

1 A NEW MODEL FOR CULTURAL LANDSCAPE INTERPRETATION

by Helen Armstrong

The possibility of developing a new model for cultural landscape interpretations lies in the fertile theoretical area between heritage and cultural landscape theory including the new interpretative paradigms introduced through Critical Cultural Geographies. The exploration of this model begins with the background to cultural landscape theory drawing out the potential for new ways of looking at cultural landscapes. The key to this model lies in the different realms of landscape meanings and the new processes for interpretation. Implicit in such processes is the understanding that not only will the new model be interpretative and evaluative, it will also inevitably involve some degree of transformation in the way we see landscapes. This chapter sets out the background and conceptual processes. It also discusses the methodological implications of this model including examples of the applications of these procedures.

REVIEW OF CULTURAL LANDSCAPE THEORIES

Origins

Cultural landscape theory has its origins in the German geographical studies of Otto Schlüter in the late 19th century. The new theory grew out of discontent about the hegemony of physical geography, considered at the time to be the only means of interpreting landscape. Schlüter argued strongly for the recognition of the role that culture played in the creation of landscapes, suggesting that there should be a distinction between cultural landscapes and natural landscapes (Whitehead, 1985; O'Hare, 1997). Intellectual exchanges between French and German scholars at the end of the 19th century resulted in a similar movement in France through the geographer, Paul Vidal de la Blache who established the French '*pays*' school. De la Blache extended the interest in landscapes derived from human influences to studies of how ways of life, customs and practices were responses to the landscape. He believed that culturally distinctive human societies were based on geomorphically distinct regions (de la Blache, 1926). Such an approach, while a departure from conventional geographic studies at the time, was nevertheless confined to an anthropological response to biophysical places rather than recognition of politically or culturally determined influences on places. The early stage of the model for this study draws from de la Blache's recognition that human land use can be prompted by geomorphically distinct regions, which in this study are defined as 'areas of difference' (Wadley & King, 1993).

At the same time as geographical paradigms were being questioned in German philosophical circles, the prevailing Cartesian approach to knowledge was being challenged by the German philosopher, Husserl, and his followers. His new philosophical inquiry, phenomenology, was

similarly concerned with ways of life and customs, with particular focus on everyday life and the way it is experienced (Valle & Halling, 1989). Thus the concept of cultural landscapes includes the proposition that they are physical representations of public history awaiting interpretation.

Late 19th Century French and German geographical studies, in parallel with phenomenological studies, lay the foundation for later studies on sense of place. The growth of this work occurred in the United States in the 1920s where Carl Sauer, influenced by both the German humanist geographers and the new developments in human geography in North America, put forward the concept of landscapes as representations of the activities and aspirations of cultural groups (Sauer, 1925). Early cultural landscape studies still used mapping as a means of representation of human influences on the landscape. Later, followers of Sauer developed the practice of 'reading' the landscape through critical observation. Initially such readings were anthropological, but subsequent scholars recognised that landscapes were repositories of signs and symbols, which were expressions of customs and values. A number of North American studies were undertaken from the 1930s to the 1960s in the form of analyses of cultural landscapes (Alexander, 1966; Jackson, 1951, 1952; Wagner & Mikesell, 1962). These studies increasingly focused on the way customs, traditions, and ways of life imbued landscapes, both urban and rural, with a sense of place.

Sense of place and the way places can become important to communities often relate to the experiences, which have occurred there. The environmental psychologist, Robert Riley (1992), suggests that such experiences become embedded in the memory of the place. He draws from Proust's work *Remembrances of Things Past* (1934) to bring out the power of memory and relived experiences associated with particular places. The role of memory and

place is also explored by Samuel (1995) and Lowenthal (1985, 1996).

Cultural Landscape as Heritage

Lowenthal's early work pioneered the art of interpreting the landscape and its meanings in ways, which have been seminal to subsequent heritage and place theories. From the 1960s on, Lowenthal has been pre-eminent in developing concepts of attachment to places redolent with memories and past associations. His work shifted discussions about place and cultural landscapes into the realm of values rather than mere descriptions of the ways cultural practices have created landscapes. Lowenthal saw that cultural landscapes had heritage value because of the need for human attachment to the past (Lowenthal, 1975) and his subsequent works (1985, 1996) have explored the complexity of values attributed to places under the aegis of 'heritage'.

In Australia, apart from scenic landscape studies (Williamson, 1984), the development of cultural landscape studies has predominantly focused on historic landscapes and their conservation. The work of Ken Taylor (1989) on the historical landscape associated with Lanyon near Canberra and Jim Russell's comparative study on cultural landscape assessment methodologies in USA, Britain and Australia (Russell, 1988) were important contributions to developing cultural landscape theory. Other important contributions include the writings of the historian, Sir Keith Hancock, on the cultural landscape of the Monaro region (Hancock, 1972), Williams' work on the Making of the South Australian Landscape (Williams, 1974) and the proceedings of the UNESCO conference, Man and Landscape in Australia (Seddon & Davis, 1976). This was a landmark conference for the development of humanistic understandings of the Australian landscape. The proceedings set the framework for much of the inquiry into Australian landscapes for the next decade, some of which have informed part of the

Thematic Study (Sim, 2000) developed for this study.

Another contribution at this time, Joe Powell's (1978), 'Mirrors of the New World: Images and Image-Makers in the Settlement Process', provided invaluable insights into the iconography of the Australian landscape. During the 1980s, Australian cultural landscape theory included Jeans & Spearritt's *Open Air Museum* (1980), which presented the cultural landscape through a socio-economic filter, and Denis Jeans' Australian Historic Landscapes (1984), which provided historiographic interpretations. As well, the Cultural Landscape Research Unit (CLRU), established at UNSW in 1985, undertook a number of documentary studies on aspects of the landscape in the 1980s (Armstrong & Burton, 1986). Included in the research of the CLRU were two significant works, the pioneering heritage study, undertaken by Craig Burton, on the cultural landscape of Pittwater in Sydney (Pittwater Municipal Council, 1988) and the survey and analysis of environmental heritage perceptions in Australia (Armstrong, 1991, 1994c). Concurrent with theoretical explorations on the Australian cultural landscape, in North America the US National Parks Service pioneered assessment methods for cultural landscape evaluations (Melnick, 1981, 1988). Figure 2.1 summarises the various theoretical inputs into cultural landscape theory recognised in this study.

Different Realms of Landscape Meanings

Cultural landscape theory was also re-invigorated through the cultural geographic work in Britain in the 1980s, particularly the work on landscape meanings and values (Burgess et al, 1988a, 1998b, 1988c; Cosgrove, 1986; Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988; Penning-Rowsell & Lowenthal, 1986). Significant work in North America and Canada in this area focused on locality studies, in particular the work of Edward

Relph (1976, 1987) and Christian Norberg-Schulz (1980).

Engaging with Locality

Edward Relph, in his book, *Place and Placelessness* (1976) observes that the values people attribute to places are related to their level of empathy with such places. Relph, along with Yi-Fi Tuan (1974), was one of the early cultural geographers to

incorporate a phenomenological perspective into understanding the concept of sense of place. This work was picked up later by the architectural historian, Norberg-Schulz (1980), in his study of the concept of 'genius loci' and by the British geographers, Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (1988) in their work on iconography and the landscape.

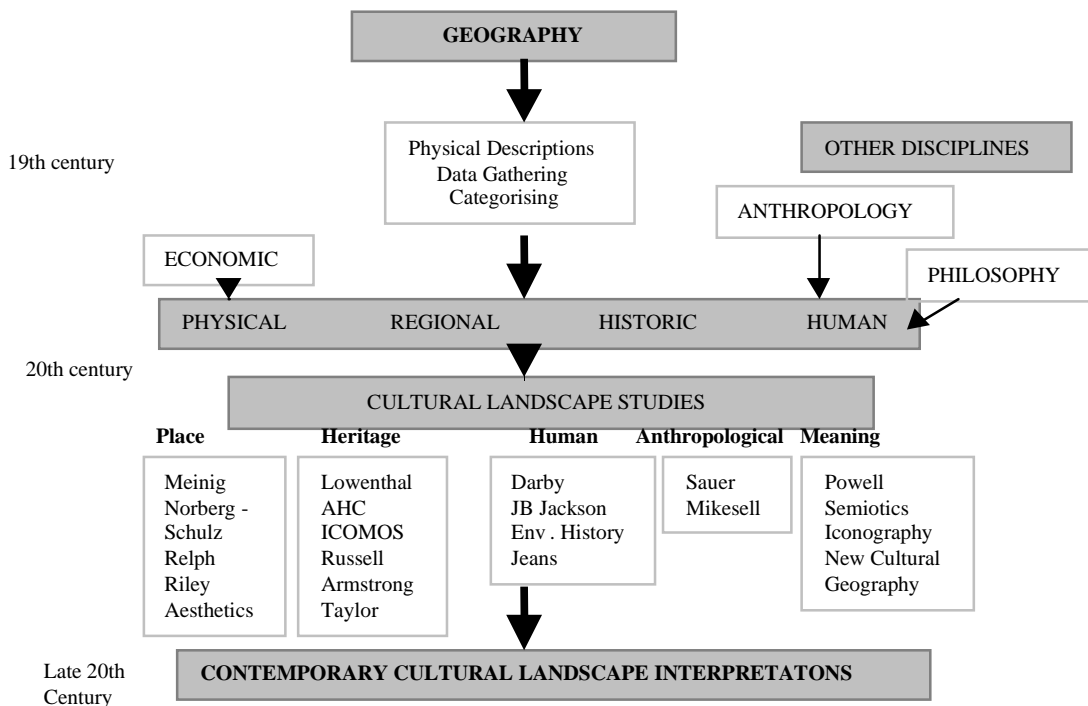


Figure 2.1 *Changing Theoretical Positions about Cultural Landscapes*

Relph's work challenges the focus of planning on systematic and objective descriptions of places. He argues that such approaches do not offer depth of understanding. Classifying places into categories and hierarchies imposes artificial limitations when, in reality, experiences of place overlap and interpenetrate other places and other experiences (Relph, 1976). As a result, places are open to a variety of concurrent interpretations based on experiences, which can be analysed existentially. He suggests that there are three components to concepts of place; the static physical setting, the activities that occur in this setting, and the meanings attributed to

the setting (Relph, 1976). While the first two components are relatively easy to identify, the concept of meanings is more difficult to grasp. He proposes that rather than classifying places, it is possible to 'clarify' places using the 'multifaceted phenomenon of experience of a place' and so reveals the sources of meaning or essence of particular places (Relph, 1976:47). His work is similar to that of Norberg-Schulz (1980) on 'genius loci' or the spirit of place where both draw heavily from Heidegger's propositions about experience and being (Heidegger, 1962).

In seeking to understand why we value certain places, Relph sees the importance of

'existential' or 'lived' space. According to Relph, existential space is constantly being made and remade by human activities. These are evident as unselfconscious patterns and structures in the form of landscapes, towns and houses. It is this unselfconscious aspect of existential space, which results in places being 'centres of meaning or the focus of intention and purpose,' (Relph, 1976: 22). Under such circumstances the relationship between community and place becomes quite powerful.

Vernacular Landscapes

Relph's work informs the work on collective values associated with landscapes drawing from the observations of humanist geographers interested in vernacular places such as J.B. Jackson (1984) and in the familiar and everyday places discussed by Donald Meinig (1979).

Meinig's edited volume, *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes* (1979) provides an invaluable contribution to understanding the values related to vernacular places, particularly the essay by Pierce Lewis on the axioms or rules for reading the cultural landscape. Both his third and seventh axioms have relevance to this study. Lewis (1979:19) states as Axiom 3 '*Common landscapes - however unimportant they may be - are by their very nature hard to study by conventional academic means*', as well Axiom 7: the Axiom of Landscape Obscurity states that '*most objects in the landscape, although they convey all kinds of messages, do not convey those messages in any obvious way*' (Lewis, 1979:26).

In arguing for this perspective one can draw from Henri Lefebvre's (1991:100-101) notions of the importance of everyday life where he states

...everyday life comprises all that is humble, ordinary, and taken for granted; it is made up of repetitions, of small gestures and insignificant actions in which all the elements relate to each other in such a regular sequence of accepted pattern that their meaning need never be questioned.

Of particular importance to this study is Relph's exploration of the 'identity' of place. There is a difference between the identity of a place and group identity *with* a place based on whether one experiences the place as an insider or an outsider. Relph states '*To be inside a place is to belong to it and to identify with it*' (Relph, 1976:49). Relph proposes three states of insideness; '*behavioural insideness*' which is being physically present in a place, '*empathetic insideness*' which is the emotional involvement with a place, and '*existential insideness*' which is the complete and unselfconscious commitment to a place (Relph, 1976:50). These are aspects of attachment to place.

Place Attachment

Research into place-attachment has highlighted how people value or are attached to places for a range of reasons. In the 1970s, people-environment research, predominantly positivist, began to explore personal space (Sommers, 1969), territoriality (Greenbie, 1981) and environmental meaning (Kaplan & Kaplan, 1978). Although this research was considered '*culturally naïve positivist environmental image research*' (Shields, 1991:7), nevertheless these studies provided a legacy of human responses to place. In contrast, the work of phenomenologists (Buttimer & Seamon, 1980; Relph, 1976; Seamon, 1982; Tuan, 1974) reveals a consensus that place-attachment is a complex phenomenon that is not measurable but rather can be interpreted. It consists of many inseparable, integral and mutually defining features that not only acknowledge effect, emotion, and feeling but also include knowledge, beliefs, behaviour and action.

More recently, Low, an environmental psychologist (Altman & Low, 1992), has argued for a cultural definition of place-attachment which accepts that, for most people, the attachment involves transformations of experiences of spaces into culturally meaningful and shared symbols, at which stage 'space' becomes 'place'. An important aspect of this definition

is that where place-attachment occurs, there is a symbolic relationship between a particular group and the place.

Low proposes a typology of cultural place-attachment that she has derived from six

symbolic linkages of people to land: genealogical, loss, economic, cosmological, pilgrimage and narrative. Table 2.1 explains the symbolic linkages.

TABLE
Symbolic Linkages of People and Land.

2.1.

Source: Altman & Low, 1992:166.

1. *Genealogical* linkage to land through history and family linkage,
2. Linkage through *loss of land* or destruction of continuity,
3. *Economic* linkage to land through ownership, inheritance and politics,
4. *Cosmological* linkage through religious, spiritual or mythological relationships,
5. Linkage through *secular pilgrimage* and celebratory cultural events,
6. *Narrative* linkage through storytelling and place-naming.

More recent work on place-attachment, in particular the politics of marginal groups, by Dolores Hayden in her book *The Power of Place* (1995) draws from the organisation she established called 'Power of Place'. This was an activist group seeking to make manifest in urban public landscapes such issues as women's and ethnic history using collaborative public art projects. Through these projects, some of the forgotten aspects of place, particularly where they related to minority groups, were made visible. She highlights the role that public space can play in cultural identity and how landscapes are '*storehouses of social memories*'. For Hayden, the power of place means the '*power of ordinary landscapes to nurture citizen's public memories*' (1995:9).

Hayden is interested in place-attachment as heritage. She points out that in an ethnically diverse city such as Los Angeles, race, gender and neighbourhood are poorly represented as reasons for heritage preservation of the built environment. She argues for the rights of minority groups to be represented in the urban built environment in the form of public history or urban preservation. Hayden broadens the notion of place attachment to include those places associated with pain and humiliation. She points out that '*coming to terms with ethnic history in the landscape requires engaging*

with bitter experiences, as well as the indifference and denial surrounding them' (1995:22). Hayden suggests much of this heritage exists as '*fragile traces*' that may be too vulnerable to survive economically and physically (1995:100). This is in strong contrast to those landscapes that are seen to be iconic and strongly related to national identity.

The Iconography of Landscape

There is a rich body of theory about the iconography of landscape. The work that is most relevant to this study is that of the humanistic geographers, Cosgrove & Daniels (1988). They have drawn predominantly from artistic and literary representations of landscape as vehicles to reveal the socio-political signifiers embedded in representations of place. This work has provided important insights into the meanings and values associated with places through time, particularly Cosgrove's study, *Social Formation and the Symbolic Landscape* (1986). Cosgrove is interested in how the idea of landscape has developed as a cultural construct, particularly in terms of approaches to production on the land. He argues for a way of seeing the landscape that reflects a wider economic and social context. Cosgrove suggests that ideologies are embedded in the landscape or place as metaphors for different aspirations. He

proposes that '*changes in the way humans organise to produce their material lives quite obviously result from and give rise to changes in relationship to their physical surroundings*' (Cosgrove, 1986:5).

Cosgrove explores the role of the New World, for him, North America, in fulfilling European aspirations. The ideological role of the New World for Europeans has been one of realising ideals and beliefs. In his analysis of the American landscape, he cites John Stilgoe's (1982:17) claim that North America is the landscape of common knowledge, which is created by

... a mixture of both the 'little tradition' transmitted by generations of half-literate peasants and the 'great tradition' of the literate, innovative minority of scholars, rulers, and merchants and professional surveyors and architects.

Clearly this adds weight to Lefebvre's recognition of the importance of everyday life (1974,1991) as well as supporting Marwyn Samuels' discussion about the authorship of the landscape where he attributes the quality of places to the work of archetypal figures as well as individuals (Samuels, 1979:62).

Cosgrove's 'landscape idea' takes on a particular form in North America that, he claims, is shaped by the combination of European ideas, the reality of the American landscape, and the particular social structure in America. In Australia, a similar process has occurred but without the strength of the American ideological underpinning. Instead the British colonial bureaucracy determined much of the character of the urban and rural landscape in Australia, resulting in a restrained and remote determinant of cultural form delivered through a bureaucratic system (Armstrong, 1985, 1989). Other writers suggest that a depth of understanding about landscapes requires a '*historical recovery of ideologies*' (Baker & Biger, 1992:3). This poses particular challenges in the Australian context where, unlike North America, ideologies have not been stridently articulated by the mainstream culture.

Cosgrove (1986) is interested in the way perceptions of landscape changed in the West from feudalism, which was characterised by a close affinity with the land, to capitalism where the land becomes a commodity for increasing exchange value. New World settlements are the ultimate extension of capitalism's appropriation of land where pioneering new settlers exemplify this process. In the case of Australia, Europeans came to a land imbued with the symbolism of an antipodean Garden of Eden - a tropical paradise of abundance and plenty.

Cosgrove (1986) and Relph (1976) provide different perspectives on the interpretation of landscape and place values. Relph enables an understanding of *place* attachment as an 'insider' as well as highlighting the vulnerability of sense of place in the contemporary world, whereas Cosgrove remains outside, giving an understanding of symbolic meanings imbued in *landscape* as a result of cultural processes.

Theoretical interpretations of landscape values thus include existential understandings, the value of familiar and everyday places, as well as iconographic interpretations.

Multiple Landscape Meanings

Relph's subsequent work on the modern urban landscape (Relph, 1987) suggests that the '*landscape [can] speak for itself*' (Relph, 1987:5). The concept of landscapes being 'read' as 'texts', much of which is supported as a general trend within cultural studies and urban semiotics (Calvino, 1979; Carter, 1987, 1992; Eco, 1986) is highly valid for this study. The humanistic geographer, Marwyn Samuels (1979) has also researched the concept of meanings associated with place and landscape by incorporating objective mapping of geographic data with landscape meanings derived from the use of biographies. Samuels was clearly preceding the post-structuralists by proposing in the mid 1970s that landscapes are authored and

it is the author who gives meaning to the landscape.

In this interpretation he sees the individual as a surrogate for the archetype of environmental factors, historical movements, socio-economic forces and psychological drives (Samuels, 1979). Samuels suggests that places should be interpreted from the evidence of intent found in written explanations of why people did things the way they did, namely from the authors themselves. Building on this work, Jacobs (1992) and Hayden (1995) suggest that there are multiple and contested meanings associated with place and that the urban landscape is a realm with many authors (Jacobs, 1992).

Contested meanings are not only associated with power and place, they are also evident in the commodification of places. In the process of making the unselfconscious conscious, there is a risk that places identified as having value will become appropriated as commodities for tourism interests. This is part of what Relph explores in his analysis of 'placelessness'. He suggests that places, which have currency as mass identity, are often little more than '*a superficial cloak of arbitrarily fabricated and merely acceptable signs*' (1976:61). This is in marked contrast to place identities that have developed through '*profound individual and social experiences that constitute enduring and recognisable territories of symbols*' (1976:61). A significant aspect of this study is the analysis of contested values that shows many aspects of commodifying landscapes.

The model for landscape interpretations developed for this study has sought to include Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, Australian South Sea Islander, and migrant values. It particularly suggests that there are multiple and contested meanings associate with landscapes. The concept of multiple meanings has been addressed through techniques that explore worldviews, historical themes, current heritage values

and aesthetic responses to landscape character.

Thus a range of approaches to cultural landscape theory has informed the model developed to investigate Queensland's cultural landscapes all of which are itemised comprehensively in Appendix Two. The following table summarises the range of approaches into seven major groupings.

Table 2.2
Cultural Landscape Theories Informing this Study

- | |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• early environmental deterministic approaches• historical approaches• 'sense of place' approaches• design / aesthetic approaches• anthropological approaches• cultural heritage approaches• 'landscape meaning/s' approaches |
|---|

From a Theoretical Model to a Conceptual Model of Cultural Landscapes.

Defining Cultural Landscapes

There are numerous definitions of cultural landscapes. A review of these definitions and explanations of the term 'cultural landscapes' identified the following as relevant definitions for this study:

The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, natural areas the medium, the cultural landscape results. Under the influence of a given culture, itself changing through time, the landscape undergoes development, passing through phases . . .

Sauer, 1925

... a landscape is a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolising surroundings.... They may be represented in a variety of materials and on many surfaces - in paint on canvas, in writing on paper, in earth, stone, water and vegetation on the ground.

Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988

Cultural landscapes can be represented as stories, myths and beliefs, which may be applied to wilderness landscapes or ordinary landscapes. This can apply to landscapes, which are used to represent national identity or to local landscapes invested with local folklore or to sacred landscapes invested with ancient mythological meanings.

Armstrong, 1998.

The cultural landscape is the constantly evolving, humanised, landscape. It consists of a dialectic between the natural physical setting, the human modifications to that setting, and the meanings of the resulting landscape to insiders and outsiders. Continuous interaction between these three elements takes place over time. The concept of cultural landscape therefore embodies a dynamic understanding of history, in which past, present and future are seamlessly connected.

O'Hare, 1997

Each definition reflects a particular way of interpreting cultural landscapes. The definition used in this study is derived from a critique of the different cultural landscape theories and the particular circumstances of the Queensland project. As a result of this analysis the definition of Cultural Landscapes for this study is

The cultural landscape is constantly evolving, humanised, landscape. It consists of a dialectic between the natural physical setting, the human modifications to that setting, and the meanings of the resulting landscape to insiders and outsiders. Continuous interaction between these three elements takes place over time. Cultural landscapes can be represented as stories, myths and beliefs, which may be applied to all landscapes including wilderness landscapes, ordinary landscapes or designed landscapes. The concept of cultural landscape therefore embodies a dynamic understanding of history, in which past, present and future are seamlessly connected.

Landscape Interpretation in Practice

An analysis of the way landscapes are interpreted in planning practice, reveal that landscape interpretations tends to be restricted to scenic evaluations and heritage planning (Armstrong et al, 1998). The Contested Terrains Study highlights that not only have cultural landscape values been limited to visual or heritage values, but there is also concern about whose values are represented. However in seeking to address these issues it is not simply a matter of empowering people whose values have not been included. It is necessary to recognise that many values can be held concurrently by one person or group. Processes of reduction aimed at establishing certainty are increasingly recognised as inadequate for dealing with complex values. As Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (1988:8) point out

From a post-modern perspective landscape seems less like a palimpsest whose 'real' or 'authentic' meanings can somehow be recovered with the correct techniques, theories or ideologies, than a flickering text ... whose meaning can be created, extended, altered or elaborated...

In order to address the issue of contested values, a method is needed to identify the multiple values about landscapes held by people and to recognise that these values are 'flickering texts'. From the analyses of theory and the definition of cultural landscapes used in this study, it is clear that any model for defining and assessing cultural landscapes needs to be both *interpretative* and *evaluative*; the *interpretative* aspects of the model being informed by the theoretical and historical analyses, and the *evaluative* aspects being informed by a critical analysis of conservation practice. Embedded in such a concept is the possibility that the process of interpretation may also *transform* perceptions of the landscape.

Reading Landscapes as Texts: Understanding Meanings

Research into meanings has traditionally been the domain of hermeneutics, working

with written texts (Madison, 1988, Spiegelberg, 1975). The new critical geographers, however, suggested that landscapes could be seen as texts and as such could be read hermeneutically. Work on multicultural urban landscapes and migrant places pioneered the use of hermeneutics to interpret Australian urban landscapes derived from the structured conversations (Armstrong, 1994, 1997). Queensland, however, is too vast for similar methods. Accordingly a different research process was undertaken to define the landscapes as texts where through a process of sequential steps selected Queensland cultural landscapes were 'read' or interpreted.

A hermeneutic process requires a theoretical field. In this project three theoretical fields are proposed; the heritage field, a cultural studies field (worldviews) and Queensland cultural field (the Thematic Study). In the heritage field, orthodox techniques used to determine landscape heritage values have been reviewed (Pearson and Sullivan, 1995). This included criteria for heritage significance in both the Australian Heritage Criteria (AHC Act, 1975) and the Queensland Heritage Act (1992). The cultural studies field involved reading the landscapes according to selected worldviews and the Queensland specific cultural field required a reading according to a Thematic Study. A fourth field, landscape character, has also been introduced. The theoretical fields inform the study at different stages of the process.

Thus the model for interpreting landscapes involves a number of steps. These include understanding the history and current heritage values, analysing the landscapes as categories of human use, reading the landscapes according to the Thematic Study, reading the landscapes as values associated with different world-views, and finally analysing the current character of the landscapes.

Understanding the History: the First Step

As cultural landscapes reflect human use over time, a chronology of changes in the landscape of Queensland was developed and analysed for key eras of significance. Large landscapes such as Cape York Peninsula, the Wet Tropics, the Gold Coast and smaller landscapes such as South Brisbane and the areas designated as significant landscapes in South East Queensland during the Regional Forest Agreement studies were reviewed in terms of these eras of significance. At the same time the current heritage listings were reviewed and the landscapes were reconsidered in terms of potential heritage significance under the criteria for listing on the Register of the National Estate and the Queensland Heritage Act (1992).

Analysing Landscapes into Categories of Human Use: the Second Step.

Because interpretations of meanings involve the use of hermeneutics and texts, the landscapes needed to be organised into a 'language'. The language used in this study was a set of landscape categories based on land-use. These were built on both the work done by Sim and Seto (1996) in their study of the designed landscapes of Queensland, and a content analysis undertaken on a range of promotional material about the different Queensland Local Government Areas. The categories also closely aligned with the broad historic themes developed for South East Queensland 2001 study. They included landscapes of nature, enterprise, communication, water management, experimentation, strategic interest, leisure, landscapes associated with particular communities and landscapes of symbolism (Seto, 1998). Table 2.3 shows these categories.

In each of the study areas, the landscapes were categorised while at the same time the categories, through a process of 'saturation' (Strauss and Corbin, 1990), indicated the particular cultural landscape focus for each area.

Table
Landscape Categories of Human Use

Categories	Intentions	Indicative examples
Landscapes of Settlement	To dwell, To pioneer and establish territory, To provide services for surrounding community.	Cities, towns, Rural homesteads in their setting.
Landscapes of Enterprise	To fulfill capitalist objectives, To develop and improve, To exploit natural resources	Pastoral, agricultural, mining, forestry, fisheries, tourism.
Landscapes of Communication	To connect, To service and supply information, To effect political control.	Sea, river, rail, road, air, stock routes, post, telecommunication, Aboriginal trade routes.
Landscapes of Water Management	To overcome limitations of dry lands, To manage floods.	Dams.
Landscapes of Strategic Interest	To maintain existing authority, To defend, To protect eg bushfires, To colonise.	Aboriginal massacre sites, 19 th century coastal defense sites, Fire towers, Strategic settlements.
Landscapes of Leisure	To enjoy in a social manner, To achieve physical health, To effect nature based activities.	Parks, resorts, Sporting fields, Nature reserves,
Landscapes Associated with Particular Communities	To reveal community values, To belong and identify, To share common interests.	Acclimatisation Societies, Migrant communities, Sites for organisations such as CWA.
Landscapes of Symbolism	To confirm spiritual values, To consolidate identity, To express a Queensland character.	Sun & surf recreation, Aboriginal sacred sites, 'Big bananas, pineapples'

Reading Queensland Landscapes According to Worldviews

Building on the work of contemporary cultural studies (Bird, 1993; Frawley, 1994; Heathcote, 1972), a set of worldviews was developed as another technique for reading Queensland's landscapes (Sim, 1998). Geographers and historians that have framed the way Australia have identified several differing outlooks has changed over the last few centuries. Geographer R. L. Heathcote (1972: 77-98) identified scientific, romantic, colonial, national, and ecological visions as

the major instruments of change. These same visions were also discussed by Frawley (1994: 55-78) within an environmental history context. Such worldviews recognised the major ideologies that had underpinned the emergence of certain cultural landscapes. Table 2.3 summarises the ten worldviews used in this study and a full list with elementary descriptions is included in Appendix Two. Figure 2.2 shows the way landscapes can be read through these worldviews.

Table 2.4
Selected Worldviews for Interpreting Queensland Landscapes

<p>SCIENTIFIC VISION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • empirical enquiry into nature & processes
<p>ROMANTIC VISION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • attraction to wild & uncivilized landscapes / landscape valued aesthetically / sympathy with Aborigines.
<p>COLONIAL VISION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • development ethos / resource exploitation / paternalistic approach • succeeded by postcolonial/ national vision after 1901
<p>NATIONAL / POSTCOLONIAL VISION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • national development optimism / national identity & pride • national identity & pride; overcoming 'myths': tyranny of distance, isolation, shock of independence, tall poppy syndrome; seeking even greater independence (Republican movement)
<p>CAPITALIST VISION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • development ethos / resource (natural & human) exploitation; free-market economic ideas / economic rationalism / modern day Utilitarianism; entrepreneurial approaches.
<p>SOCIALIST VISION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • protection of workers from exploitation; common good / welfare State approaches / communal ownership / cooperatives.
<p>ECOLOGICAL VISION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • opposition to development ethos / nature conservation ethos; ranges from deep ecology to 'wise use' approaches • Sustainable Development = "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." 1987 <u>World Commission on Environment and Development</u>. / 'wise use' writ anew / attempts to combine development and conservation approaches.
<p>TRADITIONAL ABORIGINAL VISION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • belonging to land (not owning the land); spirituality/ 'songlines' linked to physical landscape; evolved into sustainable use of land by 1780s;

(Sources: Compiled by Jeannie Sim, mostly from Heathcote 1972 & Frawley in Dovers 1994, with additions)

This process not only provides a way into the realm of interpretations, it also provides

a method of allowing the co-existence of multiple meanings. To achieve hermeneutic depth, it was important to understand how these worldviews had been acted out in Queensland.

Scientific, Colonial and Capitalist Worldview Landscape Readings

A significant concern about Queensland in the Western min was how white people from the northern hemisphere could live and work in the tropics. In the 19th century, this involved exploiting the natural resources of the tropics. It is only recently that playing and leisure in the tropics has been so strongly evident in the cultural landscape. Cultural landscape response to living in the tropics over time, predominantly informed by the work of Sim (1999), provided the basis for interpreting such meanings in certain landscapes associated with a *scientific worldview*. The reason why white British were concerned about living and working in the tropics was heavily located in the *colonial and capitalist worldview* that Queensland was a landscape of resources - mineral, timber and pasture. Thus another key theme for a hermeneutic interpretation involved land as the focus of change. The work of Ross Johnston (1982) and Fitzgerald (1982, 1984), provided insights into how the contemporary cultural landscape evolved from the land after European occupation. Associated with this theme is the main role of development within a *capitalist worldview* to Queensland.

Tensions around this interpretation of Queensland's cultural landscape become strongly evident. Central to an understanding of land as a focus of change and development is the concept of 'frontier space' (Freeman and Jupp, 1992). Equally relevant in Queensland are the debates around the concept of who is appropriate to occupy the Australian nation space (Bhabha, 1990). Interpreting the landscape for marginal groups is fundamental to an understanding of meaning and values in this State. The work of Reynolds (1987,1998) and Thorpe (1996) provided the basis for

understanding marginal groups within *colonial, capitalist, romantic, traditional Aboriginal and post-colonial worldviews*. Thorpe's notion of colonised labour was enacted in the landscape in ways that did not occur in the southern states. The landscapes values for Aboriginal communities, the Australian South Sea Islanders, the Chinese gold miners and the Mediterranean cane workers are all informed by the thematic study of marginal groups.

Understanding the Character of the Landscape: the Fourth Field.

Although the predominant emphasis in this study is on understanding the different meanings attributed to landscape, it is important to recognize that meanings are also embedded in the aesthetics of landscape. This ranges from scenic/visual features and sensory experiences as well as meanings embedded in the 'Picturesque, the Beautiful and the Sublime' (Dixon Hunt & Willis, 1975; Knight, 1794). It could be said that landscapes have been traditionally understood within an aesthetic frame each of which has specific characteristics (Bourassa, 1991). An aesthetic approach is embedded in the meaning of the word 'landscape'. Bourassa notes that landscapes are '*particularly unwieldy aesthetic object(s)... being a messy mix of art, artifact and nature ...and inextricably intertwined with our everyday practical lives*' (1991:xiv).

For millennia, humans have written poems, essays, and novels about the beauty of landscapes. Artists have drawn, painted and other wise rendered their perceptions of landscapes. Musicians have been influenced by nature and landscapes. Sculptors and architects design with landscapes. Scholars pursuing an understanding of the character of landscape have come to realise that aesthetic qualities are part of the character of landscape.

In the heritage field, Kerr (1979:11) in the *Conservation Plan* describes aesthetic significance as

Aesthetic value includes aspects of sensory perception for which criteria can and should be stated. Such criteria may include considerations of the form, scale, colour, texture, and materials of the fabric: the smells and sounds associated with the place and its use.

Pearson and Sullivan (1995:136) consider that this description does not fully convey landscape aesthetics. They suggest

Landscapes, in particular, tend by their nature to have strong aesthetic elements. The 'beauty and the terror' of Dorothea Mackellar is easily recognizable in our experience of large-scale natural landscapes. The cultural landscapes of the nineteenth-century pastoralism can have a different, but equally strong, effect. Here it is often the pleasing juxtaposition of order and wilderness, or European culture and Australian environment that is effective.

They confirm Bourassa's point that analyzing the aesthetics of landscape is complex. The AHC has developed criteria for assessing the aesthetics of landscape, however they '*freely admit that aesthetic assessment is poorly developed and still presents some problems*' (1995:136). They nevertheless suggest that landscape aesthetics can be considered in terms of '*abstract qualities, evocative responses, meanings, landmark qualities, and landscape integrity*' (1995:137).

Landscape architects have interpreted landscape aesthetics in the design field as 'character' that is an amalgam of the biophysical, human layers over time, sensory aspects and 'design' elements. Landscape character can be read in a number of ways. In formal terms, the United States Forest Service developed a method for assessing the scenic character of landscape (Williamson, 1984). Scenic quality was considered in terms of a composite of factors shown in Table 2.5.

Table
Assessing Landscape Character

Scenic Quality Factors	Character types	Dominant Elements
Naturalness Water and land-water edges Uniqueness & representativeness Relative relief and ruggedness Diversity and variety Patterns	Panoramic Focal Enclosed Detail	Form Colour Texture Line

Character was analysed in terms of how the landscape appeared. This was based of factors derived from natural elements such as topography, natural vegetation, the presence of water, and cultural elements such as patterns, diversity and variety. Character types could be further analysed depending on their openness and the strength of the horizon line, *panoramic landscapes*; or the presence of a path or river which draws the eye onto an sense of mystery and wonder of what lies beyond, a *focal landscape*; or where the topographic from closes the view in all directions, *an enclosed landscape*; or where the presence of landscape elements such as the vegetation prevents an experience of the greater landscape, called *a detail landscape*. Each of these landscape types could be further described according to certain dominant elements such as line, colour, form or texture (Litton, 1984). In order to ensure that cultural landscapes were read within an orthodox landscape discipline frame, a fourth field, landscape character, was used.

Not only did this deepen the hermeneutics, it also allowed for an assessment of the integrity of the landscapes – their heritage integrity (Kerr, 1990, Marquis-Kyle and Walker, 1992, Pearson and Sullivan, 1995) and the integrity of their landscape character.

Determining Heritage Landscapes

One of the objectives for the Queensland cultural landscape study was to determine if the reinterpreted landscapes are heritage landscapes. A critical review of Australian methods used to determine heritage significance of places showed that although the Burra Charter and the Australian Heritage Commission (AHC) criteria of significance are comprehensive they are not easily applied to *ideological* aspects of place. Table 2.6 shows the current criteria used by the AHC to assess heritage significance and their relevance to this study.

Table
Evaluation of AHC Criteria in Terms of Cultural Landscapes.

Existing Criteria	Relevance to Cultural Landscapes
Criterion A - Pattern in History	Highly relevant
Criterion B - Rare & Endangered.....	Limited, due to broad scale of landscapes,
Criterion C - Potential to Yield Information	Very relevant as little work has been done,
Criterion D. – Representational.....	Some relevance, large landscapes representational in world & national contexts,
Criterion E – Aesthetics	Highly relevant,
Criterion F - Creative Technical Achievement ..	Relevant to mining & innovative land practices,
Criterion G - Social and community	Relevant, particularly to minority groups,
Criterion H - Significant people.....	Relevant, linking landscapes with people.

In terms of the meanings and values attributable to heritage places, the AHC criteria are defined by a highly focussed set of values; those of heritage practice. The critique set up by the new critical geographers would argue that this is a limited set of values and leaves out values attributed to places which are held by specific groups in society for ideological or iconic reasons. To address this, an additional criterion for the assessment of heritage significance of places is proposed; *Criterion I – Ideological/iconographic Value*, described as the 'philosophical' criterion. Such a criterion allows for the recognition of meanings and values attributed to Australia, often represented as landscape. It allows for

the recognition of universal iconographic values such as Australia as an 18th century Antipodean paradise or Australia as a 19th century ideal of unlimited resources. It also allows for places to be interpreted according to major cultural paradigms such as Marxism, positivism, feminism, environmentalism, or post-structuralism. Table 2.7 shows how such a criterion could be added to the existing process of assessment of significance. The application of this criterion to two significant Queensland landscapes, Fraser Island and Birdsville, according to Sim and Seto's analysis of valued Queensland landscapes (Sim, 1998) are described in "Appendix 1 Iconic Landscapes".

Table
The Shape of Criterion I – the Philosophical Criterion.

<i>New Criterion for Heritage Assessment</i>	
Criterion I - Ideology/Iconography - the philosophical criterion	
<i>Universal Australian icons</i>	
Places with iconographic significance, from universal icons to community icons	
	18 th Century Antipodean paradise
	19 th Century Unlimited Resources
	20 th Century, Pluralist Values
<i>Major Ideological Paradigms</i>	
Places that reflect a prevailing ideology associated with the major paradigms.	
	Marxism
	Post Structuralism
	Capitalism
	Feminism

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Sustainable Management of Cultural Landscapes.

Because Queensland had a history, until recently, of resistance to conservation, Queensland government policies about planning and conservation have been able to build on the trial and error of other states. The recently introduced *Integrated Planning Act* (IPA, 1997), requiring integration of all aspects of planning, has given cultural landscapes a legitimate role in sustainable planning. There is however difficulty in clarifying this role as few IPA studies have been done. As a result, there is not a body of knowledge on which to build. There have nevertheless, been a number of major studies including the Cape York Peninsula Land Use Study (CYPLUS), South East Queensland 2001 (SEQ2001), Wet Tropics Management Plan and the range of studies done for the Regional Forest Agreement (RFA). In a climate of rapid change due to development pressures, tourism, and land ownership issues, the management of cultural landscapes becomes crucial. An extensive overview of how this is achieved internationally and nationally (Avery, 1999) shows that any management strategy can only be devised when the values of that landscape are understood.

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As Avery (1999) points out, unless the values of the landscape are accepted, any form of management will be contested and possibly sabotaged. Therefore using the cultural studies work on different forms of 'capital' and 'fields' of values (Bourdieu, 1991), it is possible to analyse the nature of the contests and determine ways that various interest groups can negotiate. In this study, the two most contested and at the same time the most iconic landscapes for Queensland were, Cape York Peninsula and the Gold Coast. In each case, a study of the discourse about the conflicts was undertaken, using the fields of 'identity' and 'development'. In this process, it is anticipated that a form of language about the contested landscapes will be found that has the same meaning for each interest group.

One of the most significant aspects of Queensland's cultural landscapes is the issue of Aboriginal land rights and how to achieve effective co-management. Cape York Peninsula exemplifies this issue. Another significant concern is the issue of landscapes of leisure and tourism in the tropics, particularly in world heritage areas for example the impact of tourism on the Wet Tropics. A major landscape value that has persisted into the late 20th century has been development associated with leisure. This has been particularly focussed in South East Queensland along the Gold Coast. Another persistent landscape value in Queensland since European occupation has been the exploitation of primary resources, one of which has been timber. Managing the cultural landscape of forestry has been an Australia-wide issue over the last five years. The areas involved in the Queensland Regional Forest Agreements are important cultural landscapes. Thus understanding the values all these interest groups attribute to the landscape was a particular challenge taken on by the Contested Terrains: Investigating Queensland's Cultural Landscapes project.

Difficulties lie in the fact that cultural landscapes to date could only be defended within heritage and environmental parameters. Clearly if the cultural landscapes of Queensland are to be managed sustainably, their meanings and values needed to be articulated within a broader context than heritage and environment. The challenge is to find ways that reveal landscape meanings that can be integrated within planning practice in the fullest sense. The process proposed here enables landscapes of strong significance to be identified and the condition or integrity of these landscapes to be assessed.

Conclusion

Queensland as a cultural landscape is as vast and diverse as the physical landscape. It is possible to interpret this cultural landscape within the context of its vastness by exploring layers of human impact. The various layers reveal changes over time both as physical evidence but also as changing values and meaning related to the landscape. A study of interpretations, known as hermeneutics, needs to be located within theoretical fields. This chapter has shown that cultural landscapes can be interpreted within heritage fields but they can also be 'read' in cultural studies fields building on the new critical geographers' ways of working with landscapes as texts. The study has introduced other facets of interpretation through the use of worldviews, thematic history analyses, and assessments of landscape character.

Because hermeneutic studies allow for multiple meanings it is inevitable that some meanings will be contested when proposals for the management of cultural landscapes are put forward. Recent work in cultural studies and social science has been looking at the nature of contested values and ways to develop a field in which values can be negotiated. It is here that the project seeks to ensure that cultural landscapes are managed in such a way that the continuum of meanings and values from the past and present continues into the future.



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