historic environment (HES 2015, 10)

b. Increased accessibility does increase familiarity and for many people this has resulted in more awareness and appreciation of Scotland's landscapes (SNH 2002a, 34)

c. Protecting and enhancing local habitats and landscapes through positive management helps people to value and enjoy nature in their neighbourhoods (SNH 2015,7)

The implication is of an expert authority making declarative statements that position the authoring institution in a particular way; this is the way it is. In most cases the text is relatively benign, addressing matters that are unlikely to face challenge, especially because they fit within the wider suite of texts and are supported by political, social and scientific evidence.

Should questions be raised about the sources for the three examples above, for (a.) HES have cited evidence elsewhere (e.g. HS 2012b) to validate this statement; the SNH 2002a statement (b.) is slightly more ambiguous – there is a certain logic to the argument that more experience and knowledge will increase recognition, although this does not acknowledge the corollary in the old adage that 'familiarity might breed contempt'. No specific reference is given to supporting evidence, it is simply stated as accepted fact. The SNH Corporate Plan (SNH 2015) (c.) serves to establish the position of the authoring body (SNH) by stating what might be considered a corporate belief. It is likely to be based on citable evidence and the use of 'helps' softens the declaration, opening up the possibility of additional causes and alternative outcomes.

The Special Qualities approach (SNH 2008) that now underpins the National Scenic Area designation is framed around what is experienced in that place by the assessor at the time of their visit. That is not in itself an issue, as the aim is to capture the essence of the experience of being *in* that place. A focus on perception and experience obscures the result of interaction of people and nature in the landscape, although using some language that suggests human neglect and wilful damage on an innocent and powerless natural environment. Taking a step back only 50 years will confirm the more 'equal' battle in surviving on the land, and at increasingly frequent intervals the further back in time you dare to look.

The individual is positioned as receiver and composer, responding to their surroundings through all their senses; but in a very separate way, partly because depopulation has raised the profile of the tourist as potential target audience in the *effect* of the official discourse. Perception may be through the eyes of the visitor, predominantly seeking an experience through the lens of leisure and recreation. It may also result from the increasing influence of the cultural geography themes and the influence of graduates exposed to them, who argue that perception is more than a visual experience (for example Ingold 1993, Mitchell 2000 and Massey 2006). A challenge is also encountered in applying professional principles to the generation of a robust dataset, but also being able to apply the results to the whole of society.

There is a further element – that in the discussion of perception, the focus is necessarily on the individual, their personal experiences, memories and cultural sphere. While absolutely recognised as a factor, it is not one that fits neatly into official discourse, embedded as that is in the long tradition of an impartial civil service that cannot be seen to prefer or prejudice any individual or group; the essence of societal governance in the UK being on the agreement as

a collective. This issue was highlighted by Interviewee I/V HEM2 in relation to the challenges in managing change,

> you have an awful lot of people retiring to a landscape because it's pretty, it's nice and they don't want to see any form of change whatsoever […] makes my job easier … however you still have an employed population that's making a living off the land from that landscape and things will change, there will be a turbine that will go up to power the farm … it ticks these other environmentally sensitive things … but people don't want to see that change because its destroying their version of what the landscape should be … people have multiple visions of what their own neighbourhood is like

This is not the place to explore detailed political philosophy, but the first past the post politics of the Westminster system emphasises the utilitarian perspective of maximising benefits to the majority – the community over the individual. This explains to some extent why there is very little reference to the individual and their experience of landscape, but instead a framing of popular ideas of landscape that might appeal broadly to the reader without placing preference on any one group. Ambiguity is a useful tool in these circumstances.

The experience of landscape by people

While not stated explicitly in the literature, this third-person approach might be described as the most 'objective' in keeping with the embedded culture of The Civil Service Code (2015) and its principles of acting without prejudice or preference; positioning people as a separate independent entity. They represent a valued and important constituency, but within that group all might (theoretically) be considered equal in their anonymity. For example, this can be seen clearly in the listing of attributes that constitute the historic environment:

> It is the combination of the tangible and the intangible – from buildings, landscapes and objects, to traditions, stories, memories and people that are associated with those places. (HES 2015, 4)

As a corporate declarative statement, this is the result of some careful crafting; the embedded list will have been pored over, ensuring that in as few plain English words as possible, the breadth of material and cultural entities is captured in a way that demonstrates an inclusive approach. It captures the statutory responsibility of HES in buildings, landscapes and objects (although without direct reference to archaeology or buried remains). I read this as indication of a wider landscape, rather than those designed and included on the national Inventory of Gardens and Designed Landscapes. Governance of the historic environment has broadly been

concentrated on the tangible and the definable, and only through public interest and concern has attention been paid to the intangible. So, the inclusion of a longer list of intangible characteristics and the direct link to people is a new departure for an organisation whose genealogy is focused administratively on the protection and interpretation of the material. Perhaps slightly more ambiguous is the reference to 'people associated with these places', and the greater emphasis apparently given to the great and the good (e.g. Turner, Wordsworth, Repton, Wallace, Bruce or Queen Mary), rather than those who lived and worked within the landscapes discussed.

More recent sources revealed some use of the second person (we, our and us), connecting the landscapes, heritage and nature to the people and positioning the corporate authors *with* the people. For example:

> The effects of climate change on our landscapes, and the ways in which they contribute to people's quality of life (SNH 2011, 2)

> Many of these place-names reveal the strong relationship between our people, our landscape and our wildlife – both past and present (SNH 2012a, B32)

This latter text was generated as a response to the ELC and its focus on all landscapes, not simply those recognised as special. The tone throughout is one of coaching and supporting, leading a target audience of community groups through steps that will help them to gauge what their landscape constitutes and what it is they might choose to value.

I also detected what I would describe as a hybrid version where people are discussed as the subject, and the object of concern is in shared ownership, in a corporate aim to achieve "more people experiencing, enjoying and valuing our nature and landscapes" (SNH 2012b, 4); and "Scotland's people have long known we are part of and reliant upon the natural world around us" (SG 2013, 2). My point here is that institutional discourse must subscribe to the civil service norms without prejudice or preferment, alongside the political priorities of the administration elected to government. In the past 20 years there has been an increasing drive across the UK to consult widely and ensure that all stakeholders have an opportunity to comment at the drafting stage. This encourages a more inclusive approach to drafting, where, although impossible to please all of the people all of the time, there is a clear desire to demonstrate a search for consensus where it might be possible.

While there is frequent reference to people, I found only one specific use of *human* in *Our Place in Time*, "Scotland's historic environment is the physical evidence for human activity that connects people with place, linked with the associations we can see, feel and understand." (SG 2014c, 1). There is perhaps some sense of the inheritance of 'objectivity' and 'scholarly expertise' here, where the emphasis on the physical evidence might be read as a legacy of activity in the nineteenth century focused around placing value on ancient and historical *monuments*. It is this evidence for human activity, which can be interpreted, delineated and conserved that falls within scope. Historical record is the concern of the National Archives of Scotland and the National Library of Scotland, while the 'arts' fall within the concern of the National Galleries of Scotland and Creative Scotland. However, this description also captures the links between these 'actors/ institutions' emphasising the *connection* with the tangible and intangible elements that combine to form 'place'.

The suite of documents addresses a variety of different functions. In 2014 several public agencies collaborated to publish, through Scotland's' Environment Web portal, a State of the Environment Report in the form of an audit across a comprehensive range of themes, including a chapter on landscape. Again, citing an economic argument, "for the vast majority of visitors (from the UK and abroad) our fine scenery is the main reason for choosing Scotland as a holiday destination" (Critchlow-Watton et al 2014, 99). Frequent reference is made to the importance of tourism, evidenced through surveys, some domestic and some UK wide. There are also others representing international analysis where concepts of landscape and scenery are 'reduced' (in the sense of summary and presentation as indicators of a wider activity) for the purposes of effective survey and repetition.

The impact of people <u>on</u> the landscape

The discourse reflects a tendency to a 'one-sided' approach to landscape, where the interaction between people and landscape is one where a non-human entity is witnessed or observed, but "landscape is more than just scenery; it is the interaction between people and place; the bedrock upon which our society is built" (SNH 2012a, C1); the use of 'interaction' here could be interpreted in two ways. First, it might describe the interaction that occurs between the human mind and its spatial surroundings, as an individual moves through the landscape experiencing and appreciating that landscape (the scenery) through their perception of it. Second, it could also reference the more complex and dynamic interplay of people dwelling within their place, and the interactions of everyday life, between people,

between people and their environment, and between other non-human elements of that environment, following Ingold (1993).

Few direct references are made to how people have contributed *to* what is perceived, and the extent to which the infinite dimensions of that relationship impact on the experience, knowledge, memory – and therefore – perception of the individual. For example, there is a clear sense in the SNH Landscape Policy framework (SNH 2005) that people observe or are witness to landscape, but the interrelationship seems largely passive. Benefit might be gained by moving through it and from being in landscape, but there is a sense in TCA/SNH (2002, 12) of reflection on past impact that can inform our management for future change:

> The immediate aim is to complete national coverage of both HLC and HLA, at which stage there will be a need for review and updating to accommodate significant landscape change. National coverage will provide an overview of the *human impact on landscape* over time in England and Scotland, and highlight key regional variations. (my emphasis)

To reiterate, the emphasis is placed on human impact on landscape, and not the interaction of people with their environment in the dynamic creation and evolution of the landscape. Similarly, the Audit grades different levels of human impact

> The assessment system used by the WFD [...Water Framework Directive...] divides lochs into five classes depending on levels of human impact on the environment. Lochs with high status show very little human alteration from undisturbed conditions, and those with good status have only low levels of human alteration. Those with moderate, poor or bad status show progressively greater impact (Critchlow-Watton et al 2015, 46).

It is the environment rather than landscape that is being discussed here, and the context is considering broader environmental condition, but I think the point stands – people impact *upon* the environment, rather than a more dynamic narrative of an interaction between people and their environment. It is worth quoting here a final example, drawn from the Historic Environment Policy and specifically relating to buried environmental deposits that may contain evidence of the interaction between the environment (although curiously applying the term 'landscape' here) and the people who lived there in the perhaps more distant past, "palaeoenvironmental deposits within a waterlogged area or peat bog, which may contain information relating to human impact on the landscape but are primarily of natural formation" (HS 2011a, 93).

The visual sense

Emphasis is placed in the discourse on the importance of all of our senses, although it is clear that visual significance has traditionally been dominant. SNH makes repeated reference to the centrality of the visual (2005, 13 & 20), but in recognition that character is based on visual and analytical assessment, rather than on the more traditional route explored in the 1970's and 80's using map-based evidence to assess physical characteristics. They are acknowledging that to give weight to perception and experience it is about the personal reaction to surroundings, which for most people begins with the sensory experience through sight. This is not to place primacy on sight, but to recognise a cultural practice.

While language of sentience was not a core part of this analysis, frequent reference is made in the discourse to different senses, with explicit and implicit reference to the visual, and to sound and touch, but with less emphasis. Interviewee I/V L1 emphasises the visual, describing landscape as "the physical and visual interrelationship of place", and Interviewee I/V LM1 as "landscape is both what you see and also what you know collectively with a group of other people and also some of its entirely personal memories so some of the reasons that people have affection for particular landscapes is because of childhood holidays or particular activities."

The 1962 Conference (LIS & NTS 2012) was held in response to growing concerns over dramatic change in the Scottish landscape. While not articulated in the note of the conference, these concerns related to the rapid expansion of afforestation and infrastructure for services that were intended to significantly improve living conditions across the country in the post-war period. **Error! Reference source not found.** shows one such project under construction, which had a dramatic impact on the landscape.

Experiencing the temporal

SNH clearly acknowledges an interest in what might be described as the historic dimension of landscape with "SNH has no statutory remit for individual buildings, monuments or assemblages of buildings but it does have an interest in the overall contribution of the past to today's landscape and regional distinctiveness, which is often undervalued" (2005, 24). However, this emphasises the historic dimension as feature rather than element with spatial extent. Two interviewees reflected on the link between place and the wider landscape,

Figure 36: Mullardoch Dam, South Wing 1951, Crown Copyright HES

Sometimes it's hard to know what has changed; humans have an ability to adapt and forget what was there before – we are constantly adapting to this changing landscape; certain elements will provide continuity while everything around it might change (Interviewee I/V AR3)

Planning's got to look forward, it's got to try and … manage how we change and shape the future of our towns and cities and our local areas, but at the same time it also has also to look back a bit and reflect and make sure it protects and enhances the quality of the landscape we've already got in terms of the natural and the built environment because there's so much part of the kind of cultural heritage of a place … so it's sometimes competing, so you've got statistics where Scottish Government have said we need 35,000 homes built every year and last year we built less than half of that so right okay, we've got to build homes, but because of the recession its really difficult to build on brownfield sites because no one wants sites that have already been developed because they're much more expensive to build on, even though they would be the ideal ones because they're already integrated into transport and that sort of things, so the easiest thing for the house-building industry to do is to build on greenfield sites or in the middle of nowhere but they're the exact things that as planners and in general we're trying to protect and kind of maintain the integrity of the natural environment so it's a difficult one, it's a constant balancing act. (Interviewee I/V P3)

When I began this research, I was focused on the past and the historic dimension; it was only as I engaged with my sources that I realised the complex philosophical and psychological themes that underpin our sense of being in the world in the present, a present that is constantly moving, from anticipation to experience to memory (e.g. Bardon 2013, Thomas 1996 & Ingold 1993).

Relationships in Landscape

Landscape is about a continuous and dynamic engagement. The significance of monuments is in their relationship to the people who built them, and who lived and worked within them; it is in their relationship to the setting of a broader landscape and the natural, physical and emotional networks of place. Bender expressed concern over institutional approaches to the Stonehenge landscape for promoting "a socially empty view of the past" (Bender 1993, 276). Those charged with the protection and management of cultural heritage have been required to focus on discrete material remains that can largely be defined and described without reference to people (unless of course they are noted figures in history). The sectoral approach to our environment discourages consideration of relationships between themes and fails to acknowledge the importance of embedded links. Thomas too captures this concern for the material, the artefact and through this the relationship between people and the material world (2011, 58).

If we consider the industrial landscapes of coal extraction in central Fife for example, the land was certainly the result of natural processes through geological time but exploited in the very recent past as a means of making a living on the part of the miners and mine owners. This form of interactive relationship between natural and human factors was certainly destructive, not only at a physiographical but also a climatic level. However, I want to draw attention here to the current landscape which has been restored and in which a coherent narrative is embodied. For example, Lochore Meadows Country Park contains evidence for human activity stretching from prehistoric settlements that have miraculously survived agricultural improvement and intensive industrial development and its subsequent restoration to thrive as a place for leisure and recreation (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Evidence of human activity in the landscape has come to be viewed as a negative, particularly when thinking of the ecosystem services within that landscape and the intrinsic value placed on nature, but it is also the setting for an existing population with strong links to that land. As O'Neill et al conclude, "the concept of 'naturalness' itself is a spatio-temporal concept: what makes

something natural is a matter of its origins and its history, not a matter of some set of properties that it currently displays" (2008, 163).

Figure 37: Lochore Meadows Country Park 2012, including wetland habitat, stocked fishery, natural grassland, medieval castle, prehistoric enclosures and improvement field systems, Crown Copyright HES

No doubt there are some places newly created in modern significance, perhaps the Braehead shopping centre as a new location for retail, built on a previously greenfield site. However, even here archaeological investigations carried out before building work started revealed a 2000 year-old settlement on the banks of the Clyde, underneath what would become IKEA (The Herald, 21 July 2001). There are few places where the past does not have some influence. The SNH Policy Framework recognises the value of certain relationships where benefit might be gained by moving through it and from being in landscape, "individual land owners and managers are important stewards of Scotland's landscape, the appearance and health of which are the result of numerous decisions and actions taken over several generations" (SNH 2005, 6).

There is an explicit reference to time, and to practices of management over time, but where impact is curiously restricted to the 'appearance and health'. It is important not to over-interpret what is a form of shorthand – how it is seen is one way of capturing all the elements

that characterise the landscape as a whole. Later, in discussion of local identity, recognition is given to a sense of accumulation and change through time – evidence of change *over* time made to "more locally, distinctive landscapes define a sense of place for those who live and work there, and a sense of continuity from the evidence of social and economic change over time" (ibid, 13).

There is something of a conundrum in describing continuity through change, but it does capture the enduring relationship between people and their place, with continuity in the practice of dwelling, but change over time as different generations react to their own circumstances. However, it is this conundrum which seems almost entirely absent from the LCA and related tools, where the present condition is valued as a stable presence and against which capacity for change is judged. In contrast, the language in the section *'advising on landscape change'* has a slightly different tone, discussing change in fairly balanced terms, but with a negative tone to reference the past with phrases such as "long term attrition", "loss […] through gradual improvement or neglect" and "reclamation of land with past industrial use" (ibid).

Landscapes of meaning – stories and narrative

The story of a place is what defines it as a place, and "landscape tells – or rather is – the story" (Ingold 1993, 152). Corporate bodies are rarely concerned with the idea of stories, although government and other organisations have some role here through interpretation of Properties in Care (HES), National Nature Reserves (SNH) and land held by environmental advocacy groups such as the NTS & RSPB). Analysis of the source material found some recognition of the importance of 'story'. Use in the plural is somewhat anonymised, confirming the existence of stories, but not in a particularly significant context. For example, "we tell the stories of all our properties" (NTS 2011, 11) and "stories and myths endow landscapes with meanings transcending the directly observable and thereby help to create people's 'mental maps', or awareness of place." (WHC 2010, 22). Interrogating the sources for 'story' in the singular returned a subtly different interpretation. For example,

> We will […] tell the story of Scotland (corporate objective c, HES 2015, 16)

> An association with a writer per se is not in itself sufficient, but if the writer wrote about the landscape and scenery, and / or set the story in the scenery of the NSA (SNH 2008, 7)

The historic environment makes a special contribution to the landscape of these NSAs through the story it tells of past history, through providing a human scale to the dramatic natural environment and through vividly demonstrating the tenacity and strength of the human spirit in the face of difficult circumstances. (SNH 2010, 10)

In these examples the corporate author is, to my mind, trying to capture the personal and the perceptual, but must speak to and for the breadth of society. Thus, they discuss the nation's story or the landscape's story, neither of which is technically possible. While historians might prepare their thoughts on a nation's story, there can be no single history that captures the experience of each individual or their different communities. However, the recognition of the possibility of a story is often connected to our shared past – for example, in SG 2014c, 28) "Scotland's historic environment helps to tell the nation's story", they are implicitly addressing the idea of the historic dimension of landscape and our position on a continuing temporal plane.

The essence of our identity is to some extent embedded in our shared and individual past, and the historic environment is the term used to capture the surviving traces that testify to our ancestral past. This idea is neatly encapsulated in, "the landscape of Scotland tells the story of some 10,000 years of human history and the ways in which people have interacted with their environment" (TFC 2008, 3); but the landscape doesn't tell the story, people tell that story and there are an infinite number of ways that it can be told. This is not to decry the attempts of national organisations to present Scotland's history, nor to capture the characteristics embedded in that landscape, but by assuming that the story can be generated without being filtered through a human mind is to return to the false objectivity where what is seen is only what is 'wanted' to be seen.

Interviewees were not asked to comment on the idea of story or narrative in the Scottish landscape. However, Interviewee I/V LM1, in describing their perception of the meaning of landscape responded,

if I start analysing why is it beautiful to me I don't know, because human impressions of beauty change over the continents and they change over centuries and 300 years ago people would have thought that was ugly and awesome and hideous whereas it's beautiful to me because I'm a mountaineer and those are the finest mountains not just in Scotland but in the whole of the British Isles including Ireland and I've had some amazing days on the top of those and I've also swum in that sea on the very rare occasions when it's hot enough and I've also been bitten to death by midges so, you know, entirely personal **stories** which are probably shared with thousands of other

people, they were shared with the people who were there at that particular time but I also know that the bit on the right is owned by the John Muir Trust and the bit on the left is supposedly owned by the clan MacLeod of MacLeod and there was a big argument over that when they wanted to sell it and do up the roof of Dunvegan Castle and I know that the tourism economy depends to some extent on people running boats from Elgol into Coruisk, into there and out (my emphasis).

The argument is made that Historic Scotland "seeks to ensure that succeeding generations inherit a landscape which physically connects the past with the present and which retains sufficient threads of the past to enable its broad history to be interpreted." (Macinnes 2002, 23), where the interpretation of landscape is left open to the reader. This is the perspective of national strategy, and in reality there are lots of different stories of a place, with multiple overlapping and contradictory tales, positive for some, less rosy for others. The cleared communities will hear a different story from that of the fourth-generation sheep farmer who continues to farm the land and values it as her own place.

There is no single historic landscape, just as there is no single community that speaks with one voice. I am reminded of the substantial remains of an abandoned fort in Eastern Poland. I was struck at the time by the absence of any care for a site that had clearly been constructed and altered over several periods since at least the mid-nineteenth century. On reflection, I recognised a very real heritage of unwelcome occupation by an external force. So much of the heritage that we identify as valued in Scotland carries tales of romantic clans and feuds in the past to which today's communities are not encouraged to connect in terms of the conflict. Innovative approaches however, such as the recent reinterpretation by the NTS at the Bannockburn visitor centre demonstrates where digital tools allow re-enactment of the battle and present the possibility of a different outcome to the experience of the event within its wider landscape of the time.

Tourism is as much about making a living here, as it is about creating a coherent – and attractive – narrative around a place that draws people to visit and experience it for themselves. Mitchell wrote of this dilemma in his discussion of Johnstown PA (2000, 98-99), and how a community – or principal decision-makers within that community – might position themselves and project their place and landscape in the best light to economic 'pollinators'.

Macinnes (2002, 25) identified a priority for action of wider recognition of diversity, particularly in terms of local and regional value. This can only make real sense when viewed through the lens of local people – families, communities, young, old, long-standing resident

or recent arrival, land holder or tenant; each narrative will vary, coming together and diverging around multiple points, affected by social, cultural and personal memory and tied to the tangible and also the personal (see for example Vignettes 1, 2, 5 and 7, where all are places – landscapes – valued by their local communities but not necessarily in official discourse). It is however important to emphasise that all communities are made up of unique individuals, each with their own attitudes, perspectives, and ambitions. Official discourse can set a framework for opportunity and constraint, which might be informed as much by local reflection as by strategic expertise. It is outwith the scope of this form of discourse to accommodate personal perspectives.

Conclusion

Scotland's landscapes have been projected as places of scenic beauty, continuing a theme first encountered in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, to be enjoyed for the sense of freedom and release; not necessarily incorrect, but I would argue, incomplete.

In this chapter I have examined the institutional discourse of people and place as vehicles for ascribing character to the landscape across all of its dimensions. While the ELC definition clearly recognises landscape "as perceived by people" (CoE 2000), this research has demonstrated that there are three different ways in which people and landscape interact, with people perceiving, experiencing, impacting on and being impacted by, landscape. This continuous process along a temporal plane, from past through present to an unspecified future represents a fourth dimension of landscape that enriches the understanding of the term beyond that of a subject perceiving or experiencing an object. The historic dimension of landscape is a core characteristic of the wider whole, and while 'place' and 'landscape' may be to some extent used interchangeably within the discourse, this analysis found the historic dimension can be taken to some extent as implied. I found limited evidence for it being significantly addressed.

Vignette 6 – Bonawe & Glen Nant

The woodland in Glen Nant is designated as a National Nature Reserve, recognising the value identified in the ancient woodland habitat. The HLA captures the impact of the improvement

period agriculture in the landuse, and the scale of the ironworks is sufficient to be captured as a significant landuse. It is clear that this landscape betrays a considerable time depth.

However, the dominant rural character in the present day obscures a history where this woodland supported the industrial iron-making complex downriver at Bonawe for over 100 years, evidence for which is still visible in the vegetation and related structures today. Each of the interviewees were asked for their thoughts on this site as an example of the tangible evidence for people interacting with their environment over time. Not all were aware of this particular site but were content to respond on the idea of a dynamic interaction.

Vignette 7 – Dalgety Bay

The ELC argues that all landscapes are important, and that the perception and judgement of local people is crucial, with the support of expert advice. Dalgety Bay, a new town, is surrounded by a local authority landscape designation and was constructed within the boundaries of an eighteenth-century designed landscape, remnants of which have been accommodated within the urban design. While it has not been subject to analysis in this research, there is a discernible sense of place for the residents, and there is strong evidence for a sense of local identity and belonging. It holds increasing personal resonance – while writing up this research I spent quite a bit of time here, and regularly walked the paths to clear my head!

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Reflections

In embarking on this research, I set out to explore how the richness of our past is addressed in Scottish institutional discourse on landscape. History matters. It helps us understand where we have come from, where we are now and how we might choose to move forward. However, the past is often presented as something separate from everyday life and the landscapes in which we live and work today. By focusing on language, my aim was to analyse the assumptions embedded in the discussion of landscape in order to understand the significance afforded to the historic dimension (following Kaal 2012). I have examined how landscape as a whole is characterised, in order to identify the extent to which the historic dimension is addressed.

In Scottish institutional discourse, landscape is characterised broadly, suggesting an entity that is perceived and experienced by an individual, but which also captures that which is being perceived (perhaps as scenery, countryside or natural beauty). Direct reference is made to sophisticated characterisation tools, and there is a clear sense that the landscape as it exists in the present is something to be valued and cared for, to be passed onto future generations. However, there is little wider sense of time beyond general references to a past, present and future, and the historic dimension is not meaningfully addressed beyond reference to particular individual features.

I have confirmed what was suspected in practice – that the disparate and overlapping interpretations of landscape in institutional discourse in Scotland imply the existence of a historic dimension to those who are pre-disposed to recognise it. However, for the reader who does not approach the discourse with a temporal frame in mind, landscape might be interpreted as a time-flat, sensory entity which is defined by the individual at the moment of their perception, and in their imagination before and after that event. The discourse reveals only a small sense that the landscape described and experienced today might be the result of repeated interaction between people and their place over time.

Language of landscape

The innovative approach taken to interrogating the sources and calibrating the results against the opinions of practitioners confirmed that the historic dimension is only partially addressed in the characterisation of landscape. I found ambiguity in the definitions of landscape that are

deployed. Approaches vary across corporate authors, but even where reference is made to the definition in the ELC, it is not always clear that the broader context captures the inherent complexity that is articulated in the Explanatory Report (CoE 2000b) and Glossary (CoE 2013). My detailed analysis of this definition demonstrates the potential for varying interpretations. When examined against the underpinning institutional 'histories' it is possible to detect 'confirmation bias' and 'status quo' bias where traditions of natural beauty and scenery continue to influence both professional and popular understandings of landscape, which tend not to recognise a temporal dimension.

Disciplinary and background differences

I have concluded that the approach of assessing character through the concept of special qualities is rooted in a very different professional and personal framing from that of those concerned with recording and management of the historic environment. Landscape is conceived of as a topographical and visual entity, rather than as a constantly evolving material present that contains evidence for 'previous presents'. The focus is on individual features surviving from the past and experienced in the present, rather than a sense of people living on a continuum of time, and the landscape constituting some form of record and reflection, constantly reminding us of our place in time, of those who have gone before us and those future generations yet to come.

The different discourses of landscape

I set out, perhaps naively, approaching what I felt were distinctive discourses within the disciplinary institutions of natural heritage, historic environment and wider countryside issues. It became clear through the analysis of how landscape is characterised, that while loose groupings could be identified, the boundaries between them were somewhat indistinct, with all being underpinned by the cross-cultural approach of the Civil Service and the Scottish Government.

Broadly speaking, the historic environment discourse conveys a worldview where a temporal or historic dimension sits at the heart of the underlying purpose. A clear 'time-depth' is detectable in their core focus. It is the very essence of survival from a passed time, whether a single period hill fort or a settlement for which there is evidence of use and reuse over centuries or millennia. The material survival can be investigated and excavated to reveal the inherent meaning that can tell us something of the people in the past who built it. I detected a change through time in the language used to describe the historic environment, with earlier

texts preferring cultural heritage or built heritage. What is clear however is the lack of clarity in the perceived relationship between a monument in its place, and its wider landscape. This strand of discourse is comfortable using landscape in several different contexts, leaving the reader to make their own interpretation on the common elements across a battlefield, designed or historic landscape. Sometimes – as in the definition of the historic environment in HS 2011a, 1 (see Appendix 8), I would suggest 'landscape' is used simply because there was a reluctance to repeat 'environment' for a fifth time!

The traditional role of government officials varies across different organisations. Historic environment professionals concentrate on the material survivals of the past, identifying and categorising the material traces (field surveyors based in the traditions of the RCAHMS) and the assessment of such traces against agreed criteria for recognition and protection as sites of national interest (historic environment managers in the tradition of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments and Historic Scotland).

In contrast, the discourse rooted in landscape and countryside issues was found to be largely 'time-flat', where the focus is in the challenges of the present time and how these can be met with direct action in the near future. Landscape professionals work very much in the present, regardless of hidden knowledge or perspective, trying to determine present character in terms of coherence and pattern, and what capacity there is for change; they focus on the now, but not about how that now got to be the way it is. When the wider public reflect on archaeology, they imagine people in the past, disconnected from the present. The discourse focused on natural heritage frequently links the concepts of landscape and ecosystem, with reference to spatial scale. Again, this discourse is largely 'time-flat', although it is important to note some reference to wider timeframes when discussing geological or geomorphological dimensions of landscape or topography. There is also a tendency to frame temporal references through the language of modification and degradation, with the inference that the historic dimension presents problems that require a solution.

Finally, underpinning these three differing perspectives, is the discourse of governance. All texts studied here are published by official entities, each of which has their own process for approval and clearance in compliance with their own cultural rules. For Scottish Government and agency sources, a process of calibration for consistency with political priorities and cultural themes influenced the final text. In addition, there is the conundrum of the Civil Service Code, designed to ensure fairness in government action and avoid explicit prejudice

or preference to any particular grouping. The advocacy groups considered here, such as the National Trust for Scotland and the John Muir Trust, will have their own underlying principles that apply to formal positioning. For both groupings, one key challenge of landscape is in how corporate institutions can make space for the personal and the experiential within what must be generalised and simplified messages.

The analysis explored here confirms that the historic dimension of the landscape as a concept is addressed to some extent as an integral element of Scotland's landscape character. In principle, there is clear recognition of landscape as a complex, multi-dimensional and very personal concept. I have found that different worldviews on landscape are embedded within different discourses on landscape in Scotland. This presents an impression of a shared understanding that conceals several separate – though overlapping – perspectives. I do not mean to imply here that there has been no bias in governance. The evidence for the exercise of power and control in the Scottish landscape is outwith the scope of this particular exercise; but in following due process in 'the present' twenty-first century I am arguing that we can detect artificial boundaries between the historic environment and landscape discourses that result in a fragmented approach to the historic dimension of landscape. I therefore see potential value in framing further conversations around the idea of *dimensions* rather than different types of landscape.

A particular challenge in developing the argument for this thesis was how to position the global discourse, including the contributions from the World Heritage Committee and the IUCN. Cultural landscape is the dominant term applied for these institutions, although it was not a term identified in the analysis of documents in this thesis. It ties back to an earlier form of expression that was used to capture human interaction with the landscape but was subsequently replaced by 'historic environment' in a Scottish context to avoid a confusing overlap with a more modern interpretation of 'culture'. Detailed analysis across the international discourse was beyond the scope of this dissertation research but would merit further analysis to understand the role of international bodies and their dual roles of expert advisor and advocacy.

The idea of interaction
Following ratification of the ELC, the definition has been included across the different forms of discourse, usually without elaboration. The repeated reference to landscape as result of the interaction of natural and human factors embeds an assumption of what form that interaction

might take. The analysis here suggests an inference of human individual perceiving, appreciating and experiencing landscape, rather than a more dynamic interaction that creates an evolving material and intangible result. Where the idea of people interacting with the landscape was made explicit, I found ambiguity in the interpretation of 'interaction'. The inference in the landscape discourse is that 'interaction' means an individual or community perceiving and experiencing their surroundings, without actually having a direct impact upon them. The implication is of a perceptual experience, rather than a more complex relationship that arises through people being in, and moving through, the world.

The clearest incorporation of a historic dimension is of individual features, elements and patterns, represented in the archaeological and historical monuments that are often visible, but which are also recorded on databases and given institutional protection through legislation and specific corporate actors. The historic environment discourse is strongly protective of those sites and monuments which have been identified as being of value. There is also strong acknowledgement across the discourses of the tangible and the intangible qualities in our relationship with our landscape, our place.

The landscape tools – HLA, LCA & designations
LCA and HLA are very useful tools that form a baseline for understanding the full breadth of landscape character in Scotland. In addition to national mapping coverage, the processes leading to full coverage cannot be underestimated in the intellectual challenge that development of the tool presented, with much debate on the best course of action required at different phases. From the interview data and the textual analysis, and from my own experience, it is clear that a great deal of time and effort was invested by practitioners working on the LCA and the HLA, sharing their different perspectives and exploring common ground. The important message is that they contribute to a process of affording meaning to a landscape. They provide a baseline and a starting point to explore the meaning in today's landscape and they have the potential to inform policy making for the future towards taking a more integrated approach to landscape.

Special qualities

These tools also highlight the constant tension in governance between valuing the whole – the ELC approach where all landscapes are of value, and the identification and protection of the 'special', exemplified in the National Scenic Area and National Park designations. It is clear

from the analysis and interview evidence that these instruments serve several parallel functions, including recognition of certain shared values, as well as protection and conservation drivers. It can be argued that any landscape designation flies in the face of the ELC (pers. comm. Macinnes), and yet there are calls from certain quarters (including at least two of the interviewees) for further interrogation of the HLA to allow for the identification and designation of specific areas for landscapes valued specifically for their historic dimension.

The evolution of the 'special qualities' principles for the National Scenic Areas was a particularly important development, and one on which there is potential to build. They allowed the formalisation of an objective approach to the subjectivity of landscape appreciation and are worthy of further exploration. However, this process also reveals the perspectives that have tended to dominate, with the traditional 'layered' approach beginning with landform, through land use and land cover, visual experience and emotional response. In the list of areas to explore, 'historic or cultural associations' come last, and the suggestion is to consider the extent to which such features "contribute significantly to the landscape character and scenery" (Scottish Landscape Forum 2007, 51). Analysis suggests that the discourse supports the idea that we appreciate landscape as an outsider, while the narrative of place is one of the inhabitant. The terms are deployed interchangeably, which creates ambiguity in the wider policy context.

The most frequent example cited in relation to special qualities was that of wild land, and wildness. This is striking for two reasons. First, it reflects influence of an advocacy coalition and their concerted efforts to prioritise their preferred value. While van Dijk (2005) discusses the control of powerful groupings, analysis here does not suggest inappropriate use of power, but rather reflects organisation and an ability to make use of the tools available to influence the official discourse and the finally published positions. Wild land is clearly an issue of concern to corporate actors such as the John Muir Trust, with overlapping benefits for those with an interest in landscape scale ecosystem management. Second, analysis suggests that 'wild land' is cited largely because it is the special quality that has been given the greatest attention, and that absence of other examples reflects a lack of engagement in this format rather than deliberate selection of one over others.

There is potential to review the combined characteristics that define the historic dimension of landscape, and identify values using the special qualities approach. For example, when the material heritage is acknowledged as elements and features within the wider process of

characterisation, it has largely depended on whether the investigator is aware of its existence, alongside its visual significance, for it to be included in an assessment. While time-depth is mentioned in guidance, specific reference is rarely found in either the LCA or the NSA special qualities. So here we can deduce that the historic dimension is perceived as points or things in the landscape and the HLA has potential to help address this going forward, by adding the historic dimension to landscape-scale characterisation.

In terms of the intangible, again if the investigator is made aware of a significant association, then it too can be incorporated, but only if they have knowledge and believe it to have significance – the Special Qualities for Eigg make little meaningful reference to the long history of human occupation, despite the myriad of traces from hill forts and field systems to the biological diversity that reflects the integration of arable and pasture management. Wider features that continue in current use are less clear however, with rectilinear field patterns, for example, described as a significant contributor to character, but without a temporal 'anchor' to the processes that created that form, nor the people who envisaged and then brought them into being. They are simply part of the 'character'; no explanation required. I am not arguing for a disproportionate focus on the historic dimension, but for a balanced approach to the whole that recognises a temporal as well as topographical, geographical, perceptual and experiential qualities.

In drawing conclusions from the analysis set out here, I have returned to the vision and strategic objectives set out in Macinnes 2002 (see appendix 7). Progress towards achieving some of the objectives is clear in the intervening years – for example, the LCA and HLA stand as essential baseline tools to support delivery of the third 'characteristic' of an approach to landscape which embraces both its cultural and natural aspects (Macinnes 2002, 24). The emphasis by Scottish Government on the place-based approach presents an opportunity to consider how these tools can be applied to real-time decision-making. There is potential for a rich seam of evidence here (and for the fourth 'characteristic' of recognising diversity in the landscape) through the HLF Landscape Partnership Projects funded in different parts of Scotland where communities have received advice and support to explore value in their local landscape.

However, delivery of the strategic objectives identified in Appendix 7 has been challenging, partly, in my judgement, as a result of the global financial crash and the subsequent austerity measures. Innovative initiatives such as the NSA Management Scheme Pilot projects have

been constrained through lack of resource, but lessons from them remain pertinent, and renewed interest through the Scottish Historic Environment Forum presents opportunities for a revival of action. The issue of education lies outwith the scope of this dissertation research, but my professional experience of knowledge exchange between research and policy suggests potential in exploring techniques for transdisciplinary co-production of knowledge between these sectors. Closer relationships between professional groupings could prompt faster absorption of new cross-sectoral learning into a shared, holistic strategy for landscape in Scotland.

Both the academic literature and the sources studied here clearly acknowledge that landscape is more than simply the visual appreciation of an aesthetically pleasing scene. However, for what may have been perfectly practical and logical reasons, the only recognised designations for landscape in Scotland are National Scenic Areas (described in much of the literature as Scotland's finest landscapes) and the designed landscapes recognised in a national inventory of what are effectively large features with an underlying aesthetic purpose (the more recent Inventory of Battlefield Sites raises a further question on the balance between feature, area and landscape that could not be addressed here). The rhetoric is tightly controlled in some papers – for example the 2006 consultation on the formal inclusion of NSA's in the legislation (SG 2006) where the term 'landscape' is absent. Subsequent texts however, with multiple contributing authors of varying personal and professional framings within corporations, have introduced broader meanings and uses of the term which creates an ambiguity in understanding landscape. There is no logical reason why scenery cannot contain an intrinsic historic dimension, but the historic discourse of natural beauty has not traditionally placed value on the evidence for the traces of the daily interaction of people with their environment. Landscape specialists respond to the aesthetic attributes that they have learned to recognise, assess and to value; the ecologist to species and habitat, and the ecosystem that relates these elements together. The historian might respond to a place referenced in documents to complement her or his understanding of unfolding events or practices in a spatial and locational context.

The challenge is partly one of scale, both temporal and spatial, and whether the story of a place can capture the story of a landscape with all its intricacies, but stories are not the primary responsibility of government. In this context, I believe that the Government's key role is as an impartial keeper of the archive, and of the policy and organisational structures which allow for trust in that archive and continuity in its survival.

The other key theme I have detected is the difficulties that corporate authors have in dealing with people; the tone of the discourse is respectful of citizens as consumers or 'perceivers' of landscape. At the same time, there is a tone of concern to manage future action, therefore constraining the actions of other people who may tend to innovative approach and dramatic change. We have certainly improved our knowledge base as a society in Scotland, but there is always the underlying question of whether we would permit the Stones of Stenness or Edinburgh Castle to be constructed in their existing form today. I am not challenging conservation but trying to highlight the challenges of what changes and where, a challenge that can be better informed by understanding of how our present landscape got to be this way.

Conclusion

I embarked on this research to test the notion that while different corporate institutions might discuss landscape and its management in Scotland, each was subconsciously framing the concept in their own way, based on their own knowledge, practice and experience. Here I have carried out a detailed analysis of the language deployed in the Scottish institutional discourse and concluded that landscape is characterised in several ways (particularly as scenery, natural beauty, countryside and ecosystem), but that the contribution of the historic dimension to our understanding of landscape in Scotland is considerably underestimated.

If we take a step back and consider the whole – in the manner of the parable of the blind men and the elephant (**Error! Reference source not found.**) – it is only by taking a place-based approach that we can begin to explore the full potential that lies within the historic dimension of landscape. By drawing in all who have a connection to that place, that landscape and at the same time allowing the continuous process of innovation, practice and decline to continue. It is not that any single profession or interest group is right or wrong, but if we do not consider the whole landscape – including the historic dimension – it is impossible to fully realise its potential to current and future generations.
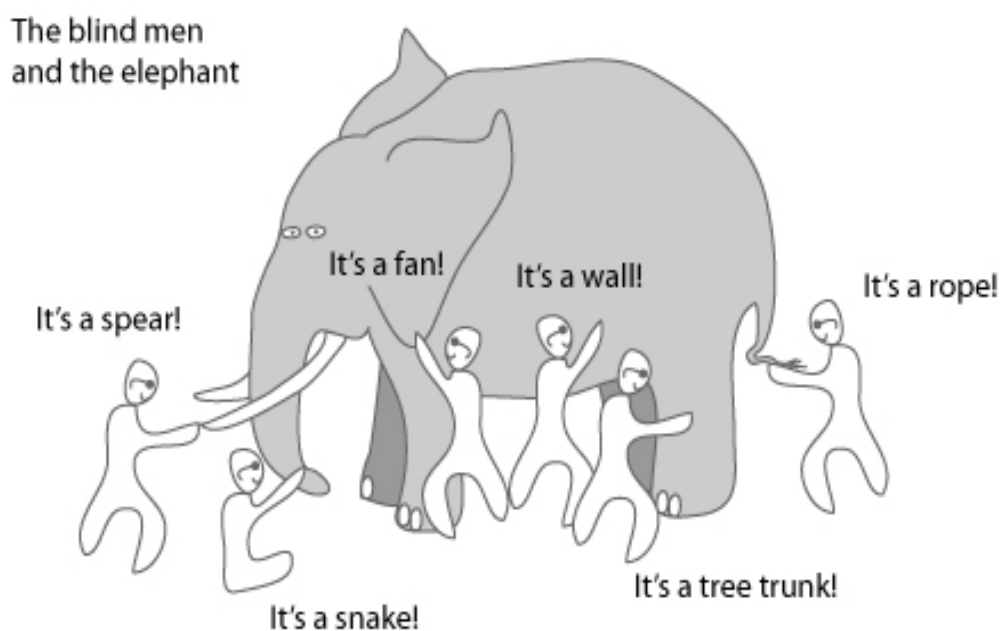
Figure 38: The parable of the blind men and the elephant

((http://www.deoluakinyemi.com/the-blind-men-and-the-elephant/)

Reflections

This research has raised some further questions that I think it would be useful to explore. For practical reasons, the timeline for the sources analysed here stops in the middle of 2015, before the establishment of Historic Environment Scotland. This means that I have not included analysis of the workshop summaries or final reports of the Scottish Historic Environment Forum working group on Landscapes and the Historic Environment, which have some potential to reposition the historic dimension within policy for landscape. Nor have I

been able to take account of the substantive developments in the emerging framework for cultural ecosystem services in Scotland (Ecosystem Knowledge Network, 2016).

The discussion has moved on substantially, and I would welcome the opportunity to review my research against these discussions, particularly in relation to the special qualities approach adopted by SNH. I see considerable potential for transdisciplinary discussion on how we might better adopt the holistic approach of the ELC and approach the landscape as a single entity, as perceived by the people who experience it today. Particular topics worthy of further exploration include:

1. Examination of popular discourse of landscape in Scotland – what do the commentators think?
2. The role of the Heritage Lottery Fund – how has funding for the Landscape Partnership Programme brought communities in specific places into the language and practice of landscape?
3. How has the Community Right to Buy and Land Reform influenced perceptions of landscape and its special qualities in Scotland, for example the Trusts on Eigg and Assynt and their long-standing experience.
4. Investigating the Scottish approach to landscape – examining in detail the discourse of the ground-breaking innovation of landscape assessment in Scotland from 1962-2002

It was outwith the scope of this research to identify specific characteristics that capture the essence of a historic dimension, but there is potential to explore how the evidence for the interaction of people and nature in the past contributes substantively to the landscapes that we experience and appreciate today.

Vignette 8: A personal journey to the Inner Hebrides

I have lived in Fife for almost all of my life, and my childhood holidays were spent in different parts of Scotland. One place has become very special for myself and my family; a place we continue to return to, but one that was selected almost by accident when my mother was booking more than forty years ago. That place is Arisaig and the view across the sea to Eigg, Rum and Skye has special meaning. I was building my argument for this thesis in summer 2017 when we took a boat trip to Eigg and here I have tried to capture in this vignette the interaction

between people and their place in the past, and the interaction between myself and the landscape I experience in the present.

Appendices

Appendix 1 – Documents subject to analysis

Criteria for selecting documents

1	Directly and explicitly concerned with landscape	Guidance, policy or framework	Scottish Government and its agencies, LA
2	Directly related to landscape, but as part of a wider remit	Guidance policy or framework	Scottish Government and its agencies, LA
3	Potential to impact upon landscape	Guidance, policy or framework	Scottish Government and its agencies, LA
4	Potential to impact upon landscape	Policy position, opinion or advice	Non-governmental body

Documents selected for analysis

(Note – those in italics were reviewed, but not subject to detailed analysis)

TITLE	INSTIT.	PUBL.	CRITERIA
Wildness in Scotland's Countryside	SNH	2002	(1) 3
SNH 2015-18 Corporate Plan Discussion Paper	SNH	2014	2
SNH Corporate Plan 2015 – 18	SNH	2015	2
SNH Strategy and Priorities	SNH	2012	2
SNH Landscape Policy Framework	SNH	2005	1
Talking About Our Place	SNH	2012	1
Natural Heritage Zones	SNH	2002	1
Scottish Forestry Strategy	FCS	2006	2
Concordat between Historic Scotland & SNH	HS & SNH	2005	3
Getting the best from our land: A Land Use Strategy for Scotland	SCOT GOVT	2011	3
Getting the best from our land – cons draft 2016-21	SCOT GOVT	2015	3

TITLE	INSTIT.	PUBL.	CRITERIA
Our Place in Time: Historic Environment Strategy for Scotland	SCOT GOVT	2014	3
National Planning Framework	SCOT GOVT	2014	2
Scottish Planning Policy	SCOT GOVT	2014	2
Rural Development Programme	SCOT GOVT	2014	3
It's in your hands: Scotland's Biodiversity Strategy	SCOT EXECUTIVE	2004	3
2020 Challenge for Scotland's Biodiversity	SCOT GOVT	2013	3
Scotland's Biodiversity: A Routemap to 2020	SCOT GOVT	2015	3
The Future of Scottish Agriculture	SCOT GOVT	2015	3
Scotland's State of the Environment Report 2014	SCOT. ENV. WEB	2014	2
Making the most of communities' natural assets - ecosystem services	SCOT GOVT	2012	3
Landscape Capacity Studies in Scotland: review and guide to good practice	SNH	2010	1
Living Landscapes (SWT)	SCOT WILDLIFE TRUST	2009	4
Summary of the effects of climate change on the landscape and quality of life	SNH	2011	3
HLF Application Guidance	HERITAGE LOTT. FUND	2012	4
Historic Scotland Corporate Plan 2012 - 2015	HISTORIC SCOTLAND	2012	3
Consultation Draft - Corporate Plan 2015 - 2019	HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT SCOTLAND	2015	3

TITLE	INSTIT.	PUBL.	CRITERIA
Scotland's Historic Environment Audit Report	HISTORIC SCOTLAND	2012	3
Managing Change in the Historic Environment: Battlefields	HISTORIC SCOTLAND	2011	2
Scottish Historic Environment Policy	HISTORIC SCOTLAND	2011	2
Managing Change in the Historic Environment: Setting	HISTORIC SCOTLAND	2010	2
WORKSTREAM 1 - Review of Landscape and Historic Environment policy	SHEF	2016	4
Environmental Protection and Management: A Social Productivity Approach for SEPA & SNH	RSA 2020	2013	3
Natural Heritage Futures: Overview	SNH	2002	1
Aberdeenshire Historic Environment Strategy	ABERDEENSHIRE CO	2011	4
Linking Landscapes	IUCN	2013	4
Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention	UNESCO	2015	4
Futurescapes UK	RSPB	2014	4
Special Qualities of National Scenic Areas (report 374)	SNH	2010	1
Scotland's Scenic Heritage	CCS	1978	1
Guidance for identifying special qualities in NSA's	SNH	2008	1
JMT Vision	JOHN MUIR TRUST	2010	4

TITLE	INSTIT.	PUBL.	CRITERIA
JMT Built Development Policy	JOHN MUIR TRUST	2013	4
Conserving Scotland's Landscapes	NTS	2013	4
Conservation Principles	NTS	2003	4
Five Year Strategy	NTS	2011	4
Proceedings of a National Conference - A National Landscape Policy for Scotland	NTS & IAS	2012 (1962)	4
Fife Local Landscape Designation Review	FIFE COUNCIL/ LUC	2008	4

Appendix 2 - The search terms examined

Term	Purpose	Excluding
Various	General	References to key words in contents/ index pages; photo/ table captions; references to titles - legislation, books, journals etc (unless it makes a meaningful addition to the context for the search term); ministerial titles; job titles; organisation/ departmental titles; acknowledgements; chapter descriptions; foreign language words;
Landscape	Is the term being used to mean an extent of physical space, or something more than that?	use in terms of 'policy landscape' - e.g. HS Corporate plan & '...simplify the landscape ...'
Environment	What kind of environment? Is a sense of multiple interest implied, or does the text imply that the term has a strong contextual meaning that is not applied more broadly? Is environment being used instead of 'landscape'? Does it imply physical space? Is it qualified in particular terms such as natural/ historic/ cultural etc	formal organisation, process or document names (e.g. SEPA, SEA, SHEP; SEL: SHEF); where used as 'environmental', as in health, resource, issues, impact, justice; status, quality, assessment; enhancement; business-environment; SE Web; agri-environment; environment ministers; environment NGOs; working environment; corporate name - Historic Environment Scotland
Countryside	Is this used in a similar way to landscape and environment? Has it become less popular over time	The Countryside Agency;

Term	Purpose	Excluding
'Natur'	Can any particular meaning be discerned from its use? Is there any sub-text (e.g. used as part of a recurrent phrase?)	SNH as corporate name; social and economic nature; where it means 'character'; Natural as proper name; Natural Heritage (Scotland) Act; as signature;
Heritage	a generic term - is particular meaning discernible, or is it deliberately ambiguous? Is it qualified in any particular terms such as natural/ cultural/ built	Scottish Natural Heritage; Natural Heritage Futures;
'Archaeo'	references to material evidence for past human activity; also insight into specific sites/ points; archaeological landscape?	Institute of Field Archaeologists; Scottish Archaeological Research Framework; Archaeology Scotland; Archaeology Strategy;
Built	references to material evidence for human activity …?	use in context of a verb; built-up; built in recent years; in the abstract - a resource that can be built on; Built Environment Forum of Scotland; purpose built;
'Histor'	a sense of time past - is value afforded in the context; if so, does it focus largely on the individual site or the general abstract rather than mid-level of landscape or place?	Corporate name for Historic Scotland; Royal Commission for the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland; Historic Environment Audit - as a title; formal title of Historic Environment Policy docs; Historic Buildings Council;
'Cultur'	is this used to refer to human society/ people? Is it central or used as a means to park issues that are not the direct focus of the text?	agricultural; monocultural; silviculture; horticulture; aquaculture; culture & heritage directorate; permaculture; organisational culture;

Term	Purpose	Excluding
Human	to capture references to human activity - linked to communities or applied in a global sense?	human resources; Equalities & Human Rights Commission;
People	To capture references to human society; context may give insight into temporal frame? Also whether people are seen as separate to/ recipients of or part of landscape;	guidance that instructs direct engagement with people (facilitation techniques, inclusion, etc - *Talking about our places*!); Lao People's Democratic Republic; our people (meaning staff);
'Scen'	Scenery; scenic; scenic value	transcend; descend; cultural scene; scenario; set the scene (in document or strategy); obscene;
'Beaut'	Natural beauty; insight into meaning of landscape.	proper name - Keep Scotland Beautiful; specific e.g. AONB;
'Aesthet'	Insight into the landscape perspective taken	
Ancient	Timeframe	Corporate name for Royal Commission for the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland; technical use in 'ancient monument'; title of the AMAA;
'Millen'	Timeframe	Millennium Ecosystem Assessment
Past	Actively used? Or past as something separate & 'dead'	Pasture; pastmap; flow past; pastime;
Since	Sense of timeframe	the personal - e.g. since a minister took over (within 20 years or so) or staff who have since left the council; where meaning is 'because'; sincere;

Term	Purpose	Excluding
Time	Does the document imply a sense of time passing?	references to multiplication, the present time, or this point in time (e.g. at a time of, in the meantime, spend time; timely; timetable; at all times/ any time; sometimes; time-limited; lifetime (ref to document); journey-times); maritime; full-time; first-time; your time; same time; drive time; time pressures; timed; timely; a good time; at one time; 'Our Place in Time (title);
Generation	Sense of timeframe; forward or back?	urban regeneration; power generation; woodland regeneration; economic regeneration; income generation;
'Centu'	Sense of timeframe	
Year	Timeframes referred to - forward or back; scale - decades/ centuries	a five-year timespan or less; in recent years; next few years (ten or less); per year; year of ...; early years (children); a year; each year;
Place	Does the use of the term indicate a sense of multiple interests, or only from the author organisation's perspective? Is there a sense of time depth when discussing place/ places?	take place, replace; replacement; place in history; place on the world stage; irreplaceable; place of worship; place in national consciousness; placed; place name; Placebook Scotland; out of place; displace; in the first place; in place; market place; where used in an address; 'Our Place in Time (title); well placed; Scotland'sPlaces; birthplace;

Term	Purpose	Excluding
Setting	Used in relation to landscape or to imply a scale beyond a feature; to indicate a relationship between a Feature and its surroundings/ landscape	non-land-based references (e.g. setting the agenda, setting out; setting in a national context; setting of goals; setting in place; outcome setting); off-setting;
Additional terms explored, but not applied in full		
Space	Too vague and not closely linked to landscape	
Econ	Too frequent and not sufficiently tied to landscape; not addressing a primary research question	Economy, economic, reconcile, second
Biodiversity	Too frequent, and very specifically applied; not addressing a primary research question	
Eco	Ecological; ecosystem. Too frequent, particularly in natural heritage	Economy, economic, recovery, reconcile, become, second and recognise
Wild	Wild land values and special qualities	wildlife, wildcat, wild game, wildfire

Appendix 3 – Discourse Analysis Document Record Sheet Template

TITLE:	
INSTITUTION:	
PUB. DATE:	
PURPOSE:	

KEY POINTS (landscape):
•

KEY POINTS (cultural heritage/ human history):
•

KEY POINTS (place):
•

KEY POINTS (temporal):
•

IS DIRECT REFERENCE MADE TO THE HISTORIC LANDSCAPE/ LANDSCAPE HISTORY?
•

NOTABLE/ REPEAT PHRASING:
•

COMMENTARY:
•

GLOSSARY:

ELC:

CROSS-SECTORAL WORKING:
•

CODING COMMENTS:	
VISUAL IMAGES:	
AFTER AITKEN, 2005	
WHY DID THEY AUTHOR CREATE THE TEXT	
DOES IT SUPPORT LARGER DOMINANT GROUPS/ IDEOLOGIES	•
DOES IT CONTEST OR RESIST THESE FORCES	•
WHAT IS THE HISTORICAL/ GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT	•
WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE AUTHOR AND THE TEXT	•
My Questions	
CAN THE MEANING OF LANDSCAPE BE CLEARLY DISCERNED?	
IS THE USE OF 'LANDSCAPE' CONSISTENT	

THROUGHOUT THE TEXT?	
IS A SENSE OF TIME DETECTABLE IN RELATION TO THE DISCUSSION OF LANDSCAPE?	
IS A LINK BETWEEN PEOPLE AND LANDSCAPE DETECTABLE?	

Appendix 4 – Interviewees

Code	Role/ Institution (if applic)	Date of Interview	Relationship to interviewee
HEM1	freelance historic environment manager; formerly HS and local government	14 April 2014	Friend & former colleague
AR1	freelance archaeologist	1 May 2014	Working relationship
L1	Landscape architect, national agency	8 May 2014	None previous
AR2	Archaeologist, environmental advocacy group	30 April 2014	Working relationship
LM1	Land manager & administrator, environmental advocacy group	23 July 2014	None previous
P2	Land manager, environmental advocacy group	14 August 2014	None previous
L2	Retired administrator, national agency; environmental advocacy group	14 August 2014	Limited professional contact
AC1	Palaeoecologist, Univ. of Stirling	30 July 2014	Working relationship
AR3	Archaeologist, commercial company	7 August 2014	Working relationship
LM2	Administrator, HLF Landscape Partnership Programme	12 Sept. 2014	None previous
P4	Policy Manager, environmental advocacy group	1 Aug 2014	None previous

P3	Policy officer, professional advocacy group	24 July 2014	None previous
AC2	Archaeologist and academic	7 August 2014	Former colleague
HEM2	Archaeologist, local government	1 December 2014	Working relationship
P1	Policy Director, environmental advocacy group	19 June 2015	None previous
L3	Landscape professional, professional advocacy group	25 June 2018	Working relationship
HEM3	Archaeologist and landscape specialist, formerly national agency	7 September 2018	Friend and former colleague

Order remained flexible and responded to the flow of conversation.

1. What do you understand landscape to mean?

2. Do you have any thoughts on the concept of the historic landscape?

3. Do you have any thoughts on individual features in relation to landscape?

4. Do you see any challenges for continuity and change in the landscape?

5. What are your thoughts on time in the landscape?

6. How do you respond to the idea of place and landscape?

7. Do you have any thoughts on landscape as working land?

8. What are your thoughts on the policy environment and landscape?

9. Are you aware of the Historic Landuse Assessment? If so, any thoughts?

10. What are your thoughts on palaeoenvironmental remains/ data?

11. A nice example of my area of interest is the Bon Awe ironworks and Glen Nant wood – are you aware of this site, and do you have any thoughts around its value in Scotland today?

12. To conclude our discussion, do you have any thoughts on the ecosystem services approach, and cultural ecosystem services?

When?	What?	Why did it matter?
1882	Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act	Established the principle of identifying and protecting historic monuments in the national interest
1884	Access to the Mountains (Scotland) Bill	First of seven unsuccessful attempts to legislate for access to the mountains of Scotland by James Bryce MP
1894	The National Trust founded	Initially had powers to hold land in Scotland, but not enacted before establishment of NTS
1908	Royal Commissions for the Ancient and Historical Monuments established for England, Scotland and Wales	With the remit of preparing inventories of pre-1700 sites and monuments worthy of preservation
1925	Council for the Protection of Rural England formed	In response to campaigns to save the countryside from the effects of the 'motor car'
1931	The National Trust for Scotland for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty founded	Triggered by an offer of the Loch Dee estate in Galloway for the benefit of all
1932	Mass trespass on Kinder Scout	200 militant ramblers from the British Workers Foundation gained widespread publicity from this confrontation (although apparently not actually on Kinder Scout!) (Smout 2000, 154)
1939 – 45	The Second World War	Wrought tremendous devastation on British towns and cities, and had an unquantifiable impact on social, economic and cultural life, driving a desire for post-war change

When?	What?	Why did it matter?
1943	Establishment of the North of Scotland Hydro-electric Board	The starting point for the construction of hydro-electric dams in Scotland to provide electricity to the highland population first, and then for the wider network.
1945	National Parks in England and Wales, Report by John Dower to the Ministry of Town and Country Planning	Explored the potential for National Park designation, and specifically discusses the principle of landscape preservation
1949	The National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act	Established the principle of National Parks, though not enacted in Scotland. Access to the countryside was not fully enacted
1962	Highland Landscape: a survey commissioned by the National Trust for Scotland	The mountaineer and writer, W H Murray, was commissioned as someone with expert knowledge to "identify and describe the regions of supreme landscape value" (Murray 1962, 7)
1962	A National Landscape Policy for Scotland: Conference held on Cambusnethan Priory, Lanarkshire	The conference was organised in response to concerns over dramatic changes to the countryside
1967	The Countryside (Scotland) Act	Established the Countryside Commission for Scotland with a direct responsibility for 'natural beauty and amenity', and established powers for the designation of regional parks
1971	A Planning Classification of Scottish Landscape Resources	CCS Occasional Paper 1 – exploring the value of landscape and the tools that might link to the Town and Country Planning system

236

When?	What?	Why did it matter?
1978	Scotland's Scenic Heritage	The formal identification of the areas that would come to be known as the National Scenic Areas. Until 2006, protection was delivered through the use of special planning area designations which prompted consideration of the impact of proposals to inform decisions.
1981	Countryside (Scotland) Act 1981	Little is made of this legislation in the literature, but it seems to have given the CCS further powers in terms of grants and loans and updated local authority powers following local government reorganisation in 1975, which prompted the designation of regional parks, the first of which was the Lomond Hills in 1986
1992	Establishment of Scottish Natural Heritage	Combined in the merger of the Countryside Commission for Scotland and the Nature Conservancy Council for Scotland, it retained responsibility for 'natural beauty and amenity'
1992	Establishment of Historic Scotland	From a division of the Scottish Office, it became an Executive Agency with a distinctive branding
1999	Re-establishment of the Scottish Parliament, with responsibility for devolved matters under the Scotland Act 1997	Underpins the establishment of the institutional structure in place today, accountable to the Scottish Parliament and related processes
2000	National Parks (Scotland) Act	Underpinned the establishment of Scotland's two national parks
2006	European Landscape Convention	UK Government ratified the Convention

When?	What?	Why did it matter?
2006	The Planning (Scotland) Act	Established the principles of the National Planning Framework and updated the planning system in Scotland. For the first time put National Scenic Areas on a statutory footing
2007	Global financial crash	A number of initiatives had been put in train to support implementation of the ELC. This can only be speculation at this point, but the Scottish Landscape Forum, the National Scenic Area pilot management projects and other initiatives have been severely constrained through subsequent austerity measures limiting the ability of government agencies to support further activity.

Appendix 7: The Historic Landscape in Scotland: Towards a Strategy for the Future

(Extract from Macinnes 2002)

The Vision

"it is our vision that the landscape of the future – and its management – will have the following range of characteristics" (Macinnes 2002, 23)

1. A landscape that is historically rich and retains visible characteristics of its past

2. A dynamic landscape which embraces both continuity and change

3. An approach to landscape which embraces both its cultural and natural aspects and seeks to integrate these in decision-making and management

4. Recognition and celebration of the cultural diversity within the landscape, and wider participation in its conservation and management

5. A landscape that enriches society and provides a source of knowledge and understanding, inspiration and enjoyment

6. A forum for education

Strategic Objectives

"To help achieve this vision for the historic landscape, Historic Scotland has identified a number of strategic objectives ..." (Macinnes 2002, 26)

A. Enhanced recognition and understanding of the historic landscape through recording, research and investigation

B. Protection and management of the historic characteristics of landscape based on informed and integrated decision making

C. Wider recognition of the diversity within the historic landscape, particularly its regional and local value

D. Encouragement of interpretation, access and sustainable tourism

E. Dissemination of knowledge and education

F. Applying the principles of sustainable development to the historic landscape, including greater public participation

G. Ensure that historic landscapes, and an integrated approach to landscape management are properly embraced within UK, European and international provisions and associated organisational structures

Appendix 8: Key definitions, and references to landscape in recent legislation

SNH 2005 (my emphasis)

> Landscape is more than simply our physical surroundings. SNH understands it as encompassing our **experience and perception** of all the elements of the physical environment that surrounds us – the natural (landform, water, and natural vegetation) and the cultural (the patterns of land use, buildings and other structures – old and new). We **experience and perceive** this physical fabric predominantly through sight, but the totality draws upon all our senses, together with the feelings, memories and associations evoked by different places. So, landscape is multi-faceted, and individuals and communities can perceive a landscape in subtly and significantly different ways, with sometimes very personal and individual responses, that can change over time. This recognition of landscape as including these necessarily subjective aspects of **experience and perception** strengthens our work by ensuring it is inclusive of, and maintains a relevance to, the people of Scotland.

The Historic Environment (HS 2011a, my emphasis)

> Our whole environment, whether rural or urban, on land or under water, has a historic dimension that contributes to its quality and character. It has been shaped by human and natural processes over thousands of years. this is most obvious in our built heritage: ancient monuments; archaeological sites and landscapes; historic buildings; townscapes; parks; gardens and designed landscapes; and our marine heritage, for example in the form of historic shipwrecks or underwater landscapes once dry land.
>
> **We can see it in the patterns in our landscape** – the layout of fields and roads, and the remains of a wide range of past human activities.
>
> Importantly, it also includes our buildings erected before 1919 (see note 1.1). Although the majority of older buildings are not listed, most provide flexible and often spacious domestic and non-domestic accommodation. A huge investment of money, energy and materials went into these buildings – it would be poor stewardship of this inheritance to neglect it.
>
> The context or setting in which specific historic features sit and the patterns of past use are part of our historic environment. The historical, artistic, literary, linguistic, and scenic associations of places and landscapes are some of the less tangible elements of the historic environment. these elements make a fundamental contribution to our sense of place and cultural identity.

Legislation

All British legislation, including primary and secondary instruments created through the devolved administrations, is now available on a dedicated website at www.legislation.gov.uk. Electronic searching means that for the first time it is possible to interrogate the total corpus for the use of the term 'landscape'. There is a wealth of information here – 91 different pieces of legislation and statutory instrument were returned using a search for 'landscape' in 'Scotland'. A comprehensive study lies outwith the scope of this thesis, but judicious searching does generate some interesting insights.

- SNH is charged as the Scottish Government's advisor on landscape, although the term appears only once in their founding legislation – **Natural Heritage (Scotland) Act 1991** – and that reference appears as a balancing clause requiring due regard for "the need to conserve sites and landscapes of archaeological or historic interest" (I3(b)) (see Macinnes & Wickham-Jones 1992, 9).

- The Act is concerned with the natural heritage of Scotland which is described at 1(3) as including "the flora and fauna of Scotland, its geological and physiographical features, its natural beauty and amenity; and references to "natural heritage" shall be construed accordingly." This definition is critical in explaining why the concept of natural beauty continues to have relevance in landscape discourse today, despite being considered as a largely antiquated term in the academic literature. One might also question what is meant by amenity – the OED includes 4 separate entries, the first of which gives the definition of "the quality of being pleasant or agreeable: …a. of places, their situation, aspect, climate, etc. (accessed 18 Oct 2017). This contrasts with the ELC in suggesting that only those places that are pleasant or agreeable might be considered as landscape.

- The **Planning etc (Scotland) Act 2006**, section 50 provides the updated statutory basis for National Scenic Areas. This replaces section 263 of the original 1997 Act and includes only reference to 'landscape' states that when considering whether to designate an area as a National Scenic Area account must be taken of *"any flora, fauna or physiographical features of the area, whether or not to any extent the product of human intervention in the landscape."* (4c). The first criteria in this list requires a judgement on whether the area is of 'outstanding natural beauty' (4a) and the

- amenity of the area, which includes consideration of 'historic, cultural or environmental' importance, and the nature of buildings or structures within it (4b). There is no guidance in the legislation of what is meant by 'take account of'.

- References to 'landscape' in the **Historic Environment (Scotland) Act 2014** are concerned only with "gardens, landscapes and battlefields" and referring to the inventory of gardens and designed landscapes, and the inventory of battlefields.

- The **National Parks (Scotland) Act 2000**, The **Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2003** and the **Public Services Reform (Scotland) Act 2010** all include reference to cultural heritage which is defined as including "structures and other remains resulting from human activity of all periods, traditions, ways of life and the historic, artistic and literary associations of people, places and landscapes", although it is not clear whether this refers to landscape in the broadest terms, or only the historic, artistic and literary associations!

- The **Crofting Reform (Scotland) Act 2010** refers to the "sustainability of the landscape of that locality or such an area" when considering resumption of a croft by a landlord, which is in a separate clause "sustainability of the environment of that locality or such an area", presenting an interesting distinction. In addition, with reference to a crofter who refrains from activities on conservation grounds, distinction is made for two criteria – "the natural beauty of the area of the croft" or "the flora and fauna of that locality."

- the **Environmental Assessment (Scotland) Act 2005** requires that regard is had to "the effects on areas or landscapes which have a recognised national, Community or international protection status," thus tying any consideration to existing designations with separate pre-defined criteria.

- Specific reference is made to archaeological or historic landscapes in the **Rural Development Contracts (Rural Priorities) (Scotland) Regulations 2008**, in additional the inventory of gardens and designed landscapes, and makes provision for works that might be supported for their conservation and management. No definitions are given however.

In 2003, Scottish Natural Heritage published a discussion document to stimulate debate on the future of Scotland's landscapes. They began with definition:

The term landscape can mean different things to different people, so here we set out SNH's understanding and approach. Landscape encompasses all the physical elements of the environment that surround us – the natural (landform, water and natural vegetation) and the cultural (the patterns of land use, buildings and other structures – old and new.) But as well as the physical fabric, it is people's experience of the land and adjacent sea that turns their surroundings into landscape. Landscape, therefore, is about the relationship between people and place. (2003, 9)

Extract from National Planning Framework 3 illustrating the hierarchy of government strategies, SG 2014a

References

Aitchison, P. & Cassell, A. (2003) *The Lowland Clearances: Scotland's Silent Revolution 1760-1830,* Tuckwell Press, East Linton

Aitken, S. (2005) Textual Analysis: Reading Culture and Context, IN Flowerdew, R. & Martin, D.M. (2005) *Methods in Human Geography: A Guide for Students Doing a Research Project*, Taylor and Francis, London, 2nd edition, pp 233-249

Antrop, M. (2005) Why Landscapes of the Past are Important for the Future, *Landscape and Urban Planning, 70, pp 21-34*

Arntzen, S (2008) The Complex Cultural Landscape: Humans and the Land, Preservation and Change, IN Arntzen, S & Brady, E (Eds) *Humans in the Land: the ethics and aesthetics of the cultural landscape*, Unipub, Oslo, pp 41-76

Arntzen, S & Brady, E (Eds) Humans in the Land: the ethics and aesthetics of the cultural landscape, Unipub, Oslo

Arntzen & Brady, E. (Eds) (2008) Introduction IN Arntzen, S & Brady, E (Eds) *Humans in the Land: the ethics and aesthetics of the cultural landscape*, Unipub, Oslo, pp 11-20

ASH Design and Consulting (2010) Aberdour – Dunfermline and West Fife Local Plan, Appendix 1 Summary of Conclusions_Final_RevB (accessed online, July 2018)

Atkinson, J.A. (2018) Ben Lawers: An Archaeological Landscape in Time. Results from the Ben Lawers Historic Landscape Project, 1996–2005, Scottish Archaeological Internet Reports 62, Society of Antiquaries Scotland

Atkinson, P. & Coffey, A. (2004) Analysing Documentary Realities, IN Silverman, D. (ed) (2004) *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*, 2nd edition, Sage, London, pp 56-75

Baker, A. R. H. (2003) *Geography and History – Bridging the Divide,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Bardon, A (2013a) Chapter 1: Time and Change IN *A Brief History of the Philosophy of Time*. New York: Oxford University Press, published to Oxford Scholarship online: September 2013, 16 pp DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199976454.003.0001

Bardon, A (2013b) Chapter 4: Does Time Pass? IN *A Brief History of the Philosophy of Time*. New York: Oxford University Press, published to Oxford Scholarship online: September 2013, 27 pp DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199976454.003.0004

Barnes, T. J. & Duncan, J. S. (1992) Introduction: Writing Worlds, IN Barnes, T. J. & Duncan, J. S. (1992) *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape*, Routledge, London, pp 1-17

Barrett, J R (2015) The Making of a Scottish Landscape: Moray's Regular Revolution 1760-1840, Fonthill media, UK

Baxter, I. (2012) *Heritage Transformed*, Oxbow Books, Oxford

Baxter, I. (2015) Mainstreaming policy and pragmatism: Whither the historic environment? *Cultural Trends24:1, 34-38*

BBC Radio 4 (2017) *Ramblings* broadcast 18 February 2017, https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b08dr5rj

Bender, B. (1993) Stonehenge – Contested Landscapes (Medieval to Present Day), IN Bender, B. (Ed)(1993) *Landscape, Politics and Perspectives,* Explorations in Anthropology, Berg, Oxford

Bender, B (2002), Time and Landscape *Current Anthropology* 43, no. S4 (August/October 2002): S103-S112. https://doi.org/10.1086/339561

Bender, B (2006) *Place and Landscape* IN Tilley et al (2006) The Sage Handbook of Material Culture, SAGE publications Ltd, London (pp 303-314) http://sk.sagepub.com/reference/hdbk_matculture/n20.xml

Bicchieri, C. (2015) Norms, Conventions and the Power of Expectations, IN Cartwright, N. & Montuschi, E. (2015) *Philosophy of Social Science,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp 208-229

Black M. (2005), The Protection of the Settings of Archaeological Sites in Scotland, *Proceedings of ICOMOS 15th General Assembly and Scientific Symposium* Vol 1, Shaanxi: World Publishing Corporation

Bloemers, T., Kars, H., Van der Valk, A. & Wijnen, M. (2010) The Cultural Landscape & Heritage Paradox: Protection and Development of the Dutch Archaeological-Historical Landscape and its European Dimension, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam

Brady, E. (2008) Relating Humans and Nature Through Agricultural Landscapes, IN Arntzen, S & Brady, E (Eds) *Humans in the Land: the ethics and aesthetics of the cultural landscape*, Unipub, Oslo, pp 123-141

Brundtland (1987) *Our Common Future*, United Nations Documents   http://www.un-documents.net/wced-ocf.htm

Butler, A. (2016) Dynamics of integrating landscape values in landscape character assessment: the hidden dominance of the objective outsider, *Landscape Research*, 41:2, 239-252

Butler, A. & Berglund, U. (2014) Landscape Character Assessment as an Approach to Understanding Public Interests with the European Landscape Convention, *Landscape Research 39:3, 219-236*

Byrne, D. (2008) Heritage as Social Action, IN Fairclough, G., Lambrick, G. & McNab, A. (1999) *Yesterday's World, Tomorrow's Landscape: The English Heritage Historic Landscape Project 1992-94,* English Heritage, London, pp 149-173

Cadw (1998) Register of Landscapes of Outstanding Historic Interest in Wales, Cadw, Cardiff

Cadw (2007) *Caring for Historic Landscapes,* Cadw, Cardiff http://cadw.gov.wales/docs/cadw/publications/Caring_for_Historic_Landscapes_EN_CY.pdf

Cairney, P. (undated) website - (https://paulcairney.wordpress.com/ebpm/)

Cairney, P. (2016) The Politics of Evidence Based Policy Making, Palgrave MacMillan UK

Cairney, P (2017) - https://paulcairney.wordpress.com/2017/07/11/policy-concepts-in-1000-words-the-policy-process/

Cairney. P, Oliver and Wellstead (2016) to bridge the divide between evidence and Policy: Reduce Ambiguity as much as uncertainty *Public Administration Review* 76(3)

Campbell, A (2012) *The National Performance Framework and Scotland Performs,* Financial Scrutiny Unit Briefing 12-12, SPICe: The Information Centre, Edinburgh http://www.parliament.scot/ResearchBriefingsAndFactsheets/S4/SB_12-12.pdf

Cannadine, D. (Ed) (2002) *What is History Now?*, Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke

Castree N (2009) *Place: Connections and Boundaries in an Interdependent World* IN Clifford et al (Eds) Key Concepts in Geography, SAGE publications Ltd, London

Chevalier, T (2016) *At the Edge of the Orchard* HarperCollins UK

Clarke, R. (2015) Beyond Landscape Designation: Innovative Funding, Delivery and Governance and the UK Protected Area System, *Management of Environmental Quality, Vol 26:2, pp 172-194*

Clifford N.J., Holloway S.L., Rice S.P. & Valentine G. (Eds) (2009) *Key Concepts in Geography*, SAGE publications Ltd, London

Cloke, P, Crang, P & Goodwin, M (2005) *Introducing Human Geographies*, second edition, Hodder

Colley L. (2011) http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b017575r, accessed 3 February 2017

Coones, P. (1985) One Landscape or many: A Geographical Perspective, *Landscape History, Vol 7 pp 5-12*

Coppock J.T. (1968) The Countryside (Scotland) Act and the Geographer, *Scottish Geographical Magazine* Vol 84 (3), pp 201-211

Cosgrove, D. (1978) Place, Landscape and the Dialectives of Cultural Geography: A Review Essay, *Canadian Geographer, XXII, pp 66-72*

Cosgrove, D. (1984) *Social Formation and symbolic landscape*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Cosgrove D. (1985), Prospect, Perspective and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* N.S. 10, 45-62

Council of Europe (2000), *European Landscape Convention* http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/176.htm

Council of Europe (2000b) *Explanatory Report to the European Landscape Convention* https://rm.coe.int/16800cce47

Council of Europe (2013), European Landscape Convention: Glossary

Countryside Agency/ Scottish Natural Heritage (2002) Landscape Character Assessment: Guidance for England and Scotland, Edinburgh

Countryside Agency/ Scottish Natural Heritage (2005) *Topic Paper 5: Understanding Historic Landscape Character* http://www.naturalengland.org.uk/Images/lcatopicpaper5_tcm6-8176.pdf

Countryside Commission for Scotland (1971) *A Planning Classification of Scottish Landscape Resources*, Countryside Commission for Scotland occasional paper no. 1, Perth, Countryside Commission for Scotland

Countryside Commission for Scotland (1978) *Scotland's Scenic Heritage*, Perth, Countryside Commission for Scotland

Cresswell, T (2004) *Place: A Short Introduction*, Blackwell, Oxford

Cresswell, T (2008) Place: encountering geography as philosophy, *Geography* Vol 93 (3), pp132-139

Cresswell, T. (2013) *Geographic Thought: A Critical Introduction*, Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford

Critchlow-Watton, N., Dobbie, K.E., Bell, R., Campbell, S.D.G., Hinze, D., Motion, A., Robertson, K., Russell, M., Simpson, J., Thomson, D. and Towers, W. (eds) (2014). *Scotland's State of the Environment Report*, *2014*. Scotland's Environment Web. http://www.environment.scotland.gov.uk/

Cronon, W. (1991) Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West, Norton, New York

Cronon, W. (1992) A Place for Stories: Nature, History and Narrative, *The Journal of American History, Vol 78 (4), pp 1347-1376*

Cronon W. (1996) Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature. London: Norton & Co

Cronon W. (1996a), The trouble with Wilderness; or, getting Back to the Wrong Nature. IN Cronon W. (1996) *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*. London: Norton & Co, pp 69-90

Cronon, W. (2003) Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of New England New York: Hill & Wang Inc

Cronon, W. (2013) Presidential Address: Storytelling, *American Historical Review, Volume 118 (1) pp 1–19*

Crosby, A. W. (1995) The Past and Present of Environmental History, *The American Historical Review, Vol 100 (4), pp 1177-1189*

Dalglish, C. (2003) Rural Society in the Age of Reason: An Archaeology of the Emergence of Modern Life in the Southern Scottish Highlands, Springer US

Dalglish, C (2009) Understanding Landscape: Interdisciplinary Dialogue and the Post-Medieval Countryside IN Horning, A & Palmer, M (eds) 2009, *Crossing Paths or Sharing Tracks: Future Directions in the Archaeological Study of post-1550 Britain and Ireland*. Society for Post Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series, Boydell Press, pp 233-250

Dalglish, C. (2011) Scotland's Medieval Countryside: Evidence, Interpretation, Perception IN Christie, N. & Stamper, P. (2011) *Medieval Rural Settlement: Britain and Ireland AD800-1000*, Windgather Press, Oxford, pp 270-285

Dalglish, C. (2012) Archaeology and Landscape Ethics, *World Archaeology Vol 44(3) pp 327-41*

Darvill, T., Gerrard, C., & Startin, B. (1993) Identifying and protecting historic landscapes. *Antiquity*, 67 (256), 563-574. doi:10.1017/S0003598X00045762

DeLyser D., Aitken, S. C., Herbert, S. Crang M. & McDowell L. (2009) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*, SAGE Publications Ltd, London

DeSilvey, C. & Edensor, T. (2012) Reckoning with Ruins, *Progress in Human Geography, Vol 37(4), pp 465-485*

Devine, T. M. (2012) *The Scottish Nation: A Modern History,* Penguin Books, London

Dixon P. (2007), Conservation not Reconstruction: Historic Land-Use Assessment (HLA) or Characterising the Historic Landscape in Scotland. *Landscapes*, 8(2), 72-83

Dower J. (1947) National Parks in England and Wales: A Report to the Minister of Town and Country Planning

Duncan, J. & Duncan, N. (1988) (Re)Reading the Landscape, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* Vol 6 (2), pp 117-126

Duncan, N & Duncan, J (2009) Doing Landscape Interpretation IN DeLyser D., et al *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*, SAGE Publications Ltd, London, pp 225-247

Duncan, N & Duncan, J (2009) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*, SAGE Publications Ltd, London

Edensor, T. (2005) Industrial Ruins: Spaces, Aesthetics and Materiality, Bloomsbury, London

Elwood, S. (2009) Mixed Methods: Thinking, Doing, and Asking in Multiple Ways. IN Duncan, N & Duncan, J (2009) *SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*, SAGE Publications Ltd, London

European Science Foundation (2010) *Landscape in a Changing World: Bridging Divides, Integrating Disciplines, Serving Society,* Science Policy Briefing 41 http://archives.esf.org/fileadmin/Public_documents/Publications/SPB41_Landscape_ChangingWorld.pdf

Fairclough, G. (2008a) New Heritage, an Introductory Essay – People, Landscape and Change, IN Fairclough, G., Lambrick, G. & McNab, A. (1999) *Yesterday's World, Tomorrow's Landscape: The English Heritage Historic Landscape Project 1992-94,* English Heritage, London, pp 297-312

Fairclough, G. (2008b) 'The Long Chain': Archaeology, historic landscape characterization and time depth in the landscape IN Fairclough, G., Lambrick, G. & McNab, A. (1999) *Yesterday's World, Tomorrow's Landscape: The English Heritage Historic Landscape Project 1992-94,* English Heritage, London, pp 408-424

Fairclough, G., Lambrick, G. & McNab, A. (1999) Yesterday's World, Tomorrow's Landscape: The English Heritage Historic Landscape Project 1992-94, English Heritage, London

Fairclough, N. (1999) Linguistic and Intertextual Analysis within Discourse Analysis IN Jaworski, A. & Coupland, N. (Eds) (1999) *The Discourse Reader*, Routledge, London.

Fairclough, N. (2001) The Discourse of New Labour: Critical Discourse Analysis, IN Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. & Yates, S. J. (2001) *Discourse as Data: A Guide for Analysis*, Open University, Milton Keynes, pp229-266

Fairclough, N. (2003) Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research, Routledge, London

Fife Council (2002) My Community: Dalgety Bay (https://fifedirect.org.uk/yourtown/index.cfm?fuseaction=feature.display&town=D2647D9C-B6A4-47D0-9CC9115104EA65A2&objectid=16076236-069C-4F74-B2E14CDA1FD5529E&pageid=DDBC05A8-D55B-0AF2-845F375F496E5F13 accessed 8 July 2018)

Fifepsychogeography blog - https://fifepsychogeography.com/2016/10/20/this-is-not-the-garden-of-cosmic-speculation/

Finch, J. (2013) Historic Landscapes, IN Howard, P., Thompson, I. & Waterton, E. (2013) *The Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies,* Routledge, Abingdon, pp 143-151

Finke, G. (2013) Linking Landscapes: Exploring the relationships between World Heritage cultural landscapes and IUCN protected areas, IUCN, Gland, Switzerland

Flowerdew, R., Martin, D. (2005). *Methods in Human Geography: A Guide for Students Doing a Research Project*, Taylor and Francis, London, 2nd edition

Foot D. (2003) The Twentieth Century: Forestry Takes Off IN Smout T.C. *People and Woods in Scotland,* Edinburgh University Press, pp158-194

Flowerdew, R. & Martin, D.M. (2005) *Methods in Human Geography: A Guide for Students Doing a Research Project*, Taylor and Francis, London, 2nd edition

Gilg, A. W. (1974) A Critique of Linton's Method of Assessing Scenery as a Natural Resource, *Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol 90:2, pp125-129*

Ginsberg, R. (ed.) (2004). *The Aesthetics of Ruins*. Rodopi.

Gordon, J. ed. The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy. Kilmartin, Argyle, Vol. 7, Edinburgh: Blackwoods and Sons, 1845, p. 562. University of Edinburgh, University of Glasgow. (1999) The Statistical Accounts of Scotland online service: http://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk/link/nsa-vol7-p562-parish-argyle-kilmartin

Graham, E. (2005) Philosophies underlying human geography research, IN Flowerdew, R., Martin, D. (2005). *Methods in Human Geography: A Guide for Students Doing a Research Project*, Taylor and Francis, London, 2nd edition

Clive Gray, (2015) Ambiguity and Cultural Policy, *Nordic Journal of Cultural Policy*, 18, pp 61-75

Gubrium, J. F., Holstein, J. A., Marvasti, A. B., & McKinney, K. D. *The SAGE handbook of interview research: The complexity of the craft*., SAGE Publications Ltd, Thousand Oaks CA

Hadorn, G. H., Pohl, C. & Brammer, G. (2010) Solving problems through transdisciplinary research IN Frodeman, R. (Ed) (2010) *The Oxford Handbook of Interdisciplinarity,* Oxford Univesrity Press, Oxford, pp 431-452

Hammer, E (2011) Philosophy and Temporality from Kant to Critical Theory, CUP, Cambridge

Hanley, N., Ready, R., Colombo, S., Watson, F., Stewart, M. & Bergmann, E. A. (2009) The Impacts of Knowledge of the Past on Preferences for Future Landscape Change, *Journal of Environmental Management, Vol 90, pp 1404-1412*

Harvey, D. C. (2001) Heritage Pasts and heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies, *International Journal of Heritage Studies, Vol 7 (4) pp 319-338*

Harvey, D. C. (2013) Emerging Landscapes of Heritage, IN Howard, P., Thompson, I. & Waterton, E. (2013) *The Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies,* Routledge, Abingdon, pp152-165

Hay, R. K. M. (2015) *Lismore: The Great Garden* Birlinn, Edinburgh

Herring, P. C. (2009) Framing Perceptions of the Historic Landscape, Historic Landscape Characterisation and Historic Land Use Assessment, *Scottish Geographical Journal, Vol 125:1, pp 61-77*

Herring, P. C. (2013) Valuing the Whole Historic Landscape IN Howard, P., Thompson, I. & Waterton, E. (2013) *The Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies,* Routledge, Abingdon, pp 166-179

Heritage Lottery Fund (2013) *Landscape Partnerships Application Guidance* (Grants from £100,000 to £3million)

Hewitt, S. (2009) *Discourse Analysis and Public Policy Research*. Centre for Rural Economy Discussion Paper Series No. 24, University of Newcastle http://www.ncl.ac.uk/cre/publish/discussionpapers/pdfs/dp24Hewitt.pdf

Hingley, R. (!999) *Cultural Aspects of Landscape Designation,* unpublished paper given at Forum on the Environment – The Future of Landscape Designation, 17 February 1999

Historic Environment Scotland (2016) *For All Our Futures: Corporate Plan 2016-19*, Edinburgh, https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationId=c0ccdb06-60a1-40c8-8111-a60f00a5c9c6

Historic Environment Scotland website https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/ (accessed 2018)

Historic Scotland (1999) *Research Report: Historic Landuse Assessment: development and Potential of a Technique for Assessing Historic Landuse Patterns*, Historic Scotland https://hlamap.org.uk/pdfs/HistoricLanduseAssessment.pdf

Historic Scotland (2002) *Passed to the Future: Historic Scotland's Policy for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment* Edinburgh https://www.historicenvironment.scot/archives-and-research/publications/publication/?publicationid=095c73f9-2970-4617-8112-a58e00e01af0

Historic Scotland (2010) Managing Change in the Historic Environment: Setting, Historic Scotland

Historic Scotland (2011a) *Scottish Historic Environment Policy*, December 2011 Historic Scotland

Historic Scotland (2011b) Managing Change in the Historic Environment: Battlefields Historic Scotland

Historic Scotland (2012a) Scotland's Past, Scotland's Future: Corporate Plan 2012-15 Historic Scotland

Historic Scotland (2012b) *Scotland's Historic Environment Audit 2012* Historic Scotland

Historic Scotland & Royal Commission for the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (2010) *Historic Land-use Assessment: Pilot and Study Areas* Historic Scotland https://hlamap.org.uk/pdfs/HLA%20Pilot%20and%20Study%20Areas.pdf

Historic Scotland & Royal Commission for the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (2012) *Historic Land-use Assessment: Guidance for using HLA data in decision-making contexts,* Edinburgh, https://hlamap.org.uk/pdfs/HLA%20DecisionMaking.pdf

Hodder, I. (2001) *Archaeological Theory Today*, Polity Press, Cambridge

Holstein, J. A. & Gubrium, J. F. (2004) The Active Interview, IN Silverman, D. (ed) (2004) *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*, 2nd edition, SAGE publications Ltd, London, pp 140-161

Horning, A. & Palmer, M. (2009) *Crossing Paths or Sharing Tracks*, Boydell Press, Woodbridge

Hoskins, W.G. (1955) *The Making of the English Landscape,* Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1970 edition

House S. & Dingwall C. (2003) 'A Nation of Planters': Introducing the New Trees 1650-1900, IN Smout T.C. *People and Woods in Scotland,* Edinburgh University Press, pp128-157

Howlett, M., Perl, A. & Ramesh, M. (2009) *Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems*, Oxford University Press, Oxford

Hughes, J & Brooks, S (2009) Living landscapes: towards ecosystem-based conservation in Scotland. Scottish Wildlife Trust, Edinburgh

Hughes, R. & Huby, M. (2004) The Construction and Interpretation of Vignettes in Social Research, *Social Work & Social Sciences Review* 11(1) pp 36-51

Hunter, J. (2014) On the Other Side of Sorrow: Nature and People in the Scottish Highlands Birlinn, Edinburgh

Hunter, J. (2016) *The Small Isles*, Historic Environment Scotland, Edinburgh

Hunter, J. (2017) *Wild Land, Rewilding and Repeopling,* University of Edinburgh: Geography department Lecture, 17 May 2017, http://www.communitylandscotland.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Wild-Land-James-Hunter-Lecture.pdf

Ingold, T. (1993) The Temporality of Landscape. *World Archaeology* Vol 25(2), pp152-174

International Centre for Protected Landscapes (Undated) *Identifying Good Practice From Countries Implementing the European Landscape Convention,* Project Report Ref ICP/001/07, Aberystwyth

Jaworski, A. & Coupland, N. (Eds) (1999) *The Discourse Reader*, Routledge, London.

Jensen, K. & Glasmeier, A. (2010). Policy, research design and the socially situated researcher. In D. DeLyserS. Herbert & S. Aitken *The SAGE handbook of qualitative geography* (pp. 82-93). London: SAGE Publications Ltd

Johnson, M. H. (2007) *Ideas of Landscape*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford

Johnson, M. H. (2012) Phenomenological Approaches in Landscape Archaeology, *Annual Review of Anthropology, 41, pp 269-84*

Johnston, R. (1998). Approaches to the perception of landscape: Philosophy, theory, methodology. *Archaeological Dialogues*, 5(1), 54-68. doi:10.1017/S1380203800001161

Julie Martin Associates and Carys Swanwick (2003) *Overview of Scotland's National Programme of Landscape Character Assessment*, Scottish Natural Heritage Commissioned Report F03 AA307.

Kaal, B. (2012) Worldviews: Spatial Ground for Political Reasoning in Dutch Election Manifestos, *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines* 6 (1) 1-22

Kahneman, D. (2011). *Thinking, fast and slow*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York

Kenny, J. (1992) Portland's Comprehensive Plan as Text: The Fred Meyer Case and the Politics of Reading, IN Barnes, T. J. & Duncan, J. S. (1992) *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape*, Routledge, London, pp 176-192

Kwa, C (2005) Alexander von Humboldt's Invention of the Natural Landscape, *The European Legacy: Towards New Paradigms, Vol 10:2, 149-162*

Landscape Institute Scotland (2017), http://scotland.landscapeinstitute.org, accessed 16 October 2017)

Landscape Institute Scotland & The National Trust for Scotland (2012), *A National Landscape Policy for Scotland: Report on Conference held on Cambusnethan Priory, Lanarkshire, 1962*, http://scotland.landscapeinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Proceedings-on-a-National-Landscape-Policy-for-Scotland-1962.pdf

Leech, N. L. & Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2011) Beyond Constant Comparison Qualitative Data Analysis: Using NVivo, *School Psychology Quarterly* Vol 26 (1) 70-84

LUC (2012) *Historic land-use Assessment: Guidance for using HLA data in decision-making contexts*, Historic Scotland https://hlamap.org.uk/pdfs/HLA%20Pilot%20and%20Study%20Areas.pdf

Le Poidevin, R.(2015) "The Experience and Perception of Time", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2015 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2015/entries/time-experience/

Leighly, J. (Ed) (1963) *Land and Life: A Selection from the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer*, Berkeley: University of California Press

Little, D. (2010) *New Contributions to the Contribution of History*, Methods Series 6, Springer, London

Lewis, P.F. (1979) Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Some Guides to the American Scene IN Meinig D.W. (Ed) *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, New York, Oxford University Press, 11-32

Lorimer, H. (1999). Ways of seeing the Scottish Highlands: Marginality, authenticity and the curious case of the Hebridean blackhouse. *Journal of Historical Geography*, 25(4), 517-533.

Lothian, A. (1999). Landscape and the philosophy of aesthetics: Is landscape quality inherent in the landscape or in the eye of the beholder? *Landscape and Urban Planning,* 44(4), 177-198.

Love, J A (2001) *Rum: A Landscape Without Figures* Birlinn, Edinburgh

Lowenthal, D. (1976) Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory, *The Geographical Review vol 65, pp 1-36*

Lowenthal, D. (1979) Age and Artifact: Dilemmas of Appreciation, IN Meinig, D.W. (Ed) (1979a) *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, New York, Oxford University Press, pp 103-128

Lowenthal, D. (2005) Natural and Cultural Heritage *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 11(1) 81-92

Lowenthal, D. (2007) Living with and looking at landscape, *Landscape Research*, 32:5, 635-656, DOI: 10.1080/01426390701552761

Lowenthal, D. (2013) *The Past is a Foreign Country Revisited*, CUP Cambridge 2nd Edition

Lowenthal, D. (2014) *Sylvester Baxter Lecture: Conservation Past and Present,* Harvard University Graduate School of Design, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a4u9HWNcpKQ (accessed 14 April 2017)

Macinnes, L. (1996) Principles in Practice: The Kilmartin Glen Project, IN Jones, M. & Rotherham, I. D. (1996) *Landscapes – Perception, Recognition and Management: reconciling the impossible, Abstracts of Papers*, Landscape Conservation Forum, Sheffield

Macinnes L. (2002) The Historic Landscape in Scotland: Towards a Strategy for the Future, IN Smout, T. C. (2002) *Understanding the Historical Landscape in its Environmental Setting*, Scottish Cultural Press, Dalkeith

Macinnes, L. (2010) The protection and management of the historic landscape in Scotland in the context of the European Landscape Convention, IN Bloemers, T., Kars, H., Van der Valk, A. & Wijnen, M. (2010) *The Cultural Landscape & Heritage Paradox: Protection and Development of the Dutch Archaeological-Historical Landscape and its European Dimension*, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam

Macinnes, L. & Wickham-Jones, C. (1992) *All Natural Things: Archaeology and the Green Debate*, Oxbow Monograph 21, Oxford

Massey, D. (2004) The responsibilities of place, *Local Economy*, Vol 19(2), pp. 91-101

Massey, D. (2005) *For Space*, SAGE publications Ltd, London

Massey, D (2006) Landscape as a Provocation: Reflections on Moving Mountains, *Journal of Material Culture* 11(1/2) 33-48

Mayr, A. (2015) Institutional Discourse, IN Schriffrin, D., Tannen, D. & Hamilton H. (Eds) (2015) *Handbook of Discourse Analysis,* Blackwell, Oxford, pp 755-774

McCrone, D., Morris, A. & Kiely, R. (1995) *Scotland – the Brand: The Making of Scottish Heritage,* Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh

McElhinny, B. (2006) Written in Sand: Language and Landscape in an Environmental Dispute in Southern Ontario. *Critical Discourse Studies* Vol 3(2), pp123-152

Meinig, D.W. (Ed) (1979a) *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, New York, Oxford University Press

Meinig, D.W. (1979b) The Beholding Eye IN Meinig D.W. (Ed) *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, New York, Oxford University Press, 33-48

Meinig, D.W. (1979c) Reading the Landscape: An Appreciation of W.G. Hoskins and J.B.Jackson IN Meinig D.W. (Ed) *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, New York, Oxford University Press, 195-244

Miller, H (1858) *The Cruise of the Betsey and Rambles of a Geologist*, National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh (facsimile of original)

Miller, J & Glassner, B. (2004) The Inside and Outside: Finding Realities in Interviews, IN Silverman, D. (ed) (2004) *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*, 2nd edition, SAGE publications Ltd, London, pp 125-139

Millican, K, Dixon, P, Macinnes, L & Middleton, M (2017) Mapping the Historic Landscape: Historic Land-Use Assessment in Scotland, *Landscapes*, 18:1, 71-87, DOI: 10.1080/14662035.2017.1318613

Mitchell, D. (2000) *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction,* Blackwell Publishing Ltd, Oxford, 1st Edition

Mitchell, N. Rossler, M. & Tricaud, P. (eds) (2009) *World Heritage Cultural Landscapes: A Handbook for Conservation and Management*, World Heritage Papers 26, UNESCO, Paris https://whc.unesco.org/en/series/26/

Moore-Colyer, R. & Scott, A. (2005) What Kind of Landscape Do We Want? Past, Present and Future Perspectives, *Landscape Research Vol 30:4, pp 501-523*

Muir, R. (2000) Conceptualising Landscapes, *Landscapes, Vol 1, pp 4-21*

Munoz-Rojas Morenes, J., Murrice, J., Miller, D., Horne, P., Donaldson-Selby, G. & Wang C. (2013) *Deliverable 4: Review Report of Landscape-Related Policy Issues,* Unpublished Project Report, The James Hutton Institute, Aberdeen

Murray, W. H. (1962) Highland Landscape: a survey commissioned by the National Trust for Scotland, Aberdeen University Press

Nash, G. (Ed) (1997) *Semiotics of Landscape: Archaeology of Mind,* British Archaeology Report International Series 661, Archaeopress

National Library of Scotland (undated) *Roy's Military Survey* http://maps.nls.uk/geo/roy/#zoom=14&lat=56.7823&lon=-5.0492&layers=roy-highlands

Natural England/ LUC *European Landscape Convention Guidelines Part 2: Integrating the Intent of the ELC into Plans Policies and Strategies* https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=22&ved=2ahUKEwjDwNiY28ndAhXsyIUKHQdeD_04FBAWMAF6BAgIEAI&url=http%3A%2F%2Fpublications.naturalengland.org.uk%2Ffile%2F5122496924745728&usg=AOvVaw1iN2Z1_FEhKAmTVxb9Wx1r

Naveh, Z. (1995) Interaction of Landscapes and Cultures, *Landscape and Urban Planning, Vol 32, pp 43-54*

Naveh, Z. (2001) Ten major premises for a holistic conception of multifunctional landscapes, *Landscape and Urban Planning Vol 57 269-284*

Naveh, Z. (2010) Ecosystem and Landscapes – A Critical Comparative Appraisal, *Journal of Landscape Ecology, Vol 3:1, pp 65-81*

Newman, C. (2009) Historic Landscape Characterisation: More Than a Management Tool IN Horning, A & Palmer, M (eds) 2009, *Crossing Paths or Sharing Tracks: Future Directions in the Archaeological Study of post-1550 Britain and Ireland*. Society for Post Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series, Boydell Press, pp 195-203

Newton, N. (2010). *The use of semi-structured interviews in qualitative research: strengths and weaknesses.* The University of Bristol https://www.academia.edu/1561689/The_use_of_semi-structured_interviews_in_qualitative_research_strengths_and_weaknesses

Olwig, K. R. (2003), Landscape: The Lowenthal Legacy, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93(4) pp 871-877

Olwig, K. R. (2005) Introduction: The Nature of Cultural Heritage, and the Culture of Natural heritage – Northern Perspectives on a Contested Patrimony, *International Journal of Heritage Studies, Vol 11:1, pp 3-7*

Olwig, K. R. (2007) The Practice of Landscape 'Conventions' and the Just Landscape: The Case of the European Landscape Convention, *Landscape Research 32:5, 579-594*

Olwig, K. R. (2008) 'Time Out of Mind' – 'Mind Out of Time': Custom versus tradition in environmental heritage research and interpretation IN Fairclough, G., Lambrick, G. & McNab, A. (1999) *Yesterday's World, Tomorrow's Landscape: The English Heritage Historic Landscape Project 1992-94,* English Heritage, London, pp 245-255

Olwig, K. R., Dalglish, C., Fairclough G. & Herring, P. (2016) Introduction to a special issue: the future of landscape characterisation, and the future character of landscape – between space, time, history, place and nature, *Landscape Research, 41:2, 169-174*

O'Neill, J. Holland A. & Light, A (2008) *Environmental Values*, Routledge, Abingdon

Oram, R (2015) 'The Worst Disaster Suffered by the People of Scotland in Recorded History: Climate Change, Dearth and Pathogen in the Long Fourteenth Century' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Vol. 144

Ostrom, E. (2007) A Diagnostic Approach for Going Beyond Panaceas, *Proceedings of National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America,* Vol 104, no. 39, pp 15181 – 15187, JSTOR

Ostrom, E. (2007) Institutional Rational Choice: An Assessment of the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework, IN Sabatier, P. (2007). *Theories of the policy process* (2nd ed.). Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.

Oxford English Dictionary Online, http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk

Perth and Kinross Council, (2015) *Landscape: Supplementary Guidance*, Perth http://www.pkc.gov.uk/media/31507/Perth-Kinross-Landscape-SG-2015/pdf/Perth__Kinross_Landscape_SG_2015_W_(2)

Perth and Kinross Council, (2016) *Loch Leven Heritage Trail* Leaflet, Perth http://www.pkc.gov.uk/media/35787/Loch-Leven-Heritage-Trail-Leaflet-2016/pdf/leafletbetter

Pollard, T. (2016) A battle lost, a battle found: the search for the Bannockburn battlefield. In: Penman, M. A. (ed.) *Bannockburn, 1314-2014: Battle & Legacy: Proceedings of the 2014 Stirling Conference.* Shaun Tyas: Donington, Lincolnshire, pp. 74-96. ISBN 9781907730504

Potter, J. & Hepburn, A. (2012) Chapter 38: Eight Challenges for Interview Researchers, IN Gubrium et al (2012) *The SAGE handbook of interview research: The complexity of the craft* (pp. 555-570), SAGE Publications Ltd. Thousand Oaks, CA

Priede, C. (2009) *Understanding Landscape Values: A Scottish Highland Case Study*, BAR British Series 502, Archaeopress, Oxford

Prior, L. (2004) Doing Things with Documents, IN Silverman, D. (ed) (2004) *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*, 2nd edition, SAGE publications Ltd, London, pp 76-94

Pryor, F. (2014) Home: A Time Traveller's Tales from Britain's Prehistory, Penguin Books UK

Rawcliffe, P. (2016), Cultural ecosystem services: features – Towards a common framework for cultural ecosystem services in Scotland, *Ecosystem News,* Issue 12 Spring 2016, Ecosystems Knowledge Network, https://ecosystemsknowledge.net/ecosystems-news-issue-12-cultural-ecosystem-services

Robinson D.G., Wager J.F., Laurie I.C., Traill A.L. (eds) (1976) *Landscape Evaluation: Report of the Landscape evaluation Research Project*, Manchester, University of Manchester

Robertson, G. (undated) *The Lost Village of Lassodie,* Dunfermline Historical Society https://dunfermlinehistsoc.org.uk/the-lost-village-of-lassodie/

Rippon S. (2004) *Historic Landscape Analysis: Deciphering the countryside*, CBA Practical Handbook 16, York: Council for British Archaeology

Sabatier, P. (2007). *Theories of the policy process* (2nd ed.). Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.

Sauer, C. O. (1963) The Morphology of Landscape, IN Leighly J. (Ed) (1963) *Land and Life: A Selection from the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer*, Berkeley: University of California Press

Sawyer, R. K. (2002) A Discourse on Discourse: An Archaeological History of An Intellectual Concept IN *Cultural Studies* 16 (3), pp 433-456

Schriffrin, D., Tannen, D. & Hamilton H. (Eds) (2001) *Handbook of Discourse Analysis,* Blackwell, Oxford

Schriffrin, D., Tannen, D. & Hamilton H. (Eds) (2015) *Handbook of Discourse Analysis,* John Wiley & Sons Second Edition

Scott A. (2011) Beyond the Conventional: Meeting the challenges of landscape governance within the European Landscape Convention, *Journal of Environmental Management* pp2754-62

Scottish Executive (2000) *Planning for Natural Heritage: Planning Advice Note 60* https://www.gov.scot/Publications/2000/08/pan60-root/pan60

Scottish Executive (2004) *Scotland's Biodiversity: It's in Your Hands,* Scottish Executive, Edinburgh

Scottish Government (undated) website http://www.gov.scot/Topics/ArtsCultureSport/arts/Historic-environment

Scottish Government (2010) *Scotland Performs: National Outcomes*, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/About/scotPerforms/outcomes

Scottish Government (2011) *Getting the best from our land: A land use strategy for Scotland* Edinburgh http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Environment/Countryside/Landusestrategy

Scottish Government (2013) *A policy statement on architecture and place for Scotland* (Edinburgh https://www.gov.scot/Publications/2013/06/9811)

Scottish Government (2014a) *National Planning Framework* https://www.gov.scot/Publications/2014/06/3539/downloads

Scottish Government (2014b) *Scottish Planning Policy* https://www.gov.scot/Publications/2014/06/5823/downloads

Scottish Government (2014c) *Our Place in Time: The Historic Environment Strategy for Scotland* https://www.gov.scot/Publications/2014/03/8522/downloads

Scottish Government (2014d) *United Kingdom - Rural Development Programme (Regional) – Scotland* https://www.gov.scot/Topics/farmingrural/SRDP/SRDPprogramme

Scottish Landscape Forum (2007) *Scotland's Living Landscapes: Places for People*, The Scottish Landscape Forum's Report to Scottish Ministers Scottish Natural Heritage

Scottish Natural Heritage (undated) http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Environment/Countryside/Management/SNH

Scottish Natural Heritage (undated) *Glen Nant National Nature Reserve: the Reserve Story,* Scottish Natural Heritage, Perth https://www.forestry.gov.uk/pdf/GlenNantReservejan07.pdf/$FILE/GlenNantReservejan07.pdf

Scottish Natural Heritage (2002a) Natural Heritage Zones: A National Assessment of Scotland's Landscapes

Scottish Natural Heritage (2002b) Natural Heritage Futures: An Overview

Scottish Natural Heritage (2002c) Wildness in Scotland's Countryside: Policy Statement 02/03,

Scottish Natural Heritage (2003) Scotland's Future Landscapes? Encouraging a wider debate

Scottish Natural Heritage (2005) *Statement: SNH's Landscape Policy Framework*: Policy Statement 05/01, Scottish Natural Heritage

Scottish Natural Heritage (2008) *Guidance for Identifying the Special Qualities of Scotland's National Scenic Areas* (final version 29/01/08), Scottish Natural Heritage

Scottish Natural Heritage (2010a) *Scotland's Landscape Charter*

Scottish Natural Heritage (2010b) Landscape Capacity Studies in Scotland: Review and Guide to Good Practice

Scottish Natural Heritage (2010c). *The special qualities of the National Scenic Areas* Scottish Natural Heritage Commissioned Report No.374

Scottish Natural Heritage (2010d) *National Scenic Areas: Scotland's finest landscapes,* Scottish Natural Heritage

Scottish Natural Heritage (2011) Summary of the Effects of Climate Change on Landscape and Quality of Life in Scotland

Scottish Natural Heritage (2012a) *Talking About Our Place* http://www.snh.gov.uk/protecting-scotlands-nature/looking-after-landscapes/communities/talking-about-our-place/

Scottish Natural Heritage (2012b) Scottish Natural Heritage Strategy and Priorities

Scottish Natural Heritage (2015) Scottish Natural Heritage Corporate Plan 2015-18

Scottish Natural Heritage (2016) *The Story of Loch Leven National Nature Reserve*, Scottish Natural Heritage, Perth https://www.nature.scot/sites/default/files/2018-02/The%20Story%20of%20Loch%20Leven%20National%20Nature%20Reserve.pdf

Scottish Natural Heritage (2017a) *Description of Wild Land Area 17 – Rum* https://www.nature.scot/sites/default/files/2017-11/Consultation-response-Description-of-Wild-Land-Rum-July-2016-17.pdf

Scottish Natural Heritage (2017b) *Description of Wild Land Area 18 – Kinlochhourn – Knoydart – Morar* https://www.nature.scot/sites/default/files/2017-11/Consultation-response-Description-of-Wild-Land-Kinlochhourn-Knoydart-Morar-July2016-18.pdf

Scottish Natural Heritage and Historic Scotland (2004) *Guidance on Local Landscape Designations*

Selman, P & Swanwick, C (2010) On the Meaning of Natural Beauty in Landscape Legislation, *Landscape Research* 35:1, 3-26

Shiskine Golf and Tennis Club, http://www.shiskinegolf.com/pages.php/page/c2a12f98-41f5-11e1-b768-bc305bd9eec9/view_section.html accessed 17 October 2017

Silverman, D. (ed) (2004) *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*, 2nd edition, SAGE publications Ltd, London

Simmons. I. G. (2001) An Environmental history of Great Britain: From 10,000 Years Ago to the Present, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh

Smout, T.C. (2000) Nature Contested: Environmental History in Scotland and Northern England Since 1600, Edinburgh University Press

Smout, T.C. (Ed) (2002) Understanding the Historical Landscape in its Environmental Setting, Scottish Cultural Press, Dalkeith

Smout, T. C. (Ed) (2003) *People and Woods in Scotland: A History* Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh

Smout,T.C., MacDonald A.R. & Watson, F. (2007) *A History of the Native Woodlands of Scotland, 1500 – 1920,* Edinburgh University Press

Smout, T. C. (2014) The History and the Myth of Scots Pine *RSFS Scottish Forestry, Vol 68:1* (accessed online http://www.scottishforestrytrust.org.uk/userfiles/file/projects/p13-243%20inaugural%20rsfs%20annual%20lecture/scots%20pine.pdf

Stalcup, Ann. "The Milford Track." *Faces: People, Places, and Cultures*, Jan. 2001, p. 34. *General OneFile*, http://link.galegroup.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/apps/doc/A69652468/ITOF?u=ed_itw&sid=ITOF&xid=e60ea047 . Accessed 10 Aug. 2018

Stenseke, M. (2016) Integrated Landscape Management and the Complicating Issue of Temporality, *Landscape Research, Vol 41:2, 199-211*

Stephenson, J. (2008) The Cultural Values Model: An Integrated Approach to Values in Landscapes, *Landscsape and Urban Planning, Vol 84, pp 127-139*

Swanwick C. (2002), *Topic Paper 1: Recent practise and the evolution of Landscape Character Assessment*, Landscape Character Assessment: Guidance for England and Scotland, Cheltenham and Edinburgh: The Countryside Agency and Scottish Natural Heritage

Swanwick, C. (2009) Society's Attitudes to and Preferences for Land and Landscape, *Land Use Policy 26S, S62-S75*

Swetnam, R. Harrison, S., White, J., Korenko, J. & Scott, L. (undated) Chapter 6: Landscape and Historic, interim report for *Quantifying Cultural Ecosystem Services Provided by the Landscapes of Wales*

Talmage, J. (2012). Listening to, and for, the research interview. In Gubrium, J. F., Holstein, J. A., Marvasti, A. B., & McKinney, K. D. *The SAGE handbook of interview research: The complexity of the craft* (pp. 295-304). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Taylor, S. (2001) Locating and Conducting Discourse Analytic Research IN Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. & Yates, S. J. (2001) *Discourse as Data: A Guide for Analysis*, Open University, Milton Keynes, pp 5-48

The Civil Service Code (2015) https://www.civilservant.org.uk/library/2015_civil_service_code.pdf (accessed 2 February 2018)

The Conservative Party Manifesto (1945) http://www.conservativemanifesto.com/1945/1945-conservative-manifesto.shtml

The Conservative Party Manifesto (1966) http://www.politicsresources.net/area/uk/man/con66.htm

The Conservative Party Manifesto (1997) http://www.conservativemanifesto.com/1997/1997-conservative-manifesto.shtml

The Herald (2001) Idyllic habitat for a life before Ikea Archaeologists unearth an Iron Age community on the Clydeside site of a new furniture superstore, *The Herald Newspapers*, 21 July 2001

http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/12175654.Idyllic_habitat_for_a_life_before_Ikea_Archaeologists_unearth_an_Iron_Age_community_on_the_Clydeside_site_of_a_new_furniture_superstore/

The Labour Party Manifesto (1945) http://www.labour-party.org.uk/manifestos/1945/1945-labour-manifesto.shtml

The Labour Party Manifesto (1966) http://www.politicsresources.net/area/uk/man/lab66.htm#pt3)

The Labour Party Manifesto (1997) http://www.labour-party.org.uk/manifestos/1997/1997-labour-manifesto.shtml

Thomas, J. (1996) Time, Culture and Identity: An Interpretive Archaeology, Routledge, London

Thomas, (2001) Archaeologies of Place and Landscape, IN Hodder, I. (2001) *Archaeological Theory Today*, Polity Press, Cambridge, pp 165-186

Thomas, J. (2006) Phenomenology and Material Culture IN Tilley et al (2006) *Handbook of Material Culture*, SAGE Publications Ltd, London, pp 43-59

Thomas, S. (2015) *Unfolding the Landscape – Using Stories to Open up the Past,* Unpublished Field Trip Report, Institute of Geography and the Lived Environment

Thorne, R (1986) Preston, Robert (1740 – 1834): Member Biography IN *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1790 – 1820* http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/preston-robert-1740-1834, accessed 14 April 2018)

Tilley, C (1994) *A Phenomenology of Landscape*, Berg, Oxford

Tilley, C. (2006) Introduction: Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage, *Journal of Material Culture, Vol 11(1/2), pp 7-32*

Tilley, C. (2017) Landscape in the Longue Duree: A History and Theory of Pebbles in a Pebbled Heathland Landscape, UCL Press, London

Tilley, C., Keane, W., Kuchler, S., Rowlands, M. & Spyer, P. (2006) *Handbook of Material Culture*, SAGE Publications Ltd, London

Tipping, R. (2003) Living in the Past: Woods and People in Prehistory to 1000BC IN Smout T. C. (Ed) (2003) *People and Woods in Scotland: A History* Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh

Tipping, R. (2008) Blanket Peat in the Scottish Highlands: timing, cause, spread and the myth of environmental determinism, *Biodiversity Conservation* 17 2097-2113

Tosh, J. (2002) *The Pursuit of History,* Longman Books, London, Third Edition

Tress, B. & Tress, G. (2001) Capitalising on Multiplicity: A Transdisciplinary Systems Approach to Landscape Research, *Landscape and Urban Planning, Vol 57, pp 143-157*

Tuan, Y. F. (1977) Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience, Arnold, London

Tuan, Y. F. (1979) Thought and Landscape: The Eye and the Mind's Eye IN Meinig, D.W. (Ed) (1979a) *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, New York, Oxford University Press

Turnbull, D.K.M. (1990) Thomas White: Eighteenth Century Landscape Designer and Arboriculturalist, PhD Thesis, University of Hull

Turner, S. (2013) Landscape Archaeology IN Howard, P., Thompson, I. & Waterton, E. (2013) *The Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies,* Routledge, Abingdon, pp152-165

Tyldesley, D & Assocs (2001) *Landscape Studies of The Heart of Neolithic Orkney World Heritage Site*. Commissioned Report No. F00LA01A, Scottish Natural Heritage

UCL Department of History (2018), website for the Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slave-ownership, http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/ (accessed 26 April 2018)

United Nations (1992) Convention on Biological Diversity https://www.cbd.int/doc/legal/cbd-en.pdf

UNESCO (1972) *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, adopted 16 November 1972, Paris https://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf

UNESCO (2003) *Cultural Landscapes: the Challenges of Conservation,* Congress Report, UNESCO, Paris https://whc.unesco.org/en/series/7/

UNESCO (2018) *World Heritage Convention Website*, https://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/ accessed 29 July 2018

Van der Knaap, W. & Van der Valk, A. (Eds) (2006) *Multiple Landscape: Merging Past and Present,* selected papers from the Fifth International Workshop on Sustainable Land Use Planning, 7 - 9 June 2004, ISOMUL, Wageningen

Van der Knaap, W. & Van der Valk, A. (2006) Managing Past and Present in Landscape Planning: An Introduction, IN Van der Knaap, W. & Van der Valk, A. (Eds) (2006) *Multiple Landscape: Merging Past and Present,* selected papers from the Fifth International Workshop on Sustainable Land Use Planning, 7 - 9 June 2004, ISOMUL, Wageningen, pp 9-19

Van Dijk, T. A. (2001) Critical Discourse Analysis, IN Schriffrin, D., Tannen, D. & Hamilton H. (Eds) (2001) *Handbook of Discourse Analysis,* Blackwell, Oxford, pp 352-371

Veale L. & Endfield G.H. (2016) Situating 1816, the 'year without summer' in the UK, *The Geographical Journal* 182, 318-330

VisitScotland (2017) *Scotland's Visitor Survey* 2015 & 2016 http://www.visitscotland.org/pdf/LongVersionScotlandVisitorSurvey2015-16-250417.pdf

VisitScotland Latest Statistics web page http://www.visitscotland.org/research_and_statistics/tourismstatistics/latest_statistics.aspx (accessed 3 July 2018)

Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. & Yates, S. J. (2001) *Discourse as Data: A Guide for Analysis*, Open University, Milton Keynes

Whatmore, S (2005) Chapter 1: Culture-Nature IN Cloke, P, Crang, P & Goodwin, M (2005) *Introducing Human Geographies*, second edition, Hodder

Whyte, I. D. (2002) *Landscape and History Since 1500,* Reaktion Books, London

Whyte, N. (2015) Senses of Place, Senses of Time: Landscape History from a British Perspective, *Landscape Research Vol 40, pp 925-938*

Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (Eds) (2009) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, SAGE publications Ltd, London, Second Edition

Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (Eds) (2009) Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory and Methodology, IN Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (Eds) (2009) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, pp 1-33

Wylie J. (2007) *Landscape*, London and New York, Routledge

Yin, R. K. (2009) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Applied Social Research Methods Series, SAGE Publications Inc, London