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CAN SIMPLE TOOLS FOR MAPPING LANDSCAPE VALUE CONVEY INSIDER PERSPECTIVES?

**ANDREW BUTLER, MALIN ERIKSSON AND
ULLA BERGLUND**

Abstract

The rhetoric of landscape planning increasingly speaks of landscape as a perceived entity, an understanding that is reliant on those who directly engage and experience the landscape. Yet it is an expert or outsider's view, which tends to dominate in landscape planning. In this paper, we address multiple values in the landscape, using the Pin Mapping of Values approach. Through revealing a complex mosaic of values across the landscape, we question how an understanding of this complexity can inform planning and highlight potential conflicts in the landscape. We also use the Pin Mapping of Values approach to question the relevance of simple tools for attaining complex knowledge. We conclude that simple tools can provide important knowledge on the landscape, for informing expert assessments, highlighting and legitimising potentially conflicting landscape values. Although limited in its scope, this study reveals the potential for such approaches to influence professional landscape assessments constructively.

Keywords:

Landscape values, participatory mapping, knowledge, landscape assessment.

Introduction

This paper engages with the claim that landscape planners deal only to a limited extent with the multiple values attached to landscape (Mason and Milbourne, 2014; Stephenson, 2008). This claim is in part grounded on a gap between the official rhetoric of landscape, and how landscape is handled in practice (Conrad, et al., 2011). While official rhetoric and academia frequently conceptualise landscape as a perceived and lived entity, planning practice tends to focus on its physicality (Butler, 2016; Conrad, et al., 2011). In this paper, we consider the values that insiders attach to the landscape and discuss how they can be incorporated into the planning process. We created the tool, Pin Mapping of Values (PMV), a form of participatory mapping, to engage with the discussion on alternative and subordinate landscape related values. Consequently, the twin aims of this paper are to gain an understanding of the diversity and dispersal of landscape-related values in an “every day landscape”, and secondly to examine how simple tools can be used to understand the complexity of landscape values. We consider that this can help to inform the discussion on the values attached to individual landscapes, develop the conceptualisation of landscape and finally and more practically highlight how this can support and supplement professional landscape assessments. Consequently, the research questions we pose are both theoretical – how are landscape values recognised in academic studies; and empirical – which values are recognised in a landscape, and can they be attained in a simple process?

The paper begins by explaining the conceptual framework for the study, looking at the significance of “insider” values, and how this knowledge can be attained. The Pin Mapping of Values method, founded on this conceptual framework, is then outlined and the initial test of the method through a case in eastern Sweden is described. The results of this test are then presented followed by a discussion of the implications for developing a clearer understanding of landscape values in the planning process.

Insider/outsider knowledge

Landscape development exposes conflicting interests and values between those who experience the landscape first hand and accredited experts, planning agents and political actors (Strang, 1997). Such conflicts have traditionally been reduced to a struggle between “universal civic good” and the “self-interests” of the local populace. In such situations the values of those dwelling in the landscape are often trivialised as irrational and seen as disruptive to “essential” development (Gibson, 2005; McClymont and O’Hare, 2008) as opposed to the perceived rationality of experts (Baum, 2015; Burningham, 2000). This creates a dichotomy between what is recognised as “welcome” or “unwelcome” contributions to planning as a democratic process (McClymont and O’Hare;

2008, Burningham, 2000). In such cases, public views may be relegated to antagonistic opinions to be managed and ultimately depoliticised through planning processes (Pløger, 2004; Hillier, 2003; Gibson, 2005).

Yet, the myth of absolute knowledge and infallibility of the expert has increasingly been brought into question (Reed, 2008; Gibson, 2005). As landscape is increasingly considered an entity perceived by the public (Council of Europe, 2000), all members of the populace are recognised as “experts” on the landscape (Jones, 2007). The perceptions, experiences and aspirations of those who encounter the landscape directly are equally justified bearers of values as is the knowledge held by experts (Ingold, 2000; 2011). As the idea of the expert as “all knowing” diminishes, the contrast between what is seen as rational/civic interests and irrational/special interests become distorted (Gibson, 2005).

Similarly, the naive dichotomy between insider and outsider knowledge has been drawn into question. The discussion on knowledge forms (Raymond, et al., 2010; 2014) exposes an oversimplification of the idea of local knowledge as equal to experiential understanding of a place. Raymond, et al (2010) summarise that local knowledge also constitutes local experts and therefore represents different points on continuums; i.e. the local to general; informal to formal; novice to expert; tacit to explicit.

The benefits of engaging local citizens are well documented. These include producing outcomes that reflect local interests; providing solutions better adapted to the local conditions; and increasing the likelihood that local needs are catered for (Howard, 2004; Jones, 2007; Reed, 2008). Consequently, the durability and quality of decisions can be enhanced, if the considerations of those directly affected are taken into account. Engaging with individuals and communities who inhabit an area, results in them developing a greater sense of identification with the local area and increased likelihood of engaging with local landscape issues (Buchecker, Hunziker and Kienast, 2003). Accordingly, informed intervention in the landscape through protection, planning or management is reliant on engaging with the populace and understanding the values of those who experience a landscape (Jones, 2007).

The conflicting views between individuals residing in the landscape and those championing the “civil good” persist (Devine-Wright, 2009; Gibson, 2005; McClymont and O’Hare, 2008). Taking only a professional or outsider view of landscape, built on expert values, results in an entity imposed on the public. The specialist becomes the “owner” of the landscape. It is this sectoral view, an abstraction of the landscape, which comes to represent the whole, leading to an impoverished understanding of the values that constitute landscape (Ingold, 2011; Howard, 2013). Consequently, giving privilege to certain values at the expense of others defines who the landscape is planned for (Thompson, 2000).

When addressing landscape as a physical surface viewed by outsiders, the nature of what informs decision-making goes unquestioned, landscape is handled as a neutral entity. This raises the issue of whether landscape planners have the tools for addressing landscape as more than an objective outsider's experience of the visual surface (Butler, 2016). While tools for dealing with landscape alter with changing conceptualisations of landscape, the concept of landscape is itself altered by how those tools are used. Tools define which values are recognised and dictate the substantive context in which they operate, perpetuating the dominant discourse on which the tools are built. This raises the need to reflect on how landscape is valued and understood, and as a result, which approaches, or tools are most suitable for addressing landscape. Such a reflection requires those making decisions affecting landscapes to be aware of the potential nature and range of values (Stephenson, 2008), and in turn, the conflicts that can arise from ignoring these values.

Landscape values

Landscape values are developed by individuals and communities in relation to the landscape and are defined by those who perceive them (Jones, 2009; Butler, 2016). They are created out of the cultural contexts of a specific time and place (Stephenson, 2008) and infused with earlier experiences (Tuan, 1977). Landscape values are linked to the characteristics and qualities that have significance to those engaging with the landscape. Individuals relate different values to the landscape dependent on their engagement and connections (Dakin, 2003; Scott, et al., 2009), their cultural context, ideologies and history (Stephenson, 2008; Jones, 2009; Eiter, 2010) as well as temporal factors which impact on experience (Geelmuyden and Fiskevold, 2013). The values drawn upon also depend on the issue at hand (Castells, 1997). The multiplicity of individuals and their means of engaging with the landscape develop a vast array of diverse and potentially conflicting values (Stephenson, 2008).

However, inhabiting the same place and similar social context develops "roots" providing certain shared ways of perceiving and communicating the landscape (Paasi, 2002); providing shared values, which are given legitimacy through dynamic interactions in everyday life (Stephenson, 2008; Jones, 2009). In drawing on their own ideals and beliefs, individuals tap into collective meanings, providing the framework on which cultural values are constructed (Strang, 1997); shared values which are subsequently given legitimacy within the community through relationships in everyday life (Jones, 2009; Stephenson, 2008).

While there is a wealth of values connected to the landscape, those which planners address tend to be based on landscape as an objective unit of analysis, relying on physicality and a certain visual aesthetics (Butler, 2016). Values generated by the physicality provide an impression

of landscape, yet the physicality represents only part of the image. However, the physical and visual aspects of landscape can act as a common anchor for exploring the intangible and differing values (Nassauer, 2012). Consequently, landscape values *can* be utilised as a bridge between the physicality of landscape and the relationships individuals and communities have with the landscape (Stedman, 2003). Ultimately, these values can help to identify land use opportunities consistent with the multitude of views and preferences present in a given landscape (Brown, 2004).

Mapping values

A wide variety of approaches has been utilised to attain landscape values, both qualitative and quantitative (Raymond, et al, 2010). An approach that has gained increased focus over recent decades is Public Participatory Geographical Information Systems (PPGIS). PPGIS is seen as a means to negotiate the multitude of categories of knowledge and enhance public involvement (Brown and Kytta, 2014). The term PPGIS was initially conceived in the mid-1990s to encompass a variety of methods for engaging the public in attaining geographical information relevant to them. These early approaches were paper based yet have developed significantly over the ensuing years driven by technological advancements (Brown, 2015) and epistemological developments (Brown and Kytta 2014; Brown and Fagerholm, 2015).

Over the past decades PPGIS has been utilised for a wide variety of applications relating to landscape values (see Brown & Fagerholm, 2015) including: informing tourism planning (Strickland-Munro, et al., 2016); highlighting land use conflicts (Brown and Raymond, 2014); gaining an understanding of place attachment (Brown, Raymond and Corcoran, 2015) and realising indigenous values in conservation planning (Ramirez-Gomez, et al., 2016). It is the burgeoning research on PPGIS, which has influenced our own approach.

Methodological considerations

The main empirical focus of this research is to see the spread of landscape values that local residents attach to their surroundings. The methodological focus was to undertake this in a simple, accessible and reliable manner (Butler and Berglund, 2014). The starting point was to question how much meaningful information relating to everyday landscape values can be expressed and interpreted by placing pins on a map i.e. how much information can be expressed and interpreted from a single point of data. Consequently, we developed a categorisation, which captured the spectrum of values.

Our categorisation built on the work of numerous researchers who have addressed landscape values and the related issue of place meaning typologies. These works include Brown's use of landscape values to

address place attachment (Brown, 2004; Brown and Raymond, 2007), Davenport and Anderson's (2005) categorisation relating to sense of place, and Stephenson's (2008) cultural landscape values model. We consolidated the wide variety of values identified by these researchers in a way that would be meaningful and accessible for the public. The relation between the categories and values identified in literature study is presented in Table 1. These categories predominantly represent activities, informing how landscape is used. Consequently, what is brought into focus is how people engage with the landscape, encapsulating land use in a broad sense; linking values to more than just the physical land-cover.

Categories for personally significant places			
PMV	Brown (2004) Brown and Raymond (2007)	Davenport and Anderson (2005)	Stephenson (2008)
Physical activities Summer and winter activities; swimming, cross-country skiing etc. and also included spontaneous meetings	recreation value		Activities, Walking and exploring
Foraging and consumption hobby growing, foraging, fishing etc.	Therapeutic, Recreation		Activities, Land-based activities, Practices
Viewing points places which are viewed by individuals as significant for looking at the landscape	Aesthetic/scenic value, Special places	Enjoyment, Scenic beauty	Scenery, Beauty, Aesthetics
Places important for experiencing the environment where the surrounding itself is the most significant element, passive activities, looking at nature or people – contemplative	Recreation, Aesthetic/scenic, Intrinsic, Therapeutic, Wilderness	Enjoyment, Scenic beauty, Undisturbed, Rural, Solitude, Escape, Freedom	Beauty, Aesthetics, Sensory impressions, Sense of history
Categories for commonly significant places			
Outdoor organised activities sporting activities, child groups and group activities		Enjoyment, Share with others	Activities
Places for special occasions celebrating holiday, mid-summer etc. or places recognised as significant for parties, weddings etc.	Spiritual		Family connections, Spirituality, Traditional activities
Landmarks relates to objects which gain their importance for orientation or for understanding the cultural context of the area, for example buildings or landforms which are highly visible and/or have a symbolic value	Heritage	Share with others	Symbols, Vernacular forms, Human-made features, Historic and archaeological features, Meanings, Natural features/landforms

Table 1. Pin Mapping of Values (PMV) Categories

Additional methodological considerations included the decision to distinguish between children and adults during the mapping, as children are recognised as being more influenced by, reliant and dependent on their near environment (Westman, et al., 2013). We also focused on identifying and mapping points, as they are recognised as being less cognitively challenging than defining and mapping areas as polygons (Brown and Pullar, 2012).

Case – Lindö

The categorisation which we defined acted as the basis for the PMV approach; a map-based questionnaire used to gain an understanding of the values which the population attach to the landscape.



Figure 1
Lindö context



Figure 2
Photo of the study area. View to the
northeast across the residential area of
Lindö towards Bråviken.



The study formed part of a larger project looking at how landscape assessment in infrastructure projects can be improved. Consequently, an area was required which was under consideration for infrastructure development and represented an “everyday landscape”. The study focused on Lindö (figures 1, 2 and 3 2), an area, which would potentially be impacted by a new road development.

Figure 3
Photo of the study area. View to the northwest across the residential area of Lindö towards industry and petro-chemical works.

Lindö is a residential area on the eastern outskirts of Norrköping in the east of Sweden, covering 321 hectares. The area is home to 4,915 residents (SCB, 2013) and is dominated by suburban villa housing with a small number of multi-story apartment buildings. The topography through the area is a “skärgårdslandskap” (a raised coastal island landscape) with isolated outcrops of granite protruding up to 46m above sea level. As well as housing, Lindö includes areas of forest, agricultural land and a marina with accompanying recreational facilities. Contained within the woodland and sitting adjacent to Bråviken is Abborreberg, recognised for its historical, cultural and recreational significance (Länsstyrelsen Östergötland, 2001).

The area is defined to the north east by Bråviken, an extensive bay, which reaches out to the Baltic. In the north, the boundary is Lindö canal, separating the residential area from a logistic centre, petro-chemical works and harbour facilities. To the west there is low, flat wetland,

separating Lindö from the industrial fringe of Norrköping. The southern and eastern boundaries are less well defined, the south opening onto agricultural land, while to the east the boundary blends into neighbouring woodland areas.

Data collection and sampling

The data collection was undertaken on a weekend in early October 2011, outside the local supermarket. The location was chosen with the purpose of capturing a broad spectrum of the population in a neutral place on their own terms. Posters were put up around the area two weeks prior to the data collection to raise awareness of the event. Fortuitously, a local sporting organisation had organised a small fund-raising event on the same day, which increased the number of people in the area.

Both personally and commonly important places were mapped on to A1 colour maps (851mm x 594mm) at a scale of 1:4500, showing the entirety of the built settlement and what was considered to represent the immediate surroundings extending beyond the administrative boundaries of Lindö (as defined by the researchers). The maps were a hybrid between a satellite photo and property map (Fastighetskartan), to provide added clarity for orientation by emphasising the roads and built structures (see Figure 1).

Places of significance were mapped by the participants placing different colour coded pins onto the map, from the categories outlined in Table 1. Participants were invited to use as many pins as they saw appropriate. Pins placed by children were differentiated from adults by including a star. The information gathered was subsequently digitised using Arc Map GIS to facilitate easier analysis of the data.

In total 95 individuals placed pins on the different maps, 35 people on the Friday and 60 on the Saturday. The composition of those involved in the three-hour test on the Saturday is shown in Table 2. As the study undertaken on the Friday partly served as a pilot study to test the practicalities, there was not the opportunity for a proper categorisation of participants. 400 pins were placed on the two maps; 256 on the map “Personally significant places” (see table 3) and 144 on the map “Commonly significant places” (see table 4).

Total	Children -17 years			Female				Males			
	Girls	Boys	Total	18-40	41-65	65+	Total	18-40	41-65	65+	Total
60	9	3	12	9	8	7	24	4	7	13	24

Table 2 Participants 1 October 2011

The resulting maps were analysed to identify grouping of pins for individual and collective values. There were three main foci of the analysis:

- Clusters of same category pins to identify hotspots for certain values.
- Clusters of different category pins, revealing multifunctional landscapes plus diverse and possibly conflicting values.
- Individual pins pointing to aspects in the landscape, which would be easily overlooked from an outsider's, map-based analysis or observation of use of the area.

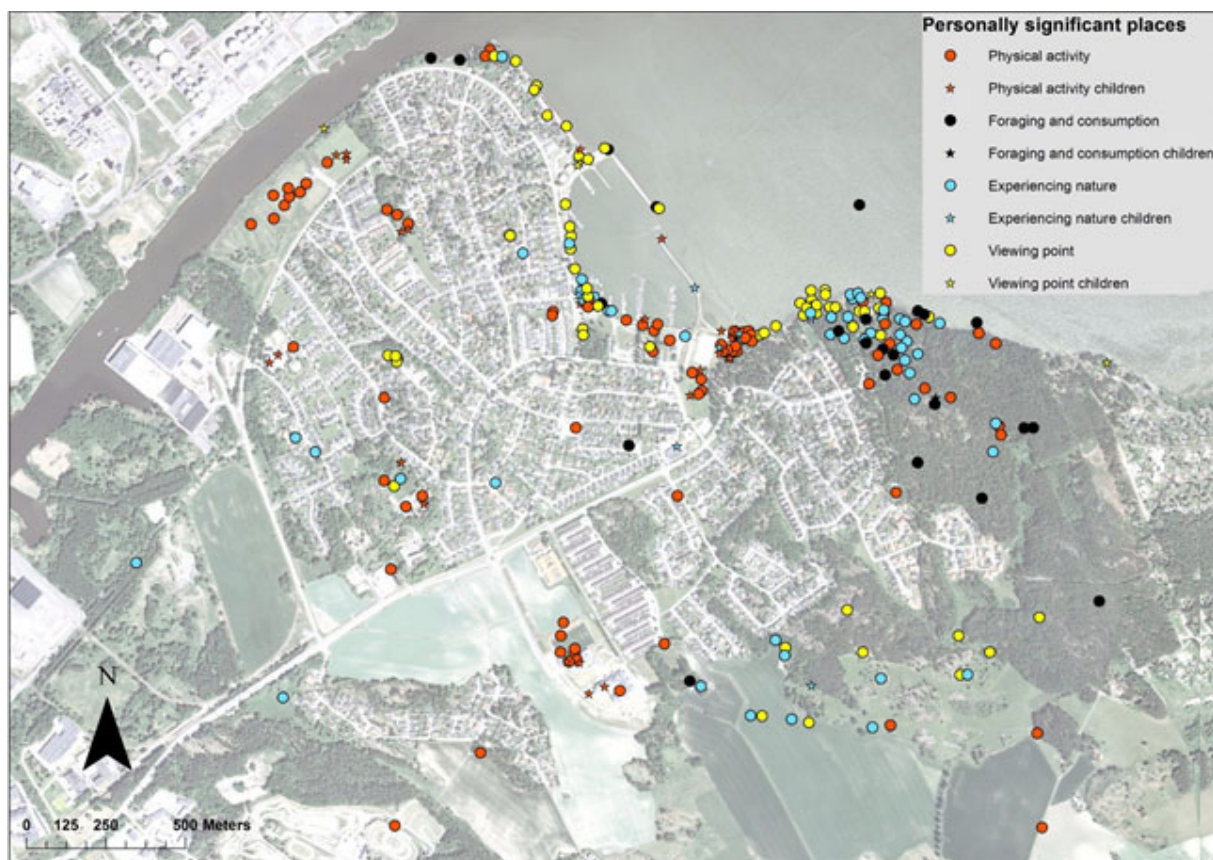
Results

Of the 256 pins placed on the map for "Personally significant place", 42 were placed by children (see Table 3 and Figure 4).

- The greatest number in total of all pins was for physical activities. These tended to be placed around sporting facilities (football fields, tennis courts, terrain exercise tracks); the bathing area and club facilities around the harbour, however sledging hills and numerous isolated points were also identified.
- Both viewing points and places important for experiencing the environment were extensively marked on the map.
- Viewpoints were predominantly recognised along the water's edge and positions providing a prospect over the landscape.
- Experiencing the environment was seen as significant along the water's edge and around an area with an official recognition as a cultural landscape. However, there was also an abundance of pins representing cultural significance around a grazed landscape in the south of the assessment area.
- Foraging and consumption, which reflect the cultural significance of foraging in Sweden, was recognised primarily in the woodland (berries and mushrooms) and along the water's edge (fishing).

Physical activities (red pins)		Foraging and consumption (black pins)		Viewing points (yellow pins)		Places important for experiencing the environment (turquoise pins)	
Total	Children	Total	Children	Total	Children	Total	Children
112 (43.5%)	29	23 (9.5%)	1	58 (24.5%)	5	50 22.5%	7

Table 3 Table of personally significant places



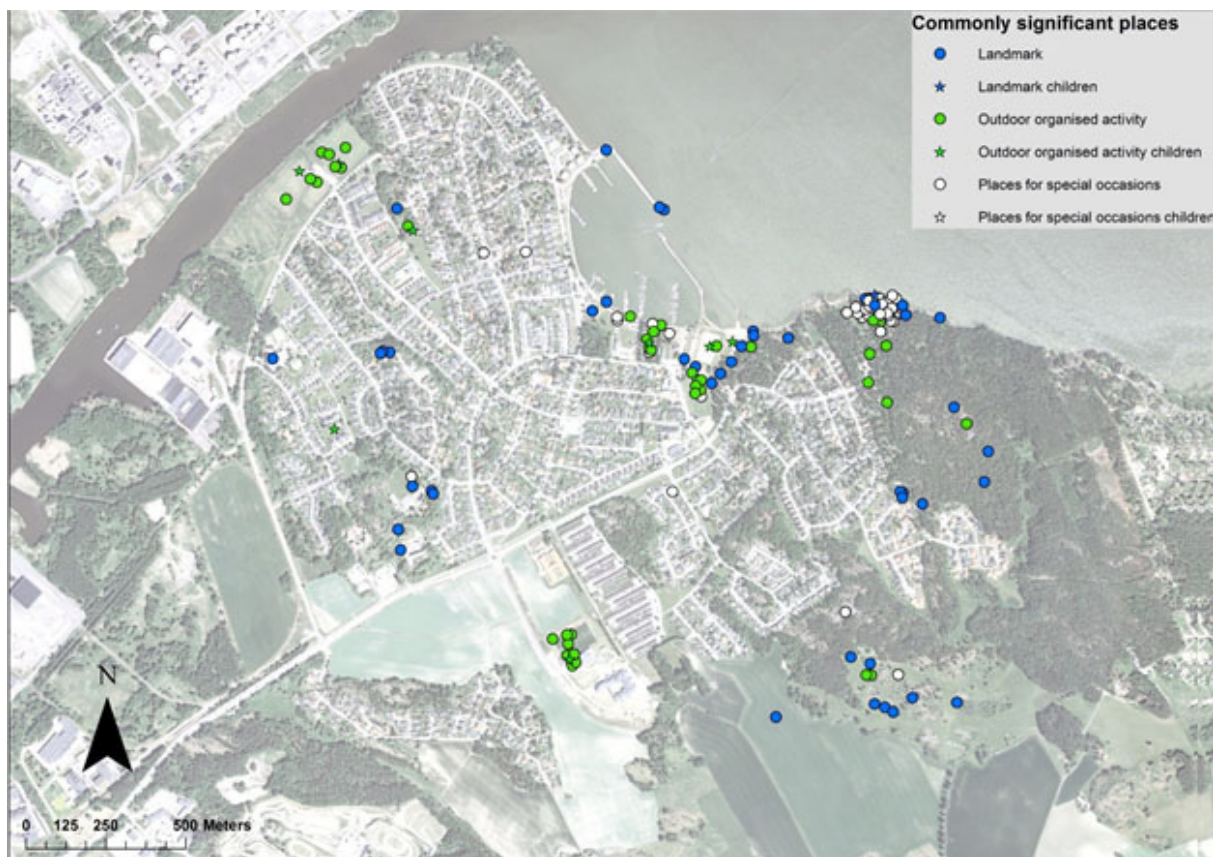
Of the 144 pins marked on the map for “commonly significant places”, 13 were placed by children (see table 4 and figure 5).

- The category “organised outdoor activity”, which was most widely recognised by children, elicited a similar response to individual, physical activities, predominantly recognising sporting and club facilities.
- The majority of respondents who recognised “places for special occasions” placed pins on the cultural landscape around Abborreberg, or the club facilities around the harbour.
- Landmarks provided the most diverse dispersal of pins on the map, with no clear focus.

Figure 4
Personally significant places

Organised outdoor activities (green pins)		Places for special occasions (white pins)		Landmarks (blue pins)	
Total	Children	Total	Children	Total	Children
53 (37%)	10	44 (30.5%)	2	47 (32.5%)	1

Table 4. Table of commonly significant places

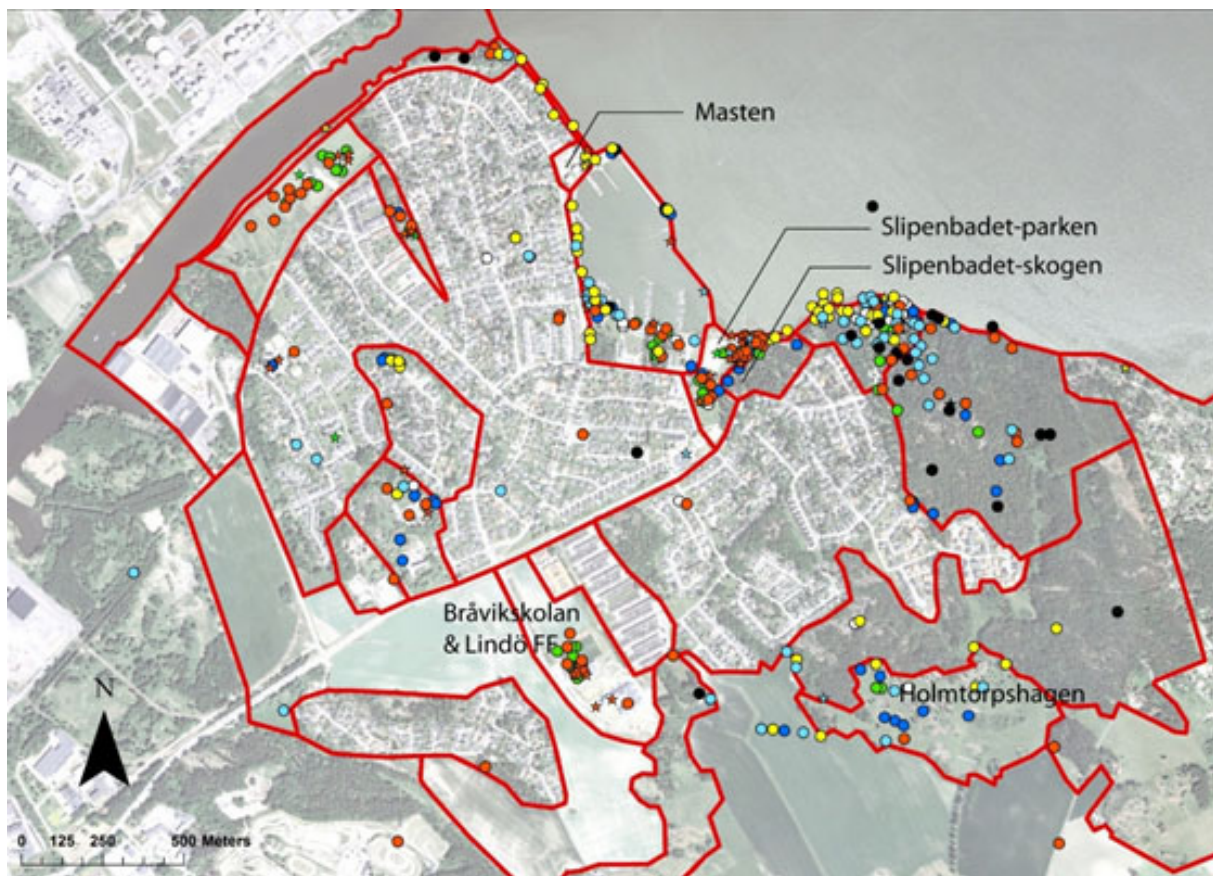


The results reveal localised clustering of similar values in specific areas, these values tend to be self-evident, i.e. around sports facilities (physical activity and organised activity); prominent vistas. These examples relied predominantly on the physicality and visual aspects of the area, but at the same time show that many sites have multiple values. The general clustering for commonly and personally significant places were quite similar. However, outside of the clustered groups there was more variety and spread of pins, especially those representing personally significant places. Thus, it was highlighted that the categories defined as having collective value were overall commonly recognised places.

Figure 5
Commonly significant places

The diversity of values recognised across the landscape varied greatly (Figure 6). *Bråvikskolan and Lindö FF*, a newly developed area comprising of football facilities and a school, was marked by 23 pins divided between organised activities and individual physical activity. A secondary sports facility in the northwest of the area received similar focus. Although these were intensely marked areas, there was minimal diversity. By contrast, the area called Holmtorpshagen was marked with 18 pins representing six different categories, revealing the diversity of this area. A similar image is evident along the waterfront and the areas marked as Slipenbadet. The areas with high numbers of single values in this case tend to represent uniform landscapes with values that may be transferable to another location, while areas with multiple values speak both of a more complex landscape, but also of the possibility of conflicts. However, the fact that many areas received no pin markings can hardly be interpreted as though there are no values in these areas, it is rather an issue of scale attribution (Brown and Kytä, 2014) and formulation of question. However, this raises the question of how to recognise the values of these blank spaces.

Figure 6
Pin value overlaid on landscape character assessment of the area, highlighting clustering in relation to expert defined landscape.



Analysis and discussion

From the number of responses, it was the physical activities, which were frequently recorded. We acknowledge that factors other than activities are fundamental for landscape values, for example social and historical links. Yet activities represent how individuals directly engage with landscape as well as hinting at customs related to that landscape. The activities and practices are themselves constructed and dependent on the immaterial laws and customs, which lie on the land (Eiter, 2010; De Certeau, 1984), as well as the physicality. The landscape is formed by these activities, at the same time the landscape informs activities that can be undertaken; activities become enablers for social interactions and historic connections (Scott, et al., 2009). In this light, while the values conveyed provide an understanding of the activities, they also hint at the social customs, which underlie these practices (Olwig, 2005; Eiter 2010). Consequently, an understanding of the activities in an area speaks of the identity of those who inhabit/experience that place (Butler, et al., 2017). However, it must be recognised that such simple approaches miss the narrative based understanding contained within the history and myths of the area, the “embedded” values (Stephenson, 2008) as well as the local expert knowledge.

From the individual categories, the most ambiguous data came from the points representing landmarks. Although this category was defined by the research team as *commonly* significant places, the pins were dispersed across the study area and appeared to lack common focus. It is possible that this category and the description of it were too abstract, leading to uncertainty in mapping and interpretation of the mapped data. However, these results also raise the question of how COMMON commonly recognised landmarks are, and whether elements for orientation are in fact individual and therefore diverse. As Lynch (1960) notes, landmarks change over time and with familiarity with an area, as values become embedded.

The pins placed on the map represent where values are located, but not the true meanings of those values. The pins also represent a phenomenon with a spatial dimension, yet provide information on points rather than areas, the size and form of which are unknown. This requires the discretion of those interpreting the maps, relying on aggregation of multiple points and use of professional knowledge to define clusters of values. However, it can also be argued that unlike an area, which is constructed with diffuse boundaries, the point shows the focus for the values. Brown and Pullar (2012) identify that a large sample is needed to be able to correlate areas from points. Nevertheless, seeing how values relate to each other geographically creates awareness of the plurality, which exists in the landscape. As such, mapping points can be utilised as a means for awareness raising about landscape, a way of identifying and communicating the diversity of values to outsiders (Butler and Åkerskog,

2014). When such approaches are undertaken in the public domain, this can create an arena for discussion and develop a common understanding of a landscape (Raymond, et al, 2014).

Additional methodological considerations included the decision to distinguish between children and adults during the mapping. It is clear from our study that the number of pins placed by children was insufficient to make any solid conclusions from this study. Even so, it can be observed that the values they associated to place tended to relate to organised activities. We cannot assume that these are the only relations, which children have to the landscape. The results more but point to a lack of sophistication in the approach for engaging with children. Consequently, we conclude that surveys aimed at children need to be amended to address the specifics of their connections with the landscape.

As outlined in the method section, we required that our approach be simple, inclusive, fair and reliable. Yet, while such simple approaches broaden the understanding of landscape values, it appears that striving for simplicity and inclusiveness misses values, creating a skewed discourse on landscape. Such approaches elicit a static image missing the temporality of values and presenting a landscape that is free from power issues (Raymond, et al., 2014).

Nevertheless, the PMV approach provides an *initial* questioning of power, lifting aspects which are often absent from landscape planning, aspects which differ from official rhetoric and have the potential to disrupt dominant discourses (Isaksson, Richardson and Olsson, 2009). Justifying alternative values at an early stage can diffuse the negativity attributed to locals, as exemplified in the “not in my back yard” (NIMBY) rhetoric. By redressing which values are recognised in a landscape, simple methods provide the opportunity for reflection on how a landscape is dealt with in the assessment and subsequent planning stages. Questioning how people engage with their landscape expands the discourse and understanding of landscape beyond that of a physical resource. We see that tools such as the PMV can open discussions regarding what landscape means in planning, making practitioners reflect on their own views as well as providing information on individual landscapes through engagement of the public.

Early engagement helps to foster a sense of ownership in the process and ultimately rights to and responsibility for the landscape (Jones, 2007; Reed, 2008). Coming in early in the assessment process provides the opportunity to inform the practitioners/researcher’s understanding of the landscape (Conrad, et al., 2011). Yet the quality of decisions made is reliant on the extent to which the information can be used (Reed, 2008). Therefore, although the information can be transferred into a landscape assessment, there is no guarantee that this knowledge will

directly influence the planning process. With the information from an approach such as PMV there is no guarantee regarding the way in which it would be handled later in the planning process, however providing the information in a format, which is compatible with other planning material, enhances the likelihood of acceptance. With such simple approaches as PMV, the involvement of the public does not go beyond consultation and the consequence of this must be considered when the information attained is used. However, the PMV focuses on the landscape and questions the public's values, rather than seeking verification of expert values (Butler and Berglund, 2014). This approach allows an expression of public values to be incorporated early in the assessment process, thus helping to inform and frame the experts' work (Scott, 2002).

Approaches such as the PMV move beyond the visual and physical, which currently dominate landscape assessments (Stephenson, 2008; Butler, 2016). Mapping landscape related values recognised by residents of the area presents a more nuanced understanding of the landscape, for subsequent landscape assessments, providing an awareness of the complexity rather than giving a definitive image of the landscape; a base for questioning and further investigation. Consequently, PPGIS approaches such as PMV function as tools for supplementing existing assessment approaches (see Brabyn, 2009), through acknowledging the diversity of values tied to a landscape.

Conclusion

While rhetoric of policy and academic discussions lift the relevance of multiple values, and the values, the public attach to their surroundings, it is the tools to engage with these values that can make the rhetoric of the ELC into a viable proposition. Landscape assessment provides the opportunity to access the diversity of values attached to the landscape, while allowing them to inform the planning process. This creates space for conflicting views and opinions to be recognised and legitimised early in the planning process, rather than being reduced to what could be viewed as counterproductive NIMBY issues, once decisions have been made. Consequently, the assessment has the opportunity to justify local values, bringing them into an official discourse (Butler and Åkerskog, 2014). Lifting alternative values moves landscape away from being a commodifiable space and landscape assessments become a means for addressing and discussing conflicting values.

If the gap between the rhetoric of the ELC and practice of landscape planners (Conrad, et al., 2011; Butler and Åkerskog, 2014) is to be addressed, then tools, which provide the opportunity to identify the diversity of values of those engaging with the landscape, need to be advanced. Both easy to deploy approaches such as the PMV, which gives a shallow yet broad overview of landscape values, as well as more in-depth pseudo-

anthropological approaches are needed to understand the landscape. A tool such as PMV provides a snapshot of how the public attach values to the landscape and offers a basis for recognising the conflicts, which may be present or arise.

If all are indeed seen as stakeholders in the landscape, then all have the right to be heard (Jones, 2007). An approach such as the PMV allows a multitude of voices to be expressed, albeit at a superficial level. Such an approach nevertheless presents a basis for realising the complexity, which exists in the landscape; as such resources can be allocated to areas where conflicting values may occur or for addressing the areas where perceived values are absent.

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