

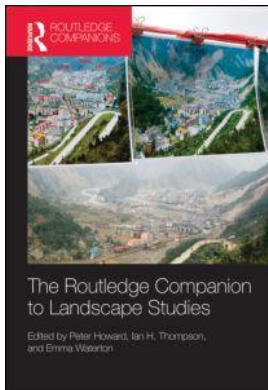
This article was downloaded by: 10.3.97.143

On: 30 Sep 2023

Access details: *subscription number*

Publisher: *Routledge*

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: 5 Howick Place, London SW1P 1WG, UK



## **The Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies**

Peter Howard, Ian Thompson, Emma Waterton

### **Landscape and social justice**

Publication details

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780203096925.ch21>

Gunhild Setten, Katrina Myrvang Brown

**Published online on: 06 Dec 2012**

**How to cite :-** Gunhild Setten, Katrina Myrvang Brown. 06 Dec 2012, *Landscape and social justice* from: The Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies Routledge

Accessed on: 30 Sep 2023

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780203096925.ch21>

**PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR DOCUMENT**

Full terms and conditions of use: <https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/legal-notices/terms>

This Document PDF may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproductions, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The publisher shall not be liable for an loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

# Landscape, society and justice

---



# Landscape and social justice

*Gunhild Setten*

NORWEGIAN UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, TRONDHEIM

*Katrina Myrvang Brown*

JAMES HUTTON INSTITUTE, ABERDEEN

## Vignette

As perhaps with any newcomer to a country struggling to recognize and negotiate the local norms of encounter, I had now for many weeks been cycling around the city and surrounding woods in a heightened state of awareness – and at times apprehension – longing for the completion of this discomfiting apprenticeship of mobile citizenship. Sometimes coming up against the hard edges of social expectation on the trail just made me feel clumsy or mildly embarrassed. But other times it was felt as a sharp sanction. On one such occasion I was cycling along an undulating coastal woodland trail popular with many townsfolk. I had carefully chosen to explore at a time I knew would be less busy with other users, although it was still necessary for the small numbers of walkers, runners and cyclists there to actively orchestrate their mutual passage from time to time. Approaching from behind two women walking in the same direction as me, I was keen to do the right thing in order to have a congenial encounter and prevent them getting a fright. So I shouted what I thought to be a friendly ‘hallo’ and slowed down to a near stand-still. One woman jumped to the side and shouted ‘All you have to do is use a bell!’ I felt the sinking gut feeling of hurt and confusion. I didn’t have a bell nor would I have felt comfortable using one as in my woods at home using a bell would be construed more as an impudent ‘I demand you let me through’ than a polite ‘I am here and would like to pass’. Reeling viscerally for the rest of the outing I thought it unlikely that I would enjoy that trail again.

## Conceptualizing landscape and social justice

There are two reasons for starting with one of the present authors’ everyday encounters with localized norms. The first reason is that the intention in this chapter is to make the reader think about landscape and social justice as an everyday experience. The second reason, which follows the first and paraphrases Schein (2006: 1), is that it is *always* possible to think about landscape and social justice, *even* in one’s everyday environments. Regarding landscape and social justice

there are two aspects in particular that this vignette speaks to. First, her way of doing landscape was inferior or less valid; the ideal citizen within that particular landscape is a walking and not a cycling subject. Second, she was sanctioned because she couldn't perform what the (local) expertise demanded. So, in trying not to be deviant, she was still unacceptable.

In this chapter we wish to say something about why her landscape doing was seen as less acceptable and hence contested. Yet, we want to make three somewhat broader claims; that people try to *do* the landscape in different ways; that there are different judgements about the appropriateness of the doing; and that the landscape is implicated in both the doing and the passing of judgements, and hence there are implications for who is included and excluded, and in what sense.

Landscape and justice are fundamentally and inextricably linked (for example Henderson 2003; Mitchell 2008). Landscapes are struggled over *and* are the means of struggle. In order to demonstrate this relationship between landscape and social justice, we lean on a landscape conceptualization where landscape is a site of such contention and struggle, claims and contestations. Social struggles not only shape landscapes but crucially also involve attempts to naturalize them, making them seem inevitable, ordinary, and even necessary. Social struggles are also attempts to resist such naturalization. Landscapes, then, work to (re)produce certain identities and ways of life, and become a spatial configuration of particular people's legitimacy and moral authority (Mitchell 2003b; Setten and Brown 2009).

In this way landscape speaks explicitly to social justice, or rather injustice, particularly through social processes of contestation, oppression and resistance. Social justice is a real world issue, produced and reproduced socially (see for example Young 1990; Harvey 1996; Mitchell 2003a), rather than bound in theoretical constructs and universal truths (see for example Rawls 1999). Generally, theories of social (in)justice have been concerned to explain the (re)production of equity, distribution and redistribution in society, although taking different approaches to the achievement of socially just outcomes. Much effort has, however, been devoted to demonstrating that one can only with difficulty 'arrive at a socially just end without changing the production system' (Newman 2009: 196). This Marxist perspective on (in)justice is key to the theories of, for example, Harvey (1996) and Mitchell (2003a). Crucially, however important the production system is, post-structuralists, including feminists, have pointed at the fact that many groups would still be oppressed even if economic injustice was eliminated (Newman 2009: 196; see also Young 1990; Rose 1993). There are, hence, differing notions of justice. Useful here is the distinction O'Connor (1998) draws between distributive (who gets what and where), procedural (mechanisms of distribution and their fairness) and productive (involvement and control over choices and decisions) justice (see also Waterstone 2010). Social justice is hence fundamentally a relational question.

Following this logic, Iris Marion Young, in her influential book *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Young 1990), offers a cultural politics concerned to explain (in)justice also beyond 'equitable distribution of life's necessities, comforts, luxuries and burdens, to include the potential for people to participate fully in the conditions, situations and decision processes that give rise to particular distribution in the first place' (Waterstone 2010: 423). Young's theory is important because she demonstrates how injustice or oppression is always social, contingent and systemic. This allows her to identify more than one source (i.e. the economic, distributive system) of oppression. In outlining five facets, or 'five faces of oppression' – exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence – Young (1990) draws attention to the multifarious ways (in)justice is (re)produced. Only the first three 'faces' are explicitly related to the economic system and division of labour. Cultural imperialism and violence operate differently:

To experience cultural imperialism means to experience how the dominant meanings of a society render the particular perspective of one's own group invisible at the same time as they stereotype one's group and mark it out as the Other.

*(Young 1990: 58–9)*

A systemic hierarchy of norms and perspectives result, producing and naturalizing inferiority, very much as experienced by one of the present authors' encounters with local norms while out cycling.

Young's sensitivity to the social and contingent nature of (in)justice points to the importance of thinking about justice as fundamentally spatial. Even though landscape scholars have been relatively slow in taking this on board, this spatial sensitivity suggests the importance of landscape. The coupling of the fields is thus to a large extent due to landscape scholars' recent engagement in drawing attention to how race, gender, class and labour are always implicated in spatially unjust landscape processes (see for example Blomley 1998; Henderson 2003; Mitchell 2003a; Duncan and Duncan 2004; Schein 2009). So, even though cultural geographer Carl Sauer, in the early 1900s, defended local cultures and populations against the vicissitudes of development, the critical field of 'landscape and social justice' must be seen as relatively nascent, evident in the fact that only recently have several scholars argued for a redirecting of landscape studies towards questions of social justice:

What is needed is a concept of landscape that helps point the way to those interventions that can bring about much greater social justice. And what landscape study needs even more is a concept of landscape that will assist the development of the very idea of social justice. ... [T]he study of landscape, that thing which so often evokes the plane on which normal, everyday life is lived – precisely because of the premium it places on the everyday – must stand up to the facts of a world in crisis, to the fact that the condition for everyday life is, for many people, the interruption or destruction of everyday life.

*(Henderson 2003: 196; see also Mitchell 2003b)*

It is thus over the past 20 years or so that landscape scholars, and in particular American landscape scholars, have engaged explicitly and critically with theories of justice coming out of fields such as philosophy, political science and geography (Young 1990; Harvey 1996; Fraser 1999; Rawls 1999).

Against this background, we have identified five discernible, yet interlinked strands of thought and practice where landscape is given conceptual power in relation to different versions of social justice.

### *Landscape and social justice – five strands of thought and practice*

#### **Public participation and policy**

An increasing range of writings generally concerned with challenges of public participation and policy has appeared in recent years. Parts of this literature more specifically address landscape as the site in which (groups of) people collaborate, yet also being itself at the heart of conflict. Public participation, 'involving individuals and groups who are outside the formal decision-making processes of the government and local authorities' (Jones 2011: 30), has, according to Selman (2004: 367), to a large extent become 'part of the conventional rhetoric' of nearly any issue related to landscape planning and development. An illustrative example is the European

Landscape Convention (ELC) (Council of Europe 2000), designed to promote landscape protection, management and planning within and across the states of Europe. With an overall aim of establishing 'a true landscape democracy' (Explanatory Report par. 64, quoted in Arler 2008), the strength of the Convention is down to the success or failure of people's abilities and willingness to participate in assessing the qualities of their local landscapes. That is, 'participatory, dialogue-based approaches mean that values and meanings attached to landscapes by different groups need to be negotiated between competing interests' (Jones 2011: 28). The intention of participation in the ELC, then, is to:

bring landscape issues into the public domain by reaching decisions through discursive and dialogic processes rather than leaving landscape character to be something determined by purportedly 'objective' technocratic approaches.

*(Jones 2011: 29)*

Although often rather subtle, a justification for landscape participation is hence a notion of social justice, through the reinforcement of legitimacy, cooperation and trust, information exchange and tackling of conflicts. In short, public participation basically means the acceptance of heterogeneity as a social justice tool (Jones 2011; see also Pretty 1995; Buchecker et al. 2003; Selman 2004; Arler 2008). In researching public participation, scholars have drawn on both quantitative and qualitative methodologies: ranging from traditional methods such as surveys, observation and interviews, to more critical methodologies involving activism and participation in community groups, a feature shared with several of the strands outlined below.

'Public participation' is neither scientifically nor politically a coherent field of practice, and is possibly the most wide-ranging perspective on landscape and social justice identified here. Yet there has been a general agreement that participation 'is one of the critical components of success' (Pretty 1995: 1251) in planning, policy-making and management. Inspired by experiences from the South, 'public participation', as a deliberative democratic tool, has recently been taken up within a Western context. Within the landscape field, however, a majority of the literature is, despite the critical scope folded into the notion of public participation, surprisingly under-critical and apolitical. The analytical potential represented by O'Connor's (1998) category of productive justice is hence so far a missed opportunity. Studies are often either theoretical (see for example Jones 2011), or they tend to report on varying degrees of public participation or describing differing participatory processes (see for example Buchecker et al. 2003; Brown et al. 2004). There is therefore a relative lack of critical appraisal of the fundamental ideologies underlying participatory processes themselves (Pretty 1995), as well as a building in of the explanatory agency of power relations and thus how particular processes themselves still create or perpetuate injustice. For example, particularly within disciplines such as landscape planning, landscape architecture, landscape ecology and partly (European) human geography, the ELC has been embraced, simply put, because locally produced landscapes should be managed and evaluated locally. At the same time, the ELC allows for a possibility – and tendency – to fall into what Purcell terms 'the local trap', which:

refers to the tendency of researchers and activists to assume something inherent about the local scale. The local trap equates the local with 'the good'; it is preferred presumptively over non-local scales. ... The assumption is that localizing decision-making will democratize it and that democratization will result in greater social justice and ecological sustainability.

*(Purcell 2006: 1923–4)*

This critical conflation of local with ‘good’ democracy can, explicitly and implicitly, be seen to characterize much landscape literature concerned with notions of justice. This point has resonance too with the next strand of thought and practice.

### Law, justice and polity

A distinctive contribution to the field of ‘landscape and social justice’ is the work of Kenneth Olwig (1996, 2002). Olwig’s etymological dissection of the landscape concept represents a reconsideration of scenic and territorial definitions of landscape. Using ‘substantiveness’ as a prism through which landscape unfolds, Olwig argues that:

Landscape ... need not be understood as being either territory or scenery; it can also be conceived as a nexus of community, justice, nature and environmental equity, a contested territory that is as pertinent today as it was when the term entered the modern English language at the end of the sixteenth century.

*(Olwig 1996: 630–1)*

The crux, then, to use Mitchell’s words, is that landscape in this sense is a:

... material reality, a place lived, a world produced and transformed, a commingling of nature and society that is struggled over and in. In these struggles, productions and lives, law (as a social practice) [is] critical, and normative goals of justice [are] always foremost.

*(Mitchell 2003b: 792)*

Social justice is thus folded into the landscape. Consequently, landscape is political, and ‘can be seen as the intersection of place, space and the (political) body’ (Mels 2003: 382). This landscape, or *Landschaft*, conception is derived from German, and, according to Olwig (2002: 19), ‘The primary meaning of *Landschaft* appears to have been a judicially defined polity, not a spatially defined area.’ What is frequently seen as a northern-European landscape conception is thus derived from ideas of custom, law and community as they came to be expressed in and through the landscape (Mels 2003). With a special reference to medieval Scandinavia, Olwig has demonstrated how landscape was a polity, i.e. traditions, customs and institutions were part and parcel of the substantive landscape: ‘A substantive landscape thus comes to be articulated through a polity’s ideals and practices of law and justice’ (Setten and Brown 2009: 193). Landscape, then, is always a site of contention, i.e. it is in the nature of landscape to (re)produce both physical and symbolic articulations of power.

Given the historical nature of Olwig’s narrative perspective, it builds on extensive archival work. Additionally, and importantly, analyses of artistic and literary representations also feature prominently, despite this perspective’s almost anti-representational nature, save for the importance of local *political* representation.

Seeing current landscapes as morally constituted by people, polity and place offers some radical insight, but has only to a limited extent been demonstrated or radically theorized. More to the point, there is a favouring of local agency without critically thinking about how this creates or sustains exclusions of its own. Furthermore, it is not clear how a local landscape as polity fits in with issues of justice on multiple and larger scales. There are, however, interesting links to post-colonial theorizations of nation, polity and citizenship, and how ‘narrative becomes a tool for a political, historical and cultural ideology in the recording of landscape history’



(Tolia-Kelly 2011: 72). To this we return below. First, we turn to a related and similarly substantive approach to landscape and social justice.

### Labour, class and production

This approach rests on the landscape theory of Don Mitchell (1996, 2003a, 2008). Stating that ‘Social justice is impossible ... without the production of a socially just landscape’, he programmatically holds that landscape is key to a just society (Mitchell 2004: 767). Similar to Olwig, Mitchell leans on a substantive understanding of landscape, one which cannot be reduced to a textual, discursive or symbolic representation, although landscape is all of these too. In aiming to steer landscape studies towards a greater concern for social justice (see also Henderson 2003), he has convincingly demonstrated how landscapes are made and remade through labour, exploitation and struggle, and, crucially, how landscapes then become ‘naturalized by the work that ideological landscapes do in making invisible the associated material injustices’ (Setten and Brown 2009: 193–4).

In order to explain the morphology of the landscape, then, Mitchell (2008: 33, emphasis in original) urges us to pay ‘close attention to what struggle in and over the landscape is *about*’. Because landscape is anything but self-evident, we need to understand how landscape obscures the workings of power and injustice. According to Mitchell, obscurity lies in processes of production, capital and circulation, and ultimately power. So even though landscapes are made locally through work, life and production, they are crucially also not local. Whereas the two strands outlined above encourage a preoccupation with the local, Mitchell (1996) is at great pains to demonstrate how one landscape, for example the strawberry fields of California, is always closely and directly linked to other landscapes, for example to Mexico and India through migrant workers. Just as important as the production of landscape are thus the outcomes of these networked landscapes, one of them being obscurity, or the concealing of labour and social relations.

Another outcome is consequently related to whose interests are ultimately served by manipulating and controlling particular people, resources and behaviours in such ways. The material manifestation of landscapes and their role as a concretization of social relations means that struggle over its various forms, meanings and representations impinge on real people’s bodies and lives and the very structures and conditions of existence. Consequently, landscape is always about justice. Moreover, the very ability of landscape to obfuscate the social and labour relations through which it is (re)worked and articulated, enables a fundamental forgetting of how landscapes revered for their aesthetic or productive value can only come into being through, often differently located, landscapes of exploitation, appropriation and devastation (Mitchell 1996).

Methodologically, this perspective draws on a range of tools, in particular qualitative methodologies such as interview material, archival studies, and analysis of visual and textual materials. This perspective also importantly draws on activist approaches to people’s everyday landscapes, and thus links closely to the fifth strand outlined below.

### Nation, race and memory – postcolonial insights

Over the past couple of decades, insights from post-colonial studies have offered valuable perspectives on landscape, and ‘recast ostensibly local cultures and landscapes in hemispheric and even global terms’ (Henderson 2003: 186). First, post-colonial landscape theory links, to the above ‘Mitchellesque’ perspective. Both Mitchell and Henderson focus on the co-constitution of near and far-away landscapes and how *relations between* landscapes are obscured. However, whereas

Marxist scholars such as Mitchell (2003a) and Henderson (2003: 190) see landscape as integrative to a fundamental ‘conflict model of social theory’, postcolonial studies lean more on ideas about and processes of ‘Othering’, particularly along differentiating axes such as gender, sexuality, race and class (see for example Agyeman 1990; Rose 1993; Dubow 2009). Although some of these post-colonial landscape studies do not make explicit references to ‘social justice’, they are infused by dimensions of belonging, alienation, loss, exile, negation, marginalization and memory (cf. Bender and Winer 2001; Tolia-Kelly 2011). Second, and particularly through a post-colonial recasting of notions and narratives of ‘nation’ and ‘nationalism’, these works are implicated in Olwig’s (2002) narration of the political landscape. Through a practice of ‘writing in and out’ of the landscape:

Narrative is ... an important tool in ‘storying our world into shape’ (Daniels and Lorimer 2009). In this research narrative does not sit benignly in service to the material landscape or artefactual evidence, but actively shapes the encounter, experience, cognition and comprehension of the landscape. ... Narrative is understood and becomes phenomenon through a synergistic binding between representations, narrations and the embodied experience of landscape, and is often orientated through national historical framings ...

*(Tolia-Kelly 2011: 75)*

Bender (2001: 5) reminds us that we need to be alert to these framings; attending to ‘whose stories are being told, and to be aware that they naturalize particular sorts of social relations’, particularly because ‘[w]ithin nation states, history and heritage tell powerful stories, often ones that stress stability, roots, boundaries and belonging’. Post-colonial insights are important in this respect because the conflictual untidiness of (national) landscapes is conveyed. At the same time, untidiness and unease is produced (e.g. Tolia-Kelly 2011).

Third, there is resonance with ‘participation’ in recognizing the myriad positions and perspectives through which landscapes take their form and become meaningful through people’s perceptions and engagements. Post-colonial insights have, however, actively made visible aspects that have been obscured in these engagements.

Fourth, narration is not only an ideological framing of a landscape understanding, it is also a methodological strategy. According to Tolia-Kelly (2011: 76) narrative, and crucially non-linear narratives, ‘allows and enables a plural and multifarious account in historical representation’. Through text, artefact, image and voice, both literally and metaphorically, counter-narratives are produced in order to reformulate hegemonic and limited understandings of landscapes.

### Everyday struggle and belonging

Everyday struggle is at the heart of any ‘face of social justice’, to paraphrase Young (1990). This fifth and final strand is no exception. Still it can be justifiably singled out because a distinct body of work, mainly North American, theorizes the doing of the everyday, material landscape for processes of justice, belonging and broader notions of entitlement and property (Blomley 1998; Duncan and Duncan 2004; Schein 2009; see also Mitchell 2003b). Schein’s (2009: 811) work on ‘people who have often been written out of “belonging”, precisely through land and landscape’, throws light on the power of landscape for citizenship and community, or rather their denial, and ‘the right to claim belonging’. Within this strand contested claims to belonging have been demonstrated through notions of aesthetic, or landscape appearance, race and property: Duncan and Duncan (2004: 161) demonstrate how the ‘potential tension between the aesthetic and social justice presents a political problematic for understanding and analyzing landscapes of

home', whereas Schein (2009: 813), through studies of race questions 'what happens when someone else does not want you to belong'. Closely related to these works on 'belonging-as-social-justice' (Schein 2009: 811) is Blomley's (1998) work on landscapes of property. Questions of property are questions related to who can – and cannot – make legitimate claims to occupy, appropriate, or alienate landscapes. So, whether landscape is understood as 'morphology' or 'representation', it is 'shot through with contesting claims to property' (Schein 2009: 576). Blomley's studies of resistance to gentrification have thus demonstrated that urban landscapes, produced by neoliberal, non-social notions of property, stand in sharp contrast to community-based and more inclusive and egalitarian notions of landscape.

Importantly, this strand of thought and practice does not confine itself to *researching* the field of landscape and social justice. Wylie (2007: 190) points out that much of this work also needs to be seen as 'part of a broader movement advocating social change and justice', very much like the above outlined radical landscape analyses of Don Mitchell.

### Landscape and social justice: towards relational landscapes?

Landscape (research) has a very long tradition of being concerned with dwelling and settlement. Being for a long time almost exclusively a conceptualization and marker of rural and agricultural lands, the preoccupation with *settledness* appear somewhat 'natural'. However, '[a] currently widespread discourse within the social sciences (and elsewhere) is an insistence on a rejection of settledness' (Massey 2006: 40). We think this is potentially of critical importance for the development of more socially just landscapes as well as a concept of landscape more sensitive to social justice. In particular, post-colonial and Marxist perspectives are demonstrating the role of movement, process and flow for steering landscape in more 'just' directions, whereas participatory approaches, somewhat ironically, are only beginning to acknowledge the challenges of globally open landscapes. We thus concur with Massey when she holds that:

Rather than that dwelling-saturated question of our belonging to a place, we should be asking the question of to whom this place belongs. Who owns it? ... Feeling you belong to a place in no way necessarily entails that it belongs to you. ... Ask not 'do you belong to this landscape?' but 'does this landscape belong to you?

(Massey 2011)

The compulsion to read the landscape through history – and we do not deny the crucial importance of that – has tended to reinforce a local, inward focus which narrows and obscures the *spatial* depth of landscape (cf. Blomley 1998; Mitchell 2003a). For current research on landscape and social justice we believe that there is considerable scope to think about landscape in more *relational* ways where the interrogation of various (dis)connections and mobilizations of representational and material landscapes across space and scales leads to greater understanding of how injustice is created and sustained, and ultimately works to address it.

### Further reading

- Blomley, N. (2004) *Unsettling the City: Urban Land and the Politics of Property*, New York and London: Routledge
- Cooke, B. and Kothari, U. (eds) (2001) *Participation: the New Tyranny?* London: Zed Books

- Hampton, G. (1999) 'Environmental equity and public participation,' *Policy Sciences* 32, 163–74
- Olwig, K.R. (2007) 'The practice of landscape "conventions" and the just landscape: the case of the European Landscape Convention,' *Landscape Research* 32, 579–94
- Tolia-Kelly, D.P. (2004) 'Landscape, race and memory: biographical mapping of the routes of British Asian landscape values,' *Landscape Research* 29, 277–92

## References

- Agyeman, J. (1990) 'Black people in a White landscape: social and environmental justice,' *Built Environment* 16, 232–36
- Arler, F. (2008) 'A true landscape democracy,' in Arntzen, S. and Brady, E. (eds) *Humans in the Land: The Ethics and Aesthetics of the Cultural Landscape*, Oslo: Unipub, pp. 75–99
- Bender, B. (2001) 'Introduction,' in Bender, B. and Winer, M. (eds) *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place*, Oxford: Berg, pp. 1–18
- and Winer, M. (eds) (2001) *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place*, Oxford: Berg
- Blomley, N. (1998) 'Landscapes of property,' *Law and Society Review* 32, 567–612
- Brown, T., Hawken, S., Griffith, F., Franklin, L. and Hawkins, C. (2004) 'Science, landscape archaeology and public participation: the Community Landscape Project, Devon, UK', *Public Archaeology* 3, 217–26
- Buchecker, M., Hunziker, M. and Kienast, F. (2003) 'Participatory landscape development: overcoming social barriers to public involvement', *Landscape and Urban Planning* 64, 29–46
- Council of Europe (2000) *European Landscape Convention*, Florence
- Dubow, J. (2009) *Settling the Self: Colonial Space, Colonial Identity and the South African Landscape*, Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag
- Duncan, J.S. and Duncan, N.G. (2004) *Landscapes of Privilege*, New York and London: Routledge
- Fraser, N. (1999) 'Social justice in the age of identity politics: redistribution, recognition and participation,' in Ray, L. and Sayer, A. (eds) *Culture and Economy after the Cultural Turn*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp. 25–52
- Harvey, D. (1996) *Justice, Nature and the Politics of Difference*, Oxford: Blackwell
- Henderson, G.L. (2003) 'What (else) we talk about when we talk about landscape: For a return to the social imagination,' in Wilson, C. and Groth, P. (eds) *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies After J.B. Jackson*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp. 178–98
- Jones, M. (2011) 'European landscape and participation: rhetoric or reality?' in Jones, M. and Stenseke, M. (eds) *The European Landscape Convention: Challenges of Participation*, Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 27–44
- Massey, D. (2006) 'Landscape as provocation: reflections on moving mountains,' *Journal of Material Culture* 11, 33–48
- (2011) 'Landscape/space/politics: an essay', available at <http://thefutureoflandscape.wordpress.com/landscapespacepolitics-an-essay/> (accessed 22 October 2012)
- Mels, T. (2003) 'Landscape unmasked: Kenneth Olwig and the ghostly relations between concepts,' *Cultural Geographies* 10, 379–87
- Mitchell, D. (1996) *The Lie of the Land: Migrant Workers and the California Landscape*, Minneapolis, MN, and London: University of Minnesota Press
- (2003a) *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*, New York and London: Guilford Press
- (2003b) 'Cultural landscapes: just landscapes or landscapes of justice?', *Progress in Human Geography* 27, 787–96
- (2004) 'Geography in the age of extremes: a blueprint for a geography of justice', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 94, 4, 764–70
- (2008) 'New axioms for reading the landscape: paying attention to political economy and social justice,' in Wescoat, J.L. and Johnston, D.M. (eds) *Political Economies of Landscape Change*, Dordrecht: Springer, 29–50
- Newman, K. (2009) 'Social justice, urban,' in Kitchin, R. and Thrift, N. (eds) *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, Oxford: Elsevier, pp. 195–8
- O'Connor, J. (1998) *Natural Causes: Essays in Ecological Marxism*, New York: Guilford Press
- Olwig, K.R. (1996) 'Recovering the substantive nature of landscape,' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 86, 630–53.
- (2002) *Landscape, Nature and the Body Politic: From Britain's Renaissance to America's New World*, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

- Pretty, J. (1995) 'Participatory learning for sustainable agriculture,' *World Development* 23, 1247–63
- Purcell, M. (2006) 'Urban democracy and the local trap,' *Urban Studies* 43, 1921–41
- Rawls, J. (1999) *A Theory of Justice*, Rev. edn, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press
- Rose, G. (1993) *Feminism and Geography: the Limits of Geographical Knowledge*, Cambridge: Polity Press
- (2006) 'Race and landscape in the United States,' in Schein, R.H. (ed.) *Landscape and Race in the United States*, New York and London: Routledge, pp. 1–21
- Schein, R.H. (2009) 'Belonging through land/scape,' *Environment and Planning A*, 41, 811–26
- Selman, P. (2004) 'Community participation in the planning and management of cultural landscapes,' *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 47, 365–92
- Setten, G. and Brown, K.M. (2009) 'Cultural geography: moral landscapes,' in Kitchin, R. and Thrift, N. (eds) *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, Vol. 7, Oxford: Elsevier, pp. 191–5
- Tolia-Kelly, D.P. (2011) 'Narrating the post-colonial landscape: archaeologies of race at Hadrian's Wall,' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS* 36, 71–88
- Young, I.M. (1990) *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Waterstone, M. (2010) 'Geography and social justice', in Smith, S.J., Pain, R. Marston, S.A. and Jones III, J.P. (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Social Geographies*, Los Angeles, CA: Sage, pp. 419–34
- Wylie, J. (2007) *Landscape*, London: Routledge