Farms between Past and Future

Local perspectives for farm planning, design and the new production of landscape values

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Abstract

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Agricultural landscapes of today are expected to produce and maintain non-commercial landscape values. To fulfil these demands, new ways of dealing with landscape planning are required. The main aim of this thesis was to identify landscape values for preservation and development. To reach these aims, several studies focusing on different aspects of farms have been carried out.

In a marginal part of Southern Sweden, 13 neighbouring farms were studied to identify similarities and differences in the use of trees and shrubs over the past 100 years. Interview walks with farmers were conducted, during which placing and management of woody species on the respective farms were discussed. In three of these farms, the interview walks were followed by elicitation discussions regarding repeated photographs taken within a period of 30 years. The detected landscape changes were discussed and used as a basis for ideas on future management. In a farm close to the urban fringe, the possible advantages of a design-approach to integrate different landscape values, such as biodiversity, cultural heritage, recreation and aesthetics, were studied. Also asking landscape architect students to design farm plans for this particular farm and thereafter analysing these plans, was a way to see if landscape architects will be suitable professionals for the task of designing multifunctional farmland. The thesis also includes a discussion on the concept of authenticity to extend the range of possible ways to handle heritage issues and its meaning for future management options.

The results show that farms have been managed very differently and that a general conservation programme is not suitable to deal with the variation of existing values. From my studies, I conclude that the specialities of the place and farmer participation are important components in the process of identifying such values and making management priorities. For the best results, a combination of experts and a creative approach to find suitable solutions for each place is necessary. To let students of relevant disciplines meet in the education would facilitate integration and make implementations in future management and planning more efficient.

Keywords: authenticity, design, farmer, farm planning, interview-walks, landscape architects, landscape values, local perspective, multifunctionality, repeated photography, trees and shrubs.

To Östen, my grandmothers brother

Thank you for giving me my interest in the semi open agricultural landscape, my love for animals, and for teaching me my first steps of waltz on the stable floor in Östervik.

This is for you and all your fellow farmers of the 20th Century.

Those who had to give up the inherited farm.

And those who had the possibility to turn it over into new hands.

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Paper I

Has the generalisation regarding conservation of trees and shrubs in Swedish agricultural landscapes gone too far?

Anna Peterson

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Paper II

Authenticity in landscape conservation and management

- the importance of the local context

Roland Gustavsson & Anna Peterson

Published 2003 in Palang, H. & Fry, G. (Eds.) Landscape Interfaces. Cultural Heritage in Changing Landscapes. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers Pp. 319-356.

Paper III

Photo-elicitation with repeated photography in landscape management - A method for remembering the past, observing changes and inspiring the future

Anna Peterson & Mårten Aronsson

Manuscript submitted to Landscape Research in February 2006.

Paper IV

Designing farmland for multifunctionality Christine Schneider, Gary Fry & Anna Peterson Manuscript submitted to Landscape Research in February 2006.

Paper V

Farm planning: Using design approaches to integrate landscape values
- an analysis of a landscape architect students task
Anna Peterson, Gary Fry, Christine Schneider & Roland Gustavsson
Manuscript submitted to Journal of Environmental Management May 2005.

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Introduction

In the following chapter I will describe the context in with my research have emerged and how the thesis has developed over time, along with its aims and boundaries.

Background

Over recent decades, Swedish agriculture has changed its direction. For thousands of years agriculture has been producing food and other utilities, but recent agricultural policies are driving a development in which the landscape itself is a product of importance for people's quality of life and for biodiversity. The current agricultural landscape is a new product that is in increasing demand by consumers, and the production of the landscape itself contains both physical and mental values (Myrdal, 2001; Kumm, 2002). The present landscape structures are the remains of different processes throughout history (Gustavsson, 1999; Lowenthal, 1999; Vos & Meekes, 1999). In Sweden, few traces are left of ancient landscape structures from before the major land consolidations in the 19th Century, whereas land use pattern and structures from the enclosure in the 19th Century and later rationalisation processes are still very noticeable.

The growing awareness of the threats to valuable agricultural landscapes is not only a Swedish issue. In a global perspective, an increasing number of agricultural landscapes are being placed on the UNESCO World Heritage List (www 1). At a European level, the European Landscape Convention (www 2), which was introduced in March 2004¹, urges its contracting states to protect the landscape and its values. In Sweden, farmers are currently able to obtain subsidies for managing and protecting the agricultural landscape². The EU is currently promoting national programmes for the preservation of landscapes, species, biotopes, monuments and place-names (www 3). Such features used to be considered non-beneficial for the agricultural economy, but now farmers are paid to protect them - and/or use them for a secondary business such as tourism. Today an increasing number of farmers appear to view the landscape as just another product, where they can continue to produce what they get

¹ Not yet signed by Sweden (2006-01-09).

² For a thorough description of grants, rules and subsidies see Thorell, 2005. (In Swedish)

paid for. The local character of an area and its local people is also considered of great importance at many levels, *e.g.* Agenda 21 (www 4) and Swedish management guides.

In Sweden, the most species-rich and accessible agricultural land lies in remote rural areas where few people live (Stenseke, 2004). Here the abandonment of farmland is a major threat, but public accessibility is good since Sweden has the Right of Public Access (www 5) that allows the public the right to roam e.g. pastures and forests. On the other hand, many big cities are situated close to highly productive agricultural areas and place a higher pressure on the biological and cultural historical values of the surrounding agricultural land. This concentration of large cultivated fields to regions where most people live also limits public access to the countryside. In 1999, the Swedish government published the Swedish environmental objectives. These include promoting human health, protecting biodiversity and the cultural heritage, conserving the production ability of ecosystems and maintaining good sustainability of natural resources (www 6). These are good intentions, but it is not clear how they can be implemented in practice, not least when viewed in the context of a single farm. In this process, there is a risk of landscape management losing the connection with the place and its people.

A new kind of production takes time to establish and creates a need for a new kind of knowledge and new advice systems. In addition, the implementation process will require new interdisciplinary research, because there will be a need to identify, interpret and evaluate the preservable values in the landscapes. This will have to be done in a creative practical approach that also involves communication with the farmer and experts (Emmelin, 1998, 2000; Antrop, 2000, 2005; Hanssen, 2000; Olwig 2001; Alumäe *et al.*, 2003; Stenseke, 2004).

The goal of multifunctionality in the landscape can give rise to a range of demands, from both human and non-human lives. These demands may include preservation but also create new features when realising the use of sustainable land in combination with new design ideas (von Haaren, 2002; Howard, 2003). Pinto-Corriea suggests that much more attention, resources and educational training should be given to multifunctionality and interactive studies between disciplines, the subjective and the objective and on different

scale levels (Pinto-Correia, 2000; Pinto-Correia et al. in press). In our wish to preserve much from the past for the future, it is important to remember that the landscape of the present will be part of the heritage for the future (Marcucci, 2000).

Personal background and process

When choosing the topic for my Master's thesis in Landscape Architecture, I decided to work with the old agricultural landscape. The Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (www 7) offered me the chance to work on a farm in the province of Småland, a region characterised by forests and small-scale farming. My Master's thesis consisted of a public exhibition on historical traces in the agricultural landscape. My interest in this type of agricultural landscape originates from childhood summers on my great-uncle's farm in Värmland. I cannot claim I was interested in farm work – apart from the animals and making haystacks and bringing the hay to the barn in a wagon. However, I understood that this practice was something that was disappearing, because the farmers around Stockholm, where I lived, farmed in a different way. I also understood that traditional farming was something that my ancestors had been doing for a long time. Those summers had a lot to do with me later studying history and landscape architecture.

After my degree I worked for some years at different places, including regional authorities, making a conservation plan for the region's biological and cultural values. This was a desk job and consisted of superimposing survey maps over each other to find the most valuable spots. High individual values or many over-lapping values scored, and I marked them on a new map.

When working with these conservation plans, I started to think about the farm in Småland, where I had spent many hours driving and walking around. How would this farm been marked on my plan? What if there were no Red List species³ or ancient Iron Age monuments? Would the farm have been marked for having any values at all? I am sure it had a valuable flora and – in my opinion – a lot of valuable cultural traces. More importantly, however, it had a quite young farmer, it had grazing cows, it had the potential to survive.

³ Species on the Red List are threatened and rare according to international standards (www 8).

These thoughts made me interested in examining the question of what is valuable in Swedish landscape conservation today. What are actually the values in this context? What values are considered important? By whom? And why?

In 1997 I started my postgraduate education at the Department of Landscape Planning, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Alnarp. The project formed part of a larger research programme entitled *The Pastoral* Landscape – Perspectives for Landscape Planning, Landscape Management and Grazing, which focused on semi-natural pastures and involved a number of postgraduate students: biologists, zoologists, economists, agronomists and landscape architects (see Gustavsson, 1995). My study focused on the trees and shrubs and their dynamics during the past century. The aim was to work with the recent history in order to understand the landscape changes. There were old people who had been active in farming in the villages for decades and there were photographs, as private cameras had become more and more frequently used during this period. These became my primary sources, and I left the aerial photos and the cadastral maps and went out into the landscape. I worked in an area called Bråbygden-Krokshult, the same area on which I had written my Master's thesis. Since I was already familiar with the area and some of the local people, it was natural for me to start by interviewing these people.

From encounters with farmers in my childhood and later in different inventory jobs, and also from moving to the Scanian countryside, I knew that farmers have many struggles and choices to make. In my research I tried to view issues from the farmer's perspective, since the practising farmer was the key actor in the questions I set out to investigate about the former, present and future management of the land. I started with the present situation and investigated historical aspects involving the current custodians of the land and their relationship to the landscape.

In my early work I tried to find some general models for what the landscape looked like in the Swedish inlands in the 20th Century. However, on completion of preliminary field studies, the information on species composition, their placing and management turned out to be so different from one farm to another that it was impossible to make general models. The farming methods had influenced these factors in different directions. Still, the crucial question for the understanding of ongoing landscape

changes seemed to be: What happens in the landscape when agricultural subsidies are provided for the conservation of valuable natural and cultural features? After discussions with farmers and regional advisors, I discovered a risk that EU subsidies distributed with the intention to save old values in the Swedish landscape might greatly reduce variation in the landscape. The landscape created during a long period of human influence was being managed in a new way that did not appear to take sufficient account of the history of the place. The need to view the new situation with a critical, open mind became very real when I met farmers who had to change their old farming methods to get their payments. This made me realise the importance of being aware of the specific location and its population.

I started to think of how local considerations could be realised in practice: What if there were no-one left to ask about the site? What about the constant development of agriculture? What would the conservation process leave for the future? Are historically true physical remnants really the best parameter of conservation? And what is a historical truth? Is saving the inherited values the most important task? Why is it always the thing, the object, that attracts attention - why not the thought behind it, the idea? These considerations encouraged me to work with the place perspective in my research. I was chiefly motivated by the insight that general models for landscape development were of limited interest in my work, because place connects to an actor perspective. I tried additional ways to capture the knowledge I required about the place from the locals, e.g. making interview-walks, making new photographs of scenes from old photos and discussing these photopairs with the farmers. The questions I asked were: What had happened? Why? How can this be used in the future management?

The new production of landscape causes difficulties for farmers, since they are accustomed to producing products, not landscape as such. For example, a farmer who was interviewed in the first project had been told by an advisor to remove half a stand of trees on a pasture to get his subsidies. - Which half? the farmer asked. The farmer apparently needed some advice on spatial problems regarding integration of values on his farm. This resulted in a project⁴ on integrated values and communication on farm plans; with ecologists and landscape architects working together on specific farms trying

⁴ "Development of communicative design approach to landscape planning of farmland: building a bridge between the analytic and the design traditions", financed by FORMAS.

to integrate biodiversity, cultural heritage, recreation and aesthetics by using a design approach. In this project we designed farm plans from specific farms on the basis of their intrinsic potential and also involving the farmers. This was somewhat similar to my previous job at the regional authorities, superimposing survey maps to identify the most valuable areas. In this case, however, we did field work, interviewed the farmers and – through the design approach – included the entire farm in the plan and not only the 'hot spots' considered to be the most valuable.

In summary, my original intention was to find models for landscape change, but instead I found people and places. I started by interviewing farmers about the past, but ended up making them integral parts of future farm designs. This process is imperative to my whole thesis, and I think it explains the direction of my work.

*

Eventually, the farm in Småland where I carried out my Master's thesis got marked on the map and the farmer received some attention. Actually, he is the cover boy of this thesis. There are around 20 years between the photos, illustrating the importance of understanding both the landscape and its actors.

Purpose and main objectives

The purpose of the thesis was to explore the development of small-scale agricultural landscapes and their different values in times of change. The main aim was to continue the discussion of how to recognise landscape values and how to develop them into the future. The focus was on the level of the farm, directing special attention to trees and shrubs because of their great importance to visual appearance, cultural heritage and biodiversity. A secondary aim was to implement the local knowledge in the planning process related to conservation and development.

- How does conservation of trees and shrubs today correspond to how they were treated and managed in earlier periods seen from a local perspective? How can the disadvantages of generalisation in landscape conservation be avoided? (Papers I & IV)
- How can the values of a certain place/farm be recognised? Is aiming for historical accuracy always the best solution for the future management? Could an old-fashioned look of the landscape suffice? (Papers I, II, III, IV & V)
- What is authenticity and what are its relationships to other historical aspects? Are the values always connected to physical objects? What should be saved and what should be sacrificed? (Papers II & IV)
- What could a future advisory situation in farm management look like?
 How could local traditions, as something alive and changing, be studied
 and information implemented? What kind of strategies and methods
 could be used to collect information about local traditions?
 (Papers III & IV)
- How can a more multifunctional and contextual approach be achieved in farm plans? How can the different values be integrated in practice? Can landscape architects be used as agricultural advisors in designing farms? (Papers IV & V)

General limitations

In my ambition to study the phenomenon of preservation and development of agricultural landscapes, I chose to work with issues relevant to planning in a changeable landscape. I sought for ways of getting local knowledge and of using this knowledge in farm planning. The ongoing changes in Swedish national policies concerning agricultural landscapes make conservation a central part of development; farmers are being encouraged to adopt a new form of production, the production of landscape. The research arena for this thesis was the agricultural landscape at farm level, with the trees and shrubs on the farm as the particular focus. I chose to work with how to handle values that until recently have been marginal as regards the economic production values of the farm: cultural heritage, biodiversity, aesthetics and recreational value. When considering the production and economics, I relied on farmers' knowledge. My main focus in discussing these values was the people acting in this area, especially the farmer. Since my work was conducted over a long period⁵, I had time to reflect over it. There were also major changes in policies over this time, which made me realise the shortsightedness of many of the policies and the huge problems this creates for farmers. This made me determined not to get too focused on the current policies, but to adopt a more independent approach.

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⁵ I worked on this thesis for a total of four years and three months during the period 1997-2005. During these years, I never worked full time. Moreover I was on maternity leave for one and a half years with my youngest child, worked for half a year at the regional authorities with a project on Cultural Reserves and acted as secretary to the Research programme The Pastoral Landscape.

Research context and some central concepts

The international field of landscape research is very broad and currently in an expanding phase, with an interest in interdisciplinary landscape studies that has been present since at least the 1970s. In parallel with a basic involvement in studies of landscape change, there has been an awareness to widen the research to directly emphasise practical consequences for landscape management (e.g. Emmelin, 2000; Palang & Fry, 2003; Larsson, 2004; Pinto-Correia & Vos, 2004; Van Herzele, 2005). More recent is the interest in landscape research for planning, communication and design issues (e.g. Antrop, in press; Nordic Council of Ministers, 2005). These are important components of my thesis, which tries to link itself with earlier landscape research, focusing on the landscape and emphasising landscape management and its future while also promoting design questions as part of farm planning.

Interdisciplinary research is needed today when conservation has become a part of production, putting multifunctionality on the agenda. Many researchers have pointed out the multifunctionality of agricultural areas (e.g. De Groot, 1992; Brandt & Vejre, 2004) and the importance of integrating landscape values in interdisciplinary research (e.g. Bosshard, 1997; Dramstad et al., 2001; Fry, 2001; Saltzman, 2001; Gibon, 2005).

Being familiar with the trends in the practice of conservation at the national level, I can discern a similar development approaching in the Swedish arena of landscapes. On the authority level, with the Board of Nature Conservation and the Board of Cultural Heritage, a more holistic and less object-focused approach now seems to be stressed in future strategies. Especially commendable is the Cultural Heritage Board and its initiative of Agenda Kulturarv (www 9) with a great ambition to broaden its thinking in a more theoretical approach and to get it democratically implemented in practical work. On the nature conservation side, the initiative of Naturvårdskedjan - The Conservation Chain (www 10), a huge research project funded by the Board of Nature Conservation with the ambition of strengthening the different parts of conservation to make it more efficient, should be mentioned. The programme stresses the need for collaboration between natural and social sciences. It also indirectly stresses an increased need for interdisciplinary research programmes.

Among the influences on the present thesis in the landscape research arena, apart from the articles and the books I have read and referred to, some conferences and courses played an important role. I had the advantage of visiting several conferences, and contacts with lecturers and other participators have given me many relevant references. Among the most important contributions to my personal development in the field was my participation in two European scientific networks. These networks, IALE (www 11) and PESCLE (www 12), illustrating two complementary dimensions, the ecological and the human geography and agrarian history, respectively, both organise international conferences. These networks not only present new research, but also, through their conferences over the years, reveal trends in the world of science. In Tartu 2002, Professor Staffan Helmfrid as keynote speaker used his considerable long experience to attempt to capture long-term shifts of interest:

"...the most relevant way of describing the history of PECSRL is found in the shifts of thematic focus in response to fundamental changes in rural landscapes themselves, and the problems they raise in modern society...The main themes have logically moved from the basic questions of origin and evolution to the decision-making processes behind changes, and further towards analysing the recent and ongoing dramatic landscape transformations on the one hand, to issues of landscape management and the application of historical geography in the selection and care of landscapes on the other hand." (Helmfrid, 2004 p. 480).

The editors of the conference proceedings, from which this quotation is taken, address the important question of how historical knowledge can help in future management and strategic understanding of the global processes of marginalisation, segregation and urbanisation (Palang *et al.*, 2004).

An especially interesting field for me is the growing area of heritage. Attending the postgraduate course 'Landscape as Heritage' at Alnarp 2004, with Germundsson (2004), Howard (2003, 2004), Lowenthal (1995, 1996, 1999), Olwig (1996, 2001) and Ringtved (Fabech & Ringtved, 2000) as lecturers, provided me with the means to put my own work in a wider theoretical context. To view conservation with links today between my own discipline and others, such as architecture and museology, increased my ability to find new approaches, fields of application and ways to associate.

Yet another subject that has recently become a source of inspiration to me is environmental aesthetics. My work was put in a different but highly relevant perspective, through a conference in Finland entitled 'The Aesthetics of Agriculture' (www 13), in 2003. Environmental aesthetics, with its characteristic links to ethics and philosophy, was the centre of attention and not, as in my normal landscape research world, marginal and overshadowed by dominating subjects such as natural sciences, geography and history. Even if this new angle is only hinted at in the thesis, I still consider it important and the conference referred to provided deeper insights and probably helped me to make specific choices in my work. I especially benefited from Arntzen (2002), Berleant (1997), von Bonsdorff (www 14), Brady (2003), Carlson (2000) and McCormack & O'Leary (2003). Their way of involving the aesthetic creates new paths, stressing human science rather than social science.

Other postgraduate courses, conferences and journeys experiencing old cultural landscapes in Iceland, Portugal, Estonia, and Slovenia were also important to further increase understanding and formulate the relevant questions to my studies. Teaching in landscape management courses at the island of Tjärö is another example of a developing activity.

As mentioned above, the main focus of this study was on trees and shrubs and their treatment, comparing conservation of today with earlier traditions. During the 6000 years of farming in Sweden, trees and bushes have been used in many different ways (Persson, 1982; Larsson et al., 1997; Slotte, 2000; Eliasson, 2002). In its extension the practical and symbolic roles of trees in the landscape with their essential role for man have been described by researchers such as Rackham (1986), Schama (1995), Seeland (1997), Muir (2000), Jones & Cloke (2002) and Austad et al. (2005). Here I also find it relevant to mention some recent studies at the Department of Landscape Planning, Alnarp, focusing on trees and shrubs and their role in the landscape (Sarlöv-Herlin, 1999; Lannér, 2003; Oostra & Gunnarsson, 2005). Working beside Roland Gustavsson, professor in Landscape Planning at the department, has made me closely involved with his work on new approaches in landscape management and planning of the agricultural landscape, stressing dynamics, communication and design (Gustavsson & Ingelög, 1994; Gustavsson, 1999; Gustavsson & Mellqvist, unpubl.).

Dealing with landscape management issues involving trees and shrubs means that the local context corresponding to the farm level becomes the most appropriate. At this level, those who do the actual work, or in other ways use the landscape, are the main actors. Researchers such as Stenseke (1997, 2004), Oreszczyn (2000), Oreszczyn & Lane (2000), Soini (2004), Beilin (2005), Højring *et al.* (2005) and Setten (2005) have inspired me in my methodological approach toward farmers, respecting history and heterogeneity in preferences, while researchers like Primdahl (1999, 2000) and Pinto-Correia (2004), Pinto-Correia & Vos (2004) have shown me how to consider multifunctionality and communicate with local people.

Soini and her way of identifying concepts and categorising actors have been helpful for the explanation of central pairs of concepts, like place-landscape and insider-outsider, that are used in this thesis. Soini writes:

"...the insider-outsider approach provides a systematic way of dealing with different perceptions of landscape and place — the insiders are considered as part of the place; and it is considered that the place is a part of them. Landscape is for them partly invisible, because the experiences, senses and knowledge that construct the place give content to the landscape. By contrast an outsider, such as a traveller, is more able to experience the qualities of landscape, although from a distance. The outsiders are able to project and prospect the landscape, while the insiders live within the scene." (Soini, 2004 p. 86).

In my work, Soini's word *place* is changeable, in some cases concerning the whole farm and in other cases corresponding to parts of farms, such as a special pasture. *Landscape* refers to the larger context of the farm, also covering the surroundings or an even larger area. The two concepts are used in both a physical and mental meaning. The *insider* corresponds to the farmer living in the place. The *outsider* is the researcher, administrator, planner or visitor. In one case I also used the word insider about a research colleague, since he is very familiar to the area.

I use the concept *farmer* throughout the thesis in a broad sense, meaning the persons managing the farm. In Denmark a lot of studies have been conducted seeking the differences between these farmers, as land-owners, full-time farmers, part-time farmers, hobby or leisure farmers (Primdahl, 1999; Primdahl & Kristensen, 2000; Møller *et al.*, 2000; Præstholm, www 15). They have shown the importance of considering different groups in different

circumstances. In my work I have been working in a very detailed scale: the manager managing the farm. I therefore have decided not to split the different categories, but to use *farmer* for all the different types.

The concept of landscape has been thoroughly analysed by many authors and the origin of the concept and its different meanings described in various languages, context and time. In the Middle Ages the concept meant a physical area inhabited by a particular, homogeneous group. The Dutch painters in the Renaissance used it as a representation of a scenery. During the second half of the 20th Century, landscape was used more as a view, a pictorial aspect (Mikesell, 1968). In 1925, Sauer put forward the landscape concept as an objective area that could be studied in a scientific way, stressing the importance of the cultural influence on the landscape (Sauer, 1925). Since then the concept has developed into two branches, a dominant branch in which the objective view dominates in landscape research and conservation practice, and another branch more related to art and literature, which only occasionally touches conservation practice in the Scandinavian tradition. In the Scandinavian and German tradition, landscape has been interpreted as a physical area in a similar way as in geography, cultural heritage and nature conservation, while in the Anglo-Saxon tradition the concept has been used more in the context of scenery (Olwig, 1996).

During the last two decades the symbolic and interpretative has won wider European attention, and through the introduction of the Landscape Character Assessment and the European Union Landscape Convention, this will probably acquire greater influence on future Swedish conservation practices (Bishop & Phillips, 2004; Sarlöv-Herlin, 2004). The Landscape Convention has recently been on the political agenda in most European countries, including Sweden. Through this Convention it is hoped to strengthen values and skills that are linked to a landscape perspective. The Landscape Convention (www 16) definition: "Landscape means an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors" fits very well into the use of the concept in this thesis.

In this text I often return to the *values* of the agricultural landscape. There are some different categories of values in this thesis that I want to explain. By *soft* or *non-commercial* values I mean such values that have not traditionally been included in the farm economy – *i.e.* biodiversity, cultural heritage, recreation

or aesthetics, as a contrast to products like cereals, meat, etc. Today the Swedish authorities pay farmers for managing certain elements of biodiversity and cultural heritage. Therefore these values have changed from solely ethical values to combined ethical and economic values. There are also values that are obvious but that are not paid for today. So far, there are few opportunities for farmers to raise funds to increase public accessibility, but there are examples of farms that have made their own arrangements such as farm visits, farm shops, etc, which can generate economic profits. As regards aesthetics, there are so far only restrictions on making changes on farms, which also concerns biodiversity and cultural heritage. I also write about physical and mental values. The physical values are the actual objects that can be seen and touched, like fences, wild flora and biotopes. I call them physical values although this evaluation is made by humans. The mental values can be very different things, such as experiences, knowledge, memories, stories, etc. The main point of applying a place perspective, communicating with the actors and stressing flexible solutions is based on integrating, preserving and developing the values suitable for that specific place.

Results - Summaries of the papers building the thesis

Here the different articles on which this thesis is based are presented briefly. The full articles are contained in the Appendix. The status of article is shown under *Publication*. The *Description* of the paper includes; background, material, methods and results. Under *Authors' contributions* it is clarified which of the authors have done what.

Paper I

Has the generalisation regarding conservation of trees and shrubs in Swedish agricultural landscapes gone too far?

Author: Anna Peterson

Publication:

2005 in Landscape and Urban Planning 70:97-109.

Description:

The rural landscape is changing rapidly and society of today wishes to conserve its great natural and cultural historic legacy through different actions. Trees and shrubs are important elements that build the structure of the landscapes; biological, cultural and visual. In management directives for these areas today, it is stated that local traditions should be taken into consideration. This paper discusses down to what scale the characteristics of trees and shrubs can be generalised.

Farmers were interviewed about lignoses (trees and shrubs) on their farm; the species, their placing and management now and back as long as they could remember. If they were receiving subsidies, they were asked how the authorities' wishes on the management corresponded to the traditional management on the farm. This was done through interview-walks on their land. The case study area used was Bråbygden-Krokshult in the forested south part of Sweden, an area with an old-fashioned appearance and many old structures still present. Twenty individuals on 15 farms were included in

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the study. In parallel, telephone interviews were conducted with advisors at 6 regional authorities. Questions were asked on how they handled the local traditions concerning the trees and shrubs when talking to the farmers.

Large differences were found from one farm to another, independent of natural conditions. There were differences between neighbouring farms on what species were prioritised, where they were placed and how they were managed. There were also differences in the time when great changes had happened on the farms. Because of these variations, the rather generalised demands from the authorities did not give a historical connection to the individual farm. The farmers who had chosen to take subsidies had problems in understanding how to carry out the management practices they were asked to perform, since they were new to them. It is the choices of the people managing the land that create the landscape character and its wide variation. In the name of conservation, certain historical periods and certain species get much attention at the cost of other species. The cultural character of a specific area is established by management practices and natural dynamics. In much current conservation work, there is a generalisation of species, management and time period that does not create a true picture of how the landscape used to look and there is a risk that many values will get lost with new management demands.

Paper II

Authenticity in landscape conservation and management - the importance of the local context

Authors: Roland Gustavsson & Anna Peterson

Publication:

2003 In: Palang, H. & Fry, G. (Eds.) Landscape Interfaces. Cultural Heritage in Changing Landscapes. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers. Pp. 319-356.

Description:

The Swedish government has made a series of decisions to protect the old

cultural landscape, but how is that achieved and what is it? The paper discusses the Swedish conservation policies over the last century. It also presents a discussion of management options based on literature studies with reference to three areas in Sweden: 1) Bråbygden-Krokshult - a small-scale agricultural area in the inner forest-dominated region of Southern Sweden, an area with an old-fashioned appearance but still a living area with young people and a lot of ambitions. Studies have shown wide variation between the farms despite their similar appearance. 2) Tjärö - an island that used to be cultivated but is today a nature reserve with a lot of tourists. The authors have for many years been teaching a practice-orientated course in landscape management for landscape architect and landscape engineering students, an experience that has made us reflect on how the vision of the landscape is created and perceived by the coming generations of professionals with a predominant urban attitude. 3) Ronneby Brunn - a spa consisting of different parts: garden, park and the surrounding landscape, all parts previously used in healthcare related to formal and informal styles of expression. When being surveyed for future conservation, parts of this holistic arrangement might get lost if the interest should become focused on physical objects rather than the ideas of the original design on how the landscape of the spa should be used from the most formal part in social event-sharing with many, to being alone in the wild.

Through studies of the landscape and its farmers, great differences were found down to the local scale. The protection and subsidy system of today becomes generalised in its attempt to be fair in a regional and even national way. The authors claim that if true values are what is wanted, it is essential to go down to the place size to get these historically correct. With this as a background the authors suggest the use of authenticity as a tool to clarify the choices of strategies. Do we need authenticity or is the old-fashioned look sufficient? What is the most important thing concerning what is historically correct, the object itself or the reason for it being there? It depends on for whom and why we are protecting the landscape. This might help us in managing and presenting the landscape in the future.

Different ways on how to go forward into the future are discussed with the help of the three case studies, but also through a more theoretical analysis of the principles of conservation and restoration policies through time in Sweden and middle-Europe. The generalistic way that is common today is a

democratic way of providing the same help all over the country and makes the work of advisors transparent. A second option is the historically correct way, which is only possible in a few special places of museum character that can give a picture of a certain time. This is very resource-demanding and requires a lot of background information. A third alternative presented in this thesis as a realistic and interesting way to proceed is the authentic illusion way, where an old-fashioned impression is the ambition but with an awareness that it is an illusion. This third way gives a high flexibility, but the responsibility is on advisors and farmers to present knowledge and possibilities of the place in a contextual way.

Authors' contributions:

R Gustavsson: Main responsibility parts 1 and 2

A Peterson: Origin manuscript⁶, main responsibility part 5

Paper III

Photo-elicitation with repeated photography in landscape management - A method for remembering the past, observing changes and inspiring the future

Authors: Anna Peterson & Mårten Aronsson

Publication:

Manuscript submitted to Landscape Research in February 2006.

Description:

Political decisions are taken to preserve our cultural landscape and its values. Since these values are created over a long period of human management, it is important to know the history of every place in order to capture the specialness of that particular farm and place. Earlier studies have shown that there are great differences in management and species down to farm level

⁶ "A historical authenticity or an authentic illusion in conservation of trees and shrubs in the rural landscape". Paper presented at The Permanent European Conference of Rural Studies "Rural landscapes: past processes - future strategies" in Otepää (Estonia) 2002.

and that this is very much dependent on the farmer. Looking forward to future management, the local history is important in order to identify the special values of a place since they to a large extent are created by human activity. The aim of this study was to test how well the method of photoelicitation with repeated photography could capture the information of a place and function as a tool for communication between researchers/advisors and farmers.

Three farms were used from Bråbygden-Krokshult in the forested south part of Sweden, an area with an old-fashioned appearance and many old structures remaining. Interview-walks had already been conducted with the farmers, discussing the trees and shrubs on the farm. As a next step, scenes portrayed in photographs from the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s of the three farms were re-photographed. These photo-pairs were analysed with respect to the vegetation, its statics and dynamics. The photo-pairs were then shown to the farmers during an elicitation session, a discussion with the photos as the focus of attention.

The situation of carrying out these interviews was very relaxed, the interviewees felt at ease and were very interested to see local changes presented like this. The elicitations with the re-photos made the farmers remember, not only from the photographed view but from the whole area, and not only visual aspect but also management, etc. The interviewees found it very interesting to look at a view of a certain place in a certain time, it made them stop and understand the dynamics that they usually do not see in their daily work. Seeing the photo-pairs made the farmers not only better remember how it used to look, but also to create visions for how they can continue their management. Using repeated photographs when discussing former and future management with farmers greatly helps in obtaining information, both for us as researchers and them as landscape managers.

Authors' contributions:

A Peterson: First interview, repeated photography, photo-elicitation M Aronsson: First photos, repeated photography, photo-elicitation, photo analysis concerning changes in vegetation

Paper IV

Designing farmland for multifunctionality

Authors: Christine Schneider (CS), Gary Fry (GF), Anna Peterson (AP)

Publication:

Manuscript submitted to Landscape Research in February 2006.

Description:

Modern agriculture is not only expected to produce agriculture products, but also to fulfil many other services. Enhancing biodiversity and the beauty of the rural landscape, preserving the cultural heritage and creating opportunities for recreation are examples of landscape values that we often expect farming activities to supply. While the multifunctionality of agriculture areas is promoted in the aims of countryside planning, less attention has been paid to how the actual integration will be implemented in practice by planning the countryside and coping with potentially conflicting interests and values. Moving from theoretical to practical perspectives in planning agricultural landscapes requires that we move to the level of the individual management unit - the farm. This is where land use and management decisions are made and conflicts get resolved.

Each farm is different and therefore solutions that best safeguard the values of that place will also be different. Therefore the identity of the place was one important aspect taken into account in the farm plan. We worked on our chosen farm at the detailed planning scale (1:10 000 and lower). We used methods from the natural and social sciences and the design traditions of landscape architects to integrate different, and sometimes conflicting, values. The study area was a farm in Southern Sweden. It was surveyed for wildlife habitats, cultural heritage, recreation and aesthetic aspects. On the basis of these inventories, farm plans were made focusing solely on each of the four interests. Afterwards we did a new plan integrating all values from the possibilities of the farm. In a reflective interpretation, we developed solutions and identified barriers when integrating different interests, as well as conflicts with the farmer's interests.

During the integration process both synergies and conflicts between the studied landscape values became obvious. The study showed that it is not always possible to combine all landscape values easily, as often asked for in policy documents. We identified possibilities and barriers to putting the farm plans into practice. We also found that the potential outcomes of the farm plan were influenced very much by the individual people working with the farm plan. The design approach contributed in considering the aesthetic aspects, in making the solutions farm-specific and added unexpected solutions due to artistic creativity.

Authors' contributions:

Surveys: AP, CS Designs: AP, CS

Plan analyses: AP, CS Writing: CS, GF, AP

Paper V

Farm planning: Using design approaches to integrate landscape values - an analysis of a landscape architect students task

Authors: Anna Peterson (AP), Gary Fry (GF), Christine Schneider (CS), Roland Gustavsson (RG)

Publication:

Manuscript submitted to Journal of Environmental Management May 2005.

Description:

Faced with meeting new demands for multifunctionality in agriculture, farmers are increasingly in need of advice on how to manage their land in an optimum way for a wide range of often conflicting values. This requires landscape experts to identify and integrate landscape values and farmers to integrate them in short-term and long-term management decisions. This paper investigates the potential contribution that landscape architects can bring to this challenging problem and how well they are prepared in their education.

Landscape architect students were given the task of making a farm plan that integrated cultural heritage, biodiversity, recreation and aesthetics while considering the possibilities of the place. Students were asked to submit a plan with their survey and analysis, their proposed farm plan and a diary of their process and their thought processes. None of these students had made a farm plan before. The farm plans were completed within one day including a field visit to the farm. The plans were analysed both qualitatively and statistically on the basis of the student approaches and toolboxes.

The farm plans made by the students showed a wide variety of solutions. We differentiated between six different areas of landscape values that students considered when planning the farm: recreation, aesthetics, biodiversity, farm economy, environment and history. Furthermore, we identified fifteen different types of landscape elements that students added to the farm in their farm plans. Students not only added new landscape elements to the farm in their farm plans, they also changed existing landscape elements, but to a much lesser extent. About one third of the students managed well in producing a farm plan with a design approach by meeting 4 to 5 of the criteria for a good design approach (integration, evidence of a vision, considering farm context, creativity and good presentation skills). From the students' diaries and presentations, it was obvious that they had a wide range of different opinions about the farm planning exercise. Some of them thought it were very interesting and an important challenge to take on, even if they found it very complex and limited by a shortage of time and a lack of knowledge. The students saw themselves as having the role of combining all the different interests into one plan.

Despite the fast development of the natural sciences, it is important to give room to creativity and design skills, shown by the student invention, supporting an improved integration into practice rather than isolating these skills in education. We identified a clear need for the students to obtain more experience in rural landscapes, working with the design of agricultural and forest landscapes, to enable them to understand and manage the task of farm planning. Good design is achieved by combining technical and artistic skills with scientific knowledge. It is this combination of abilities that students would need to produce good farm plans, farm plans that would be scientifically solid, include an aesthetic aspect and visualise the results attractively.

Authors' contributions:

Exercise preparation: AP, CS, RG

Exercise: AP, CS, RG, GF

Plan analyses: AP, CS Statistical analyses: CS Interpretation: AP, CS

Methodology, empirical material and research approach

In the following parts I describe the considerations that lay behind the choice of the research design and methodology. I briefly present the research areas and the methods used for gathering material. Finally, I reflect on the methods and the methodological experiences gained.

Scientific and theoretical approach

This thesis is based on case studies (Yin, 1994; Stake, 2003) in the agrarian landscape in two different parts of southern Sweden. One case led forward to another during the research process, going from a more open approach to a more plan-directed approach. Paper I led to Paper III (Paper II is more of a conceptual paper). These led to Paper IV, which generated the direction for the case study in Paper V. Inspired by literature studies in general and methodology in particular, at an early stage I became influenced by qualitative research and the Grounded Theory as a suitable way to work (origin in Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This involves letting the research lead forward based on continuous data collection rather than testing hypotheses and letting the research develop according to the empirical results and also letting the time for the data collection and analysis emerge (Oreszczyn, 2000).

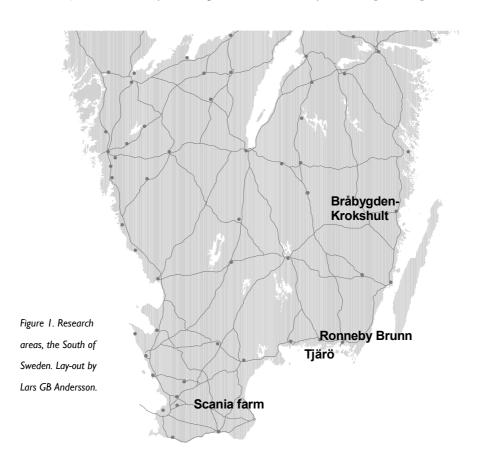
I searched for knowledge through literature studies and through direct experience by meeting farmers in their local context and making farm plans for an actual site. During data analysis, I worked with interpretations of indepth interviews, texts and plans, alternating between empirical data collection and theoretical reflection. The study includes different scales and perspectives (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 1994; Wallén, 1996; Holme & Solvang, 1997; Ödman, 2001). My focus was on local practices, the farm and the place in the context of its surroundings. The aim was to get deeper knowledge about the local context, as well as to make it understandable in a general sense. By using a case study technique, I had the possibility to research a phenomenon in its local perspective as well as getting a comprehensive overview. However, case studies with a comprehensive view do not generate clear data or measuring instruments and therefore must start from a theoretical level (Yin, 1994). The case study is also characterised by as much information as possible being gathered on a certain phenomenon to understand its complexity (Yin, 1994; Gustafsson, 2003).

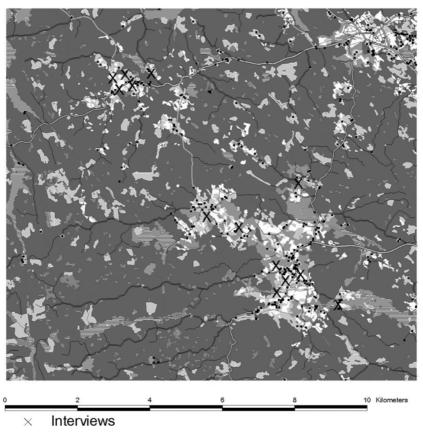
The main methods for data collection were open-ended, in-depth interviews, participant observation and text/plan analysis. The interviews were made in different situations. To increase the possibility to become concrete, understand changes and associate, I also carried out series of interviews, including some with the help of photos taken at the same spot with a time interval. One important focus of my research concerned farmers' attitudes and their knowledge about trees and shrubs and how administrators and their manuals treat these issues. This is a rather complex issue, requiring a combination of different research methods. This kind of triangulation, using different methods to obtain information about the same phenomenon (Yin, 1994; Janesick, 2003; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003), was done to gain deeper knowledge and make the qualitative research more valid. Another complex issue is related to how young people as students should act if we want them to take part in future conservation, also integrating design training. The aim was to see what possibilities and problems to expect, to help in preparing the future advisors in other ways through educational training.

Coming from a professional background, I found it logical as a researcher to base my work in a normative way, trying to gain knowledge for practical use. This is also suitable when trying to combine theory and practice (Wallén, 1996). During the research process, I tried to implement some of the results to gain experiences about the planning and communication process. The photo-elicitation study presented in Paper III could be said to be a trial for a future advisory situation. The student exercise in Paper V was also a test to see what could be expected of landscape architects on a future farm planning job. The aim was to actually identify the implications and to reflect on the whole process in my wish to combine theory with practice.

Research areas

The studies were mainly conducted in two physical areas, Bråbygden-Krokshult in the county of Kalmar, and a farm in the county of Scania. Both of them are examples of changing, in many ways problematic, but still successful landscapes in letting traditional management regimes lead the development. As references in discussions, I use two other areas, the island of Tjärö and Ronneby Brunn spa, both in the county of Blekinge. See figure 1.





Houses





The Bråbygden-Krokshult area. Lay-out by Lars GB Andersson.

Figure 2.

Bråbygden-Krokshult area

Bråbygden-Krokshult⁷ was the mutual research area in the research programme The Pastoral Landscape, in which I was involved in the beginning of my postgraduate studies (Gustavsson, 1995). The area is located in the county of Kalmar. From being an area with a high rate of abandonment and emigration, the wind has changed. Today the area has a positive trend with a lot of people, mostly families with children, moving in. It is a forested region where cattle breeding has always been important. Because of its location far away from roads, cities and railways, mechanisation came later here than in many other parts of the South of Sweden. Thanks to this, the appearance of the area is quite old-fashioned, with a lot of pollarded trees and wooden fences, even though Bråbygden-Krokshult today is a living productive area (Aronsson & Gerdehag, 1999). Since my ambition was to get information about the past, this area suited the project well. Bråbygden-Krokshult had been left a little longer from the modernisation, so people there ought to have good knowledge of former management. The area can also be described as having a lot of similarities with other moraine southern-Swedish landscapes. The differences lie in that many of the other areas have lost most of their elements and management regimes belonging to earlier agrarian systems. See figure 2.

Papers I, II & III.

The Scania farm

For the farm planning project, we needed a farm for the research group and the students to visit and work with. It had to be located fairly close to the University, due to constraints on time and financial resources. The farm was chosen through inquiries to the regional authorities of Scania for a 'normal' farm with a farmer who would be positive to us coming there. From three suggestions, we chose a farm outside Sweden's third largest city, Malmö. The farm is in a rural area dominated by small-scale agriculture. It is situated between an expanding village and a popular golf course. The farmland comprises approximately 30 ha arable land, 14 ha intensively used or non-permanent grassland, 25 ha semi-natural grassland and 2.5 ha forest. There is a regional hiking track through the farm.

Papers IV & V.

⁷ See also the home page of the Bråbygden Association, (www 17).

Reference areas

In Paper II we used two complementary reference areas to make the discussion richer. In principle, they also share natural conditions and much of their cultural history with Bråbygden-Krokshult in that they belong to the southern-Swedish small-scale moraine landscape, with a long-term characteristic mixture of agriculture and forestry. The first was the island of Tjärö, in the archipelago of Blekinge on the southern coast of Sweden. This is an island formerly used for agriculture, but farming was scaled back during the 1930s to 1970s. Then Tjärö became a nature reserve and grazing was intensified again to serve biodiversity, tourism and recreation. Some parts are left for free development and here most of the previous human traces have disappeared. Tjärö is used to discuss what happens with the landscape and the experience of it when new attitudes and approaches of urban society enter and the management changes. Every year, the Department of Landscape Planning at Alnarp hold a course in practical landscape management where we, the authors of Paper II, have been teaching for many years.

The other reference area was Ronneby Brunn, a spa also located in the region of Blekinge, and an area where the Department of Landscape Planning, SLU-Alnarp, was involved in a project for many years (1997-2005). Here agriculture and forestry were both redirected to support picturesque, pastoral and early wilderness traditions due to the growing interest in the spa at Ronneby Brunn, which became the largest in Sweden in the 19th Century. As such, it was one of the first countryside areas in southern Sweden that was designed for appreciation and scenery. In the early years of the 21st Century it became one of the first cultural reserves in Sweden. Here, the example is used to discuss conservation strategies and how to integrate farming practices, taking account of local contexts. Furthermore, it illustrates how to make place for new development in a balance respecting the initial ambition of how to use this area as a landscape for health. Paper II.

Methods of data collection

Interviews

Interview walks

In Bråbygden-Krokshult I contacted local farmers who had been recommended to me because of their knowledge about trees and shrubs and old things, and also some of the younger full-time farmers. The person recommending was my fellow researcher, Mårten Aronsson, born in the area. Since the area is about 300 km from where I work and live, I arranged to do about 4 interviews every time I went there. If possible, I tried to talk to more than one person connected to the farm at the same time. The interviews comprised in-depth interview walks (Brodt, 1999; Jönsson & Gustavsson, 2002) conducted through the farm while talking about what we saw. In every place we stopped - like in a meadow, a pasture or a field - I asked about the trees and shrubs: species, age, management, time references and future plans. I also asked questions about the land itself, its history of management or stories. At the end of the interview, I checked a pre-prepared list of variables to see if we had talked about all the aspects I was interested in. If I had missed something I asked about it directly before leaving the farm. A taperecorder was used to capture what was said. Later, back at the University, the interviews were transcribed. I took account of all the information I had obtained, not only about trees and shrubs but also the interviewees' comments on animals, the field layer, cereal production and other things connected to their life on the farm.

Table 1. Data on interviews and interviewees in Bråbygden-Krokshult. Thirteen interviews involving 20 persons on 13 farms were conducted for Paper I (Interview-walk). Three interviews involving 3, 3 and 1 persons were conducted for Paper III (Photo-elicitation). For two of these latter farms, previous interviews were also available. The table shows the age, sex and relation to the farm of interviewees and the type of farming pursued, active or leisure. AP means that I did the interview and MA that Mårten Aronsson took part as well. For the photo-elicitation interviews we were both present.

Farm	Approx. age	Sex	Relation to	Active	Leisure	Earlier	Interview	Photo-
	when inter-		the farm	farmer	farmer	interview	walk	elicitation
	viewed,							
	relations							
1	80	m	married	X			AP	
2	40	m	born	X			AP	
3	50, son	m	born	X			AP MA	AP MA
	80, father	m	born	X		M		
4	80	m	married, born	X			AP	
			on farm 8					
5	80, father	m	born	X		K&S ⁸		
	70, brother	m	born, moved				AP MA	
	50, son-in-law	m	married		X		AP MA	AP MA
	50, daughter	f	born		X			AP MA
	30 grandchild	m	spent summer					AP MA
			as child, lives					
			in the area					
6	70, brother	m	born	X			AP	
	70, brother	m	born	X			AP	
7	70, father	m	born	X			AP	AP MA
	30, son	m	born	X			AP	AP MA
	30, daughter-	f	married					AP MA
	in-law							
8	30	m	born	X			AP	
9	60, brother	f	born		X		AP MA	
	60, sister	m	born		X		AP MA	
	60, husband	m	married		X		AP MA	
10	60	m	born		X		AP MA	
11	70, husband	m	born	X			AP MA	
	70, wife	f	married	X			AP MA	
12	80, brother	m	born	X			AP MA	
	80, brother	m	born	X			AP MA	
13	60	f	married, born	X			AP MA	
			on farm 3					

None of the farmers asked to participate refused to be interviewed, but two

 $^{^{8}}$ Interview done by two ethnology students presented in Kvarnström & Sullivan 1983.

of them did not want to do the walk, one because he was old and had problems walking and the other because he was busy with his work and could only spare the time during his meal. These two interviews were conducted inside as fictive walks with the help of maps of the farms. Papers I & III.

The tapes from the interview-walks were structured into a text-processing computer programme in a hierarchal tree structure QSR NUD*IST (1997). An index of different headlines was then developed depending on the information. All information from the interviews was handled as sentences and placed under different headings and each comment ended up under many different headings. The aim was to get all the information about the same subject in the same place, so every sentence could be compared from many different angles. Then all the information under each heading was compared to find similarities and differences between the interviewees. During the transcription and analysis my own ideas and reflections were also categorised under the different headlines (Oreszczyn & Lane, 2000). Paper I.

Photo-elicitation

On three of the farms where interview-walks had been conducted, repeated visits and new interviews were carried out. These farms were chosen on the basis that we had old photographs that had been shot at the farm, in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s and that the farmer was still alive. We also wanted three different kinds of farms and chose a leisure farm, a production farm and a conservation farm. From the old photographs, we went out and found the same location to take a new photograph using the same photo angle to see what had happened between the photo shots (Hammarlund-Larsson, 1993; Florgård, 2000; Nüsser, 2001). The photo-pairs used were chosen from the quality of the pictures and also showing different parts of the farm and a variety of content. These interviews were carried out indoors looking at repeated photo-pairs and the interviewees commented on these. The photoelicitation method is used to get an interviewee's attention on the context of a photograph (Collier, 1967; Harper, 1986; Rasmussen, 2004; Beilin, 2005). This puts the interviewees more at ease with the situation since it is the photo that is the centre of attention and it makes them remember. It could also be argued to make the interviewees active and inspired, taking the focus

away from themselves and allowing the discussion to flow more easily. It was also a way to check the information we got from the earlier interview-walks, whether their stories were the same and corresponded to the photographs. Two researchers were present at all three interviews. Paper III.

Phone interviews

After interviewing the farmers to get their views on conservation, I conducted follow-up interviews with regional advisors on how they handle the desire for 'local traditions' when giving advice and directives for management on the individual farm. I had prepared questions on how they worked and what 'local' meant in practice (region, village, farm, land use, individual trees). The questions were open-ended so the interviewees could influence the length of their answer. The answers were compared between the advisors and with the information from the farmers.

Interviews over the telephone were carried out with advisors in the six most southerly regional authorities in Sweden, including the region where the case study area of Bråbygden-Krokshult is situated. One adviser per region was interviewed. At the switchboard I asked to talk to an advisor on nature and cultural subsidies and then I was connected further to an available advisor. No one refused to talk to me. The questions were quite few and could easily be conducted over the phone. The interviewees included three biologists, two cultural geographers and one landscape architect. The interview length was around quarter of an hour and notes were taken by hand during the interview.

To better get to know the situation of these advisors how they worked in advisory situations together with farmers, I tried to meet them and talk to them on other occasions such as courses, excursions and seminars. I always presented my work and myself before asking them questions. They were very willing to talk and discuss what was good and bad in their working situations. Afterward I made notes on the discussions. Paper I.

Participant observation

Throughout my work I made use of being in the local context – I both participated and observed. This method is most commonly used in qualitative research when the phenomenon is unknown or hidden. It can also be used if there is a suspicion that there are significant differences between experiences or attitudes towards the phenomenon between outsiders and insiders (Jorgensen, 1989). Blumer (1969) suggests a strategy where the hidden phenomenon is studied from the perspective of the local actors. According to Blumer, our social activities are in a constant process of change (1969). We interpret the world, its people and objects, and take action on the basis of the meaning the surrounding world has for us. To enable this process to be captured, a qualitative approach is needed where the researcher tries to envisage and understand the situation and circumstances of the subject. A way to do this is participant observation (Lieberg, 1992). I used this method as a background throughout my research to give me insights, understanding and inspiration.

Being in the area - Locals/farmers

Over the years, I spent more than 150 hours actively in the Bråbygden-Krokshult area. I met the inhabitants on both professional occasions and at more informal and social meetings. Since there were other researchers working in the same area, we often accompanied each other in the different studies, both in surveying and meeting people. I was also present on other occasions in the area, like landscape management courses for regional advisors, brainstorm meetings with the people living there to find new ideas for applying for EU money or just taking part in the annual flowerpot fair arranged by the inhabitants. This provided me with a deeper understanding of the area and its inhabitants and helped me in my interpretation of the interviews in a wider context of the area and its life. I made notes on my observations which I incorporated into the NUD*IST coding programme (1997) under the same headings as used in the interviews.

Active participation - Students

Every year, third year landscape architecture students spend some days out in a nature reserve on the island of Tjärö. The aim of this reserve is that

recreation should take place within the framework of an agricultural landscape. On this island, the students have a compulsory course in practical landscape management. Together with a teacher and a professional forestry worker, a group of students get to choose a spot on the island where they want to work. First there is a discussion between the students on what to do and how to make priorities. Then we do the practical work together. The exercise starts in the afternoon with a guided tour around the island, the next day the groups do their work and the next morning all groups present their findings for the other groups. The discussions are very creative and include debates on cultural heritage, biodiversity and most of all the aesthetics and the visual appearance for the visitors. As one of the teachers for several years, I had the opportunity to take part in this exercise in a very direct way. The way the students think and how they transform their ideas into practical landscape management give many ideas on how to continue the management. In addition, to see how the students react to the work of earlier classes is interesting for the future. My experiences from these courses have given me a special kind of knowledge that I bring with me into this thesis. It was never an intention to write about the teaching experience at Tjärö. Therefore I did not take notes, so the material is based on backward reflections.

Paper II.

Active participation — Farm-plan process

In order to see how our chosen landscape values (biodiversity, cultural heritage, recreation, aesthetics) could be integrated in a farm, we tested designing a farm plan on a real farm. A schematic presentation of the process is shown in Figure 3. We used traditional landscape architecture methods for the inventory survey, analysis and evaluation and design. The goal was to integrate the values, but we started to analyse them separately to identify where the different values conflicted or made positive synergies when integrated. The farm was surveyed for the chosen values. The survey and designs were prepared by an ecologist and a landscape architect. The ecologist performed all the surveys and the single value plan on the biodiversity. I, the landscape architect, did the same on cultural heritage, recreation and the visual aspects/aesthetics. My surveys included studies in the field, in archives for old maps and plans, of old aerial photos and of local books. An interview with the farmer was included in the survey phase to grasp his knowledge of the farm and his wishes for the future.

The analysis of the surveys and evaluation of possibilities was made to see what potential the different values had. Then, for each value, a plan was made on how to prepare a good solution promoting each value. Each value plan had a wide range of possibilities but based on our experience and on the farm's potential we chose one solution each. We did the integrated plan together, which we showed and discussed with the farmer, including him in the design phase. After getting his comments on our integrated plan we took his opinions into consideration in the final plan. We also did an interview with an advisor who had been working with the farm at regional authority level to see what inventories she had done and look at her advisory plan. Notes were taken from the interviews.

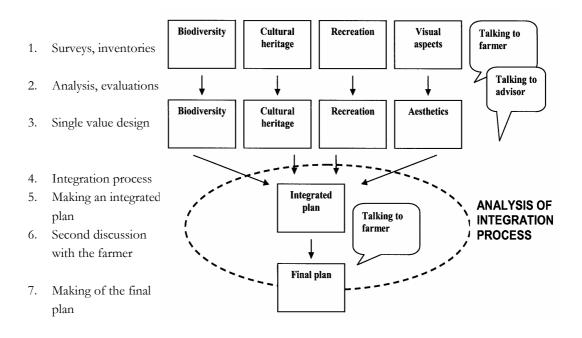


Figure 3. A schematic presentation of the process of making a farm plan. The column on the left describes the working process. The boxes represent actual plans, either a survey or a design. The speech bubbles represent the contacts we had with the farmer and the advisor. The ellipse lies descries wherein the process the integration analysis was done. Paper IV.

When trying to integrate the different values we discussed different possibilities and made continuous detailed notes on where there were problems but also on where different values worked together or even made a win-win solution. This study also involves analysis of the plans, going back and forth between the different plans discussing how priorities were done.

Paper IV.

Plan analysis

Farm planning - Students

Landscape architecture students were given the task of making a farm plan. A schematic presentation of the process is shown in Figure 4. This was a short exercise, but it could be said to be equal in time with what a an experienced consultant would use for the same task. Students went to the site in the morning to make surveys and get to know the farm. In the afternoon they went back to the University and made their plan. At the end of the day they were asked to hand in a survey plan, a new farm plan, some detailed sketches and a diary in which they described their creative process. 3 weeks later they presented their plan for the research team and the other students, consisting of a 5-minute presentation and a 5-minute discussion per student. Afterwards we had a general discussion on how to design in the rural landscape. Notes were taken during the presentations and discussions.

In a realistic consultant situation, it would have been normal to collect information and carry out surveys. For this exercise we gave the students the results from the surveys on biodiversity, cultural heritage and recreation, done for the farm planning project described above, since we used the same farm. The survey on the visual aspects was carried out from only the field visit, since the students were there and could do this themselves. The information from the interview with the farmer was given to the students through me, acting as the farmer, during the morning out on the site. The students could ask me the questions they had wanted to put forward to the farmer.

Based on the students' plans, notes and presentations, we analysed what landscape values students had worked with, what landscape elements they had used, what future concept they had identified and their design style. We especially looked for how they succeeded in integrating the different

landscape values in a place-specific way. Their plans and texts were analysed qualitatively. Our interpretations of their plans were then analysed statistically to see what approaches, objects, *etc.* the students had used in solving the task.

The students, making the farm plan exercise, were attending a ten-week course entitled Biotope Design and Construction at Alnarp. There were 27 students taking part, 12 Swedish, 10 from various other European countries and 5 from North America. None of them had made a farm plan before. Paper V.

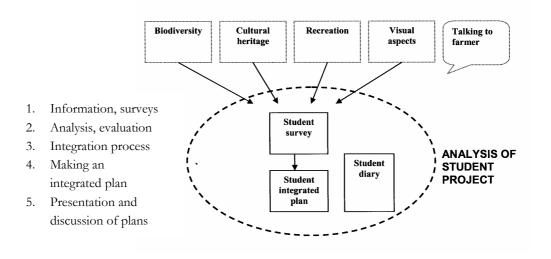


Figure 4. A schematic presentation of the process of students making a farm plan. The column on the left describes the different parts of the working process. The two lowest boxes represent the students' plan that they handed in, a survey and a design. The speech bubbles represent students talking to the farmer - played by me .The ellipse describes the analysis of the research group. Paper V.

Reflections on methods and methodological experiences

The interviews were open-ended and conducted during a walk. Everything said was considered interesting (Hunziker, 1995). Performing the interviews in an open-ended way was both positive and negative. What could be argued as negative was the problem of duplication (Oreszcyn & Lane, 2000), both with regard to the interviews and the analysis of these. A positive aspect was that often the most interesting information came from the farmers' own initiative and not the explicit questions posed. This made both the single interviews and the study in general take directions that were not expected. To understand why people take actions and the reasons behind their decisions, it is important to listen to them. Since this study was dealing with how a future advisory situation might look, I was interested in simulating such situations.

Interview-walks were chosen because the objects of the interview (trees, shrubs) were easy to see and discuss whilst walking. This proved to be a good way of making the interviewees feel relaxed. However, at the beginning of the interviews the farmers had problems in understanding my interest in their trees and shrubs and how they had been managed, due to the fact that they were no longer of interest for production on the farm and that their management was such an everyday issue that it was hard to verbalise. Many of the farmers interviewed were quite familiar with researchers coming to their area to make surveys, but up until then it was the biodiversity of the field layer that had been the centre of attention, not the trees and shrubs. In recent years, the farmers had become quite good at recognising the different wild plants on their land, and they were very proud to be able to present interesting plant species (Stenseke, 2004). However, they were surprised that the trees were also of interest. Daly and Dienhart (1998) discuss this problem, which they call 'getting beyond the taken for granted' in their studies of families. Getting interviewees to talk about everyday things in open interviews leads to the potential problem of missing these everyday things since they never come up voluntarily in discussion. In our cases we knew what we were looking for but we still had problems in getting the farmers to see it. Daly and Dienhart (1998) guided their interviewees further with a reflexive approach asking follow-up questions. In our case the possibility to make the interviewees focus on something other than themselves and their answers, such as the actual trees or the photographs, made it easier for them to participate and understand the questions.

Carrying out research work in a familiar area with people one has met before can have both positive and negative implications (Lieberg, 1992). For me it was easy to make this a positive aspect. The close work with another postgraduate student who was brought up in the area and had been playing an important part in building the 'Bråbygden brand' (Hellström, unpubl.) made many doors open quickly. He knew who to talk to and what places to visit and he had taken the first photographs we used for the photoelicitation study. Working together like this was good in that we played different roles. I was the outsider interested in what the interviewees had to say while he was the semi-insider with knowledge about the local situation. As he had been away studying, he also had a role in interpretation. It could be argued that we missed out some individuals who could have been of interest if we had chosen subjects at random in an unfamiliar area, but since the results show a great variation among neighbours I think our approach was a viable option. What in some situations was not so good was that some of the interviewees saw my colleague as an expert to turn to, since he had been working as an informal advisor in the area. The farmers looked at him to see if they said the right thing. On these occasions I took over the interview completely and he left to study the field layer instead. This was not strange since I was the main interviewer, my colleague then played the part of being the contact person. He came back to us after a while and since my discussion with the farmer had then reached a natural stage, there were no more problems in the continuation of the walk.

Ethical aspects are important when it comes to working with people. It is important to be prepared and to react appropriately when such issues arise. Since my subject and the related questions were not of a problematic or embarrassing character for the interviewees, I did not have great difficulty with this aspect. Some minor problems arose on two occasions. On one occasion during a taped interview when the interviewee raised personal issues, I did not interrupt but erased the non-relevant part of the interview directly afterwards. On another occasion, an interviewee raised a personal issue before the interview walk and asked that it should be excluded from any future text. I did not tape the subsequent interview but took notes during that walk instead. This did not interfere with the results since all interviewees were anonymous anyway. The only thing that mattered was that I had a harder time; walking, talking and taking notes at the same time.

Transcribing interviews is a time-consuming element of a study. The text can either be transcribed in full or in parts, as discussed by Oreszczyn and Lane (2000), who decided to make a full transcript of their interviews to prevent anything being missed and to protect the data from researcher prejudice. In the present study, the first interviews were transcribed word for word, but in later interviews only the actual items of information were recorded in written form. This was appropriate for the purposes of the study and all information supplied was still noted, not only that relating to the trees and shrubs. Thereafter the interviews were replayed while the written transcripts were checked in parallel. To ensure that the interpretations of interviews are correct, different kinds of methods can be used. For example, another researcher can code a minor part of the material to check the first individual's interpretation, as suggested by Oreszczyn & Lane (2000). A similar option is to let a second researcher read through the entire material to see if they draw the same conclusions (Pretty, 1995). This type of check was not carried out for the interview-walks because the involvement of participant observation (Gerholm, 1993; Thorell, 2005) and due to lack of resources.

Furthermore, parts of the transcribed interviews are not replicated in the results as quotations, since this did not show the many comparisons I wished to discuss. As mentioned earlier I did not record exact quotations when transcribing, but I was always able to refer back to the interview tapes. Direct quotes in the text also tend to inhibit the flow, since they force the reader to stop and think through what the quotation means (Gerholm, 1993). A further complication in the present study was that the original interviews were in Swedish, and the translation of conversations strongly based on dialect can be difficult and can also result in a great loss in authenticity. Gerholm (1993) believes that quotations are sometimes been used as a matter of routine and suggests that the words of interviewees instead could be summarized in narrative stories and interpretive texts which as scientific approaches are equally scientifically valid as quotations. She also believes that the longer a study is in time, the more general knowledge becomes available for discussion.

In further studies carried out for this thesis, other ways of ensuring validity were employed. The photo-elicitation study in Paper III was wholly carried out by two researchers making the interviews and the interpretations together. We also practised the method of participant checking, letting the interviewees read and accept the paper before submitting it to the journal (Pretty, 1995; Thorell, 2005). Taking this discussion back to Paper I and the interview-walks, the same check could not have been done in this case since the results depended on comparisons between the interviews and many of the interviewees had died by the time the study ended.

When choosing a farm for the farm planning project we wanted to use a 'normal' farm. After starting the survey, we were a little disappointed that the natural values of the grassland were so good. How could we contribute? Then we realised that we had fallen into our own trap. There is no such thing as a normal farm, which was why we thought farm planning was needed in the first place. In our farm planning project we saw a problem in the way we conducted the work. The fact that it was we, who approached the farmer, and not the farmer asking us to make a farm plan on his farm, rendered the situation hypothetical and not entirely true as regards the farmer's involvement. We could have tried to find farmers who had the ambition to make a realistic change, but our ambition was to see the effects on the integration of the values. If we had promised a real plan we would have been lacking expertise on certain aspects, especially agriculture and economics. Furthermore, our project was carried out at a time when the Swedish subsidy system was undergoing huge changes and the final proposal was still uncertain, so it would have been impossible to give good recommendations. The whole meaning of this part of the project was to see future implications and not be tied up by present regulations.

Being two or more researchers working together using our different areas of expertise was important as this integration of skills brought us further than each researcher could have come on their own, since the area of landscape is such a broad one. Working together in an interdisciplinary way was very interesting and educational. The aim was to connect different types of expertise, therefore all material and results were processed together and belong to us together. My experience from working closely with practitioners and researchers from both natural and social science was that the empirical work caused few problems, since there was deep mutual respect for each other and for the different methods. However, understanding each other's concepts and views were very time-consuming and occasionally frustrating, as some discussions had to be repeated many

times (Fry, 2001). Bearing these problems in mind and making oneself understood provided possibilities for reflection on what was research and what was not. The different disciplines' ways of writing (Myrdal, 2005) was in my view the biggest challenge. This proved to be very good training and very educational.

Discussion – Farms between past and future; the heritage of our time

Farm planning

When discussing planning for the future of the agricultural landscape and its farms, it is of interest to take into consideration the opinions of farmers, different landowners and the public (Primdahl & Kristensen, 2000; Larsson, 2004; Højring et al., 2005). In our desire to conserve the rural landscape, people are the most valuable assets. Without people, there would be no management and then the cultural and biological values would disappear, since almost all values have been created during the course of long-term human management (Jones, 1995; Arntzen, 2002). The most important actor is the farmer, without whom the farm plan would not be put into practice (Saltzman, 2001). Setten (2005 p.76) writes: 'because the farmers' landscape heritage is practically based, it is also place-bound'. The converse is also true: since we want to preserve the landscape heritage, it is most practical to let farmers do the job and then they will do it the way they can, bound to the place. For the time being farmers will, as before, continue to be the main managers of the land, and they will continue to get advice from the authorities and farmers' organisations.

Usually the countryside is planned in areas from a land use management perspective. With the new production of landscape, some farmers will need help in identifying landscape values and in prioritising and developing new ideas. A new kind of advisor will be required, that could plan the farm in a more holistic perspective. Landscape architects could play an important role in designing in the countryside as suggested in Paper V. They may have a future in farm planning by offering design solutions at a highly detailed and contextual level similar to what is more common in the design of urban green spaces. In parallel, new education programmes for landscape workers are starting, where practical skills are combined with theory to train students to understand the landscape in which they will work in practice. In many cases, one individual as an actor or advisor will have to be able to handle the whole multi-functional view him/herself. However, in other cases there will be an obvious need to have support from experts in one or several different disciplines, depending on degree of landscape value, but also on the ability and experience of the people and organisations involved.

The meeting between these professionals: farmers, advisors, experts, workers and other landscape professionals should occur early in their education to engender mutual respect and reveal the possibilities in the different professions (von Haaren, 2002). Practising the art of communication is an important benefit of such a meeting. Geelmuyden (1999) proposes that the education of landscape architects should emphasise communication. In Paper V we, and also some of the students, came to a similar conclusion when making farm plans. To make a good farm plan, it is necessary to be able to communicate with both the farmer and the experts and possibly other users/actors. Another conclusion was the importance of contextual training for the students. Moreover, our students sometimes used language that was difficult for a landscape manager to understand. This was confirmed in the course in practical landscape management at Tjärö (Paper II). The comment: 'I want these two oaks to have a dialogue in their expression' left a forest worker quite confused. On the same day, a group of students became quite confused too, when another forest worker took down the wrong tree from what the students (thought they) had discussed with him. An example of different cultures and different pre-knowledge emerged when we analysed the student plans in Paper V. A student proposed a hedge across the field and cited aesthetics as the reason for doing that, although she almost certainly had ecology in mind as well but did not actually point that out. This aspect was probably obvious for her but invisible for others. When students from different disciplines are allowed to meet and work together, they should learn from each other and to some extent develop a common language and shared concepts.

Renes (2004) describes Dutch cultural preservation and argues for 'Protection by planning' as a way of including the possibility to include creativity. Such a model will easily come into increasing conflict with the old way of legal protection that only allows the historical line to be chosen. Protection by planning is a more dynamic approach and it is dependent on coalitions of different types of expertise (Renes, 2004). This has much in common with the communicative design planning, involving both preservation and development, which we aimed to promote in the research project on farm planning. In the Netherlands, Renes has been testing this model in a team consisting of a historical geographer, a field worker and a landscape architect. In our project we also wanted to integrate biodiversity, which was done by an ecologist. A landscape architect covered the cultural heritage, recreation and aesthetics.

The future planning process could consist of meetings and discussions with the farmer, as done in Papers I and III, and developed further as in Papers IV and V. The results from Paper IV and V show that the integration of different values in the agricultural landscape is not obvious and that the way to solve the task is very individual, concerning the profession and the personality as well as the farm in concern.

Choices in planning and managing

Today landscape development includes its preservation. Consequently, when dealing with the agricultural landscape, one main question is how to prioritise the efforts made in preservation and normal production, within preservation itself and its wide range of possibilities, but also between preservation and development of new elements or other land uses. The need to take a position often comes up when there is some sort of threat or desire for strong change, where a way has to be chosen between opposing directions.

In the present study, the aim was to combine non-scientific know-how with scientific knowledge to preserve the richness and prevent over-simplification (Oreszczyn, 2000; Scazzosi, 2004). By finding local solutions, actors, designs and methods, the risk of 'homogenisation by conservation' becomes less (Stenseke, 2004 p. 409). The present work illustrates different ways of capturing information identified as being important, and approaches for integrating different values into farm planning. However no simple answers were found, other than respecting the complexity and the place. It is important to see the different choices that exist, so that farm planning does not become routine. In the following section, I focus on some of these choices and on some problems and opportunities that could arise when dealing with farm planning.

Illusion or reality?

In Sweden it is common that the most productive agricultural areas are close to big cities, while a large percentage of the semi-natural grasslands are in more remote areas. Consequently, the places where most people are in need of recreational spaces consist of land that is most inaccessible. This means that far away from the majority of the population, there is a lot of beautiful, diverse and pastoral land (Stenseke, 2004), while near the cities the landscape

is less diverse and more difficult to access. Today a number of people are moving out to the peri-urban countryside (Mårtensson & Nordström, 2001). Even though the agrarian landscape still looks rural, from a social context it is different. It has become home to a very varied population where farmers are more and more in the minority, particularly in areas closer to cities (Claval, 2004).

This involvement of new actors, as new inhabitants and visitors, is a new thing about the agricultural landscape today. Through them, society and the general public have a say in the development of the agricultural landscape, also including production, in a much more direct way than in previous times. The possible involvement of all the relevant groups for countryside development might be good from a participatory democratic point of view, but may also become problematic. The public and the house-owners who are not farmers for generations have progressively fewer live references with this landscape, but at the same time they may have clear ideas of what the countryside should be.

In society, the general knowledge of landscape history is low (Widgren, 1993). The vision of old rural landscape in Sweden is often referred to as the Astrid Lindgren⁹-landscape. The world of Astrid Lindgren is seen as the happy childhood now replaced by adult life in an urban environment (Bucht, 1992). This has become the view of the lost rural landscape (Olwig, 2001). Häyrynen (2004) points out that in Finland, it is the urbanised people who need and construct the image of the Finnish countryside. The persons and landscapes of the Lindgren books and movies are perhaps one of the few common references left for Swedes of all generations (Sydsvenska Dagbladet 04-09-24). In one way, landscape becomes idealized with increasing distance, but in another way, it touches feelings and relationships to landscape that are of deep importance for the relationship between people and their surroundings.

It is quite common for people of today to get their references on landscapes of the past through fiction (Aronsson, 2004). Howard (2003) gives the examples of classic westerns from south-west USA and the James Herriot series from Yorkshire. This gives a responsibility to the makers of films in historic settings,

⁹ Astrid Lindgren (1907-2002) Swedish author of children books; Pippi Longstocking, Emil, The Children of the Noisy Village.

if they wish to accept it. The lovely films about Astrid Lindgren's Emil are very well done, with exceptions such as when Emil runs around in a meadow of a nitrogen-loving flower, typical for the 1970s when the films were made. A hundred years earlier, at a time when Emil was supposed to have lived, there would have been a greater amount of varied, much lower flowers. Without reflection, this could be said to be totally uninteresting in its context of a children's movie, but small things like that are important if the public are deriving their landscape references from this source. As shown in Paper I, a generalisation is very common in both the writing of history and in conservation. This generalisation can be seen in species, placing and in time. Why should the same effort not be put into the landscape of a movie as into e.g. the clothes (Widgren, 2004)? The problem lies in how this knowledge should be captured and used, and whether the sense of authenticity as a specific quality in human culture will be achieved or not.

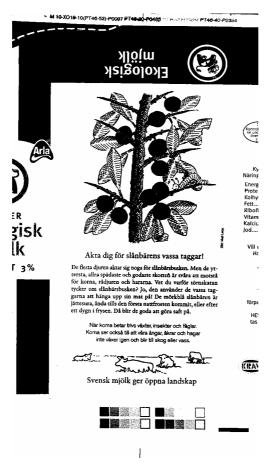


Figure 5 Milk carton ARLA (2004-07-22)

Describes that Swedish milk gives open landscapes with a rich biodiversity.

Another example of the unconscious incorrect influence on the public came on milk cartons in the summer of 2004. Sweden has the expression det öppna landskapet – the open landscape – popularised in 1982 by the song 'Open landscapes'10. Here the open refers to the sea and big open fields. The expression is now often used by politicians and farmers' organisations when talking in positive terms about pastures and meadows and arguing for them not to become overgrown. In 2004, there was an information campaign on the back of milk cartons to increase people's knowledge about pastures and all the biodiversity linked to grazing milk cows. The species described in the text were all characteristic for semi-natural, permanent grasslands with trees and shrubs as parts, but the illustration showed cows lying on a species-poor, temporary ley - by definition treeless - we were back to the songwriter's open fields. The campaign had good intentions, but as an educational tool it would have been better if it had been historically and biologically more correct. Hopefully the articles in this thesis can contribute to an improved understanding of what the past was like and what traditions might mean.

Many people spend their free time and holidays in areas they call nature (see Paper II), without any thoughts of these being totally created by man. There are also a lot of people who never visit the countryside but have a vision of it and take it for granted. Howard (2003) calls them the non-visitors. In preference studies, it has been proven that the old cultural landscape are what many people in the Nordic countries today find positive and beautiful (Hägerhäll, 1999; Austad *et al.*, 2003). A possible danger is that expectations and visions of the landscape sometimes make the heritage industry attempt to create the expected, an illusion (Hopkins, 1998). This is not wholly negative, since it is better to have a living landscape, easy to use and personally connected to many than a landscape transformed to something historically right but non-functioning. As described in Paper II, the illusion of the authentic might be what makes a particular place and its people live together in an interacting partnership. The visitors are happy, but their awareness of being (willingly) deceived could be missed (see Paper II).

Howard (2004) warns that local inhabitants might have their future overrun by planners' ambitions of saving the heritage, that they could become 'domestic pets' when they want to take part in the development like everybody else. In the interviews in Bråbygden-Krokshult this problem was

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¹⁰ From the album 'Kär och galen' 1982, Ulf Lundell

not apparent, even though the landscape there is seen by many as a relict from the past. Modernisation came late to this area because of its location far away from the big roads and the railway. Therefore it was little influenced by new incomers and also by the latest agro-science that other farmers' sons learned when they went to agricultural college. Today the Bråbygden-Krokshult area attracts great interest from the media and education in both traditional production and conservation. The way these forest farmers live today is very authentic to the way forest farmers traditionally lived their lives in these parts of Sweden. Since the fields were comparatively small, they had to depend on other incomes and they always had extra jobs in the winter - they managed their own forest, worked as drivers for others, became the local shoemaker or craftsman, etc. (Nordström, 1991). This is exactly what a farming family in Bråbygden-Krokshult does today. They manage other people's land, they (often the wife) have another job and they find an extra income in making charcoal or renting out cottages to tourists. They do not do the same things as their ancestors but in the sense – doing different extra work – they can be said to be living an authentic life of a former forest farmer. They do not see themselves as 'domestic pets'. The difference from their precursors might be that they have a choice, and they have chosen this life. Furthermore, there are a lot of other locals in Bråbygden-Krokshult apart from the fulltime farmers (e.g. part-time/ leisure-time farmers and summer guests) and these people are in many ways also active in the landscape and in social network. These are the people taking over the farms from farmers lacking willing heirs to take over. They lease out the open land to the remaining 'real' farmers.

Primdahl (1999) argues that leisure-time farmers are more interested in structural change of the land than full-time farmers. As shown in Papers I and III, these hobby farmers are more interested in doing non-paid work for the protection and development of the natural and cultural heritage. When I asked a couple in Bråbygden-Krokshult how they endured the enormous extra work with their land, the man answered quickly: "It is not so strange - when we lived in the town, we cut our lawn twice a week". The new inhabitants have a vision of the country and they often care for things that have lost their previous practical function and meaning (Claval, 2004; Soini, 2004). This development ought to be a good one for the still active farmers, since the new people bring with them a lifestyle that can develop possibilities for

services that otherwise would disappear due to decreasing population. Considering that more and more hobby farmers are taking over land and houses in the countryside, conservation will be directly and indirectly favoured.

Object or idea?

On most farms, pollarding as a way to produce winter fodder and fuel is not practised anymore. The farmers who still pollard do so for aesthetic, cultural and biological reasons. They do not use the leaves or the branches, they just burn them or let the animals eat them on the ground (see Paper I). The reality became an illusion, but thanks to the new reasons for doing it, the reality is back. In the past, when dried tree foliage was an important part of the winter fodder, most of it came as by-products from clearings and cuttings. To dry leaves for fodder today on a large scale is not an option, but the by-products can be used for other purposes, *e.g.* for biofuel. In doing so the thought - the idea - of taking care of the resources is preserved, as described in Paper II. For creating an old look, linking to what is recognized as central management regimes, pollarding is very good, even if it means hard work. It creates and focuses on an ancient expression, a symbol for long-term traditions that people react positively to and prefer.

What distinguishes the products of today from those of earlier times is that in the past things not wanted were taken away and the products wanted were retained in the landscape. Bushes were removed from the meadow if they took up space from hay production, while bushes that did not have any negative impact were left. Today the bushes saved are those wanted, *e.g.* hazel, and bushes that do not make any difference are removed.

In the business of cultural heritage, it is important to consider the growing process in conservation where living material is included. This could involve leaving young trees for future pollarding or being aware of the risk that the original idea of a garden or park can be forgotten when trees and bushes grow too big. That old trees were taken away when a new tree of the same species started to grow, as described by some of my interviewees from Bråbygden-Krokshult, is an example of the long-term perspective (Paper I). It is crucial not to save old trees *in absurdum*, but to dare to replace them with younger when appropriate.

The trees we plant or allow to grow up today will be quite big in fifty years' time. However, a private individual does not have time for such long-term plans. A young farmer said during the interview-walk that profitable fruit production ended in the 1970s, but he also added that he thought it would be profitable again now. However, he continued, it was no use planting any new fruit trees, since there would be no fruits for such a long time. Broberg (1992) argues that in the past we planted for our descendants. Today we do not plant new *vårdträd*¹¹, we rather try to save old, ill ones. The tempo is different and the way we look at history, while the time we see as the future is shorter. How would it look today if many 'modern' trees had been planted? Actually, this would not be unprecedented. In Bråbygden-Krokshult, the most common of the older vårdträd is the Norway maple (Acer platanoides) – a tree that is rarely found in pastures and forests. The younger (mid-1900s) vårdträd in Bråbygden-Krokshult are more exclusive and exotic, for example the silver maple (Acer saccharinum). Another example was given by one of my oldest interviewees, who told me that when he took over his farm in the 1950s, he planted two entangled hawthorns (Crataegus intricata). Could this discussion be transferred to examples other than vårdträd? Earlier it was mentioned that the demand for Swedish fruit (apples) decreased in the 1970s. Between the end of the self-sufficient times and the 1970s, especially during the Second World War, there was a great demand for apples in the cities. This caused many of the farmers to replace the apple trees in their orchards with new modern varieties. Today there are people documenting the older ones for the future.

Energy forest (*Salix* spp.) is the modern version of coppice, but with the final product for fuel and not fodder. Even if the professionals in coppice and forest history see a great difference in structure, the similarities are there and they are strong. One can speculate about pollarded trees, if farming had taken another direction and farmers still wanted to get the most out of the inland trees. Would there have been new tree species developed to get more abundant and more nutritious leaves? How would that have contributed to the Bråbygden-Krokshult landscape? - That would perhaps have led to a decreased interest because people prefer the typical and the remnants from long living traditions.

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¹¹ Vårdträd, a single tree on a farm or in a village that is seen as a symbol for prosperity (Skogsencyklopedin, 2000). Common on Swedish farm yards, a special tree in some way.

The trees and shrubs between the garden and the forest are today normally perceived as being of just non-productive value in the old sense. In most cases they are not used for anything but pleasure and biodiversity and as an illusion of something real linked to the past. My interviewees explained the fact that these trees and shrubs had been left by the simple argument that they had a great importance by just being there. However, if they belong to pollarded trees they get money for the management. Giant (veteran) trees should not be taken away due to biodiversity reasons. Wider reflections of today would probably provide and diversify the functions of the present trees in this inland zone to a whole series of complementary functions; being there for pleasure, providing shade for grazing cattle, or existing due to their role for biodiversity and cultural heritage.

A special zone, which, sad to say, is seldom given attention to in conservation, includes the zone around the houses, before the 'production landscape' starts. Maybe particularly here a reflection would be relevant, exploring wider thoughts about a development rooted in traditions or not. Also in the Bråbygden-Krokshult case study area, which has a reputation of a high management ambition, an ongoing process of abandonment is characteristic of this zone, with its today many free-growing grasslands, fruit-trees which are not pruned or replaced when dead, and vegetable gardens and perennial borders which are diminished. Parallel, the mowed lawns expands and elements of city gardens emerge.

Ordinary or special?

Today the ordinary instead of the special is favoured in conservation (Howard, 2003). The strategies in Sweden on how to treat representational restoration and preservation have changed over time, as discussed in Paper II. In a short-term perspective, the special things seem more in need of saving since the ordinary is everywhere. In a longer-term perspective, however, the ordinary is more important since this is what people want to know about a certain time, what was typical for that time. What we put in museums (including reserves) today is what people in the future will see as ordinary for the past.

Landscape subsidies make farmers tend their old oaks, pollarded limes, ash and hazels. All these trees and shrubs have been of great importance for a

long time, but so have other trees and shrubs. These – e.g. whitebeam, rowan, alder, willow, aspen – are not getting much attention and are just marginally mentioned in nature conservation, and when they disappear few people notice (see Paper I). Consequently, when the species from the past that are more special in their visual appearance are put forward, they become the vision of how the past used to look. The converse is happening to spruces in pastures (see below the section Good or bad?), what used to be common is now becoming more and more rare since it is seen as something bad. Here, a more sound way of dealing with the single spruce should be devised.

Another example is giant junipers. One farmer thought it strange that he had to keep and protect the old, large junipers on his farm to get his payments. These were seldom to be found earlier since they were too big to use for fencing, which was their main use in the 19th and 20th Century. Keeping giant junipers was not the tradition, at least not in Bråbygden-Krokshult. However, it is common in books about trees to read about big junipers, there are old photographs of people posing against them and people talk animatedly about giant junipers they remember from their childhood (Arnborg, 1992). Giant junipers have also been marked in 1932 by the Society for Nature Protection as something extraordinary – a landmark (Sundin, 2001). This indicates that giant junipers were something special since they were noticed. The giant junipers of today are often the result of non-management. Consequently, the giant junipers are now protected because of their former position as being special and therefore, together with the non-management effect, they are getting more common, more ordinary. This raises the interesting question: Will they then be removed in 50 years because they are not interesting since they are so common?

It is important that farmers become interested in their preservation work to understand why and what they do. They are the experts on their own land, but they can have difficulties understanding proposed measures if the motives are not logical, since it is difficult to see changes when one is living among them. The repeated photo-elicitation method used in Paper III is one way to get both information on the farm and the interest of the farmer. Seeing what has happened on their land through a chain of photos cutting out views and places to focus attention made the farmers understand the changes in vegetation that often occur slowly. They could also understand and remember the management. However, it becomes confusing for them if

what they are told to do from a cultural heritage point of view does not correspond to what they see by the photos really occurred. In this study, ordinary or special are focused on as something that affects value setting, but value systems are much more complex, being part of living or stopped (living dead) traditions, identity, knowledge, people and their engagement, aspects which are all central to studies in environmental aesthetics.

General or particular?

In this work, the words general and generalisation are primarily used as something negative and the importance of considering the place perspective is stressed repeatedly. The work with Landscape Character Assessment is here taken as an example to illustrate the fact that generalisation is of great importance in creating a shared culture of terms and categorisations, similar to what there is for biodiversity. Today Landscape Character Assessment (LCA) as a process has been pursued in a large number of countries in Europe (see Bishop & Phillips, 2004), and has been used primarily on national and regional level. One of the main aims of LCA is to develop maps showing the differences and similarities in landscape character as an important step in analysing landscapes. In making landscape characterisations, this raises questions such as: What is characteristic for an area? What is general for this area? The special place-related things consciously seem to be given a lower degree of attention. This involves almost the opposite approach to the present work, but each used in its context or both used together are important since they are complementary. My conclusion is that there is a need for generalisation in planning but it is of major importance to add the focus of the place, otherwise the general becomes negative with a loss of diversity, complexity and identity. In this matter of complexity, the use of many fields of expertise is essential. Bintliff (1988 p. 32-33) puts it like this when ending his review on the discipline of Archaeology: '... must remain positivistic and scientific – all is structure; at the same time our discipline is immensely enriched by the addition of post-positivist, humanistic perspectives because all is History. To understand any moment of the past is to see a unique fusion of the general and the particular'. If this is so in Archaeology, which is a part of the landscape field, the need to jump between scales and approaches becomes essential also in the wider context of landscape research and management.

Since we cannot know the absolute truth about the past at a specific farm, we have to use our general knowledge as an aid, and, together with what is visible in fields and reachable in documents, take decisions for the future. The problem of not knowing the historic truth of a place is more a problem for heritage stewards than for people in general (Lowenthal, 1996). My suggestion is to give more trust to the local actors, meaning both advisors and farmers, and to keep the traditions living. In the course of this thesis, I encountered many frustrated advisors who did not have sufficient time and many farmers who did not understand why they were supposed to introduce particular measures. Lowenthal (1996 p. 249) writes: 'every legacy is distinctive but realising our heritage problems are not unique makes them more bearable, even soluble, if we see how time or effort resolved them elsewhere'. Experience is good baggage, and advisors and farmers will use it if they are given the time and possibility to acquire it rather than proceeding using a prescriptive approach. This will provide the personal touch, which is the way farms have been managed in the past. Advisors could have a much more fruitful cooperation with farmers if the latter were allowed more freedom and shown more trust. However, as in every case of trust giving, this would go together with responsibility (Larsson, 2004).

Another example of the need to view things in more general terms is the situation when there is no information, nobody to ask and no photographs taken that can help one capture the local knowledge. There are probably quite a lot of useful photos in the farmers' private photo albums. Our experience was that farmers often said that they did not have anything of interest, but when we were allowed to look at old albums we found a lot of interesting things in the background of photos. The landscape itself provides the most valuable clues, *i.e.* the age of the trees, traces of earlier management, but it is true that these can be difficult to understand without any local help. Then a more general view can be good, using reference photographs¹² or reference landscapes.

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¹² As a background survey for the elicitation project described in Paper III, inquiries to museums and local history associations in Sweden showed that there are a lot of old photographs in the archives. Most collections of photographs are topographically archived but the museums are starting to make the photos searchable by key-words connected with the content. The museums also have a good knowledge of photo-collections from foundations, association and private persons. The landscape itself has probably never been the primary reason for taking the picture, but behind the persons, the houses and the ancient monuments are the trees and the meadows. to some degree this avoids the problem of the photographer subjectively choosing the object of interest, with the landscape in the background being just a matter of circumstances.

Since many of the actors in landscape management come from different cultures, the communication often gets blurred. It is important to get concrete information and to share experiences, in order to develop a common language and mutual understanding and respect. The use of a reference landscape, bringing people out together in a landscape and discussing the principles, creates shared experiences. Everybody has their own personal reference landscape but to be able to communicate, different persons should meet out in a landscape, which should be shared in experience. Here, sometimes its neutrality is important as a quality in a communicative planning situation (Gustavsson, 1999). The landscape could be a local or a regional reference, or even a reference from other parts of Europe, since Romania or Poland can be of help in understanding the past of an area in Southern Sweden (Emanuelsson, 1996; Peterson, 2002; Slotte, 2002). Reference photographs could be used in the same way as the focus of discussions. However, one should be careful when using reference landscapes or reference pictures so that they do not become an over-simplified truth or a truth but in another context.

Appreciated or not?

The way people look at and appreciate agricultural landscape is different for different individuals. This does not mean that the view of everyone is a subjective one, but rather inter-subjective and non-objective and dependent on the social context (Berleant, 1997). This context- and experience-related preference is stressed very much by Berleant, one of the pioneers within environmental aesthetics. The different perspectives in environment aesthetics could be compared to the relationship between people and landscape, and the different meanings the concept *landscape* has had over time - only considering the appreciated visual or also bringing in the dimension of culture. Here, one should bear in mind the importance within environmental aesthetics of experience (both of the type that is dependent on factors such as the reflected appreciation and direct experience without reflection), and of knowledge.

Carlson (2000), the main protagonist of environmental aesthetics, uses the term 'thin sense' of aesthetics for the more shallow relationship between man and landscape, and 'thick sense' for a more knowledge-based and deeper relationship. He also suggests that since it is a fact proven by history

that people appreciate earlier times although these were in many cases disliked by those living in the time, we should now accept the large-scale, highly productive landscapes of today and include them in the new development, provided that this can be achieved if it is done in an environmentally sustainable way (Carlson, 2000). My opinion of this matter is that Carlson's hypothesis in this case interferes too much with history. In one sense I agree with Carlson, since there are a number of people who appreciate agricultural mechanisation and regard it as the peak of scientific development. In the beginning of the mechanisation process, this view was very common and it is still present in preferences when new elements in landscape types such as Bråbygden-Krokshult are being considered, which is surprising considering the central role that conservation has had in that particular landscape. It can be argued that it is relevant to promote this view in innovative design in farm planning, when dealing with new development. Brady (2003), who advocates of the more experience-based view of environmental aesthetics, argues in favour of the traditional agricultural landscape because of its complexity and dynamics, and criticises Carlson's over-positive attitude towards science. She argues that the new productionled landscape leaves out the values of culture and biodiversity and focuses too much on taste.

The appreciation of the agricultural landscape varies depending on experience and knowledge. Through increasing the knowledge of the public, the assumption is that their interest will increase. Landscapes and objects as aesthetic values are often taken for granted but the aspects people like differ. Different authors have tried to find ways of describing landscape appreciation. For example the definitions of McCormack & O´Leary (2003) are helpful in the context of agriculture. Linked to their studies of Landscape Character Assessment in Ireland, they list seven aspects that influence the way we look at aesthetics:

- 1-Visual Composition
- 2-Sense of Place
- 3-Bond with Nature
- 4-Primal Survival
- 5-Utility and Process
- 6-Intellectual Satisfaction
- 7-Spiritual Symbolism

Below, these aspects 1-7 are used to designate the way people appreciate landscape. In our work with farm plans in Paper IV we tried, where appropriate, to increase the access, to provide more knowledge and through that more understanding, meaning that we used 2 and 5, stressed 6 and gave 1 and 7 extra effort.

During the interview-walks described in Paper I, interviewees were asked what they particularly noticed and considered beautiful when they managed their land. They said they had no such considerations, it was only the practical and rational that counted. Despite that, in our discussions, they mentioned two things as beautiful: birch and cherry. The birch was pointed out as beautiful. For example, two brothers in need of birch timber said that they could not take down a certain birch growing close to the farmhouse because their father liked that particular tree, so they had to go further out to find another. The cherry was mentioned as beautiful because of its spring flowering. For example, cherry trees were left on cairns because they were beautiful and because farmers were told by the authorities to leave cherries as winter feed for birds. Concerning the cherries, the interviewees' comments on the beauty of cherries only related to their presence, nothing linked to the past.

These farmers found their surroundings and certain objects beautiful, but they claim that this is nothing they consider when making choices in management. When talking to the regional advisors (Paper I) about farmers' opinions on aesthetics and what farmers prioritise, they mentioned the same trees: birches and cherries. The authorities recommend cherries and other fruit trees because of their historic link to the old economy based on domestic production. Today, the justification of these trees as important is due to their roles for the birds and their beauty. Concerning the birches, the advisors thought that the farmers think more of the aesthetics than of the historic link. If there are birches coming up along a ditch they are left there because they are considered beautiful. Using the seven aspects of McCormack and O'Leary (2003), the birch and cherry are liked because of: 1-Visual Composition, they are beautiful. However cherry is also linked to: 6-Intellectual Satisfaction, because of ecological awareness of the link between berries and birds. Moreover, the birch can be seen as belonging to category 7-Spiritual Symbolism, because of its Swedishness. Correspondingly, a pollarded tree can be seen as belonging to most of the aspects above, even 5-Utility and Process, since it is now part of the subsidy system.

Is tidiness good management?

What tidiness means and whether it is something people favour varies over time. Bushes, with the exception of trunk-cut juniper, were often considered untidy in the 20th Century (Paper I). A cairn in a field or a stone wall could be mentioned as important to be kept free from vegetation but, in parallel, it was considered acceptable to dump all kind of trash in the forest where no one could see it. Today it is common to leave some dead trees and high stumps for biological diversity but this was already recommended in a forest management book from 1928 (Wahlgren & Schotte, 1928). Later, it seems to have been forgotten by one or two generations of foresters, but earlier it was included as part of good stewardship in forestry. The farmers interviewed for this thesis would never have left dead trees visible twenty years ago since this would have not looked well-kept. However, less visible dead trees might have been left through laziness. As Stenseke (1997) writes, what used to be seen as good for business, taking away stone walls for example, is nowadays forbidden by law since it requires permission from the authorities. Today, attitudes and manners have changed again, and dead wood and stone walls are signs that the person managing the place is skilled in both nature and cultural caring. This change comes gradually, as it did with earlier changes, i.e. mechanisation.

Tidiness as a signal for good management has also been found in research by Nassauer (1988) in studies outside of Minneapolis. Traditional farmers in the USA find straight rows and the absence of weeds beautiful. Another study in New Zealand (Egoz et al., 2001) compared organic and conventional farmers, and their tastes regarding their own and each other's land, and showed that the conventional farmers regarded their own land as well kept and neat and the organic farms as untidy and badly managed. The organic farmers on the other hand looked at their own land as having a good future with high biodiversity and sustainability and the conventional farms as pesticide-polluted and lacking awareness. As described in Claval (2004 p.18-19), Antoine (2002) has interesting results from France concerning tidiness and what is perceived as good or bad practice in farming. In her study, persons visiting the countryside, but with no knowledge of it, found it more beautiful the more cultivated it was. On the other hand, she also found that in the real world of the farmer, the farm is a unit where all parts are connected in a dynamic farming system. So, while the fields look nice and managed, a natural pasture looks a bit patchy since it is grazed. However, these fields and pastures belong together and cannot be

separated in what is conceived as good farm management. In such a perspective the outsider's experience of the visual is thus 'wrong'. Again I go back to McCormack and O'Leary's seven aspects (2003): 5-Utility and Process makes the well-managed look good, but the outsider misses the 6- Intellectual Satisfaction. When integrating values on a farm in Paper IV, the biodiversity came into conflict with cultural heritage and aesthetics for the same reasons. Vegetation that seems good for biodiversity has the problem of looking untidy, especially along a cultural element, but biologists, who know what species it could contain, look on it as good. On the other hand, a meadow which is cut late, due to seeding, looks very tidy when cut, which also includes the cultural management process of cutting.

Good or bad?

What is considered good today could be bad in another time. What is by the public seen as bad on farms today is often a result of rather new development, such as modern farm buildings or rational cultivation with huge fields or big spruce plantations, which leaves no place for anything else. As described in Paper I, when talking to farmers about trees in pastures, they all told me that they consider it totally wrong to keep coniferous trees on pastures. The main reason for this strong statement was that they took up too much space and did not fertilise the soil in a good way. Yet, in nearly every pasture we visited during the interviews there was a spruce. When asked to comment on this, the farmers said that these individual trees were there to act as shelter or shade for cattle. As a rule, however, coniferous trees are believed to be bad for hay and after the widespread afforestation in the 20th Century with huge spruce plantations, the single tree was also seen as something negative. Another example concerns the cairn described in Paper III, which the farmers wanted to remove, since they thought the stones did not look old enough. In the next phase, after they had looked at the photo-pairs, they suddenly noticed that the stones had changed over the years and were now overgrown with mosses. The interviewees obviously had earlier never noticed the change, they still had perceived the cairn as it was when it was new and the stones had sharp edges. The interesting thing with this example is that the farmers have now decided to let the cairn stay as it is, since it looks ancient. Alternatively, they could have argued that its age (it originates from 1950s) was sufficient motivation to keep it, but they did not.

In other contexts, the appreciation of the object is strongly affected by memories of what is experienced and what stays as memories – and not only pleasant memories but even the opposite, like oppression. In these circumstances the choice is between taking away what is a reminder of bad times, and preserving it as a conscious reminder, diminishing the risk of having it happen again (Alumäe *et al.*, 2004). Most often conservation bodies in society seem to have as an ambition to preserve the landscape in an educational, neutral way, and in this effort, heritage is seen as something good. Howard (2003) stresses the fact that the things inherited from the past are far from always good. Directing this general discussion back to the present studies, it seems that the farmers are now preserving what they previously got paid to take away, be it trees in grazing areas or cairns, primarily due to changes in the knowledge and demands of the authorities over time, with payments often going in the opposite direction in a subsequent period.

The past into the future

Pettersson (2001) shows several examples from the Swedish history of heritage conservation. Of particular relevance here, he points out how a number of things that have been lost are in later periods regarded as valuable. Every time has its own view on conservation and such views are difficult to predict. By looking at mistakes – as seen today – from past conservation practices, we can learn that our choices from today will be reconsidered and judged repeatedly in the future. It is important to try to reflect today on the possible changes that might occur. Germundsson (2004) suggests that it is important to look at the era of modernity when trying to understand historic landscapes of today and their relationship to the heritage of pre-modern times. Problems arise when the whole history is unconnected. Often the structures are what we are able to observe in the landscape and these can often be present as elements and patterns even though the management processes in the fields are of a modern character and more recent. Understanding modernity also means understanding the special meaning modernisation gave our links to history. This was a period in which past and present were strongly separated and development was meant to be only future-led. This separation became in many landscapes problematic for values that were a result of long-term continuity and living traditions.

Björkroth (2000) makes an interesting point in her thesis in museology about the divergence of the shift from normal use of yesterday to symbolic value of today. An example could be the pollard trees that were originally used as sources of winter fodder. Today we no longer need the leaf material from pollarded trees but this type of tree is the subject of conservation subsidies. Björkroth (2000) argues that when something is taken care of by museums or in some way preserved, it no longer exists and cannot be part of life anymore. According to her, 'the museum way' is a way of management by the society, to create a sense of a sustainable here-and-now and to create comparable units between different social systems and cultures; from an international perspective down to the regional and local ones. This also touches the loss of the practical use of tree leaves or branches of pollard trees as well as fruit-trees, in which the society brings in new attitudes and finds the trees interesting visually, culturally and biologically.

The artefacts are needed in a symbolic sense. Preservation is dependent on actions and things do not become heritage until they are identified as such (Howard, 2003). New modern objects are often thought of as something bad from a cultural heritage point of view. With another attitude e.g. a windmill could be an expression of continuity in the farmer's way of exploiting the available resources as he has always done (Antonsson, 2003). From a similar perspective, an object or an area does not necessarily have a value due to its age, but because it shows a process with different time layers present (ibid). As shown with the examples of the farmers' view on their modern cairn and whether they had succeeded in getting it sufficiently overgrown, or the view of the advisor in Paper IV on pines, this is not the case in reality. It is not only practical things that need time to be accepted. New visionary ideas that designers can take into consideration also require time (Høyer, 1999). This represents a decision, to make something spectacular or not and to think of the gap in time, in understanding and in incorporation. Again, this must be decided by the local context and by the designer's experience.

The farms we try to preserve through conservation, whether traditional or modern, and how we preserve them will reflect the heritage of the time when the decision to preserve them was made. The preservation might even reveal more of the time when the preservation plan was decided than of the history it was intended to capture (Widgen, 1993; De Olivier, 1996). Management choices can only be made from the perspective of our own times. We make

choices for the goals which are set up today and for future generations, but, in fact we cannot know what people in the future want or how they will view things or appreciate landscapes. The heritage changes depending on what we want it for and what we do with it (Lowenthal, 1996). What we today see as the past is not what the people of those days saw as the present (Piaget & Inhelder cit. Lowenthal, 1985 p.191).

Future research

Being part of a research team at the Department of Landscape Planning for a number of years when working on my thesis has led my thoughts in many directions. Below are some ideas that I feel would merit further research. All these ideas have a connection with the thesis itself to a greater or lesser degree, some being a direct continuation of a research direction initiated within the thesis.

Developing tools and approaches for farm-planning as a communication-lead process, also integrating design traditions further. Improving approaches to include greater interaction and overlap between a greater numbers of fields of expertise.

- Comparing different tools for communication in farm planning.
- Bringing together students from relevant educations and study their way
 of communicating, as a step in the process of achieving mutual
 understanding.
- Exploring the realisation phase in which strategic issues are transformed into operational actions. Studying solutions for increasing landscape accessibility and attractiveness in areas with particular low accessibility around cities in highly productive agricultural areas.

Integration of heritage and rural tourism. The area of rural tourism and agricultural heritage is a growing one, but so far it has mainly developed along separate lines. Future research needs to:

- Study how the vision of the agricultural landscape as image is created and exploited in the situation of today.
- Investigate authenticity and how it can be used in practice in a
 developing, restorative or agricultural context; and discuss the meaning
 of authenticity and its linkage to theory within environmental aesthetics.

Explore communicative design in terms of how to articulate physical
form and relate it to people and their active engagement and
involvement, comparing lived experiences and alternatives; how to reach
those coming from outside (visitors, managers, entrepreneurs) and public
opinion in order to transmit both knowledge and experiences.

Balancing standardised models with an increased awareness of local skills, and traditional approaches with new ones. Information in the form of living knowledge should be sought and documented before it vanishes or declines to such an extent that much of the inherent variation has disappeared. Soon even those farmers introducing mechanisation and intensive agriculture will be gone. Future research should involve:

- Carrying out more interviews with Swedish farmers about their life-long management and choices.
- Documenting information on traditional systems in European countries such as Spain, Poland, Romania and Portugal that are disappearing rapidly, and applying the information obtained in the interpretation of local systems in Sweden.

Conclusions

When reflecting back to the initial objective of this thesis, that is 'to explore the development of small-scale agricultural landscapes and their different values in times of change', the main conclusion is the importance of going back to fundamental sources and seeking information and inspiration. This can be done in many ways - here, particular attention was devoted to the importance of strengthening the local context and its complexity and authenticity was investigated as a key concept for conservation, including the search for a historic authenticity and a meaningful relationship between people now and their history. Through this, authenticity could function as a fundament, a conceptual platform and an approach to knowledge in planning for the future.

Making interview-walks and performing photo-elicitations with repeated photographs are examples of methods tested here and shown to be good ways of capturing the knowledge of the place and interesting tools to enable communication to proceed. They could consequently be used as methods both for future research and in practice for future advisory and planning situations. Meeting farmers face to face, and if possible in a series of meetings, is a way to get hold of the past, but also a way to understand how farmers think about the future. Without farmers taking part in a farm planning process in one way or another and wanting to be engaged, active and positive in the process, future plans are not worth the effort.

The current method of identifying and prioritising general solutions and standardised regulations is a far from optimal approach that in the long term will reduce the variation in the landscape, leading to a decreased search for variety and local identity. A changed approach based more on the individual place and context could be more correct and agree more closely with earlier farming traditions. For example, Paper I concluded that farmers in the past managed their farms in different ways from each other. Furthermore, the farm planning papers (IV, V) show that different designers tend to make different proposals for the same farm. Each farm has its own future.

During the last century there have been a lot of new products for which the authorities have provided advice and support in different ways. The new promotion of the agricultural landscape and its previously non-commercial

products is, in a way, just another form of production. This production also doubtless places demands on advisors. Landscape architects could be among those playing an important role, due to the broad contextual approach, thanks to their ability to communicate with experts, local users and stakeholders, and their creativity in finding and integrating new solutions in a local landscape and farm situation. However, if to be able to play such an important role, the educational training of landscape architect students should gain of an adjustment to increase the training of an agricultural and farm context. Probably the same advice could be valid also for other educational programmes, but these were not involved in my studies.

It is far from obvious how the theoretical wishes and national directives can be implemented in practice. Creativity and design should be stressed more as tools for integrating different values, based on how these values depend on their present status, the location of the farm and the ambition of the farmer. The people giving advice on such matters will need complementary training in how to do their work and all their new tasks. Flexibility, experience, local knowledge, creativity and trust are five key attributes that should be possessed by local actors and that should be promoted by administrators, researchers and teachers searching for a contextual understanding of knowledge.

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The letters å, ä and æ are treated as a, ö and ø are treated as o, according to international standards.

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